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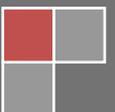
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Editorial

Dear Colleagues,

I am so glad to present the fourth issue of the *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* (IJHCS). With this issue, the IJHCS reaches its first year with more confidence. As were the first three issues, this fourth issue includes different research articles on various topics in humanities, linguistics and cultural studies. This reflects the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary scope of the IJHCS. This new issue includes works of the research scholars from different countries such as Algeria, Brazil, Cameroon, Cote d' Ivoire, France, Iraq, Morocco, Nigeria, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Tunisia, Turkey, UK and USA.

I sincerely thank our respected contributors 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.

With Best Regards,

Dr. Hassen Zriba
Editor-in-Chief

The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies (IJHCS)

L'amour de l'autre dans La Chartreuse de Parme de Stendhal

**Ari Mohammed Abdulrahman
University of Sulaimani, Iraq**

Abstract

Love had been a major concern in Stendhal's life. He loved a number of beautiful women among whom Méthilde could consume him for a number of years and made him suffer the most. Stendhal could express his love experiences, suffering, jealousy, happiness and sadness in his writings. Protagonists and characters in the Charterhouse of Parma were all captivated by beauty which was regarded as the most essential element leading to love. Love of the other, mostly a love between two sexes, had physical beauty as a source. Fabrice, the main protagonist of the novel, and other protagonists were all in search of love. Love of the other goes sometimes beyond a mere physical pleasure once the true love finds its way to the hearts of the lovers. Though most characters show their superficiality of love by considering it as merely physical, Fabrice, unlike other shallow characters, could find his true love and tried by all means to realize and keep it but this love caused the eventual death of those he loved the most. Parental love can be felt within the search of loving the other sex and this parental love reflects Stendhal's need of his parents' love. Fabrice, along his search of love, was in quest of a parental love and protection but, just like his failure in finding happiness through loving the other sex, he was unsuccessful in finding a parental love and even he could not be a loving father for his son.

Keywords: Love, Passion, Beauty, Parent, Physical

Résumé

L'amour avait été une grande préoccupation dans la vie de Stendhal. Il a aimé un certain nombre de belles femmes parmi lesquelles Méthilde qui a pu l'occuper pour un certain nombre d'années et l'a fait souffrir de plus. Stendhal pourrait exprimer son expérience de l'amour, la souffrance, la jalousie, le bonheur et la tristesse dans ses écrits. Les protagonistes et personnages de la Chartreuse de Parme ont tous été captivés par la beauté qui a été considérée comme l'élément le plus essentiel conduisant à aimer. L'amour de l'autre, la plupart du temps un amour entre deux sexes, avait la beauté physique pour une source. Fabrice, le principal protagoniste du roman, et d'autres protagonistes étaient tous à la recherche de l'amour. L'amour de l'autre va parfois au-

delà d'un simple plaisir physique une fois le véritable amour trouve son chemin vers le cœur des amants. Bien que la plupart des personnages montrent leur superficialité de l'amour en le considérant comme purement physique, Fabrice, contrairement à d'autres personnages, pourrait trouver son véritable amour et essayait par tous les moyens de le réaliser et de le garder, mais cet amour a causé la mort éventuelle de ceux qu'il aimait le plus . L'amour des parents peut se faire sentir au sein de la recherche de l'amour de l'autre sexe, ce qui reflète le besoin de Stendhal de l'amour parental, notamment l'amour maternel. Fabrice, en même temps qu'il recherchait de l'amour, était en quête d'un amour parental, mais, tout comme son échec à trouver le bonheur à travers l'amour de l'autre sexe, il n'a pas réussi à trouver un amour parental et même il ne pouvait pas être un père affectueux pour son fils.

Mots clés : Fabrice, Amour, Beauté, Passion, Parent, Physique

1. Introduction

La recherche du bonheur et de l'amour sont deux des principaux thèmes traités par l'auteur français Stendhal dans la plupart de ses œuvres littéraires. L'amour était une inquiétude majeure dans la vie de Stendhal depuis son enfance spécifiquement à l'âge de sept ans quand il a été privé de l'amour de sa mère. La mort de sa mère, qu'il aimait plus que quiconque, l'a fait sentir le besoin de combler le fossé causé par sa mort. La recherche de l'amour de Stendhal durant sa vie se reflète dans ses romans. Tous ses héros, tout comme lui, étaient en quête d'amour qui a occupé une grande partie de leur vie. Cette recherche intitulé "*L'amour de l'autre dans la Chartreuse de Parme de Stendhal*" a le thème de l'amour pour la mise au point dans l'un des romans de Stendhal, à savoir "*La Chartreuse de Parme*". Presque tous les personnages du roman mentionné sont attirés à l'amour avec ses différentes formes si passionné, sensuel ou même parental. Cet amour a une relation étroite avec la beauté. Fabrice, le héros du roman cité, était en une recherche maniaque de l'amour. Depuis son enfance, il a été privé de l'amour maternel bien que sa mère était encore en vie, contrairement à Stendhal dont la mère a été morte, mais sa mère était absente dans sa vie le laissant à un père cruel. Donc, cette recherche vise à analyser le thème de l'amour, avec ses différentes formes et le comment Stendhal a pu exprimer lui-même dans ce roman, surtout en ce qui concerne l'amour de l'autre.

2. Beauté physique en tant qu'une source de l'amour

L'amour a été l'un des thèmes abordés par de nombreux auteurs dans leurs œuvres littéraires. Beauté pour Stendhal était l'un de ses soucis majeurs dans sa vie. Il a considéré la beauté comme une source importante d'aimer l'autre sexe. Hertzog a montré que Stendhal était à la recherche d'une beauté parfaite du fait qui l'a fait éviter ce qui est laid et méprisable (s.d, p.5). Lors de sa demande, trois mots ont été gravés sur sa tombe qui ont été "scrisse, amo, et étai" signifiant l'écriture, l'amour et la vie (Studyrama, 2006, P. 1). Stendhal a aimé un certain nombre de jolies femmes dans sa vie. Et quand il parle d'elles, il utilise le mot charmant "la plupart de ces êtres charmants... Mais elles ont à la lettre occupé *toute ma vie*" (Didier, 2009, p. 37).

Ainsi, en raison de cette importance accordée à l'amour de la beauté, ce thème a été reflété dans ses romans. L'amour de l'autre dans la *Chartreuse de Parme* est étroitement lié à la beauté physique qui est la cause principale de former une admiration conduisant à aimer. La plupart des personnages de ce roman pensent beaucoup à l'amour et le considèrent comme un élément important et essentiel de l'attraction et de l'amour. Rouanet (Ellipses, 2000, p.14) montre que dans les romans de Stendhal "l'analyse des cœurs prévaut"

Mais l'amour et la passion pour Stendhal devraient avoir la décence et ainsi des brides, il se dresse contre le romantisme sur les émotions de l'individu et de la subjectivité incontrôlée (Gobert, 1967, p.4)

Fabrice, le principal protagoniste de ce roman, était si beau qu'il pourrait séduire de nombreuses femmes. Beauté pour lui était donnée une valeur primaire. Il était conscient de sa beauté physique, surtout du visage, et sa puissance. Ainsi, il pourrait l'utiliser pour en profiter et avoir du plaisir physique. Il a aimé un certain nombre de belles femmes et beaucoup de femmes l'ont aimé à cause de sa beauté extérieure. La première femme dont la beauté pourrait la fasciner a été sa tante Gina qui a été obsédée par son amour comme ses pareilles de femmes. Echelard a montré que " tous les roman de Stendhal sont des romans d'amour... le héros Stendhalien, toujours prêt à tomber amoureux, hésite entre le charme des toutes jeunes filles et celui des femmes épanouies" (2002, p. 90).

La relation d'amour entre Gina et Fabrice est la plus compliquée. Gina l'aime plus que tout et ne importe qui d'autre dans le monde et elle admet cette vérité avant qu'il aille pour rejoindre Napoléon " En te permettant d'aller le rejoindre, je lui sacrifie ce qui j'ai de plus cher au monde" (Stendhal, p. 57). Cette déclaration est jugée maternelle même si elle ne se considère pas comme sa mère, mais Fabrice la voit inconsciemment comme une mère peut-être pas une mère biologique, mais une véritable mère et fiable dont il avait besoin puisque sa vraie mère ne pouvait pas effectuer son devoir d'une mère envers lui et elle était pratiquement absente dans le roman et dominée par le pouvoir masculin représenté par son mari del Dongo. Gina l'aimait comme une femme qui aime un étranger en raison de sa beauté physique qui est le seul mérite dont il jouit. Quand Fabrice est retourné de France, où il vivait en exil, il a apparu à sa tante Gina comme un bel inconnu et elle l'aimerait s'il parlait de l'amour " Fabrice parut aux yeux de la comtesse Pietranera comme un bel étranger qu'elle beaucoup connu jadis. S'il eût parlé d'amour, elle l'eût aimé" (Stendhal, p. 140). Elle avoue à Mosca que son amour pour Fabrice n'est pas d'une sœur à son frère, mais c'est un amour de l'instinct et elle lui explique que son bonheur est étroitement lié au bonheur de Fabrice " Je ne vous dirai pas non plus que je l'aime exactement comme ferait une sœur ; je l'aime d'instinct, pour parler ainsi" (Stendhal, pp. 376-377). Cette déclaration peut être mieux analysée en affirmant que son amour pour Fabrice est total et tout au long du roman elle le protège et se sacrifie pour le sauver.

Fabrice a rencontré une actrice appelée Marietta qui avait un ami appelé Giletti. Fabrice avec sa beauté puissante a pu faire cette actrice tomber en amour avec lui et abandonner son ami parce qu'il n'était pas beau et donc indigne de l'amour " Ce Giletti était bien l'être le plus laid et le

plus moins fait pour l'amour" (Stendhal, p. 211). Après avoir combattu avec Giletti, Fabrice a été attaqué agressivement par Giletti et il a saigné, mais il a réussi à le poignarder. Il a couru à Marietta et lui a demandé si elle avait un miroir parce qu'il était terrifié à l'idée que son visage pourrait être déformé en raison des combats " Il le regarda au visage, Giletti rendait beaucoup de sang par la bouche. Fabrice courut à la voiture "Avez-vous un miroir ? cria-t-il à Marietta" (Stendhal, pp. 257-258). Cela indique l'importance de la beauté pour Fabrice, car il sait bien que sa beauté est ce qui le rend désiré et différent de tous les autres. Stendhal n'était pas un bel homme ce qui l'a fait souffrir du complexe d'infériorité et pour cela, il a recouru aux beaux habits et était l'esclave de la mode afin d'attirer l'attention de sa société et il portait toute la dernière mode de l'époque (Josephson, 2010, p. 92).

Lorsque Fabrice a été arrêté et emmené à la forteresse (la prison), il a vu Clélia la fille du général Fabio Conti et sa beauté l'a fait faire une comparaison entre elle et Gina et même les gens pensaient qu'elle ressemblait à Gina en raison de son regard indifférent, son esprit et sa beauté. Gina et Clélia étaient tous les deux si belles qu'elles pourraient attirer tous les gens autour d'elles et en plus de leur beauté elles avaient de fortes personnalités. Ce moment a marqué un tournant dans la vie de Fabrice comme il ne pouvait trouver quelqu'une semblable à sa tante en la beauté et la personnalité, quelqu'une qui peut l'aider à surmonter le conflit psychologique dont il souffre à cause de sa tante et l'idée de l'amour. Mais avec l'arrivée de Clélia, il a pu finalement trouver quelqu'une pareille à sa tante en ce qui concerne beauté et personnalité et de plus elle est plus jeune et peut l'aider à oublier l'amour de sa tante qui avait été une source de tristesse pour lui.

Gina, la tante de Fabrice et peut-être le principal protagoniste dans ce roman, a été fascinée par la beauté, c'est pourquoi elle a été attirée à son neveu Fabrice en raison de sa beauté extérieure. Il n'est pas clair si elle savait ou non que Fabrice ne fût pas le fils biologique de son frère. Elle a exprimé son amour et protection pour lui depuis l'école secondaire quand elle l'emmenait loin de l'école et l'a aidé à gagner des prix en dépit de son ignorance. Maugherat a montré que Fabrice est un maître de l'auto-tromperie dont le manque de conscience de soi est considérable (2010, p. 63)

Gina, qui était extrêmement belle, était la source de l'attraction et de l'amour par presque tous les personnages du roman. Il est vrai qu'elle est différente de toutes les femmes en ayant une forte personnalité mais sa beauté unique était ce qui la rendait désirée par tous. Elle pouvait charmer tout le monde autour d'elle et pourrait utiliser son pouvoir de la beauté pour vaincre et convaincre ses ennemis. Lorsque son mari a été tué, elle voulait se venger de Limerchanti qui a

refusé de venger de l'assassinant de son mari et elle l'a fait l'aimer passionnément dans la mesure qu'il voulait se suicider et a proposé de l'épouser avec un salaire annuel de 200 000 livres, mais elle a refusé tout cela “ son amour s'exalta, il devint fou, et parla de se bruler la cervelle (Stendhal, p. 50).

Après avoir épousé le duc Sanseverina-Taxis, qui était un mariage rationnel, Gina pourrait étonner la cour avec sa manière et sa bonté. Elle a rendu sa cour l'endroit le plus souhaitable parmi tous les autres palais à Parme (p. 161). La beauté de Gina était une source d'admiration. Elle pourrait recueillir toute l'attention autour d'elle, même le prince de Parme Ernest-Ranuce IV a admis ce fait quand il a dit à Mosca que personne ne peut rivaliser Gina à sa beauté et que même Clélia qui est la plus belle femme dans toutes les régions ne peut pas la compéter en beauté. “ le prince ne voit a sa cour aucune femme qui puisse vous le disputer en beauté... Clélia ... passait encore, il ya huit jours, pour la plus belle personne des Etats du prince” (Stendhal, pp. 163-164). Henriette Beyle, la mère de Stendhal, était pour toute la famille une source de bonheur. Tous les membres de la famille affirmaient qu'elle était la seule personne qui pourrait faire se sentir mieux. Elle avait l'habitude d'organiser des fêtes et sa maison était pleine de visiteurs qui ont apprécié sa compagnie (Josephson, 2005, p. 7)

Après avoir participé à la guerre soutenant l'armée française, Fabrice a été soupçonné pour un espion et, par conséquent, il ne pouvait pas retourner en Italie. Alors que Fabrice était en exil en raison de la crainte d'être arrêté, sa tante Gina tentait de l'aider à revenir à la maison par tous les moyens à l'aide de sa puissante beauté. Elle est allée au canon Borda pour demander de l'aide. Lui, qui était si pris par sa beauté, Il s'est agenouillé devant elle disant “C'est dans cette position qu'un malheureux fou doit recevoir vos ordres” (Stendhal, pp. 132-133)

Encore une fois Gina s'est servie de l'influence de sa beauté pour aider Fabrice et contraindre ses ennemis. Elle prétendait qu'elle quittera Parme et est allé au prince pour lui annoncer sa décision et lui dire au revoir et le remercier tandis que le prince pensait qu'elle est allée chez lui pour le supplier en ce qui concerne Fabrice qui était en prison. Quand elle est arrivée le prince Ernest-Ranuce IV a exprimé son attirance et désir sexuels pour elle exprimant ainsi sa mauvaise intention afin de la faire accepter d'être sa maîtresse et il admirait sa beauté et la désirait pensant qu'elle est si belle et qu'aucune femme ne peut l'emporter sur sa beauté en Italie “ Il admirait la duchesse...Grand Dieu ! qu'elle est belle...avec un peu de bonne politique il ne serait peut-être pas impossible d'en faire un jour ma maitresse” (Stendhal, p.328)

La duchesse Sanseverina, Gina, pourrait utiliser sa beauté à nouveau pour se venger du prince qui a essayé d'empoisonner Fabrice alors qu'il était en prison. Elle pourrait obtenir l'aide du docteur Ferrante qui a été condamné à être exécuté et pourraient fuir le jugement. Ce médecin guettait Gina alors qu'elle était dans son palais de Sacca pendant environ deux ans. Son attirance pour sa beauté a surmonté sa peur et un jour il l'a suivi et est tombé devant ses pieds demandant de l'argent pour qu'il puisse nourrir sa famille et lui a dit qu'il vole pour vivre, mais à ce moment, il est simplement un homme qui adore la beauté "je vous suivais, non pour vous demander l'aumône ou vous voler, mais comme un sauvage fasciné par une angélique beauté" (Stendhal, p.475)

Le nouveau prince Ernest-Ranuce V, qui est arrivé au pouvoir après la mort de son père, a été attiré par la beauté et quand Gina organisait des fêtes dans le palais, il avait l'habitude de venir tôt pour les parties où beaucoup de belles femmes assistaient " Le jeune prince venait de fort bonne heure aux soirées aimables de sa mère" (Stendhal, p. 546). Le nouveau prince tout comme son père a demandé à Gina d'être sa maîtresse afin de sauver Fabrice et lui a demandé de jurer qu'elle serait physiquement à sa disposition pendant une durée de trois mois et qu'il peut obtenir ce qu'il veut et elle le jure. On voit ici l'amour qu'elle a pour Fabrice qu'elle est prête à se sacrifier et risquer sa réputation pour le sauver et on voit l'attirance du prince à la beauté extérieure et comment il essaie par tous les moyens jouir cette beauté pendant les trois mois " jurez, madame, que si Fabrice vous est rendu sain et sauf, j'obtiendrai de vous, d'ici à trois mois, tout ce que mon amour peut désirer de plus heureux" (Stendhal, p.580). Quand elle a dit oui le prince est devenu une personne différente et impatiente de la voir dans ses bras et satisfaire ses désirs physiques et a couru pour appeler son général Fontana pour amener Fabrice en vingt minutes.

Fabrice, malgré son véritable amour pour Clélia, un amour qui l'a fait recourir à la religion, a encore quelques impulsions en particulier son attirance pour la beauté tandis qu'il est vrai que son point de vue sur la beauté et l'amour a changée. La preuve est que lors de ses prêches, il a pu constater un peu de beau visage avec les yeux pleins de larmes et il a été dit que son nom est Anetta Marini et elle est la seule fille d'un riche marchand à Parme.

Les prêches de Fabrice pourraient attirer beaucoup de public, étant principalement des femmes. Ses prêches étaient très émotionnels, ardents et dévoués. Ses prêches ont été influencés par ses propres sentiments, douleur et tristesse ainsi ils pourraient laisser de grands effets sur le public. Parmi les spectateurs, il y avait une petite fille qui avait l'habitude d'assister à tous les prêches de Fabrice.

Elle est tombée en amour avec le beau Fabrice et non ses prêches et elle a refusé d'épouser le fils du ministre de la justice qu'elle aimait avant de voir Fabrice

“ Lorsque les fameux sermons commencèrent, son mariage était arrêté avec Giacomo Rassi, fils aîné du ministre de la justice, lequel ne lui déplait point” (Stendhal, p.624). Cela rappelle de l'amie de Giletti qui a abandonné son bien-aimé à cause de Fabrice qui était plus beau que lui. Cette petite fille a donné un diamant au plus célèbre peintre en Italie pour dessiner une image de Fabrice, mais sans les vêtements de l'église, et elle a mis la photo dans sa chambre. Un acte qui montre son attirance à sa beauté physique et non pas ses prêches comme un homme religieux.

La preuve de l'importance de la beauté et l'attraction physique comme une source d'amour témoignées par la plupart des hommes autour de Gina est la déclaration dite par Gina quand elle a décidé de quitter Mosca afin de sauver Fabrice. Elle demande à Mosca à la considérer comme une vieille femme à l'âge de 60 et dit que la jeune femme est morte et elle n'est pas capable d'aimer plus “ je veux me séparer de vous à l'aimable...comptez que j'ai soixante ans ; la jeune femme est morte en moi” (Stendhal, p. 381). Une autre preuve de l'importance accordée à l'amour physique est la première rencontre entre Clélia et Fabrice à la tour Farnèse où il était enfermé. Elle avait peur que Fabrice a été empoisonné et elle a couru à sa chambre où il était sur le point de manger de la nourriture empoisonnée. Elle s'est mise dans ses bras et il a commencé à l'embrasser. Il a eu l'idée de lui mentir en disant qu'il avait mangé de la nourriture, mais il n'a pas voulu pas souiller ces premiers moments d'amour avec un mensonge. “ il ne faut pas qu'un indigne mensonge vienne souiller les premiers instants de notre bonheur” (Stendhal, p. 573). Fabrice considère son premier contact physique avec Clélia comme ses premiers moments de bonheur. Selon Alain “ le bonheur... c'est une expérience que l'on peut vivre réellement, dans l'instant présent” (2007, P. 123).

Les sens dans les écrits de Stendhal jouent un rôle important dans les relations amoureuses comme les mains, les lèvres, les yeux qui sont essentiels pour la sensualité. Par exemple, les yeux montrent des émotions et les mains sont la soumission du cœur à l'amour (Hertous, p.7). Stendhal dans son œuvre de l'Amour souligne que “Aimer, c'est avoir du plaisir à voir, toucher, sentir par tous les sens” (Stendhal, 1833, p. 7)

Fabrice, qui a été emprisonné à la forteresse, pouvait voir Clélia soigner ses oiseaux, et elle ne levait pas les yeux mais quand elle est retournée à sa chambre elle a volé un regard sur lui et il l'a salué “ Il remarqua qu'elle ne levait pas les yeux sur lui, mais ses mouvements avaient l'air gêné, comme ceux de quelqu'un qui se sent regardé” (Stendhal, p. 413). Elle pensait que la triste

Gina serait heureuse si elle pouvait le voir comme elle le fait. Ici le recours au sens pour montrer l'acceptation et l'amour est clairement évident dans le comportement de Clélia et son admission que Gina serait heureuse si elle pouvait le voir est un autre soutien à l'idée de la beauté comme une source de bonheur.

L'amour selon Stendhal a différentes voies de communication. Les yeux peuvent parler à la bien-aimée et lui-même a recouru à ce moyen pour montrer à Méthilde qu'il l'aimait mais elle était impassible à ses sens (Josephson, 2005, P. 242). Assoun (Ellipses 2000, p. 98) souligne que les signes et les regards sont deux choses qui peuvent renforcer une relation. Il confirme que le " l'amour tient au regard et a tout signe, qui vienne suppléer l'impossible du rapport sexuel".

Alors que Fabrice était en prison pour la deuxième fois dans la même pièce où il était détenu, il pouvait voir Clélia qui s'occupait de ses oiseaux "elle se leva rapidement, se cacha les yeux, et, par les gestes les plus vifs, chercha à lui exprimer qu'elle ne devait jamais le revoir" (Stendhal, p. 569) et quand elle l'a regardé elle a aperçu que ses yeux étaient pleins de larmes de bonheur puis elle se souvenait de son vœu à Mary et alors elle a recouru à des signes de lui parler. Donc, ce recours aux signes indique son amour passionné pour Fabrice.

3. L'amour passion

Pour Stendhal, il ya quatre sortes d'amour qui sont l'amour physique, l'amour à travers le goût, l'amour de la vanité et l'amour de la passion qui est dans une relation étroite avec la beauté et donc le bonheur. Le dernier type de l'amour est le plus grand et le plus ferme, alors qu'il rejette l'amour qui est simplement consacré à la vanité et la satisfaction corporelle (Josephson, 2010, pp. 256-58). La recherche de l'amour, comme il a été expliqué, était une obsession occupant l'esprit de la plupart des protagonistes et les personnages de ce roman. L'amour est fortement lié à la beauté physique qui est considérée comme le premier et le plus important catalyseur pour aimer l'autre. Cette sorte d'amour peut être essentiellement sensuelle c'est-à-dire le plaisir physique est la source de l'amour. Le principal protagoniste Fabrice, au début de sa vie, a été attiré par ce genre d'amour mais tandis qu'il appréciant cet amour physique, il tentait de trouver un véritable amour. La première femme qu'il connaissait et pour qui il avait un amour passionné a été Gina, sa tante. L'influence des femmes, parmi les quelles il passait son enfance, se fait sentir dans ce roman, notamment sa tante Gina. Ces femmes ont toutes été influencées par les nouvelles idées de la Révolution Française, en particulier sa tante Gina qui avait un caractère fort, et donc la source de l'amour pour la Révolution Française et l'empereur.

À Milan en 1799, Stendhal a rencontré Angela Pietragrua et est tombé en amour avec elle. Elle est devenue un personnage de son roman *La Chartreuse de Parme*, Gina. En 1802, après son retour à Paris, il a aimé Victorine Mounier pour qui il avait un amour idyllique qui a duré d'environ trois années et il avait une autre histoire d'amour avec une comédienne nommée Melanie Guibert. Enfin, en 1810, il est tombé en amour avec Methilde de la Mole pour qui il dotait un véritable amour (Studyrama, 2006, p.2). Chaque fois que Fabrice tombait en amour il était déçu de trouver que ce n'était qu'un amour de la beauté physique. Alors que Fabrice a été banni à Bologne après avoir tué Giletti, il passait son temps avec Marietta, vivait en sienne de la nature et étudiait l'astronomie. Il avait tout ce qu'il cherchait, une belle femme, la nature et un travail qu'il aimait mais il manquait quelque chose à savoir un véritable amour et la preuve est que dans cette vie tranquille il cherchait l'amour ailleurs et il aimait une chanteuse appelée Fausta qui était aimée par un homme riche " au milieu de cette vie tranquille, une misérable pique de vanité s'empara de ce cœur rebelle ...en même temps que lui se trouvait à Bologne la fameuse Fausta F***, sans contredit l'une des premières chanteuses de notre époque" (Stendhal, p. 297)

À divers occasions, Fabrice admet à sa tante Gina son incapacité à aimer ou à avoir un amour passionné pour l'une des femmes avec qui il avait des affaires. Quand il était sur le point d'être arrêté, il est rentré à Bologne et là, il a écrit une lettre à Gina lui disant qu'il essayait de trouver un véritable amour, mais il ne pouvait pas l'atteindre et que son aventure à Parme était super, l'aventure d'aimer Fausta et de défier son riche amant " J'étais amoureux de l'amour, disait-il à la duchesse ; j'ai fait tout au monde pour le connaître, mais il paraît que la nature m'a refusé un cœur pour aimer et être mélancolique" (Stendhal, p. 314). Dans une autre scène, quand Gina a rencontré Fabrice en Plaisance, il l'a embrassé avec trop de passion ce qui la fait crier de bonheur. Fabrice lui avoue qu'il ne peut pas être un amant parce qu'il ne pense à une femme seulement lorsqu'il la flirte " Quand j'ai l'honneur de faire la cour à une beauté... je ne puis penser à elle que quand je la vois" (Stendhal, p. 178)

Alors que Fabrice essayait par tous les moyens de trouver un véritable amour partout, son crime de tuer Giletti, qui était un crime commis à cause d'un amour éphémère, a provoqué son emprisonnement et il y pourrait trouver son véritable amour. La prison qui était censé être un lieu de ténèbres et de douleur s'est transformé à un lieu où Fabrice a trouvé son véritable amour passionné. Fabrice qui était toujours prêt à courir pour échapper a changé maintenant il n'est pas prêt à quitter la prison et accepter le plan de Gina d'échapper comme elle pouvait trouver un moyen de communication en utilisant des singes de la lumière qui ont été répondu avec beaucoup de dégoût et ces réponses rendaient Gina si triste " c'était avec un profond sentiment de dégoût,

toutes les nuits, il répondait aux signaux de la petite lampe... je ne veux pas me sauver ; je veux mourir ici ! (Stendhal, pp. 452-452). Gina qui avait trouvé son véritable amour, il y a de nombreuses années et faisait tout ce qu'elle pouvait pour garder cet amour n'était pas consciente que Fabrice ainsi pu trouver son véritable amour, mais ailleurs.

Fabrice après s'échappant de la prison a été dans un état d'une profonde mélancolie et tristesse. La vérité est qu'en échappant de la prison, il a perdu ce qui était le plus précieux à son cœur qui pourrait enfin trouver son véritable amour. En attendant, sa tante Gina pourrait convaincre le nouveau prince de juger à nouveau Fabrice et il était décidé que Fabrice se livrait à la prison de la ville où Mosca était le maître mais Fabrice a choisi de revenir à la prison de la forteresse pour être près de Clélia même sachant que sa vie pourrait être en danger

L'Évanouissement peut indiquer un amour véritable. Gina qui aime Fabrice plus toute autre personne dans sa vie s'est évanouie deux moments différents dans le roman et les deux fois ont été à cause de Fabrice. La première fois s'est produite quand la nouvelle de la mort du prince Ernest-Ranuce IV a été annoncée en présence de Fabrice qui était complètement indifférent à la nouvelle alors Gina s'est évanouie et quand elle s'est réveillée, elle voyait que Fabrice même ne la regardait pas. Ce moment a été un point décisif dans son amour pour Fabrice. La deuxième fois, d'évanouissement a été quand elle est allée au château où Fabrice a été emprisonné et l'a vu sortir avec le général Fontana et lui a demandé s'il a mangé de la nourriture et il a dit non, puis elle s'est évanouie pour environ une heure "La duchesse se jeta au cou de Fabrice, et tomba dans un évanouissement qui dura une heure" (Stendhal, p. 583). Fabrice aussi a été trop près de s'évanouir dans une instance où il a été dit que la marquise Crescenzi, Clélia, va au théâtre et il pourrait trouver un compartiment en face de la sienne et quand elle est entrée dans le théâtre il était si heureux qu'il a été sur le point de s'évanouir ou mourir. Stendhal lui-même était sur le point de s'évanouir et sa sentait son cœur battre vite quand il a vu le métier de chapeau de Méthilde à la rue (p. 243)

Garder les choses indique un amour véritable ou passionné. Lorsque Fabrice a assisté à l'anniversaire de la princesse, il a vu Clélia et son mari et il pensait à poignarder son mari avec le poignard que Clélia lui a donné alors qu'il était en prison " Si j'étais Borso Valserra... j'irais poignarder ce lourd marquis, précisément avec ce petit poignard à manche d'ivoire qui Clélia me donna ce jour heureux" (Stendhal, p.600). Quand Fabrice a pu approcher Clélia il lui a lu un poème de Pétrarque sur le bonheur et Clélia est devenue heureuse d'entendre cela comme elle encore doutait son véritable amour pour elle, mais en ce moment elle a été convaincue que cet esprit n'est pas hésitant dans son amour et elle lui a donné son éventail comme un signe d'amour.

Le véritable amour a pu changer le comportement et le mode de vie de Fabrice. Lorsque Fabrice avait été refusé par Clélia en raison de sa mauvaise réputation de séduire les femmes et les rumeurs d'aimer sa tante Gina, Fabrice a décidé de changer son comportement. Il a eu recours à tous les moyens pour convaincre Clélia de sa bonne volonté et de son amour passionné. D'abord, il a refusé de quitter la prison et s'échapper et même après son fuit de la prison il a écrit une lettre au général Fabio, le père de Clélia, s'excusant pour le faire. Quand il a eu la chance d'aller dans une autre prison d'être jugé à nouveau, il a préféré de revenir à la même prison même si sa vie pourrait être en danger. Enfin, il a mené une vie pieuse de prêcher dans l'église. Lorsque Stendhal a révélé son amour exceptionnel pour Méthilde disant qu'il est prêt à faire n'importe quoi pour elle et a commencé à embrasser sa main avec trop de passion mais elle l'a rejeté et a réagi cruellement envers lui comme elle doutait de sa sincérité à cause des rumeurs autour de lui concernant sa séduction des femmes. (Josephson, 2010, P. 243). Afin de faire Méthilde croire son véritable amour pour elle, Stendhal a décidé d'avoir un mode idéal de vie, mais même quand elle a entendu parler de cela, elle était encore froid vers lui comme elle était le fait qui lui fit sentir extrêmement triste. (Ibid., p. 247)

4. L'amour parental

L'absence de l'amour parental est un autre thème dans ce roman. Stendhal à l'âge de sept ans a perdu sa mère et il détestait son père et lui reprochait de le priver de l'amour de sa mère. La haine de Stendhal pour son père pouvait trouver son expression dans ce roman à travers le protagoniste Fabrice. Stendhal a accusé son père de la mort de sa mère et ne pouvait pas le pardonner. Quand son père a été envoyé en prison à cause de sa position anti républicain, Stendhal ne se sentait pas mal à ce sujet et s'est tenu contre lui (Studyrama, 2006, p.1). Stendhal haïssait son père tellement qu'il l'a appelé le "bâtard" (Gobert, 1976, p.2)

Fabrice était à la recherche d'un amour parental avec sa recherche d'un amour véritable et passionné. Il ne savait pas que Del Dongo n'était pas son père biologique et qu'un lieutenant français était son véritable père. Il a été privé de son père réel et biologique et son père officiel, del Dongo, était complètement absent dans sa vie. Del Dongo voulait que Fabrice soit une copie exacte de lui, mais il ne parvenait pas à faire cela. Ainsi, Fabrice était à la recherche d'un vrai père comme il a perdu tout espoir en son père officiel del Dongo.

Dans un premier temps, l'abbé Blanes pourrait remplacer son père en lui offrant ce que son père devait être ou faire. Il l'aimait comme son propre fils et lui a enseigné beaucoup de choses comme la façon de prédire les choses à partir de signes. À l'âge de six ans, le prêtre abbé Raillance est devenu le tuteur de Stendhal. Ce prêtre a changé la vie de Stendhal en enfer avec sa tyrannie. Il obligeait Stendhal de lire et apprendre ce qu'il détestait et a rapporté à son père toute mauvaise conduite qui a abouti à être puni par son père (Josephson, 2010, pp. 13-14). Le fait qui a créé une haine vers la religion.

Fabrice pouvait trouver en l'abbé Blanes l'amour et la sollicitude qu'il ne pouvait point trouver auprès de son propre père. Tous les deux s'aimaient tellement et il pouvait enseigner Fabrice l'amour de l'astronomie et les secrets de prédire l'avenir en fonction de certains signes. L'abbé aimait Fabrice pour sa naïveté et sa simplicité et lui a dit "Il aimait cet enfant pour sa naïveté. Si tu ne deviens pas hypocrite, lui disait-il, peut-être tu seras un homme" (Stendhal, p. 43)

Après de nombreuses années de rester loin de son père, Fabrice est retourné à sa ville natale, mais au lieu de rentrer à la maison de son père Fabrice a choisi d'aller à l'église où l'abbé Blanes, chez qui il a passé son enfance, vivait encore comme sa maison n'est pas un endroit sûr pour lui. Lorsque Fabrice était à l'église, il regardait le palais de son père et se sentait si triste et a commencé à pleurer à cause de l'absence de l'amour de son père pour lui. Fabrice a été élevé principalement par les femmes qui étaient attachées aux nouvelles idées de la liberté, la fraternité et la justice intentée par la Révolution Française et l'influence masculine est presque absente dans sa vie à cause de son père. Pendant son enfance, il avait l'habitude de jouer avec les enfants des paysans qui tous appréciaient ces mêmes idées. Ces influences ont créé en lui l'amour de Napoléon et il le considérait comme un père spirituel.

Lorsque Fabrice a entendu parler de Napoléon, il a commencé à pleurer de bonheur et dit que Napoléon a voulu nous donner un pays " Il voulut nous donner une patrie" (Stendhal, p. 58) et il a vu dans le ciel un aigle qui volait vers la Suisse puis en France. C'était pour Fabrice un signe qu'elle devrait aller défendre Napoléon. Il a dit à sa tante Gina qu'il va rejoindre l'armée de l'empereur qui est aussi le roi d'Italie. Arrivant à Paris, Fabrice voulait voir Napoléon par tous les moyens, mais il ne pouvait pas le voir le fait qui a créé une creuse si profond.

Quand Stendhal a reçu des lettres lui annonçant la mort de son père, il ne se sentait pas triste ou désolé pour sa mort, mais à la place il a estimé qu'il a été libéré (Josephson, 2010, p. 251). Lorsque Fabrice a été dit en prison que son père est mort, il a commencé à pleurer profondément,

mais le pleur n'était pas parce qu'il se sentait triste à cause de la mort de son père, mais car il était psychologiquement triste comme il n'a jamais aimé son père. La recherche de Fabrice d'un amour parental a été reflétée à son amour et soin pour son fils biologique à qui il voulait être le véritable père qu'il n'avait jamais eu, mais son amour pour son fils a causé sa mort.

En plus de l'absence d'un véritable père aimant, Fabrice était à la recherche d'une véritable mère aimante. Il cherchait inconsciemment une mère tandis qu'il avait déjà une mère biologique, mais elle était une mère faible qui ne pouvait pas lui fournir l'amour et la protection dont il avait besoin. Stendhal admet que lorsque sa mère est morte, il a perdu tout espoir dans la vie parce qu'il a perdu une personne si chère à son cœur " j'ai perdu ce que j'aimais le plus au monde" (Stendhal, 2009 p. 53). Fabrice avant de rencontrer et tomber en amour avec Clélia pensait qu'il était en amour avec sa tante Gina et c'était une source d'un conflit psychologique menant à la tristesse. Son amour pour sa tante Gina était un amour d'un fils à sa mère, mais il ne le savait pas jusqu'au moment de voir Clélia parce que la beauté de sa tante avait des effets incroyables sur lui mais Clélia a pu avec sa beauté et personnalité remplacer sa tante. La mort de la mère de Stendhal alors qu'il avait que sept ans a provoqué une véritable frustration pour lui et l'amour et la nécessité d'une mère se reflètent dans ses œuvres comme ses protagonistes tentent de trouver la mère substitution comme dans le cas de Fabrice qui voyait en Gina une mère (Studyrama, 2006, p.1)

Clélia était une autre victime du despotisme parental. Elle s'est sacrifiée pour plaire à son père. Pour plaire à son père et pour compenser pour ce qui lui est arrivé, quand il était à moitié mort en raison de la dose qui lui a été donnée par Gina " Quelle raison au monde, se disait-elle, peut diminuer le crime d'une fille qui trahit son père" (Stendhal, 2000, p.517). La rencontre de Clélia avec son père a été celle d'une victime et son persécuteur. Pendant qu'elle a montré son acceptation pour le mariage elle essayait de lui expliquer qu'elle refusait de se marier avec Crescenzi parce qu'elle n'a pas de sentiment pour lui et qu'elle ne serait pas heureuse avec lui mais malgré tout ça elle accepterait désormais de l'épouser. Son père est devenu heureux d'entendre cela et ne comprenait pas sa fille qui essayait de le faire comprendre qu'elle ne serait pas heureuse avec ce mariage, mais son père, comme un agresseur, n'a pas écouté ses émotions et sentiments, mais se souciait seulement du mariage.

5. Conclusion

L'amour était une grande préoccupation pour Stendhal et il était à la recherche de l'amour pendant presque toute sa vie. Stendhal a été privé de l'amour de sa mère quand il avait 7 ans et cette

blessure n'a pas guéri même après des décennies de sa mort. Cette importance accordée à l'amour dans la vie de Stendhal a été exprimée dans ses romans. Les protagonistes de Stendhal étaient tous à la recherche de l'amour avec ses formes diverses.

Fabrice, le protagoniste du roman "*La Chartreuse de Parme* " était dans une quête désespérée de l'amour. L'amour pour lui, et pour tous les autres protagonistes et les personnages de ce roman, est associé à la beauté qui est le premier et le plus important élément d'aimer l'autre. La plupart des protagonistes et des personnages du roman sont attachés à l'amour physique qui a la beauté comme une source. L'amour de l'autre va parfois au-delà d'un simple plaisir physique une fois le véritable amour trouve son chemin vers le cœur des amants. Bien que la plupart des personnages montrent leur superficialité de l'amour en le considérant comme purement physique, Fabrice, contrairement à d'autres personnages, pourrait trouver son véritable amour et essayait par tous les moyens de le réaliser et de le garder. Stendhal était contre l'amour qui était purement subjective et physique et affirmait que l'amour passionné est un véritable amour qui peut durer. En plus de l'amour de l'autre sexe, l'amour parental est un élément important dans la vie de Fabrice. On lui a refusé cet amour essentiel à cause de son père cruel et par conséquent il a essayé de trouver cet amour absent auprès d'autres personnes comme l'abbé Blanès et même il essayait d'être un véritable père pour son fils de Clélia mais il a échoué à le réaliser.

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Preposition as a non-lexical class in standard Yorùbá

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Abstract

Until recently, the preposition seems to have been firmly established as one of the lexical classes in Yorùbá (Crowther 1852, Ògúnbôwálé 1970 Awóbùlúyì 1971, among others). This paper examines this claim by employing the Minimalist Programme as suggested by Radford (1999:38) that morpho-syntactic features must be the basis of establishing a lexical class. This we do by looking at the morphological structure and process of the items classified as preposition and their syntactic distribution in the language. It was found out that preposition does not take part in the derivational morphology system in the Yorùbá language neither does it have a position of occurrence as noun and verb do in the language. The paper therefore concludes that preposition is not a lexical class in the standard Yorùbá but it is part of the functional support for the noun in the language.

Key words: Preposition, Lexical, Class, Standard, Yoruba

1. Preposition in the literature

With the advent of modern linguistics, three opposing schools have emerged on scholarship on the preposition in the standard Yorùbá language. The first school is of the view that there are prepositions in Yorùbá language (though few in number). Scholars in this school include Crowther (1852), Johnson (1969), Ògúnbôwálé (1970), Awóbùlúyì (1978), Awóyalé (1991) and Olúyêyç (1993). Items listed as prepositions by this school include: sí 'to', ti 'of', pèlú 'with', ní 'in/at', fún 'for', dé 'for', kù 'before' and fi 'with' so categorized. Others are bá 'help', mǒ 'anymore/longer', sin 'before' and kà 'on'

The second school is of the view that there is no preposition in Yorùbá language. Yusuf (1992, 1994) and Adékèyè (2012) belong to this school of thought. The third school is of the view that there are not more than two or three prepositions in Yorùbá. This view is shared by grammarians like Bowen (1858), Bámgbóyé (1990), Déchaine (1993) and Ajíbóyè (2011). The prepositions established by this school are: ní 'in/at', sí 'to', ti 'of' and pèlú 'with'. Bámgbóyé (1990:131) identifies many of the so-called prepositions as bound verbs in Yorùbá language. Among his examples are: bá, 'with' fèrê 'almost' fi 'use' sí 'to' as in the examples below:

1. (a) Adé bá wǒn lö.

Adé with them go.

'Adé went with them'

(b) Wǒn fèrê dé

They soon arrive.

'They will soon arrive'

(c) Wǒn fi öyç sí ojú.

They apply soap to eye.

'They applied soap into the eyes'

Bámgbóyé (1990: 131) explains that they are analyzed as preposition in the literature because they are bound verbs and are translated as prepositions in English language.

The first school which enumerates a number of items as prepositions, do so with some degree of doubt, even uncertainty that many of the items categorized as prepositions belong to some other classes. For instance, Awóbùlúyì (1978:99) says of pèlú 'with':

This preposition's status is somewhat doubtful. In other words, it may be possible or desirable to call it something else. When used 'correctly', it has the same meaning as fí 'with, by'.

This observation about pèlú 'with' is right as other observations are about many other items called prepositions. They may well be verbs in serial verb construction.

2.1 Conditions for establishing a lexical class

Radford (1999:38) suggests that:

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

Radford (1999) is saying that words of the same lexical class must have the same derivational process or that words derived by the same derivational process must belong to the same lexical class. Radford (1999) says further that items of a lexical class must be able to serve as derivational morphemes to derive new items of another lexical class, as in the English example of adding the suffix +ness to an adjective to form a noun. Though, Yorùbá is not an inflectional language, but it has morphological processes and morphemes for deriving new lexical items. On the syntactic evidence, Radford (1999:40) says

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

Radford is saying here that lexical items of the same class can be found in the same position and can substitute one another as long as the semantics of the language permits. Words of a different class cannot appear in the position of another class. This is to say that a noun

in a language has its position in a phrase or sentence which cannot be occupied by another class, a verb, for instance.

From the morpho-syntactic evidence postulated by Radford (1999), the following conditions can be deduced for a lexical class to be established:

Condition 1:

A lexical class must have its own morphological feature. i.e. it must be derivable by some morphological processes, having derivational morphemes and must be able to serve as derivational morpheme to derive items of another class. A lexical class must have its position of occurrence in a phrase or sentence.

Condition 2:

3. Application of condition 1

The grammar of Yorùbá so far has derivational morphemes and processes for the classes of noun and verb. Many scholars have worked on this. Among them are Awóbùlúyì (2008), Tinúoyè (2000), Owólabí (1984, 1985, 1995), Bámgbóyè (1990), etc. The derivational processes established for the class of noun are prefixation, reduplication (partial and full), combination of two noun items etc. These processes are peculiar to noun derivation. This is why the class of noun is productive.

The verb also has derivational processes which include combining a verb and a noun as well as combining two verbs to derive new verbs in the language. The class of verb is also productive with an uncountable number of members.

Now looking at the so-called class of preposition, we find out that it neither has morphological processes to derive more of its members nor morphemes for its derivation. This is why it is non-productive and has very small number of members with as few as three items. Many of the items so classified by some scholars (Crowther 1852, Ògunbôwálé 1970, Olúyêyç 1993, Awóbùlúyì 1978 among others) are called verbs by some other scholars (Bowen 1858, Bámgbóyè 1990, Dechaine 1993 Adékèyè 2012 among others). The items are so analyzed because they are translated into preposition in English words, (Bámgbóyè 1990:131) Awóbùlúyì (1978:97) lists (fì 'with/ by means of', bá 'for, in company', fún 'for, on behalf of', and pèlú 'by') ní 'in', sí 'to' and ti 'of' as prepositions. Some of these (bá, fì, and fún) are analyzed as

verbs employed as preposition in Yorùbá by Bowen (1858:52), while Bámgbóyé (1990:157) analyzes *bá; fi* and *ní* as *òrô-ìyè afarahç'* i.e. bound verbs in the language but later lists *ní* as one of his two prepositions in Yorùbá language (Bámgbóyé 1990:175).

In fact, Baker (2003) observes that preposition must be part of another system as he calls it a functional head that derives adjunct modifiers. He also discusses it as small and finite in number, often under five, sometimes one. Among his examples are:

Sranan: 1

Mohawk: 4

Chichewa: 2 or 5

Edo: approximately 3 (+ some defective verbs). English: about 50.

Baker is also of the opinion that preposition does not take part in the derivational morphology system, as either input or output. Therefore, morphologically, preposition is not qualified to be established as a lexical class.

4. Application of condition 2

Condition 2 is that a lexical class should have its syntactic position in the phrase or sentence. The only syntactic position we can talk of for preposition is that of noun phrase. Noun and verb have syntactic positions peculiar to them in the phrase or sentence. Noun is always found in subject and object positions. The verb cannot be found in any of these two positions but in the predicate position. There is no position like this for the preposition.

This is the reason why Grimshaw 1990 says it is part of the functional support for the noun when it becomes prepositional phrases which are always adjuncts. The items analyzed as prepositions in Yorùbá are always found occurring with temporal and or spatial nouns in the language. This is why Welmers 1973 analyses both *ní* 'in' and *sí* 'to /exist' as verbs expressing possession and location respectively as in the sentences below:

2. (a) *Omi wà ní inú ìkòkò*

Water exist in inside pot

'There is water in the pot'

(b) Omi kò sí ní inú ìkòkò

Water NEG exists in inside pot.

‘There is no water in the pot.’

Yusuf (1992) argues that these items serve as predicates in sentences as in:

3. (a) Mo ní owó.

‘I have money’

(b) Mo ní owó ní àpò.

‘I have money in my pocket’

ní in sentence 3(a) is clearly a verb of possession as well as the first ní ‘have’ of 3(b). The second instance of ní ‘in’ is treated as a verb of location.

5. Conclusion

We have been able to establish two conditions for establishing a lexical class by employing the morpho-syntactic features established by Radford (1999). Applying these conditions to the class of ‘preposition’ in Yorùbá, we find out that preposition does not exist as a lexical class in standard Yorùbá language. Scholars who have it as a lexical class employ meaning equivalence to do so. This fact has been noticed by Bámgbóyé (1999) and the position of Grimshaw (1990) also supports our claim for standard Yorùbá.

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Stratégies de libération de la femme chez Lynn Mbuko, Unimna Angrey et Ihechi Obesike: une étude comparée

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Abstract

Lynn Mbuko's Chaque chose en son temps, Unimna Angrey's Les espoirs perdus and Ihechi Obesike's Ma vie m'appartient develop the same plot: the precarious fate of woman in a society where the power of decision is in the hands of man. The three playwrights do not stop at denouncing this phallocratic oppression; they also set the pace towards the liberation of woman from the male domination. Using feminist theory, this article seeks, through a comparative approach, to examine the strategies of liberation as deployed by the three authors in their respective plays, which range from self consciousness to radical break off from the family nucleus, and to self realization.

Key words: Woman, Emancipation, Strategies of liberation, Phallocentrism, Self consciousness

Résumé

Chaque chose en son temps de Lynn Mbuko, Les espoirs perdus d'Unimna Angrey et Ma vie m'appartient d'Ihechi Obesike, développent la même intrigue: le sort précaire de la femme dans une société où le pouvoir de décision est entre les mains de l'homme. Les trois dramaturges Nigériens ne se bornent pas uniquement à dénoncer cette oppression phallocratique, ils s'attellent aussi à poser les jalons pour la libération de la femme du joug mâle. Cet article examine, sous une forme comparée, et dans une optique féministe, les stratégies de libération de la femme telles que déployées par les trois auteurs Nigériens, lesquelles stratégies vont de la prise de conscience à la rupture d'avec le noyau familial et à la prise en charge de soi et de son destin personnel.

Mots clés: Femme, Emancipation, Stratégies de libération, Phallocentrisme, Prise de conscience

1. Introduction

Comme tout travail de rééducation mentale, psychologique et culturelle, la lutte pour la libération totale de la femme des carcans socio-culturels en Afrique et dans le monde est un travail de longue haleine. Les victoires du féminisme, entendu comme mouvement pour la libération et la reconnaissance des droits de la femme, semblent être des victoires partielles et parcelaires. La femme a encore du chemin à parcourir pour atteindre le bout du tunnel où elle pourra enfin vivre ses “utopies féminines” (Manfoumbi, 2010; Nyanhongo, 2011)). Avec la publication en français de *Chaque chose en son temps* (2001), *Les espoirs perdus* (2005) et *Ma vie m'appartient* (2013), Mbuko, Angrey et Obesike, tous dramaturges Nigériens, semblent vouloir transcender le cadre restreint de la nation (audience anglophone) pour porter le problème de la femme nigérienne à une audience plus élargie (audience francophone). L'intrigue dans ces trois pièces est bâtie autour du sort précaire de la femme dans une société régie par des lois phallogocentriques. Pour pallier à cette situation, les trois dramaturges proposent des stratégies de libération dont la mise en parallèle pourrait révéler des nuances intéressantes.

2. L'emprise de la tradition

Les trois pièces de théâtre qui nous intéressent ici sont construites non sur les fondements de ce qu'on peut appeler ‘la modernité’, mais sur les bases de la tradition africaine. L'espace, dynamique dans les trois pièces, évolue de l'arrière-pays à la ville. Par ailleurs, la configuration des personnages offre deux catégories d'individus: la première, introvertie (les parents), est repliée sur la tradition ancestrale; la seconde, extrovertie (les jeunes), tente de prendre ce qui est (encore) prenable chez les parents tout en s'opposant à toute dictature égoïste. L'intrigue est donc bâtie sur le modèle de l'opposition et de la révolte.

Ce qui frappe d'emblée dans les trois pièces, c'est la position culturelle qui est assignée à la femme: elle ne remplit pas auprès de l'homme une fonction complémentaire, mais elle est culturellement marquée comme (simple) objet de désir et de plaisir que l'on peut déplacer et manipuler au gré des intérêts et des desiderata de l'homme. Elle vit dans un monde régi par des lois décrétées par l'homme. Nelly Fullman (in Yeseibo: 1) soutient que

In a world defined by man, the trouble with woman is that she is at once an object of desire and an object of exchange, valued on the one hand as a person in her own right, and on the other considered simply as a relation sign between.

[Dans un monde contrôlé par l'homme, le problème avec la femme est qu'elle est d'emblée vue comme un objet de désir et un objet d'échange, considéré d'une part comme une personne dans ses droits, et d'autre part comme simple monnaie de change (Notre trad.)]

Telle est l'image initiale de la femme chez Mbuko, Angrey et Obesike: reléguée à la périphérie, elle est (simple) compagne, épouse et mere¹ avec en prime une forte valeur marchande.

Dans *Chaque chose en son temps*, Lynn Mbuko nous présente un univers traditionnel où la femme est exclue de tout débat public. "La répartition du travail...met la femme au foyer, tandis que l'homme est dehors pour bavarder"(8), soutient un personnage. Ce qu'il lui faut pour gagner la confiance de son mari ou d'un futur époux, c'est être "mignone et sympa" (8). Une fois mariée, elle "doit rester à la maison pour s'occuper de la famille" (10). Un personnage de cette pièce se demande à juste titre: "L'éducation des jeunes filles, à quoi ça sert...? La place de la femme est au foyer" (46) A l'âge de treize ans, Zénabou est déjà l'objet de convoitise d'un vieux commerçant d'une cinquantaine d'années. Le père de la jeune fille ne considère pas cet écart d'âge comme un problème, tant qu'il peut tirer profit de cette union insolite. A sa femme qui propose de laisser Zénabou finir ses études primaires avant le mariage, Ahmadou s'indigne, pressé:

Je ne te comprends pas...Tu ne dois pas refuser tant de richesse
Tout simplement parce qu'elle doit achever ses études (50)

Selon le père, le mariage précoce des jeunes filles est la meilleure solution pour préserver leur chasteté. "Il nous faut rester fidèles à cette tradition"(51). Instruite et informée par cette tradition, la jeune Zenabou n'opposera pas grande résistance à son mariage avec le quinquagénaire. En fait, son véritable problème, ce n'est pas la différence d'âge entre son futur époux et elle; elle aurait aimé achever au moins ses études primaires. "Maman, ce mariage pourrait gâcher ma scolarité (53)...j'aimerais bien achever mes études avant le mariage (56). A aucun moment il n'est question de l'âge du vieux El-hadj. L'argument-massue qu'il détient, l'argent, est assez dissuasif: "Il mérite des égards" (46).

C'est ainsi que Zenabou est mariée à El-hadj, à corps défendant, du moins apparemment. Un an après ce mariage contre nature, elle est renvoyée chez ses parents par son mari après avoir perdu son enfant à l'accouchement. El-hadj l'accuse d'homocide: "Tu resteras impardonnable (86)...Ramasse tes affaires et pars d'ici"(87). Autrement dit, outre le mariage qui est la condition première de la valorisation de la femme, la maternité est le second critère qui fait d'une femme un être culturellement 'bénéfique'.

Chez Angrey, un riche vieillard de cinquante quatre ans prétend à la main d'une jeune fille de dix neuf ans, élève à l'école secondaire. Les parents de la jeune fille, sans doute motivés par l'appât du gain, donnent à cette demande un accord de principe sans même

consulter leur fille. Culturellement, elle n'a pas besoin d'être consultée, l'avis des parents seul compte:

-Avez-vous seulement demandé à Amerang ce qu'elle en pense?
-Demander à Amerang? A-t-elle un choix à faire?
-Depuis quand les femmes ont-elles un mot à dire dans des affaires pareilles? Il appartient à moi en tant que père de savoir ce qui est bon pour mes filles. (23)

Ce qui est bon pour les filles à marier, c'est, en réalité, ce qui satisfait la cupidité des parents: la dot et tous ses dérivés. Mais Amerang aimerait d'abord en finir avec ses études, puis aller à l'université pour décrocher une licence (16). Cette décision plonge Pa Abua dans le désespoir, parce que le riche prétendant par qui il compte se (re)faire une santé financière n'attendra pas. Son rêve financier s'écroule, et il trahit son véritable mobile:

Jeune ingrate, tu veux m'enlever l'igname de la bouche. Maintenant qu'il faut que je profite de cette occasion pour m'enrichir...ma fille veut me faire tout perdre (17)

Contrairement à Pauline qui succombe à l'autorité parentale et épouse Polyeucte par devoir ('la Raison souveraine'), dans le texte éponyme de Pierre Corneille, Amerang oppose à la dictature traditionnelle une fin de non-recevoir et opte pour la confrontation. Son mariage avec le vieux Oyishuo n'aura pas lieu, et c'est moins dû au coup de théâtre de la fin (l'arrestation du vieux Oyishuo pour détournement de fonds publics) qu'à sa détermination à se battre pour l'auto-détermination, étape initiale vers son émancipation du joug parental et des carcans traditionnels. Chukwuma (x) soutient que "...the African woman... (has) started developing a sense of self...striving for self-actualization". D'ailleurs, elle aime un jeune universitaire de vingt-quatre ans. Ce qui offusque ses parents car, financièrement, Owong est inopérant. Le coup de théâtre intervient peut-être tôt dans cette pièce, laissant acteurs et spectateurs sur leur faim. Mais au moins, la dictature traditionnelle est mise en berne.

Dans *Ma vie m'appartient*, Obesike met en scène les ridicules d'une société où seul l'argent est la conscience agissante des hommes. Contrairement à Zenabou qui se marie par devoir, par obéissance à ses parents, comme Pauline dans *Polyeucte*, et à Amerang qui refuse le mari que ses parents tentent de lui imposer, Ezimma, à seize ans, accepte volontiers un homme de soixante cinq ans, parce qu'il a le profil idéal du mari qu'elle souhaite avoir et que la société apprécie: un homme riche qui voyage partout dans le monde. "Parfois il part aux Etats-unis, et parfois il part en Europe. Voilà la sorte de vie qui me plaît"(4), dit la jeune victime à sa cousine Chika qui, à trente cinq ans, n'a pas encore trouvé un homme à son goût. Si Ezimma a décidé de se marier, elle aurait dû faire le choix d'un mari elle-même (10),

s'indigne Chika, alors pourquoi avoir imposé un homme de soixante cinq ans à une petite fille de seize ans? La mère de la fille fournit à cette question une réponse socioculturelle:

...il m'a donné cinq pagnes hollandais et non pas cinq pagnes
Nigériens. Avec Uchenna, je ne porterai que des pagnes hollandais(8)

Incitée par sa cousine Chika, Ezimma tentera d'opposer à la hargne de ses parents une résistance velléitaire avant de tomber pieds et mains liés dans le piège du choix qu'elle a fait elle-même. Son mariage est une ridicule mise en scène du marchandage et du clientélisme (27-31). "Uchenna va me payer une grande somme pour mon or que je vais lui vendre"(25), dit la mère de la jeune fille. Son père ajoutera, s'adressant au riche prétendant:

...si j'ai décidé de te donner ma fille en mariage, c'est parce que je sais
que tu peux payer pour elle. Tu sais bien qu'une belle fille telle qu'Ezimma
vaut tant d'argent(32).

Telle est l'atmosphère dans laquelle Ezimma est mariée au vieux Uchenna qui a déjà trois femmes: un sac d'argent contre la beauté. "In some African societies...women are viewed as income-generating mechanisms"(Nyanhongo :38). Comme nous l'avons dit plut haut, le deuxième critère de valorisation de la femme, dans les sociétés africaines, par ordre d'importance, c'est la maternité après le mariage. Ezimma sera huée par ses coépouses et délaissée par son mari pour n'avoir pas rempli ce deuxième critère. Avant son mariage, Ezimma demandait d'ailleurs à Chika sous un ton moqueur, à quoi servent sa belle voiture et sa jolie maison "sans mari ni enfants" (2). Car elle sait, comme le veut la tradition qu'elle entérine du reste, que la vie d'une femme n'est accomplie en Afrique qu'avec le mariage et la maternité. "They gain identity through motherhood" (Yeseibo :1). Six mois après son mariage, Ezimma ne manifeste aucun signe de grossesse, au grand dam de tout son entourage qui la tient responsable de son infertilité. "La responsabilité de la stérilité retombe toujours sur la partie féminine du couple même si celle-ci n'en est pas à l'origine" (Soler :117-8).

Ezimma est presqu'au bord du divorce quand survient la mort subite de son mari. Un événement certes malheureux, mais qui vient la sauver du déshonneur de la répudiation. Tel est le tableau initial que nous présentent Mbuko, Angrey et Obesike dans nos trois pièces dramatiques: un tableau qui présente la femme comme un objet culturel producteur de bien (l'argent). Mais les trois dramaturges Nigériens ne clôturent pas leurs textes sur ce triste tableau. S'inscrivant dans la révolution brechtienne du théâtre épique (par rapport au théâtre dramatique), ces trois dramaturges proposent des stratégies de libération de la femme (africaine en l'ocurrence), qui vont de la prise de conscience au volte-face, puis du volte-face à l'auto-réalisation. Pour eux, la femme doit prendre la place qui lui revient dans la société, "beside and alongside their men, not behind them groaning in silence"(Chokwuma: xvi).

3. Prise de conscience et volte-face

L'autre image de la femme que nous retenons dans les trois pièces de notre corpus est "l'antithèse du paradigme féminin" érigé par la tradition (Soler:119). Cette autre image s'inscrit en faux contre les archétypes et constitue une rupture par rapport aux stéréotypes de la femme africaine traditionnelle. Chez Mbuko, cette rupture se passe en douce, par une prise de conscience, certes, mais avec le support de la providence: un concours de circonstances dont elle est une actrice passive. Chez Angrey et Obesike, la prise de conscience est suivie de révolte, qui va chez Angrey jusqu'à la confrontation entre jeunes et vieux. Dans tous les cas, il est question du rejet d'un système et de la prise en charge de soi et de son destin. "Ma vie m'appartient", nous dit l'héroïne d'Obesike. En ajoutant à cette phrase l'adverbe 'désormais', on obtiendrait une rupture radicale par rapport à une tradition ou un passé jugé insupportable, car il s'agit chez ces héroïnes d'une décision post hoc.

Après avoir perdu son enfant à l'accouchement, Zenabou est répudiée par son mari qui l'accuse d'homicide: "Tu as tué ton propre bébé... Tu resteras impardonnable"(86), dit le mari à la femme. "Ramasse tes affaires et pars d'ici... Au diable!"(87). A quatorze ans, elle est de retour chez ses parents un an seulement après son mariage. Son statut de femme mariée fait d'elle une persona non grata chez ses parents. Son père le lui signifie sans équivoque: "Nous t'avons déjà mariée à El-hadj, donc tu ne nous appartiens plus... Ne viens pas crier à nos oreilles" (93). Zenabou se retrouve ainsi dans la rue, dépitée, déçue et désespérée, ayant perdu sa scolarité, sa virginité et son enfant, et avec en prime une fistule vesico-vaginale comme résultat d'une grossesse précoce (80). Son désespoir est à son comble:

Quoi? El-hadj m'a rejetée. Mes parents, eux aussi ne veulent plus me voir. Au début, comme tous les parents pauvres, ils croyaient avoir trouvé un homme qui pourrait les enrichir... Enfin, on a gâché mon bonheur et on a ruiné mon avenir... Me voilà abandonnée, victime d'un sort que je n'ai pas choisi (94).

Au hasard, elle prend la direction de la ville, à pied et sans un sou. "Je m'en vais, je ne sais où. Allah, aie pitié de moi"(95). Sa prière est presque immédiatement entendue et exaucée. Après avoir en vain imploré un inconnu de la prendre sur son vélo et de la conduire en ville où elle ne connaît personne, une bonne samaritaine l'aborde, la prend en pitié, s'enquiert de ses problèmes, et non seulement lui promet de la prendre en charge médicalement, mais aussi de s'occuper entièrement de son éducation. C'est dans la maison de sa bienfaitrice, Dr Mariama, que Zenabou retrouve la santé et poursuit ses études pour devenir infirmière. "Le mariage pour moi c'est fini" (109), nous dit-elle. "Apprendre un métier, c'est en effet livrer bataille à la délinquance et à la mendicité, enfin à la pauvreté" (113).

A la fin de la pièce, nous n'avons plus affaire à la petite fille naïve du départ, qui se laisse conduire chez son propriétaire de mari comme une chèvre, mais à une infirmière qui gagne sa vie en travaillant, et riche de ses expériences passées. Désormais, elle considère le mariage du haut de ces expériences, et contemple le futur avec optimisme.

L'héroïne d'Angrey n'attend pas le jeu de la providence devant les déboires auxquels elle fait face. Elève de secondaire, elle rêve d'études universitaires avant toute idée de mariage. Elle sait d'emblée qu'une femme non éduquée ne peut être qu'une esclave, même sublimée, dans son foyer. Pour parer ce triste sort, elle place son éducation comme priorité numéro un. L'homme qu'elle aime n'est qu'un étudiant. Autrement dit, le mariage pour elle est un projet à long terme; le plus urgent, ce sont ses études secondaires et universitaires: elle n'est pas prête à transiger là-dessus. L'on comprend pourquoi, après avoir essayé en vain de faire entendre raison à ses parents, elle opte pour la confrontation. "...je ne me plierai pas à leur demande d'épouser le chef simplement parce qu'il a de l'argent"(39). Puis elle expose sa stratégie à son groupe (son frère et son fiancé):

Tout ce que je veux, c'est que nous allions confronter mes parents
et leur mettre les choses au clair sans hésitation (46).

Même si cela peut choquer les mœurs (une confrontation publique entre vieux et jeunes), telle est la solution, outrageuse s'il en est, que propose Amerang à son groupe. Heureusement, cet outrage nous est évité, sans doute par souci de bienséance, avec l'arrestation du vieux prétendant pour détournement de fonds publics, à la satisfaction de l'héroïne et sans doute du spectateur. L'éducation d'Amerang est d'un poids considérable dans sa décision de se confronter à ses parents. Elève du secondaire, elle est pour ainsi dire aux portes de l'Université, l'univers de la lumière et des droits de l'homme.

Chez Obesike, Ezimma écoute enfin les conseils de sa cousine Chika d'accorder la priorité à son éducation. Elle le fait malheureusement six mois après un mariage alimenté de moqueries de la part de ses coépouses, et qui finit brusquement avec la mort de son mari. Au début, Ezimma cède volontiers à l'attrait du capitalisme et de la richesse du sexagénaire qui l'épouse. Entre temps, sa cousine de trente cinq ans qui faisait la risée de tout son entourage (à trente cinq ans, tout le monde la trouve trop vieille pour demeurer célibataire, sauf ses parents qui lui laissent la paix de trouver un homme de son choix) se marie enfin et accouche d'un enfant. C'est elle qui oriente Ezimma sur son nouveau chemin, après l'avoir aidée à prendre conscience de sa condition comme femme dans une société régie par l'homme. "O Chika...Si seulement je t'avais écoutée, j'aurais aujourd'hui mon WASCE, au lieu d'être une veuve sans enfant" (71), soupire-t-elle.

Cette résolution prise, Ezimma quitte ses parents et s'installe chez Chika. En quelques années, elle achève ses études secondaires et suit une formation de pilote (82). Elle retourne à la fin chez ses parents pour leur annoncer deux nouvelles: la fin de sa formation comme pilote et son mariage imminent. Elle est fiancée à un homme d'une autre tribu. Ce qui pose problème chez ses parents qui répugnent au mariage inter-tribal. Ezimma passe outre leur préjugé et leur dicte désormais ses désirs:

...j'ai vingt-cinq ans. J'ai fait une erreur grave quand j'avais seize ans. Cette fois-ci, je dois décider que faire de ma vie. Si, en choisissant Dare comme mari j'ai fait un mauvais choix, c'est mon affaire. Je vous informe... Et si un jour vous voulez me voir, je serai chez Dare, 20, rue Olofin, Ibadan. Au revoir (82).

“Neuf mois après leur mariage” (85), nous indique une didascalie, Ezimma accouche d'une fille et d'un garçon (85), elle qui avait été huée par ses coépouses chez son premier mari, pour cause d'infertilité. “A dire que moi, Ezimma, la dite femme stérile, viens d'accoucher des jumeaux. Je vous remercie mon Dieu”(85).

4. Convergence et divergence

Seule Amerang, dans *Les espoirs perdus* d'Angrey, a une idée fixe et définitive du rôle de l'éducation dans la vie d'une femme, dès l'entame de ses déboires avec ses parents. Les deux autres héroïnes, Zenabou et Ezimma, prennent conscience de ces 'armes miraculeuses' un peu sur le tard. Tandis qu'Amerang oppose un refus catégorique au clientélisme dont elle fait l'objet de la part de ses parents et du vieux riche prétendant, Zenabou et Ezimma passent par une expérience douloureuse de l'aveuglement avant de se ressaisir. Cependant, Zenabou se plie à l'autorité parentale, alors que qu'Ezimma cautionne les enchères dont elle fait l'objet, du moins au début.

Par ailleurs, même si l'on peut attribuer son salut à l'arrestation de l'indésirable Oyishuo, il ne reste pas moins qu'Amerang et son groupe reviennent sur scène au dernier tableau de la pièce de Angrey pour opérer un coup de force, un scandale, une confrontation. Dans la même perspective, mais à un degré moindre, Ezimma décide de se séparer de ses parents et de suivre chez elle sa cousine Chika. Bien lui en prend, heureusement. Des trois héroïnes, seule Zenabou se retrouve abandonnée tant par son mari que par ses parents, et ne doit son salut qu'à un concours de circonstances. Docile jusqu'à la fin, elle s'en remet à Allah (95) qui l'écoute et place sur son chemin une bienfaitrice. On pourrait parler chez elle d'une révolution douce, alors qu'Amerang et Ezimma procèdent à une rupture radicale. Dans tous les cas, les

trois héroïnes ne doivent leur salut qu'en se séparant de leurs familles, du moins pour un temps:

...it does appear that most authors present the going-away motif as a necessary step to self-realisation (Chukwuma xii).

Ce n'est que dans une atmosphère de liberté totale que la femme peut exploiter toutes ses potentialités intellectuelles. Dans l'ensemble, l'éducation de la femme constitue une fixation chez les trois dramaturges nigériens. A quatorze ans, Zenabou est hors de la maison de son mari et rejetée par ses parents, sans sou, sans éducation et sans enfant. Mais avec l'appui du Docteur Mariama et sa détermination à poursuivre ses études, elle parvient à conjurer tous ses malheurs et à se tailler une place dans la société comme actrice. Son ex-mari, qui la reconnaît à la fin dans un hôpital où sa dernière femme vient d'accoucher d'un enfant sous les soins de Zenabou, la supplie de redevenir sa femme. "C'est toi, Zenabou, qui auras le dernier mot" (124-25). Autrement dit, il ne mettra aucune pression sur elle pour obtenir son accord. Le peut-il d'ailleurs désormais? Un poème sur l'éducation de la femme clôture cette pièce:

L'éducation de la femme n'est pas à disputer
Une femme éduquée n'est plus
l'accessoire qui orne la maison
l'objet que l'on déplace n'importe comment
l'esclave qui doit obéir à son maître sans questions
la servante qui s'occupe à tout moment des travaux ménagers
MAIS un être consciencieux.
Eduquer une fille, c'est la préparer pour la vie.
MAIS éduquer une femme, c'est éduquer une nation(125).

Angrey n'en dit pas mieux, lui qui, dès l'entame de sa pièce, place l'éducation d'Amerang au premier rang de ses préoccupations. En réalité, le rejet du vieux Oyishuo et de sa richesse par Amerang n'est pas tant motivé par le jeune premier de vingt-quatre ans et étudiant en Droit, et l'amour qu'elle a pour lui, que par son obsession d'un diplôme universitaire. Ce qui est assez significatif dans la société nigérienne avec son culte du diplôme universitaire. *Les espoirs perdus* fait surgir un contraste saisissant entre l'illettrisme (chez les parents) et le lettrisme (chez les jeunes), comme dans *Trois prétendants...un mari* de Guillaume Oyono Mbia. Le triomphe du deuxième groupe indique assez le choix de l'auteur.

Chez Obesike, enfin, l'école s'ouvre devant l'héroïne comme une porte de sortie devant tous ses déboires. Après avoir abandonné ses études secondaires pour succomber aux charmes du capitalisme et de la bourgeoisie, Ezimma se convainc à la fin que l'unique moyen de se repositionner dans la vie de façon indépendante et durable, c'est de se tailler un statut

social à travers son éducation. Après cette éducation qui sera sanctionnée par un diplôme de pilote, Ezimma se (re)marie avec un homme de son choix et donne naissance à des jumeaux. “Chaque chose en son temps”, nous dit Zenabou. Mais au-delà de l’éducation qui est un trait commun chez ces trois femmes, ce qui les caractérise et qui fait leur “africanité”, c’est leur conviction que malgré tout, la vie d’une femme est inséparable de celle de l’homme. Malgré sa détermination à ne plus jamais se marier, Zenabou ne rejette pas catégoriquement la proposition de son ex-mari de se remettre à deux. “C’est ma bienfaitrice qui décidera”(124), dit-elle. Autrement dit, elle ne ferme la porte ni au mariage, ni à l’homme qui l’a autrefois répudiée, ni à la polygamie. “Men remain a vital part of the women’s lives”(Chukwuma xvi). Dans *Les espoirs perdus*, Amerang ne rejette pas l’homme (elle n’a d’ailleurs) aucune expérience de la vie à deux), mais elle rejette un quinquagénaire que lui imposent ses parents. Son jeune premier a vingt-quatre ans. Quant à Ezimma, après ses études sanctionnées par un diplôme de pilote, son rêve le plus immédiate n’est pas un emploi, mais un mari. Ce qui est assez significatif. Neuf mois après son mariage, elle accouche des jumeaux, fermant ainsi la quadrature du cercle: l’éducation, l’homme, le mariage et la maternité. L’emploi peut venir par la suite, s’il y a urgence.

5. Conclusion

Les féministes ont proposé une variété de solutions à la libération de la femme dans le monde. Chez Simone de Beauvoir, la libération de la femme passe par la maîtrise du corps et l’éducation. Dans son roman, *Mémoire d’une fille rangée*, l’héroïne, étudiante en Philosophie, ne trouve satisfaction et consolation comme femme que dans ses études: “Je continuais de travailler d’arrache-pied. Je passais chaque jour neuf à dix heures sur mes livres. Je ne regrettais pas d’être femme”(388-389). Chez Regina Audry, cette libération passe par l’éducation et l’Indépendance économique. Dans *Une femme seule*, Dominique ne parvient à oublier la trahison de Claude, son premier amour, qu’en se retrouvant au-devant de la scène économique. Avec l’argent qu’elle gagne, elle est à moitié libérée du joug de l’homme, même si elle ne peut se passer de la tyrannie de la chair. Chez Ini-Uko (2006), la libération de la femme passe par la transcendance de la marge qui la sépare de l’homme, et par l’occupation (elle aussi, ou elle seule) du centre où se trouve l’homme. Chez Calyxthe Beyala, la libération de la femme passe par le meurtre de l’homme (*C’est le soleil qui m’a brûlée*) et la perversion sexuelle (*La négresse rousse, Femme noire, femme nue*), où le vice va de la dévirilisation de l’homme (l’homme violé par la femme) à la partouse et la sodomie. Chez Tahar Ben Jelloun, dans *Le premier amour est toujours le dernier*, cette libération passe par un changement de paradigme où “la femme chosifie l’homme pour y trouver sa propre jouissance”(Soler 126). Dans ces nouvelles, “Tahar Ben Jelloun, grâce au mécanisme de l’inversion, nous présente un bouleversement des relations homme-femme telles que conçues et imposées traditionnellement” (Soler: 122).

S'inscrivant dans la lignée de Mariama Ba et de Buchi Emecheta, Mbuko, Angrey et Obesike proposent l'émancipation et l'éducation comme moyens de libération de la femme, une libération qui inclut aussi celle de l'homme de ses propres préjugés envers la femme. Une femme nous dit:

The truth is that men and women are different but complementary. 'Superiority' or 'inferiority' applies to both sexes in varying degrees and circumstances. Damage is done when complementarity is broken and gives way to complexes of inferiority and superiority (Chukwuma ix).

Un homme conclut:

Il existe encore des familles où une femme qui lit beaucoup inquiet et scandalise... Il y a quelque chose d'infiniment plus beau que de dépasser les hommes dans tous les domaines: c'est de créer des hommes de les porter, de les nourrir, de les élever au sens profond du mot, et après les avoir enfantés à la vie de la chair, de les enfanter à la vie de l'esprit. (Mauriac 1933: 127-141).

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Dance as a Vehicle of Communication in the Tiv Kwagh-Hir Theater

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Abstract

This paper examines the use of dance as a vehicle of communication in the Tiv Kwagh-hir puppet theatre. The paper looked at what the Kwagh-hir is, the use or function of music, dance and the other arts in it. The paper emphasises that neither dance (nor any of the arts involved) can stand alone in the performance of the Kwagh-hir because in the Tiv culture, there is no much distinction between music and dance. The conclusion is that dance is the major vehicle of communication that gives life, sustains interest and makes a success of the aims and objectives of, particularly, the modern Kwagh-hir theatre.

Keywords: Dance, Communication, Kwagh-hir Theatre, Puppet Theatre

1. Introduction

The *Kwagh-hir* has been described as an art, an activity, a festival, and an event. Hagher (2003) has successfully argued that the *Kwagh-hir* is a form of African theatre in the sense that it provides secular entertainment, education, and socialization through the enactment of the past and contemporary events, by performers using puppets and masquerades. *Kwagh-hir* is a popular puppet theatre of the Tivs in Benue State, of Nigeria. Adeyemi, (2006:3) describes puppetry as an art form, which makes use of animated objects in its performance.

There is no doubt that a typical African (Nigerian) festival or theatre is a fusion of some all the performing arts and the visual arts; music, dance, drama, mime pantomime, poetry, costume display, masks, and so on. The *Kwagh-hir* perfectly falls into this category. It is indeed a combination of many art forms;

- a. Story telling art
- b. Poetry
- c. Puppetry art
- d. Music art
- e. Dance art
- f. Dramatisation art (Hagher, 2003:48)

The performance practice of music, dance and drama in the traditional African/Nigerian society can be said to be that of a total theatre because it is holistic in nature. The performing arts freely enjoy the company of one another so much that when one is being performed the others are significantly present and well articulated too (Akinsipe, 2013). However in different traditional theatre or festival one form connects the others. It may be chants, or drama, music or dance though the end product appears well blended. In the case of the *Kwagh-hir* dance, it seems to be the major medium of expression.

The use of dance as a vehicle of communication has been of interest to scholars and the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* puppet theatre provides a good example for the dance as communication phenomenon. The integrative nature of theatre and its component parts is conspicuous in the integration of music and dance in the *Kwagh-hir* puppet theatre. It has been well observed that music functions to bring out dance (Hagher, 2003:66). In the same way, costume props, acting, miming, fine arts, sculpturing, all combine inseparably to make the *Kwagh-hir* a typical Nigerian theatre.

However, the modern *Kwagh-hir*, that is, *Kwagh-hir* in the form as it is performed nowadays, is a combination of storytelling, poetry and dance. In other words, one can say the modern *Kwagh-hir* is the art of telling stories or interpreting poetry in dance. Thus dance has become the vehicle of passing across the message of *Kwagh-hir* theatre.

It is not surprising therefore that in Tiv language there is a distinction between *amar a Kwagh-hir* which refers to the “*Kwagh-hir* dance”, and *Inumbei Kwagh-hir* which refers to “the *Kwagh-hir* play”. This means that the *Kwagh-hir* is also regarded in the community as a dance theatre and, like any other dance theatre, employs other arts like the use of gestures, music, make-up, costume, fine arts to communicate.

The focus in this paper therefore is on the use, role and function of dance within the *Kwagh-hir* theatre. The paper also briefly examines what the *Kwagh-hir* is and concludes that dance is the major vehicle of communication that gives life, sustains interest and makes a success of the aims and objectives of the *Kwagh-hir* theatre.

2. The Tiv *Kwagh-hir* Theatre

It is important to locate the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* theatre in the history and in the tradition of the community. The origin of the *Kwagh-hir* can be said to be in three phases. Foremost, the *Kwagh-hir* is rooted in the storytelling tradition of the Tiv people. Storytelling in Tiv land was done with the storyteller using symbols, costumes and props in enacting his stories. Not only these, the storyteller acts out, mimes and dances to give life to his acts as well (Hagher, 2003:51). The elaborate and character representations inherent in the Tiv traditional storytelling culture is, no doubt, one of the influential origins of the Tiv puppetry theatre tradition.

Other factors that may have given birth to the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* are as a result of different protests and revolts. In the Tiv traditional belief, the world inhabitants are of three main characters; the spirits, human beings and animals. The spirits are identified as the *adzov* or *ijov* who are unseen mates of the living who in everything they do, reside with and act like the humans. We also have the *Mbatsav*, who are believed to be human beings with extraordinary or “spiritual” powers of *Tsav* which they acquire and manipulate to their own advantage, and almost always, at the expense of other human beings. The *Mbatsav*, therefore are the wicked (evil or dangerous) people of the society like witches, sorcerers and wizards.

The need to curb and check the activities and wrong doings of the *Mbatsav* in the Tiv land had led to series of protests and revolts from the “*Hoyo cult*” in the first decade of the 19th century, the *Ijov* cult movement” of 1912, the *Haakaa* in 1929 and the *Nyambuan* of 1939. The first form of protest was against spiritual oppression while the second one was a reflection of human, political (colonial/post colonial) and religious oppression. This was most evident in the *Haakaa* and *Nyambuan* revolts.

The strong belief and the fear of *Mbatstav* in the Tiv people made governance difficult for the colonial masters. It also hindered the conversion of most of the Tiv people to Christianity. This was why the colonial masters and the missionaries combined in the *Haakaa* to launch an attack on the *Mbatsav* to “liberate the Tiv from the props of fear of the *Mbatsav* as well as help the missionaries in converting the Tivs that were “freed”, to Christianity. (Hagher, 2003:36)

One of the things the colonial masters did was to demand for the artefacts of *Tasv* from the people suspected to have them. However, this only led the clever people to quickly improvise various artefacts at a massive and speedy rate in order not to part with the real idols. This gave rise to making of fake ones and this had important consequences for the later development of puppetry for the theatrical tradition in Tiv land. (Hagher, 2003:38).

Another revolt that has direct linkage to and influence on the *Kwagh-hir* is the *Nyambuan* of 1939. It was both a revolt against the *Tsav* and the British administration. It involves a kind of drama in which all the political forces were attacked. In their dramatic enactments, they not only ridiculed the unholy alliance of the missionaries and the colonial agents but, exposed the disorder of an imposed alien rule. The drama of protest was followed by a resolution not to pay any taxes to the white man. (Hagher, 2003:41).

The colonial administrators did not take kindly to this refusal to pay taxes that spread all through Tiv land. The *Nyambuan* revolt was crushed with utter brutality and this then forced the dramatists (revolters) to go underground. When the modern *Kwagh-hir* began about two decades later the dramatic enactment of people impersonating other human beings as well as speech and dialogue were absent. This must have been due to the brutal experience of the 1939. Therefore, instead of the realistic actor, a marionette was created and instead of speech dialogue were songs and gestures. This probably marks the beginning of weaving the stories in dance and creating new dances to reflect peculiar historical epochs which are believed to be a natural desire of the Tivs (Iorapuu, 2007:35).

This is exactly how the modern *Kwagh-hir* is practised today. In 1960 and 1963 when there was another revolt against government repressions in Tiv land, the protesters were dressed in costumes similar to those worn by the *Kwagh-hir* players. The “rioters” also called themselves *adzov*, similar to the *adzov* shown in the *Kwagh-hir* (Hagher, 2003:109). When a combined team of police and Nigerian Army officers eventually disbanded the rioters in 1964, the *Kwagh-hir* art form emerged shortly after, using songs, dances and puppetry as its chief means of communication. It is thus “the introduction of the Puppet into the story telling and poetic and dance traditions that began the modern *Kwagh-hir*. Hagher (2003:107).

By the early 70s in Nigeria when the festivals of Arts began as a form of re-uniting the country after the civil war, and different states were encouraged to come out with their dances

and arts, the *Kwagh-hir* which soon became the trade mark of Benue state emerged from the Tiv land and later featured at FESTAC '77. Since then, several groups have emerged and the *Kwagh-hir* had been used to educate, entertain and instruct audiences all over the world. Lyndersay (2008:356) asserts that the Ibibio and the Tiv puppets in Nigeria are used to “illustrate current and historical events, as well as incorrect behaviour, minority opinions, ignorant indigenes, obnoxious foreigners, simpletons or fools, and other aspects considered undesirable in the society”.

Even though there are traces of puppet dances in the Hausa culture in Nigeria in the past, only the Tiv people have a living puppetry tradition in the region today. In fact, there are many established *Kwagh-hir* groups numbering over four hundred who are said to have members between forty and one hundred in their troupe (Hagher, 2003:18).

3. Kwagh-hir Performance Structure

The performance of *Kwagh-hir* takes place in an open arena, which can be divided into four, consisting of, the main performing area, the chorus' stand, backstage (from where the manipulators sometimes perform), and the audience area. The audience sit or stand in a semi-circle round the main performing area from where they, sometimes, emerge to be part of the main performance especially singing as the chorus themselves.

There are basically two types of performances, the one by the manipulated puppets (the wooden puppets and bigger carved images in form of different animals that are manipulated through strings and or rods), and the animated puppets which are inhabited by human beings. In latter category we have, the masquerades and other masks representing different animals. The masquerades are mainly of two types. Those that represent the spirits (*Ijor*) and those that represents animals (*Inyam*). For the *Ijor* the more fearful they look the better and the more they receive credits but the *inyam* is expected to be *icheen* (smart) and full of *fefa* (speed).

There is also a narrator in the *Kwagh-hir* theatre, who may also use mask or not, who links the manipulated 'scenes' with the animated 'scenes'. The performance is usually preceded by an opening glee in which all players participate followed by the storytelling or introduction of the play. The *Kwagh-Hir puppets* are usually presented on a portable booth platform. The puppets are mounted on them and manipulated from underneath the booth through rods, strings and fetals. Different stories are told, ranging from historical to the contemporary. There are many plays used to ridicule the white man and others as social criticism. The performance usually lasts a whole night beginning from around 7:00 p.m. (Enem, 1981:249).

4. Dance in the Tiv *Kwagh-hir*

It is worthy of note that the modern *Kwagh-hir*, which emerged as the art form and is practised today, de-emphasises dialogue because of the ‘brutality with which the *Nyambuan* cult dramatists were suppressed by the combined efforts of the missionaries and the colonial government. Since the *Kwagh-hir* did not emphasise speech or dialogue, music and dance became the most used media of communication. But a careful study of the *Kwagh-hir* reveals that dance is actually the visual and also the physical medium of communication, while music provides the audio accomplishments.

Dance has been defined variously by different people according to their orientation, discipline and area of specialization (i.e., artists, sociologists, anthropologists, etc). Different types of definitions also apply to different kinds of dances depending on their types, purpose or functions. But, generally, dance is defined as

The art of moving the body in a rhythmical way, to express an emotion or idea, to narrate a story, or simply to take delight in the movement itself (Edwards, 1984:6)

From the above definition, one can conclude that movement is paramount to dance because dance is movement and movement is dance. However, there are two main types of movement, hence two types of dance. Laban (1972:72) posits that man moves in order to satisfy a need. He aims by his movement at something of value to him. It is easy to perceive the aim of a person’s movement if it is directed to some tangible object. Yet, there also exist intangible values that inspire dance. This means there are purposeful or conscious movements or dances and un-purposeful or unconscious movements or dances. The question therefore is: what kinds of movement constitute conscious and unconscious movements? Edwards (1984:5) provides an answer:

The fact that dance is an art form immediately distinguishes it from unconscious movements of the body. An art implies a plan, or at least a conscious purpose. This does not mean that every movement details is planned necessarily but that, to be a dance, it must have a conscious purpose...properly speaking, therefore dance is conscious both planned and purposeful.

Therefore, soldiers marching, the bees moving or the waves of the sea cannot be described as dance because dance is not just any patterned rhythmic movement. Rather, it is an art which is said to be an imitation and expression. To be dance it has to be a patterned action that imitates nature or human actions or thoughts, express emotion or personal ideas. (Copeland and Cohen, 1983:1-2).

If we consider all the above definitions of dance, then we can say categorically that dance is a major medium of communication in the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* because all the movements of the puppets in the *Kwagh-hir* theatre are purposeful. These movements, no doubt, are made by the manipulators, to express ideas, tell different stories and entertain audiences as well.

Furthermore, dance is also defined as “a superior type of movement elevated above human existence” (Londale, 1981:11). The puppets’ movements in the *Kwagh-hir* theatre fall under this definition, in that they are usually exaggerated and above natural or normal human movements. They are made to do many Tiv traditional and modern dances, as well as acts such as performing surgical operation on a pregnant woman to deliver her of a baby. We also have scenes of soldiers executing armed robbers. All these stylised movements qualify as dance because they serve a great purpose and they are the means through which the messages of the *Kwagh-hir* are passed across to the audience.

In the classification of African dances, the puppet theatre is identified as one of the eleven major classes of Nigerian dances. It is described as “a spectacular dance with [a] fully developed puppet show”, (Enem, 1975:71). Therefore, the *Kwagh-hir* as a puppet theatre is automatically a dance theatre. Being a dance theatre presupposes that dance plays the prominent role in the actualization of its objectives as music does in the opera and dialogue in drama.

5. Dance as Characterisation and Communication

The animal masquerade enactment of the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* dance can be used to exemplify the phenomenon of dance as the chief medium of communication in the puppet theatre. This is because:

All animal masquerades appear alike. There might be little variations in size or colour but generally a spectator to the *Kwagh-hir* who keeps hearing the names of different physical structures might be disappointed. *The prime attraction and accepted aesthetic is the consideration of the different dance movements as significant characterization.* Thus if attention is focused on the dance pattern and the song, one would observe significant character individualization from the different names of what appears to be the same animal (Hagher, 2003:169) (emphasis is mine).

Thus, the *Aku Gyang* animal masquerade, described as being murderous, is expected to dance wildly and to react to the song rhythm of *gyang, gyan gyan* with sudden jerks forward (Hagher, 2003:172). The *Kwagh-hir* animal masquerades obviously depend heavily on dance to communicate in the Tiv theatre.

In the same vein, dances constitute the paramount vehicle of communication in the *Adzov* spirit masquerades enactment of the *Kwagh-hir*. In the *Ijov ta hindi*, (the revolting *Ijov*). The masquerades is expected “to clap its hands as it dances rounds the arena...*This ijov is judged by its energetic dancing* and its ability to clap its hands rhythmically. Considering its bulk, the clapping is a great feat. (Hagher, 2003:177) (emphasis is mine).

From all the said above, one can see that the *Kwagh-hir* theatre at all levels of its performances (puppetry, Animal Masquerades as well as the Spirit Masquerades) depends largely on the use of dance to enhance its communication.

6. Conclusion

It has been established that dance is the major strength of communication in the modern Tiv *Kwagh-hir* theatre. It is dance that gives life and form to the theatre. If the dances are removed, for example the theatre is likely to become meaningless.

The modern Tiv *Kwagh-hir* has therefore, survived and remained functional and relevant up till today because it relies heavily on and uses dance, which is a significant part of the people's lives: their religion, culture and psychology. This is in turn used to inform, educate, instruct, mobilise, and encourage them to support or revolt against a cause, as it happened in the past, and to document, remind the people of the past and create a means of livelihood as well as entertain them in the present.

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**Administration of British West African Colonies and the Furtherance of
Nigeria-Gold Coast Relations, 1885-1960**

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Abstract

This paper examines the process of codification of peaceful relations between Nigeria and Ghana (then Gold-Coast) as members of British West African colonies. It submits that the long established pre-colonial interpersonal interactions among citizens of both countries were further enhanced and codified by the common colonial institutions of government established by Britain in her West African colonies. It further reiterates that the cordiality of relations was taken to higher levels through cooperation among educated elites of both countries through nationalist agitations for independence in the decolonization period. The paper notes that though all these colonial institutions were not fully sustained in the post-independence period, they however formed a strong basis for peaceful relations among the peoples of both British dependencies between 1885 and 1960 and laid the foundations for Nigeria-Ghana diplomatic relations since independence. The study employed the eclectic method of inquiry adopting a combination of historical, descriptive and interpretative methods of data collection and analysis. The study relied heavily on secondary data sourced from journal articles, textbooks, archival materials, newspapers and magazines and other relevant materials including theses, dissertations, and government gazettes. Facts and information obtained were however subjected to corroboration and critical analysis to enhance objectivity.

Key words: Gold Coast, Nigeria, British Colonies, Decolonization, Nationalism

1. Introduction

Britain had four colonies in West Africa. These were The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. As members of the British West Africa, Nigeria and Ghana shared common administrative, economic and social institutions and structures. The administrative set up of British West African colonies enhanced mutual interaction between the Gold Coast and Nigeria in the colonial period. It was indeed very instrumental to forging the feelings of oneness among the educated elites of the two colonial dependencies. Though between 1886 and the 1930's, Britain decided to administer the two colonies separately, she however encouraged uniform laws to cover a wide range of subjects in both territories and in the whole of British West Africa. Henceforth, up till the 1950's, both colonies had uniform laws in matters such as labour relations, sedition, customs duty, international conventions, marriages and import quotas among others.¹

2. Common Administrative Institutions

One of the common administrative institutions established by Britain for coordinating the administration of all her colonies in West Africa was the West African Governor's Conference inaugurated in Lagos between 10 and 18 August, 1939. The Conference, which was largely instituted to enhance periodic appraisal of development in each of the colonies and cross-fertilization of ideas among the Governors, was devoted to the discussion of ways and methods of coordinating policies such as agriculture, culture, higher education, immigration, research programmes and subversive propaganda.² It is interesting to note that Nigeria was chosen as the Secretariat of the Conference while the Governor of Nigeria was unanimously appointed as its permanent chairman. An officer of the Nigerian Secretariat was also designated as the Secretary to the Conference. Though the Conference was billed to meet regularly, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 halted its regular meetings. A make-shift arrangement of coordinating the affairs of the colonies was therefore established in 1942 when a Resident Minister was appointed for West Africa with headquarters in Accra, Gold Coast. The Resident Minister, Viscount Swinton inaugurated a War Council involving the Governors' conference and the three heads of the armed forces in each colony.

The post of the Resident Minister was abolished in 1945. It was replaced by the West African Council under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Council comprised of all the Governors of the British West African colonies, as members and a Chief Secretary with a permanent secretariat situated at Accra. The Council was established solely to secure the coordination of the policies of the four territories in all matters of common interest.³ Unfortunately however; the Council could not meet until 1948. Olajide Aluko trying to explain why the Council became stagnated for three solid years noted that perhaps the greatest undoing of the Council was its composition made up largely of expatriate officials at a time when agitations for constitutional and political reforms were in top gear across the four British West African colonies, rendering it largely out-dated for the time.⁴

The West African Council was dissolved in 1951. It was immediately replaced the same year by the West African Inter-territorial Conference with headquarters in Accra. The Conference had an enlarged membership comprising largely of all the Governors of the four colonies, two ministers from each of the four territories and some top officials of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat.⁵ The Conference, presided over by the Governor of Nigeria, met annually. It was dissolved in 1962.

3. Common Economic Structures

Nigeria and Gold Coast also enjoyed mutually rewarding interactions in the economic field, especially in the areas of establishment of business organizations across national boundaries by citizens of both Colonies; currency matters and marketing. The task of establishing limited liability companies on a cross-colony basis within the West African region was championed by Mr. Winnifred Tete-Ansa, a Gold Coast businessman. He established three limited companies in quick succession between 1925 and 1931. The first was the West African Cooperative Producers Limited established at Accra in 1925. The Company was later registered in Nigeria in 1928. Prominent indigenes of both the Gold Coast and Nigeria became directors of the company. These were P.H. Williams, A. Ocansey and R.M. Lamptey from the Gold Coast and Dr. C.C. Adeniyi-Jones, T.A. Doherty, Dr. J.C. Vaughan and D.T. Sasegbon from Nigeria.⁶ The second company established by Tete-Ansa was the Industrial and Commercial Bank Limited located in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. It was formed in the 1928/1929 financial year. Directors of the banks were from Nigeria and the Gold Coast.⁷ By 1931, the Nigerian Mercantile Bank Limited was established by Tete-Ansa. All the Directors and Chairman of the bank were Nigerians.⁸ Though these companies became moribund shortly after 1931, they none-the-less enhanced mutual coexistence of peoples from the Gold Coast and Nigeria in economic matters during the colonial period.

Another aspect of economic relations between the Gold Coast and Nigeria in the colonial period was in the area of common currency. In actual fact, cooperation in monetary matters between them went back to 12 November, 1912 when the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Rt. Honourable Lewis Harcourt inaugurated the West African Currency Board (WACB)⁹ in line with the recommendations of the West African Currency Committee (WACC) headed by Lord Emmott.¹⁰ This conforms with the argument of Eric Helleiner that during the age of imperialism, "currency boards were created by European powers in their respective colonies for economic ends, including the reduction of international and intra-colony transaction costs, and to promote imperial political tendencies".¹¹

Under the aegis of the Board, West African silver coins were introduced in 1912. It was in 1916 that the Board began to issue notes in three denominations of 20 shillings, 10 shillings and 2 shillings (20s, 10s, 2s) to Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone where they became popular among the educated elites and colonial civil servants. By 1920, the silver coins were replaced by the West African alloy coins of the same denominations.¹² In 1918, the WACB issued 1 shilling notes while the 100 shillings (5 pounds) notes were introduced in 1953.¹³ The colonial currency became the sole legal tender for British West Africa between 1912 and 1958. As such, the colonial economy was integrated into the capitalist world

market. Henceforth, the pre-existing African economic institutions and relations of production in the domestic economy were totally overhauled. All the British West African colonies embraced the market economy and used a common currency for exchange purposes between 1912 and 1956. In 1957, Ghana broke out from the WACB following her new status as an independent state. Nigeria followed suit in 1959.¹⁴

Another economic aspect of relations between Ghana and Nigeria during the colonial era was in the area of cocoa marketing. Despite the fact that Britain started the purchase and shipping of cocoa from the Gold Coast and Nigeria in 1939, the first inter-territorial organization responsible for the purchase and sale of cocoa from the two territories on behalf of the British government was established only in September 1941. The agency which was known as the West African Cocoa Control Board (WACCB) was reconstituted in July 1942 under a new name – the West African Produce Control Board (WAPCB). Henceforth, the activities of the Board would no longer be limited to Cocoa alone, but to other cash crops such as groundnuts, palm oil, benni seed and palm kernels.¹⁵

The new Board was headed by the Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, while nominees of Nigeria and the Gold Coast governments, principal merchant interests and officials of the colonial office were members.¹⁶ Duties of the Board included: marketing and export of the various cash crop products, fixing producer prices on a yearly basis and fixing of the export quotas of shippers licenced to buy produce. The Board also established a chain of the produce-buying process involving: the merchant firms who acted as buying agents with the supply Board in each colony acting as collection centres on behalf of the Produce Control Board.¹⁷ By 1947, the West African Produce Control Board was replaced by separate Cocoa Marketing Boards established in the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

4. Common Socio- Cultural Institutions

Nigeria and the Gold Coast also had meaningful interactions in the field of education. In its effort to enhance educational cooperation among her West African Colonies, Britain set up the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) in 1953 with headquarters at Accra and branch office at Yaba, Lagos. Its essence was to promote educational development in British West African Colonies.¹⁸ The establishment of WAEC has a long history starting from 1948 when the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Matriculation Council and the West African Departments of Education met and concluded plans for educational cooperation and development in West Africa. At the meeting, Dr. G.B. Jeffery, the then Director of the University of London, Institute of Education, was appointed to visit some West African countries so as to appraise the general standard of education in West Africa. At the end of Dr. Jeffery's three month visit to the four colonies between December 1949 and March 1950, he tendered a report recommending the establishment of a West African School Examinations Council. The report also made a detailed recommendation on the composition and duties of the Council. The report was adopted fully.¹⁹

The Council was formally established through the West African Examinations Council Ordinance No. 40 in December 1951 by the Legislative Assemblies of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. Liberia later issued her ordinance in 1974 at the annual meeting held in Lagos, Nigeria.²⁰ The inaugural meeting of the Council was held in Accra, the Gold Coast in March 1953. The twenty-six member team was headed by Mr. A.N. Galsworthy, who was the Chairman of Council.²¹ The Council functions through three types of committees namely; the International Committees, the National Committees, and the Sub-committees.²²

It is worthy of note that WAEC Certificates are of equal standard with those of the United Kingdom. WAEC has been living up to its missions of maintaining internationally accepted procedures, provision of qualitative and reliable educational assessment, encouraging students in attaining academic excellence and promotion of sustainable human development, mutual understanding and international cooperation.²³ But much more than that, WAEC is the only surviving inter-territorial sub-regional institution in British West Africa.

Nigeria and the Gold Coast also maintained close ties in judicial matters during the era of colonial rule. Both of them were subject to the West African Court of Appeal (WACA) established in 1867. Between 1867 and 1874, all appeals from all the British West African Colonies were sent to the court from which final appeals were made to the Privy Council in London. By 1874, WACA had been broken into two. One was for Sierra Leone and the Gambia while the other was for the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Records however have it that Nigeria did not accept its jurisdiction until 1934. By 1958, the WACA had jurisdiction only in Sierra Leone and the Gambia, while Ghana and Nigeria had their own Supreme Courts from where appeals were made direct to London. But with the assumption of the Republican status in Ghana in 1960, and in Nigeria in 1963, an end was put to appeal to the Privy Council.²⁴

5. Military Relations

The history of relations between Nigeria and the Gold Coast on military matters dates back to 1873 when Lt. (later Sir) John Hawley Glover of the British Royal Navy led a force of "Hausas" from Nigeria to join forces with a locally recruited force from the Volta Region of the Gold Coast against the Ashantis during the Sagrenti War (1873-74).²⁵ The military group led by Lt. J.H. Glover was popularly called the "Glover's Hausas".²⁶ Though not all the soldiers in the "Glover's Hausas" were from the Hausa ethnic group, they assumed that name largely because it was the Hausa language which served as the medium of instruction and communication for the soldiers during and after their military training.²⁷ The Hausa force detachment was later deployed at Elmina and was subsequently formalized as a separate "Gold Coast Constabulary" in 1879.²⁸

All the constabulary forces in British West African territories were amalgamated in 1897 by Captain Frederick John Dealtry Lugard to form the West African Frontier Force (WAFF)²⁹ It came to be known as the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) as from 1940. It was a multi-battalion field force formed by the British colonial office to garrison the

West African colonies of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia.³⁰ It was under the command of an Inspector General who was not below the rank of Colonel.³¹

Between 1914 and February 1916, during the First World War, both the Nigerian and Gold Coast Regiments of the WAFF provided battalions and much of the combatants of the British forces that fought the German colonial armies in Togo and the Cameroons.³² By April 1916, Britain dispatched her West Africa colonial troops to German East Africa to help contain the German colonial soldiers known as the *askaris*, and conquer German East Africa, (later Tanganyika) now known as Tanzania. Hence, the Gold Coast Regiment and the Nigerian troops, popularly called the “Green Caps,” fought alongside other ‘British’ troops from East and South Africa in the German East African campaign. They captured several enemy positions, including the banks of the river Mgeta, the hills of Mkimbu and the banks of river Rufiji, near Kimbabwe, in Tanzania.³³ The men of the West African regiments also performed the arduous task of portage in the East African campaign. Due largely to the lack of roads and the destruction of the beasts of burden by the tsetse fly, each regiment had to be served by large numbers of carriers from April 1916 to the end of the war in 1918.³⁴ But despite such collaborative military actions, they remained essentially territorial armies and were run as national forces. Hence, the effective administration of forces was vested in the hands of each colonial Governor who acted as Commander-in-Chief of the forces in his territory. A structural change was however effected in the command structure of the RWAFF in July, 1940 when the War Office, London, acting as the Board of the WAFF, appointed Lt. General G.J. Giffard as the General Officer Commanding West Africa with his headquarters situated at Achimota, Gold Coast. It thus became more or less the West African command arm of the British Army and was run essentially as one henceforth.³⁵

In a related development, a military training school was established at Teshi, near Accra, Gold Coast in 1940. The school effectively served in training military personnel from Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia till 31 March 1960 when Nigeria ceased to use it.³⁶ At Teshi, Nigerian and Gold Coast military officers in the fifties interacted and attended the school for regular courses. They also met on special preliminary training courses for about six months as a pre-requisite for the regular commission at the Royal Military Academy (RMA), Sandhurst and the short-service commission at the Officer Cadet Training Unit (OCTU) at Aldershot, England.³⁷

Another major military formation that brought Nigerian and the Gold Coast officers together was the West African Forces Conference established in the forties after the Second World War. Members of the Conference were representatives of the War office, the United Kingdom Treasury and of the four British West African colonies. It was chaired by the Colonial Secretary. Apart from becoming the supreme policy-making body on military matters in the four British West African Colonies, harmonizing their war policies, plans and actions; it also ensured further military cooperation in British West Africa. Ironically however, it was this same Conference that spearheaded its dissolution in March 1959. Ghana became the first nation to pull out of the RWAFF. The organization finally went into extinction on 1 August 1960.³⁸

6. The West African Inter-Territorial Research Organizations

The Gold Coast and Nigeria had interactions through series of common research institutes under the aegis of the West African Inter-Territorial Research Organizations (WAIFRO). These research institutes were established between 1944 and 1951 to generate research findings to aid improved cash crops production in the British West African colonies.³⁹ They included the West African Cocoa Research Institute, (WACRI); the West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAFOR); the West African Council for Medical Research; and the West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (WAITR). We now take a look at the establishment and achievements of these research organizations.

7. The West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI)

The West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI) was established in 1944 with headquarters at Tafo, in the Gold Coast. Largely owing to shortage of staff, the WACRI had no other station outside Tafo until 1953 when a sub-station was established at Ibadan, Nigeria.⁴⁰ The WACRI was established initially for the purpose of coordinating research into the methods of controlling swollen diseases and in the vegetative propagation of high yielding strains of cocoa.⁴¹ Subsequently, the mandate of the WACRI was extended to investigate all matters affecting the cultivation of cocoa and the preparation of the beans for the market.⁴²

The Institute was administered by a management committee chaired by the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat. Other members were four nominees each, representing the Gold Coast and the Nigerian governments as well as the Director of the Institute. Funds were sourced from contributions from the two colonies; contributions by the colonial office in London as well as funds from the Cocoa Marketing Boards of the Gold Coast and Nigeria⁴³. Conferences were held regularly between the top officials of the Tafo and Ibadan stations where papers on various aspects of cocoa industry were presented and robustly discussed.⁴⁴

8. The West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAIFOR)

The West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAIFOR) was established in 1951 through the Nigeria No.20 Ordinance of 1951 with headquarters at Benin City. It began operations on 1 April, 1952. The Institute served all the British West African colonies, except the Gambia that had no oil palm to develop. It was established for two major reasons namely to: undertake research into, and conduct investigations of problems and matters relating to the oil palm and its products and; provide information and advice relating to the oil palm.⁴⁵ Between 1952 and 1954, WAIFOR's operations were largely limited to Nigeria. In 1954, its first sub-station was opened at Njola, Sierra Leone. Later in 1955, two experimental stations were opened at Aiyinasi and Bunsu, by the Gold Coast Department of Agriculture.⁴⁶

WAIFOR was administered by a Management Committee headed by the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat with six other officers representing Nigeria, one each from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone and the Director of the Institute.⁴⁷

Funds for the day-to-day administration of the Institute were sourced from the three affected colonies in varying proportions, but with Nigeria providing the lion share of the fund.⁴⁸ It was dissolved on 30 September, 1962.⁴⁹

9. The West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (WAITR)

The West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (WAITR) was established in 1947 by Act No. 36 of 1947 of the British Parliament. Its headquarters was located at Kaduna, Nigeria. It had a mandate to conduct research on all aspects of Trypanosomiasis: human, animal and entomological. It was also saddled with the responsibility of developing appropriate technologies, as well as processes for the control and elimination of the tsetse fly and Trypanosomiasis diseases and their vectors. The Institute further served as a clearing house for information about Trypanosomiasis, as an advisory bureau, and as a centre for the training of expert technical personnel.⁵⁰

From inception up till October, 1950, the Institute was managed by the Nigerian Colonial Government. But from November 1950, a substantive Management Committee was constituted for the Institute. Membership included the Director of the Institute, four representatives each from Nigeria and Gold Coast; one representative each from the Gambia and Sierra Leone; while the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat served as the Chairman.⁵¹ The Federal Government of Nigeria took over the control of WAITR in 1960 and renamed it the Nigerian Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (NITR) through the Act No.33 of 1964.⁵²

10. The West African Council for Medical Research (WACMAR)

The West African Council for Medical Research (WACMAR) was established in August, 1954. Its administrative headquarters was located in Yaba, Nigeria. Its day-to-day management was vested in a Management Committee made up of the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat who served as the Chairman; the Administrator of the West African Research Office; three nominees each of the Gold Coast and Nigerian governments; two of the Sierra Leone government and one from the Gambian government.⁵³ The Council met in each of the four capitals in rotation. Apart from Yaba, other centres established by WACMAR included the Child Health Unit based at the Wesley Guild Hospital, Ilesa, Nigeria; the Tuberculosis Research Unit at Kumasi and also in Bolgatanga, in the Upper Region of Ghana⁵⁴

11. Interactions in the Transport Sector

Apart from the area of research, another inter-territorial institution that linked Nigeria and Gold Coast in the colonial era was in the transportation sector. In order to promote air transport between Nigeria and the Gold Coast, the West African Airways Corporation (WAAC) was established on 1 June, 1946 through The West African Territories (Air Transport) Order-in-Council of 1946.⁵⁵ WAAC was managed by the West African Air Transport Authority made up of representatives of all the four British West African Colonies.

Funds for the running of the corporation were provided by all the four colonial governments, though Nigeria provided more than sixty percent of the running cost.⁵⁶ The Corporation enjoyed the technical and financial support of the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) and Elder Dempster Lines for its efficient transport services in West Africa.⁵⁷ As at 1954, the WAAC operated internal services within the Gold Coast and Nigeria; inter-colonial services between Accra, Gold Coast and Lagos, Nigeria and international services between Lagos and Dakar and between Lagos and Khartoum in Sudan.⁵⁸ WAAC operations were highly effective in combating the perennial problem of transportation and communication between Nigeria and Gold Coast.⁵⁹

In April 1957, Ghana pulled out of WAAC to establish the Ghana Airways. On 1 October, 1958, WAAC was dissolved and its assets and liabilities were inherited by the West African Airways Corporation (Nigeria Limited), though with some shares owned by the British Overseas Airways Corporation and Elder Dempster.⁶⁰ On 1 May 1959, the Nigerian Government bought over the shares of the company and renamed it the Nigeria Airways.⁶¹

Meanwhile, aviation contact between Nigeria and Ghana may really be said to outdate the WAAC's existence. According to a publication of the Nigeria Airways released in 2002, the British Royal Air Force Transport Command aircrafts had been operating across the British West African territories since the early 1920's.⁶² In fact, it was stated that by 1930, civil and military aircrafts were carrying passengers across boundaries and touching down in places like Lagos, Kano and Accra. Lagos and Accra later became hubs for flights enroute the Middle East and the Far-East (India).⁶³ The Royal Air Force Transport Command was reportedly operating a twice-weekly 'bush' service from Accra to Lagos, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Jos and Kano returning direct to Accra via Kaduna and Lagos. This 'bush' service was suspended with the emergence of the WAAC but was reopened with some modifications by Nigeria Airways beginning from 1960.⁶⁴

However, these inter-territorial institutions and agencies did not survive the colonial period, except the West African Examinations Council (WAEC). A number of reasons have been given for this development. These include: the emergence of local nationalism in Nigeria and the Gold Coast as against Pan-West African nationalism on the eve of their independence; exigencies of independence and the need to maintain full control over critical issues such as the military and currency as a mark of their newly-won sovereignty; mutual jealousy among the peoples of both countries; and post-independence political discord between the leadership of both countries in the immediate post-independence period.⁶⁵

12. Nationalist Agitations as Stimulants of Interaction between Nigeria and the Gold Coast in the Decolonization Period

Nationalist agitations in the Gold Coast and Nigeria went a long way at stimulating closer links between the elites of both countries during the decolonization period. Major political platforms that brought the elites of both countries together in their agitation for independence included: the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), the West

African Students' Union (WASU) and the Youth Movements. A closer examination of the workings of these associations is very essential at this juncture.

13. National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was established in March 1920 at Accra, Gold Coast. It was the first extra-national-body that attempted to promote unity of purpose among the nationalists of British West Africa.⁶⁶ The inaugural Conference was convened by J.E. Casely Hayford.⁶⁷ It was attended by forty delegates from the Gold Coast, six from Nigeria, three from Sierra Leone and one from the Gambia.⁶⁸ Its headquarters was at Sekondi, Gold Coast, but meetings of the Congress were held in each of the four capitals of British West Africa in rotation.⁶⁹ This gave members the opportunity to visit each other's countries and to exchange ideas on issues of common concern. It pursued a policy of conservative constitutionalism and cooperation with Great Britain to obtain African participation in the colonial government.⁷⁰ This was well attested to by the Constitution of the Congress which declared *inter alia* that:

The policy of the Congress shall be to maintain strictly and inviolate the connection of the British West African Dependencies with the British Empire, and to maintain unreservedly all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire, to aid in the development of the political institutions of British West Africa under the Union Jack, and in time, to ensure within her borders the government of the people by the people for the people, to secure equal opportunity for all, to preserve the lands of the people for the people.⁷¹

It is worth noting that the NCBWA did not only address itself to political matters but also ventured into matters of economic concern. For instance, in 1921, the Congress made a very important resolution stimulating economic cooperation among British West African States that:

...the time has come for the formation of a corporation to be known as the British West African Co-operative Association...to found Banks, promote shipping facilities, establish co-operative stores and produce buying centres, in such a wise as to inspire and maintain a British West African National Economic development⁷².

Though the NCBWA went into extinction in 1930 owing largely to the death of its mentor, the organization succeeded largely in creating political awareness of enhanced participation of educated elites in colonial administration of British West Africa. But much more than that, it promoted closer relationship between Nigerians and Gold Coasters.

14. West African Students' Union (WASU)

Political cooperation between Nigeria and the Gold Coast was further enhanced by students from both countries studying in Britain in the 1920's. On 7 August 1925, Ladipo Solanke, a Nigerian of Yoruba ethnic origin and twenty other West African students studying

in Britain, formed the West African Students' Union (WASU).⁷³ The nucleus of the Union was formed by the merging of the Nigerian Progress Union and the Gold Coast Students' Union, London.⁷⁴ Some of the founding members of WASU included J.B. Danquah and E.O. Asafu-Adjaye (from the Gold Coast); Ladipo Solanke, Kusimo Soluade and Olatunde Vincent (from Nigeria),⁷⁵ as well as Dr. Herbert Bankole Bright, a Sierra Leonean medical doctor.⁷⁶ The objective of WASU was to discuss all matters affecting West Africa politically, educationally and economically, and especially to cooperate with the National Congress of British West Africa.⁷⁷

In an attempt to woo more members, WASU ventured into a humanitarian project to assist members in need of accommodation. To this end, WASU opened a student hostel in Camden Town in 1933 for West Africans and acquired a second hostel in mid-1940's at 69, Warrington Crescent, London W9.⁷⁸ WASU's other activities included regular meetings and discussions among members, consultation with British political officials and the publication of a magazine (*Waasu*) which covered issues of importance to West Africans in London and in the colonies. Although it was not published regularly, the magazine was in circulation between 1926 and 1958.⁷⁹

WASU also encouraged individual and collaborative publications among its members. This perhaps encouraged the publication of *United West Africa at the Bar of the Family of Nations* in 1927 by Ladipo Solanke and *Towards Nationhood in West Africa* in 1928 by J.W. de Graft-Johnson from the Gold Coast.⁸⁰ Through the magazine publications, public lectures and publication of pamphlets, WASU made a great leap towards influencing constitutional and political developments in the British West African Colonies. For instance, in April 1942, WASU submitted a memorandum to the British Undersecretary of State for the Colonies in which it demanded "internal self-government now" and complete self-government within the four British West African colonies on or before 1947.⁸¹

Before it went into oblivion in 1958 after the death of its founder-leader, Ladipo Solanke, WASU made some remarkable achievements. In the first instance, it assisted in arousing political consciousness in West African students both at home and abroad. This was actualised largely through the opening of branches across the British West African colonies.⁸² Secondly, it provided a major platform for interaction among future political leaders in both Ghana and Nigeria, and served as a crucial training ground for future nation-builders. Some of the prominent members of WASU who later played prominent roles in the political developments of their countries were Joe Appiah, Kwame Nkrumah and J. Annan from Ghana; as well as Chief H.O. Davies, Chief S.L. Akintola and Mr. Kola Balogun from Nigeria.⁸³

15. The Youth Movements

The Nigerian Youth Movement was formed by Herbert Macaulay in 1934. J.B. Danquah followed suit with the formation of the Gold Coast Youth Movement in 1938.⁸⁴ Both movements established very strong links in the decolonization period. Hence, people like J.B. Danquah and Casely Hayford from Gold Coast interacted freely with peers such as

Herbert Macaulay, H.O. Davies and Nnamdi Azikiwe from Nigeria. It was such collaborations between political elites of both countries that paved way for the political exploits of Drs. Nnamdi Azikiwe and R.A. Savage in the Gold Coast between 1934 and 1945.

The activities of these aforementioned politically-inclined associations were however further enhanced by the effective use of the press as an instrument for the dissemination of nationalist ideas during the decolonization period. After the First World War, a number of anti-colonial newspapers sprang up all over West Africa.⁸⁵ The newspapers helped to accelerate the process of “mental emancipation” of Africans from colonial values.⁸⁶ Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe perhaps made the most decisive impact on the development of the press in British West Africa. Having settled in the Gold Coast in 1934 after completing his studies in America, he founded and edited the *African Morning Post* whose maiden edition was published on 22 December, 1934 in Accra.⁸⁷ His publications succeeded in stimulating political awareness among the peoples of Gold Coast⁸⁸ to the extent that he was deported by the Gold Coast colonial government to Nigeria in 1937 following his trial for sedition earlier in 1936. On his return to Nigeria, Azikiwe founded the *West African Pilot*, a pioneer daily newspaper that became an effective forum for stimulating political consciousness among Nigerian masses.

16. Conclusion

In this paper, it has been established that Nigeria-Ghana diplomatic relations had its foundations firmly laid in the pre-colonial era through intergroup relations among the citizens of both territories. The common colonial institutions and agencies of government established by Britain in her West African colonies enhanced the pre-colonial and colonial interpersonal interactions among the peoples of both countries and promoted close relations between the citizens of both Nigeria and the Gold Coast. This cordiality of relations among citizens of both countries enhanced effective collaborative nationalist agitations for independence in the decolonization period. It is however disheartening to note that all these pre-colonial and colonial interactions and structures were not fully sustained in the post-independence period. This notwithstanding however, they formed a strong basis for Nigeria-Ghana diplomatic relations in the post-independence era.

Notes and References

1. Some of these Common Bills that were in operation in all the four British West African colonies were: Sedition Bill, Customs Tariff Ordinance (Amendment) Bill, Workmen's Compensation Bill and Colonial Service Law. For details, see Olajide, Aluko, *Ghana and Nigeria: 1957-70: A Study in Inter-African Discord*, (London: Zex Collins, 1976)
2. *Ibid* p.49.
3. Lord Hiale, *African Survey*, (London, 1957), p.1608.
4. Aluko, Olajide, *Ghana-Nigeria, 1957-70*, p.50.
5. At the first meeting of the Conference held in July 1952, Nigeria was represented by Shettima Kashim and Mohammadu Ribadu while the Gold Coast was represented by A. Casely-Hayford and Kojo Botsio.
6. Hopkins, A.G., "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and in the Gold Coast, 1918-39". *Journal of African History*, Vol. vii, No. I, 1966, p.145.
7. The directors of the bank were A.A. Oshodi from Nigeria and A.J. Ocansey and R.M. Lamptey from the Gold Coast. See Hopkins, A.G. "Economic Aspects of Political Movements" p.139 for details.
8. *Ibid*. p.145. These were Dr. C.C. Adeniyi-Jones, as Chairman and Dr. A.M. Maja, Mr. T.A. Doherty and Mr. H.A. Subair as Directors.
9. Aluko, Olajide, *Ghana-Nigeria*, p.55.
10. NA-CO984/2: 'Report of the West African Currency Committee', cited in A.G. Hopkins, A.G., "The Creation of a Colonial Monetary System: the origins of the West African Currency Board". *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 3, No.1, 1990, pp.101-132.
11. See F. Helleiner, "The monetary dimensions of colonialism: why did Imperial Powers create currency blocs? *Geopolitics*, Vol.1, No.1, 2002, pp5-30. See also J.B. Loynes, *A History of the West African Currency Board*, (London: West African Currency Board, 1974) & J.B Loynes, *The West African Currency Board, 1912-1962* London, 1962.
12. *Ibid*. See also M.H.Y. Kaniki, "The Colonial Economy: The Former British Zones" in A.A. Boahen (ed), *Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935 (UNESCO GENERAL HISTORY OF AFRICA, Vol VII)*, (London: Heinemann/UNESCO, 1985), p.404.
13. C.C. Krause & M. Clifford, *Standard Catalog of World Coins, 1801-1991* (London: Krause Publications, 1991) and A. Pick, *Standard Catalog of World Paper Money: General Issues* (London: Krause Publications, 1994)
14. For instance, Nigeria introduced a new currency in 1959 during the tenure of Chief Okotie Eboh as Federal Commissioner for Finance.
15. *Record of Proceedings of the Conference of African Governors* held in Convocation Hall, London, 8-21 November, 1947, p.183.
16. *Ibid*.
17. Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria, 1957-70*, p.57.
18. See *Brief History of the Council: The West African Examinations Council Diary* (Lagos: Academy Press, 2004). Available on <http://www.waecnigeria.org.history.htm>.
19. *Ibid*.

20. See B. Saka, "WAEC's Mission" (2006), on <http://www.ghanawaec.org/about2htm>.
21. See S. Adeyegbe, "History of WAEC" (2004) on <http://www.waecnigeria.org/home.htm>. Other members were Dr. G.B. Jeffery (Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat), Mr. J.L. Brereton (Secretary of the Cambridge Syndicate), 13 members nominated by the Governments of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia and 10 other observers.
22. See 'Committee Structure of the Council', (2004) on <http://www.ghanawaec.org/about.3htm>
23. See Achievements of WAEC (2004) on <http://www.ghanawaec.org/about.3htm>
24. See *West Africa*, 40 October, 1958.
25. Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria, 1957-70*, p.51. See also Alan Burns, *History of Nigeria* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1955); & W.F. Gutteridge, "Military and Police Forces in Colonial Africa," in L.H. Gann & P.Duignan (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960, Vol. Two: The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1914-1960*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.287.
26. In 1863, Lt. John Hawley Glover of the British Royal Navy formed a local security force made up of about 18 people of Hausa descent. Available records suggest that Glover's exploration ship got wrecked at Jebba on the River Niger on his way to Lagos. For security reasons, he picked up a band of run-away Hausa slaves whom he employed as a security force to escort him on his journey. This particular decision to hire ex-slaves as security agents by Glover probably reinforces the submission of Nowa Omoigui that "all through the various battles of British conquest, former slaves, individuals and mercenaries formed the bulk of fighting troops under the command of British officers". It was this same security outfit that was used to police the Lagos Colony, protect the British traders and to prosecute some raids into the hinterland. The group was later referred to as "Glover's Hausas". It was renamed the Hausa militia or Hausa Constabulary in 1865 and later the Lagos Constabulary in 1873. For more details, see Nowa Omoigui, "From Glover's Hausa's to 4 Guards Battalion 141 years later". Available online.
27. See A.R. Alhassan, "How Nigeria's Glover Hausa's helped the British colonize Ghana", *Accra Mail*, 17 March, 2006.
28. Nowa Omoigui, "From Glover's Hausa's to 4 Guards Battalion 141 years later".
29. See A. Haywood & F.A.S. Clarke, *The History of the Royal West African Frontier Force* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1964) and *British Colonial Africana Soldier Collection*, 23 September, 2009. The West African Frontier Force (WAFF) was made up of the Lagos Constabulary, Gold Coast Constabulary, the Royal Niger Company Constabulary, the West African Field Force, the Sierra Leone Battalion and the Gambia Company.
30. A. Haywood & F.A.S. Clarke, *The History of the Royal West African Frontier Force; Regulations of the West African Frontier Force*, (London, 1923), p.5 as cited in Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria, 1957-70*, p.52; and W.F. Gutteridge, "Military and Police Forces in Colonial Africa," in L.H. Gann & P.Duignan (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960, Vol. Two: The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1914-1960*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.288.
31. A list of some of the former Inspector-General of the WAFF includes: Brigadier G.V.

- Kembell, 1901-1905; Brevet Colonel Thomas Morland, 1905 – 1909; Major-General Sir Percival Spearman Wilkinson 1909 – 1913; Brevet Col. C.M. Dobell, 1913 – 1914; Col. A.H.W. Haywood, 1920 – 1924; Col. R.D.F. Oldman, 1924 – 1926; Col. S.S. Butter 1926 – 1930; Brigadier C.C. Norman, 1932 – 1936; Gen. (Sir), George Giffard, 1936 – 1938. For details, see G.O.I.Olomola, “West Africa and the First World War”, in A.Fajana and A.A.Anjorin (eds.), *From Colony to Sovereign State: An Introduction to the History of West Africa Since 1900*, (Middlesex: Thomas Nelson, 1979), p.71; and A. Haywood and F.A.S. Clarke, *The History of the Royal West African Frontier Force*, p.5.
32. W.F. Gutteridge, “Military and Police Forces in Colonial Africa,” in L.H. Gann & P.Duignan (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960, Vol. Two: The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1914-1960*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.288.
 33. G.O.I.Olomola, “West Africa and the First World War”, p.71.
 34. *Ibid*, p.72.
 35. See A. Haywood and F.A.S Clarke, *The History of the Royal West African Frontier Force*, p.364.
 36. See *House of Representatives Debate*, 18 February, 1958, Column 6.
 37. A. Haywood and F.A.S Clarke. *The History of the Royal West African Frontier Force*, p.477.
 38. *Ibid*, p.484.
 39. A.B. Afolabi, “The Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN), 1964 – 1990: An Historical Appraisal”, *Ayebaye: Babcock Journal of History and International Studies*, Vol.1, 2002, p.45.
 40. Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria, 1957-70*, p.58.
 41. A.B. Afolabi “The Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria...”, p.46.
 42. See J. West, *Proceedings of the West African International Cocoa Research Conference held at Tafo, Gold Coast, 12-16 December, 1953*, p. 2.
 43. J. West, *Proceedings of the West African International Cocoa Research Conference*, p.2.
 44. Even after the breakup of the WACRI, top officials of Ghana and Nigeria Cocoa Research Institutes used to attend research conferences organized by each national organization. Hence in 1963, Mr. R.H. Kenten, the Director of the Nigeria Cocoa Research Institute and his Deputy, Dr. J.K. Opeke attended the Cocoa Mirid Control Conference organized by the Ghana Cocoa Research Institute at Tafo, Ghana, in August 1963. See *Proceedings of Cocoa Mirid Control Conference at Tafo, 6-7 August*, (Accra: Government Printer, 1963).
 45. See Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research on <http://nigerianwiki.com/wiki> & The West African Institute for Oil Palm Research, *Annual Report 1952 – 53*, p.13.
 46. Olajide Aluko, *Ghana – Nigeria, 1957 – 70*, p.60.
 47. See WAIFOR *Annual Report, 1953 – 54*, p.14.
 48. Between 1952/53 and 1956/57 fiscal years, Nigeria was required to pay €126,000, Sierra Leone €16,000, and Gold Coast €8,000. This was increased to €230,000, €20,000, and €16,000 for Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gold Coast respectively. See WAIFOR, *Annual Report, 1961 – 62*, p.14.

49. See Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research.
50. The West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis, *Annual Report, 1951*, p.1; the Website of the Nigerian Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research, Federal Ministry of Science and Technology; & Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria, 1957-70* p.57.
51. The West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis, *Annual Report, 1951*, p.23.
52. An account of the work of the Institute between 1947 and 1962 given by its Director, Dr. K.G. Willett as contained in the Institute's *Annual Report, 1962*, pp. iv-ix.
53. WACMAR, *Annual Report, 1957/58*, p.29.
54. *Annual Report, 1958 – 51*, The West African Council for Medical Research, p.1.
55. Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria*, p.54.
56. Gbenga Odusanya (ed.) *Nigeria Year Book* (Lagos: The Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd, 1983), p.84. See also *Report of the West African Airways Corporation for the period ending 31 March, 1947* (Lagos: Government Printer), p.1.
57. M.M. Ogbeidi, "The Aviation Industry in Nigeria: A Historical Overview", *Lagos Historical Review*, Vol.6, 2006, p.135.
58. See O. Akpoghomeh, "The Development of Air Transportation in Nigeria" *Journal of Transport Geography*, Vol. 7, 1999, p.136 (doi: 10.1016/S0966-6923(98)00044-1).
59. M.M. Ogbeidi, "The Aviation Industry in Nigeria", p.135.
60. *Ibid*, p.136.
61. Gbenga Odusanya (ed.), *Nigeria Year Book*, 1983, p.89.
62. *Nigeria Airways Manual* (Lagos: Nigeria Airways Training School, 2002), p.6.
63. *Ibid*.
64. Gbenga Odusanya, *Nigeria Year Book*, 1983, p.89.
65. Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria*, pp63-66; and R. Hallet, *Africa Since 1875: A Modern History*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1974), p.406.
66. O. Omosini, "Nationalist Movements in French and British West Africa, 1900-1939", in A.Fajana and A.A.Anjorin (eds.), *From Colony to Sovereign State: An Introduction to the History of West Africa Since 1900*, (Middlesex: Thomas Nelson, 1979), p.139.
67. Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford (29 September, 1866- 11 August, 1930) was a Fante journalist, author, lawyer and politician who supported pan-African nationalism. He was one of the admirers and followers of Edward Blyden, the foremost pan-African. In 1919, he formed the NCBWA. He represented the Congress in London in 1920. He also became the first patron of the West African Students' Union in 1925. For more information, see Imanuel, Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe, and Africa*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1974), p. 223; G.I.C. Eluwa, "Background to the Emergence of the National Congress of British West Africa", *African Studies Review*, Vol.14, No.2, 1971, p.213; James Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, (Benin City: Broburg & Wistrom, 1986), p.42; & J.E. Casely-Hayford quoted by Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria*, p.41.
68. The inaugural meeting of the NCBWA was held in Accra between 11 and 29 March 1920. The six Nigerian delegates to the meeting were: Patriarch Campbell, Prince Ephraim Bassey Duke, P. Deniga, Chief Essien Offiong Essien, Adeniyi Olugbade and J.E. Shyngle. For details, see Abba, Alkasum, *The Northern Elements Progressive Union and the Politics of Radical Nationalism in Nigeria, 1938-1960*(Zaria: The Abdullah Smith Centre for Historical Research, n.d); O. Omosini, "Nationalist

- Movements in French and British West Africa, 1900-1939”, in A.Fajana and A.A.Anjorin (eds.), *From Colony to Sovereign State: An Introduction to the History of West Africa Since 1900*, (Middlesex: Thomas Nelson, 1979), p. 140.
69. Meetings were held in Freetown (1923), Bathurst (1925), and Lagos (1930). See David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana, 1850 – 1928* (London: Macmillan, 1963), p.384 & O. Omosini, “Nationalist Movements in French and British West Africa, 1900-1939,” in A.Fajana and A.A.Anjorin (eds.), *From Colony to Sovereign State*, p. 141.
70. G. Yekutieli, “Common Goals, different ways: The UNIA and the NCBWWA in West Africa, 1920 – 1930”n.d.
71. Leaders of the NCBWA were quoted by the *Nigerian Pioneer* saying that “we should all wish to go forward in March of progress, but it must be on constitutional lines”. For details see E. Yekutieli, “Common Goals, different ways”.
72. See David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p.1
73. See Becky Givan, “West African Students Union (WASU)”, on <http://diaspora.northwestern.edu/mbin/webobjects/DiasporaX.woa/wa/displayArticlea?tomid=688>
74. *West Africa*, 31 October, 1925.
75. Olajide Aluko, *Ghana-Nigeria, 1957 – 70*, p.42.
76. Becky Givan, “WASU”.
77. “*Waasu*”, WASU Magazine, London 1926, no 1. (Waasu is a Yoruba word which means to “preach”)
78. G.O. Olusanya, *The West African Students’ Union and the Politics of Decolonization, 1925 – 1928* (Lagos: Daystar Press, 1982), p.22.
79. *Ibid.* p.54.
80. James Coleman even described these two works as “the first major literary works of a nationalist character to appear since Blyden’s writing in the late 19th century”. See J.S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, p.125.
81. See Memorandum from WASU to Under Secretary of State for the colonies, 6 April, 1942.
82. WASU Branches included eleven in Nigeria, five in Ghana and two in Sierra Leone, all formed between 1928 and 1930.
83. S.L. Akintola was the Premier, Western Region between 1960 and January, 1966; J. Annan became Ghana’s Secretary of Defence; Kwame Nkrumah became Ghana’s first Prime Minister and later President; Joe Appiah became a prominent Member of Parliament in Ghana’s National Assembly and Kola Balogun became Nigeria’s first High Commissioner to Ghana.
84. See Oluwafeyikemi Mojisola, “Nigeria-Ghana Relations, 1960-1980”, Unpublished B.A. Long Essay, Department of History, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, July 1992, p.12.
85. O. Omosini, “Prelude to Decolonization in West Africa, 1939-1960”, in A.Fajana and A.A.Anjorin (eds.), *From Colony to Sovereign State: An Introduction to the History of West Africa Since 1900*, (Middlesex: Thomas Nelson, 1979), p.158.
86. *Ibid*, pp.158-159.
87. *Ibid.*

88. See *African Diary*, 27 February – 5 March, 1965, pp. 2208 – 2209. See also Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe* (London, 1961), p.69.

Littérature, politique et pouvoir aux Antilles

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Abstract

This paper explores the political question in Caribbean literature. Taking into consideration some leading authors of Caribbean literature like Aimé Césaire, Edouard Glissant, Patrick Chamoiseau, Bernabé Confiant and Maryse Condé, it attempts to show that besides the fact that it is an effective weapon of political combat, Caribbean literature is to some writers a place to gain influence and fame. The different identity theories postulated by major literary movements (Negritude, Antillanité, Créolité and Coolitude) are fundamentally permeated by political ideologies that confront one another for control of the Caribbean literary class. The movement organized by post-Césairian writers, especially the Creolist movement, aims at purging Caribbean literature of Césairianism. It is an irrefutable proof of anti-césairianism. It is, therefore, the proof of this fierce war carried out by a certain group of Caribbean writers to occupy the pride of place in the Caribbean literary and political scene.

Key words: Committed literature, Caribbean literature, Créolité, Antillanité, Negritude

Résumé

Le présent article explore la question du politique dans la littérature antillaise. Considérant l'œuvre de certains ténors de cette littérature – en l'occurrence Aimé Césaire, Edouard Glissant, Patrick Chamoiseau, Bernabé Confiant et Maryse Condé-, il tente de montrer que, outre le fait qu'elle représente une arme efficace de combat politique, la littérature antillaise est un espace de lutte pour la conquête d'influence et de notoriété par certains écrivains. Les différentes théories identitaires postulées par les principaux courants littéraires (la négritude, l'antillanité, la créolité, la coolitude en l'occurrence) sont remarquablement traversées par des idéologies politiques qui s'affrontent pour une hégémonie dans la classe littéraire antillaise. Le mouvement engagé par les post-césariens (surtout les créolistes) visant à « decésairiser » la littérature antillaise est la preuve irréfutable d'un anti-césairisme ; donc la preuve de ce combat acharné mené par une partie de la classe d'écrivains antillais pour occuper les premiers plans de la scène littéraire et politique aux Antilles.

Mots Clés : Littérature engagée, Littérature Antillaise, Créolité, Antillanité, Négritude

1. Introduction

Le politique occupe indéniablement une place prépondérante dans la production artistique en général et littéraire en particulier. Pour bien d'écrivains et de littérateurs, écrire c'est dénoncer des injustices sociales et politiques ; c'est critiquer, résister et participer généreusement et mémorablement à des révolutions idéologiques (Reno 194 ; Akung et al, 165 ; Sartre 82). C'est du moins le constat que l'on peut faire de la littérature Caribéenne qui, principalement inspirée de l'histoire de cette région (une histoire d'esclavage, de piraterie maritime, de colonisation, de dictature révoltante et de révolution), brille par ses thèmes du registre engagé (Pizarro, 184 ; Acholonu, 98 ; Akung et al, 166-7 ; Onwahara, 91). Jetant justement un regard dans l'histoire, Acholonu tente d'établir le lien entre le caractère engagé de la littérature Caribéenne et son histoire : « *Colonization in the West Indies as well as in other Black communities of the African Diaspora, was much more traumatic than in Africa. While the African was colonized, the West Indian was enslaved and this meant a complete loss of his personal and cultural identity* » (98). Ceci pourrait sans doute expliquer pourquoi le politique devient ainsi pour le Caribéen un sujet de choix, un thème incontournable et l'esprit dominant de la littérature de sa région d'origine. Pizarro souligne et tente davantage de justifier ce caractère sensible des questions politiques dans cette région. Elle écrit,

The Caribbean is a region at the crossroads, whose peoples demand their right not to be invaded or colonized, and to be themselves, to determine their own fate. Literary discourse expresses this conflict; [...] Clearly, the Caribbean has not been the same since Fanon, Aimee Césaire, George Lamming, Guillén [...] wrote their works. [...] Following the works of these writers, [...] discourse has consolidated within literature, the breadth and depth of society and the right of Caribbean societies to be themselves. (184)

Selon Pizarro, les œuvres des écrivains serviraient aussi à réchauffer le débat politique dans la société Caribéenne, et à changer l'histoire humiliante qui est celui des peuples de cette région. La colonisation, l'esclavage - et les effets de ces deux fléaux - ainsi que les identités (sujet très politisé) semblent être les plus grandes préoccupations de ces hommes de la plume. Onwahara ajoute à cette liste la prépondérance du thème de l'aliénation comme une des résultantes de plusieurs décennies d'esclavage et de colonisation. Elle écrit « *In Caribbean literature, there is a predominance of alienation theme in various forms: homelessness, tactlessness and exile, both physical and psychological* » (91).

Force est de remarquer que dans cette société, les limites entre le social et le politique sont bien trop fins ou même parfois inexistantes. Les politiques récupèrent très souvent les questions sociales pour en faire des sujets politiques et des composantes cardinales de leurs programmes politiques. Le débat inachevable sur la question des identités en est un bon exemple. C'est certainement au vue de cela que Reno pense qu'aux Caraïbes, « l'identité est un des terrains privilégiés du politique. En réalité, l'affirmation identitaire appelle inévitablement à la mobilisation identitaire. Dans ce sens, l'identité est par conséquent une réalité éminemment politique » (195).

Cette communication s'intéresse à la place qu'occupe le politique dans le cadre particulier de la littérature antillaise et tente de montrer qu'au delà de fait qu'elle représente

une arme de lutte politique, cette littérature est un espace de combat politique ou s'affronte des idéologies pour la conquête d'une influence et d'une notoriété.

2. Une Littérature Antillaise engagée

On peut considérer comme engagée toute littérature qui ne se borne pas exclusivement à exprimer la rêverie individuelle ou le fantasme personnel mais a pour principale visée ou finalité le fait national. C'est en s'appuyant sur cette conception d'engagement politique que nous définirons la littérature antillaise dans son ensemble comme littérature engagée. Depuis ses débuts, le roman antillais a toujours présenté les signes d'une littérature de revendication et de contestation. Pour Condé la notion d'engagement dans le contexte du roman antillais a une signification plus large que celle généralement admise. Les écrivains antillais ont toujours, selon elle, montré leur adhésion au combat politique par leur restitution fidèle des réalités de leur société, réalités qu'ils s'efforcent ainsi d'appréhender et d'exprimer (13). Le fait politique attire l'attention de presque toute la classe d'écrivains de la région. Condé explique davantage que :

Qu'il s'agisse du milieu rural ou du milieu urbain, du peuple, de la petite ou moyenne bourgeoisie, l'écrivain antillais est uniquement concerné par le fait social ou politique. Même les écrivains dits exotiques entendaient que justice soit rendue d'une certaine manière à leur terre par l'amour qu'ils prétendaient susciter pour elle. Même quand un écrivain Antillais conte une histoire individuelle, il lui donne valeur d'exemple ou de symbole. Dire *je* équivaut pour lui à dire *nous*. (13)

Parler du politique est « un devoir citoyen » et une tâche incontournable pas seulement pour les romanciers mais également pour tout Antillais. L'écrivain antillais considère comme faisant partie de ses prerogatives ou son mandat, porter la voix et le cri des masses, contre les injustices socio-politiques dont ils sont victimes au quotidien. On peut bien évidemment justifier la prépondérance du fait politique dans la littérature antillaise par la situation socio-politique (déplorable) prévalant aux Antilles ainsi que par l'adhésion par certains ténors de cette littérature à des mouvements défendant des causes politiques. Condé explique à ce sujet que

La société antillaise est une société dépendante –économiquement, politiquement, culturellement. Elle est rattachée à travers les mers à une 'métropole' qui infléchit sa vie. Cette métropole a posé sur elle un certain regard et l'a folklorisé. C'est-à-dire qu'ayant la nostalgie de paradis perdus, elle en a privilégié certains aspects au détriment d'autres [...] et a forgé une réalité dans laquelle peu d'Antillais se reconnaissent. L'écrivain Antillais entend dissiper ces mythes et faire connaître la vérité. Evidemment, cet engagement va plus ou moins loin. Il est certes plus conscient et profond chez Glissant que chez Michèle Lacrosil par exemple, mais il n'est étranger à aucun de nos auteurs. Sa grande ambition demeure de faire connaître ce qu'il croit être la réalité antillaise. (13-14)

Ainsi, dans leurs œuvres littéraires, la majorité d'écrivains antillais s'attèlent à exprimer une opposition féroce et une contestation bruyantes contre les inégalités et autres injustices sociales dérivées du rattachement de leurs pays à la métropole (le système de

départementalisation). Ce système de départementalisation est précisément perçu par ces écrivains comme une facette irréfutable du néo-colonialisme. Par le biais de l'écriture, ils s'érigent en porte parole de leur peuple et éveillent la conscience des masses principalement sur la question du bluff et du cancer social qu'incarne le néo-colonialisme manifesté par la départementalisation. Aux dires d'Akpagu, les écrivains antillais « se servent de leurs œuvres comme arme privilégiée de combat à travers lesquelles ils dénoncent à cor et à cri la départementalisation (91). Patrick Chamoiseau, Raphael Confiant, Laurent Farrugia, Daniel Maximin, Xavier Orville, Daniel pour ne citer que certains, montrent dans leurs œuvres que « l'Antillais, 'citoyen français' d'aujourd'hui connaît mutatis mutandis, le même sort que l'esclave d'hier. Au moins, telle est l'impression que donnent leurs romans » (Akpagu 91).

La place prépondérante du politique dans la littérature antillaise est également la conséquence de l'engagement de certains de ses ténors dans la scène politique aux Antilles. Parmi les écrivains-politiciens citons d'emblée Césaire dont le combat politique sous les lignes idéologiques de la Négritude a inspiré des tonnes d'œuvres littéraires et de projets politiques aux Antilles. Notons que sa carrière politique l'a porté aux rennes de la mairie de Fort-de-France et permis d'être député à l'Assemblée française. D'autres écrivains-politiciens incluent Chamoiseau et Confiant (tous deux créolistes) qui sont membres d'un parti politique écologiste et qui plusieurs fois ont fait état de candidature sur la liste de ce mouvement (Delas 65 ; Reno 211) On peut également souligner l'engagement de Condé (antillaniste) qui, fort elle aussi de son adhésion, son militantisme et son activisme à l'Union Populaire pour la Libération de la Guadeloupe (UPLG) s'est présentée aux élections régionales dans son pays en 1992. A propos de son long, complexe et fructueux engagement politique, Haigh écrit :

Condé ne se veut pas apolitique. En fait, ses commentaires sur les mouvements indépendantistes révèlent l'élément clef de son engagement. Etant donné ses sympathies marxistes et l'intérêt qu'elle a toujours porté aux luttes d'indépendance dans les pays colonisés africains, entre autre lorsqu'elle poursuivait ses études à Paris dans les années 50 mais plus particulièrement le Ghana et la Guinée où elle vécut dans les années 60 – il n'est sans doute pas surprenant que depuis son retour en Guadeloupe en 1986, Condé se soit rapprochée des mouvements indépendantistes qui crurent en importance dans les années 60 et les années 70 et dont elle avait jusqu'alors suivi de loin et avec intérêt l'évolution. (31)

Beaucoup d'autres écrivains antillais manifestent un activisme notoire dans la scène politique de la région et la littérature devient pour eux un champ de confrontation où ils prolongent le débat politique d'une part et mènent d'autre part une véritable lutte d'influence. Reno note à ce sujet que « la littérature comme le politique est un champ concurrentiel où les acteurs s'affrontent pour le contrôle d'espace. Lorsque l'écrivain est aussi un militant, son action se déroule inévitablement dans l'arène politique. Sans sacrifier aux règles du travail littéraire, il donne un sens à son écriture en s'engageant dans la lutte partisane » (211). On peut démontrer ce fait par une exploration de la querelle entre les différents mouvements littéraires (la querelle entre la créolité et la Négritude en l'occurrence) et le mouvement de « décésairisation » des consciences engagé par les créolistes.

3. Les Querelles entre courants littéraires

L'historiographie de la littérature antillaise est marquée par une succession de courants littéraires qui dans une certaine mesure s'affrontent dans une opposition ayant des fondements et des enjeux intellectuels et politiques. L'opposition entre la Négritude Césairienne et le mouvement de la créolité paraît, à ce sujet, être la plus notable. Le courant de la Négritude a par exemple été acerbement critiqué par les créolistes de livrer une bataille sur le fond contre une domination française que paradoxalement il alimentait par sa complicité avec le français (la langue de la puissance dominatrice et colonisatrice). Ce courant a ainsi été taxé par les créolistes de n'être qu'une arme illusoire de combat, qui fait visiblement fait l'économie de la contestation de l'appareil linguistique par lequel s'exerce à merveille la violence symbolique du dominant. Dans *Lettres créoles* par exemple, Chamoiseau formule cette critique en présentant sa propre expérience avec la langue française

J'écrivais des poèmes dans une langue française que je n'interrogeais pas, - obéissant à la négritude césairienne, j'avais juste clarifié en moi le désir de la révolutionner, d'y charroyer le tam-tam nègre et le vieil amadou africain. Mais à mon insu, la bousculant pourtant, je sacrifiais comme n'importe quel poète français à son espace symbolique. (60)

Il est toutefois à noter que cette critique à l'endroit de la Négritude pourrait être pareillement adressée à la créolité, qui préconise l'emploi d'un interlecte (interlangue) qui est produit du créole basilectal et le français standard qui bien entendu est la langue par laquelle, s'exerce pareillement la violence symbolique de la France. Tellement la critique est sans sérieux fondement, - si ce n'est qu'elle manifeste un envi de s'approprier une notoriété - que Reno s'interroge en les termes suivants :

Est-il plus révolutionnaire de pratiquer l'interlecte que d'écrire en Français ? Nous ne prétendons pas avoir de réponse à toutes ces interrogations. Cependant, si le recours à la langue dominante, « le matériau interlectal peut sous-entendre du construit là où n'existe qu'abandon lascif aux clichés et aux stéréotypes » [...] Ce risque est peut être encore plus grave que celui attribué à la Négritude [...] Est-on sûr qu'ils échappent à la critique qu'ils adressent à Césaire ? [...] Nous voulons simplement souligner à ce stade de l'exposé que la littérature comme d'autres champs intellectuel est traversé par des idéologies et des luttes pour le contrôle d'un espace, pour la conquête de la notoriété. (198-199)

Sur la base de ces observations, on peut dire que, bien que les mouvements apportent chacun une définition distincte des identités aux Antilles, ils ont en commun quelques limites et critiques. Ainsi, leur querelle/opposition serait en grande partie motivée par l'envi d'occuper les devants de la scène politico-littéraire aux Antilles. Delas explicite la question du combat d'influence dans l'espace littéraire Antillais. Il présente la querelle opposant les créolistes aux « Césairelâtres »/« Césaristes » comme l'action d'écrivains de l'intérieur, (vivant dans leur île) qui « tenteraient une double opération de disqualification ; d'une part des aînés, c'est-à-dire des tenants de la négritude de Césaire –Césairelâtres – d'autre part des écrivains de la diaspora, ceux qui, parce qu'ils vivent en France ou dans l'espace francophone devraient » (selon les créolistes) être considérés comme « dessouchés, blanchis, illégitimés » (67-68).

Les efforts par le courant de la créolité de se distancer des autres mouvements (à l'occurrence l'Antillanité et la Négritude) sont pour plusieurs critiques plus la recherche d'une influence dans l'espace politico-littéraire des Antilles. Un certain nombre de ces critiques penseraient même que la créolité n'est qu'une évolution ou alors, une des nouvelles facettes de la Négritude qui, de par sa vivacité et son dynamisme « évolue avec le temps et les différents visages du colonialisme » (Constant et Kahuidi 2). A en juger par les observations de ces derniers, la Négritude serait un projet d'actualité, mais sur une autre face qui est la créolité. La créolité serait donc, dans une mesure, l'incarnation de la Négritude, elle serait une arme reformée et ayant évolué pour attaquer la nouvelle forme de colonialisme (le néocolonialisme) prévalant aux Antilles. Constant et Kahuidi notent à ce propos que :

La Négritude s'est métamorphosée aux Antilles en d'autres projets idéologiques. L'importance de la filiation, la valeur de la mémoire, l'évocation de l'Afrique, même si c'est parfois pour la désavouer, démontrent la dette de ces mouvements envers la Négritude [...] Comme on l'a vu, même donnée pour morte depuis des décennies, la Négritude renaît encore de ses cendres sous des formes qui soit la contredisent soit la complètent avec des éléments propres aux temps actuels. (3)

Ceci dit, au lieu d'appréhender la Négritude comme un mouvement dépassé, déplacé, impopulaire et inadéquat pour la libération politique des Antilles et voir en ses adeptes (les Césairolâtres) des écrivains « qui ont fait leur temps » ; vaudrait mieux les accommoder dans le mécanisme dynamique et toujours vivant du combat politique aux Antilles. Que l'on l'admette ou pas la créolité est une évolution de la Négritude, une nouvelle tête de la Négritude qui demeure vivante, changeant de face pour mieux combattre la nouvelle forme de colonialisme.

4. Le Mouvement pour la « décesairisation » des mémoires par les créolistes

Le terme « décesairiser » est celui de critiques littéraires comme Kandé pour désigner l'action de blanchir Césaire et de le rendre illégitime. Engagé principalement par les créoliste (Chamoiseau, Confiant, Bernabé entre autres), le mouvement pour la « décesairisation » des mémoires est irréfutablement un autre visage de cette lutte d'influence qui prévaut dans la classe politico-littéraire antillaise. Les créolistes s'estiment être en rupture totale avec Césaire et font vocation de s'attaquer féroce aux choix littéraires et politiques de l'incommensurable Césaire, fouillant dans sa vie, ses habitudes vestimentaire, sa philosophie, sa formation académique et ses pratiques politiques. Les créolistes présentent Césaire comme l'artisan de tous les maux socio-politiques de l'Antillais, négligeant visiblement le bon côté de son engagement politique et particulièrement de son travail incessant et monumental en tant que parlementaire et maire à la mairie de Fort-de-France pour l'amélioration de l'habitat martiniquais (Kandé, 72). Dans Texaco, Chamoiseau le taxe de responsable de l'assimilation française des Antilles, du fait d'être partisan de la départementalisation de l'île de la Martinique ; départementalisation qui aujourd'hui impose à l'Antillais de payer un lourd tribut – une auto-deshumanisation (20 -22). C'est de cette critique faite dans Texaco que Reno observe que : « la départementalisation curieusement attribuée à Aimé Césaire en « dotomisant » les vieilles colonies, participe de cette domination insidieuse [...] La départementalisation correspondrait à une « identité d'assimilation ». Ce processus départemental aurait abouti à une auto-deshumanisation » (200).

Dans *Aimé Césaire, une traversée paradoxale du siècle*, Confiand tient également Césaire responsable du péché originel d'assimilation et des fléaux résultants de cette assimilation. Il présente Césaire comme l'homme de tous les paradoxes qui imprudemment a négligé la complexité identitaire des Antilles (particulièrement l'élément coolie) pour se hasarder à fantasmer sur une Afrique visiblement fantôme. Il critique également la culture/pratique par le poète-politicien du français « plus français que celui des Français », culture qu'il attribue à l'incapacité de Césaire à écrire en une langue minorée (Confiand 27). S'il est vrai que le mouvement créoliste visant la « décésairisation » des mémoires est applaudi par un certains notre de littérateurs et critiques, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'il représente une démarche visant la notoriété et la suprématie dans l'espace politico-littéraire aux Antilles. C'est partageant cette idée qu'Amie le Brun citée par Kandé décrit le mouvement de la créolité comme « une équipe de démolisseurs arrivant tout droit des Antilles aux dernières rentrées littéraires » ainsi qu'une « milice locale » chargée de laminer Césaire et son « idée-ouragan » de Négritude ; ainsi que de réprimer les idée non-créolement correctes.

L'anti-césarisme manifesté par la créolité a quelque part porté des dividendes favorables au mouvement. Elle a par exemple contribué à une recomposition du champ littéraire antillais et à l'émergence de la littérature créole à une notoriété que n'a peut être jamais atteint un autre courant littéraire et culturel antillais. Les rapports de force au sein du monde des lettres sont aujourd'hui modifiés, la créolité est le courant dominant dans cette espace.

5. Conclusion

Cette communication a tenté d'explorer la littérature antillaise en tant que champ concurrentiel ou s'affrontent idéologies politiques et écrivains pour le contrôle d'un espace et une notoriété. Deux principaux angles de vue ont été, pour la circonstance, mobilisés à savoir, les querelles opposant courants culturels rivaux (la Négritude contre la Créolité) et le mouvement de « décésairisation » des mémoires entrepris par les créolistes. Ces phénomènes ont progressivement abouti à une recomposition du champ littéraire antillais qui désormais est dominé par la créolité. La littérature créole a aujourd'hui une notoriété sans pareille avec les autres courants culturels antillais. L'indicatif le plus plausible du succès de cette littérature est sans doute les honneurs accumulés à de prestigieux prix comme le prix Goncourt, le prix Casa de las Americas, le prix Carbet de la Caraïbe, le prix de l'île Maurice, le prix des Lectrices du journal *Elle*, le prix Novembre, le prix Antigone, pour ne citer que certains.

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Revisiting the Colonial Text and Context: Parody in J. M. Coetzee's *Foe*

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Abstract

In many novels written by the South African writer J. M. Coetzee, oppression is the background in which he sets his narratives, whether within the general context of colonization or the more specific context of Apartheid. In his novel Foe, written five years before the abolition of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, Coetzee revisits a canonical colonial text of the eighteenth century through the parody of Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. This time, in Coetzee's text, it is the female narrator Susan Barton, rather than the male voice of Defoe's protagonist Crusoe, who tells a story about shipwreck and loss but most importantly she recounts the story of the black servant Friday who, so far, has been silenced by Defoe's white hero. This paper shall offer a study of the way Coetzee uses parody in his novel Foe in order to revisit both the colonial text and context.

Key words: Parody, canon, colonial, postcolonial, subversion, silence

*“The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full-stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network.” Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.*

When I started researching this topic, I knew that I had to begin with a theoretical framework about “parody” to make sense of how J. M. Coetzee’s novel *Foeparodies Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe*. However, in doing so, I discovered that the concept has witnessed some change throughout history. For instance, ancient parody varies from medieval and Renaissance parody which, in turn, differ from modern and postmodern parody. I have also noticed that this difference is basically the result of how close the parodic work is to comedy as a literary genre. In other words, ancient and Renaissance parody are only different from modern and postmodern parody in their heavy use of comic devices such as mockery, humor, satire or the burlesque. Such comic devices are found in the writings of Aristophanes (V c. BC) and Lucian of Samosata (II c. AD) where the gods are made to speak “in the manner of mean persons” (Rose 86). Parody, in this sense, is a literary genre that brings the high low by relying on comic imitation.

Mockery and imitation will continue to characterize the parodies written during the medieval age and the Renaissance, but this comic effect will come to an end during the age of modernism, especially with the Russian formalists whose writings paved the way for parody to be severed from its comic nature. Viktor Shklovsky, for instance, discusses the functions of parody in Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*, and Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* without referring to its comic character (Rose 113). More than that, Shklovsky even defines “parodirovaniye”, in the index of his essay on Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*, as “priyom ostranneniye” or ‘device for alienation’ (Rose 104). This modern facet of parody as a “device for alienation” leads one to go back to the origins of the word “parody”, where the prefix “para” in Greek means both “counter” and “near”. Therefore, parody imitates the original while alienating us from it by introducing new elements, thus, allowing distance and therefore criticism to take place. It contains, as Bakhtin argues, “internally dialogized discourses” (qtd. in Rose 130) which make of it a “hybrid construction” (Tynyanov qtd. in Rose 131).

These palimpsestic voices inside parody—the voice of the original literary work, that of its criticism or imitation, and a myriad of other untraceable voices—have led to the study of parody as a site for “intertextuality”, a concept developed by the French poststructuralist semiotician Julia Kristeva who argues that any text absorbs then transforms another text (65-66). Intertextuality has influenced not only the definition of parody as a form of intertextuality but that of the “Author- God” himself who, according to Roland Barthes, and building upon the above mentioned Kristeva’s definition of “text”, dies to turn the floor over to the reader who becomes the real source of meaning. The text, accordingly, is made up of “... a multi-dimensional space”, states Barthes, “in which are married and contested several writings, none of which is original: the text is a fabric of quotations, resulting in a thousand sources of culture”(53). Thus, any text is the intertext of another one, and parody is no exception as it cannot possibly be original, being the imitation of a pre-existing text.

Linda Hutcheon defines parody as “... repetition with critical distance that allows ironic signalling of difference at the very heart of similarity” (26). According to this

definition, then, parody is a literary form that enacts both continuity and change, i.e., it allows us to see the difference between the two art works, while at the same time, acknowledging their similarity. “[I]rony”, argues Hutcheon, “mark[s] the difference from the past, but the intertextual echoing simultaneously works to affirm—textually and hermeneutically—the connection with the past” (125), hence the critical function of parody vis-à-vis the past, which lies at the core of the postmodern paradox. Hutcheon conceives of postmodernism as a “contradictory enterprise” allowing postmodern art to use and abuse conventional art forms (Hutcheon 23). Postmodern parody, therefore, seems to have a dialogical relationship with the past by being both conservative and revolutionary (Hutcheon 35). According to Edward Said, this relationship between parody and the past is what gives parody much importance. He thinks that its importance lies in its ability to offer satirical appropriation of history and revision of the canon, since postmodern art forms are a tireless reproduction of the past, while “canon form has exhausted all the possible combinations of notes” (qtd. In Sweet 161-162).

It is within this framework of postmodern parody that J. M. Coetzee’s *Foe* should be read. This 1986 novel is a parody of the eighteenth century novel *Robinson Crusoe* written by Daniel Defoe. Yet, Coetzee’s novel uses the frame of Defoe’s narrative in order to question the imperialist framework around which the colonial novel is woven without being comic or humorous. Coetzee uses the *Robinson Crusoe* tale to abuse it, in the very Hutcheonian sense. First of all, *Foe* is told from the perspective of a female narrator, Susan Barton, who displaces Crusoe both as the story’s narrator and its male hero. Coetzee’s parody offers a relocation of the narrative center that embodies the British imperialist mindset in Defoe’s text. The first person narrator Robinson Crusoe places himself at the center, and being white and English, he associates himself with the good, while placing Friday on the periphery of the tale, allowing him no past history but that of his ancestors’ cannibalism and savagery. In *Robinson Crusoe*, Friday is presented as a subject that owes his life and faith to Master Crusoe who confesses:

My Island was now peopled, and I thought my self very rich in Subjects; and it was a merry Reflection which I frequently made, How like a King I look'd. First of all, the whole Country was my own meer Property; so that I had an undoubted Right of Dominion. 2dly, My people were perfectly subjected: I was absolute Lord and Law-giver; they all owed their Lives to me, and were ready to lay down their Lives, if there had been Occasion of it, for me. It was remarkable too, we had but three Subjects, and they were of three different Religions. My Man Friday was a Protestant, his Father was a Pagan and a Cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist: However, I allow'd Liberty of Conscience throughout my Dominions: But this is by the Way. (250)

Ato Quayson sees in such discourse a metaphor of power structures that reflects the hegemonic discourse designed by colonialists who attempt to legitimize their dominance (qtd. in Fulkerson par. 15). Spivak refers to this social role of literature and argues that it has a large influence in the production of cultural representation of Empire and the establishment of imperialist doctrines (qtd. in Turk 307). This is why Coetzee’s revisiting of the Robinson Crusoe tale is much important, as his parody of one of the most famous colonial novels presents what Edward Said calls “a contrapuntal reading”. In other words, *Foe* not only points to imperialism, but it also resists it through the consideration of the elements that were excluded from the colonial text. In other words, by placing a female narrator and protagonist

at the heart of his narrative, Coetzee highlights her sheer absence from the eighteenth century canonical novel where no female voice is found whatsoever. Susan Barton becomes both the castaway and narrator of the Crusoe tale, while the male protagonist remains only as a reminder of the parodied text, a relic from the canon who loses his “Englishness” and becomes Crusoe. The “e” which might stand for “empire” or “England” disappears from his name as *Foe’s* Crusoe is dispossessed of his history of the shipwrecked adventurer and becomes a mere old man who happens to be on a desert island when Susan gets shipwrecked. Friday is also kept from the original tale, but instead of placing his head beneath Crusoe’s foot he carries his new master; this time a woman who shares the same condition of silencing and marginalization with him. Friday has no tongue to tell his story, and so does Barton who is deprived of a voice that permits her to write her story according to her wishes.

Coetzee’s parody allows a critical gaze into the colonial world in which Daniel Defoe wrote his novel and divulges the imperialist, as well as the patriarchal, doctrines that characterized it. Susan Barton’s attempts to write her story according to her own terms are constantly hampered by the male author Foe who insists on writing her off a feminist story of emancipation and into a Robinsonade or an adventure tale story faithful to the seventeenth and eighteenth century literary tradition of Daniel Defoe’s world. The female protagonist is aware of her foe’s attempts to distort her story but feels, nonetheless, that her “life is drearily suspended till [his] writing is done” (Coetzee 63). Susan is certainly endowed with the ability to narrate—she has proved to be a good storyteller in *Foe*—yet, the reader is aware of the mockery lying at the heart of this endowment. As a matter of fact, her-story is suspended until his-story is done. Susan keeps sending letters to Mr Foe, which is a hint at the epistolary novel form that inspired many eighteenth century writers. Among these writers we find Henry Fielding whose epistolary novel entitled *Shamela* parodies Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela* in which the heroine resembles Susan Barton in her passive awaiting. J. M. Coetzee seems to find pleasure in revisiting the colonial context through his parody of Defoe’s novel, but also through the numerous allusions to other eighteenth century novels that reflect the period’s patriarchal mindset.

Not only does Coetzee’s parody point out to the eighteenth century canon’s silencing of the female voice, but it also seeks to unveil the manners in which the colonized are displaced and relocated both at the narrative as well as at the historical margins. Indeed, Friday’s presence in *Robinson Crusoe* further decentres him as he finds himself on an island that bears the traces of his ancestors but over which he cannot reign. As soon as Robinson Crusoe, an English mariner, sets foot on Friday’s island, he starts acting like a master, giving orders to Friday and thinking of himself as “king, or Emperor” (119). This sums up best Edward Said’s criticism of the canonical texts which he considers as artifacts of a colonial culture and which he thinks have helped to build imperial “structure[s] of attitude and reference” (qtd. in Turk 307). Daniel Defoe’s novel is responsible for the creation of a discourse that not only legitimizes colonization, but also presents the colonized as people who wilfully turn themselves into subjects to their white masters, and if Friday simply sets his head under Master Crusoe’s foot, the slave in Joyce Cary’s *Mister Johnson* (1938), as Syed Javed Hussain remarks, feels a rapture when his master shoots him (Hussain). *Foe*, however, does not offer better opportunities for the silenced woman and the oppressed slave, as they both keep being marginalized by the imperialist figure of oppression in the novel, and Defoe’s

substitute Mr Foe, who decides to write Susan's story according to his taste and to "reshape" Friday as he wishes: "I say he is a cannibal and he becomes a cannibal; I say he is a laundryman and he becomes a laundryman(...) What he is to the world is what I make of him" (121-122). Therefore, Mr (De)Foe is the hand with which Empire writes its subjects off history, depriving them of any voice that could speak for them.

Tisha Turk refers to *Foe* as a "transformative narrative" (295), or what José García Landa calls "counter-narrative", which "invoke[s] a story in order to subvert it"(qtd. in Turk 295). As a matter of fact, J. M. Coetzee's *Foe* subverts the tale of Robinson Crusoe not only at the level of its discourse but also in terms of plot and characterization. As far as the plot of *Robinson Crusoe* is concerned, Coetzee has kept only a few elements. While the original text is a typical adventure story that tells of a shipwrecked mariner, of cannibals and guns, and of a desert island and a rough sea, its parody can only be called an adventure story in the first two chapters where Susan tells of her shipwreck, her stay on the island and her adventures on the way back to England, along with some mishaps she and Friday encountered on the way to Mr Foe's house. Another plot element that has been re-visited in *Foe* is the fate of Crusoe who, instead of being rescued and taken back to England as in *Robinson Crusoe*, he dies en route and leaves his-story hanging between the voice of the skilful male storyteller of Defoe and that of Coetzee's female narrator. The latter turns her story into "narrated narrating" (Landa qtd. In Turk 300). The story Barton narrates becomes a narrative about storytelling and the difficulty to mother her story at the presence of the male author, her enemy Mr Foe. She, then, shifts the focus of the tale from the island, its inhabitants and her daughter, to the dialectical relationship between herself and Foe and to how difficult a business it is to write her life-story from her own female perspective (Turk 300).

As regards characterization, Coetzee's *Foe* does not invoke a female protagonist, but rather invents one, as such a character is almost absent from the parodied canon, with two female characters who are hardly mentioned. By placing a woman at the center of his narrative as both storyteller and heroine, Coetzee points out to this voluntary exclusion of woman from Defoe's text, and by the same token, he highlights the fact that she is still silenced in his own text, three centuries after the production of *Robinson Crusoe*. It is this self-reflexivity that renders Coetzee's novel a postmodern one par excellence. Coetzee's ricocheting at the condition of the female writer criticizes the absence of change in the women writers' status even after the revision of the canon through his parody *Foe*.

Robinson Crusoe is a character that has travelled from Daniel Defoe's tale and reached J. M. Coetzee's novel. During this voyage, he has gained some years by becoming an old man, but has, nonetheless, lost the "e" in his name, which "orthographically mark[s]" the difference between *Robinson Crusoe*'s Crusoe and *Foe*'s Crusoe (Macaskill and Colleran qtd. in Turk 300). In fact, Crusoe has lost many things on the way to Coetzee's narrative, including his centrality as *the* narrator and hero of his tale. Being English, born in "the city of York", as he tells his readers in Defoe's novel (1), he places himself in the center of the novel, "within a national and historical tradition", as Fulkerson states (pars.12-13). This tradition is built on a binary mindset that, according to Fulkerson, places the British Empire as the epitome of law, order and God's blessing, while the rest of the world is defined as evil, chaos and God's punishment. Fulkerson gives the example of Robinson Crusoe who challenges his father's

will for him to study law and chooses the sea, and away from England, she explains, his punishment is to be shipwrecked and cast on Friday's island (Fulkerson par. 12). Such binarism overwhelms Defoe's discourse and prepared for what Elleke Boehmer calls "high imperialism" as a reference to the vast wave of British colonization in such a short historical period as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Boehmer qtd. in Fulkerson par.12).

In *Foe*, however, we read about a Cruso whose stories about Friday are not credible; he is not even the storyteller. Coetzee has substituted Defoe's narrator for Susan Barton who tells us more about Friday than about Cruso. Dispossessed both from the role of the story's narrator and that of the hero, Cruso has nothing else to do but tend infertile rocky plantations without even sowing a seed in them. He cannot impregnate the land and make it prosperous because he is no longer its "king" or "emperor". The island itself becomes barren, hostile and full of thorns and unfriendly insects. It is so different from Robinson's idyllic island which is the incarnation of Paradise awaiting the British settlers to regain it. This island seeks no owners, no masters. It is an island that makes the setting for a postcolonial narrative where Cruso has lost the power to own the island as he is not the narrator of that same colonial narrative whose center is Crusoe. Coetzee's Cruso finds himself in an ironic parody that seeks to subvert Crusoe's tale, to subvert history itself. Hence, the readers find only the name of Cruso familiar, not the essence of the character.

Friday is another character who travels from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and inhabits Coetzee's novel to become African, "... a Negro with a head of fuzzy wool" (Coetzee 5), whereas in the genuine text he is Indian. This drives Susan Barton to think that she has come to "the wrong island" (6), which is an allusion to Defoe's tale, as if, like the readers, she is aware of the existence of the original *Robinson Crusoe* and of how different her story is from it. Indeed, she says it plainly in a direct reference to the classic tale:

For readers reared on travellers' tales, the words *desert isle* may conjure up a place of soft sands and shady trees where brooks run to quench the castaway's thirst and ripe fruit falls into his hand, where no more is asked of him than to drowse the days away till a ship calls to fetch him home. (7)

This is definitely the summary of Robinson Crusoe's life-story; Susan's story, however, is a different one. The setting itself is different and the narrator draws our attention to this fact when she describes the island:

But the island on which I was cast away was quite another place: a great rocky hill with a flat top, rising sharply from the sea on all sides except one, dotted with drab bushes that never flowered and never shed their leaves. Off the island grew beds of brown seaweed which, borne ashore by the waves, gave off a noisome stench and supported swarms of large pale fleas. (7)

Susan Barton refers to the other *desert isle* because she knows well that the readers are familiar with it, that they must have read about Robinson's prosperous island, his adventures and the ship that saved him. This literary knowledge shared between the story's narrator and the readers involves the latter in what is called "readerly activities" that drive them to consider both the elements belonging to the "transformed text" on the one hand – in this case Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, by relying on their memories– and the elements constituting the

“transformative text”, on the other hand. Thus, the readers become “co-constructors” of the text, as Tisha Turk calls them, and the meaning of the transformative narrative cannot be reached unless the readers react to the intertext. Turk also argues that: “Part of the transformative narrative’s meaning therefore lies outside the text, in the space between text and intertext” (296). The readers, therefore, understand the text by considering the gaps and blanks, as well as the “surplus” elements found in the parody. Yet, what is different about Coetzee’s parody is that the narrator directly refers to this “space between text and intertext” by pointing to the gaps as well as the additional elements in *Foe*.

One additional element in *Foe* is Friday’s missing tongue, while, he is considered the gap in Susan’s story. When we read Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, we notice that there is no reference to Friday’s past history; his story starts with the arrival of Crusoe. Friday’s story is ignored by omission, as Fulkerson states (par. 22). More than that, he is further alienated from himself when Crusoe pushes him to embrace two British meta-narratives: the English language and Christianity. Judith Fetterly refers to this phenomenon as “the division of the self against the self”(qtd. in Fulkerson par. 20) whereby the subject forcibly adopts “a language and religious culture”, explains Fulkerson, “that has been structured to call those not- British “savage” and “barbaric”” (par. 21).

If Friday’s his-tory is voluntarily excluded from Defoe’s novel by omission, it is kept so from Coetzee’s parody by rendering him dumb. In fact, Friday’s tongue has been cut out by Cruso, slave traders, or moors. We have no exact account about that, except for Susan’s fantasies about what might have happened to him. Friday cannot tell his story because he is physically maimed. Coetzee has chosen to make him as such because his parody does not claim to change things, but rather to expose the narrative and historic wrongs that wrote the black subject off the canon and history. The novel’s narrator is aware that Friday is the gap in her narrative, that he is the hole that makes it incomplete. Her literary male counterpart Foe is also aware that there is a “silence surrounding Friday” (142) and that they must give voice to this silence.

At one moment in the novel, Foe and Susan discuss the latter’s account of how Friday paddles his boat through seaweed and Foe is surprised that Friday “floats upon the very skin of death and is safe” (141). He imagines a big hand that reaches out and draws Friday down, but Susan does not believe he would die. Foe, then, tells her another scenario to her account of how Friday floats upon the wrecked ship. He imagines Friday’s “fellow- slaves” dying in that wreck while Friday sinks “to settle among the bones of the dead” (141). Mr Foe finds the survival of Friday quite striking and he imagines another scene:

I said the heart of the story,’ resumed Foe, ‘but I should have said the eye, the eye of the story. Friday rows his log of wood across the dark pupil—or the dead socket—of an eye staring up at him from the floor of the sea. He rows across it and is safe. To us he leaves the task of descending into that eye. Otherwise, like him, we sail across the surface and come ashore none the wiser, and resume our old lives, and sleep without dreaming, like babes. (141)

To speak the unspoken, for Foe, is to get to the eye of the story. This eye spares Friday because he knows the truth, he has a story, only it is an untold one. It is the task of Foe and

Susan to get to the eye in order to know Friday's story. The eye in this case may well be the *eye/ I* from which Friday's story is told. If the white authors do not see Friday's story from that eye, the eye lying at the bottom of the sea, the one that swallowed the wreck of slave ships, the one that witnessed what really happened, they will miss the point and continue their lives as innocent as babes, untouched by the bitter truth behind the silence of Friday and of his "fellow-slaves". The eye is nothing but a mouth, as Susan tells Foe. She says: "It is for us to descend into the mouth (since we speak in figures). It is for us to open Friday's mouth and hear what it holds: silence, perhaps, or a roar, like the roar of a seashell held to the ear" (142). Therefore, the eye/I is Friday's voice which will allow him to speak and make the story complete.

Yet, Coetzee seems to be determined to remind us that it is not a clear voice, but a roar, for his novel's purpose is not to give voice to the silenced, but to give the readers "reared on travellers' tales" the opportunity to review their understanding of those tales, to revisit the canon and see through that eye lying at the bottom of the sea that those travellers created a different version of the story of the oppressed, and wrote tales that justified and legitimized the exclusion of women and blacks out of literature and history. In Coetzee's novel, and upon their encounter, Susan and Friday become inseparable. Susan becomes Friday's "mistress" instead of Crusoe and instead of the scene where the slave places his head beneath the master's foot, we see him carrying her on his back, for they both share the same literary and historical demise. They have both been silenced, but they are *themselves* the silence that makes both narratives incomplete, i.e. *Robinson Crusoe* as well as its parody *Foe* cannot reach any closure if the story of the silenced has not been told. Fulkerson states that: "By denying Friday a tongue, Coetzee asks if the identity of the colonized is ever recoverable" (par. 27). Coetzee does not intend to recover the identity of the colonized but to "demythologize history" (Coetzee qtd. in Turk 307). Turk, however, argues that by pointing out to the suppression of woman and slave, Coetzee criticizes textual production itself. In other words, in order to make some narratives more coherent, some characters need to be suppressed or silenced (306), as is the case of *Foe* whose aim is to disclose the patriarchal and colonialist structures that denied access to women and the colonized more than three centuries ago. It is coherent as a parody that revisits the transformed text in order not to correct but to destabilize it.

Friday's tongue has been cut out; he has been cast in an impenetrable world of silence. Yet, his silence is much empowering as he holds the meaning of the story Susan Barton wishes to write, and unless Friday speaks, the story will not be complete. His silence displaces the narrator's authority as he becomes more powerful than those who master the word and wield the pen. His silence even displaces the authority of Crusoe/ Defoe as his empowering silence challenges and unveils the will to omit his story from the literary canon (Fulkerson pars. 17-18).

Tisha Turk argues that *Foe* "suggests the processes of selection and exclusion by which a narrative—one of many possible narratives—becomes *the* narrative" (Turk 304). This means that since it is Susan Barton who provides the author Foe with all the elements he needs to write an adventure story—which will be entitled *Robinson Crusoe*—"the audience can pretend that *Foe* is "the real story" on which *Robinson Crusoe* and *Roxana* are based" (304).

In other words, the story Mr Foe wishes to write based on the accounts of Susan Barton is but the story Daniel Defoe wrote more than three centuries ago, as if *Foe* claims priority over *Robinson Crusoe*.

Nevertheless, being faithful to the white patriarchal traditions of his age, Foe suppresses her-story from his-tory, writing her, thus, off the Robinson Crusoe tale “within the constraints of available roles for women” (Turk 303). Susan imagines his reply to her letter in which she urges him to write her a publishable story as follows: “Better without the woman” (72). The woman, undeniably, does not figure in Defoe’s story as a character that speaks out for her ow. She is a character with a functional role, like that of “mother” or “widow”. Her inclusion in what is called “the classics” is either for the sake of coherence, as Coetzee would suggest, or for the sake of moral preaching, as in the case of *Roxana*, another *classic* by Defoe and the “secondary intertext” in *Foe* (Turk 299). As a matter of fact, Daniel Defoe’s *Roxana* has echoes in Coetzee’s novel, namely in the character and life-story of Susan Barton who, like Roxana, whose real name is Susan, notes Turk (303), has lost her daughter and started a quest to look for her. Yet, when this lost daughter finds her way to Mr Foe’s house to fetch her mother, this latter denies her and prefers to continue the story without the lost-and-then-found daughter cliché.

The encounter between Susan and the girl springs out of Coetzee’s literary whim to make the text meet the intertext. The result is a violent intercourse where the girl recognizes Susan as her mother, while Susan, who is familiar with the story of Roxana, refuses to endorse that role because she knows the implications of such an act. For Susan to acknowledge that girl as her daughter is to be inscribed not only into the role of Roxana, but also into the whole eighteenth century patriarchal social and literary structures providing stereotypical roles for women as either immoral whores and courtesans or good wives and mothers. Susan refuses to resemble Defoe’s heroine because she contests those structures. Once again, Coetzee’s parody invokes Defoe’s discourse in order to question and demythologize it.

J. M. Coetzee’s novel *Foe* is one among many re-writings of the eighteenth century novel *Robinson Crusoe* which was taught in English departments as a literary *canon*, bearing witness to Defoe’s skilled plume. Yet, Defoe’s novel is now mostly taught as the *transformed text* that bears eloquent testimony to Defoe’s imperialist gaze and his biased discourse. A novel like *Foe* has succeeded in displacing the canon without offering a substitute for it. It questions the patriarchal and colonialist discourses nurturing Defoe’s text by pointing out to the mechanisms of silencing and omission of both woman and the slave. These mechanisms render Defoe’s classic a text that preaches and legitimizes imperialism and patriarchy. Coetzee’s parody *Foe*, hence, revisits the colonial text and context not to correct the wrongs to which slaves and women have been exposed, but to invite the readers to see through the “eye” that looks at Friday from the bottom of the sea and read *Robinson Crusoe* without an “e” to see whether it makes any difference to read it otherwise.

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Africa through the lenses of the European textual journeys

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Abstract

Africa has always been represented in the Western orientalist texts in deformed terms manipulated for different ideological, colonial or political objectives. Back in time, one such purpose was laying the ground for European colonial expansions. However, the need nowadays to rethink such continuous adoption of the usage of the dark, savage and primitive Africa and Africans in some Western Orientalist literary enterprises is of paramount significance, especially in relation to the idea of the text as becoming an imaginary journey for readers who keep longing for exploring the sinister mystery of places without having to leave their seats.

In this regard, this paper dwells upon the different excuses made as to why Westerners accord such importance to depicting Africa in their texts. More than this, it will venture into the ways wherein writers use images fraught with mystery in their writings to intrigue the curiosity of readers to read more and learn more about things and people from their homes without having to take the risk of venturing to get into close contact with the places or peoples being depicted.

Key words: Orientalism, Stereotypes, Textual journeys, Armchair travelers

For centuries now, Africa has been a virtual site for which many Western Orientalist¹ writers have devoted at least a novel or two. It is Africa with its topographical features, geographical settings, cultures, religions or people that have occupied the main themes of most western Orientalist writings. In fact, different are the interrogations, interpretations or explanations so far as to why westerners accord such an importance to Africa. Understandably, Africa, not to mention Asia or Australia for instance, is perceived to be the repository of all what is primitive. Its people are virtual incarnation of the Stone Age, when people used to go naked and practice some rituals that are centuries afar from ages of civilization.

Starting from almost the 15th century towards the early twentieth century, Africa was the chessboard in which Western writers could play and move the pawns in the way that would grant them the appeal of the Western audience back home. In fact, many are the novels, travelogues or memoirs that, in a way or another, falsely depict Africans and mis-interpret their practices. The purposes, of course, were many, but the most significant of which was to pave the way for colonial expansion and then provide legitimate proofs that Africans really needed to be civilized and scaled up to the level of Europeans. In this respect, some Western orientalist writers have taken the venture of picturing an African scene for their country fellows in picturesquely relegated terms serving nothing but to entertain the armchair Western travelers with the primitive African people's stories which are tinged with the fear and sinister mystery of the dark Africa. For those writers the logic that still reigns is that, "every story is a travel story – a spatial practice,"² thereby these narratives take the Africans' past de/formed experiences and practices to be their basic hooking subject matter.

Understandably, most of the Western orientalist narratives have always been considered virtual means of travels to moving locations of exoticism and imagery. In the most basic sense, a novel, for instance, can allow the reader to experience something different or something new. It can also take the reader on a trip through different geographies, thus experiencing the living panorama of the unfamiliar settings around the world as well as the different lives of people while leafing through a novel's pages. Western orientalist literary narratives journeying through the geographies of the exotic construct their own literary experiences with fantasy landing of the actually existing world. In so doing, the readers can now sense that,

"The world is getting smaller, and [people] travel faster, countries are being brought within hours of each other instead of days, the people of those countries are getting more and more like one great family, and whether they like it or not one day they have

¹ By the concept Orientalist, I draw upon Edward Said' (1978) designation of the term. For him, "anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist – either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism." (See Edward, W. Said. *Orientalism*. New York: Random house, 1978, p. 3)

² Giuliana Bruno. "City Viewers: The voyage of film images." Ed. David B. Clarke. *The cinematic city*. (New York: Routledge, 1997). p. 47

to learn to live like one great family.” (From the British wartime film *For Freedom*, 1940)³

As a matter of fact, readers have always found various sources of pleasure in getting involved in the climax of every story they read about foreign lands. Western orientalist narratives have constituted an essential means of dis/information that could spare the Western readers all the difficulties and dangers of experiencing things live in the location, and they have substituted real attempts of travels with textual realities within everyone’s reach within a novel’s successive pages. Therefore, literary narratives have been widely received for their ability to serve as a kind of surrogate travel, enabling readers to journey around the world without leaving their seats. As Dimitris Eleftheriotis (2010) remarks in his book, *Cinematic Journeys: Film and Movement*:

The exhibition experience [of a novel] turns the world into an ‘object lesson’, a displayed, attainable object of knowledge, while at the same time the spectator is treated into a virtual trip around the world.⁴

This rhetoric celebrates some novels or travelogues as forms of vicarious travel – the foreign lands narrated in a novel become a virtual experience of travel. All through a novel, the reader is transported into a new “set of cognitive experience of mobile consumption.”⁵ At this level, the novel brings “the fantasy worlds within, into prominence while themselves becoming, literally and figuratively transparent.”⁶ The reader no longer feels the novel obstructs him/her from joining these worlds for real, but is instead feeling as if invited inside the stories being narrated to take part in the actions and to consume with his/her imagination, thereby feeling, smelling and touching the things within.

The novel quite literally presents an exciting experience of daydreaming by providing the reader with an instant travel adventure. The novel, by such token, brings something new to the experience of mobility: representations of movement begin to substitute for actual movement and enact a new experience of imaginative mobility. Literature, in this sense, has been part of a network of representations of mobility and travel in many different works of art, especially in a different yet captivating version of depicting the exotic. This way, new conceptions of tourism appear on the surface: tourists consuming represented travels rather than actual travel.

Furthermore, Jean Baudrillard (2008) further extends the discussion of represented travelling and includes the ability of photography in supplying such virtual travelling. For him, photography is actually equal to travel in the sense that it, “is not merely an aid to travel, rather it is itself ‘a kind of traveling’, a process of self-departure, of ‘acting-out’ [...] It’s a way of escaping oneself, of being elsewhere, a form of exoticism too. [...] It’s not really the

³ Qtd. In David Holmes. *Communication Theory: Media, Technology, Society*. (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2005). p. 189

⁴ Dimitris Eleftheriotis. *Cinematic Journeys: Film and Movement*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2010), p. 22

⁵ Pramod K. Nayar. *Packaging Life: Cultures of the Everyday*. (New Delhi, California et al.:SAGE Publications Ltd., 2009), p. 146

⁶ Ibid. p. 146

image that I produce [...] rather it's this kind of activity."⁷ Accordingly, people have had recourse to the narrated story to know about realities of peoples and places, the results of which have been that stereotypes and propaganda have found an adequate maelstrom to flourish and reign.

Still a significant point is the fact that novels, for instance, create places that are entirely new, geographies that only exist in the writers' imaginations. This situation has culminated in blurring the boundaries between the real and virtual, thereby creating a virtual reality that is experienced as reality without being so. Therefore, the traveler no longer has to take the hardships of cutting across lines to get somewhere after long and tedious trips full of risks, rather, now more than ever before, thanks to novels there is this growing tendency to provide for readers continuous and easy travels that cut across lines thus naturalizing a desire for the exotic. This fact does not necessarily mean that readers are kind of "globe-trotters" but they could enjoy the experience of armchair travel [...] the "stay-at-home" who lacked either the time or money to see the great wonders of the world."⁸

In this respect, Robert Dixon (2011) expresses the idea that this vicarious kind of travel offers "the advantages and pleasures of travel without any of its defects, discomforts or inconveniences [...] travelogues offer audiences glimpses of faraway places [...] by making faraway cultures into commodities that could be enjoyed for the price of admission."⁹ Indeed, literature has the power to capture the experience of travel; nature's "living panorama" is thought to be perfectly reproduced on many sorts of literary productions. In support of this, David Holmes (2005) quotes Raymond Williams writing about the internet's ability to provide free travel to everyone just like other literary production in his concept of "mobile privatization."¹⁰ Williams writes that in the present times, one can easily see the extent to which,

the private 'shells' of the motor car, office and home unit gradually become extended by new media in ways in which it becomes possible to travel without physical movement. The paradox of MTV or the World Wide Web is that thousands of images can stream past us every hour, where we can be transported around the world at lightning speed, sampling countless other places, styles and impressions, whilst we are stationed in absolute stasis, our only motion being with a mouse or remote control. New media give us a mobility which exempts the consumer from having to leave the comfort of his or her shell, even his or her armchair. Such shells do not have to be physical; indeed, the space in front of a computer screen is one that is intensely personalized, designed for a single user with the right password, and with icons, characters and images which demand a face-to-screen association.¹¹

⁷ Qtd. In Paul Kubalek. "The Tourist Gaze." (Chelsea College of Arts and Design: MA Graphic Design Communications, 2008). Pdf

⁸ Robert Dixon. *Photography, Early Cinema and Colonial Modernity: Frank Hurley's Synchronized Lecture Entertainments*. (London, New York and New Delhi: Anthem Press, 2011). p. 169

⁹ Ibid. p. 170

¹⁰ David Holmes. *Communication Theory: Media, Technology, Society*. (London and Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2005). p. 91

¹¹ Ibid. p. 91

The internet and literature have indeed made it accessible for everyone to enjoy virtual mobility everywhere in the world. The world out there has become expressible in the internet or novels' imagery and symbolic forms. Interestingly, literature preserves the world pictorially in the mind of the reader. People tend to remember places and peoples pictured in exotic terms. As such, Western orientalist literature do present stories of real places within the rubric of conventionalized fantasies of exoticism, thereby bringing to the forefront some of the fantasies that fuel our fascination with literature in general. Put in more concrete terms, fantasized stories instigate our fascination with the act of movement, with difference and with the act of imagining itself. In this account, difference, for instance, is manifest in the way, "Western landscape photographers appropriated the magisterial gaze from the tradition of landscape painting – a contention borne out by the reception of Watkins's images."¹²

In their photographs, the Western photographers' superior gaze assumes that "the whole world might be viewed from [their photographs], and from there ruled and commanded."¹³ In a sense, the Western white gaze divides the world into two parts: the civilized versus the uncivilized. From their strategic positions, Western photographers choose to gaze upon the uncivilized part of the world and render it susceptible to their control and command. Basically, their controlling gazes favor bringing into the fore downgrading and heinous representations of people, cultures and places they assume as totally different from theirs.

Basically, some Western literary productions are fascinated with the idea of acting upon difference to represent (what they take to be) different landscapes, different people and different forms of everyday life. In view of that, some novels are filled with quite implicit and explicit sensational images. This is a fact that can be attributed to the vision that difference is something freakish or made to be freakish, that is, to represent other peoples and cultures as though they were freaks of nature.

It should be noted that this difference is basically maintained through binary oppositions. It often seems as though all the diversity tirelessly displayed by these novels facilitates comparisons that show how *Western* ways are the best. In fact, how these racist constructions of differences were constructed is the guarantee of any novel's success and bestselling. Certainly, people find novels appealing because they make it possible for them to view difference, which has been basically manufactured to fit their desires. Difference, therefore, is the fuelling impulse of the idea of travelling. It is what makes people enjoy traveling without actually traveling and discover and know about new things without even leaving their seats. Therefore, this way of perceiving literature has enacted a new dialectic of distance and proximity, thereby bringing other places nearby and turning locales into commodities. Furthermore, it represents this global world of variety and difference in a particular comprehensible way: exotic and astounding yet comprehensible and manageable.

¹² Martin A. Berger. *Sight the Unseen. Whiteness and American Visual Culture*: "Landscape Photography and the White Gaze." (London, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, Ltd., 2005), pp. 50-51

¹³ Ibid. 50

Some racist Western novels have created the exotic racist views to be an eroticized lure for the readers. A binary relationship is thus established between the reader, who is constructed as a *Western* subject, and the readable, who is always necessarily the reader's *Other*. Hence, one might immediately imagine that the Western orientalist literature was written for the sake of exploring the locales and foreign territories by the intrepid Europeans. What is interesting in these snooping Western explorations is that they take on a form of imaginary travels that are set to implement ensuing purposes by their creators. If we take some literary productions, such as novels to constitute a form of imaginary travel, then it has to be looked at as an experience of virtual mobility. Quite interestingly, such imaginary travel offers a low-price show of realistic yet fantastical images of faraway places and transports the viewer away to infinite possibilities of daydreams. In this sense, it would be of paramount significance to make patent the ways in which the image of the dark Africa was appropriated as the hooking subject matter of textual travelling for Western readers.

As a matter of fact, the image of Africa was first introduced to the Western stage by first hand experiences of earlier explorers and second hand experiences of those who interpreted the stories of Africans in the shadow of other earlier interpretations. Western orientalist writers, whether consciously or not, reproduced false descriptions in more enmeshed ways. Therefore, we can distinguish between two kinds of Western orientalist writers on Africa.

First, there are those writers who paid a short visit to Africa or never visited it before. Hence what they wrote later was a host of false and immature impressions they had during their short visits or from relying on other earlier Western writers' narratives, to which some modifications worthy of attention were made. In support of this idea, we can site here, for instance, Joseph Conrad's (1998) *Heart of Darkness*¹⁴ which was produced after a brief sojourn in the former Belgian Congo as a steamship captain.¹⁵

Furthermore, there are other Western writers who lived among Africans for a long time and got the chance to understand the real image of Africa and its people. While some of those writers represented the real Africa and collaborated to correcting the stereotypical and racist images with which the European popular imagination of Africa was fraught, others stuck to what they had already known about Africa from their earlier country fellows, thus escape falling in contradictions in what they all depict.

It should be noted that early European awareness of Africa grew out of the writings of Arab geographers and explorers or Western historians, among many others. This awareness has not only encompassed an understanding of geographical facts but also the marvels and mysteries of the other countries located in the heart of darkness, such as Africa. Later on, European explorers, merchants and missionaries who lived in or visited Africa wrote notes and memoirs about the social behavior of people they encountered in Africa. These writings, indeed, were not free from ready-made judgements and misinterpretations. Still, they were

¹⁴ Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness & Other Stories*. Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 1998. ISBN 1-85326-240-4.

¹⁵ Elleke, Boehmer. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 21

meant to crisscross with the expectations or the already formed images of Africa in the European popular. For the European writer at the time, to write or represent some countries or people in a different light oppositional to that of the earlier Western writers is to resist and belie the European realm of thoughts on which the European society was grounded at the time. In this sense, Elleke Boehmer (1995) in her book, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, explains that:

Writers of romance, explorers and settlers read one another and were influenced by [each other's] reading. They conceived of newly mapped or settled places using the terms of reference laid down and tested by those who went before them¹⁶

European writers read one another and agreed on what to write. They interpreted things in the shadow of earlier writings or other contemporary writers even without getting the chance to see the place or people being represented or misrepresented. Understandably, by the eighteenth century, Africa began to be used as a setting of utter fear and began to be given thematic treatments, especially with the growth of the conventional novel. In so doing, Africa has become the haven of all what is strange, mysterious, erotic, savage or uncivilized. Africans have been transformed into characters that unwillingly take part in the events of a novel that meant to defame and distort their culture. Drawing on the example of Daniel Defoe's (1719) *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*,¹⁷ one can easily observe the inhumane treatment that Crusoe accords to his black servant named Friday. Defoe's novel is laden with connotations of mystery, barbarism and inexhaustible wealth that all can be traced to Africa. These and other themes have roots in earlier explorations conducted by merchants, historians and sail men who set off in adventurous journeys so as to decipher the mysteries of the unknown lands and get their abundant riches. Such was the characteristics of the eighteenth century writings of westerners, which, in turn, did not escape their overgeneralized stereotypical visions. Instead, they came as perpetuation and maintenance of the already established images about the rest of the world bordering Europe.

Therefore, Europe was conceived of as an interconnected intersexual milieu where metaphors and epithets about Africa were to be found in abundance, and it is also where these images could be exchanged between different writers of different parts of the Western world. Such were the travelling metaphors that were preserved by western writers and handed down on to other generations. "Metaphors translated other lands and peoples," Elleke Boehmer (1995) explains, "developed into conventions of seeing and reading which moved not only between texts but between colonized regions also."¹⁸ It is these travel metaphors that led to colonial expansions. These expansions, in turn, were inspired by the fact that there were fortunes overseas needed to be exploited and people who were in dire need of Western civilization.

¹⁶ Elleke, Boehmer. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 48

¹⁷ Daniel, Defoe. *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. Kindle Edition, 1808. ISBN 1897093640

¹⁸ Elleke, Boehmer. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. (51-52)

Following such developments, especially during the period ranging from the 19th century to the early 20th century, European colonial expansions reached their zenith in Africa. European writers at the same time exploited the popular European image about Africa in an attempt to gain more fame by weaving exotic and fascinating stories inspired by Africa into their writings for the amusement of the European masses who had no idea about who really Africans were. Besides, the British Empire at the time needed to be maintained by means of textual enterprises. Writing a novel in which Africans are pictured in exotic terms is a bonus for the Empire in the sense that it would justify its exploitations of peoples and lands. This way, African people were cast with an inherent eye of animosity and xenophobia and were projected as foreign infidels, morally decadent, culturally alien and terribly remote. Their habits, customs and behavior were closely observed with despise and were later documented as testimonies for the fact that African are in need of the Empire to civilize them. In this regard, Elleke Boehmer (1995) explains that:

[...] the British empire at its height required mobilizing symbols-images of treasure and 'wide, open spaces', of bearing the torch, the national valour, of building cities where all before had confusion. Not only in its attempt to comprehend other lands, but also in its need to propagate itself and, importantly, to legitimize its presence, colonial authority depended on imaginative backing, what have usefully been called energizing myths of the new world, of the empire on which the sun would never set.¹⁹

The energizing myths made concrete by means of texts are the engines that back up the presence of any power in the world. Once the falsely documented behaviour of some people is widely read, people tend, then, to sympathize with the torch bearers. Also, people appreciate the efforts of those who assume the burden of crossing miles and miles away just to come and help some primitive Africans to pronounce the names of their masters properly and learn how to say yes as the case of Friday in *Robinson Crusoe*.

Significantly, most European writers on Africa could only see the African culture from the outside. They couldn't dissociate themselves from their own cultural presuppositions. It is in their writings that Africa appears to be the land of fantasies and hidden mysteries. European adventurers always sought places where they could taste the real meaning of adventure. Therefore, as an imaginative geography, European writers used Africa so as to document all what is odd and unreadable for their country fellow to venture and hence decipher. In this respect, Elleke Boehmer (1995) explains that:

For the questing European imagination as for the west's entrepreneurs, Africa and India, the 'Exhaustless' East and the New World of America were filled with wonders. Travel meant imaginative anticipation, and the actual treasures and curiosities encountered on distant shores – gold and ivory, cinnamon and ginger, parrots, exotic beasts, human beings of very different cultures – could only embellish expectation.

¹⁹ Elleke, Boehmer. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 23

The sources for these early colonizers' interpretations of the beyond were as extensive as were their knowledge and their experience of stories.²⁰

It sounds obvious that the more Europeans read about imaginative lands full of riches and adventures, the more intensified is their determination to come and seek the bestowed riches of such lands. In so doing, later generations of European writers on Africa directed their attention to imagine an African setting full of violence, witchcraft and superstition so as to have the blessing and the appeal of the Western curious readers. Edward Said (1978) in his book, *Orientalism* further explains the importance of textual means in defining a geographical place with its people, cultures and experiences. He explicitly explains that:

People, places and experiences can always be described by a book, so such so that the book (or text) acquires a greater authority, and use, even than the actuality it describes.²¹

Said (1978) further goes on to say that:

Geography was essentially the material underpinning for knowledge about the Orient. All the latent and unchanging characteristics of the Orient stoop upon, were rooted in, its geography.²²

Therefore, it is the African geography that, on the one hand, nourishes its inhabitants and, on the other hand, provides a virtual setting for Europeans who long for defining people according to imaginary, odd and exotic orientations. Such were the examples of writers who have been complacent with what they knew from earlier stories, but now they are still exerting some efforts in their writings by making some slight modifications woven from their imaginations of such a place best describing the dimness of Africa.

In this way, Africa in the most of the European writings is casted into a field of exotic images tinged with connotations of darkness, lechery or violence. In fact, this was, in some way, a colonial legacy that established an unequal relationship between the Africans and their colonizers. By such token, the European orientalist writer acquired the racist means of how to write on the basis of such unparalleled balance between the West that should always be lifted at the expense of the queer and denigrated East that should be cast into an animalistic state. To say the truth, people really like to try their hands at topics which inspire suspense and excitement. Every day, for instance, one is likely to encounter a strange situation that would stimulate the viewer to write a story about it.

European orientalist writers sometimes use their novels to put forward an attitude, a sociological theory or a psychological statement. They are always fascinated by the changes that are originated from the west and its civilization. This is also can be taken as a colonial legacy which left these writers with a conviction that Africa has always been the protégé of Europe. It is Europe that helped and introduced different technologies into the African

²⁰ Elleke, Boehmer. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 15

²¹ Edward, W. Said. *Orientalism*. (New York: Random house, 1978) , p. 93

²² Ibid. p. 216

context. It has always been part of the white man's burden to civilize the barbarous Africans. In so doing, some contemporary European writers draw upon the same cultural presuppositions and ideologies while writing their novels by putting forward false assumptions and depictions meant to get deep-seated in the western readers' minds.

Besides, European writers tend to take up topics defined in advance by their readers' experiences. For instance, they would anticipate that a curious European reader who would love to venture into the African world of mystery would be in need of some hints and directions to accompany him/her during his/her adventure. In so doing, they prepare the ground for their avid readers by writing the stories about Africans wherein they could find all the pieces of advice which can help them to handle any situation in Africa. A case in point is to write a story describing the ways in which one can tame the native Africans while among them. This is surely going to meet the appeal of thousands of readers who think of venturing into Africa. In this way, other stories would be produced dealing with the same concern of how to tame Africans, so to speak. Edward Said draws our attention to,

Consider Napoleon and de Lesseps. Everything they knew, more or less, about the Orient came from books written in the tradition of Orientalism [...] for them the Orient, like the fierce lion, was something to be encountered and dealt with to a certain extent because the text made that orient possible.²³

In fact had it not been the earlier accounts of Western orientalist accounts, the orient would not have been possible, readable and easy to tame for the other venturing Europeans. The mystery clocking the African world and its people is finally disappearing thanks to books written in the tradition of orientalism. Equally important, it is undeniably a fact that many of the Western writers' literary works about Africa are imagined or impressions got during short visits to this part of the world. In support of this, Emmanuel Obiechina (1980) further argues in his book, *Culture, Tradition and Society in the West African Novel* that:

Foreign writers on West Africa express their writing prejudices and preconceptions which distort their picture of West African life. Sometimes the writer is aware of these distorting elements and boldly works them into the technique and texture of his narrative: In other circumstances they may operate on him as an unconscious of his reaction to something strange and disturbing.²⁴

In fact, though the European writer is aware of his/her distortion of the image of some people and place, he/she sometimes does not consider the repercussions. He/she only cares about the fame that could be gained from producing stereotypical works instigating the appeal for virtual journeys for armchair travelers.

To bring home this discussion of literature's travel-based nature and its contribution to the perpetuation of stereotypes, it should be declared once again that though many European writers directed hostile attacks against Africa and its people, others represented Africa and its

²³ Edward, W. Said. *Orientalism*. (New York: Random house, 1978) , p. 94

²⁴ Emmanuel, Obiechina. *Culture, Tradition and Society in the West African Novel*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 18

people in a more proper way. Those latter had the chance to live among Africans and get to understand their real essence. They had freed themselves from the presuppositions and ready-made judgements with which the European popular imagination on Africa is laden. Besides, we should not overlook the fact that the Western orientalist writings on Africa have encouraged Africans to counter the hostile textual attacks of their counterparts. Many African novels were produced as a response to some Europeans who misrepresented something with which African writers are not contented. Such novels of Africans, in turn, have contributed to enlightening people's vision about Africa and its people and correcting many of the misconceptions and clichés which were used as proofs to provide for the Africans' barbarity and their inclination to be ruled and nothing but subdued.

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Socio-Political Identity Display in the Palestinian Israeli Conflict: Arafat's Siege Speech

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Abstract

International law is frequently used to propose solutions for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, although enforcement mechanisms are weak. The result was a break-up of the peace process and a violent spiral of escalation. The impossibility to reach a compromise and the failure of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations in 2000-2001 played a central role in feeding the simultaneous outbreak of the Palestinian-Israeli war. This paper builds on the work of Ben Abdallah (2005) that investigated both quantitatively and qualitatively the pronominal choices of Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in their speeches in the year 2001 to gain insights into self- and other presentation, ideological thinking towards 'terrorism', and their socio-political affiliations. In this paper, I turn my attention toward two strands of my dissertation research, which delve into the use of the discourse-pragmatic construct of 'socio-political identity display' (SPID) along with Goffman's (Goffman, 1959, 1974, 1981) concepts of 'social acting', and 'impression management' by applying them to a political speech Arafat delivered in 2001 while under siege.

This venue of analysis showed that through the strategic recurrent use of the first person singular and plural pronouns, Arafat is 'stage-managing' (Goffman, 1959, 1974, 1981) his audience and disclosing his micro-affiliations as a Palestinian, a leader, a legend but more importantly a political actor. This supports the claim that pronouns do not just do referring work but can also do identity work (Malone 1997; Ben Abdallah, 2005).

Key Words: pronouns, Social Acting, Impression Management, Social Identity Theory, Socio-Political Identity Display (SPID)

1. Introduction

Peggy Noonan, a presidential speechwriter, claims that discourses are “one of the great constants of our political history... They count. They more than count, they shape what happens” (in Wilson, 1990: 135). The growing interest in the language of political leadership has led linguists (Atkinson, 1984; Geis, 1987; Fairclough, 1989; Wilson, 1990; van Dijk, 2001) to focus on strong and highly personalized political figures from several countries in the world. In the shadow of this wider interest in the language of political leadership, the present study focuses on the investigation of a speech Palestinian President Yasser Arafat delivered during his siege in Ramallah in December 2001. The reason for investigating the subject within this time slot is the drastic change in the Palestinian Israeli conflict especially after Sharon’s election as a Prime Minister on February 6, 2001.

One prominent event in the Middle East timeline was Arafat’s Siege in December 2001 which is the focal point of my paper. The election of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon was in February 2001 but he formally took office on March 7, 2001. His advent caused the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, previously camouflaged by the peace process, to rise to the surface and explode as a result of the dangerous occupational escalation and the blockade and closure imposed on the Palestinian Authority. Actually, Sharon’s strategy consisted in eliminating the possibility that the Palestinian Authority would be an independent State, preferring a framework of autonomy under Israel sovereignty. At the same time, Sharon started to weaken Arafat towards collapse by forcing him to answer Israeli demands or to bring him down. So Arafat’s strategy in preventing the dissipation of the Palestinian cause and the achievement of real gains for the Palestinians on the land of Palestine turned out to be a struggle over his own leadership after Sharon’s election. Besieged by Israeli tanks surrounding his Ramallah office and under intense US pressure, Arafat delivered his siege speech in December 2001 in which he condemned the “brutal and unjust” war on the Palestinians and the necessity to end the Israeli occupation and to establish the independent State of Palestine with Holy Jerusalem as its capital.

The speech under investigation was downloaded from the web page <http://www.p-p-o.com>. Interestingly, Arafat’s speech on the Anniversary of the Birth of Prophet of Peace and Love coincides with his siege which is considered as a fertile source from which to investigate Arafat’s strategic use of pronouns to display his socio-political identity as well as his tact in stage-managing his audience to gain their appreciation and support. The main portion of this paper consists of three parts. In the first part the literature on political pronouns is reviewed, after that, I devote one part to the theoretical framework pertaining to Interaction Analysis (Goffman, 1959, 1974, 1981) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Zupnik, 1999). The last part deals with the analysis and discussion.

2. Literature on Political Pronouns

This study examines an area clearly pragmatically marked within the linguistic system, that of pronominals. Indeed, in the existing literature, researchers have looked at the pronominal system with considerable attention and from different angles such as Benveniste (1966), Bolinger (1979), Brown & Gilman (1960), Newman (1962), Pennycook (1994) and Triki (1989). However, in recent studies, a new dimension has been added to the study of pronouns as it extended its scope to politics and political language in various contexts and from different perspectives (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997; De Fina, 1995; Fairclough, 1989; Maitland & Wilson, 1987; Pennycook, 1994; van Dijk, 1997, 2001, 2004; Wilson, 1990; Zupnik, 1994-1999). What is common to these different studies is mainly the focus on the pragmatic manipulation of pronouns within various political contexts. These studies examined the attitudes of politicians towards particular political issues and indicated their ideological thinking through the manoeuvring of pronouns. To this end, Wilson contends that politicians make use of pronouns:

To indicate, accept, deny, or distance themselves from responsibility for political action; to reveal ideological bias; to encourage solidarity; to designate and identify those who are supporters (with us) as well as those who are enemies (against us); and to present specific idiosyncratic aspects of the individual politician's own personality. (Wilson, 1990: 76)

Maitland and Wilson (1987) and Lwaitama (1988) have investigated the deictic content of public oratory. Maitland and Wilson (1987) analysed the use of personal pronouns in the speeches of three British politicians: Foot, Kinnock, and Thatcher for the purposes of "self-referencing", "relations of contrast" and "other referencing". They found noticeable similarities, in the use of these deictics, between Kinnock and Foot (both members of the labour party) and differences between Foot, Kinnock and Thatcher (a member of the Conservative Party). Lwaitama (1988) analysed the employment of 'I' and 'we' by former presidents of Tanzania 'Nyerere and Mwinyi'. Focussing on the various forms of 'we', he found that Nyerere used more exclusive forms, while Mwinyi used more inclusive forms in scripted than unscripted speeches. The distinction, he suggested, is occasioned by both speakers' Kiswahili-speaking statuses.

An important dimension that Zupnik (1999) added to the area of political discourse analysis is the use of the discourse-pragmatic construct of 'socio-political identity display' (SPID)¹ as a device employed by interlocutors in the enactment of their identities and intergroup relations. She argued that in the area of political discourse analysis that examines personal pronouns there is a limited recourse to possible social-psychological concepts that may be affecting the discursive use of the pronouns. As such, she focused on the various ways in which participants in one Palestinian-Israeli 'dialogue' event manage their socio-political identity by means of pronominals. Her study has shown that one factor that may be affecting SPID use is social-psychological motivations derived from the work of Tajfel (1981). She has

found that there is a significant difference in the distribution of SPID use by the two groups (Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews) and that SPID use demonstrates one of the ways in which language use reflects and creates social relations. (Zupnik, 1999)

The present study uses pronominals as a testing ground to examine the way the politician presents himself and establishes contact with his people by applying Goffman's (1959, 1974, 1981) concepts of 'social acting' and 'impression management.' Furthermore the construction of identity will be further analysed with reference to Zupnik's (1999) SPID use.

3. Theoretical Framework

In keeping with Zupnik's (1999) SPID and Goffman's (1959, 1974, 1981) concepts of 'social acting' and 'impression management', the analysis of pronouns in Arafat's speech is qualitative rather than quantitative, i.e. it examines what is "getting done" by the pronouns (Labov and Fanshel 1977 in Wilson, 1990) rather than observing the frequency of occurrence of pronouns.

a. Goffman's Interaction Model

i. Social Acting

Goffman (1959) introduced the concept that the individual in society is similar to an 'actor' playing a part, performing to his audience the 'roles' that he has chosen for himself SPID (socio-political identity display) as developed by Zupnik (1999) will be further explained in the theoretical framework in the next subsection.

He also rehearses what he will say when the time comes, and privately formulates what he should have said after it has come and gone. Not being able to get others to speak the lines he wanted to hear from them, he scripts and commands these performances on the small stage located in his head. (Goffman, 1959)

In the current study, it is suggested that the candidate performs diverse social roles through the manipulation of the linguistic category of person deixis. Indeed, the social role he performs is highly relevant to the study of political discourse. "By participating in [the political talk], all illocutionary actors – whether they are candidates, moderator, panelists, or questioners from the audience – are 'doing' politics, and therefore, they are political actors" (Kim & Keong, 1997: 8).

ii. Impression Management

Goffman (1974: 17) demonstrated how the individual spends most of his spoken moments "providing evidence for the fairness or unfairness of his current situation and other grounds for sympathy, approval, exoneration, understanding or amusement. And what his listeners are primarily obliged to do is to show some kind of audience appreciation." Goffman

referred to the individuals' attempt to present themselves to others in particular way as 'impression management'.

Politicians use several dominating linguistic techniques to induce the audience. In the study under investigation, the focus is on pronominals, as testing expressive resources used by Arafat to present an effective 'front' (Goffman, 1974).

b. Zupnik: Socio-political Identity Display "SPID"

i. The concept of 'identity'

In recent studies, the notion of identity is defined as "the set of points of reference on which people rely to navigate the social world they inhabit, to make sense of the myriad constellations of social relationships that they encounter, to discern one's place in these constellations, and to understand the opportunities for actions in this context" (Hale, 2002: 5). It is, in a sense, a kind of 'social radar', and a "perceptual device through which people come to see where they stand in relation to the outside social world" (Hale, 2002: 5).

ii. Tajfel's Social Identity Theory

The earliest versions of social identity theory as developed by Tajfel (1981) placed key emphasis on the psychological motivations that lead a group member to 'endorse' or 'disavow' an existing group membership (Huddy, 2002: 17). Turner et al. (1987: 42) describe this motive as a "need among group members to differentiate their own group positively from others to achieve a positive social identity". By definition, a person shares social identity with others when the person and the others categorize their own self-representations together with "some class of stimuli as the same (identical, similar, equivalent, interchangeable, and so on) in contrast to some other class of stimuli" (Turner *et al.*, 1987: 44).

iii. Zupnik's SPID

Employing Tajfel's concepts of 'social mobility' and 'psychological distinctiveness' contextualized to the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, Zupnik (1999) made use of the discourse pragmatic construct of 'socio-political identity display' (SPID) as a device employed by interactants in the enactment of their identities and affiliations. A socio-political identity-display (SPID) refers to:

The verbal expression of the stance of the speaker relative to one of his or her dominant micro-affiliations, whether as an individual or as a member of a group. The anchoring of

the speaker to such utterances is identified by the use of the first- person singular or plural pronouns (e.g. 'I', 'we'). (Zupnik, 1999: 475)

The speaker thus situates him/herself as an individual member of a particular group, as encoded in the use of the first-person pronouns (e.g. 'I'), or as representative of the entire affiliation, encoded by the plural pronoun (e.g. 'we'). Identifying a socio-political affiliation while taking the pronouns as a testing ground, as for Zupnik (1999: 483), entails "an analysis of the semantic content of the predicates to which the pronouns are linked." Additionally, the content of the predicates must involve socio-political attributes, such as socio-political actions or states. For Zupnik, SPID use includes the first-person pronoun singular or plural.

The current study is going to be tailored according to Zupnik's model (1999) derived from the work of Tajfel (1981). Therefore, it is suggested that the politician's SPID use depends on his professed goals in the speech under investigation. It is through the manipulation of personal pronouns that he strategically manages his identity/es. In addition, Zupnik's distinction of personal and intra-group SPIDs is insightful to the investigation of the category of first-person pronouns.

4. Research Questions

The present study addresses the following research questions:

- Which linguistic roles have been used by Arafat to serve which social roles?
- What image does Arafat try to exhibit about himself?
- How is socio-political identity displayed?

5. Analysis and Discussion

As stated above, this analysis will follow two steps; the first one consists in analysing the use of pronouns with reference to Goffman's concepts of social acting and impression management in order to get insights into the way Arafat manipulates the pronominal system to positively present the self. A further step consists in analysing the candidate's socio-political affiliation with reference to Zupnik's SPID.

The analysis of the speech begins with the particular pronouns chosen by the candidate. Crystal (1995) gives the simplest definition of a personal pronoun as a grammatical form referring directly to the speaker (first person), addressee (second person) or others involved in an interaction (third person). The pronouns that I will be analysing and discussing are the first person pronoun 'I' and the first person plural 'we' as they are the most frequently occurring in the speech (see table 5.1). The first person singular pronouns 'me' and 'my'

function in a similar way to ‘I’, and the first person plural pronouns ‘our’ and ‘us’ are used in a similar way to ‘we’.

Table 5.1: Occurrence of Pronouns in Arafat’s Speech

Pronouns	Numbers	Percentages
Total number of pronouns	59	100%²
I/ me/ my	14	23,7%
We/our/us	14	23,7%
One/anyone/whoever	4	7%
Him/his	8	14%
They/their/themselves	9	15%
you	8	14%
it /its	2	3,3%

The speaker in the speech under investigation is the deictic centre in relation to whom other categories are identified. On the whole, there is a balanced alternation between the use of first person singular pronoun reference (14 tokens) and first person plural pronoun reference (14 tokens) (see table 5.1). Arafat follows a pattern of marking out his own position while under siege by generating different I/we choices. Therefore, the deictic centre is three types:

- The ‘I’ is the present speaker who actually builds discourse.
- The ‘we’ inclusive: In English, ‘we’ means “speaker + unspecified number of others.’ It can, and often does, include the hearer(s) (“we inclusive”) (Wilson, 1990; Malone, 1997; Marmaridou, 2000).
- The ‘we’ exclusive: this deictic category includes the speaker and excludes the hearer(s) (“we exclusive”) (Wilson, 1990; Malone, 1997; Marmaridou, 2000).

The pronominal choices made use of in the present speech vary from the use of the presidential ‘I’ and the individual or personal ‘I’ on the one hand, to the deployment of the inclusive, exclusive first person plural pronouns ‘we’ on the other hand.

c. Analysis of pronoun use with reference to Goffman's Interaction Model

In this section I will examine the use of the first person singular and plural pronouns while discussing the relevance of Goffman's notions of social acting and impression management.

i. Social Acting

Goffman (1974) established the concept that the individual in society is similar to an 'actor', performing to his audience the 'roles' that he has chosen for himself. In the same vein, The Tricky Hypothesis (Triki, 1998) defines language use as 'social acting'. Indeed, Arafat seems to be playing his own distinct part in the stage allocated to the events in the Middle East, and particularly, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Arafat's speech on December 2001 was his first speech while under siege. It aimed at informing the nation and the world of the atrocious Israeli conduct with the Palestinians while the president is under siege. For Wilson (1990: 61), *Self-referencing* refers to "the way in which the speaker makes use of the pronominal system to portray himself in relation to the topic and addressee(s)." In the speech under investigation, Arafat uses both first person singular and plural pronouns (28 tokens) to gain the allegiance of his people.

One of the manipulative strategies Arafat makes use of is the pronoun shift as a strategy envisaged by politicians to communicate their thoughts and convey their implicit intentions via explicit channels (Wilson, 1990). A prominent pronoun shift characterizing the present speech by Arafat is the establishment of his footings through the shift from the first person singular to the first person plural:

I would like to assure you, on this occasion that **we** preach these values. **We** are a people who want to establish the peace of the brave on the Land of Peace, the Holy Land of Palestine, for the sake of **our** and **their** children

By changing his footing (Goffman, 1974), Arafat creates new alignments, as he no longer speaks as an individual, but as a group member with the group in mind. The aim of the shift from the personal voice, encoded in 'I', to the institutionalized voice encoded in 'we' is to avoid responsibility by spreading its load. In this way, the status of the speaker and his government are represented as 'ours'. The use of 'we' with its exclusive/inclusive ambiguity lessens any possible negative effect in the audience reaction.

When addressing the nation and the Palestinians, the leader uses the first person pronoun 'I' several times. 'I' appears to be used when addressing his people to indicate his individual responsibility for certain actions. As a persuasive device, 'I' is used to add a personal touch to the speech and thus portrays Arafat as being 'victimized' while committing himself to his beliefs and his actions. This encodes his strategy of 'victimization' along with his principle of 'national preference' (van Dijk, 2001).

I address you, dear Palestinian People,
I say to you
I am talking to you
It is a participation, which I have done since my return to the soil of our beloved homeland.
I say to our people, whom God has bestowed with the custodianship of the holiest Christian and Islamic holy places of all humanity,
I say to all religious leaders
From my position I say to all believers of the three monotheistic religions

However, there exist some cases where the use of the deictic centre 'I' is avoided. The politician's intention, (Triki & Taman 1994: 207), "is to create a false sense of objectivity." Instead, Arafat makes increased use of the first person plural possessive 'our':

Our annual celebrations/**our** beloved homeland/**our** Prophet, Muhammad, peace be upon him/**our** Lord Jesus, peace be upon him/**our** people/**our** land/**our** Christian brothers and sisters/**our** holy places/**our** Lord Jesus, peace be upon him/**our** and their children

Additionally, the candidate deploys some ambivalent referents like:

'Humanity', 'the World', 'all believers of the three monotheistic religions the world over' and 'the Whole World'

Such strategies "enable the speaker to pass his personal ideological statements for objective facts." (Triki & Taman, 1994: 207) The following examples from the speech better illustrates the case:

I say to **our people**, whom God has bestowed with the custodianship of the holiest Christian and Islamic holy places of **all humanity**, I say to **all religious leaders** of all **denominations in our land**, I say to **His Holiness, the Pope**, to **His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem** and to **all Christian spiritual leaders in the whole world** that robbing my right to participate in the anniversary of the birth of the messenger of peace and the crime of depriving our Christian brothers and sisters from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Holy Jerusalem of their right to practice their religious rites in these holy places, will not in any way detract m[e] and my people's determination

Arafat employs more 'inclusive 'we's' than 'exclusive 'we's'. This is a further evidence of Arafat's strategy of establishing alliance with his audience, the Arabs, and the International Community to get them on his side. He thus exemplifies power and solidarity with his people: '*dear Palestinian People ..., the great people.*' This is particularly prominent in Arafat's speech as a means of constructing togetherness. Clearly, what happens is that his individual personal identity is deleted, or at least disguised, in favour of that of the people.

What is noticeable is that 'we inclusive' is employed with people who are sharing the same background knowledge about their current situation: siege, encirclement and escalation:

Haven't **we** also celebrated Eid Al Fitr under the (Israeli) tanks, siege and encirclement of Al Haram Sharif (the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque) and also with funerals?

Arafat reserves particular pronominal forms to reference those who support his cause. For instance, 'We' can certainly be manipulated for political effect and is used in this speech to establish a sense of group unity and to signal positive association (Wilson, 63: 1990). It is worth mentioning that Arafat uses the deictic tool, 'inclusive we', to create the impression of 'a common bond' (Triki and Baklouti, 2002: 144) between the speaker and his audience, the speaker and the Palestinians, the speaker and the Arabs, and the speaker and the International Community... 'We' is used more often when addressing the nation as it can refer to the president and the Palestinian people who are in support of each other. More than that, when the country is in a perpetual state of confrontation with the Israelis, he presents it to be functioning as an organic union:

...dear Palestinian People you are **one and a unified people**, the great people.

One of the reasons for the use of the pronoun 'we' is to spread the responsibility especially when the decision the politician takes will not necessary be viewed in a positive way. The use of 'we' by Arafat has a plausible representative value of the Palestinian people and the leader and can therefore act as a useful linguistic mediator between the politician and his audience.

Arafat is shown to be operating on a collective basis. He is downgrading his position and upgrading the position of the Palestinians. He equates the Government with himself, without crushing the power of the citizens. Instead, he leaves out here the role of a politician, President of Palestine and head of the Palestinian National Authority, and speaks as a representative Palestinian rather than an occupier of an official role. By implication, he claims for himself the status of 'one' of the people': 'Like all other Palestinians'.

I am talking to you while **my** heart is filled with sorrow. The Israeli tanks, cement blocks, and their unjust and aggressive guns have barred **me** from participating with you

in our annual celebrations on this august occasion. It is a participation, which **I** have done since **my** return to the soil of our beloved homeland. Indeed, they forbid a **believer in God** and the loftiness of the three religions to patron the celebrations of **his people** on the occasion of Christmas.

ii. Impression Management

The use of 'I' is central to the representation of self by Arafat and is related to how the politician does "being a good politician" (Bramley, 1999). Doing "being a good politician" involves showing oneself in a positive light. This can be accomplished by talking about what he is doing in order to be a good politician, for example, his personal qualities, being a responsible politician, being a person in touch with his people, being a person of principles, a person of action, a person with a track record etc. (Bramley, 1999). In the speech under investigation, Arafat uses numerous self-referential statements-with 'I' forms- referring to himself or his personal characteristics, for instance his determination as the answer to his country's state of "siege and encirclement". This may further confirm his individual responsibility among the audience. He persuades his people to remain positive by saying:

[The siege and escalation] will not in any way detract **m[e]** and **my** people's determination to have the option of permanent and just peace- the peace of the brave, the peace of right and justice and not that of tanks, fighter planes, bombardment, killing, destruction and siege.

Self is also represented as an individual when Arafat constructs a positive image of himself. The pronoun 'I' is used to construct a favourable image of the politician as an individual and is integrally related to how a politician does "being a good politician". Positive self-presentation is aimed at establishing rapport with his audience, on the one hand, and to gain the support and sympathy of the international community, on the other hand.

The whole world, which has witnessed what happened, has to know the amount of terror that the believers on this Holy Land encounter.

Based on the time period of the study (2001) that witnessed Arafat's siege, he was apparently striving for satisfying positive face. Among the strategic devices used by Arafat to achieve this end is 'the inclusive we' as it is frequently used to satisfy 'positive face' (Goffman, 1981; Brown and Levinson, 1987).

We are a people who want to establish the peace of the brave on the Land of Peace, the Holy Land of Palestine, for the sake of **our** and **their** children

His primary aim here appears to be persuading the world to become actively involved in the Palestinian cause by reminding the world of the Israeli government's tactic in delaying the implementation of the agreed upon accords in the peace process. The reason he

was calling upon the world as a whole was because his own interests are threatened as he is under siege. Arafat was perhaps attempting to involve every individual:

I say to **our people**, whom God has bestowed with the custodianship of the holiest Christian and Islamic holy places of all humanity, I say to **all religious leaders of all denominations** in our land, I say to **His Holiness, the Pope**, to **His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem** and to **all Christian spiritual leaders in the whole world** that robbing my right to participate in the anniversary of the birth of the messenger of peace [...]

Arafat adopts an 'us' versus 'them' attitude where 'we' inclusive is basically everyone but 'them' (the Israelis). Negative-other presentation in the present speech is merely used to depict and report the Israelis' conduct and unfulfilled promises or agreements with the Palestinians. The following extract from Arafat's speech is a case in point:

Indeed, **they** forbid a believer in God and the loftiness of the three religions to patron the celebrations of his people on the occasion of Christmas. It is not strange, however, that **they** do that since **they** have allowed **themselves** to steal the smile off the lips of children and to bar any Palestinian who wants to pray in Bethlehem from reaching the City on this Holy Night. Haven't **we** also celebrated Eid Al Fitr under the (Israeli) tanks, siege and encirclement of Al Haram Sharif (the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque) and also with funerals?

In this extract, Arafat adopts an 'us' versus 'them' attitude where a 'we' exclusive refers basically to the Palestinians who were targeted to siege and occupation, and a distancing 'they' to reference the Israelis as belonging to the axis of baddies. The rhetorical question Arafat uses in the quote is meaningful to depict the negative behaviour of the Israelis and their government towards the Palestinians: ('tanks', 'siege', 'encirclement' and 'funerals').

Personal pronouns proved to be an abundant expressive resource for the candidate to attain his desired goals: achieving peace while keeping a 'positive front.' The use of the inclusive 'we', especially audience-inclusive 'we' helped the candidate gain the allegiance and approbation of his audience. This is in assonance with what Goffman (1974: 17) calls 'Impression Management.'

This section has attempted to systematize Goffman's insights of production format to the analysis of first person singular and plural pronouns in Arafat's speech. Arafat makes use of the first-person singular and plural forms approximately in a distinctive way. Additionally, Arafat's use of inclusive 'we's is indicative of his strategy in manipulating the pronominal reference: Arafat is operating on a collective basis. In other instances, he is acting individually. Added to that is the assumption that when using personal pronouns, the candidate is stage-managing his roles as 'a social actor', striving to fulfill his political goals

by adopting special strategies including ‘social acting’(1981:6), and ‘impression management’(1974: 17) techniques, in a Goffmanian sense.

d. Analysis of pronoun use with reference to Zupnik’s SPID

This section tries to investigate the way the candidate displays his socio-political affiliation. As has been mentioned in part 3.2.3, SPID use includes the use of the first-person pronouns: singular or plural. One of the ways in which SPIDs are subcategorized is by the number distinction. Specifically, when a SPID is indexed by the singular pronoun, it is defined as a personal indexation of a socio-political affiliation, or ‘a personal SPID’ (Zupnik, 1999: 484); when it is indexed by the plural pronoun, it is labelled as ‘a group SPID.’ (Zupnik, 1999: 489)

The use of pronouns in Arafat’s speech showed that the politician actively exploits the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct different identities of the ‘self’. In addition, in the context of the discord between the Palestinians and the Israelis, Arafat speaks through multiple identities: (‘I’s).

Recurrently, Arafat employs first-person plural indexicals to situate himself as a member of the Palestinian community. Indeed, in his use of the pronouns, as has been proven earlier, Arafat operates more on a collective basis. As such, the employment of the ‘we’ forms is meant to mark his affiliation:

Haven’t we also celebrated Eid Al Fitr under the (Israeli) tanks, siege and encirclement of Al Haram Sharif...

We are a people who want to establish the peace of the brave on the Land of Peace

In the examples above, it is inferred that Arafat is activating group SPID’s as he is indexing his attachment to the Arab, Islamic, and Christian origins. Thus, by the use of the possessive plural pronoun ‘our’ and the first-person plural ‘we’, Arafat takes an explicit inclusive stand as belonging to the Arab and Muslim community. This inference is based on the explicit positive lexis he uses to depict the Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims, and Christians:

our beloved homeland...

The place in which Jesus Christ, peace be upon him, The City of Jerusalem, the first of the two Qiblas and the third after the two holy mosques, the place of the nocturnal journey of our Prophet, Muhammad, peace be upon him, and the place of nativity of our Lord Jesus, peace be upon him...

our people, whom God has bestowed with the custodianship of the holiest Christian and Islamic holy places of all humanity...

Consider this example from Arafat’s Speech:

I am talking to you while **my** heart is filled with sorrow. The Israeli tanks, cement blocks, and their unjust and aggressive guns have barred **me** from participating with you in our annual celebrations on this august occasion.

By means of the first-person singular pronouns, Arafat activates a personal identity of an individual Palestinian who is victimized by the Israelis. It is “the semantic content of the predicate” (Zupnik, 1999: 483) – ‘sorrow’, ‘Israeli tanks’, ‘cement blocks’, ‘unjust and aggressive guns’ ‘barred’ – that helped disambiguate the state of Arafat while under siege.

Using Goffman’s terminology, Arafat is the ‘principal’ “whose position is established by the words that are spoken” (1981: 144) and who is “active in some particular social identity or role, some special capacity as a member of a group, office category, relationship, association, or whatever, some socially based source of self-identification” (1981: 145), “an identity which may lead [Arafat] to speak inclusively for an entity of which he is only a part” (1981: 226). In the present speech, and while under siege, Arafat has a composite identity as part political ‘leader’, part president, part Palestinian representative, and part the head of the PNA and PLO. The combination of these different identities constitutes him as a ‘leader’ in the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

6. Conclusion

So far, I have investigated the functions of pronominals in a political speech delivered by President Yasser Arafat during his siege in Ramallah in December 2001. Arafat’s strategy revolved around three interrelated areas: self-preservation; preventing the dissipation of the Palestinian cause; and the achievement of real gains for the Palestinian people on the land of Palestine. As such, he was trying to use all his tactical talents in ‘maneuvering’ with Sharon to get out of his current crisis.

The analysis is embedded in Goffman’s (1959, 1974, and 1981) interaction analysis’ notions of ‘social acting’ and ‘impression management’, and Zupnik’s (1994, 1999) SPID use. The findings revealed that the candidate made use of the first person singular and plural pronouns to serve persuasive and strategic political functions. The balanced alternation in the first person pronouns’ use proved to be abundant expressive resource for Arafat to attain his professed goals: to be resuscitated from siege while keeping a ‘positive front.’ By means of the first-person singular pronouns, Arafat activates a personal identity of an individual Palestinian who is ‘victimized’ by the Israelis. The use of the inclusive ‘we’, especially audience-inclusive ‘we’ helped the candidate gain the allegiance and approbation of his audience. This is in assonance with what Goffman (1974: 17) calls ‘Impression Management.’ Additionally, Arafat’s indexation of his socio-political affiliation is mainly realized through the activation of group SPID’s (Zupnik: 1999) as he is frequently using the first-person plural pronoun.

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Appendix 1

President Arafat Speech on the Anniversary of the Birth of Prophet of Peace and Love

Ramallah 24/12/2001

On the anniversary of the birth of the messenger of love and peace;
From this Holy Land, the land of Palestine;



From the land of the Holy Sepulcher and the Church of Nativity, the twin sanctuaries of the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, **1I** address **2 you**, dear Palestinian People, where ever **3you** may be, and no matter what your affiliations and creeds are, for **4you** are one and a unified people, the great people. Dear Christians in all comers of the world who are looking upon Bethlehem, the Town of Nativity, which is suffering under the yoke of terror from the (Israeli) occupation tanks, siege and oppression, **5I** say to **6you**: Merry Christmas, Glory to the Lord in the Highest, peace on earth and joy to the world.

7I am talking to **8you** while my heart is filled with sorrow. The Israeli tanks, cement blocks, and their unjust and aggressive guns have barred **9me** from participating with **10you** in **11our** annual celebrations on this august occasion. **12It** is a participation, which **13I** have done since my return to the soil of **14our** beloved homeland. The place in which Jesus Christ, peace be upon him, was born is under siege from all sides. The City of Jerusalem, the first of the two Qiblas and the third after the two holy mosques, the

place of the nocturnal journey of **15our** Prophet, Muhammad, peace be upon **16him**, and the place of nativity of **17our** Lord Jesus, peace be upon **18him**, is also under siege and encirclement in a much harsher way than anytime before.

Indeed, **19they** forbid a believer in God and the loftiness of the three religions to patron the celebrations of his people on the occasion of Christmas. It is not strange, however, that **20they** do that since **21they** have allowed **22themselves** to steal the smile off the lips of children and to bar any Palestinian who wants to pray in Bethlehem from reaching the City on this Holy Night. Haven't **23we** also celebrated Eid Al Fitr under the (Israeli) tanks, siege and encirclement of Al Haram Sharif (the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque) and also with funerals?

Despite all of this, **24I** say to **25our** people, whom God has bestowed with the custodianship of the holiest Christian and Islamic holy places of all humanity, **26I** say to all religious leaders of all denominations in **27our** land, **28I** say to **29His** Holiness, the Pope, to **30His** Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem and to all Christian spiritual leaders in the whole world that robbing **31my** right to participate in the anniversary of the birth of the messenger of peace and the crime of depriving **32our** Christian brothers and sisters from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Holy Jerusalem of **33their** right to practice **34their** religious rites in these holy places, will not in any way detract **35m[e]** and **36my** people's determination to have the option of permanent and just peace- the peace of the brave, the peace of right and justice and not that of tanks, fighter planes, bombardment, killing, destruction and siege.

From **37my** position **38I** say to all believers of the three monotheistic religions the world over **39whoever** deprives the believers from praying by the force of firepower and occupation should not be allowed to continue with **40his** occupation, siege and the attempts to judaize **41our** holy places. There can be no security for **42anyone** who prays under the threat of tanks. There can be no peace for **43anyone** if **44it** is coupled with the shameful disdain of the right of worship and the right to live a free and dignified life.

On the anniversary of the birth of **45our** Lord Jesus, peace be upon **46him**, **47we** remember **48his** magnanimous teachings and **49his** call for tolerance, love and conciliation among people. **50I** would like to assure **51you**, on this occasion that **52we** preach these values. **53We** are a people who want to establish the peace of the brave on the Land of Peace, the Holy Land of Palestine, for the sake of **54our** and **55their** children

The whole world, which has witnessed what happened, has to know the amount of terror that the believers on this Holy Land encounter. **56They** have to see the danger that threatens freedom of worship in **57one** of the holiest spots on earth and in history. **58They** have to reaffirm the necessity to end the Israeli occupation and the necessity to

establish the independent State of Palestine with Holy Jerusalem as **59its** capital, which will guarantee the freedom, of worship for all peoples.

“We will, without doubt, Help Our apostles and those Who believe, (both) In this world's life And on the Day When the witnesses Will stand forth,”

“Glory to the Lord in the Highest, peace on earth and joy to the world.”

Narcissistic Narrative: the Narrative and its Diegetic and Linguistic Masks

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Abstract

This paper examines the theoretical underpinnings of narcissistic narratives or metafiction. This form of narrative foregrounds an intense awareness of the literary alteration of paradigms as well as the theoretical problematization of the narrative ontological status. This kind of texts is aware of itself as narrative or artifice, and of its functioning and its mechanisms of construction, of its past conventions and its mutation, and of the contentious processes of production and reception of fiction. The metafictional text follows critically and self-consciously the tracks of the overall history of literary composition and criticism and of its own metamorphoses from the past till the present moment taking as its main challenge and aim the exercise of self-exposition, self-criticism and self-evaluation. One of the main premises of narcissistic narrative is tracking the literary trajectory from "art conceals" to "art reveals" through mainly making recourse to parody and parodic strategies. All the previous diegetic and linguistic masks have become not only exposed and dropped down but also and more importantly questioned and criticized.

Key words: Metafiction, narcissistic narrative, linguistic identity, diegetic identity, diegetic narcissism, linguistic narcissism, parody, *mise en abyme*, intertextuality, self-reflexivity.

The emergence of literary narcissism is due to an incremental need for fiction to reconsider its paradigms and to identify its stand in regard to the numerous suspect literary concepts such as reality, language, and representation. In *Narcissistic Narrative: the Metafictional Paradox*²⁵, Linda Hutcheon explains that “the drive toward self-reflexivity is a three-step process, as a new need, first to create fictions, then to admit their fictiveness, and then to examine critically such impulses” (19). To admit its fictiveness, narcissistic narrative goes through a long process of inward self-investigation and mask-revelation overtly declaring what it is and what it is not. Basic to this study of novelistic self-consciousness is the awareness that narrative narcissism is neither a literary genre nor a thematic concern. It is a theoretical project that lies under the postmodernist widespread metafictional corpus. Being primarily postmodernist in its grounding and aspiration, narcissistic narrative bears within it most of the postmodernist’s issues and paradoxes. Through the lens of postmodernist and poststructuralist approaches, this paper will attempt to perform a theoretical contextualization of metafictional narcissism at first stage, then a determination of its poetics and taxonomies. Finally, it studies narcissistic criticism of the masks of realism and explains that metafiction does not emanate to the death of the novel as much as it declares its rebirth in an openly mask-free environment.

The label “Narcissistic narrative” was first suggested by the postmodern Canadian literary theorist Linda Hutcheon in her book *Narcissistic* in 1980, to designate a type of fiction that “includes within itself a commentary on its own narrative and/or linguistic identity” (11). Soon after, the use of such a label has become more common among other critics and theorists like Robert Scholes, Lucien Dällenbach, and Patricia Waugh²⁶. In her study of textual narcissism, Hutcheon starts from the assertion that the term has to be approached in a neutral way as devoid of any pejorative or psychological connotation. Narcissism, here, is a figurative adjective that is “rather descriptive and suggestive as the ironic allegorical reading of the Narcissus myth”, and is allotted to the work itself and not to the author (1). It is, thereby, the fictional work which is exposed to its linguistic and diegetic double. While narcissism is mainly a form of writing not restrictive to one particular period or literary genre, it is worth noting that such a strategy has become rampant in the 1960s in Europe and the United States, a period that witnessed the swift growth of numerous literary theoretical discourses and the heyday of postmodernism. “In the criticism of the 70s the term ‘postmodernism’ began to appear to refer to contemporary self-conscious texts”, equating hence its theoretical approach and strategies with the metafictional narcissistic phenomenon, rendering narcissism a prime determining feature of most postmodernist fiction (4). It is noteworthy that postmodernist texts are not altogether metafictional, nor do all metafictional writings restrictively range under the postmodernist corpus. Narcissism has, in fact, surfaced from the very rise of the novel tradition, through the use of authorial intrusions in the narrative level and direct allusion

²⁵ Henceforth referred to as *Narcissistic*

²⁶ While Robert Scholes has performed a thorough study on metafiction labeling it an “anti-narrative” or “stillborn literature”, Lucien Dällenbach has invested heavily on the study of the “mise en abyme” as a literary device basic to doubling the narrative structure. In 1984, Patricia Waugh published her meticulous study on the theory and practice of metafiction.

to the reader, with works such as *Don Quixote*, *Tristram Shandy*, and *Vanity Fair* (44). In a nutshell, its practice has long preceded the theory though its use was ways less important and explicit than it actually is in the contemporary context.

Studying narcissistic narratives that is fiction reflecting on its own genesis and mirroring the strategies of fictional writing and fictive world's construction entails a movement inward to the recesses of the work itself. This analysis is chiefly based on Linda Hutcheon's study of poetics, politics and narcissism of postmodernist texts. Accordingly, Hutcheon outlines two levels of metafictional underpinning, one is "diegetic narcissism" occurring at the level of narration and narrative techniques and the other is "linguistic" indicating an awareness of the medium used in fiction which is language, and of its power as well as its limits (*Narcissistic* 23). In relation to both levels, there are two varieties of narcissism: "overt and covert modes" (56). Thereby the four main categories of narcissistic texts are as follows: "overt diegetic narcissism, overt linguistic narcissism, covert diegetic narcissism, and covert linguistic narcissism" (23). Overt narcissism is palpable diegetically through the fictive self-awareness of the narrative status as a literary artifice and the laying bare of its fiction making processes using self-reflective devices such as parody, *mise en abyme* and intertextuality.

Parody, one of the major literary devices in postmodernist writing, conforms to the very nature of narcissistic narrative, since it enacts self-reflexivity through the double movement of "*appropriation*" and *subversion* (128 my emphasis). "Parodic art", as Hutcheon outlines, "is both a deviation from the norm and includes the norm within itself as backgrounded material" (50). The dual ontological status of the narrative is pointed out through parody which works to background a given convention in an attempt to foreground the "new creation" and the way in which it may be "measured and understood" (Hutcheon, *Theory of Parody* 31). New literary conventions evolve in fact from previous ones and postmodern texts in particular acknowledge such a give-take movement through setting a dialogue with these conventions and criticizing them in order to aspire to new forms of literary construction. Henceforth emerges the view of parody as a "prototype of the pivotal stage in that gradual process of development of literary forms" (35). Hence metafiction cannot mirror their own mechanisms of construction while ignoring previous literary productions since their own emergence is due to their dialogic relation with the past in general. Such a dialogue is given legitimacy through the employment of parody which is "both a personal act of suppression and an inscription of literary-historical continuity" (35). This continuity is marked mainly by the use of irony which signals out that this return is not an innocent "nostalgic return", yet it is rather triggered by an intensive "critical awareness" (3). Hence, the use of parody reflects a consciousness of the mechanisms of literary constructions and their evolvment in accordance to each other and never in isolation. It does not conceal as far as it reveals past conventions in its formation of a new poetics.

Using Genettian terminology to account for the meaning of *mise en abyme*, it can be said that the latter device refers to the embeddedness of a "second degree narrative or meta-

diegesis²⁷ in the “first degree narrative” or diegesis (*Narrative Discourse* 231). Palpably, this writing device works on the level of the diegesis exposing the narrative to “its mirrors” as Lucien Dällenbach calls it.

Overt linguistic narcissism, on the other hand, is depicted through the “thematization of language” and linguistic issues in the narrative. This explicitness works to position fictionality, the mysteries of language and language use, and the self-consciousness at the core of postmodernist fiction as well as to place the reader in a bewildering space where he is overtly taught his or her contributory role through the thematization of the act of reading itself (71). On the other hand, covert narcissism can either be structuralized or “internalized” within the text and necessitates “actualization” on the part of the actively participating reader (7). Such implicitness requires an active response to itself through the “process of actualization” that takes place at the act of reading and transforms words into fictive and literary worlds (Iser 20). Here, “the dyadic interaction” that relates the aesthetics of production and response are triggered in order for meanings to be “optimized” (85), “concretized” (178), and “actualized” (66) through the reader’s interactive response to “the verbal structure” of the text. The reader is no longer a passive agent who reads in order to decode the message that the author has encoded in the text, he is rather an active force which participates in the process of meaning construction (41). “Page by page the reader creates the meaning of the text, reshaping, and reordering former unities into new ones as he proceeds”, transforming the text from a mere aesthetic object to an elaborate performance (Hutcheon *Narcissistic* 145). The authorial intention and objectivity are no longer tenable in a postmodernist self-critical and discursive context and hence the assertion of the centrality of an “enunciating subject” is overtly denounced. The concept of subject, self, and subjectivity are, therefore, highly criticized in a center-free postmodern context.

Enunciation, which is the focal point in narcissistic narratives, requires an enunciating producer and a Brechtian receiver, and the communication between both parts in a context-dependent situation. For instance, Iser opines that “the pragmatic nature of language” which depends on the act of enunciation as such “has developed concepts which, although they are not meant to be applied to fiction, can nevertheless serve as a starting point for our study of the pragmatic nature of literary texts” (54). The trajectory of meaning actualization has shifted from the enoncé to the act of enunciation, from the product to the process, from *langue* to *parole*, from fixed codes and conventions to ever-changing performance, and from semiotization to pragmatism. This pragmatism puts into consideration what Benveniste calls “language put into action”, that is the contextual and situational underpinnings of language (qtd. in Hutcheon, *Poetics* 82). Since literary language operates in the same way as everyday speech and implies a performative function, it could be subject to pragmatic interpretation. Searle, for instance, views literature as an imitation of a speech act (60). The aim of literary language here does not revolve around “what it says” that is the content itself, but rather “what it does” that is how it affects the receiver and constructs meaning (Iser 26).

²⁷ In order to determine the narrative level to which an event relates, it has to be considered that “any event a narrative recounts is at a diegetic level immediately higher than the level at which the narrating act producing this narrative is placed” (Genette, *Narrative Discourse* 228).

Wolfgang Iser's theory of "aesthetic response" or "dyadic communication" which treats the text as a performative act and Wayne C. Booth view of literature as an "art of communication" seem to be the closest and the most relevant to the needs of metafictional criticism (Hutcheon, *Narcissistic* 147). To read is "to act" and consequently to perform thereby opposing any claim to a fixed structure or a unilateral kind of response (Iser 62). Since no performance can be repeated in the same way, each reading becomes an anti-representational force in the sense that it cannot proceed in a similar unique way making from the end of one reading the beginning of another one. Narcissistic texts, therefore, rely on both productive-responsive aesthetics in order to "concretize" its meanings and in the "endless unfixed systems of signification" to construct its open uncontrollable processes.

One of the major strategies of action of postmodernist narcissism is its critique of realism. Laconically, the realistic novel reached its apogee in the eighteenth century and is said to be the offspring of the Age of Reason that is the age of logic, progress, and universalism as underlined in Hutcheon's *A Poetics of Postmodernism* (26). One of the major premises of realistic literature is the mimetic view of art which accords to the latter the quality of being "representational" of a pre-established transcendental truth (Abrams 7-8). Such a view has its own repercussions in the definition of art, literary criticism, and reality in general. The work of art acquires its importance from its being an aesthetic product originated by an artist who takes upon his shoulder the exercise of representing "reality as it is", or better say "a slice of life" (McCaffrey 12). Subsequently, to write in the traditional realist vein is to uphold criteria as "the order of the narrative, chronological plots, continuous narratives relayed by omniscient narrators, [and] closed endings" (82). This paradigm has allotted cardinal substantiality to the artist who is treated as the meaning-initiator and truth-mediator. The artist becomes, in fact, the center who holds all the threads leading to the ultimate meaning of the novel. According to this view, "literature turns out to be an item for consumption" in which the sole role allotted to the reader is the passive reception of a "hidden meaning" (Iser 4).

Realism has, in fact, gone beyond being a defining feature of a particular literary genre or movement or a historical period to becoming a characteristic mode of thought governing or better say monopolizing Western literary discourses until the end of the nineteenth century (Hutcheon, *Narcissistic* 18). It advocates the mimetic view of art as representational of life and universal truth, of reality as pre-existing language, and of language as transparently mirroring the world (Abrams 33). This reductive view of language and its functions is the central tenet behind the humanistic universalizing insight into literature as being "realistic" and "referential": realistic in the sense that it represents a transcendental reality as it is, and referential in the sense that the words it uses have actual referents as objects in the real world that is they refer to an external heterocosm transforming fiction to a mirror that reflects the outer world (Hutcheon, *Narcissistic* 10). Based on conventional premises like verisimilitude²⁸, plausibility, authorial authenticity and on beliefs in the objectivity and

²⁸ Verisimilitude is "an attempt to satisfy even the rational, skeptical reader that the events and characters portrayed is very possible. ... Far from being escapist and unreal, the novel was uniquely capable of revealing the truth of contemporary life in society. The adoption of this role led to detailed reportage of the physical minutiae of everyday life -clothes, furniture, food, etc. - the cataloguing of people into social types or species

truthfulness of the historical discourse or “the chastity of history” as Fustel Coupages describes it, realist fiction focuses mainly on the work of art as a product that works faithfully to aesthetically reproduce an extraneous universal and orthodox reality (qtd. in Barthes, “The Discourse of History”²⁹ 3). Its claims to the universality of truth and values, or what Barthes calls “the germ of the universal” and John-François Lyotard classifies under the category of “metanarratives” or “grand narrative”, are put under ruminative scrutiny (34). The attack on such foundationalist and essentialist ideas is an attack on the whole ethos of the Enlightenment humanistic philosophy which was the leading force behind rooting such stances in literary criticism until the mid-nineteenth century (35). Postmodernism is to be considered as one of the contesters of such a view. It is an “incredulity toward metanarratives” working to subvert them and highlighting that what realism has always presented is not reality but only its “guise or illusion” since it overtly “masks art’s own conventionality” (Lyotard xxiv). Modern philosophical thinking has, in fact, paved the way for such findings through initiating the questioning of notions of truth, facts, and representation. For instance, Frederick Nietzsche’s assertion that “there are no facts, only interpretations”, constitutes a battle cry that has marked the shifting trajectory of philosophical and literary paradigms and the move towards a more relativistic view of reality and universals.

The critical return to the past shows the metafictional critique of the classical view of reality, especially the claims to objectivity, foundationalism, teleology, and transcendentalism (Lyotard 37). “On the level of discourse,” as Roland Barthes argues for, “objectivity appears as a form of imaginary projection, the product of the referential illusion” and “the ‘real’ is never more than an unformulated signified, sheltering behind the apparently all-powerful referent” creating no more than a “realistic effect” (“Discourse” 6). Deconstructive in intent and critical in impulse, metafictional narcissistic texts veer towards a provisional view of realities, a skeptical attitude towards language, a focus on the processes of literary production and reception rather than on the final aesthetic product. Similarly, it relies upon the mechanics of signification rather than those of imitation, and disbelieves the essentialist claims to orthodox truth, universal values, and factual knowledge (Hutcheon, *Poetics* 89).

Metafiction is defined by Patricia Waugh as “a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artifact in order to question the relationship between fiction and reality” (3). It is hence related to the idea of meaning and fiction as “constructs” rather than as having “representable essences” (Currie 15). The term was first introduced in 1960 by William Gass who sought a label for recent fiction that thematizes its own fictionality (4). This postmodernist metafictional self-reflexivity is further problematized by its alliance with historical grounding and referencing. Part of the postmodernist fictional narcissism revolves around the works’ awareness of “the presence of the past” which it critically rethinks and consciously reworks (Hutcheon, *Poetics*

and radical analyses of the economic basis of society. The virtues pursued were accuracy and completeness of description” (Childs and Fowler 198-9).

²⁹ Henceforth referred to as “Discourse”

12). The knowledge of the past is only textually possible since the past is palpable in the present through its “traces” like records, documents and texts (81). The past becomes, consequently, a textualized space that is inscribed in discourse or “semiotized” (97). Its inscription in discourse implies its being socially and ideologically loaded (112). Therefore, the “dialogism”³⁰ that characterizes the fictional discourse, as suggested by Mikhail Bakhtin in his study of the novelistic discourse, challenges any assertion about the objectivity and the transparency of the historical discourse. As Roland Barthes notes in “Discourse”, the historian is not so much a “collector of facts” as he is a “collector of signifiers” or a fabulator (147). History creates a “realistic effect” and not transparent reality, since what it nominates as fact has no more than a “linguistic existence” in “the shell of signifiers” (148). The historical discourse is nothing more than “a form of ideological elaboration, an imaginary elaboration” that depends on the narrative mechanisms of selection, ordering, and plotting in its construction (147). Once again, essentialism, factuality and truthfulness prove to be fallacious and hence put under question. Historiography that is the “narration of what happened”, as Hayden White accounts for it, is a highly problematized process in narcissistic narratives which openly acknowledge the past’s “own discursive contingent identity” (Hutcheon, *Poetics* 24). Each literary discourse is grounded in a context and simultaneously uses a metatext to divulge this grounding. Therefore, “even the most self-conscious of contemporary works do not try to escape, but indeed foreground the historical, social, ideological contexts in which they existed and continue to exist” (25). Narcissistic narratives foremost revealed criterion is that it is “*art as discourse*”, which is intensively related to the ideological and even the political spheres (35).

As a miscellaneous site of “dialogic encounter”, postmodernism goes on in its exercise of mixing and blending contradictory scopes and fusing them into an all-encompassing dialogic literary paradigm. The blurring boundaries between “popular art and high art”, of the aesthetic and the theoretical, of “poetics and politics”, of “history and fiction”, of power-holders and eccentrics, of old and new, of what it is and what it is not are distinctive features of narrative narcissism which heighten its commitment to “duplicity” and “double-coding” (Hutcheon, *Poetics* 30). It is, in fact, a patchwork of numerous and contradictory elements, which explain its owing the label “the literature of unrest” par excellence (42).

The “interdiscursivity” of narcissistic texts flashes the mounting awareness of their cultural and ideological inscription and of the impossibility of determining definite lines of separation between the numerous discourses of a given culture (130). It does not seek in any sort of way to camouflage these ontological lines as it really endeavors to highlight them. Such a narrative occupies the borderline through positing itself on the edges of many oppositional poles, never favoring or prioritizing one to another, nor ceasing to pose endless questions about them. The narrative self-consciousness alludes to its own perpetual self-

³⁰ “**Dialogism**” is a term suggested by Bakhtin to describe the fictional language, which he sees as “inherently heteroglot”, i.e. formed of “diverse (hetero-), speeches (glossia)”. The language of fiction becomes a form of heteroglossia where “different discourses dialogically encounter”. Each word is thus loaded with different voices and ideologies that stratify it from within. Bakhtin opines consequently that the dialogic process of language constitutes a constant and simultaneous play between “centralizing and decentralizing forces of language” or what he terms as “centripetal” and “centrifugal” forces (Bakhtin 272).

questioning and self-evaluation. It never refrains from posing all kinds of queries about its ontological status aiming not at clear-cut answers or compromises but rather at exposing its ambivalences and “problematizing” the nature of all forms of writing and knowledge in general. Hence, one can refer to the “problematics” of narcissistic narratives rather than to its “poetics” (222).

Narcissistic texts attempt to reveal all its literary problematics, its ontological doubts, and its byzantine literary constructions. Thus, narcissism in fiction is a stage of maturity, a form of resistance, and an art of sincerity. It is mature insofar as it self-informingly places its own fictional mechanisms in the position of self-exposition and evaluation, resistant since it defies any inclination towards conformity and subjugation, and sincere because it denounces any pretention to disguise its own fictionality. It should be noted that narcissistic texts stipulate a narcissistic reading fully aware of its unattainable partiality for fixed, monolithic, and closed parameters of interpretation. The overt and covert self-exposition of metafictional texts does not emanate to the death of the novel as much as it declares the rebirth of the latter in a mask-free environment where the narrative decides not only to drop its masks silently but also to parody them and to criticize its past and even present masquerades.

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Hearing the Wound: Testimony and Trauma in Assia Djébar's *La Femme sans Sépulture* (The Woman without a Grave)

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Abstract

*Traumatic legacies, when unaddressed, continue to haunt the psyches and cultural collectives not only of survivors, but also of subsequent generations. As these legacies are transmitted across multiple generations, they inevitably return and disrupt human bonds. Testimony, in its curative capacity, allows recovery from the traumatic event. In the Algerian context, however, because the historic accounts of war have undermined the trauma that women experienced, by simply excluding them from any public discourse, the possibility of testimony for the victimized women was thwarted, and with it the ability of working through their trauma and recovering. In *La Femme sans Sépulture* (2002), Assia Djébar, the Algerian female writer, is concerned with this lingering wound of war and how to break history's great silence over its devastating effects on women's lives. Through the fictional world it created, her story offers a plethora of testimonies, released from bodily or psychic wounds, all female and trans-generational, concerning the female traumatic experiences of violence and death. The heroine Zoulikha, killed but never found or entombed, parades the story as a ghost that is conjured up by a number of female characters who, in their need to resurrect her, give voice to their missing testimonies that have been for so long muted or muffled. This paper will investigate the extent to which storytelling can ensure working through trauma and promote trans-generational psychic healing.*

Keywords: trauma, testimony, female storytelling, memory, Algerian war of independence

“The subject, *in loss*, becomes an archive of *loss*, a site where the memory of loss and trauma is maintained in a kind of crypt.”¹

1. Introduction

In *La Femme sans Sépulture*, Assia Djébar places the marginalized woman, whose role during the Algerian war of independence (1954 – 1962) was undermined, at the center of her text by creating a feminine genealogy that implies crafting a counter-memory model to stand against the oblivion of her role and the lack of valorization of her contribution to liberation in the official historical versions. In a story woven by intermittent female voices that revives the French colonial past in Algeria and reconstructs the story of the heroine, Zoulikha, killed during the liberation struggle of 1954 to 1962, but never found or entombed, the generic boundaries of fiction and non-fiction, the imagined and the real fuse, as the reader embarks on a testimonial journey to expose Zoulikha's, and with her all Algerian women's traumatic memories of war. A central concern of this narrative is to investigate the relation between time and memory, between trauma and testimony, between loss and the consequences of survival. Testimonies of individual female survivors foreground the difficulty of resolution or working through traumatic events; yet, they are used as evidence to construct a history that otherwise, for lack of evidence, would not exist. Thus, the novel redeems the lack of a grave. It is a narrative that stands as a trace of history, or against history.

Zoulikha has already made her appearance in Djébar's artistic world in her movie *La Nouba des Femmes des Monts Chenoua* (1977), where she incarnates the role of the fugitive *mujahida* (resistant) who fought colonialism and was caught, tortured and killed by French army forces. The keen interest in this heroic figure, the desire to evoke her again, was interpreted as a desire “to promote haunting as a mode of historical reinscription”² or as a need to reconnect with the colonial past and its traumatic legacy, an attempt to *act out* in order to *work through* this unresolved trauma of violence and loss.³ The logic of trauma, then, can be a plausible way of reading *La Femme sans Sepulture*, an endeavour that was undertaken by many of Djébar's scholars, namely Anne Donadey, Mildred Mortimer, Carine Bourget, Mireille Calle-Gruber, and Clarisse Zimra to name just a few, producing a plethora of texts that grapple with issues of collective and personal traumas. Most of these scholars discussed trauma in relation to hauntology or engaged with the relevance of memory in the process of a collective or individual recovery. My paper establishes a further inquiry into the ontology of postcolonial trauma, using the three key tropes of memory, trauma and testimony as critical fulcrum to the work.

The book is a tightly controlled montage – in a cinematographic fashion – of stories, different in their focus but similar in their purpose, making it possible to place the past and the present in constant relation to one another, offering the necessary space to reflect on the hybrid nature of the text where the fictional, the testimonial, the autobiographic and the historiographical intertwine. It is very hard to delineate the boundary between the authorial and the narrative voice as the autobiographic and the fictive fuse. The narrative technique of polyphony that emphasizes the dialogicity of voices traces the wealth of stories and the rich

female heritage. The essay puts forth the claim that the historical cultural lacuna inherent in Algerian literary history becomes radically apparent when viewed in relation to the far more authentic voices of female witnessing. Therefore, three aspects will be studied in this paper, memory, trauma and testimony to demonstrate how *La Femme sans Sépulture* evolves as a significant mode of post-war trauma narrative and to attempt to answer the following question: Can narrative— discourse open to shaping, displacement, distortion—ever offer itself as a viable space where trauma—and the memory of trauma—is (in the words of LaCapra) acted out/ worked through?

2. Memory

La Femme pays tribute to the memory of a woman named Zoulikha who fought colonialism and died without commemoration or even burial. Djebbar claims that the names, the dates, the places and the contours of the heroine's life are true and can be verified by the archives. But in the same breath she notes her recourse to fiction and the power of imagination. All the events are "rapportés avec un souci de fidélité historique", the writer says in the opening page of the book, yet she precises that "j'ai usé de ma liberté Romanesque, justement pour que la vérité de Zoulikha soit éclairée davantage"⁴. In many ways, Djebbar's work seems to chime with the ideas of Paul Ricoeur. The past is gone, but its traces remain. Ricoeur postulates that the trace is a material *connecteur* [connector] with the past, linking the living to the dead, to their deeds, thoughts and sufferings.⁵ He contends that the historian is able to trace the trace – in its "*caractère chosique*" – and represent it within a linguistic structure that yokes history and the tropes of fiction, within a text that provides the reader with an imaginary reconstruction of what was once real. Djebbar's work seems, in some ways, to validate the Ricoeurian position, based on the writer's tracking of the trace, of the archive where the trace is entrusted. As a true historian, an academic training that Djebbar had – she reconstructs in language the event of loss that left in its wake a physical trace or mark of its passage, more precisely a wound, a trauma. As such, we start to apprehend "*le monde qui, aujourd'hui, manque, si on peut le dire, autour de la relique*" [the world, now gone, which surrounded the relic, so to speak]⁶. Djebbar's text draws upon the narrative possibilities of the past and its traces – evident in the survival of stories and testimonies that become ostensible markers of loss. Ricoeur's notion of the trace underscores the idea of memory as a social form, based on a cognitive trace, "the cerebral and affective trace"⁷ that is recalled today through imagination and collective, clandestine testimonies. The void left by Zoulikha's disappearance in historic archives could only be filled with testimonial stories that become a concrete repository of trace. The narrator knows that "l'espace entier, avec ses statues gréco-romaines... tout cet espace au-dessus de nous, en chacune de nous (je parle des femmes, parce que les hommes, yeux et mémoire crevés, ils sont), cet air ...est plein ! Plein à exploser ! D'un passé qui ne s'est ni asséché ni tari ! Hélas ce plein est invisible à la plupart des regards."⁸ For Djebbar, the past – in the guise of Zoulikha's story of heroism – needs to be unearthed and reconstructed, and this is understandable, given that Algeria's past is beset by uncertainty, trauma, loss and victimization. Zoulikha's absent presence is evident as she "flotte inexorablement, comme un oiseau aux larges ailes transparentes et diaprées, dans la mémoire de chaque femme d'ici."⁹ Djebbar and Ricoeur meet since Djebbar seems to consider that writing on traces of the past -if it has not to become an archive -has to remain irrigated by oral transmission, the word and voices.

Memory is a strange type of inheritance; on the one hand, there is the “public house” of memory, or the archive which Derrida argues has an ideological configuration, in the sense that the separation of that which is to be remembered from that which is not worthy of preservation – which is to be rejected as junk – is a political process.¹⁰ On the other, there is a type of memory structure that is not so much based on fact as reliant upon a sense of sentiment or on an elaborate combination of fantasy, fact, narrative, defiance, possibility and reassurance. And it is this type of memory that Djébar explores and uses through the testamentary structure of her narrative to disassociate, invert and displace nationalist war narratives; in so doing, she offers a revised and fabricated memory in the form of anecdotal narrative about Zoulikha. Culdicott argues that “Memory cannot be entirely truthful; it can only, at best, be warped by time, emotion, desire, repetition and by the frailty of fact. The memory literally is a false one, yet psychologically and culturally, a fabled truth.”¹¹ Djébar proposes that this “truth”, its denial or lack of it, explains the traumatization not only of individuals, but of the whole country.

3. Trauma

We should note that Djébar is clear about the fact that the narrative of *La Femme* is organized on a linear historical continuum. That is, the novel is divided into twelve chapters, structured around the passing of forward-moving time. Thus, at one level, the novel is telling a story of the present times – of a film-maker and interviewer who collects stories about Zoulikha to use them for her movie and who eventually returns back to her exilic home. But what is also clear is that this forward-moving structure is placed in constant dialogue with the archival economy of the novel. The testimonial voices and the pursuit of truth disrupt the logic of time, past and history. Fragmentation whether symbolic – memory fragmented and incoherent – or structural – the disconcerting sense of timelessness that breaks narration, closely relates to traumatic experience. *La Femme* testifies to the writer’s interest in the twinned economies of trauma and memory.

Trauma is engraved in memory; that is, it can be perceived as being only a memory of trauma, a trace, rather than a current state of being. The trauma of Hania, the eldest daughter of Zoulikha, is caused not only by the loss of the maternal figure, but also by the inability to keep a trace, translated in the absence of a sepulcher, which announces for her the impossibility of maintaining memory and therefore the impossibility of mourning. “Vous qui arrivez si longtemps après,” she tells the narrator, “Où trouver le corps de ma mère,”¹² alluding to the impossibility of mourning. Paul Ricoeur discusses the notion of entombment; for him, “the grave remains because the gesture of burying remains; its path is the very path of mourning that transforms the physical absence of the lost object into an inner presence. The sepulcher as the material place thus becomes the enduring mark of mourning, the memory-aid of the act of sepulcher.”¹³ However, “When loss is converted into (or encrypted in an indiscriminately generalized rhetoric of absence,” says LaCapra, “one faces the impasse of endless melancholy, impossible mourning, and interminable aporia in which any process of working through the past and its historical losses is foreclosed or prematurely aborted.”¹⁴ “Je n’ai même pas une tombe où aller m’incliner le vendredi,”¹⁵ laments Hania, hinting at her inability to mourn and therefore to cope with her loss. “S’approfondit en moi un manque, un trou noir que je n’ai pas épuisée !”¹⁶ Mourning is the “normal” way to deal with trauma and

loss, with what Freud beautifully terms the “economics of pain.”¹⁷ That the past—loss and trauma—continually works its way into the present moment is an unhealthy emotional situation to which Freud refers as melancholia. Hania is taken regularly by bouts of melancholy that accentuate “certains jours précis du mois;”¹⁸ she is weakened physically and emotionally and thinks only of her mother, “queter sans fin sa mere, ou plutot, se dit-elle, c’est la mere en la fille, par les pores de celle-ci, oui, qui sue et s’exhale.”¹⁹ Hania’s subjectivity can be read as a wounded space – “la place blessée”²⁰ –, or a space of the wound. The significance of the word “wound” lays in its echoing of the original meaning of trauma, “a physical wound” and reflects the traumatized space that is imperceptibly patent in its relation to loss and death. Hania’s physical wound that initiates with the shocking event of loss is a persistent “hémorragie sonore”²¹ and the end of her menstruation cycle and loss of the ability to bear children; her moral wound is a perpetual melancholic state that continuously plays out the fantasy of burial that haunts her from the outset of the narrative. “Plusieurs fois je vis, dans un rêve, sa sépulture: illuminé, isolé, un monument superbe, et je pleurais sans fin devant ce mausolée.”²² Ricœur suggests, in this regards, that the work of memory and mourning is an “exercise in telling otherwise, and also in letting others tell their own history, especially the founding events which are the ground of a collective memory.”²³

To speak out about the trauma is to “break through the silence” that inundates it; a silence that is socially as well as psychologically resolved by the urgency to speak. To talk about a “traumatic event” is slightly misleading inasmuch as trauma is not defined by the nature of the event *per se*, but is more likely to be located in its damaging and delayed after effects. Mina, Zoulikha’s youngest daughter, “qui a grandi les dents serrées, les yeux secs, engloutie seulement dans ses livres,”²⁴ finds it difficult to translate her feelings and recollections into words. Her lack of articulation displaces the horizons that constitute her identity “du présent passé... Il y’a dix ans, germa en elle cette parole ininterrompue qui la vide, qui, parfois, la barbouille, mais en dedans...”²⁵ this has the effect of making her suffering tangible and is characteristic of the trauma she suffers. “Jamais je n’ai pu pleurer,” says Mina, “un nœud me reste là,” and through talking out her trauma “je m’entendais enfin donner réalité à ce manque.”²⁶ She is constantly filtering, organizing, blending, associating and constructing her own recollection; she is living in two temporalities, two states of being: she is in the present moment struggling with her everyday existence – her inability to forge a successful love relationship, her desire to pierce the secret of her mother’s disappearance; yet, her memories take her back to the past, a past she divulges in her own testimony of a child in quest for her mother hidden in the mountains, and in other women’s testimonies that relate her mother’s struggle, resistance strategies and acts of heroism. As such, “nos souvenirs, à propos de Zoulikha, ne peuvent que tanguer, que nous rendre soudain presque schizophrènes, comme si nous n’étions pas si sûres qu’elle, la dame sans sépulture, veuille s’exprimer à travers nous !”²⁷ Temporal and spatial disruptions, delay or, more precisely, belatedness that are the essence of testimony offer a position from which to step aside from the logics of time and space and ultimately offer themselves as spaces where trauma is articulated. “Zoulikha nous demeurera cachée, mais prête à revenir”.²⁸ The daughters provide the example of post-traumatized subjectivities, lacking a core, fractured, and in whose hearts “reste une morsure”.²⁹

Grief endemically private, paradoxically enough, needs a witness; trauma needs a witness if it is to work out, if it is to be worked through. Dori Laub focuses less on the survivors themselves and more on the hearer of testimony. This hearer is “a participant and co-owner” of the truth, an indispensable “party to the creation of knowledge *de novo*.”³⁰ It is necessary to articulate the traumatic experience to a listener or witness, “so as to reassert the veracity of the past and to build anew its linkage to, and assimilation into, present-day life.”³¹ This “listener” “ne demande rien. Elle écoute.”³² Listening to other – as well as others’ – narratives might open up new ways of understanding trauma and posit various modes of responding to its legacy. The novel, thus, begins with the daughters’ anxiety about the problem of transmissibility, “chacune éprouve le besoin de s’alléger... Parler de Zoulikha, faire qu’elle se meuve, ombre écorchée puis dépliée... O langes du souvenir !”³³ This task of transmission is all the more significant because of the erasure – forced or deliberate – of all written or material traces of the mother’s past. “Dans ma ville, les gens vivent, presque tous, la cire dans les oreilles: pour ne pas entendre la vibration qui persiste du feu d’hier. Pour couler plus aisément dans leur tranquille petite vie, ayant choisi l’amnésie.”³⁴ Zoulikha’s daughters remind the narrator of her belatedness and urge her to inaugurate the healing process by eventually listening to them, “si je parle d’elle, je me soulage,”³⁵ says Hania.

As for the “listener” – “l’écouteuse”³⁶ – her involvement in the collective memory of her community remains ambiguous: she is “la visiteuse’, ‘l’invitée’, ‘l’étrangère’ ou, par moments, ‘l’étrangère pas tellement étrangère’.”³⁷ The lack of certitude over the narrator’s identity and sense of belonging weighs heavily on her consciousness. To this hybrid position adds her belatedness that triggers an economy of guilt; there from, comes her need to cope with her personal trauma through listening, bearing witness and, as Judith Herman puts it, “shar[ing] the burden of pain.”³⁸ “Mon écriture, avec ces seuls mots de l’écoute, a glissé de mes doigts, différée, en retard, enchaînée si longtemps.”³⁹ “Je reviens dans ma ville... vingt ans plus tard... je reviens si tard et je me décide à dérouler enfin le récit.”⁴⁰

If it is a central tenet of trauma theory that an understanding of the initial event *as* event evades comprehension (in this case Zoulikha’s death and disappearance) and that trauma proper must be understood as a doubly inflected temporal event—cause and effect/ past and present—, one way of reading *La Femme* is precisely as the expression of the disruptive (after) effects of great shock. Trauma, as Freud and others note, disrupts the linearity of experience by compelling the victim back into the scene of trauma repeatedly. This “return back” occurs through memory and concretizes in the recurrent need to return to Zoulikha’s story. The logic of the testimony thus is predicated on a continual lived relation to trauma. All the women involved with testimony are victims of trauma, in the sense that their lives derive meaning only with constant reference to the past and the initial moment of loss. This explains why when Dame Lionne, Zoulikha’s best friend, “s’engloutissait vingt ans en arrière... la cloche... j’entends encore à mes oreilles.”⁴¹ “Vingt ans plus tard, tout revit, le tranchant du temps, et la peine, et son impatience...”⁴² Zohra, the sister in law, also “aimerai[t] comprendre pourquoi, si souvent, je suis dans cet état, près de quinze ans plus tard !... J’ en suis habitée.”⁴³ As Freud and others suggest, there is a delay at work in the economy of trauma, a delay effect, which, in the case of these protagonists does not occur through

flashbacks and dreams but through a deliberate testimonial agency, the desire to speak, that places the victims back in the event of trauma.

4. Testimony

Post-Independence Algeria can provide a testing ground for Paul Ricoeur's notion of modern memory that is sick with "an excess of memory here, and an excess of forgetting elsewhere."⁴⁴ Thus, its public memory is concomitantly capable of total blackouts, at times, and of scrupulous engagement with history and past at others. Remembering all too clearly the history of suffering, or forgetting all too quickly the violences perpetuated in the name of a community, are "symbolic wounds" in the collective psyche.⁴⁵ The cyclical nature of the testimonies provided by women, in the form of "private memory", aim at mending this "wound", for when the past has been traumatic, threatening to disappear from conscious memory, especially within a society that urges its people to forget and distorts existing memory, traumatic memory still exists in the unconscious. The literary works that Djébar has produced⁴⁶ are mostly concerned with redeeming a sense of historical justice concerning what Algeria has undergone, through foregrounding the role of private memory. Testimony is the vehicle through which history is remade. Weine remarks that "Each survivor, in his or her own humble way, has an opportunity to rewrite history and his or her own self. Those who receive the testimony, like those who read the novel, can partake in this process of historical emergence."⁴⁷

Ricoeur characterizes testimony as "the first subcategory of the trace,"⁴⁸ which Djébar investigates in the context of collective culture and historical memory, in relation to resistance to colonialism and women's role in it. The book bears kernels of testimony that transmit a powerful message from women. L'la Lbiya, Zohra Oudai – actual witnesses of Zoulikha's involvement in the war and at times her agents and accomplices – and Zoulikha herself are the ones whose testimonies will correct and reconstruct the traditional historic readings of the war and the role of women in it. The inaccessibility of the past (the story of Zoulikha lying dormant for twenty years), and its return, in the form of intrusive memories, are two major symptoms of trauma that seriously affected the life of its survivors. The only viable mode of working through these experiences involves the re-inscription of the past with new meanings through the therapeutic re-enactment that testimony allows. For indeed, "L'histoire, contée la première fois, c'est pour la curiosité, les autres fois, c'est pour... la délivrance!"⁴⁹ On the importance of testimony, Laub argues:

[S]urvivors who do not tell their story become victims of distorted memory . . . The events become more and more distorted in their silent retention and pervasively invade and contaminate the survivor's daily life. The longer the story remains untold, the more distorted it becomes in the survivor's conception of it, so much so that the survivor doubts the reality of the actual events.⁵⁰

All the women who testified to the trauma of war, are what Boutler dubs "archives", for "as archive ventrilocated by history, the subject begins to offer itself as a site to be heard, to be read, to be interpreted. And as such, as speaking archive, the subject offers itself to the reader—the reader who becomes now a kind of tomb raider—to be analyzed, more precisely,

psychoanalyzed.”⁵¹ Dame lionne “enjambe les temps, elle est mémoire pure,”⁵² while Zohra Oudai “Replongée dans le passé pour le revivre... elle est devenue conteuse presque joyeuse, en tout cas impétueuse, comme si le ‘temps de la lutte ouverte’ subsistait; une incandescence invisible.”⁵³ Women’s testimonies take a variety of forms, becoming memory’s mirror; they are engulfed in an aura of contrivance. Artifice and a carnivalized consciousness are delivered by the constant presence of a domestic setting and the oral performance, gestural and other of women. Series of grotesque, caricatured and disheveled shuffled movements orchestrate the female verbal testimonies. Wild, wayward, errant, delicate and elaborate, memory is willed on by a repetition compulsion that is performative in nature, yet consolatory. L’la Lbiya, always seated on her sheep’s skin, with her idiomatic expressions, her tea and cakes, her implorations of God, tells the story of Zoulikha’s resistance activities, the role of women in the war and the violence of colonialism. “Memory evolves, accumulates and erodes,” says Culdicott; “it is organic and unfixed.”⁵⁴ In hearing anew the story of Zoulikha, the narrator enacts and encodes the work of mourning and commemoration. These stories (that of Zoulikha’s interrogatories by Costa, her flee to the mountains, her torture), and their fictional arabesques, draw upon the narrative possibilities offered by the female narrators. With each act of transmission, with each telling of the story, a new knowledge is gained; a piece in the mosaic is glued. “Testimony is more than production. It is also reception, gathering, interpretation, rearticulation, and communication.”⁵⁵ As such, with every testimony come knowledge and empowerment and a redeeming sense of wholeness and integrity. “Ce qu’elle m’apprend, l’aie de ma mère,” mina confesses “je commence à le saisir... ces souvenirs me sont une pelote de laine emmêlée dans la paume.”⁵⁶

“The power of testimony as an agent for change comes from its dialogic properties. When dialogism is forgotten, then testimonies’ potential for helpfulness diminishes,” notes Weine.⁵⁷ Polyphony and dialogism create ever more complex webs of voices, memories, emotions, and experiences that constantly nourish the testimony and enrich it. “Dialogic work,” postulates Weine, “assists in clarifying how the testimony cannot be said to be only a product of the survivor, who of course speaks it, but also of the receiver with whom words, memories, and stories are exchanged. A receiver stimulates and structures what is said (or not) and then documented (or not) and then transmitted (or not).”⁵⁸ In one instance, the interviewer asks Mina “toi qui sait tout sur l’odyssée de ta mère, j’ai besoin, à partir du dernier récit de Dame Lionne, de faire défiler les péripéties... Peux-tu m’aider?”⁵⁹ As such, individual recollections acquire a collective dimension, and the nomadic memory of Zoulikha is weaved through these various intermittent voices. The receiver is also the one who has the ethical responsibility of making sense of it all:

Une histoire dans l’histoire, et ainsi de suite, se dit l’invitée. N’est ce pas une stratégie inconsciente pour, au bout de la chaîne, nous retrouver, nous qui écoutons, qui voyons précisément le fil de la narration se nouer, puis se dénouer, se tourner et se retourner... n’est ce pas pour, à la fin, nous découvrir... libérées ? De quoi sinon de l’ombre même du passé muet, immobile, une falaise au-dessus de notre tête... Une façon de ruser avec cette mémoire... La mémoire de Césarée, déployée en mosaïque : couleurs palies, mais présence ineffacée, même si nous la ressortons brisée, émietlée, de chacune de nos ruines.⁶⁰

In one single narrative account, the narrative voice can shift from “I” to “she” and even “you”. About Mina, the narrator says:

Puis [Mina] se met à parler ou, plutôt, se prépare à s’écouter parler... Elle voudrait se couler dans le corps d’une parole fluide, pourquoi faire l’effort de se souvenir, pourquoi?... le souvenir de ma mère, je le porte comme un cercle fermé sur lui-même, moi au centre enveloppée de moire ou de taffetas raidi, me mirant parfois et parfois moi, m’obscurcissant à mon tour.

Comprendra-t-elle, cette amie, que l’on ne peut se souvenir tout contre une bouche d’ombre... Je ne réveille pas les morts, je les porte vivants...⁶¹

First, the “she” is Mina, the interviewed, then the point of view shifts to the first person narrator “My mother, I” without the use of inverted commas, then back to the “she” that this time refers to the interviewer, the friend. This interplay in narrative voices is in tune with the polyphonic nature of the narrative but also translates the fragmented subjectivity in the process of acting out its trauma.

Female testimonies occur in places where women’s own history is made, in their own private, domestic spaces, for “To engage history, the testimony must be prepared to enter into the social spaces where history is made and where it is retold, shared, and interpreted. This implies that the spaces of production, but also transmission and response, should be spaces that are equally conducive to the social, historical, and political as well as to the personal.”⁶² Zohra Oudai and Dame Lionne testify in their private, domestic spaces; “au milieu de son four à pain”⁶³ for Zohra and “assise sur le même matelas... d’il y’a vingt ans”⁶⁴ for Dame Lionne, sites where their private memories are constructed and their own histories are made. These women are keepers of the trace, to which Ricoeur sometimes refers to as a “psychical” or “affective” trace, as “the passive persistence of first impressions: an event has struck us, touched us, affected us”⁶⁵; “Nos souvenirs, comme cette pierre... sont ineffaçables!... Seule l’amertume dans nos cœurs... qui demeure,”⁶⁶ says Zohra who wonders “pourquoi, si souvent, je suis dans cet état, prés de quinze ans plus tard !... J’en suis habitée.”⁶⁷

Djebar provides testimonies that are meant to be personal, truthful and ethical – redressing the injustices of the past. While they are used instrumentally – with the purpose of extracting information, they are more than that; they are stories on their own right. Testimony is not only what is received from the women but also what Djebar produces in the form of the book itself. It could not be the author/ narrator’s testimony in the sense of being a survivor, but it could be her testimony in the sense that she was there, the confident, the listener who shared in the experience of the telling. The testimony is certainly the mutual creation of the narrator/ interviewer and the multitude of women interviewed. They needed each other in order to complete the testimonies, to make them whole and public. When Mina reproached the narrator for her delay, the latter answers “I am here; late probably, but here! Let’s work!”⁶⁸ The descriptions of different constellations of oral testimony allow the narrator to become a witness on her own right. There is no one reason for telling, nor one way of telling or listening, nor one type of story. Testimony offered them relief by exteriorizing and thereby partially rationalizing their memories.

Zoulikha's testimonial voice is that of a specter, a Lazarus come back from the dead. She is relegated four chapters in the novel, in the form of monologues. It is as if the act of testifying itself facilitated her absence from a life where she is already absent: the testimony doubles or completes her absence. It seems important, if not mandatory, that Zoulikha is testifying at some margin of distance – temporal and spatial – from the event of her capture, in the safer and calmer situations afforded by her death; truth-telling finally becomes possible, after twenty years of strained family and public silence. Her accounts on her torture serve to highlight her heroism. They bear more courage and resilience than devastation and distress. They are the records of crucial life struggles, not just passive victimhood. "At a collective level, torture testimony is also a people and its culture and history speaking: perhaps speaking out of pride and out of joy in the spirit of resistance and persistence."⁶⁹ Zoulikha talks of her torture and its effects on her body as:

aurait le même effet que Presque vingt ans de nuits d'amour avec trios époux
successif... Torture ou volupté, ainsi réduite soudain à rien, un corps – peau jetée en
dépouille, à même le sol gras –, la mémoire des derniers instants malaxe tout
monstrueusement : torture ou volupté, mon corps – peut-être parce que corps de femme
et ayant enfanté tant de fois – se met à ouvrir ses plaies, ses issues, à déverser son flux,
en somme il s'exhale, s'émiette, se vide sans pour autant s'épouser !... Mon corps leur
faisait peur. Normal qu'ils s'y acharnent, qu'ils tentent de le morceler.⁷⁰

She recalls the ordeal of torture in a sensual way, celebrating the potential of her body in indulging love and cruelty, laying emphasis on the redeeming power the experience of motherhood entails. As such, she is subverting the stereotypical images of women weakened by the biological construction of their bodies.

As Mina has no public acknowledgement of her mother's story, nor a site of commemoration, it is other women who supply the tales which fire her imagination. And imagination is to become the crucial factor in her search for identity. Yet, her difficulty to testify creates a stumbling narrative reflecting her trauma. So the issue to investigate now is the role of testimony in exposing the silenced traumatic memories and its contribution to healing and catharsis. It is then the absence of the mother that continues to figure in the rest of the novel as the most sorely felt event of all, shadowing her whole existence and underlying all the other losses Mina has to face as young woman. Her mother is transformed into a phantom, responsible for what Abraham calls a "transgenerational haunting", for "What haunts are not the dead, but the gaps left within us by the secrets of others."⁷¹ Mina is certainly one of the most resilient characters in the novel, and in her refusal to discuss certain events she develops a survival strategy "qu'elle ne me parle pas aujourd'hui ... de ma mère! Se dit-elle, puis un refus intérieur l'emplit. Je ne veux plus trembler, ni souffrir!"⁷²

Djebar's ethical responsibility towards her female "sisters" has implied a great deal of hard work that covers how testimony is spoken, received, documented, interpreted, retransmitted, and understood. The different testimony spaces are meant to engage with one another, speaking to one another to make the narrative mosaic whole and complete. The narrator manages to counter Zoulikha's daughters' repression of personal trauma by reconstructing, with the aid of other women, the final years of their mother's life together.

5. Conclusion

Nora contends: “Archivez, archivez, il en restera toujours quelque chose!”⁷³ While Ricoeur at times cites Nora approvingly, hinting at what is lost in the archive, he is more cautious in his appraisal of the negativity of the archive: “every plea in favor of the archive will remain in suspense, to the degree that we do not know, and perhaps never will know, whether the passage from oral to written testimony, to the document in the archive, is, as regards its utility or its inconvenience for living memory, a remedy or a poison, a *pharmakon*.”⁷⁴ This idea is alluded to at the end of the novel where the narrator gets skeptical about the whole endeavour of testimony:

Césarée de Maurétanie [...] je la vois désormais, elle “ma capitale des douleurs”, dans un espace totalement inversé... Les pierres seules sont sa mémoire à vif, tandis que des ruines s’effondrent sans fin dans la tête de ses habitants. Pourquoi le constater après avoir reparcouru la vie – “la passion” – de Zoulikha?⁷⁵

Djebar suggests that resuscitating the memory of Zoulikha is inscribed for the limited benefit of her family and the interviewer herself: “La foule, à Alger, et presque pareillement à Césarée, est emportée dans le fleuve morne du temps. Elle te signifie [...]: Oublie avec nous! Fais comme si...”⁷⁶ My argument here, however, must be that if the testimonial project remains a failure, it is an enormously productive one; at least it has brought to light the forgotten (his)stories of women whose polyphonic and dialogic testimony narratives not only subvert the official univocal version of the Algerian history but inspire women to set themselves free from the colonial, nationalist and patriarchal ideologies of submission and inferiority. Ricoeur suggests that writing plays the role of a burial rite, “the scriptural equivalent of the social ritual of entombment, of the act of the sepulcher.”⁷⁷ By making a place for the dead, the novel establishes a place for the living:

l’image de Zoulikha, certes, disparaît à demi de la mosaïque. Mais sa voix subsiste, en souffle vivace: elle n’est pas magie, mais vérité nue, d’un éclat aussi pur que tel et tel marbre de déesse, ressorti hors des ruines, ou qui y reste enfoui.⁷⁸

For me, the ultimate suggestion here is that, if Djebar’s optimism came through in her belief in the role of testimony in changing history, her pessimism came through in her concerns about the ability of testimony to work through trauma. Algeria’s destiny in the 1990s seems woven into a larger fabric of trauma that involves terrorism and civil war violence, “des milliers d’innocents sont portés disparus, à leur tour, parfois sans sépulture. A l’image de Zoulikha dont Hania a cherché, dans la forêt, la tombe, tant de victimes effacées dans l’ombre, la confusion, l’épouvante.”⁷⁹ “Dans chaque cité ... surgissent d’autres Zoulikha. Dans chaque lieu où se sont entremêlés peur et attente, audace et, hélas, crime sauvage dans l’ombre, une figure de tragédie... illumine notre espace vidé.”⁸⁰ Algeria engulfed in more violence and chaos, obliterating any sense of mourning: It is in this sense that *La Femme*, as a narrative *about* mourning, becomes a narrative *in* mourning; it is here, too, that the narrative discourse of testimony stands incapable of bringing salvation or a working through of trauma.

Notes

- ¹Jonathan Boutler, *Melancholy and the Archive* (London: Continuum, 2011), 3.
- ²Michael F. O'Riley, "Place, Position, and Postcolonial Haunting in Assia Djébar's *La femme sans sépulture*". *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Spring, 2004), p. 66.
- ³ See Jane Hiddleston, *Out of Algeria*. (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2006).
- ⁴ Assia Djébar, *La Femme sans Sépulture* (Paris : Albin Michel, 2002), 9.
- ⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *La Mémoire, l'Histoire, l'Oubli*. (Paris : Le Seuil, 2000), 269.
- ⁶ Ricoeur, 269.
- ⁷ Ricoeur, 167.
- ⁸ Djébar, *La Femme*, 95.
- ⁹ Ibid., 141
- ¹⁰ Derrida, "Archive fever: a Freudian impression", in *Diacritics* 25 (1995), 12.
- ¹¹ Edric Culdicott, & Anne Fuchs (eds). *Cultural Memory, Essays on European Literature and History* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003), 142.
- ¹² Djébar, 63.
- ¹³ Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 366.
- ¹⁴ Dominick LaCapra "Trauma, Absence, Loss". *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 25, No. 4. (Summer, 1999), 698.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 93.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 51
- ¹⁷ Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia." *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916): On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works*. (Trans.) James Strachey and Anna Freud (London: The Hogarth Press, 1917), 252.
- ¹⁸ Djébar, 64.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 64.
- ²⁰ Blanchot, *The Writing of the Disaster*. (Trans). Ann Smock (Lincoln: Nebraska. 1995), 30.
- ²¹ Djébar, 65.
- ²² Djébar, 61.
- ²³ Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," in *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*, eds. Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley (New York: Routledge, 1999) , 9.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 61.
- ²⁵ Djébar, 64.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 103.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 94.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 53.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 51..

- ³⁰Laub, "Truth and Testimony", 57.
³¹Laub, 62.
³²Djebar, 95.
³³Djebar, 95.
³⁴Djebar, 236.
³⁵Djebar, 51,
³⁶Ibid., 102.
³⁷Djebar, 235.
³⁸Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence—from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 7.
³⁹Djebar, 242
⁴⁰Ibid., 238-239
⁴¹Ibid., 34
⁴²Ibid., 36.
⁴³Ibid., 93
⁴⁴Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, xv.
⁴⁵Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 79.

⁴⁶Steven Weine, *Testimony after Catastrophe: Narrating the Traumas of Political Violence* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2006), 150.
⁴⁷Ricoeur, 170.
⁴⁸Ibid., (171).
⁴⁹Laub, 68, 64.
⁵⁰Boutler, 7.
⁵¹Djebar, 167
⁵²Ibid., 81
⁵³Culdicott, 144.
⁵⁴Steven Weine, 93.
⁵⁵Ibid., 31
⁵⁶Steven Weine, 94.
⁵⁷Steven Weine, 93.
⁵⁸Djebar, 165.
⁵⁹Ibid., 142.
⁶⁰Djebar, 202-3.
⁶¹Steven Weine, 149-150.
⁶²Djebar, 138
⁶³Djebar, 27.
⁶⁴Ricoeur, 427.
⁶⁵Djebar, 80,
⁶⁶Ibid., 93.
⁶⁷Ibid., 14.
⁶⁸Steven Weine, 19.
⁶⁹Djebar, 218- 219.
⁷⁰Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis*. (Trans.) Nicholas T. Rand (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994), 287.
⁷¹Djebar, 27.

⁷²Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Paris, éditions Quarto Gallimard, three volumes, 1997, xxviii).

⁷³ Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 168.

⁷⁴ Djébar, 237.

⁷⁵ Djébar, 241.

⁷⁶ Ricoeur, 365.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 242.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 241.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 242.

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The Teacher is a Person: Professional Qualifications and Personal Qualities

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Abstract

A major concern of applied linguistics and foreign language methodology is to highlight what makes “the good language teacher”. Lengthy lists of qualities may be proposed to teachers with the aim of drawing their attention on what they should search for. The assumption behind this paper is that no matter how academically equipped a teacher may be, he can fail in his mission if he does not show some human qualities necessary for sharing the learning/teaching experience. Thus, this work looks at the human dimension of the teacher as a highly influential factor in the outcome of a classroom experience. In order to better comprehend what is at stake two (02) groups of students (92 BA, and 44 Master) of the English department, Djilali Liabès University in Algeria have been questioned. Most students (64% BA & 70% Master) expressed their preferences for teachers who have a warm and nice personality over competent, but distant teachers. Two personality assets proved to be particularly desired namely generosity and empathy.

Keywords: Efficient teacher, teacher personality, human characteristics, empathy, generosity

1. Introduction

The present paper starts from the noticeable fact that behind any profession there is a person. Teaching is a job which is practiced by millions of women and men all over the world, yet the extent to which each individual teacher responds to the educational institutions, learners and sometimes their families' expectations; depends on both professional and personality variables.

No matter what the classroom situation is, there are certain qualifications and qualities that most efficient teachers seem to have. We all remember those special teachers we have had while young pupils or students. It is such persons we often wish to resemble later, it is also them who have inspired many of us to become teachers on our turn. But we also remember those teachers we nearly hated, and with them the subject matter they taught, either because of their lack of professionalism, or mostly because of their unfriendly nature. Thus, personality traits may also influence learners' conception of the "good teacher". Shelley, V. highlights some "behaviors" that the good teacher should have and reminds him/her "...you'll be letting them see that you are, after all, human-and one who takes a genuine interest and cares for them" (2009).

Teaching is not like any other job that people do to earn their living. It should rather be seen as an involvement to help others discover and progress. It entails giving the best of one's experience despite obstacles and difficulties. This devotion to this profession makes it quite unique in the sense that it requires individuals who not only have particular qualifications, but also noticeable humane attributes.

2. Research question

The present paper attempts to raise the question of what makes the good or ideal English teacher according to students at Djilali Liabes university (Algeria), is it the academic qualifications/he has accumulated or is it also his/her qualities as a person? And in any case what are they?

3. Hypothesis

Starting from the obvious fact that teacher is a person; our presumption is that the teacher's personality traits are at least as influential as pedagogical knowledge in respect to classroom teaching/learning outcomes.

4. Qualities of the Efficient Teacher

What do students mean by a "good teacher"? Learners evaluate their teachers on the basis of their conception of the IDEAL teacher. Yet, expectations of a good teacher may be quite culture bound. Some features may be highly desired in one context and considered inappropriate in another. Ryan, SM, (2008) made a comparative study between Japanese and

Russian university students concerning their expectations of the good teacher. This study revealed that although there seems to be common agreement among the two groups of respondents, the most frequently reported answers being: friendly, enthusiastic, understandable; there are features which seem to be more culture specific. Thus while Japanese students gave priority to reliability, intelligence, equality; Russian learners preferred the teacher who knows the subject matter, who is competent and is professional. Another comparative study was conducted by Al-Maqtri, A. & Thabet, A. (2012) who examined the qualities of the good teacher as perceived by Saudi and Yemeni learners of English. They discovered that unlike Yemenis, Saudi respondents consider as a good teacher the one who has a good command of English, is competent, but does not give too much homework nor difficult tests. So learners' perceptions and expectations of the good teacher probably reflect specific socio-cultural conditions as including teachers' social ranks, place of education, attitudes towards learning, etc... In addition to this, it may be reasonable to assume that teachers' attributes and qualifications may vary depending on the age of the learners; such as children supposedly requiring more patience than adults.

Research in educational psychology and applied linguistics examines the issue of the "good teacher" in terms of lists of variables that are most likely to influence the latter's attitudes and performance in class. Ultimately such variables are discussed as influential factors in the learners' outcome. Among them we may draw the following lists which are by no means exhaustive nor absolute.

Professional related qualities

- Preparedness
- Skill of transmission of knowledge
- Setting realistic goals
- Knowledge of the subject to be taught
- Skill of transmission of knowledge
- having enough methodology information

- Having acceptable skills of communication
- Use of adequate assessment
- Adapting to new teaching situations

Further qualities of the FL teacher

- A high proficiency level in the four skills of the TL
- An awareness of the target culture

Personality related qualities

- Motivation
- Autonomy
- Intellectual integrity
- Being fair to everyone
- Self confidence
- Not being perfectionist
 - Accessibility
- Humility
- Empathy
- Tolerance

- Having a sense of humor
- Passion and enthusiasm
- Creativity
- Flexibility and openness
- patience
- Respect

Dealing with the characteristics of foreign language teachers, Borg, S. (2006) argues that language teachers are in many respects different from other content teachers, "...language teachers are seen to be distinctive in terms of the nature of subject, the content of teaching, the teaching methodology, teacher-learner relationships, and contrasts between native and non-native speakers".

Studies on effective teacher characteristics (see Dincer, A. et al 2013) list four major categories of variables, namely: Socio-affective skills, pedagogical knowledge, subject-matter knowledge and personality traits. On the last variable (which is the major concern of this work), Dincer, A. et al (ibid) remind that "people who work in any profession indispensably bring their personal characteristics in the working environment. This is also valid for teachers who not only are human beings but also deal with human". In this respect various facets of teachers' personality are investigated among which: being tolerant, patient, caring, enthusiastic, open-minded, creative, optimistic, flexible, having positive attitudes, and sense of humor (see Shishavan & Sadeghin, 2009). The aim of this work is not to give priority to one category of characteristics over the other; a good teacher has probably a great deal of professional as well as human features that do all help him in his task.

Survey

In order to find out what our students refer to in respect to the issue of question of "the good teacher", two (02) groups of students of the English department, Djilali Liabès University in Algeria have been taken as a sample:

Group one: 92 second year BA students

Group two: 44 Master students

The students were asked:

- 1- If you have only one choice, do you prefer to have :
 - A- A highly competent, intelligent but distant, teacher?
 - B- A caring, flexible but less competent teacher?
- 2- Why? Give as many reasons as you wish.
- 3- What are according to you the most important characteristics of the "efficient teacher"?
 - A- Professional characteristics
 - B- Humane characteristics
- 4- Please make your own list of the variables in each category.

Questions 2 as well as 3a and 3b and 4 were deliberately left open, the author not wanting to influence students' responses. By doing so, it was hoped that the respondents would provide personal, various, and maybe unexpected answers.

5. Discussion

The small-scale survey research revealed that the 2 groups (with 2 levels of education) of students would rather have teachers who are not necessarily highly competent in the subject matter, but who have some human or personality attributes.

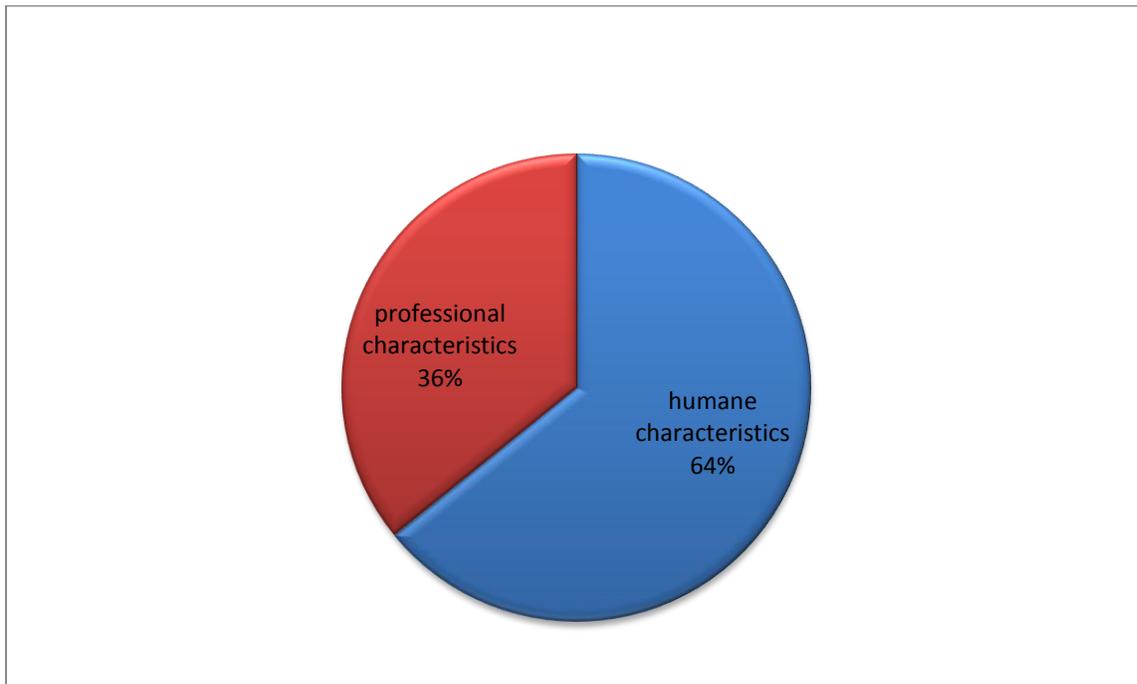


Table 1: BA students

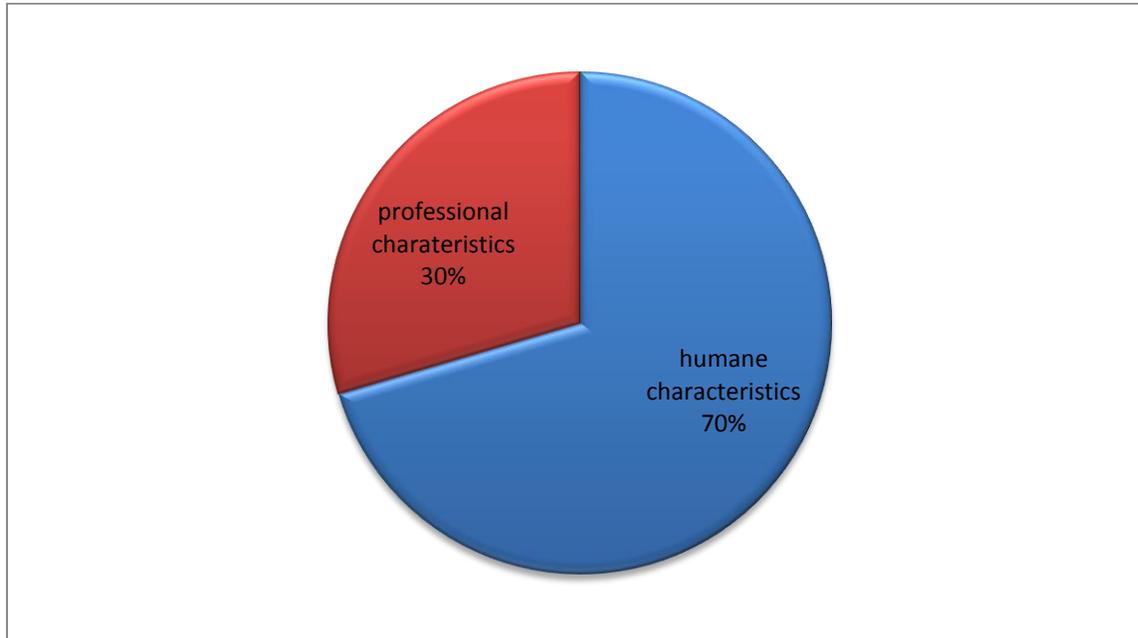


Table 1: Master students

Besides among the positive attributes students wished to find in their “ideal” teachers, the most frequently reported ones were the teacher who:

- 1- “ knows how to transmit information”
- 2- “ is caring and nice”
- 3- “ gives us good advice”
- 4- “ guesses our difficulties”
- 5- “is not always in a hurry, who gives us time to understand and work”
- 6- “ gives us the chance to express ourselves”
- 7- “ respects us and does not humiliate us”
- 8- “ speaks good English”
- 9- “ understands us and our difficulties”
- 10- “always listens to us and helps us when we need him”

Regarding the rationale behind the “preference” for teachers personal over purely professional assets, students explained roughly that internet, books and other teachers may provide them with further information if/when needed.

Since in this study students reported to favor personality traits over purely professional ones, it may be worth examining two of these qualities that seem to portray what our learners have expressed. Features N°4, N°9, and even N°2 may relate to a personality trait which is empathy; whereas N°3, N°5, and N°10 may be assimilated to generosity.

6. Empathy

Defining empathy appears to be tricky as this concept may be seen from either cognitive or affective angles, and thus defined by psychologists, neuroscientists, or educationalists for example. In the present work empathy is defined as a person's sensitivity and understanding of others' emotions and thoughts. Beneath the empathic person there is often someone who is interested in the other, someone who not only is attentive to the feelings and attitudes of the others, but who also respects them per se. Empathy is often related to caring, Tettegah, S. (2007) explains that teacher empathy consists of

...the ability to express concern and take the perspective of a student, and it involves cognitive and affective domains of empathy. This conscious or unconscious process may involve an awareness of a student's feelings and the ability to put herself in the student's place and feel what the student feels" (p.19)

In a research on Hong Kong learners' perceptions of the good teacher, Yuen Yee (2003) explains that the empathic "language teacher has the ability and willingness to step inside a student's shoes in order to feel what the student is going through earning a language". The empathic teacher observes and senses the affective tone of her/his class. S/he is capable of identifying and understanding learners' feelings, and through her/his overall attitude, will communicate this understanding to them.

7. Generosity

The word generosity derives from the Latin *generosus* which means noble birth. As used today, it refers to a personality trait found in high quality, good people. Such individuals not only often share what they have with others, but they get pleasure from doing so. Compared to other personality attributes as motivation, attitude, introversion and extraversion for example, generosity is not much debated in the related literature. In this work generosity is highlighted for the reason that:

- a- It reflects what our students wish to find in their teachers as mentioned above (although they do not name it as such).
- b- We believe that teaching is a profession based on giving of one's time, energy, patience, attention, etc... and that, generous persons who happen also to be teachers will naturally do that.

If the generous person is the one who often goes beyond what is expected from her/him, then the generous teacher is that who volunteers to do extra work, who is willing to help, give of his/her time and provide support whenever needed. Above all s/he will do all this quite spontaneously as this is the way s/he is in life. This generosity unsurprisingly transpires in the practice of his/her job.

8. Conclusion

It is acknowledged in this work that while many standards of efficient teaching may be acquired owing to training and experience; it remains hard to affect change in a teacher's personality. Nevertheless, making teachers aware that their personality is most likely to influence their performance and practice in class can make them reflect on this aspect. Pointing at what might influence the outcome of a classroom situation together with evidence to support it will undoubtedly make teachers look differently at their profession.

The present research revealed that most students are sensitive to their teachers' personalities; they even claim that these are often more influential than purely professional qualifications. We may as well take notice of the fact that the respondents in this study are adults who are relatively autonomous; may explain their position. Indeed learner autonomy is a major pedagogical target in our educational context, and students are progressively guided towards relying on themselves and actively controlling their own learning.

Concerning the desired personality attributes as they have appeared in this study, i.e. empathy and generosity; we may underline that these are human characteristics that undoubtedly many teachers have naturally, but many others need to make the effort to cultivate. This is certainly a complex issue, yet like with any sensitive exercise; becoming aware of something is already one step towards success. Finally, there is no doubt that a large scale empirical research with various personality variables is needed in order to better highlight the link between efficiency in teaching and the teacher not only as a practitioner but also as a person.

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Old people's adaptation to what is unfamiliar to their schemata

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Abstract

The present research studies the way old people refer to some unfamiliar items like the way they call certain technological devices and some types of food. In this respect, a way is opened to see the relationship which exists between these items and the terms used on the part of old people to express them. In this context, this study shows that once these items are used, old people opt for generating the suitable linguistic structures to them relying on the sensory experience they are exposed to. It is found that the linguistic forms used by old people to refer to the newly known objects are usually influenced by certain feelings which are activated by one of the internal senses whether olfactory, tactile, auditory or mental. Then, old people opt for mapping this internal cognitive experience into the appropriate linguistic form to call these items. As a result, the way old people refer to the newly known items is a subjective process which depends on the way each person internally experiences them.

Key words: Lexeme, semantic meaning, sensory experience, cognitive processes

A great deal of research has been interested in the study of meaning, and linguistic semantics is a discipline which focuses on the study of sentences used by people to express meaning. Cann (1993) says that “a semantic theory should provide an account for the relation between linguistic expressions and what may be called ‘things in the world’ (Cann 1993: 1). Therefore, linguistic expressions are usually used to present extra-linguistic objects. In fact, each linguistic expression expresses a specific state of affairs in the real world; for instance, we can refer to ‘the correspondence theory of truth’ introduced by Cann (1993) which relies on the fact that “a statement in some language is true if, and only if, it corresponds to some state -of-affairs” (Cann 1993: 10). It is noticeable that there exists direct relationship between language and some state of affairs to consider that a specific statement is true. On the other hand, it is undeniable that such a correspondence between words and the world is not always that direct.

In fact, “the correspondence theory of truth” reminds us of De Saussure’s analogy between the signifier and the signified. De Saussure defines the term signifier as the word or the sound image which reflects the signified which is the concept or the meaning indicating the signifier. De Saussure asserts that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary since the signified varies from one language to another. In fact, such an idea has long been criticized due to the fact that there exists some internal links which make the signifier and the signified tightly connected, and the present research aims at proving the existence of some internal connections which tighten the signifier and the signified together in the speech of old people when referring to some technological devices and some types of food. On the basis of this, the relationship between the signifier and the signified is no longer completely arbitrary.

Another view asserts that linguistic expressions are used not only to express the world but more importantly to facilitate communication. In this context, Chierchia and Ginet (1991) say that “we will consider not only what linguistic expressions themselves mean but also what speakers mean in using them” (Chierchia and Ginet 1991: 5). In this context, the semantic meaning of linguistic expressions starts to be oriented towards pragmatic theories (Chierchia and Ginet 1991: 5). Consequently, meaning does not implicate the directed representation of the world through words, but the meaning obtained is a means of communication which reflects the thoughts of speakers and to exchange ideas.

Van Valin and La Polla (1997) admit that human language should be studied in relation to the cognitive processes such as reasoning and conceptualization and in relation to other cognitive systems such as perception and knowledge (Van Valin and La Polla 1997: 11). This view accounts for the perception of the external world through the use of language. Moreover, Fauconnier (1999) says that “language is only the tip of a spectacular cognitive iceberg, and when we engage in any language activity, be it mundane or artistically creative, we draw unconsciously on vast cognitive resources, call up innumerable models and frames, set up multiple connections, coordinate large arrays of information and engage in creative mappings, transfer, and elaborations”. In fact, Fauconnier stresses the relationship between the use of certain linguistic expressions and the cognitive processes taking place after the activation of certain

cognitive abilities to percept the world. In fact, the meaning of linguistic expressions and the way they are used to express certain items is worth being studied from a cognitive point of view.

These views provide a variety of perspectives from which we can study the way certain linguistic structures present some facts existing in the real world. Some views admitted by “the correspondence theory of truth” and by De Saussure, opt for asserting the direct correspondence existing between words and the world. Therefore, linguistic structures are used to make a direct reflection of specific state of affairs. A different view stresses the importance of linguistic expressions and what they refer to in the real world to reach a communicative end. More recent views, assert the role of the speaker’s cognitive abilities which intervene with the relationship between linguistic expressions and what they refer to in the real world. In this context, the present research finds it interesting to study the relationship between words and the world from a cognitive perspective. In this respect, it is interesting to relate such a relationship to a variety of internal and external factors.

1. Research problem

With reference to the notion of truth condition, each linguistic form people use expresses life experience as it refers to a specific state of affairs existing in the real world. In this context, it is admitted that there exists a direct relationship between the signified presenting a real item and the signifier which is manifested in the lexeme used to refer to that real object. According to De Saussure, the relationship between the signified and the signifier is arbitrary because there are no internal connections between the signifier and the signified. On the other hand, a closer look at the way Southern Tunisian old people refer to newly known items like some technological devices shows that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is not that arbitrary, but a relationship between them is rooted in the speaker’s internal cognitive abilities which act as mediators between the two. Therefore, we should not gloss over the role of these intermediaries relating the signifier and the signified; for instance, we can refer to the emotional experience old people pass through in order to express linguistically such unfamiliar items recently intruding their life. Through such emotional experiences, made once these items are contacted, old people opt for mapping what they experience in their internal sensory makeup into the suitable linguistic forms. In this context, meaning lies in the act of mapping the external world into the internal feelings which decide about the suitable linguistic form to be used. In order to name an unfamiliar item, old people do not only make a linguistic form to the physical world, but they also describe their internal sensory emotions reacting to that physical world at that specific moment. In fact, old people do not make an objective description of the world, but it is rather a description of the way they experience this world with their internal sensory makeup. In what follows, a variety of examples taken from different conversations with old people are analyzed.

2. Methodology

The first part of this section presents the framework and the second part presents the type of study.

2. 1. Framework

The present research is based on Heritage & Atkinson (1984) Conversational analysis.

2. 1. 1. Conversational Analysis

Conversational analysis studies people's everyday speech which deals with everyday problems. One interest of conversational analysis is to see the way interaction taking place in society and its analysis leads to a variety of insights about the influence of a specific social context on the way people interact. In this respect, Heritage & Atkinson (1984) say that "The central goal of conversation analytic research is the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction" (Heritage & Atkinson 1984:1). In this context, the present research shares the same tendency of explaining the competences which influence people's interactions in a specific social context. In this respect, a variety of detailed utterances taken from different conversations are used to study the way Southern Tunisian old people present the world with words, and more specifically the way they refer to unfamiliar items.

2. 2. Type of study

This study is a conversational analysis with a focus on turns taken by old people.

2. 2. 1. Corpus description

This research is interested with the study of different conversations between old people speaking about different issues. A number of these conversations are between an old person and an adult or a teenager. These conversations are available in the appendices.

2. 2. 2. Selection criteria

This research is interested with the interpretation of different conversations where the two speakers or one of them is an old person. These conversations reflect the spontaneous speech of old people and this provides the study with credible findings.

2. 2. 3. Research instruments

Note taking is used as a way to collect data, and to recall the oral conversations to be studied.

2. 2. 4. Procedure

The conversations are divided into different types according to the topics they deal with. Each conversation is analyzed to show the competences ordinary old people use to refer to a number of unfamiliar items.

3. Examples showing the way adults call a number of technological devices

At such a late stage of life, old people are obliged to cope with technology which dominates their life. Throughout their childhood terms belonging to the field of technology did not exist, so it is only now that adults start to acquire these terms, when the acquisition of their mother tongue had already been finished. Consequently, neither the acquisition of these terms nor the time of acquiring them is going to be a natural process. In this context, the present research studies the way Southern Tunisian old people refer to a variety of newly known technological devices.

*Example 1: Air conditioning

Usually, children and middle-aged people refer to the “air conditioning” using the French word “climatiseur” or the Arabic word “مبرد”, and these terms are acquired from the environment throughout their childhood. On the other hands, such an item did not exist in the childhood of a number of old people, that is why some of them refer to it now using the word “الصفع = cold”.

An old man met in the bus station wants to enter the bus, but he wants to check if there is an air-conditioning there, so he asked the bus driver. Therefore, instead of saying “is there an air-conditioning in this bus? = هالكار فيها مبرد” or “climatiseur فيها”, he said “**is there cold in this bus? = ها الكار فيها الصفع**”. In order to refer to the air-conditioning, the man did not call it using its conventional name, but he rather describes the emotional experience he passes through whenever the air-conditioning is opened. This process is manifested through the use of the word “الصفع” because the old man used to feel cold whenever the air-conditioning is opened. It is important here to show that the relationship between the signifier “الصفع” and the signified “air-conditioning” is not arbitrary. With reference to De Saussure’s view, we can admit that there exist some internal connections which relate the signifier and the signified. Therefore, these connections are manifested through the emotional experience of feeling cold, and this feeling enhances the old man’s use of the lexeme “الصفع=cold” instead of the lexeme “air-conditioning”. Consequently, the relationship between the item and word used to express it is neither direct nor arbitrary. It is important to acknowledge the importance of the speaker’s internal feelings which function as mediators between the internal sensory makeup of the speaker and the linguistic word chosen to express the item. Being exposed to a specific item in the real world, the old man opts for mapping the existing sensory experience he passes through whenever the air conditioning is opened onto the convenient linguistic expression “cold = صفع”. It is worth being said that the old

man calls the air-conditioning in a funny way relying on his internal sensory experience whenever the air-conditioning is opened.

***Example 2: personal computer**

In order to speak about personal computers, the majority of old people use different names like the word “taktaka = طكطكاة”, “box of learning = صندوق القراية” and “albarbach = البرباش”. The majority of our grand-mothers did not know personal computers in their childhood. Looking at people using this strange machine now, old women try to call this item from their own point of view. In this context, they opt for using the word “taktaka= طكطكاة” as a signifier to the signified “personal computer”. In this example, old women rely on the tactile experience they pass through and this experience plays the role of the mediator between the signifier and the signified. To refer to this item, old women attempt to describe the tactile sensations taking place whenever they touch the keys of the personal computer. Consequently, the use of the word “taktaka = طكطكاة” depends on that specific internal sensory experience these old women pass through when they touch the keys of this item. It is important to say that this item is called on the part of old people in a ridiculous way.

***Example 3: Radio**

Referring to the radio, a number of old people opt for using the word “الجو = joy”. Old women used to use the expression “تري حلي الجو = Open the joy, please” instead of saying “حلي الراديو تري = Open the radio, please”. As a result of what they hear, these old women use the word “joy = الجو» due to the influence of such machine on their auditory stimulus. Consequently, the auditory and emotional experiences they felt are combined together resulting in the use of the signifier “الجو = joy” to express the signified “radio”. Initially, a mapping between the item radio and the feeling it leaves on their internal sensory make up takes place, and at a second stage these old women attempt to map this emotional experience onto the suitable linguistic structure presenting this item. In fact, it is obvious that the process of presenting items existing in the real world is a complex process and the relation between the two is not neither direct nor arbitrary. In this context, old people usually pass through complex cognitive processes whenever such unfamiliar items are used and then an attempt is made to choose the suitable lexeme for them.

***Example 4: internet and rooms of chat**

Internet is a strange term for the majority of old people now let alone the word ‘skype’, though the fact that old people use rooms of chat daily to speak with their relatives living abroad. To express this item, the majority of old people try to simplify the term « skype » according to their own cognitive abilities, and what is meant here is according to the existing schemata in their mental makeup. We can refer to the example of an old woman who asked another old woman who recently get access to this service saying “بديتو تشبحو = did you start watching?”. In fact, the second woman understood the question, and she answered conveniently. The old woman who

asked the question uses the verb “تتبحو = see” to refer to the signified ‘skype’. In this respect, it is possible to refer to Piaget’s theory which studies the way children adapt to their environment, showing that this process is mastered by the mental organizations known as schemata used by children in order to present the world. In fact, this theory is also applicable to adults who start to acquire the language of technology at such a late age. In this context, ‘skype’ as an item coming from the environment, is accommodated on the part of the old women with a pre-existing schema usually consisting in the act of seeing people in television, and this exists in their internal mental makeup. In fact, the woman refers to the item ‘skype’ making use of the visual sensory experience she passes through whenever internet enables her to see someone living faraway. Consequently, the old woman activates her cognitive abilities to name the item ‘skype’, and this takes place in a ridiculous way.

4. Examples of the way adults call some fruits

South Tunisia is not a suitable environment in which a banana tree can grow, so this fruit is most of the time imported. In the past such commercial transactions were not that frequent, so it is only recently that old people start to consume this type of fruits regularly. In what follows, there is a description of the way old people refer to this type fruit.

***Exapmle 5: Banana**

In the dinner, a grand -mother says to her daughter “ترا اعطيني هكا الي ما يديرش الحس = give the one which does not make a sound”. The woman uses the verb phrase “الي ما يديرش الحس = which does not make a sound” to refer to “banana”. In fact, the old woman uses this complex verb phrase to refer to the simple noun “banana”. She describes the process she passes through when she eats this fruit. The old woman ultimately describes the internal feelings taking place when she eats a banana, as she highlights the absence of any auditory mechanism once such fruit is eaten. Since eating a banana does not leave a sound, the old woman uses the suitable linguistic expression depending on this sensory experience. We can notice here that the relationship between the signified « banana » and the signifier “الي ما يديرش الحس = which does not make a sound” is not arbitrary, but we have to account for the internal sensory experience the woman passes through which dictate the use of this specific lexeme and not the conventional one usually used by younger people.

5. How adults call some types of clothes

In the past, women did not use to wear trousers. Once exposed to such experience they start to call this type of clothes in a specific way.

***Example 6: trousers**

An old woman speaks with her daughter, who asks her to try on her jeans, says “ما نلبسش حاجة = I don’t wear something cutting me into two”.

The old woman refers trousers using the expression « حاجة تشقني على ثنين = something cutting me into two ». The woman does not directly use the simple noun phrase “trousers”, but she rather uses a complex noun phrase describing the tactile experience resulting in wearing trousers. Consequently, it is the internal tactile experience which enhances the woman’s use of this specific linguistic form to refer to the signified trousers.

6. How old people refer to black people

Old people who are still influenced by slavery, opt for using a variety of structures to refer to blacks. The majority of them still call black people “عبيد = slaves”. In what follows, a similar example carrying the same funny tone is presented.

***Example 7: black people**

One day, two old men entered the bus, but seats are not available. One of them shared the seat with a black boy. Once the boy left, the other man came to him and says:

“شيبك قعدت مع الضلمة = why did you sit with darkness?”.

To refer to the black boy, the old man uses the word “ضلمة = darkness”. Though the relationship between the signifier “ضلمة = darkness” and the signified “black boy = الولد الاسود” looks ambiguous and arbitrary, but it is not the case. In fact, the old man uses the signifier “ضلمة = darkness” which expresses the mental, visual and emotional experiences he passes through when his mental makeup starts to look for the suitable linguistic expression to refer to the black boy. The process of mapping these internal sensory processes onto the suitable linguistic form shows that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is not arbitrary. It is rather manipulated by some internal and external factors. Therefore, the man’s internal mental and sensory experiences in conjunction with the external social and political contexts work together to enhance the use of the subjective expression “ضلمة = darkness” and not the conventional one to refer to the black boy.

These examples show that meaning lies in the way things are referred to by old people. Moreover, the majority of them refer to unfamiliar items by describing the sensory effect such items leave on their biological and cognitive perceptions. After contacting certain items, a variety of cognitive processes are activated. As a result, old people rely on their internal sensory experience and on a number of external factors to choose the suitable linguistic forms to express such unfamiliar items.

7. Conclusion and implication

The study of the different techniques used by old people to call different items recently intruding their life, shows that old people usually depend on their internal sensory experiences which decide about the suitable linguistic structures used to name specific unfamiliar items. It is

true that this finding is not representative enough, but it is also undeniable that this phenomenon is worth being studied whenever it is noticed.

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Appendix A

Example 1

- الرجل "السلام عليكم"
- سائق الحافلة "السلام"
- الرجل "هالكار فيها الصقع"
- سائق الحافلة "ضاحكا) اي فيها يا حاج"

Example 2

- البنت "يسرى وينها"
- الجدة "هوبنها في بيئها شادة الطكطكاة متاعها"
- البنت "تو نشوفها"

Example 3

- "ناديتيني" الابن
- الجد "اي ترى حلي الجو"
- الابن "باهي"

Example 4

- الامرأة الاولى "اشنوة بديتو تشبحو"
- الامرأة الثانية "اي بكري حكيت مع سامي ولدي"

Example 5

- الجدة "ترى مديلي هكا الي ما يدبرش الحس"
- البنت "خوذي صحة"

Example 6

- البنت "ترى البسي الدجين متاعي ماما"
- الام "الطف عاليا انا ما نلبشش حاجة تشقني على اثنين"

Example 7

- الرجل الاول "شبيك قعدت مع الضلمة"

- الرجل الثاني "ما فماش بلاصة بحذاك عاد"

Appendix B

Example 1

- **The old man** "hello"
- **The bus driver** "hello, can I help you?"
- **The old man** "Is there cold in this bus?"
- **The bus driver** "(laughing) yes, Sir"

Example 2

- **The daughter** "did you see Yosra"
- **The grandmother** "she is in her room holding her taktaka"
- **The daughter** "ok, I will see her"

Example 3

- **The son** "did you call me?"
- **The grandfather** "open the joy, please"
- **The son** "ok"

Example 4

- **The first old woman** "did you start watching"
- **The second old woman** "yeah, I have just spoken with my son Sami"

Example 5

- **The grandmother** "give me the one which does not make a sound"
- **The daughter** "ok"

Example 6

- **The daughter** "try on my jeans, mum please"
- **The mother** «No, I don't wear something cutting me into two »

Example 7

- **The first man** « why did you sit with darkness"
- **The second man** «no vacant seat beside you »

Speech Reportage and Manipulation in Newspaper Articles

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Abstract

This article represents a CDA account for the different realizations of Speech Reportage instances in written media articles. It is a case study of nine (09) articles selected from The New York Times (Oct, Nov, and Dec 2014). These articles share the same source and topic which is the Syrian political impasse with its details and possible outcomes. The aim has been to unveil the importance of preferences made at the discursive level for the societal role ascribed to written media articles. Media producers tend to manage structural entities in accordance with the preset social objective of the mediated text. The CDA framework has been qualified most adequate for bringing different practices accompanying text production and consumption to the fore (van Dijk 2006). Critical analysis of mediated texts is geared to study the different workings of ideological investment of political discourse in the media.

Key words: Media discourse, Speech Reportage, Critical Discourse Analysis, manipulation, ideology

1. Introduction

1.1 Statement of the problem

The study of media language is increasingly important for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Firstly because of the ubiquity of mediated discourse today prevailing post-modernized societies (Bell, 1991; O’Keeffe, 2006). Secondly, analysts try to investigate the different workings of ideology in mediated discourse (Rozell, 2003; Matheson, 2005; Allan, 2010). Drawing on examples from mediated discourse, analysts focused on different discursive practices in relation to wider processes of social and cultural change (Fairclough, 1995a; 2003). CDA explores the different practices surrounding media text production on the one hand and the oscillation of text reception between information and entertainment on the other hand.

Discourse representation or speech reportage (SR hereafter) in the media has been described as a site of intersection between discourse and ideologies. Critical discourse analysts assume that language, at that level, is susceptible to perpetual manipulation that aims to provide power holders with access to control readers’ minds. CDA strives to empower ‘weaker’ audiences with the appropriate linguistic features to counter these practices. In the present study structural entities namely instances of SR will be sketched out in order to unveil the ideologies disguised therein.

1.2 Rationale

The main goal of the current study is to critically probe into the different SR instances in The *New York Times* articles (Arts henceforth). The first aim is to determine the different facets of the ideological investments of these discursive entities. Second, to identify the discursive strategies that imply social change or social action. The critical discourse framework of analysis (CDA) is used by virtue of the fact that it meets the objectives of the study. It is an eclectic model between van Dijk’s 2006 socio-cognitive paradigm and socio-cultural framework advocated by Fairclough (1989, 1995a and 2003).

2. Literature review

2.1. CDA and Manipulation

In the CDA framework, manipulation encapsulates three aspects, (i) a social, (ii) a cognitive and (iii) a discursive aspect (van Dijk, 2006). In the present study, the focus will be on the way mediated discourse is used in a manipulative way. That is the discursive properties of manipulation permitted by the control of grammatical structures. It has been argued that CDA has been able to show that the ‘vocabulary of the news is strongly patterned’ in accordance with the ascribed social role of the text (Matheson, 2005). The scrutiny of the discursive aspect of manipulation in mediated discourse is motivated by the importance of linguistic strategies used to manipulate readers’ minds. Manipulative ‘tactics’ such as positive self-presentation and negative

opponent presentation are made primarily implicit at all levels of discourse (van Dijk, 2006). It has been maintained that the news media do often shape people's conception of other cultures (Romdhani, 1980).

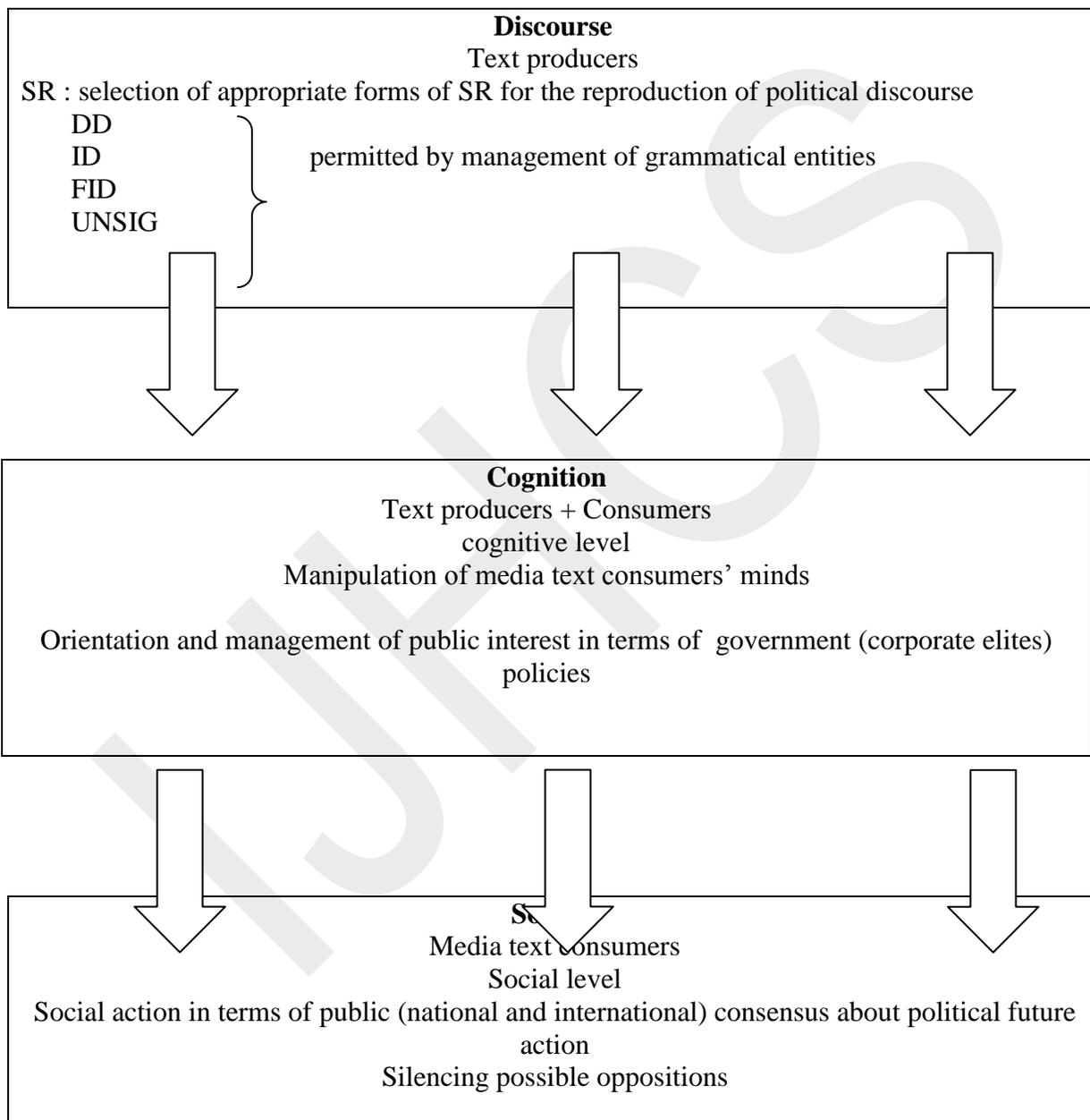
The cognitive level of manipulation manifests itself when manipulative discourse reaches its objectives of shaping people's ideas. Manipulating people involves manipulating their minds, that is, people's beliefs, such as the knowledge, opinions and ideologies that in turn control their actions. Discourse is defined to be manipulative first of all in terms of the context models of the participants (van Dijk, 2006). It has been argued that linguistic practices are interpreted as instances of reaffirmation of power; individual, institutional, and disciplinary (Labassi, 2001).

Socially speaking, manipulation presupposes power held by powerful discourse producers against 'recipients who lack specific resources, (e.g., knowledge, CDA), to resist manipulation. Power has been described to be related to the institutions organizing the relationship between the discourse of institutions and recipients or society (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1997). Power, in connection to discourse, can be used for persuasive ends, which said to be legitimate but manipulation is illegitimate. Manipulation presupposes not only power held by manipulators through access to discourse but also power abuse. It should be noted here that these three levels are irreducible to one or two of them (van Dijk 2006).

Binding power abuse to manipulative ends of discourse entails the analysis of social properties in connection to the ideological investment of mediated texts. In this study the focus will be given to the relationship between manipulative ends of written mediated text in Arts and the various realizations of SR instances of the different discourse participants involved in these texts.

The following figure (2.1) below may account for the different workings of manipulation from discursive to social levels. The first higher part of the figure represents manipulation discursive level. It summarizes practices of text producers in terms of management of linguistic entities. Preferences made at that level seem to meet the preset societal role of written media articles. The middle box portrays the contact between text producers and text consumers in terms of mediated text consumption. This part represents the oscillation of mediated discourse between discourse producers on the one hand and 'recipients who lack specific resources, (e.g., knowledge, CDA), to resist manipulation on the other hand. The lower part of the figure is a representation of manipulation' social level manifested in winning public consensus for government policy at the same time of silencing possible opposite voices.

Figure1.1: A representation of the socio-cognitive view of manipulation in MD



2.2 Typology of Speech reportage

Speech reportage in Fairclough's (1995a) terms means the techniques used by writers (of institutional discourses e.g. Mediated political discourse) to reproduce other persons' utterances. It has been argued that one of the most important linguistic features in analyzing media discourse critically is news reporting or discourse representation (Thornborrow, 1999). SR includes the identification of the different discursive 'techniques' of reporting discourses in the media. The reported utterance can either be 'preserved' as it was, that is, without paraphrasing, which is an instance of Direct Discourse (DD). A sub-type of DD is DDS mode where the reporter mixes reported utterance with the speaker's words. The represented discourse may be 'recounted in the writers' or journalists' words and identified as Indirect Discourse (ID). This entails certain procedures; subordination of the secondary discourse in the form of *that-clause* to the reported speech, changing pronouns from 1st and 2nd person to 3rd person, and a shift of diectics (e.g. here to there). Fairclough, (1995a) has added a fourth type, which is UNSIGNALLED (UNSIG), or, Free Indirect Discourse, (FID), that is, ID without a 'reporting clause'.(in 4.3 below there will be representations of examples of different SR modes from the corpus)

3. Methodology

3.1 Framework of analysis

The present study endorses an eclectic model. It is a paired framework between van Dijk's 2006 Socio-cognitive model and Fairclough's socio-cultural paradigm (Fairclough, 1989, 1995a and 2003). The first has been clarified in 2.1 above. It represents the notion of manipulation in discourse from its discursive (linguistic) form to cognition or media text influencing media consumers' which in turn implies social action in terms of winning public consensus to government policies on the 'ground'. The process does not differ to a large extent when it comes to the socio-cultural paradigm. Mediated discourse may affect social action and social change. Hence, this framework consists of three moves: description, interpretation and explanation. The first section has to provide experiential, relational and expressive values of grammatical features. In the present article data will be parsed using Fairclough's paradigm. The study findings will be analyzed in the light of both frameworks.

3.2 Qualitative and quantitative analyses

The identification of the different discursive structures relevant to the current study was followed by the classification of the different SR instances (Primary discourses (Pds): DD and DDS or Secondary discourses (Sds): DDs and FIDs) measuring the extent of demarcation between primary discourse (Pd) and secondary discourse (Sd) (Fairclough, 1995a). This

procedure was used to determine instances of SR, identifying them as being DDs, IDs or FIDs. The aim is to determine the extent of demarcation between primary discourses (DDs) on the one hand and secondary discourses (IDs and FIDs) on the other hand. This demarcation will be measured according to the parameters of Stylicity, Setting and Situationality. There can be either a “low demarcation between Pd and Sd or, a focus upon the representation of the ideational meaning of the words used” (Fairclough, 1995a). The objective is to reveal instances of ideology/language interface enacted to serve the social objectives of written media articles.

3.3 corpus description

The corpus chosen for this study contains 09 articles published in *The New York Times* between October and December 2014 (three (3) articles each month). These articles were randomly selected on the basis of their focus on the Syrian problem. They have been downloaded from the Internet (the URLs of these articles will be given in Appendix A)... In terms of length the articles are of unequal length. They range from 419 to 1426 words. The total length of the corpus is 8357 words.

3.4. Selection criteria

The selection of Arts concerning the Syrian question has been made because such problem represents now an important issue in the international politics with the insistence of the U.S that Bashar al-Assad must leave thrown giving way to the ‘democratization’ of Syria . But the emergence of extremist islamist groups like *Nusra* and *ISIS* or *ISIL* spread fears of an extremist regime in the Middle East. After the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 under the pretext of disarming Saddam, a war that represented one of the most controversial issues that mobilized the whole world and after the problem of Iranian Nuclear Program (from 2006 till now) and possible Iranian Nuclear Bomb. The American government found itself facing a more complicated dilemma which is the Syrian question. It is still seeking a solution to solve this problem since it is determined to continue pressing Al- Assad regime and try to finish any involvement of Syria with Iran. In this context the American public viewpoint needs being oriented to the way the government sees things. This would enable the American government make two profits at the same time. Firstly, American public attention would be drawn away from the Iraqi and Iranian dilemmas. Secondly, this would make the American government win public consensus for any political procedures or even military action against Syria.

American media has to serve the political agenda of the American government (Nayyar, 2007). The Syrian question and its outcome are very important for the United States' national security and economic as well as political interests in the Middle East. Written press articles, especially those of famous newspapers may have a deep effect on readers, mainly the way they represent people to them (Romdhani, 1980). *The New York Times* (founded on September, 18 1851) articles could be a fruitful site where language is subjected to ideological manipulation. Especially when we know the history of the newspaper’s promotion of American policy in the

Iraqi war and the criticisms aimed at its board at that time. It has been maintained that one of the most important ways of media influence is the way it represents people to its recipients (Fairclough, 1995a). These ideologies may underlie forms of speech reportage of both 'parties'; Americans and Syrians (who are discursively treated differently). In the present corpus, instances of SR and the way they present views or ideologies of both 'parties' represented an important material that was worth investigating for the manipulative strategies smuggled in them.

3.5. Procedures

The description stage of analysis was geared to study discourse at all its linguistic levels. The latter included the experiential, relational, and expressive values of text and talk. The first step undertaken at this level was sketching out all instances of SR in the corpus, which hopefully determine the structural entities relevant to the goals of the current study (examples of the targeted structures in the corpus under study are provided below). These structural entities of SR were, in turn, submitted to a (manual) propositional analysis so as to identify the different modes of SR in Arts.

SR-within CDA-can be seen as tightly connected to ideological investments of texts (Fairclough, 1995a; Thornborrow, 1999). The selection of syntactic structures permitted by the control of discourse properties by media text writers entails an oscillation of ideology between powerful producers and venerable recipients. The distribution of SR strategy will be dealt with in reference to the corpus of the present study according to the following modes:

Mode 1 DD :

- (1) "It is significant to allow a Kurdish entity to move Kurdish sovereign forces across an international border through Turkey," said Yezid Sayigh, a military analyst at the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut. (Oct. 29, 2014)
- (2) "No F.S.A. faction in the north can operate without Nusra's approval," Mr. Maarouf said. (Dec. 27, 2014)

Mode 2 DDS :

- (3) According to Abubaker Deghayes, the father, his son's journey to Syria had been "a young man's attempt, with scarce experience of life, to fight a tyrant massacring civilians under the watch of the whole world."(Oct. 30, 2.14)
- (4) Obama Calls Islamic State's Killing of Peter Kassig 'Pure Evil'. (Nov. 16, 2014)

Mode 3 ID:

- I. (5) President Bashar al-Assad of Syria said Monday that a United Nations proposal for a local cease-fire in Syria's largest city, Aleppo, was worth considering. (Nov. 10, 2014)
- (6) But Mohamed Arif Ali, a doctor working in Kobani, said that the arrival of even a few pesh merga fighters was symbolically important, and would bolster Kurdish unity. (Oct. 20, 2014)

Mode 4 UNSIG/FID:

- (7) He acknowledged the pressures facing Turkey, but defended the focus on Kobani. (Oct. 20, 2014)
- (8) And Syrian Kurdish officials in Kobani expressed hope that it meant Turkey and the United States were beginning to resolve their differences over how to fight the Islamic State, also known as ISIS. . (Oct. 29, 2014)

4. Results and Discussions

4.1 Description

The description section is concerned with the analysis of mediated discourse at all its linguistic levels. It included a description of the experiential, relational, and expressive values of targeted structural entities. The first step undertaken at this level was sketching out all instances of SR in the corpus which hopefully meet the goals of the current study (examples of the targeted structures were provided in 4.3 above as samples of analysis). These structural instances of SR were, in turn, submitted to a (manual) propositional analysis so as to identify the preferred modes of SR in Arts with reference to the Syrian question.

4.1.1. The experiential values of grammatical features

This section examined the major textual processes featuring SR in Arts relating to the Syrian question. The point here is to identify the most preferred SR modes for reporting political discourse in the corpus under study. The preferences made by writers would provide an insight into how world-views were encoded and how schemata were organized in written media articles. Table 4.1 below shows the frequency of the different targeted grammatical structures

Modes of DR	Frequency
DD	53
DDS	5

ID	76
UNSIG/FID	20
Total	154

Table 4.1: Frequency of the different modes of SR

The above table may be represented in figure 4.1 below.

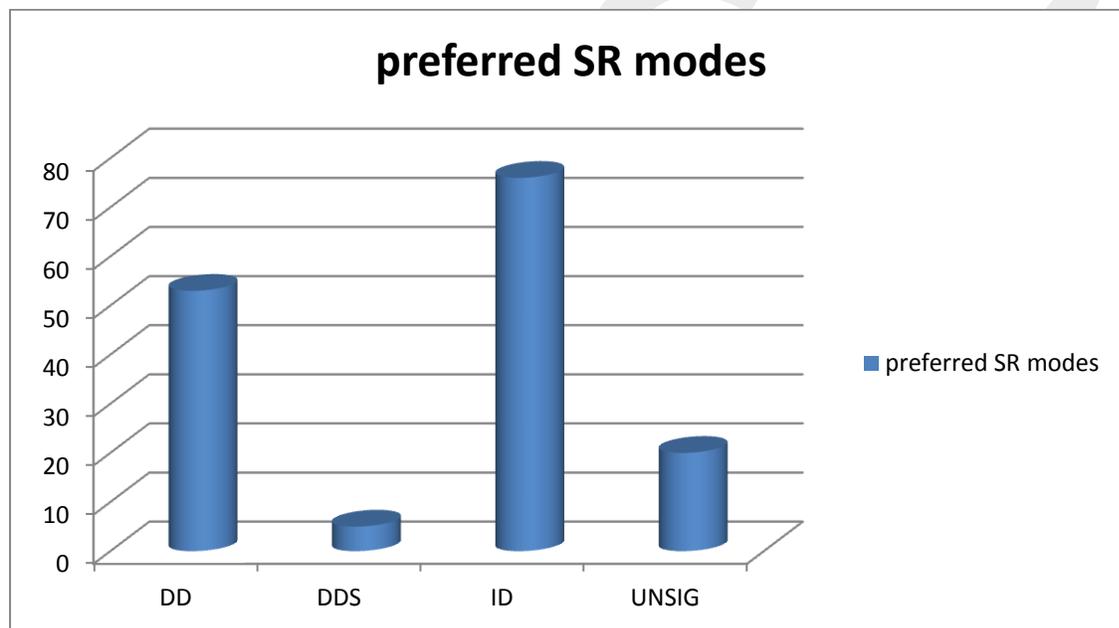


Figure 4.1: Distribution of preferred discourse modes

Table 4.1 and figure 4.1 above show clearly that the prevailing SR modes oscillate between DD and ID. Nevertheless the latter is further preferred than the first; (76 instances) as contrary to 50 DD utterance. It seems that the least preferred mode is DDS (only 5). These four modes of SR could be classified into two major tendencies in reporting political discourse: primary discourses (Pds: DD and DDS instances) and secondary discourses (Sds: ID and UNSIG structures). These different selections made at the discursive level may reveal the discourse/ideology workings in terms of social action.

After identifying the frequency of each mode of SR, the propositional analysis was applied to determine the frequency of grammatical processes and agents involved. Before indulging into the data analysis, it is worthy of notice here to consider what is not a SR instance. The following examples are cases in point:

(9) The United States is neither having its cake nor eating it. (Nov. 27, 2014)

(10) Others from Britain have joined the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, in its brutal campaign to implant a caliphate in Syria and Iraq, enforcing its writ with beheadings, torture and a tally of military successes. (Oct. 30, 2014)

(11) It was a victory that President Bashar al-Assad's opponents had dreamed of. (Dec. 27 2014)

In utterance (9) above, the described action in the sentence may involve a discursive action nevertheless it does not refer to any discursive utterance made by a *principal*. Likewise, the sentences (10) and (11) do not refer to any discourse made by a third part. In fact, these examples were a description of an action that may involve a state of affair or any other action then reporting a speech. Moreover representations of viewpoints or procedures that may involve speech acts do not represent an instance of a DR nevertheless it may evoke a discursive action made by the participant.

4.1.2. Relational values of grammatical features

In the investigation of the relational values of grammatical features, the focus was on how relations between discourse participants were enacted through the use of relational modality in the different SR instances. The choice of these instances was grounded in the premise that these constructions are 'ideologically rich'. These instances represent an 'intersection point' between the ideologies of the reported people (Syrians (Syrian regime versus moderate opposition or extremist groups), Americans and analysts and experts) on the one hand and symbolic elites (writers or journalists and correspondents of *The New York Times*) on the other hand.

Table 4 below illustrates a detailed account of the different uses of relational modality and the occurrence of each according to the participants involved

Table 4.2: Distribution of the types of relational modality in the corpus

	Obligation	Possibility	Prediction	Promis e	Insiste nce

Syria: Bahar and his regime	–	1	3	2	2
U.S officials Obama US government...	11	4	2-	3	8
Moderate Syrian opposition	–	2	2-	8-	8
Islamist extremist groups	–	–	2-	1-	4
Analysts and experts	–	2-	7	–	–
Total	11	9	16	14	24

Table 4.3 shows the different ‘preferred’ modals. There were five types of relational modality that describe the various relationships between discourse participants. The table shows that the most used type is the modality of insistence which was used 24 times. The second preferred modal types are those expressing prediction which was connected to Syria (3 times) and to the U.S. (3 times) and 16 times in total. The least used types were the modalities expressing obligation (11 times all of which connected to US) and possibility (9 times).

The distribution of these types of relational modality was characterized by variation according to the participants involved. First, relational modality of obligation was associated with ‘US officials’ (11 times). Second, the relational modality of prediction occurred 16 times. The lion’s share was associated with ‘experts and analysts and ‘others’’ (7 times). Third, the relational modality of insistence was used 24 times almost equally distributed between ‘US officials’ (8 times) and ‘moderate Syrian opposition’ (8 times).

The implication of the distribution of the different types of relational modality highlighted the assumption that the writers (journalists) control of discourse structures permitted them an authority in the choice of the relational modality especially both prediction and insistence. They made different predictions about the outcome of the Syrian question with the insistence of

different ‘agents’ that they may provide possible solution to that problem. The following examples from the corpus further illustrate this idea (emphasis added):

(12) “So long as the illegitimate Assad regime carries out brutal attacks on its own people, **we will** seek to disrupt its critical military support networks and increase the financial and economic pressure it faces,” David S. Cohen, the Treasury under secretary for **terrorism and financial intelligence**, said in a statement.(Dec. 17, 2014).

(13) A Syrian who speaks regularly to security officials and leaders from Mr. Assad’s minority Alawite sect, an important component of his base, said recently that a growing number **would** welcome a political settlement. (Dec. 27, 2014)

(14) Like Mr. Assad’s opponents, he **contends** that extremists cannot be defeated without ending decades of harsh Assad family rule and empowering the disenfranchised Sunni Muslims who drive the insurgency.(Nov. 27, 2014)

(15) Supporters of Mr. Assad say that the United States **should** ally with him and his main backer, Iran. (Nov. 27, 2014)

(16) Many of those Syrian insurgents say that only by attacking or curbing Mr. Assad’s military **can** the United States win them to its side against the extremists.(Dec. 17, 2014)

Instances (12), (13), (14) and (15) of DR illustrate the different uses of the different types of relational modality (modals were made in bold). In (12), the American official David S. Cohen made it clear that ‘Syrian military support’ ‘will be disrupted at the same time of asserting that Syria will be facing an ever-increasing economic and political pressure. Cohen’s authoritative position ‘legitimizes’ the used modality along with the social and institutional settings of his discourse (addressing Arts’ readers and representing U.S. government). In (13), (14) and (15) ‘would’, ‘the present simple’ and ‘would’ represent subsequently the possible outcomes of that confrontation between Syria and the U.S. The modal ‘can’ in (16) sums up the attitude of Syrian insurgents who are trying to put more and more pressure on Al-Assad regime. Relational modality can be informative about the discourse participants’ relationships on the one hand and ‘handle the relation of journalists to their readers on the other hand. It has been argued that most journalists working for organs of mass communication tend to side to the established order (Nayyar, 2007). Media text producers may assume certain authority accessed via their control of information sources. That is they have the authority of choosing newsworthy items, what would be and would not be told to media text consumers in the light of musings of editorial team (Colman & Ross, 2010).

4.13. Expressive values of grammatical features

Dealing with the expressive values of grammatical features meant that the focus was put on the expressivity of the targeted constructions. It has been argued that manipulative discourse is primarily interpreted to be so relying on the interpretation of bits semantic level (van Dijk, 2006). The distribution of SR instances between different discourse participants may be informative about text producers' view-point or ideology. So, the focus here will be given to the distribution of the targeted constructions between discourse partakers. This may shed light on the degree of discourse makers' commitment to the claims or truths presented and the ideologies disguised therein.

In the current study, the analysis showed that most SR instances had been devoted to two main participants. They may be said to be 'given the floor' more than other discourse partakers. This may serve the texts' over-all strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation (van Dijk, 2006). Table 4.4 below is a minute account of the distribution of the different SR instances between discourse partakers.

Table 4.3: Frequency of DR according to participants:

Participants	Pds: total	Sds: total	Total
Syria : Syrian president+ officials	1	9	10
U.S & [American officials...] + allies (Turkey + Kurds)	31	45	76
Moderate Syrian opposition	16	23	39
Extrimist group ISIS+Nusra	- 5	3	8
Analysts and Experts +Others	5	16	21

Table 4.3. Above describes the distribution of SR instances according to participants. The most reported agents were the 'U.S. officials and American allies (Turkey and Kurds)' (76 times). They were reported in Pds (31 times) and 45 times in Sds. The second important

participants were ‘moderate Syrian opposition’ (39 times). They were reported in Pds (16 times) as for (23 times) in Sds. ‘Analysts and experts’ and ‘others’ speech reportage appeared 21 times; divided between Pds (5 times) and Sds (16 times). The present Syrian regime representatives’ discourse was reproduced 10 times: (once in Pds as for 9 times in Sds). The least reported agents were ‘extremist group’ (‘ISIS and Nusra’). They were reported in Pds (5 times) and only 3 times in Sds.

Drawing a positive image for ‘US’ against a negative image for the ‘OTHER’ is a typical feature of manipulative discourse at all levels. The implications of the distributions of the different SR modes between reported agents may be informative about text producers’ preferred models (van Dijk, 2006). Most SR instances were devoted to two ‘preferred’ agents who were the ‘U.S and associates’ (American officials and US allies against Syrian regime.) on the one hand and ‘moderate’ CIA encouraged Syrian opposition forces on the other hand. The preferences made by text producers at the level of distribution of different SR modes between participants may be due to two reasons. First, their control of discourse structures permits them to select which agent would be reported and the convenient mode to reproduce their speech. Second, these preferences may contribute to the over-all strategy of a positive self-presentation and a negative other presentation.

4.2. Interpretation

Interpretation is concerned with the practices surrounding media text production and reception through the scrutiny of situational and Intertextual contexts. The detailed investigation of the situational context of the corpus (for more details readers are referred to Appendix B) revealed that the common features between these articles are those concerning the institutional social setting which is media discourse production that is *The New York Times* editorial policy which constraint the newspaper’s ideological orientation.

Activity and topic evoked in the different Arts were mainly concerning articles writing or production as activity. The study’s corpus topic is mainly concerning the Syrian question; its past, present and possible future outcomes. This is because one of the criteria of corpora building has been the texts’ focus on Syrian question.

The descriptions of the different discourse participants involved there, is typical of mediated discourse. First, at the top level there were text producers or *The New York Times* journalists (their names were made in bold in Appendix B) to emphasize two important features of mediated discourse. Firstly, the power ascribed to media and media producers in construing a collective view point or public ideology (Fiarclough, 1989, 1995a, 2003; van Dijk, 1996, 2006; Bell, 1991). Secondly, to highlight this power abuse that manifests itself in manipulation or ideological orientation of consumers at the best interests of media producers’ (Thornborrow, 1999; van Dijk, 2006). Second, there were the different reported agents in the corpus (‘U.S. and

associates', 'Syria and associates', etc). At the lower part of the participants' list there were *The New York Times*' readers or consumers as a vulnerable recipients lacking both adequate knowledge and linguistic features (CDA) to counter manipulation or even detect it (van Dijk, 2006).

Another collective feature between Arts is the type of enacted relations. Power and authority ascribed to mediated discourse prevails all other relations. This is because the media enjoys a relatively considerable power in western modern societies (Bell, 1991; Thornborrow, 1999).

The role of language oscillates between information on the one hand and positive self presentation versus a negative other presentation on the other hand. This is said to be as a typical feature of manipulative discourse (van Dijk 2006). The over-all discursive moves are built to emphasize 'our good nature' against the 'Other's evil and sinister deeds'.

4.2.1 Discursive properties of manipulation

It has been argued that the favoring of certain SR modes may shed light on the social roles ascribed for discourse (Fairclough, 1995a). The favoring of Sds in the corpus of the current study (see figure 4.3 in section 4.3.1.) may contribute to the text's societal role (influencing readers world views or ideologies). The following examples from the corpus may illustrate the above mentioned idea (emphasis added):

(17) The Treasury Department charged that the companies sneaked aviation fuel into Syria by abruptly rerouting shipments bound for other countries and furnishing inaccurate documents and invoices. (Dec. 17, 2014)

(18) In the first raid, on Sunday, *United States warplanes hit an Islamic State building*, with **no report of civilian casualties**. On Tuesday, *Syrian jets struck 10 times*, **killing scores of civilians**, according to residents and Islamic State videos (Nov. 27, 2014)

(19) Treasury Department officials said the **companies were providing specialty fuels and oil for use by the government** to carry out its military campaign. (Dec. 17, 2014)

(20) And throughout the conflict, Mr. Assad has publicly embraced, in general terms, every **international peace initiative** but maneuvered to undermine or **ignore them** or **focus only on the parts he agrees with** (Nov. 10, 2014)

Instances (17), (18) (19) and (20) illustrate the preferences of text producers in speech reportage. Sds tendency in SR has been favored at texts different levels to report these agents in the way that serves the text's societal role. According to van Dijk (2006) the main feature of

manipulative discourse is the encryption of preferred models at the grammatical and semantic levels. This may in turn serve media holders' interests. It has been maintained that discursive analysis of mediated discourse may shed light on the discourse/power relationship and the different workings of ideology in the process of text production (Macdonald, 2003).

The favoring of Sds may be grounded in the premise that the control of discourse structures permits writers to achieve ideological ends. Discursively speaking manipulation does not have special constructions but rather there are structures that may serve this societal role better than other (structures) do (van Dijk, 2006). So the favoring of Sds may contribute to the manipulative ends of Arts on a discursive level.

As previously noted, the discursive level of manipulation is only part of the coin, thus manipulation also appeals to consumers' minds. The cognitive level of manipulation will be investigated in two different types of processes.

4.2.2. Cognitive level

These cognitive aspects of manipulation correspond to mental properties. That is the way readers comprehend discourse and the processes involved therein. It has been argued that this level addresses processes instantiation of text reading and comprehending texts in episodic memory or over-all discourse management that may later lead to social change (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 2006). The analysis of manipulative discourse is mainly concentrating on the semantic level (van Dijk, 2006). A distinctive feature of the cognitive aspects of the corpus of the current study may be the distribution of reported agents into semantically mystified versus demystified ones. The following examples are cases in point:

(21) Obama Calls Islamic State's Killing of Peter Kassig 'Pure Evil' (Nov. 16, 2014)

(22) "No F.S.A. faction in the north can operate without Nusra's approval," Mr. Maarouf said, (Dec. 27, 2014)

(23) Yasser Abdullatif, a spokesman for the Islamic Front, a coalition aligned with Nusra, said in a telephone interview that they had been seized from the vanquished Syrian Revolutionaries Front. (Dec. 15, 2014)

Speakers or reported agents in these utterances were semantically 'decoded' for readers. They were identified. For instance, in (21), the speaker is 'Obama'. The reported agent in (22) was Mr Maarouf talking about 'Syrian opposition forces'. In (23) the reported agent was Yasser Abdullatif a spokesman for the Islamic Front. So, readers were referred to semantically identified or demystified agents (Kriedler, 1998). Concerning Arts, it was found that there were also mystified agents who still semantically ambiguous. They would make over-all discourse

comprehension more complex and confusing for readers (Kriedler, 1998). Recall here that these consumers were identified as lacking adequate knowledge and access to public sphere to counter manipulation. Examples of semantically mystified agents may be provided in the following utterances:

(24) Analysts said Turkey probably wanted assurances that the supplies would not be used by the P.K.K. against Turkey. (Oct. 20, 2014)

(25) Analysts said it was significant that Turkey had relented. (Oct. 29, 2014)

(26) Residents contacted on social media have reported seeing objects in the sky that they believe are drones. (Nov. 16, 2014)

(27) Officials in Kobani hailed their arrival, saying they hoped it heralded a more cooperative international effort to fight Islamic State jihadists. (Oct. 29, 2014)

(28) Supporters of Mr. Assad say that the United States should ally with him and his main backer, Iran. (Nov. 27, 2014)

All of the reported agents in the above mentioned examples are semantically ambiguous. In (24) and (25) the reported agents were ‘analysts’. Likewise in (25) and (26) that refer respectively to Residents ‘and ‘officials in Kobani’. Another semantically ‘mystified’ agent would be found in (27). The reported participants were described as ‘Supporters of Mr. Assad’. Analyzing different SR instances in Arts was found that most reported agents were semantically ambiguous. Table 4.4 below illustrates the distribution of reported agents into mystified versus demystified ones:

Table 4.4: Distribution of agent into mystified versus demystified

Agents	demystified	mystified
Pds	44	17
Sds	26	67
Total	70	84

4.3 Explanation

Explanation corresponds to the outcome of the interaction between the text and its social effects. The three determinants of discourse societal, institutional and situational contexts that determine recipients’ the different made preferences at the level of discursive structures (SR modes) may be meant to emphasize a negative image for the ‘other’ and highlight the US versus Them dichotomy.

4.2.3. Social effects

Dealing with the social effects of manipulation meant that we are relating our data to its normative social context in terms of the effects and changes it might bring about in the social context in which it is produced. Manipulation in society is a discursive form of elite power reproduction that is against the best interests of dominated groups and (re) produces social inequality (Van Dijk, 2006; Nayyar, 2007). The interpretation of the situational and intertextual context showed that the selections made at the discursive level were meant to serve the social societal role of written media articles. Manipulative discourse tries to sustain certain social order in the favor of media holders' interests and corporate elites. This may be due to two main inequalities between text producers and consumers. First, they 'enjoy' unequal access to the public sphere i.e. information sources (Coleman & Ross, 2010). Second, discourse makers control of mediated political discourse structures permits them to ideologically invest their text in the way that 'fits' their interests.

The main social effects of Arts may be summed in the concept of hegemony, social struggle and blocs. According to Fairclough, (1995a), hegemony (and lobby in Nayyar 2007 terms) cuts across and integrates economy, politics and ideology. It ascribes an authentic place to each of them within an overall focus on politics and power, and upon the dialectical relations between classes and class fragments. Hegemony is leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of society.

CDA frameworks may provide interesting insights into the workings of ideology in discourse (Wodak & Chilton, 2005; Chilton, 2004). The analysis of the social properties of manipulation also shows that if manipulation is a form of domination or power abuse, such needs to be defined in terms of social groups or institutions and not in the individual level of personal interaction. Concerning our case study, Arts producers (*The New York Times* editorial board in general) are manipulating their various kinds of clients (readers, customers, the general public, etc.).

4.3.1. Favored SR modes

It has been argued that the favoring of certain SR modes may be informative about the ideological investment of the mediated political discourse (Fairclough, 1995a). Concerning Arts, the analysis showed that text producers favored Sds tendencies which may provide them more control over discourse structures. This may contribute to the texts' societal role in sustaining and orienting social action. The following examples may illustrate this idea:

(29) But Mohamed Arif Ali, a doctor working in Kobani, said that the arrival of even a few pesh merga fighters was symbolically important, and would bolster Kurdish unity. OCT. 20, 2014

(30) Syrian Kurdish leaders from Kobani said the small numbers of fighters so far were not enough to turn the tide OCT. 29, 2014

(31) But the general demurred when asked whether he thought more pesh merga fighters would be deployed to Kobani. OCT. 29, 2014

(32) The United States announced soon after the first beheading in August that they would send surveillance aircraft over Syria NOV. 16, 2014

(33) Last week, the Islamic State said it was setting clocks in Raqqa ahead one hour to match Iraqi time. NOV. 27, 2014

(33) Activists said the attackers had seized 13 checkpoints around Wadi Deif and seven around Hamidiyeh, and by early Monday afternoon they had control of both bases. DEC. 15, 2014

(35) American officials also listed several other large petroleum transfers into Syria over the last year, including through Turkey and Romania. DEC. 17, 2014

All These examples above illustrate the favoring of Sds over Pds. They may be representative of the preferences made at the level of SR modes. In (29), (30) and (31) the reported discourses of Syrian ‘agents were reproduced in the journalists’ words hence affecting needed grammatical changes to apply ‘The reader was not ‘given direct ‘access’ to what had exactly been said in the ‘public sphere’.. Likewise, the ID in (32), (33) (34) and (35) would provide more control over these discursive entities rather than might for instance a DD mode or DDS would do. The following figure represents the distribution of DR tendencies in Arts into Pds and Sds.

Table4.4.5: Preferred SR modes

Pds	Sds
58	96

The above mentioned table could be illustrated into figure 4.5blow

Figure 4.2: Distribution of DR into Pds and Sds

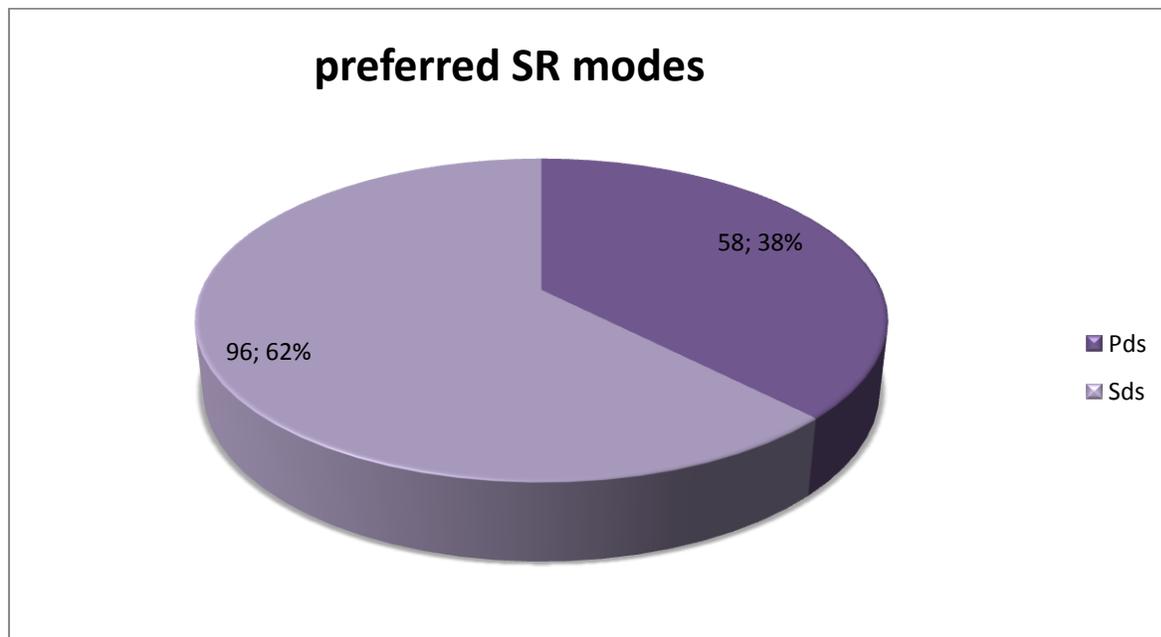


Figure 4.5 above clearly shows that Sds were more frequently favored than Pds. The connection of discourse to its normative social context along with the interpretation of situational and intertextual contexts may shed light on the ideological ends intended by Arts' producers. Negative other presentation is highlighted at different levels to portray the 'other' as symbolizing 'evil, bad and mistrust. They are reported in Sds in contrast to US portraying good and we are holding the 'floor' to express our ideas and views 'directly' that is without any potential text producers' interference.

The present study has dealt with the analysis SR modes in Arts at three levels following Fairclough's paradigm of CDA. Data was described at three different levels; experiential, relational and expressive values of grammatical features. The interpretation stage presented the different aspects of manipulation following Van Dijk's analytical method of manipulative discourse. The explanation section of this study has been devoted to explain the discourse-ideology interface, power relations and social struggle in terms of grammatical, structural and semantic preferences of Arts' producers.

5. Conclusion

At the level of discursive structures there was a clear tendency in Arts to favor Sds over Pds. This may be due to two main factors. First, the journalists' choice of Sds may give them more control over discourse structures. They tend to favor reporting the different discourse participants in their own words. Second, management of discourse structures permitted by the clear

demarcation between Sd and Pd may give writers (journalists) 'more freedom' in the reformulation of the political discourse to be reported in the newspaper. It is worthy of note here that these journalists are not free from editorial control (Fairclough, 1989; Nyayar, 2007). The editorial control of any newspaper is in turn determined by investors, advertisers and providers.

The tendency of preferring Sds is intended to manipulate media text recipients and orient their ideologies. This means that the mediated political text is meant to affect readers' minds in one way or another. Thus manipulation may be achieved via the enactment of certain preferred models making use of cognitive processes namely in terms of text comprehension or consumption.

The intended social effect may be attained when symbolic elites would silence oppositions, on the one hand, and gain national as well as international consensus to any procedures or actions taken or done against the present 'Syrian regime' on the other hand.

The different aspects of manipulative discourse; discursive, cognitive and social were meant to serve undemocratic ends of discourse. Readers' cognition was misled by text producers in the latter best interests and against the first interests. Any preventive war or involvement in the Syria would mean 'heavier' taxation for American people and tax payers.

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Websites

<http://www.nytimes.com/>

http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_New_York_Times

Appendix A

A detailed description of the corpus

Art number	title	Date	Writer
Art 1	<i>Turkey to Let Iraqi Kurds Cross to Syria to Fight ISIS</i>	OCT, 20 , 2014	Kareem Fahim & Karam Shoumali
URL	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/21/world/middleeast/kobani-turkey-kurdish-fighters-syria.html		
Art 2	<i>Reinforcements Enter Besieged Syrian Town via Turkey, Raising Hopes</i>	OCT, 29 , 2014	Anne Barnard
URL	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/30/world/middleeast/reinforcements-enter-besieged-syrian-town-via-turkey-raising-hopes.html		
Art 3	<i>Supplanting the Symbols of Warfare</i>	OCT, 30 , 2014	Alan Cowell
URL	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/31/world/europe/supplanting-the-symbols-of-warfare.html		
Art 4	<i>Syrian Leader Says U.N. Cease-Fire Proposal Is Worth Considering</i>	NOV, 10, 2014	Anne Barnard
URL	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/11/world/middleeast/syrian-leader-says-un-cess-fire-proposal-is-worth-considering.html?_r=0		
Art 5	<i>Obama Calls Islamic State's Killing of Peter Kassig 'Pure Evil'</i>	NOV, 16, 2014	Rukmini Callimachi
URL	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/17/world/middleeast/peter-kassig-isis-video-execution.html		
Art 6	<i>Conflicting Policies on Syria and Islamic State Erode U.S. Standing in Mideast</i>	NOV, 27, 2014	Anne Barnard
	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/28/world/middleeast/conflicting-policies-on-syria-and-islamic-		

URL	state-erode-us-standing-in-mideast-.html		
Art 7	<i>2 Military Bases in Syria Fall to Rebels</i>	DEC, 15, 2014	Mohammad Ghannam
URL	HTTP://WWW.NYTIMES.COM/2014/12/16/WORLD/MIDDLEEAST/2-MILITARY-BASES-IN-SYRIA-FALL-TO-REBELS.HTML?_R=0		
Art 8	<i>U.S. Penalizes Companies for Providing Fuel to Syrian Forces</i>	DEC, 17, 2014	Julie Hirschfeld Davis
URL	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/18/world/middleeast/us-citing-syria-embargo-violations-moves-against-companies.html		
Art 9	<i>As Syria's Revolution Sputters, a Chaotic Stalemate</i>	DEC, 27, 2014	Anne Barnard
URL	http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/28/world/as-syrias-revolution-sputters-a-chaotic-stalemate.ht		

Appendix B
Interpretation of the situational context

Date of publication	Social order	Institutional social order	What is going on		Who is involved? Discourse participants	In what relations?	Role of language
	↓ Institutional setting		Situation type	Activity			
Arts 1 OCT, 20 , 2014	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	Turkey letting Iraqi Kurds move to Syria to battle ISIS	Journalist Kareem Fahim &Karam Shoumali U.S officials,Syrians Kurds, Turkey readers	Power & authority	informati- on negative other presentatio n

Art 2	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	Hopes of defeating extremist groups in Syria	Anne Barnard U.S. Extremist groups readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation
Art 3	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	Possible outcomes of the Syrian problem	Alan Cowell US Turkey Syrian opposition analysts readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation
Art 4	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	Syrian regime reply to proposition of cease fire	Anne Barnard U.S. Al-assad readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation
Art 5	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	US government response to refugee killing by ISIS	Rukmini Callimachi U.S. The refugee family Kissig readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation

Art 6	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	Fears of an extremist islamist state in Syria	Anne Barnard US Nusra, ISIS Analysts and experts readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation
Art 7	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	Rebels advance on the ground in Syria	Mohammad Ghannam Syrian rebels US readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation
Art 8	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	US government penalizes companies dealing with Syrian regime	Julie Hirschfeld Davis US officials ISIS analysts readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation
Art 9	Media discourse	Article writing <i>The New York Times</i>	Media discourse production Vs reception	Present and future possible outcomes of Syrian 'Chaos'.	Anne Barnard US Syrian opposition Extremist groups readers	Power & authority	Information Positive self presentation Negative other presentation

Cultural Changes in Saudi Textbooks: Patterns and Perspectives

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Abstract

This paper investigates the cultural patterns in which English was contextualized in Saudi English textbooks published during the last 33 years and explains the continuity or discontinuity of the pattern by Saudi Arabia's progress through Wallerstein's (2006) modern world system. In order to put the changes in perspective, Saudi socio-economic and political developments during the state's movement from periphery towards the core through semi-periphery zones of the world system is discussed. The paper concludes that in the books published between 1982 and 1997 a pattern based on national culture was maintained, and almost the same pattern was followed in the books of the period between 1998 and 2012. The trend of pattern maintenance is still there in the books published recently in 2013 but there is a paradigm shift in terms of cultural elements—the national culture is almost replaced with the Western culture.

Keywords: Saudi Arabia, English textbooks, culture, world system, state, switchboard

1. Introduction

English textbooks used in the public schools all over the world play a decisive role in developing certain attitudes towards English—orienting the students' towards a particular variety of English, acculturating them to particular culture/cultures, and providing them with intercultural and sometimes intra-cultural communicative capability, as they can “prompt learners to confront some of the taken-for-granted cultural beliefs about the Self and the Other” (Kumaravadivelu, 2008). Therefore the national curriculum designers all over the world select the textbook contents very carefully in order to meet the educational, economic, social, cultural, and sometimes political requirements of the states. However, for the linguistic and cultural constraints some states hire native writers of English to write their textbooks, some of them have their own writers, and a few states like Saudi Arabia buy the “editionized” global course books for their students.

However, Saudi Arabia did not always buy the “editionized” global course books for its students—for example in 1982 the third grade secondary level English textbook, *Saudi Arabian Schools' English* was not a global course book. It was written exclusively for Saudi Arabia though it was published by the Macmillan Press Limited and written by a native writer of English, John Field. In 1998, this book was replaced with another one, *English for Saudi Arabia*, published and written by the Saudi Ministry of Education and Saudi writers respectively. As Saudi Arabia has gone through these three phases in the past three decades, the paper investigates the cultural patterns of these three kinds of textbook and finds that the books adopted broadly two kinds of cultural patterns taking international trends of using culture in English textbooks and internal socio-economic perspectives into considerations.

2. Literature Review

I will review the conceptualizations of culture from three vantage points: the Parsonian view of culture as *system*, the Baumanian view of culture as *matrix*, and hegemonic view of culture by Rothkopf and Friedman. Next, on the basis of Wallerstein's and Blommaert's view of state as a *switchboard*, I will analyze these three different points of view in order to evaluate the English textbooks used in Saudi Arabia and to suggest the way in which the cultural pattern befitting an Islamic state trying to reach the *core* zone of Wallerstein's *world system* can be adopted in Saudi curriculum.

3. Culture as *system*, *matrix*, and hegemon

The cultures which seem to be impervious to change can be explained by the Parsonian theory of culture as *system* (Parsons, 1937). The Parsonian *system* neither allows any meaningful change inside its territory nor gives liberty to any of its components as it is believed that the change or liberty may collapse the network of the components which are interconnected with and dependant on each other. Sometimes some new elements are to be allowed from outside but they should be accommodated and assimilated to the *system*.

On the other hand, Baumanian view of culture asserts that a culture cannot sustain if it does not allow change within its territory. Bauman (1999, p. xiv) states that culture is “discontinuity as much as about continuation; about novelty as much as about tradition; about routine as much as about pattern-breaking...” Bauman believes that man-made order does not exist without human freedom to choose which invariably implies change in culture and society. It is to be noted here that Bauman does not believe in “discontinuity”, “novelty”, and “pattern-breaking” only, he advocates for the balance between the old and the new.

According to Rothkopf (1997) and Friedman (1999) both the views are outdated in the age of globalization. They argue that when the old concepts of national culture are no more pertinent to the states when they are being merged to a global village. Since, in order to be successful in this small world, a state should open its borders to the powerful culture—bow to the American cultural hegemony, to be precise. They further add that a state should adopt American culture even at the cost of its historic origins or cultural inheritance as, whether it likes it or not, the US is the world hegemon.

4. The trajectory of a state in Wallerstein’s *world system* and Blommaert’s *switchboard*

Wallerstein’s *world system* consists of *core*, *semi-periphery*, and *periphery* zones. The developed countries accumulate huge amount of wealth by means of their monopoly business and create the *core* zone in order to control the rest of the world, and the least developed countries for their poverty in terms of wealth and knowledge are marginalized into the *periphery* zone. The countries in between the *core* and *periphery* zones constitute the *semi-periphery* zone. Most of the countries of the world are obviously out of the *core* zone and they are struggling to move towards the *semi-periphery* or *core* zones as fast as possible. In order to do that, Wallerstein believes, a country has to develop knowledge-based monopolist mode of production, interact with the other states efficiently, and govern its citizens gaining their consent.

As the demands of the *world system* and the citizens’ cultural, religious, and social norms often contradict with each other, a state has to be very cautious about managing the internal affairs so that nothing coming from above the state level seems to be an imposition on its people. Therefore in order to maintain a balance between the forces active above (other states particularly the most powerful states of the world) and below (different quarters of the citizens which have the capability of exerting pressure on the government) the state level, the state has to act like a *switchboard* (Blommaert, 2005). A state has to do it because it cannot be either inwardly or outwardly sovereign (Wallerstein, 1997). If this is the way a state has to act in the modern *world system*, its national curriculum is supposed to organize the dynamic between the national and transnational cultures elements.

5. Discussion

In this section, I will first explore the general trends of introducing culture in textbooks and then I will try to trace the trends followed by the Saudi curriculum designers in different periods for different reasons.

6. General trends of introducing culture in English textbooks

The ways in which culture was treated in English textbooks might be broadly divided into three categories. In the period between the middle of the 1950s and the early 1990s both research and teaching treated culture as an object, certain facts to be learned about the target culture. Most of the curriculum designers of that time believed that it was necessary to immerse learners into the target language culture, as explained in Schumann's (1986) acculturation theory, to maximize any foreign language learning in the native way. Later on, Schumann was echoed by Dornyei (1990), Gardner (1988), and Gardner, Day, & MacIntyre (1992) when they found the positive correlation between integrative motivation and language learning.

In the 1990s culture was conceptualized in many different ways. The concept of cultural artifact was replaced with culture with small c (e.g., Pulverness, 1995; Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993) and considered to be an essential element to be aware of for learning the language associated with it (Kramersch, 1993, 1998). Meanwhile some scholars like Prodromou (1992) problematized the concept of target culture in terms of English language for the evolution of "Englishes" all over the world. Therefore the researchers of this period gave emphasis on intercultural, cross-cultural, and trans-cultural issues in order to develop intercultural communicative competence (Byram, 1997).

The current trends in research since 2000 give an almost exclusive attention to a "transnational or global/local approach, focusing on cultural complexity and hybridity" (Risager, 2011, p. 485). The key words of this era are "global cultural consciousness" (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 164), "intercultural citizenship" (Byram, 2008, p. 157; 2011, pp. 11–12), "intercultural competence of the world citizen" (Risager, 2007, p. 222), and "critical citizenship" (Guilherme, 2002, pp. 50–51). According to these approaches understanding the target-language culture or reading something about culture in the textbooks is not enough, as in a globalized world, where all kinds of boundary—political, social, and economic—are being increasingly porous, the learners should be equipped with a critical and 'reflective mind that can tell the difference between real and unreal, between information and disinformation, between ideas and ideologies" (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 164). In this fast globalizing world, fostering target-culture competence is no longer necessary and even gaining intercultural competence deems to be insufficient. Therefore in addition to acquiring intercultural communicative competence, the students should try to get intercultural citizenship of the modern world and in order to acquire the global cultural consciousness, they should be provided with the EFL education which has a

transformative goal—transforming the locally oriented students to reflexive, open, and globally oriented learners. However, very few textbooks have this transformative goal (Byram, 2011).

7. Culture in Saudi English Textbooks

This paper, as mentioned above, traces the changes that occurred in Saudi English textbooks in terms of cultural elements in the last 33 years. From 1982 to 2012 the textbooks maintained almost same cultural patterns focusing the Saudi national culture in the form of the Parsonian *system*, but in the books published in 2013 the trend changed and a huge amount of western cultural elements were introduced. However, as stated above, still now the Parsonian *system* is more or less maintained but the components of the Saudi national culture are replaced with those of the Western culture.

The introduction of these cultural patterns was not always timed to coincide with the changes in Saudi economic perspective. For example, Saudi Arabia entered into *semi-periphery* zone of the *world system* in the late 1970s but almost no attempt was taken to provide the students with suitable cultural elements through the textbooks to equip them with intercultural competence till 2012. Faruk (2014) analyzes the reading texts of three third grade secondary level textbooks—*Saudi Arabian Schools' English*, *English for Saudi Arabia*, and *Traveller 3*— used consecutively in the period between 1982 and 2014. He claims that these three books represent all other contemporary books in terms of language, content, style and illustration. Among all the reading texts of *Saudi Arabian Schools' English* and *English for Saudi Arabia* (used between 1982 and 2013) only one of them touches upon the Western culture and the rest are based on Saudi and culturally non-specific elements. It means that the writers and the curriculum designers treated the age-old Saudi culture as big C and as the Parsonian *system* though culture as *system* can never be conducive to a semi-peripheral state's movement towards the core zone where Saudi Arabia wants to reach by 2024.

The reason of not introducing the materials to acquaint the students with the Western cultural elements or to equip them with intercultural competence may lie in the state's obligation to act as a *switchboard* between the forces active above and below its level. Introducing the materials related to the Western culture and intercultural competence must have been the strong demands of the forces from above the state level but the state did not adhere to the pressure perhaps taking the factors active below the state level into consideration. Some research findings clearly show that the Saudis had a strong negative attitude towards English and the associated culture/cultures for a long time (Szyliowicz, 1973; Al-Brashi, 2003 qtd. in Elyas and Picard, 2010 p. 141; Azuri, 2006 p. 1; Elyas and Picard, 2010 p. 139; Al-Seghayer, 2013).

In 2013, the textbooks took almost a U-turn in terms of the cultural elements. Now instead of Saudi and Islamic cultural elements, the Western ones hog the pages of the books of the series like *Traveller*, *Full Blast*, and *Smart Class* etc. Though it seems to be the resonance of

Rothkopf's (1997) and Friedman's (1999) ideas, nothing contradictory to Islamic or Saudi cultures is introduced in these books. Though the books continue the trend of the Parsonian pattern-maintenance, the culture with big C is replaced with the culture of small c. It might be inferred from the huge space devoted to the Western cultural elements that, nowadays, the state does not feel the pressure from the forces below its level to avoid English and the culture/cultures associated with it. Moreover there is evidence that Saudis' attitude towards English changed from a negative to a positive one (Alabed and Alhaq and Smadi, 1996; Abu-Arafah, Attuhami and Hussein 1998; Al Jarf, 2008).

8. Conclusion

The fact that the state wants to act like a *switchboard* is obvious in the general objectives it set for English language teaching. However, the dynamic it is supposed to organize between the national and transnational elements is not found in the cultural patterns woven in the textbooks. In other words, the cultural patterns always conformed, in one way or the other, to the Parsonian system; they could never become the Baumanian matrix. The books were biased either essentially to the national or largely to the transnational cultures. The orientation of the books, published prior to 2013, towards the national culture can be explained by putting them in perspectives but the prejudice of the books, published after 2013, towards the Western culture, when the objective condition is ripe for the state to act like a switchboard, is difficult to rationalize. There might be only one reason which engendered the disparity between the state's *de jure* language policies expressed in the general objective for ELT and the *de facto* cultural patterns of the textbooks, and perhaps the reason lies in the importation of global course books. The global course books are not produced for any particular country—they are commercially composed usually by the native writers of English for the huge market all over the world, and thus are inherently weak in terms of accommodating particular culture. Therefore, in order to obtain a balanced cultural pattern and to materialize its *de jure* English language education policies, Saudi Arabia should go for the books which are written exclusively for its students and by the writers who are completely *au fait* with the learners' social milieu.

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**Bye Bye Brazil! Syrian and Lebanese immigrants and the expulsion of
foreigners in the beginning of 20th century**

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Abstract

This paper shows, through the presentation and analysis of the expulsion processes of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants from Brazil, the private lives of some members of the this community in the country in the early decades of the twentieth century. It can be seen how family intrigues, conflicts, and divisions within the group contributed to the expulsion decrees. It also showcases evolution of laws, decrees and bills the Executive power maneuver in order to detour from social problems and get rid of undesirable aliens in emerging cities of the country.

Key words: Immigration, Syrian and Lebanese, Brazil, expulsion

1. Introduction

Between 1884 and 1939 entered nearly 4,160,000 immigrants in Brazil, of which over 60% were Italian and Portuguese. The immigration of Syrians and Lebanese¹ contributed with about 100,000 people, and gained momentum in the decade preceding the First World War (1914-1918), when it was recorded the entry of 45,803 individuals. Over the decades 1914-1923 and 1924-1933, the numbers of entrances were more modest, recorded respectively 20,400 and 24,491 immigrants. According to the 1920 national census, of the 50,337 Syrians and Lebanese living in Brazil that year, about 19,000 were established in São Paulo, 9,300 in Distrito Federal/ State of Rio de Janeiro and 8,700 in Minas Gerais State.

2. Syrian and Lebanese immigration to Brazil

The Syrians and Lebanese who arrived in Brazil were, in its great majority, Christians, especially young and single, semi-literate, men from small villages. There they practiced a subsistence rural economy, based on small family farms where very little money were involved in commercial transactions. Unlike other ethnic groups that came to Brazil, which were subsidized by the authorities, this migratory flow has borne all the expenses of the trip from their villages to the Mediterranean ports of Alexandria, Genoa or Marseilles, where they embarked to South America. About 90% of Syrians and Lebanese who entered the country landed at Santos and Rio de Janeiro's ports.

Despite the previous experience in small proprieties agricultural practices in the land of origin, haberdashery door-to-door sales were the dominant initial activity of these immigrants, for the same pattern is observed throughout Latin America. Although usually set in urban environment, Syrians and Lebanese immigrants found a significant market potential in the vast rural interior of Brazil, much more populated than the urban area of the country in the beginning of the 20th century. They distributed several products – but mainly thread for sewing, needles, thimbles, eyelets, lace, fabric and buttons – transported in boxes (that could be tied over the back like a backpack) by train to small towns, and then on the backs of mules or even walking to the distant farms. According Oswaldo Truzzi, hawkers "were well received by the settlers, who preferred to negotiate with them" because "the terms of payment were more tolerant, and purchases off the shop of the farm decreased the dependence of the colonists towards farmers" (Truzzi, 1999:321)

The existence of a network of relationships between Arab immigrants, linking Brazilian backlands to their homeland in the Middle East, built such a net of information where a cousin or a neighbor could have known the possibility of working in the land of emigration. This scheme guarantees a constant replenishment of manpower, ensuring work to newcomers. The goods were made available on consignment to the new coming peddlers from the already established business owners, giving the conditions for the new immigrant initiate his own business, or opening his first "little shop", usually in the business of trimmings, fabrics and haberdashery. Business growth attracted relatives and other newcomers, feeding the migratory flow from small Christian villages of Syria and Lebanon to the land of promise.

This type of primitive accumulation was a result of "self-effort of the individual peddler, working hard and spending the minimum to survive, was a quite sure way to the possibility of making a certain capital" (Truzzi, 1999:322). The creators of the "popular trading" in Brazil, Syrians and Lebanese departed from retail to wholesale trade and later to the industry, especially textiles (Truzzi, 2005).

3. The immigration policy of the Brazilian government and the expulsion of foreigners

With the worsening of the crisis of the slavery system, based on black worker, the immigration issue was gaining the limelight in Brazil during the second half of the nineteenth century. Seen as a solution to the problem of the coffee crop, expanded at the time by the lack the labor force, the hands of immigrant workers also feed the incipient process of industrialization and urbanization undergoing in the country.

Although the arrival of Europeans to work in agriculture was stimulated since the beginning of the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889) especially to occupied lands in Southern Brazil or in coffee farms in São Paulo, with the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889, immigration began to receive more public founding. In 1890, it was authorized free entry into Brazil of all fit for work, exception made explicitly for blacks and gypsies. Although it was attenuated by the Constitution text of 1891², which declared the legal equality of all citizens, such discrimination was, in practical terms, emphasized by the acceptance of racist ideas of biological inequality, based on the called "miscegenation issue." It was believed that European immigration would solve the "problem" of the ethnic composition of the country, ensuring the "whitening" of the population (Lamas, 2004).

The political project of the young Brazilian Republic looked both ways: "formal democratic elements", aimed at bringing the country closer to Western liberal values, and "arbitrary instruments", such as the restriction to social rights. Everything that was not matched with "the policy made from the top" was interpreted as encouragement to (...) riot and should be dislodged from the panorama of modernization. "This concept of modernity included some and excluded others" (Ribeiro, 2010:142)³.

The truth is that the republican social arrangement, repressive and exclusionary, foresaw no room for unemployed and habitual troublemakers. "The treatment given to foreigners involved in strikes or those who were engaged in suspicious activities such as pimping was the summary expulsion from the country" (Francisco, 2007:52). But what was the legal basis for this drastic decision?

To answer this question we must return to the 1891's Constitution, which in its Article 72, guarantees "to Brazilians and foreigners living in the country the inviolability of their freedom rights, personal security and guaranty of property ownership." Paragraph 20 of this article called for the abolition of judicial banishment, both for domestic and foreign residents. However, because the Constitution text was not clear who was, or what does it means resident alien, and

also what would it be to reside in the country, the imprecision opened space for the police to define them. This freedom of action represented an extra legal instrument of action from the Executive power to control the society, especially against the challengers of the status quo (anarchists, communists, and strikers in general), but also beggars, vagabonds, pimps, gamblers and thieves. Thus, throughout the First Republic (1889-1930) that heterogeneous contingent of "undesirables" would be banned illegally from Brazil, without often have had the chance, or the right, of going to court (Bonfa, 2008).

In 1902, Congress began to discuss a bill to regulate and discipline the expulsion of foreigners. The debate lasted until the release of the Decree No. 1.641, of January 7th, 1907, based in a project of Adolfo Gordo, a São Paulo's congressman. The bill set conditions for expulsion of Brazil when the foreign alien threat national security or public order (art. 1), had been convicted or prosecuted by courts outside Brazil for crimes or offenses of common nature, or have had at least two convictions by Brazilian courts for any crime of common nature, practice vagrancy, begging and pimping. (art.2).

The issue of residency, of crucial importance, was treated in art.3, which determined to be free of expelling the foreigner resident in Brazil for two consecutive years, or less time if married or widowed of Brazilian with Brazilian child. From then on, a legal concept residency started to exist meaning that it should be respected by judges, by the police and also by the Executive power (Bonfa, 2008). Decree no. 1.641 from 1907, justified the spelling of foreigners. In that year alone, 132 foreigners (mainly Portuguese Spanish and Italian union leaders) have been spelled from the country. However, as Bonfa emphasizes, the Executive has lost its autonomy to arbitrate freely about who would be expelled from Brazil, opening some legal loopholes that could be triggered.

New wave of expulsions of foreigners took place in the 1910s, backed by Decree n.º 2.741, of January 8th, 1913. This decree removed the limit on time of residence in the country and prohibited court appeals to the sentence of expulsion. Still, some judges and ministers began to grant habeas corpus, thus the 1913 law emptied the legal concept of residence, which thereby became conceived broadly, to reach all foreigners wishing to remain in the country on a non-transitory way.

The end of the 1910s, in particular the years 1917 and 1919, was marked by a progression of workers' strikes in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, putting on the agenda the discussion of bills that could speed the rite of banishment for those involved in disturbing the order. In the office of President Epitácio Pessoa (1919-1922) more than 150 workers were driven out of the country, especially because since 1917 authorities had already accumulated experience in forwarding summary proceedings (Foster Dulles, 1977). It was during this period that became effective Decree n.º 4.247, of January 6th, 1921. It was a more accurate bill from the 1907 one. This new law was focused once again on the issue of residency, determining that only foreigners residing

for more than five consecutive years in the country would be safe from eviction. Thus, the judiciary could only grant habeas corpus to those who could prove their stay beyond this period of time, which further reduced the legal guarantees to that portion of the population (Bonfa, 2008).

However, Decree n.º 4.247 have not solved the fundamental problem of the Executive, since it protected immigrants who had long settled in the country (as those arrived in Brazil young or as child who have become anarchist militants in the labor movement), preventing them to be legally banned. There was always the possibility, guaranteed by the 1891 Constitution, of a further appeal to the Judiciary. Moved by these and other issues, the government began working on the reform of the constitutional text (Bonfa, 2008), adopted in 1926⁴. Regarding the banning of foreigners, Article 72 was amended, turning to be expressed on paragraph 33 that disciplined the matter: "it is allowed to expel dangerous foreigners to the public order or the ones harming the interests of the Republic" (Ribeiro, 2010:147), covering thus all foreigners, residents or not.

4. The cases of expulsion of Syrian and Lebanese

Research conducted at the Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs documentation file, deposited at the National Archives of Rio de Janeiro (ANRJ), found only six cases involving expulsion of Syrian and Lebanese alongside hundreds of Italians, Portuguese and Spaniards. The selection criterion was searching individual files by last names. They were analyzed one by one, about two thousand records and selected those that had Arabic surname more clearly. In case of doubt, the process was consulted and doubt resolved. It is possible, though unlikely, that one or other name has escaped this selection.

Following a chronological order, the first identified case scenario happened in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the early twentieth century involved the Syrian Gamar Badi, born in Damascus in 1893⁵. In testimony at the 2nd Precinct Auxiliary in August 3rd, 1914, his wife, Emilia Gamar - "Turkish 16 years old," whore, residing at 57, Mem de Sá Boulevard, married in his homeland had seven months - accused him of refusing "to accept honest work" and make her "a prostitute". According to the complainant, the accused often forced her to sleep on the street, demanding that she hand over the money earned in prostitution under the threat of a knife. Emilia's testimony was reinforced by the whores Maria Pimentel and Rita Dolores, who said Badi pimp his own wife, and that the poor girl have no jewels or "good toilets", and she was obliged to give him all the money earned in the prostitution. Claiming to be a tailor, the accused did not deny the charges, except in regard to assaulting his partner. On September 8th, 1914, Badi served his sentence of expulsion, departing to Buenos Aires on board the Spanish steamer "Leon XIII".

The following case relates to the complaint filed in the 2nd Precinct Police of São Paulo by "a group of Syrians," in October 1919, against the Lebanese journalist Nagib Constantine Haddad⁶. Living in Brazil since 1913 and based in São Paulo, Haddad was the editor of *Al Raed* newspaper (*The Reporter*), published in Arabic language. He positioned himself in favor of a

Westernized Syria under French protectorate. He frontally opposed to the idea of a broad Arabia, encompassing all Arab countries in the Middle East, under the leadership of Saudi Sheikh Faisal, position supported by many immigrants who saw in it the only possibility of unity of the Arab people. Twenty signatures from members of the community and five testimonies of prostitutes were attached to his expulsion process, denouncing the accused of sexual exploitation. Taken to prison on charges of being an anarchist and practice of pimping, Haddad's expulsion decree was issued on March 3rd, 1920. He was saved by a writ of habeas corpus, filed the next day by his lawyer, Avelino Andrade, to the Federal Supreme Court. In his argument, Andrade claimed that the

investigation was criminally engendered by the intervention of 20 "Syrians" enemies of the patient, for reasons that the Syrian community in Brazil is politically divided since the conflagration of the European conflict.

According to the defense, "Haddad being favorable to the Westernization of the Lebanese and Syrian mountains, aroused the hatred of a group of Syrians, led by Sued and Hassib Gebara", "supporters of the complete independence of all people of Arab origin (Christians and Muslims) under the command of the King of Hejaz, the direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad." The Gebara brothers asked Haddad expulsion, in a "flawed legal rite" because the defendant "wasn't [even] subpoena, having its rights of defense hamstrung by criminal police action in São Paulo" Referring to the Gebara's newspaper *A Rua (The Street)*, Avelino drops more arguments in his reasoning, hinting that the Gebaras' tried to attract the Brazilian President himself, Epitácio Pessoa, to his cause. He said the brothers, "through their sales representative in New York City, decided to honor the President during his passage through the city", offering tours and banquets. Their aim was to show "gratitude to the country that hosted the Syrians so well". The defense also lodged a report, translated into Portuguese under the title "The big party", reporting that opponents of Haddad, "all driven by the Gebaras' money", had celebrated in anticipation the journalist expulsion," proving bad faith and malice in the depositions made against the patient." Avelino warns: "Pessoa must be alerted to the fact that his name is serving to coercion and abuse of power."

Haddad's attorney attached, along with the defense instrument 130 plus signatures from Syrian and Lebanese marketers from Rio and Sao Paulo in support of the journalist, and a statement of the French consul on behalf of his client. The Supreme Court decision was handed down on June 14th, 1920, giving Haddad guarantee of freedom and revoking his expulsion from Brazil.

In September 1927 the 4th Precinct Auxiliary in Rio de Janeiro, filed suit against the Syrian Jacob Safady⁷, accused of "not engage in lawful profession and of be harmful to the interests of the Republic". Safady, of 33 years old, born in Damascus and since 1914 in Brazil, already had criminal records in his two arrests: the first in July 1922, for vagrancy, and the second in August 1925, per game. In 1927, he was arrested again, this time accused of exploiting the prostitute Beka Hemelnian. His accusers, two police investigators, were, according to Safady's attorney, his "free enemies" and they didn't even know him. Defending himself from the charges, the Syrian stated that in the first arrest "nothing has been proved against him, and the second time was arrested for being in the vicinity where the forbidden game was being practiced, therefore having nothing do with that offense." The two police officers as witnesses in the investigation of deportation proceedings attended the inquest that followed his second imprisonment.

The defense states that the accused is "honest businessman" and that he only goes to Beka's brothel, located on 23, Pinto de Azevedo Street, to sell clothes to the prostitutes, and that specific whore "is a complete deaf and elder lady with scarce resource (...), so that she makes her purchases from the accused on layaways. Still declares he is greatly aided by his brother, Joseph Elias Safady, dealer well established at 141, Tomé de Souza Avenue 2nd floor, downtown Rio. On October 31st, 1927, the police chief ordered the investigation of the statements of the defense, in order to ascertain whether that whore had more than 40 years and the situation of his brother. The detectives responded by letter enclosed, that the prostitute was actually deaf and had over 40 years of age. As to the defendant's brother, letter of November 5th confirms that José Elias indeed is the brother of the accused and that he is an established trader. However, it is said to have broken off relations with Jacob since nearly three years "because of his irregular way of life."



constituted in harmful element to the interests of the Republic, resolves, in accordance with Article 72 paragraph 33 of the Federal Constitution, expel the said foreign from the national territory.

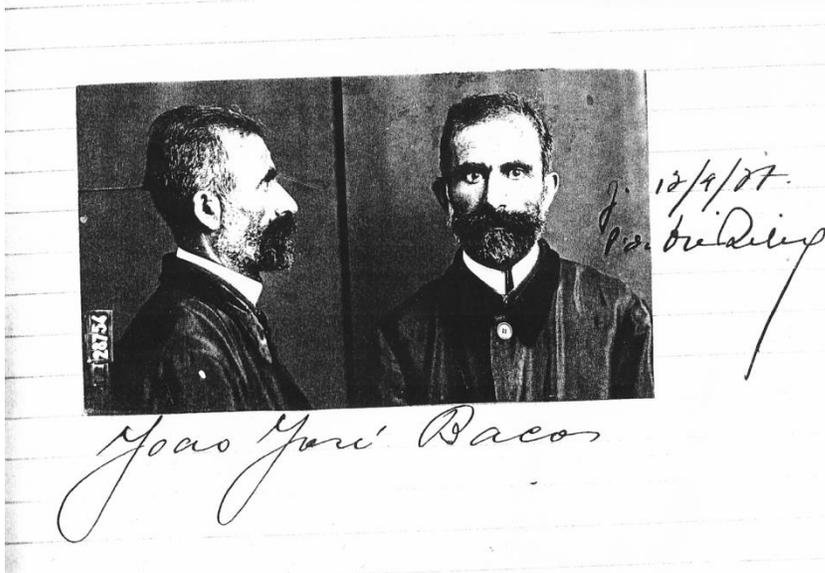
After his conviction, Safady left the jail and boarded the steam "Desirade", bound for Beirut on November 28th, 1927.

The investigation ends with the testimony of these two police, who claim to have known Jacob for a long time, and that he is vacated and harmful to the interests of the Republic. By order of the Minister of Justice, Augusto Viana do Castelo, of November 11th, 1927, reads as follows:

Whereas, according to the lush evidences gathered in the process (...) the Syrian Jacob Safady does not exercise any lawful profession and has

An unusual case is of the Syrian João José Bacos⁸, happened in 1927 in São João do Meriti, a small town in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. Arrested as a stray, Bacos, 37 years old, was taken to the police station, reported to the authorities that he was a Chaldean priest and who was the victim of denunciation "of a group of Syrians," as being a fake priest, explorer of public credulity. In confidential document from the Department of Police of Rio de Janeiro, dated September 21st, 1927, the Criminal Justice Attorney Heraclitus Sobral Pinto⁹, filed a complaint to the Minister of Justice Viana do Castelo aiming to expel Bacos from Brazil:

Profiteer of the public credulity, [Bacos] asked alms for "orphans" in Mesopotamia (...), dressed as a



priest and showing fake documents. By denounce of some Syrians the police came up to him, and it's known that he has already been expelled from France and the United States as member of a gang of fake priests.

The complaint also stated that "João Bacos declared himself married, going against his condition of priest of

the Holy Church, because, as we all know, priests cannot marry". Bacos, through his lawyer, in the writ of habeas corpus, presented evidence of good record and a statement of the Metropolitan Curia, according to which, in spite of the Chaldean Syrian Church merged with the Roman Catholic Church, its own hierarchy and rites were kept, and therefore, the fact that Bacos is married was perfectly normal. It was also presented by the defendant one certificate of ownership of a small farm in the county of Meriti, purchased on January 10th, 1922. On October 6th, 1927, after weeks in custody, Bacos was released. In the order, signed by Luiz Bordini, officer of the 1st police district, it read as follows: "Put in freedom not the fake priest, but the Orthodox priest."

Another case, reported on April 2nd 1928 happened in Sao Paulo involving Jorge Bechara¹⁰, Syrian born in Palmira in 1896. In the occasion attended the Police district of Surveillance, Customs and Games of the city, the Syrian Francis Maluf, born in Kafarak, aged 49, owner and resident at São Miguel Road. In his testimony, Maluf accused the son-in-law, Jorge Bechara of extorting him money to gamble, and that "lately under threat of death (...), also reported that Jorge Bechara imply all means of pimping his own wife Lamia Maluf, 25 years old, with the sole purpose of obtaining money for his addiction. "Maluf also said that Bechara had

married his daughter in Syria about ten years ago and that the couple came to this capital around two years. During this time, the accused did nothing, "but drink and gamble"

In his testimony, the defendant denied any threat attitude towards his father in law or to his wife, although admitted he likes to drink and gamble, "without hurting anyone." In the justice final report, the officer said the defendant was a "professional bum, [that has] never dedicated to honest work, and cared not to live a dignified and honorable life." Married with honest and good woman, daughter of an industrious family friend of the hard labor, sought to take advantage of this situation, living off the expenses of his wife's father (...) Not content with that, he wanted to throw the wife in prostitution (...) "As the woman "reacted strongly", he started to "beat her constantly. (...) The father came to the rescue and caught her daughter, (...) preventing him to corrupt her. And so finished off:

Expelling him from the country is an act of social defense and prevention of future crimes because Jorge Bechara is pernicious to our country and unable to produce any useful element.

On May 5th, 1928, the President of the São Paulo State, Júlio Prestes, issued a copy of the ordinance, expelling Bechara of the country. Also in 1928, on the 28th of January, the peddler Abraham Ary, 65, a native of Zarler, Lebanon, living at 46, Senador Queiroz St, in São Paulo, accused his own son, Manoel, or Melhen, Ary, ¹¹36 years old, of being a cocaine dealer. From five years from now, [he] has been demanding money to expand its business and does so under threat of death and beating his own father and mother. "I have tolerated my son, despite the addiction (...), but he did not want to subject to any honest work. Always arrive home making disorder and beating his brothers. Prefers offensive words morals and became involved in the gamble and snorting cocaine, saying it is the best business in the world". Beside the father five witnesses were enrolled, all Brazilians, who ratified the unfavorable statements against the accused. The writ of habeas corpus presented by his lawyer, containing ten declarations of commercial firms in São Paulo, confirms the statements of Melhen, claiming he was an honest salesman. The police investigation was conducted by Luiz Bordini, of the 1st Justice officer section, which stated his opinion in a report dated April 2nd, 1929, that says:

As it was investigated, the Syrian Melhen or Manoel Ary, exerts no lawful profession, indulging in the criminal trade of selling cocaine. Presented 10 certificates of commercial firms in São Paulo with claims the accused is hardworking and honest. However, it does not inhibit, unlike, disguises, even if exact the information of being the accused tradesman, its main activity is the one of selling of toxic and narcotic. All of this together with the defendant way of life makes my opinion be for the expulsion of the Syrian.

In the habeas corpus petition, the attorney of Melhen drew attention to the arbitrariness with which the process had been conducted, and declared it was unconstitutional to expel someone through a simple administrative procedure. However, his argument proved useless and

the expulsion of the defendant, under Article 72, paragraph 33 of the Constitution, was enacted and enforced.

Last case found was of the Lebanese Abdulla Capaz¹², who immigrated to Brazil in 1898 with 18 years of age. Born in Beirut, he has declared profession of shoemaker, worked in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, before traveling to Argentina, where he remained for 15 years. Throughout this period amassed a criminal record with 19 occurrences - for vagrancy, gambling, assault, theft and robbery - before being expelled from that country.

The annotations in the police records were sent from Buenos Aires and became part of the expulsion evidences that instructed Abdulla's process that has been already stuck in São Paulo. On inquiry, opened in July 24th, 1928, investigators do not skimp adjectives to describe the defendant: "Thief, bandit and vagabond, he was expelled from Argentina, also taking various prisons in Sao Paulo for theft, injury and vagrancy". Capaz was expelled from the country with 48 years of age, after 30 years of a hard life in America.

5. Conclusion

The laws of banning foreigners caused a reduced impact on the Syrian and Lebanese community living in Brazil. Indeed, the number of nationals banished from the country was low. In an attempt to explain the slim numbers of Syrians and Lebanese expelled towards other ethnic groups, economic activity to which the Arabs devoted appear first. Unlike the Latino immigrants, Syrians and Lebanese were unrelated to union struggle that drove hundreds of foreigners out of Brazil in the early twentieth century. Busy with trading activities and concerned about climbing the rungs of the social ladder, they had experienced no social problems such as unemployment and low wages, which directly affected the daily lives of Italians, Portuguese, and Spanish workers.

Thus, is not surprising the fact that the small universe delimited in the survey did not include any case of expulsion for political motivation. The problems were inside home, involving parents, siblings and wives who denounce misfits' sons, husbands and relatives to the police, political conflicts within the community that refer to situations that are beyond the national orbit, complaint of "misrepresentation", or the government using social cleansing practice to get rid of foreigners vulnerable to police action.

The article recovered fragments of the history of immigration, focusing an unusual bias. We do not speak here of how immigrants found the promised land or how they managed to achieve their life goals. By the contrary, the cases that were presented made clear how the Brazilian State enforced its authoritarian summary laws made specially to fit momentary problems and also taking advantage to cleaning up the emerging cities from troublemakers. The policy was in practical terms a detour from facing social problems and after all translated the false morality of an era. Each case represented a problem within the private sphere of one's life and also a case of deviance from the desired ideal immigrant. By applying the laws for banning those that didn't fit

the system, the executive overwhelmed the judiciary and also the human rights by interpreting the laws as for its own convenience, portraying the model of the ideal citizen to be followed, respectful of the established norms. Moreover, these narratives endorse and extend the knowledge already available on the Syrian and Lebanese immigration to Brazil, revealing the administrative documents as a rich new field of research to the scholars.

Notes

¹ According to Knowlton (1960), although until 1892 all immigrants from the Middle East - at the time under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish hegemonies - were classified as Turks upon entrance in the country they were, mostly, Syrians and Lebanese. From that year on, the Syrians began to be counted separately to the records. Given that up to World War I, Lebanon was part of Syria, Lebanese and Syrians were considered Syrians, only after 1926, year of Lebanon's independence, Lebanese nationals started to be recorded separately in the ports of entrances.

²BRASIL, Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Brazil of 1891, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constitui%C3%A7ao91.htm

³ Legally expulsion was a political-administrative act by which the alien is compelled to leave the country and banned from returning. It was a measure of police order, expressing a political necessity or convenience of the administration.

⁴BRASIL, Amendment to the 1891 Constitution available at: http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/emecon_sn/1920-1929/emendaconstitucional-35085-3-setembro-1926-532729-publicacaooriginal-15088-pl.html

⁵ Record file IJJ7139 ANRJ – 1914.

⁶Record file IJJ7149 ANRJ – 1919.

⁷Record file IJJ7164, ANRJ – 1927.

⁸Record file IJJ7167 ANRJ – 1928.

⁹Sobral Pinto was to become a prominent Brazilian jurist, advocate for human rights, especially during the Estado Novo dictatorship (1937 – 1945) and military dictatorship established in 1964.

¹⁰Record file IJJ7169 ANRJ – 1928.

¹¹Record file IJJ7176 ANRJ – 1928.

¹²Record file IJJ7186 ANRJ – 1928.

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The Concept of Boundary and Indigenous Application in Africa: The Case of the Bakassi Boarder Lines of Cameroon and Nigeria

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Abstract

The notion and function of boundary differed fundamentally in the European and African contexts. In traditional Africa, the concept of an ethnic boundary was expressed in terms of neighbours with whom the particular polity shared a territory and such a boundary was conceived of in terms of a region or a narrow zone fronting the two neighbours marked off by it. Thus, the boundary was the zone where two States were joined together. In other words, African boundaries were usually rooted in ethnic and social contact. But European partition of Africa conceived boundaries as physical separation points. Africans who had become frontiersmen had no immediate knowledge that their lands and kin divided by the boundary were now "foreign". They did not know that the new boundaries functioned differently from the traditionally familiar ones. They thought the former were only for the white men until they were checked at crossing points. Its impact on their relations with their kin and neighbours made them to create secret routes across the frontiers. But these new borders soon faded in their minds. This paper, therefore, attempts a theoretical approach to the valorization of ethnic rather than international prescript boundaries by the inhabitants of Bakassi, and how their activities challenge the application of international decisions. It concludes by attempting a therapy for such challenges as on the Bakassi borderlines, and of course brings to book the African-border conflict prone paradigm.

Keywords: Concept, Boundary, Indigenous Application, Boarder Lines, Bakassi, Cameroon, Nigeria

1. Introduction

The Bakassi border lines of Cameroon and Nigeria is situated at the far end of the Gulf of Guinea, at the upper angle of the Bay of Biafra in Ndian Division in the South West Province of Cameroon, the Nigeria-coveted Bakassi Peninsula is a feature of the Rio del Rey estuary complex. This complex occupies an approximately 60 km-stretch between River Akpa Yafe and the west -side boundary of Mt. Cameroon and is 30 km deep, about 1800 km square. Shaped roughly like a trapezoid, this area is 12 km long at the smallest base and 35 km high between the small Benmong village to the north and the village of Kimbo, Munja to the southern coastal boundary. It thus covers a total area of 665 km- that is, a third of Rio del Rey estuary complex.

The geomorphology of the area is characterized by tens of islands of varying sizes and shapes. There are four major peninsula groups. From east to west, they are the Pelican, the Fiari, the Erong, and the Bakassi Peninsulas, all situated along rivers Meme, Andokat, Ngosso and the Akpa Yafe; which intersect with the large Cross River estuary to the South. Bordered to the West by the River Akpa Yafe and to the East by Rio del Rey, the Bakassi peninsula itself is made up of many small islands demarcated by a network of creeks at least 100 metres wide. The Bakassi peninsula, which is coveted by Nigeria, stretches over 3 of the 7 Ndian sub-divisions, Isangele, Kombo Abcdimo and Idabato. It has about 8,562 inhabitants distributed as follows: Isangele (4,517 inhabitants in 1987), Iclabato (3,250 inhabitants in 1987) and Kombo Abedimo (796 inhabitants in 1987). These people are spread over some thirty small villages scattered along the main rivers: Rio del Rey, Akpa Yafe, Akpa Bana, Bakassi creek and so on with principal economic activities of fishing and related activities; trade; and oil exploitation. The discovery of oil in the area plunged Cameroon and Nigeria into a prolonged war over the control of the area, all caused by colonial politics.

In July 1884 the Cameroon became German protectorate following the Germano-Douala Treaty, and in October, Germany notified the other European powers and the USA, in general terms, of the extent of this territory. On 23 July and 10 September 1884 the kings and chiefs of Old Calabar signed a treaty placing their territories under the protection of Great Britain. Other kings and chiefs of the region, including those of Bakassi, signed treaties acknowledging that their territories were subject to the authority of Old Calabar and consequently under British protection. The Berlin Conference of 1884/85 recognised the validity of the British claim to this area as the Oil Rivers Protectorate, which became part of the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893, and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1900.³¹ In 1906, Southern Nigeria, still including the Bakassi peninsula, came under the administration of the Colony of Lagos, but in November 1913 the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated into a single Nigerian Protectorate, though Lagos remained a separate colony. By then, however, the status of Bakassi

³¹ Felicia Price, "The Bakassi Peninsula: The Border Dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon", *ICE Case Studies* 4 no. 163 (2005): 23.

was already in question. Since 1884, it had been accepted that the boundary between British and German spheres of influence ran along the west bank of the Rio del Rey. Anglo-German Protocol signed on 11 March and 12 April 1913 in Obokun and the exchange letters between governments of both countries on 6 July 1914 redefined the maritime boundary as the Akpayafe River, placing the Rio del Rey and the entire Bakassi peninsula under German authority.³²

But with the outbreak of First World War in August 1914 and its subsequent results, which included the defeat of Axis Powers by the Allied forces and the eventually conquering of the German colony of Cameroon by an Anglo-French force, the territory was divided between Britain and France in 1919 under mandates of the League of Nations. The Bakassi peninsula formed part of the British mandate, along with a broad strip of territory along the Cameroon-Nigeria border. For now, British Cameroons was administered as an integral part of Nigeria. For the next forty years the old boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon thus ceased to be a matter of any importance. In February 1961, the 1913 agreement again came to the fore when the UN conducted a plebiscite in the British Trust Territory of Southern Cameroons to decide their independence by either joining the independent Nigeria or reunifying with *La Republique du Cameroun*.³³ The plebiscite included the people of the Bakassi peninsula, which Nigeria, rejecting the 1913 delimitation, claimed to have been an irregular procedure. Nonetheless, the majority of people decided to vote for this second option. It is perhaps important to note here that there existed 21 polling stations on the Bakassi peninsula itself, and 73 percent of the voters opted to "achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of Cameroon"³⁴

Donnalt Wet³⁵ records that these nations, at first, did not pay attention to the Bakassi because of its remoteness, inhabited by a population considered inconsequential. However, when the oil and other natural resources and minerals were discovered in the peninsula, attention from both countries and also from colonial connections were ignited to create tension and/or argument over the control of the land, which in some cases resulted to numerous dead. Most scholars consider the escalation of the dispute only from the incidences of the 1980s, consequently by-passing one of the fundamental elements of the issue; the events from the 1960s, which

³² W.V. Nugent, "The Geographical Results of the Nigeria-Kamerun Boundary Demarcation Commission," *Geographical Journal*, 1914, 630-51; Omoigui, *The Bakassi story*; Victor Julius Ngoh, *Cameroon Since 1800s* (Limbe: Pressbook, 1989), 276-277; Tazifor Tajoche, *Cameroon History in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Buea: Education Book Centre, 2003), 265-266.

³³ Ngoh, *Cameroon since 1800s*, 227; V.T. LeVine, *The Cameroon from Mandate to Independence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1971.

³⁴ General Assembly resolution 1608 (XV) of 21 April 1961; In 1962, Tafale Baleya's Nigerian's government confirmed its approval of the results of the plebiscite in a Diplomatic Note No. 570 of March 27, 1962 to Cameroun, which included a map showing Bakassi in the newly reunified Cameroun. From then on, until the 1990s Nigeria would have no serious administrative or military presence in the peninsula. [Even the much-touted 'Bakassi local government' was only created in 1997; a full three years after the case at the ICJ had begun]. During the first republic, in addition to the Embassy in Yaoundé, however, Nigeria opened a consulate in Buea, capital of the Southern Cameroons –latter Western Cameroon. Presumably this was in recognition of the large number of Nigerians living in the region, even after the plebiscite.

³⁵ Donnalt Wet, *The Power of Natural Possession in Foreign Policy*, (London, Archon Books, 2006), 56-57.

significantly determined the trend and effect of the peace process. The prolonged conflict was finally settled by the decision of the International court of Justice. Cameroon was given benefit of the territory and in 2008, Nigeria handed over the territory to Cameroon. This boundary crisis, like many in Africa was due to colonial legacy.

The African colonial territories, which have attained independence and national sovereignty, cannot in a strict sense be regarded as national states. They do not embrace a common past and a common culture; they are indeed the arbitrary creations of colonialism. The manner in which European states descended on Africa during the closing years of the nineteenth century in their scramble for territories was bound to leave a heritage of artificially controlled borders that now demarcate the emerging African states, and serve as a source of conflict among many African states. Reflecting on the emergence of new states in contemporary Africa, Davidson believes that their history begins anew. They reappear today in the sad evening of the world of nation-states. Yet their own tradition, he notes was seldom of narrow nationality. Their genius was for integration – integration by conquest as the times prescribed, but also by an ever partful mongling and migration. “They were never tolerant of exclusive frontiers.”³⁶ The nineteenth century imperialism cut across boundaries and peoples and left for Africa, the problems or redrawing frontiers on a rational plan.

East and Moody³⁷ claim that all political boundaries are artificial because they are demarcated by human beings. The accidents of history, the vagaries of geography and the exigencies of economics have all played a part in determining even European boundaries. But the special circumstances operating in Africa makes its international boundaries doubly artificial in the sense that they are not, like most European boundaries, “the visible expression of age-long efforts of the indigenous people” to achieve political adjustment between themselves and the physical conditions in which they live.

In the successive phase of the European partitioning of the African continent, the lines demarcating spheres of interest were often haphazard, hasty and badly arranged. The Europeans agents and diplomats were primarily interesting in grabbing as much as African territory as possible, and were not unduly concerned about the consequences of disrupting ethnic groups and undermining the indigenous political order. This generated great conflict between states such as those between Ethiopia and its neighbours in the Horn of Africa, between Nigeria and its neighbours in West and Central Africa, between the Democratic Republic of Congo and its neighbours in the Great Lakes region, and between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi Peninsular. For a long time after independence, border skirmishes and wars between African states were relatively rare, and governments more or less adhered to the sacrosanct nature of the

³⁶ B. Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered* (London: Longman, 1967).

³⁷ W.G. East and A.E. Moody, *The Changing World* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1956).

boundaries inherited from colonial times as laid down in the 1963 Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). However, both indigenous and foreign efforts have constantly been put in place in the face of these African disputes. This explains why authors have multiplied interest as regards colonialism and boundary, boundary activities and disputes among African states.

Rouke³⁸ assesses at length the legacy of colonialism in Africa, pointing out that the industrialisation of the North was one of the factors that caused the colonisation of the South in the late 1800s and early 1900s. He shows that Africa was largely controlled by its indigenous peoples in the 1878 but had, by 1914 become almost totally subjected and divided into colonies by the European powers. The colonial boundaries had little relationship to the territories occupied by the various indigenous peoples, grouping nations together in some cases and dividing them in others. Within seventy years, virtually all of the colonies regained their independence, but many them have been troubled by the legacy of trying to get two or more states to live peacefully in a single state. The strength of this document is the fluency with which he transmits the general trend of European colonial imposed boundaries on Africa and their consequences.

Akanmode, Kolapo, Aghemelo and Ibhasebhor, and Sanusi on their part discuss the Bakassi Peninsular and the International Court of Justice. Akanmode's descriptive geographical account³⁹ of the Bakassi Peninsular puts the value of the population of the area to be mostly Nigeria. He presents the Peninsular as a paradox; a community that subsists in the midst of plenty of fish and oil deposit, but is ravaged by abject poverty. Briefly recounting the clash story between Cameroon and Nigeria of 1993 and the judgment of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) of 10 October 2002, he questions the verdict of the court and influence on the future of the inhabitants of the area.

In the same light, Kolapo, Aghemelo and Ibhasebhor⁴⁰ give a critical analysis of the far-reaching implications of the ICJ ruling on the Nigerian state. Their emphases are on the security implications, the social structures, economic jeopardy of the Nigerian state among others and the pride of the people as a whole. Like these authors, Banansi⁴¹ says that the Judgment made little or no sense. His question is "How do you cede a people with different culture, language and background to another nation whose background differs completely?" He insists that the Bakassi people are Nigerians who cannot become Cameroonians overnight. He points out the need for the Nigerian government to appeal the World Court for a review of the judgment. Banansi's writing

³⁸ J.J. Rouke, *International Politics on the World Stage* (New York: Dushkin/McGraw Hill, 1997).

³⁹ V. Akanmode, "Bakassi Peninsular: Nigeria Vs. Cameroon at last, the Judgment," *Punch*, 2002, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁰ As cited by A.T. Aghemelo and S. Ibhasebhor, "Colonialism as a source of Boundary Dispute and Conflict among African States: The World Court Judgement on the Bakassi Peninsula and its implications for Nigeria" *J. Soc. Sci.*, 13 (3), 2006: 2.

⁴¹ Walter Banansi, *The World Faces Conflict, What Choice to Make*, (Cape Town: Laumba Press, 2007), 67-71.

is too sentiments with shallow knowledge about the genesis of the disputed boundary. In fact the issue of international boundaries has created a great deal of such conflict on the African continent. Evident enough are those of Chad-Libya, Namibia-Botswana, Burkina Faso-Mali, Western Sahara-Algeria-Morocco, Gabon-Equatorial Guinea, and Ethiopia-Eritrea and so on).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that there are inevitable conditions of fluidity along most of the African boundary zones where must indigenous population of the border lines by pass these colonial boundary legacies to incline to their ethnic ones; in order to satisfy their political, economic and socio-cultural needs. This transforms such boundaries into decorative imaginary line due enough to be respected only by their respective governments and not them, the subalterns of the border lines. It is in this light that the paper is written. It looks at the epistemology of boundary, both from the perception of the International, and indigenous African concepts, meanwhile examining how the people of the Cameroon-Nigeria border lines of Bakassi abrogates the former for the later, and at the same time looks at more complex situations on the border line, which of course challenges even the decisions of the International Court of Justice's verdict on the disputed territory of the Bakassi peninsula.

2. Epistemology of boundary and its representation

In 1890, in his own words Lord Salisburg declared:

we have been engaged ... in drawing up lines upon maps where no whites's feet have ever trode: we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, but we have only been hindered by small impediments that we never knew exactly where those mountains, rivers and lakes were.⁴²

When he said these words, it was time at a time when territorial boundaries were being drown across the world with little or no regards for natural or cultural boundaries. These boundaries were designed to reinforce and international system of absolute sovereignty of the state in which boundaries were derived from geo-military occupation of space as determined by consenting colonial powers. More than a century late many of these territorial boundaries remained as they were drawn despite the dramatic changes that have occurred to the international system and the significant challenges that have been made to the concept of sovereignty within précised boundaries. Yet these international boundaries and ideas that were behind them still form the foundation for the present international legal system.⁴³

⁴² Lord Salisbury, speaking in 1890, as quoted in the separate opinion of Judge Ajibola, in *Territorial Dispute (Libya v. Chad)* ICJ Report of 1994, 6, at 53.

⁴³ Robert McCorquodale and Raul Pangalangan, "Pushing Back the Limitations of Territorial Boundaries," *EJIL*, 12, No. 5 (2001):1-2.

The primary components of the international legal system are states, and territorial boundaries are a key element in how states are defined by that system. While the boundaries determined by the international legal system are often artificially created and contested, they exist by the operation of the international legal system, which usually seeks to reinforce these boundaries and the concept of territorial sovereignty inherent in them. From the perspective of this system, the purpose of territorial boundaries is to clarify which entities are states and to separate them from each other in order to structure that system. This is because at the basis of international law, lies the notion that a state occupies a definite part of the surface of the earth, within which it normally exercises jurisdiction over persons and things to the exclusion of the jurisdiction of other states. The direct connection between territorial boundaries was made in 1910 when the Permanent Court of Arbitration held that one of the essential elements of sovereignty is that it is to be exercised within territorial limits, and that, failing prove to the contrary, the territory is co-terminous with sovereignty, consequently, ownership of territory is a concept used to determine sovereignty.

As was held in the Island of Palmas case:

Sovereignty in the relations between state signify independence. Independence in regards in a portion of the globe is the right to exercise therein, to the exclusion of any other state, the functions of a state. The development of the national organization of states during the last few centuries and, as a corollary, the development of international law, have established this principal of the exclusive competence of the state in regards to its own territory in such a way as to make it the point of departure in settling most questions that concern international relations.⁴⁴

This point of departure was reinforced by the international legal order that emerged after the Second World War. This order was built on the inviolability of national territory as a function of its central concern for international peace. The core of this legal order is the prohibition on the “use of force” against the territorial integrity or political independence of a state, which protects both the spatial and the decisional aspects of sovereignty. A corollary is the prohibition against intervention in matters belonging to the domestic jurisdiction of states, though it pertains not to space but to autonomous decision-making. Both these principals have been recognized as fundamental purposes in the Charter of the United Nations as reaffirmed in the authoritative declaration of principles of international law, adopted by the UN General Assembly. That declaration included “the duty to refrain from the threats or use of force to violent the existing international boundaries of any state or as a means of solving territorial disputes and problems concerning frontiers of states,” while restating the duty of non- intervention. States are perceived in international law as being the representatives of the inhabitants of the territory within each state’s sovereignty, as in order to meet the definition of being a state, there must be a “permanent population”. Thus ethnicity, religion or moral practices become largely irrelevant as living space is determined by the state’s territorial boundary. As one intension of territorial boundaries is that

⁴⁴ McCorquodale and Pangalangan, “Pushing Back the Limitations of Territorial Boundaries,” 5.

they enhance “group cohesion by psychologically sharpening the deferent identification of community members from others across the boundary”, the state is meant to be the only relevant identity for the habitants of a territory. Related to this, international law has developed intricate rules regarding the nationality of people in terms of their relationship to states, as determined by the degree of connection people have to the territory of a state. By determining who its nationals are, states also determine who non-nationals are: who is the “other”. Others do not have the same rights and obligations with regard to that state. The consequence for most states that emerged from colonial administration was that the new (independent) governments sought to assert powerfully the states identity above all other identities. Many of these governments argue: against the maintenance of the traditional indigenous institutions which they consider to be dangerous and anachronistic and accused the tribalism, regionalism, and racism as being the better enemies of national-state building.⁴⁵

This attempt of breaking down the influence of tribalism, regionalism and racism by the new states, was an inheritance of colonial influence, which was the separation and dissociation of these ethnic entities in the course of partitioning of the African continent for their convenience and interest. Asiwaju (1984) points out that a study of European archives supports an accidental rather than an intentional making of African boundaries. This meant that the European interests were of primary concern. The population of the frontier areas was envisaged, if at all, only as dim and inarticulate presences in the background. Therefore, in determining boundaries, the Europeans did not take African interests into consideration. An Anglo-French Commission of diplomatic and colonial experts was formed for the purpose of demarcating the boundaries, but the limits of its expertise soon became evident. As put by Lord Salisbury comments in drawing lines upon maps where no white man’s feet have ever trod, they gave away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that they never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were.⁴⁶ Although geographers were available to advise, Europeans’ knowledge of the physical, let alone the human, geography of Africa was still rudimentary. According to Asiwaju, a famous epigram defines geography as being about maps rather than chaps, but its value is always defined by “the knowledge of the chaps who draw the maps”. The notion and function of the term ‘boundary’ differed fundamentally in the European and African contexts. However strict the observation of these boundaries were to be, the reasoning of the inhabitants of the Cameroon-Nigerian border lines was not the same. Their geographical proximity caused the disrespect of the lines a familiar commodity.

Fanso reinforces this idea African concept of boundary. He says the notion and function of the term “boundary” differed fundamentally in the European and African contexts. In traditional Africa, the concept of a political or ethnic boundary was expressed in terms of

⁴⁵ McCorquodale and Pangalangan, “Pushing Back the Limitations of Territorial Boundaries,” 17.

⁴⁶ As cited by Christopher Molem Sama, Debora Johnson-Ross, “Reclaiming the Bakassi Kingdom: The Anglophone Cameroon–Nigeria Border,” *Afrika Zamani*, nos. 13 (2005): 103–122.

neighbours with whom the particular State or polity shared a territory and such a boundary was conceived of in terms of a region or a narrow zone fronting the two neighbours marked off by it. In this sense, the boundary was the zone where two States were united or joined together. In other words, African boundaries were usually rooted in ethnic and social contact. European states, however, conceived of boundaries as lines or points of separation. In the case of Cameroon, the Anglo-French partition of the former German colony in 1916 provided that inhabitants living in or near the border region had six months from the time that the border was delimited to express their intention to settle in a region placed under the jurisdiction of the other colonial power. A problem was thereby created. The Africans who had become frontiersmen had no immediate knowledge that their lands and kin divided by the boundary were now 'foreign'. They did not know that the new boundaries functioned differently from the traditional ones with which they were familiar. They thought the former were only important to the white men who made them and were not immediately concerned about their existence until they were checked at crossing points. It was then that they began to feel the impact on their relations with their kin and neighbours and began to create new and secret routes across the frontiers.⁴⁷ Such an impact was directed reflected in the Nigeria-Cameroon border of Bakassi.

3. Peoples of the Bakassi Border Lines: Application of Indigenous Boundary Norms

In fact, however separated these nations seem to be, some scholars consider them as a common people. They are duly associated not by colonial effort but through ethnic affiliations. Rather, colonial state creation dishearteningly fragmented brethren. But According to the inhabitants of the bakassi border lines of Cameroon and Nigeria, the presence of the international boundaries faded away fast in their minds even before it was established. International boundaries represent nothing to them but their ethnic boundaries. They insisted never to give it up for nothing else; since giving it up was tantamount to breaking up their ancestral connectivity. In the coast, around this area, according to Mbuagbaw and R. Brain, the case of the Mamfe depression constitutes part of this circumstance. Within the division of Manyu, besides the Banyang, their northern neighbours living on the 'overside' of the Cross River, generally referred to as Anyang and the Keyaka-Ekoi people (Obang, Ekwe and Keaka) constituted an ethnic connection with those distributed in neighbouring Nigeria. Fanso⁴⁸ adds that the Ejagham, who straddle the Cameroon-Nigeria border, are located in the area extending from west of Nchang near Mamfe town to Ikom in Nigeria. They also extend from Agbokem on the Cross River to the Oban Hills and Calabar at the mouth of the Cross River. Kane⁴⁹ highlights reflects the Kanem

⁴⁷ V.G. Fanso, "Traditional and Colonial African Boundaries: Concept and Functions in Inter-Group Relations", *Présence Africaine*, 139 No. 3 (1986): 58–75.

⁴⁸ V.G. Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, Vol. 1: From Precolonial Times to the Nineteenth Century* (London, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education LTD., 1989), 53.

⁴⁹ Eric Kane, *The Common African Man* (Lagos: Chuku Book, 1976), 23-24.

Bornu, and states that the “nearness and connectivity between these same peoples of Cameroon and Nigeria propelled them to consistently see themselves as brothers despite the international boundary influences. They depended on one another’s political, economic and social contacts”, and hence, introducing a high degree of permeability on the international recognized boundaries of Cameroon and Nigeria.

The permeability of the Cameroon–Nigeria border has been concern of Margaret Niger-Thomas, Kate Meagher and Molem,⁵⁰ who investigated cross-border economic activities. According to them there has been an increase in the actual quantity of cross-border flows, as well as a deepening of the penetration of cross-border operations in to the heart of the national territories.” This implies that cross-border operations have undergone some structural reorganization. It also indicates that the socio-economic interactions of the respective indigenous populations are carried on with little regards for the colonial demarcation. Because the boundary is ill-defined and unimportant to them, the locals hardly confine their socio-economic activities to particular areas. Indigenes in both countries are able to evade gendarmes from Cameroon and police, customs and immigration officers from Nigeria given that they cooperate in their actions and are very familiar with the terrain. In fact, smuggling is no longer an issue for concern, but has become an accepted strategy for both survival and capital accumulation. Not only smugglers but other categories of people in both societies too benefit from this activity, including state officials themselves. In this part of Cameroon (the South West Province), which is closely aligned to Nigeria, it is clear that national borders are just political creations.

A case in point is the fuel transactions across the border line. The fuel is called *zuazua*, mostly effected by a group of youths; about 20 to 26. These youth have their customers in Cameroon to whom they bring the fuel. They boarded a large wooden canoe to cross the river (plate 1 shows youths preparing their canoes for the cross). The canoes powered manually by six men using 30-foot poles, are mainly used to ferry vehicles including the four-wheeled vehicles used for carrying of fuel across the river. On particular days, a four wheel-driven Steyr-Pouche mini jeep is also on board the wooden ferry. The vehicle carries 28 jerry-cans containing a total of 2,800 litres of petrol which is being carried over to Cameroon. The issue of border crossing paper checking is far from being an issue since the law enforcement officers are familiar with the activities and have become part of the deal. Sometimes at mid-stream, disaster stricks, caused in the main by waves. The canoe capsizes and the whole load tumbles into the river, several drums falling on the people and making them unconscious. Some often die before he could be rescued. Through this route more than 30 million litres of fuel worth more than N1.056 billion are smuggled out of Nigeria into Cameroun and other African countries yearly.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Margaret Niger-Thomas, “Women and the Arts of Smuggling,” *African Studies Review*, 44, 2 (2001); Meagher Kate, “Informal Integration or Economic Subversion? The Development and Organization of Parallel Trade in West Africa,” in R. Lavergne, ed., *Regional Integration in West Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁵¹ Sama, “Reclaiming the Bakassi Kingdom: The Anglophone Cameroon–Nigeria Border,” 23-35.

Among the trade transaction going on unperturbed along the border lines, are the buying and selling of house hold utensils from Nigeria by Cameroonians. On Mondays and Wednesdays, the market of Bakassi takes place. Here, both traders from Nigeria and Cameroon display their trade items. During the buying and selling, both the CFA franc and the Nira are used and accepted as legal tender without problem. There is often no need to exchange one currency to another. Among the items sold are, clothes, aqua-products, jewelries, household utensils and appliances, shoes and food stuff and handicraft of the area. Essential items also include salt, kerosene, matches, bush lamps, soaps and so on. Some local craftsmen, like tailors, blacksmiths, weavers, dyers and tattooers not only offered their crafts, but also performed paid services on the markets days. In fact, such days are not only meant for commercial activities, but a forum for people to meet with friends and discuss and share intimate information.

Plate 1. Youths preparing canoes for the transportation of fuel



Source: Snapped by author, March 2011.

It was very common for people to cross the borders to meet with friends and to share a drink, befriend girls, help in marriage ceremonies and other cultural rituals of their kith and kins. There existed annual festival, the *zuing*, that both peoples organize and danced together. This is performed with preparing for the next fishing season, as an appeasement strategy of the gods of the waters to give them good catch (plate 2 shows the *zuing* priests from both sides in action). Death ceremonies of both peoples across the border are jointly attended by them. Elango⁵² affirms this when he says that such a dance, like the *jengu* among the Isuwu (Bimbia) and the Douala groups is a magico-religious institution which organized rituals dances, sacrifices and gift to the water spirits, and is associated with the good fishing and all kinds of luck including fecundity. Its initiation rites “often lasted several days and involved great feasting and dancing.” This ceremony served as a vital link between the border line people. It directly or indirectly

⁵² Lovette Z. Elango, “Britian and Bimbia in the Nineteenth Century 1833-1878: A Study in the Anglo-Bimbia Trade and Diplomacic Relations” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1974), 26-27.

strengthened the cultural contact between the two groups. It also strengthened the basis of commercial cooperation which of course served to cement their political solidarity. In fact, such activities talk much of themselves as people move from one side of the border to the next with ample ease, not even noticing the presence of an international established frontier.

Fanso⁵³ says that in the traditional setting, local markets were important not only as a place of buying and selling, but also as a meeting-place for relatives, friends and traditional authorities. The people go to there most importantly to “hear news”, “see” some relatives, dispatch a gift, meet a lover or in-law, pay a debt, settle a dispute, or pay respect to elders. Some people organise and hold their periodic thrift or mutual aid associations. In fact, traditional announcement of their chiefs or local council were also made on the market day. He posits further that, indeed, these border-line markets functions for the ethnic folk as a social club where dancing, drinking and all forms of entertainment and attractions take place. The border in the light of the international perceptive becomes inexistent. In fact, the Ardeners say that from birth to death, a person can grow and stay here without noticing the differences between being a Cameroonian and Nigerian. The word migration is not known to the people. They considered themselves as one, thus movement across the border lines is not considered crossing the border by the people, but circulation within common ethnic spaces.⁵⁴

This concept of human movement has been taken advantage of by many as a means of gaining employment in Cameroon. Nigerians have greatly increased the labour force of the Cameroon plantations. The territory’s economy involved the large number of workers the plantation drew from within the Cameroons as well as Nigeria. There is a growing migration of eastern Nigerians, particularly the Igbo, to the ‘greener pastures’ in Cameroon. Migration became instrumental in escaping from widespread land scarcity in their densely populated areas and in providing the necessary manpower and trading circuits in the underdeveloped south West region of Cameroons. Migrants started working in the various agro-industrial enterprises in the Southern Cameroons, notably the now Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) and Pamol, both of which had inherited the former German plantations in the area.⁵⁵ In the 1950s Nigerians, especially Igbo, comprised roughly 25–30 percent of the CDC labour force and 80 percent of the Pamol workforce.⁵⁶ Many of these workers settled in the Southern Cameroons. They acquired land for food farming and cash cropping, originally on a usufruct basis, by providing village

⁵³Verkijika G. Fanso, “Inter-Group Relations and Cameroon Reunification: A Prototype of Africa’s Frontier Problems,” *Annals of the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences, Serie Science Humaines* 1 No. 2 (1985): 38-39.

⁵⁴ E. Ardener, S. Ardener and W. A. Warmington, *Plantation and Village in the Cameroons* (Oxford University Press, London, 1960); P. Konings, *Labour Resistance in Cameroon* (London: James Currey, 1993).

⁵⁵Ardener *et al.*, *Plantation and Village*; Konings, *Labour Resistance*; P. Konings, *Unilever Estates in Crisis and the Power of Organizations in Cameroon* (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1998).

⁵⁶ Konings, *Labour Resistance*, 87; Konings, *Unilever Estates in Crisis*, 98.

elders with a token payment. Although the transfer of land was not intended to be permanent, Nigerians were able, with the increase in the value of land and the formalization of land tenure, to secure titles and set themselves up as landlords. A growing number of them used their earnings from plantation labour to launch small-scale trading enterprises, selling food and durable goods in the vicinity of the plantations. Gradually, Igbo have come to dominate the market trade in local foodstuffs and imported goods, as well as the transport industry and the retail and wholesale distribution of palm oil in an area centred on Kumba, Tiko and Victoria (Limbe). In these towns, large numbers of Nigerians have entered the restaurant business or became involved in photography, baking, tailoring, shoemaking, bicycle repairs and a variety of other small enterprises. In the Kumba area, they are the principal buyers of cocoa.⁵⁷

This feeling of one people and the desire to protect it has been made manifest by the idea of breaking from the ICJ's decision of giving Cameroon the Peninsular. The people desire to break from Nigeria and Cameroon to form their own nation. This, they made the voices heard by terrorist attitude, pirates on the sea and hostage taking. After several border clashes with Nigeria over Bakassi and a northern region near Lake Chad, Cameroon took the issue to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1994 as earlier highlighted. With special reference to the Anglo- German Treaty of 1913 and colonial era diplomatic correspondence between the two imperial powers, the ICJ ruled in favor of Cameroon in 2002, ordering Nigeria to transfer sovereignty over Bakassi to Cameroon, but without requiring any of the Nigerian residents in Bakassi to leave or change their citizenship. The details of the transfer of sovereignty were worked out in the Green Tree Agreement, which was assembled with the additional participation of the United States, Great Britain, France and Equatorial Guinea. Popular and political opposition to the decision within Nigeria delayed the transfer of sovereignty, though the government neither ratified nor rejected the court's verdict. In Bakassi itself, there was wide dissatisfaction with the decision, especially in the English-speaking Nigerian majority. As popular opinion on the Bakassi border lines hold:

The United Nations should realize that we have the right to decide where we want to be and the right to self-determination. We are Nigerians and here in our ancestral home. You can see some of the graves here dating back to the 19th century. How can you force a strange culture and government on us? We appreciate what the Nigerian government is doing but let it be on record that they have betrayed us and we will fight for our survival and self-determination. We expected that the government as well as the ICJ could have come to the people and called for a referendum so that the people would decide what they wanted for themselves. But we don't really know why it had to be done that way. If they do not then we

⁵⁷ C. F. Fisiy, *Power and Privilege in the Administration of Law: Land law reforms and social differentiation in Cameroon* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1992); G. W. Kleis, "Network and ethnicity in an Igbo migrant community," (Ph.D. Thesis, East Lansing, MI, Michigan State University, 1975); G.W. Kleis, "Confrontation and incorporation: Igbo ethnicity in Cameroon," *African Studies Review* 23, no. 3 (1980): 89–100.

and our brothers on the other side will decide to take things into our hands, and have our voices heard no matter what it takes until our desire is attend.⁵⁸

Taking things into their hands and having their voice had no matter what it takes was inclining to pirate actions; and taking control of what they called their own political future.

In July 2006 the Bakassi Movement for Self-Determination (BMSD) joined with the Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization (SCAPO) and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) to declare the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Bakassi, an unsuccessful attempt to found a new nation in the small peninsula that brought out few supporters. After the Nigerian Senate ruled the transfer of sovereignty was illegal in 2007, the three groups again declared the independence of Bakassi in July 2008, this time with BMSD declaring it would subsume all its activities under the “joint leadership” of MEND. The secessionist SCAPO movement had a different plan including Bakassi with the Southern Cameroons in a secessionist “Republic of Ambazonia.”

The pirates called themselves Africa Marine Commando (AMC). They claimed responsibility for the abduction of six sailors from a Belgian ship anchored 40 km off Douala. An AMC spokesman said the hostages were moved to a camp on Nigerian territory and demanded the release of ten Ijaw fighters in a Cameroonian prison and the immediate opening of direct talks with Cameroon president Paul Biya.⁵⁹ The immediate opening of talks with the president was to discuss practical steps of giving up Bakassi Peninsular for the new nation to formed. The AMC, which appears to be a faction of the larger Bakassi Freedom Fighters (BFF) movement, also kidnapped seven Chinese fishermen in Cameroonian coastal waters who were later freed in exchange for an undisclosed ransom.⁶⁰ These gunmen in light boats attacked two cargo ships in Douala harbor, kidnapping two Russian crewmen from one ship and looting the safe and abducting the captain of the second ship, a Lithuanian refrigerated vessel. The security of Douala’s port is a major regional concern as Douala acts as the commercial lifeline for the land-locked Central African Republic and Chad, another major petroleum producer which runs its oil through the Chad-Cameroon pipeline to the Cameroon port of Kribi.⁶¹

Although the Cameroon government refused to acknowledge the political dimension of the violence in Bakassi by declining to identify the insurgents as anything other than “armed bandits,” the decision to hold 14 August 2009, ceremony marking the transfer of authority in the Nigerian city of Calabar rather than in Bakassi was interpreted as an acknowledgement that

⁵⁸ *Terrorism Monitor: Indepth Analysis of the War on Terror*, 8 no. 43 (2010)

⁵⁹ *Le Jour*, September 29.

⁶⁰ Radio France Internationale, March 13.

⁶¹ *Cameroon People*,” 13, 20 November 2007.

Bakassi was far from secure. In response, the Cameroon's Bataillon d'Intervention Rapide (BIR)⁶² The BIR commandos were sent to the coast in 2007 to assist the Delta Command in dealing with a rapidly deteriorating security situation.⁶³ Nigerian residents of Bakassi were given the option of moving to a "New Bakassi" some 30 km inside Nigeria. Many Nigerians wished to move from Bakassi but remained there after hearing reports of conditions in the new settlement.⁶⁴

4. Conclusion

This article attempted to see how the epistemological concept of boundary differed fundamentally from the European and African applications. Even though both operate within the confines of the acceptable system of International law, with the former intuit by colonial heritage, confining inhabitants of a particular territory to the mandate of state control and ownership, the traditional African concept of boundary prevails and is applied most often than not, especially on the Bakassi frontier line of Cameroon and Nigeria. Here, the socio-economic and cultural mores by pass and/or abrogate these international notions and functions of boundary to incline to their ethnic jurisdiction. The international border faded in their minds. Their activities have been a serious challenge to the decisions the Nigerian and Cameroonian states as well as the International Court of Justice, especially as regard the decision of handing the disputed Bakassi Peninsular to Cameroon. The inhabitants or the subalterns of the border lines prefer to create their own nation in respect to their ethnic functions, and so do all at their capacity to have their voices heard, which include terrorist and pirate actions. But due to the efforts of both the Cameroon and Nigerian governments, these violent actions have been checked. But the spirit of unity that hovers around the border lines has not been checked yet. It will be in this light that great sanitization and education of the local population can be done to that effect. Also, the Cameroon government needs to make its presence felt there by not only deploying soldiers, but implanting realistic political, socio-economic and cultural institutions. It is only then that the people would gradually feel integrated into the statehood confines according to the international expectations. It would be helpful for African nations which share a common ethnic border composition to create states confederacy for a better comprehensive frontier space, as well as manifest a political will to partake in the effective implementation of the four-point African Union border zone programme.

⁶² The BIR was formed in 1999 as the Bataillon Léger d'Intervention (BLI), a special intervention force designed to eliminate foreign rebels, bandits and deserters (the "coupeurs de routes") who were destroying the security of Cameroon's northern provinces through cattle rustling, abductions, murder and highway robbery. As part of military reforms carried out in Cameroon in 2001, the unit took on its current BIR designation. BIR officers are selected from the graduates of the Ecole Militaire Interarmées in Yaoundé.

⁶³ *The Sun*, 13, 29 October 2008.

⁶⁴ *IRIN*, 13 November 2007.

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Historicity and Cameroonian Fiction: Writing the Nation

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Abstract

The peculiarity of Cameroonian fiction is seen in part by its relation to history, considered both on the one hand, as events that unfolded and, on the other hand, the narrating of those events. The literature does not limit itself to the colonialist cum neo-colonialist exploits and the peoples' resistance to it; it is as well carving out an identifiable politico-cultural consciousness as part of the process of coming to terms with the new world reality. From Fedinand Oyono, Mongo Beti and Ngong Winkuo who focus their attention to the eventful colonial era through Linus Asong, Francis Nyamnjoh and Shadrack Ambanasom who are preoccupied with the upheavals of the postcolonial setting, the Cameroonian novelists are spinning an inciting yarn in the loom of postcolonial discourse. In this paper, I elect to explore selected Cameroonian fiction as analogous to the nation building process.

Keywords: Cameroonian, History, Nation, Colonial, Postcolonial

A fair reading of African literature demands engagement with, and even dependence on history. No responsible reading of African literature can take place in the vacuum of a “direct” and unmediated relationship with the text. Such a reading, as of other literatures, requires the mediation of its social and cultural context. What the literary text by itself says is necessary but not sufficient: other texts must be brought into the dialogical exercise of a good reading. (Christopher Miller 1999) Cameroon’s fiction is unmistakably sourced in its history, even when such fiction attempts to question or rewrite the history. This paper attempts a display of how much history would be read in selected Cameroonian fiction that speaks to the nation-building project.

History is an invaluable source of informed perspectives on the human present and the future. If, as Tatab Mentan (2012) argues, a people’s history is the bedrock of their sense of beingness, Cameroon’s history is the source of the country’s struggle from the colonial through the postcolonial phases of its existence. This would be the veritable laboratory in which the country’s nation-building project would be appreciated. The polity’s story is that of princesses and powers, of wars and peace treaties, of disasters and achievements, chiefs and commoners, Queen Mothers, Governors and warriors in and out of uniform, wielding spears or guns, diviners and mission converts, all play their parts.... [Shirley Ardener]

The peculiarity of Cameroonian fiction is seen in part by its relation to history, considered both on the one hand, as events that unfolded and, on the other hand, the narrating of those events. Cameroon’s fiction is peculiar in the way it relates to history, mirroring it and relating it. Of the recent historical past, it not only documents the colonialist-cum-neo –colonialist experience and resistance to it The literature does not limit itself to the colonialist cum neo-colonialist exploits and the peoples’ resistance to it, but it is itself carving out an identifiable politico-cultural consciousness as part of the process of coming to terms with the new world reality. From Fedinand Oyono, Mongo Beti and Ngong Winkuo who focus their attention to the eventful colonial era through Linus Asong, Francis Nyamnjoh and Shadrack Ambanasom who are preoccupied with the upheavals of the postcolonial setting, the Cameroonian novelists are spinning an inciting yarn in the loom of postcolonial literary discourse. In this paper, I elect to discuss selected Cameroonian fiction as a body of works that is analogous to the nation building process and is the thesis of this paper.

A cursory look at the beginnings of Cameroon shows that the polity called Cameroon today was once a key position at the notorious West African Slave Coast. It got its known and documented identity in 1894 when the Germans, the British, and the French governments signed treaties to distinguish the territories between upper Benue and Lake Chad. The Germans named

their portion of land which extended from the Atlantic in the south to Lake Chad in the north KAMERUN. Their colonial lordship over Cameroon was then confirmed at the Berlin conference in 1884. When Germany emerged out of the First World War humbled, it lost Cameroon and all her African colonies. The League of Nations then handed over the eastern part of Cameroon to France and the western part to Britain as trust territories. The circumstances surrounding the British acquisition had a tremendous impact on their administrative and political governance, which in turn influenced the peoples' national consciousness. According to Emmanuel Chiabi

...reports of the early period of British colonial administration in Cameroon are filled with complaints of an overwhelming shortage of staff.... The problem was so intense that the resident in Buea suggested that Britain maintained a larger staff in Cameroon even to the detriment of some provinces and divisions in Nigeria. The home government gave little heed to the resident's request. (175)

The British lack of interest in Cameroon was further demonstrated by the fact that the resident in Buea had no direct links with the London dynasty; rather, the resident was answerable to his superiors in Lagos who were then answerable to London. This meant that Southern Cameroon was considered as part of Nigeria for administrative conveniences at the detriment of people who saw themselves as different and would prefer to be recognised as such. This sharply contrasted with East Cameroon which the French had incorporated into the French colonial system as a separate administrative entity answerable to Paris. Moreover, the French policy towards her colonies was different from that of the British, a especially exemplified in the Southern Cameroons. Such differences cut across the board and the details are not necessary within the confines of this paper. It is however, important to stress the fact that the Cameroonian nation-building project was peculiar not only because of its diverse multi-ethnicity, but more importantly, because of its diverse and sophisticated colonial past, what Emmanuel Chiabi describes as:

Cameroon's tripartite colonial experience...a German colony from 1884-1914...split by France and Britain in 1916...in 1961 the two regions united and formed "The Federal Republic of Cameroon" to accommodate the French-speaking Cameroon and the English Speaking Cameroon.... (iv)

To Chiabi this is what has made Cameroon an area of intense research and analysis on nation building. To the French, East Cameroon was part of a multicultural Greater France. This clearly indicates a non-rationally sensitive set-up. The French policy of assimilation was essentially an idea of the Left, which gave a humane face to imperialism by associating it with the spirit of the French Revolution of 1789. The policy of assimilation was meant to transform the colonised

into the French in their thinking and habits. The colonized were to learn the French language, attend French schools, think and live French ways and look up to Paris for the new order.

The spirit of this policy slips into Ferdinand Oyono's creative ability as the French National Day, the 14th of July, becomes an eventful day in the world of *The Old Man and the Medal* (1956): He maintains, "the atmosphere at Doum had certainly changed. The 14th of July was as feverish and bustling as the circumcision feast and quite unlike 14ths of July in previous years" (45). Meka was to be given a medal for doing "much to forward the work of France in this country" (19). In the same vein, the atmosphere in Mongo Beti's *Remember Ruben* is very sensitive to July 14: "On 14 July...and other solemn occasions, Fort-Negre was abundant in declarations of peace and fraternal love" (160). The colony (in this case East Cameroon) was to be part of France. The French colonial agents did not foresee a possibility of East Cameroon not being ruled from Paris one day.

Published in 1974, Mongo Beti's *Remember Ruben* covers forty years of the history of East Cameroon through the Second World War to the dawn of independence. Mo-Zambo is the hero whose search for identity, analogous to that of Cameroonians, registers a degree of success when he gets to know at the end of the novel that he is the offspring of the long-ousted but charismatic chief of Ekoumdoum. In this novel, the passive figure of the indefatigable trade union leader, Ruben, looms ominously at the background, but his impact on the idea of liberation in the novel is evocative of the ideas of the historical Ruben Um Nyobe who was glorified as a saviour by the East Cameroonian nationalist fighters in the early nineteen fifties.

The British, on the other hand, adopted a different colonial policy, which bordered on Indirect Rule. According to Chiabi (1997, 112), the Native Authority had as a point of reference the follow task the education of the natives so they would manage their own affairs and evolve from their own institutions a mode of government which conforms to 'civilised standards'. To effect this smooth evolution would require close and continuous direction, supervision and guidance by the British administrative officials.

This policy, unlike that of the French, served as a vital instrument for institutional evolution, which already prepared Southern Cameroon for self-rule without enough ground works on the human and material resources. Furthermore, the indirect rule for Southern Cameroon sent the colonial administrators farther from the people. Buma Kor avers that:

Given the experience of a young boy growing in Victoria and with the facts of history staring me in the face, I am led today to believe that we of English-speaking extraction never fully experienced the implicit impact of white-man rule. Southern Cameroons was

ruled as a protectorate from Lagos... We were not subjected to the severe treatment of colonial masters, as was the case in Nigeria or East Africa, Southern Africa or even in French Cameroun... We had a special colonial experience, which left us without terrible scars and wounds as compared to other peoples of Africa. (WEKA 1993, 61)

France, anxious to demonstrate efficiency with the handling of its mandate at the League of Nations, unlike the British and despite the forced labour and brutality, established the best educational and health systems in East Cameroon than in any other French colony. Many East Cameroonian students were given scholarships to study in France. Similarly, Nigerian students benefited from the Commonwealth grants abroad, especially to Britain. This resulted in corresponding advancement in scholarship as reflected in the coming to the limelight of writers like Mongo Beti, and Ferdinand Oyono from east Cameroon and Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka from Nigeria in the fifties. Mongo Beti soon became a house-hold name in Francophone African literature. Stephen Arnold calls him “The greatest Gadfly since Socrates” (123). From Nigeria, Soyinka emerged laureate of the prestigious Nobel Prize for Literature in 1986 while Chinua Achebe has been installed in literary discourse as father of the African novel.

A few Southern Cameroonians in those early years went to Nigeria for post-primary education, though the vacuum created by the reluctance of the colonial authorities to open educational institutions was gradually being filled by Christian missionary organisations. These unfortunate circumstances account for the almost complete absence of Anglophone Cameroon literature in early literary discourses in Africa, an absence which resonated with Nalova Lyonga and Bole Butake:

...apart from one or two names, the English-speaking Cameroonian has not yet made a lasting impression on literary critics, or the general Cameroon reading public, whereas there is a remarkable study of Cameroon writers of French expression. (6)

The 1973 conference on African writing that took place in Yaoundé on the theme “L’ecrivain africain et son Peuple comme producteur de civilisation” did not accord even a passing remark or attention to Anglophone Cameroon writing. Albert Gerald in one of the most comprehensive books on African literature places Anglophone Cameroon literature as an appendix to Nigerian literature⁸. The impact of Southern Cameroon’s historical events continues to assert itself. A decade after Gerard’s assessment, Richard Bjornson (1991), finds and locates Anglophone Cameroon literature at the backwaters of African literature. To Bjornson, “scholars and critics tended to regard Cameroon writing primarily within the context of Francophone African Literature” (303).

In 1977 when the University of Yaoundé organised a colloquium on Cameroon Writers and Critics, many Anglophone Cameroonian participants informally flirted with the possibility of an umbrella under which Anglophone Cameroon writers could congregate. Only sixteen years after (in 1993) was an initiative materialized when Eckhard Breitingner of the University of Bayreuth (Germany), who had been following the development of Anglophone Cameroon literature with a keen interest, threw his weight behind the ideas that gave birth to the first workshop on Anglophone Cameroon writing in Yaoundé.

Between the French and the British, attitudes towards the emerging, westernised elites who were to be the agents of national consciousness differed tremendously. The French with their policy of assimilation embraced the local elite and made them bureaucrats in the colonial administration thereby maintaining control over them. For their part, the British found it difficult to contradict the policy of indirect rule and thereby relegated their local elite to the background. The result was that the local British colonial elite had a greater urge for national identity that could be exercised freely given the political advancement that the native authority was imbued with as opposed to the forced labour and “indigenat” that curtailed fundamental rights from East Cameroonians.

During this era the idea of independence was brewing silently different parts of colonial Africa. In Kenya the Mau Mau was already engaged in the fight for Kenyan’s independence from British colonial rule. In Ghana independence was attained in 1957, which served as fresh impetus for demands for independence in the Cameroons. In the French colonies the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA), existed and thrived across Francophone Africa with the primary goal of liberating French colonies from colonial rule. When it became clear that the organisation could not achieve its goals, the East Cameroon branch, under the leadership of a trade unionist, Ruben Um Nyobe (who captured the imagination of Mongo Beti in Remember Ruben) in 1948 raised itself into a radical opposition political party, the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), with clear nationalist sympathies. Beti’s narrator in Remember Ruben (169) unravels this event as follows:

In reply to all this skulduggery, Ruben who up till now had confined himself deliberately to the defence of the workers, leaving to a weak lieutenant the direction of the political movement linked to the workers’ union, the Popular Progressive Party (PPP), decided to take it over immediately. He declared in the course of a meeting organised that he had realised that priority must be given to political action. (169)

UPC became the first nationalist political party, although the majority of its members and leaders were of the Douala, Bassa and Bamileke extractions. The creation of this party met with

extreme hostility from the French which resulted to a guerrilla warfare in which the party eventually met its demise in 1958 with the fall of Ruben Um Nyobe. Backed by the French, Ahmadou Ahidjo's Union Camerounaise further reduced the impact of the UPC because Ahidjo's party embraced national independence and unity in opposition to the Popular Progressive Party, which was projected as being tribalistic and regional in composition.

During this period Southern Cameroon, a strip of land linked to Nigeria during the colonial period, had no clear idea of what form of independence it was to take. The feasible options were to be either integration with Nigeria or unification with East Cameroon. The latter was preferred through the plebiscites of February 11, 1961 (Chiabi 1989; Eyong 1981). It was at this critical point that the present-day bilingual Cameroon found its geo-national mapping, even if there had been imperceptible intermittent nationalist sentiments during the early period of colonial rule at varying degrees.

Like Beti's *Remember Ruben* (1974), Joseph Ngongwikuo's *Taboo Love* (1980) covers the period of the Second World War, but unlike the former which takes us into the dawn of independence, the latter takes its readers back to a pristine African society. *Taboo Love* evokes the pre-colonial world of ethnic rivalries, chiefdoms and the values that held Africans together. At the centre of the novel is the change that issues with the arrival, first, of the Germans in the grass fields of Cameroon and the eventual replacement of the "red men" by another breed of "red men," that is the English after the First World War. The entire social structure is ornamented with this new reality as the "red man" vows to "protect the foyn" and his people (*Taboo Love* 150)

As stated earlier the fierce confrontation that characterised the desire to achieve independence in East Cameroon did not occur in Southern Cameroon. There were, however, little skirmishes at the beginning of colonial explorations which were easily put under control as Paul Nkwi observes: "With Bamenda as a "Bezirk" and officers posted regularly there, over fifteen punitive expeditions were mounted to discipline tribes that were considered hostile to the German administration" (viii). Such historical skirmishes enter the world of *Taboo Love*:

On the appointed date the two red men and five others were ambushed and killed by a few selected warriors as the party was on its way to the palace. When the party of seven didn't return on the appointed date a small troop of one hundred soldiers was sent to find out if they were in trouble... In the troop of one hundred men there were only five red men who marched behind, sending the mungaka and Efel recruits to the front. Before the red officers had time to order their soldiers... the Mukomangoe warriors were all killed and their disorganised warriors fled in despair, back to their village on the hill top. (149)

Most of such skirmishes had inter-tribal or ethnic colorations with the colonial powers orchestrating or averting some of them. Shaddrack Ambanasom's *Son of the Native Soil* (1999) also explores these tribal hostilities, which border on otherness and pose a threat to national consciousness.

Son of the Native Soil (1999) explores these tribal hostilities and puts to test the place of the alienated western educated elites vis-à-vis the bewildered masses in peripheral politics. However, Ambanasom attempts to explain the backdrop of hostilities in nation-building through chief Umeito of Akan:

Our land problem with Anjong is not a thing of today. We have been arguing over it for a long time now...was the first chief of Dudum crowned by the Germans not my grandfather?...if the first courtyard in Dudum was in Akan before being transferred to Anjong...and the first paramount chief in Dudum from Akan before the title was given to the grandfather of Akaya by the British who defeated the Germans, don't you see in this a gradual annexation of everything Akan by Anjong? (9).

More evocative is the fact that the recently assaulted Anyang responds to its Akan aggressors with an economic embargo, a weapon commonly used in international conflicts. The question as to who produces what in Dudum becomes crucial as Akan specialises in palm oil while Anyang specialises in cultivating coco-yams, maize, and palm wine (p58). For a documented historical echo, Robert O'Neill annotates that

When Eugen Zintgraff arrived in 1889, the Moghamo were living in scattered, polygamous, patrilineal and extended family homesteads, several of which joined to form villages under a fon and a council of senior village heads...They subsisted on plantains, coco-yams.... The men controlled surpluses in palm oil and kernels. By the end of the nineteenth century lineage leadership of autonomous village settlements was moving from a loose association of segmented lineage settlements towards political consolidation. (82)

Linus Asong's *The Crown of Thorns* (1990) evokes the recurrent conflict between the postcolonial government and the governed stemming from the former's incomprehension of the values that held together an imaginary post independent setting - Nkokonoko Small Monje. The eviction and selling of akeukeur, the "god of gods" of small Monje to a white man sets the entire community in turmoil. The District Officer sees in the god nothing more than antiquity, while to the people akeukeur is the very fountain of life.

The plot of the novel evolves around the instability orchestrated by the clash of these new values with forces set on an irreversible and unavoidable course of change. Historically set at the dawn of independence, the novel explores the differences that pose a threat to the emerging

national consciousness. In the wake of the selling of Akeukeur by the local administrator (DO) with the complicity of the chief and some elders, one “doesn’t talk about succeeding anymore...look at the crown! Look at our god!”(16). In these circumstances Ngobefuo sees only “wickedness and treachery“(15). The ally of the colonialist mission, the church, has appropriated the most fertile part of the clan. Consequently, when there is a collective venting of local anger on the administrator, the reverend Father who is his accomplice is not spared. In the midst of the ensuing tension, the DO resolves to do all in lieu of protecting the nation. He says:

The government will look into all these things that have been said, as soon as it is practicable. The roads are meant to help you all, especially the farmers...so that you will not need to travel hundreds of miles to sell your produce. Cooperative societies...everybody should put his shoulder to the plough and let’s help build this nation. (67)

This novel is set within the period immediately after independence when there was a rush from the West for antiquities in Africa. Asong employs a major actor in the peoples’ life to expose the difference in the perception of values that accounts for the difficulties in building a nationalist sentiment in postcolonial settings. The buying of Akeukeur, the people’s god, by Virchow from the DO and his accomplices yields financial benefits while at the same time setting ablaze spiritual unity, the one thing that holds the people of Nkokonoko together. Consequently, the tragedy that ensures stakes the building of the nation which is what justifies the DO’s presence in the clan.

This is the manner in which Cameroonian literature during and immediately after independence enters and evolves in history thereby emerging as an identifiable literature. Here one finds literature in dialogue with history in the way Tony Bennet in *Outside Literature* (1990) maintains history to be “literature’s source and its ultimate referent” (42). The link between history and literature is to him crucial:

Literature always constitutes the phenomenon to be explained just as surely as history provides the means of explanation; no other ordering of their relations is imaginable... Thus the political effects and value of literary texts are assessed on the basis of the position accorded them in relation to the independently known history. (p42)

Ethnographic research registers one hundred and eighty six ethnic groups in postcolonial Cameroon, a situation further rendered complicated by internal migrations. Over and above this web of diversities are the super-imposed dual linguistic cultures whose beginnings we have seen.

All these give birth to a multiplicity of conflicting layers of consciousness that inform Cameroonian fiction. A dip into the informing historical high points gives a feel of this layered set-up.

East Cameroon had her independence on January 1, 1960 while Southern Cameroons had hers on October 1, 1961. On February 11, 1961, a plebiscite was held whose result showed that Southern Cameroonians voted overwhelmingly to join East Cameroon and not Nigeria. At the 1961 July conference in Foumban political leaders met to decide on the constitution of the Federal State. The dual colonial legacy started defining itself from that historic conference. History has it that while John Ngu Foncha advocated for a loose federation, with the Southern Cameroons retaining control of its internal affairs, Ahidjo was determined to establish strong central institutions. This clearly reflected the contrast between the English system of Indirect Rule and the French Assimilation of the pre-independence era. Foncha acknowledged the existence of two Cameroon cultures which by “the process of evolution will become one.” The country became a federation until 1972, when President Ahmadou Ahidjo proposed and successfully achieved a unitary state through a controversial referendum (Konings Peter et al, 2003). Ahidjo handed power to his constitutional successor Paul Biya in 1982. The latter established his philosophy on, among other things, rigour and moralisation and had quite some popularity during the first few years in office. Unfortunately, a disagreement with his predecessor led to an aborted Coup d’Etat in 1984, purported to have been staged by Ahidjo to regain power from Paul Biya. The latter, however, consolidated his position as head of state but was soon to face the challenges of economic crisis of the late 1980s. General stifled social distress found an outlet in the early 1990s when the wind of democracy blew from Eastern Europe across Africa. This was a time of turbulence with the resurfacing of multi-party politics long-stopped by Ahidjo in 1966. Citizens took to the streets to vent out decades of bottled-up disillusionment and frustration at the unemployment, political insecurity, corruption, and general poverty that had become rampant in Cameroon. In this fervid steam, the Anglophones met in Bamenda and later in Buea in early April 1993 with the intention of “redressing the mistake of the past.” They complained of marginalization from the Francophone leaderships since the union of 1961 and the need to redress their second-class citizenship status. They floated various possible actions to take if their wishes were not met topped by the option of secession. A cursory view of the newspaper headlines of May 1993 gives a picture of what obtained. The following tabloids carried the corresponding headlines: The Herald - “Federation or Separation? Anglophones Determined to go all the way“, The Post - “Secession?,” Cameroon Post - “Anglophones Demand the Re-creation of the State of West Cameroon,” Le Messenger - “Rise of Anglophone Power.” A little

over thirty years of independence and re-unification, it was clear that much had to be done towards nation building.

Moreover, from the period of independence to the early 1990s, Cameroon's neo-colonial political economy suffered severe structural constraints. The theme of Colin Leys's book, *Underdevelopment in Kenya* (1974) could fit squarely in the Cameroonian context during this period and beyond. Leys focuses on the dependency nature of Kenya's economy and its resultant impact on the political and social advancement. Like Fanon, he argues that the emergent bourgeoisie is still dependent on the former colonial powers. Fanon had described this class as the "under-developed bourgeoisie" in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1968). After independence, the majority of the Africans still languished in misery amidst plenty, a source of Ngugi's claim that the colonial experience has split Africa into two tribes: "the haves and the have-nots."

There is then enough ground to postulate that the political structure in the postcolonial Cameroon has not given room for necessary economic operations to blossom. The world watched with dismay as the Biya regime religiously fought for and was accorded a position on the list of world's most indebted countries. The irony of the situation is that Cameroon is a country awash in natural resources which have been drained by unscrupulous politicians for private benefit. Gros (2003) remarks that Cameroon, the much-heralded island of peace in the troubled great lake region, can at any moment become the breeding ground for chaos. The general social distress occasioned by this to the ordinary citizens paved the way for social distress that triggers a socialist vision in recent Cameroonian fiction.

Francis Nyamnjoh distinguishes himself as a writer with a socialist vision within the postcolonial context. *Mind Searching* captures the Cameroonian realities of the late 1970s and 80s. Two decades after independence the new Cameroon is still diswrought with mediocrity and outright sensitivity to tribal/ethnic and regional leanings. These totter the foundation of the growing nation. This the novel explores, highlighting the social order with its development hurdles to the people's aspirations, a context zoomed in by Shadrack Ambanasom in *Education of the Deprived* (2003):

Neo-colonialism is a fact of life in Africa today, a phenomenon against which many politicians and intellectuals purport to wage a war. In his book *President Paul Biya* (1987:140) exhorts Cameroonians to join him "in the on-going struggle against neo-colonialism with a view to acquiring real freedom for all Cameroonians." This fight is aimed at correcting some weaknesses within the neo-colonial state where various social classes had been set up, a minority which allied itself to the colonial power thus

claiming exorbitant privileges, also exploited the majority of the impoverished population in the same way as the urban centres exploited the rural areas. (32)

It is not necessary to statistically evaluate Nyamnjoh as a Marxist or measure his familiarity with Fanon. What is undeniable is that his works are responding to the same situation that inspired Marx and Fanon, though his message finds embroidery in the more elitist platform of fiction. In *Mind Searching*, he paints the picture of a nation at war with itself, with citizens prostituting dignity for inordinate ambitions. The characters find it much easier and more secure to talk in terms of tribes, regions and linguistic groupings than as Cameroonians:

Circumstantial naming has become a strong determinant in the process of social mobility in our country. There is the anecdote of a young man who continued to fail the entrance exams into the higher school of contemporary politics until the year he changed his name into AMADOU MOUSSA. A journalist whose name sounded like a name from the tribe of the minister of Information was made director of the national radio; a position he lost three months afterwards when the minister realised that the journalist wasn't really from his tribe. (93)

In these circumstances, it becomes difficult to achieve the national cohesion that had been pompously outlined during the struggle for independence. Cameroonian fiction questions the concept of nation-building projects though it is ironically inspired by the same project. The past is an invaluable asset to the Cameroonian novelists as they employ its evolution to vindicate the complexities of the nation state. While writers such as Oyono, Beti and Ngongwinkuo expose the colonial encounter and its ramifications, Asong, Nyamnjoh and Ambanasom explore the disillusionment of the postcolonial setting.

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Availability and Use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Facilities by Staff of Tertiary Institutions' Libraries in Ondo and Ekiti States

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Abstract

The study investigated the availability and use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) facilities in tertiary institutions' libraries in Ondo and Ekiti States. ICT is a significant development that brings about efficient and effective library services. Application of ICT in Nigerian tertiary institutions shows that there is an awareness of the significant role that it can play in delivering library services even though ICT is not fully embraced by most of the institutions' libraries in the country. The study employed descriptive survey design. Six research questions were raised for the study to a total number of eighty-five (85) library staff which is the population. The population was used as the sample because it is not large. A response rate of 70 was obtained out of 85 copies of the questionnaire which was administered. Using census sampling, the 70 respondents were used for the study. Frequency counts and simple percentages were used to answer the research questions. Split half technique was used to determine the reliability of the instrument. The findings revealed that different ICT facilities like printers, internet connectivity, e-mail facilities, scanners, laptops and others were available for use in the libraries investigated. The most used facilities are e-mail facilities, internet connectivity, printers and laptops. They are used for resource sharing services, e-mail services, research, internet and current awareness services. The levels of ICT skills of the library staff varies because of their different knowledge of ICT. A lot of benefits accrued to staff from the use of ICT facilities among which are quick access to information, effective library services and easy materials search. Poor power supply is one of the factors that is affecting the availability and use of these facilities. From the findings, the researcher made these recommendations: that library management should make more ICT facilities available to the library staff; there should be constant and effective ICT training for the library staff as to develop their skills; poor power supply should be properly addressed by the tertiary institutions' management by providing generators specifically for the library use.

Keywords: Availability, Use, ICT, Library, Staff

Introduction

Background to the study

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is a broad term that includes all technologies used for communication and manipulation of information. It includes the internet and World Wide Web (WWW), electronic mails, digital or automated library and video conferencing (Fagbami O.O & Ogunjobi T.E 2009). ICT was brought about as a result of the convergence of computer technology and telecommunication infrastructure to access and retrieve data or information. The fast adoption of ICT world-wide has resulted in the globalization of information and knowledge resources.

ICT facilities have revolutionized information storage and transmission. Before the development of ICT for libraries, acquisition, processing, dissemination, retrieval of information, library services were predominantly manual (Anuobi & Edeka 2010). Accordingly, library operations performed by library staff, especially in many developing countries, were plagued by problems associated with high costs, competency and accessibility problems. In this age of globalization, availability of ICT for libraries cannot be overemphasized because they facilitate quick and easy access to a wide range of information and information resources.

The library, as the heart of teaching, learning and research in tertiary institutions, can benefit tremendously from the full implementation of these ICT if they are available for use. The new technology enables the library to perform all its daily operational routines and provide efficient, effective and optimal services to its users. Lack of availability of Information Communication Technologies (ICT) in libraries and information centers could lead to poor performance of these centers, and will not give room for the staff there to develop their skills. Akintunde (2006) explained that the application of ICT in Nigerian tertiary institutions shows that there is an awareness of the significant role that ICT can play in delivering library services even though ICT is not fully embraced by most of the tertiary institution libraries in the country.

In a changing world, library staff have a responsibility not only to know about the ways in which libraries can use ICT but also to be aware of the changes ICT can bring to library services in the near and distant future. ICT have become dominant in information provision, processing and handling (Odunewu & Olashore, 2009). When ICT facilities are available for use, much can be achieved.

Statement of the Problem

In this ICT driven age, different people and organizations depend on the adoption and use of technologies to enable them meet their organizational and personal needs. The availability and use of ICT facilities in the developed countries have increasingly improved library users and staff information seeking behaviours but it is not so in the developing countries. This is because one notable feature of library services in developing countries is the inadequate provision of ICT facilities and its ineffective usage (Chisenga, 2004). Some library management and staff in developing countries like Nigeria are not totally aware of the benefits and opportunities ICT brings to the library. Those that are aware do not have the full privilege of using them because it is not readily available as expected in their libraries.

One way of responding to the challenge of information and technological advancement is the provision of ICT facilities in the libraries. (Salawu, 2008). A preliminary visit to libraries in tertiary institutions in Ondo and Ekiti States revealed that there was very little provision made for ICTs in libraries. Library management in some of the institutions was just starting to accept the use of these facilities so they are having few numbers of computers, internet connectivity, CD-ROMs. Poor power supply is a major problem in many of the libraries. Also, some of the library staff there were not very skillful in using some of the facilities on ground, as a result, they did not use the ICT facilities maximally. This study therefore seeks to provide empirical data on the availability of ICT facilities in libraries of tertiary institutions in Ondo and Ekiti States and to investigate if library staff are using these facilities for library services and administration, processing of library materials, developing online resources, inter-library cooperation and lending, browsing, video conferencing, circulation controls., cataloguing and classification and referencing. (Faboyinde, 2006).

.Purpose of Study

The general purpose of this study is to investigate the availability and use of information and communication technology facilities in tertiary institutions' libraries in Ondo & Ekiti States. The specific objectives are to:

- (i) find out the ICT facilities that are available in Ondo and Ekiti States tertiary institutions' libraries.
- (ii) find out the ICT facilities that are used by library staff.
- (iii) investigate the library services for which library staff use ICT facilities.
- (iv) find out the level of ICT skills library staff have in the use of ICT facilities.
- (v) find out the benefits library staff derive from using ICT facilities.
- (vi) determine the factors limiting the effective use of ICT facilities by library staff.

Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following questions:

- (i) What ICT facilities are available in tertiary institutions' libraries in Ondo and Ekiti States?
- (ii) What are the ICT facilities used by the library staff?
- (iii) For what Library services do library staff use ICT facilities?
- (iv) What level of skills do library staff have in the use of ICT facilities?
- (v) What benefits do library staff derive from the use of these ICT facilities?
- (vi) What are the factors limiting the use of ICT facilities in their libraries?

Research Methodology

This study used descriptive survey design to investigate the availability and use of ICT facilities among library staff in Ondo and Ekiti states tertiary institutions. A descriptive research method provided a basis for examining the existing situation or present conditions through a systematic collection of facts and accurate information (Egbule & Okobia, 2001).

Population of the Study

The population of this study consists of professional and para-professional library staff in tertiary institutions in Ondo & Ekiti states. Their total number consists of eighty-five (85).

Sample and Sampling Technique

The sample size of the study is 85. The population of the study was used as the sample because it is not large. According to Egbule & Okobia (2001), the entire population can be studied or investigated when the population is not large, when there is enough time to conduct the study, when the sole objective of the study is to provide accurate account of the population, when one has adequate finance to conduct the study and when there is enough manpower to help in the collection of data. The sampling technique used is the census sampling.

Research Instrument

The instrument that was used to collect data for this study is the questionnaire. A questionnaire is often used in survey research as a primary data collection instrument because it is considered as the most appropriate and reliable instrument for obtaining up-to-date information (Camble & Musa, 2009). The questionnaire is entitled Availability and Use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) by Staff in Ondo and Ekiti States Tertiary Institutions' Libraries (AUICTLSQ). It is made up of eight sections.

Method of Data Collection

The questionnaire was administered by the researcher to the library staff concerned with the help of research assistants. The administration of the questionnaire lasted for two weeks. It was collected immediately after completion to ensure a high response rate.

Method of Data Analysis

The data obtained from the questionnaire was analyzed by using frequency counts to answer the research questions.

Result and Discussion

The purpose of the study is to analyze the availability and use of ICT facilities by library staff in Ondo and Ekiti States tertiary institutions' libraries. To achieve this, 85 copies of the questionnaire were administered to the library staff in Ondo and Ekiti States tertiary institutions out of which 70 were retrieved and analyzed.

Response Rate

Response rate of the respondents at the institutions' libraries was analyzed using frequency counts and simple percentages. This is shown in the Table1.0

Table 1.0: Response rate

<i>Institutions</i>	<i>No. of Questionnaire Administered</i>	<i>No. of Questionnaire Returned</i>	<i>% of Questionnaire Retrieved</i>
University of Ado-Ekiti	12	12	14
University of Science & Technology, Ifaki	01	01	01
Federal Polytechnic, Ado Ekiti	09	07	08
Afe Babalola University Ado-Ekiti	01	01	01
College of Education Ikere – Ekiti	08	07	08
Federal University of Technology Akure	23	16	19
Adekunle Ajasin University Akungba Akoko	13	11	13
Rufus Giwa Polytechnic, Owo	08	06	07
Adeyemi College of Education,	10	09	11

Ondo			
Total	85	70	82

Source: Questionnaire

Table 2.0: Available ICT facilities in the Library

These facilities are available in my library		
ICT facilities	Agree	Disagree
Personal Computer (PC)	52 (74.3%)	18 (25.7%)
laptops	53 (75.7%)	17 (24.3%)
Multimedia Projector	35 (50.0%)	35 (50.0%)
Digital Camera	34 (48.5%)	36 (51.4%)
Internet connectivity	61 (87.1%)	9 (12.8%)
E-mail facilities	60 (85.7%)	10 (14.3%)
Scanners	59 (84.3%)	11 (15.7%)
Printers	64 (91.4%)	6 (8.6%)
CD-ROMs	54 (77.2%)	16 (22.8%)
Audio Visual mat.	43 (61.4%)	27 (38.6%)
Telephones	38 (54.3%)	32 (45.7%)
Power point projector	35 (50.0%)	33 (50.0%)

Table 2.0 shows that a majority of the respondents 64(91.4%) agreed that printers are the most available ICT facilities in their libraries followed by internet connectivity with 61(87.1%) while digital camera 34(48.5%) ranked as the least available facilities. The reason for the high availability of printers and internet connectivity could not be unconnected with the fact that many users often wish to access and print documents from the internet which they have downloaded. This is in accordance with the view of Omoniyi & Akinboro (2009) that availability of ICT facilities helps institutions to achieve greater access to information.

Table 3.0: ICT facilities used

I use these ICT facilities in my library		
ICT facilities used	Agree	Disagree
Personal Computer (PC)	48 (68.6%)	22 (31.4%)
laptops	50 (71.4%)	20 (28.6%)
Multimedia Projector	30 (42.9%)	40 (57.2%)
Digital Camera	22 (31.5%)	48 (68.6%)
Internet connectivity	52 (74.3%)	18 (25.7%)

E-mail facilities	55 (78.6%)	15 (21.5%)
Scanners	47 (67.2%)	23 (32.8%)
Printers	52 (74.3%)	18 (25.7%)
CD-ROMs	43 (61.4%)	27 (38.6%)
Audio Visual mat.	33 (47.2%)	37 (52.9%)
Telephones	36 (51.4%)	34 (47.7%)
Power point projector	28 (40.0%)	44 (60.0)

The analysis in table 3.0 shows that respondents use different ICT facilities in their libraries. But from the analysis, library staff agreed that e-mail facilities are the most used facilities with 55 (78.6%). E-mail facilities are the most used because a lot of people come to library to send e-mails and library staff help them in this regard.

This corresponds with the findings of Kumar and Kaur (2006) which indicated that e-mail has been chosen as one of the popular ICT facilities being used by 1,601 (99.9%) of his respondents. Digital camera is used by a minority of the respondents with 22 (31.5%) ranking last. This may not be unconnected with the fact that digital camera are expensive and are therefore not made available to most staff even though it is used for digitizing pictures for storage.

Table 4.0: Library services for which ICT are used

I use ICT facilities for the following services in my library		
Operations/services	Agree	Disagree
Research	51 (72.8%)	19 (27.2%)
Digitized circulation services	40 (57.1%)	30 (42.8%)
Current awareness services	51 (72.9%)	19 (27.2%)
E-mail services	52 (74.3%)	18 (25.7%)
Resource sharing services	54 (77.2%)	16 (22.9%)
internet services	51 (72.9%)	19 (27.1%)
subscription	43 (61.4%)	27 (38.6%)
Administrative services	46 (65.7%)	24 (34.3%)

Table 4.0 revealed that a majority of the respondents 54(77.2%) agreed that ICT facilities are used mostly for resource sharing services in their libraries followed by e-mail services 52(74.3%). The reason for this high percentage is easy to understand, communication is a key activity in the world today. Librarians are known to be the intermediaries of man and his records.

This agrees with Fagbami & Ogunjobi (2009) findings which noted that today, library staff and users access and share databases and other information resources through worldwide interconnections of networks. Subscription services with 43(61.4%) ranked last in the Table. The percentage showed that libraries are now tending towards the use of ICT for subscription.

Table 5.0: ICT skills level

The level of my skills in using these facilities are		
facilities	High	Low
Personal computers	41 (58.6%)	29 (41.4%)
Laptops	48 (68.6%)	22 (25.7%)
CD/DVD	45 (64.3%)	25 (35.7%)
Multimedia projector	25 (35.8%)	45 (64.3%)
Digital camera	31 (44.3%)	39 (55.7%)
Internet connectivity	46 (65.7%)	24 (34.3%)
E-mail services	45 (64.3%)	25 (35.7%)
scanners	40 (57.1%)	30 (42.9%)
printers	47 (67.1%)	23 (33.7%)
CD-ROM	35 (40.0%)	35 (50.0%)
Audio visual mat.	32 (45.7%)	38 (54.3%)

Table 5.0 shows the levels of ICT skills of the library staff. From the analysis in the Table, it is clear that some of the respondents agreed that they have high level of skills in using laptops with 48(68.6%) ranking first, followed by printers with 47(67.1%). The reason for this could be that some of the library staff have personal laptops and printers which enable them to develop their skills. In some cases the library management buy these facilities for their staff. This agrees with the statement of Aina, Adigun & Ogundipe (2010) who noted that a recent trend in tertiary education programs is the increase in the range of ICT knowledge, skills and experiences. The level of ICT knowledge and skills of library staff depends on the availability and use of ICT facilities. While the last rank on the table is multimedia projector with 25(35.8). Multimedia projector is the least because it requires specialized skills and not all the staff are trained to use it.

Table 6.0: Benefits of ICT facilities

I derived the following benefits from the use of ICT facilities		
Benefits	Agree	Disagree
Enable me know which facilities to recommend to users	51 (72.8%)	19 (27.1%)
Accuracy of information	53 (75.7%)	17 (24.3%)
Quick accessibility to information	62 (88.6%)	8 (11.4%)

Effectiveness of library services	62 (88.5%)	8 (11.5%)
Easy materials search	58 (82.9%)	12 (17.2%)

From Table 6.0, it can be seen that respondents derive different benefits from the use of ICT facilities. A total number of 62(88.6%) respondents agreed respectively that the use of ICT facilities give them quick accessibility to information and enable them to have effective library services. This corroborates Fagbami & Ogunjobi (2009) study who pointed out that 93.6% of their respondents enjoyed the full benefits of ICT facilities with regards to their information needs and improved library services. Also Oketunji (2002) noted that ICT help to increase the range of services offered, it allows accessing library services beyond the four walls of the library.

Table 7.0: Limitations to the use of ICT facilities

The following factors limit the use of ICT facilities in my library		
Factors	Agree	Disagree
Unavailability of ICT facilities	41 (58.6%)	19 (41.5%)
Poor knowledge of ICT facilities	39 (55.7%)	31 (44.3%)
Inadequate skills	40 (57.1%)	30 (42.8%)
Inadequate number of ICT facilities	47 (67.1%)	23 (32.8%)
Lack of accessibility to available ICT facilities	39 (55.7%)	31 (44.3%)
Poor power supply	59 (84.3%)	11 (15.8%)

Table 7.0 shows that there are various factors limiting the use of ICT facilities in the libraries. The respondents agreed that poor power supply is the major factor that limits the use of these facilities with 59 (84.3%). The reason for this may be due to epileptic power supply in the country and inability of management to provide frequent electric power supply. The last rank on the table is the poor knowledge of ICT facilities and lack of accessibility to available ICT facilities which limit the use of ICT facilities each with 39 (55.7%). This is line with Adetimirin (2009) view that ICT use in libraries in the developing countries has been hindered by many problems which includes power outages.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that some ICT are available in most of the libraries investigated and some are not available. The facilities are used mostly for resource sharing and e-mail services.

The level of ICT skills of the library staff is high. Many benefits were derived from the use of ICT facilities, one of which is the quick access to information. Some problems were identified as militating against ICT usage. The major problem identified was poor electric power supply.

Recommendations

With the above findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are proffered.

- (i) Library management should make available those ICT facilities that are not available for library staff especially those that are crucial to the enhancement of library work.
- (ii) The states of ICT use in some of these libraries are at low stage, the library management should give priority to improve the situation.
- (iii) Library, management should organize constant ICT training programmes that would help library staff to improve upon their skills in using ICT facilities.
- (iv) Library staff should be encouraged to develop themselves in using ICT facilities for all the services that are carried out in the libraries so as to be more effective.
- (v) Maximum number of computers with enough internet connectivity be installed in the libraries in order to make aware of the importance of ICT.
- (vi) The factor of poor power supply should be taken care of by the government. Even though most libraries have generators, the cost to maintain them may be too expensive. Also more ICT facilities should be provided to the libraries.

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Houphouët-Boigny et sa portraiture contrastée chez Ahmadou Kourouma et Maurice Bandaman: une représentation caractéristique d'une fascination-répulsion singulière

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Abstract

The representation of Houphouët-Boigny, the first President of Côte d'Ivoire that most of the readers and literary critics retain generally from novels and words of Ahmadou Kourouma and Maurice Bandaman, two Ivorian novelists, is the one of bloodthirsty and lustfull dictator. The present article shows that contrary to this usual opinion, dissonant and extrafictional words, contribute to give of him a mixed image.

Key words: portrait, politics, satire, myth, Stockholm syndrom, heroisation

Résumé

La représentation que la plupart des lecteurs et des critiques littéraires retiennent généralement d'Houphouët-Boigny, le premier président de la Côte d'Ivoire, à travers les œuvres romanesques et les propos d'Ahmadou Kourouma et de Maurice Bandaman, deux romanciers ivoiriens, est celle d'un dictateur sanguinaire et lubrique. Le présent article montre que contrairement à cette perception habituelle, des propos dissonants tant textuels qu'extratextuels, concourent à donner de lui, une image plutôt nuancée.

Mots clés : portrait, politique, satire, mythe, syndrome de Stockholm, héroïisation

L'image que les médias officiels offraient de Félix Houphouët-Boigny, le premier président de la Côte d'Ivoire, est celle d'un chef d'État d'une débonnairté et d'une gestion exemplaires. Ceux-ci, effectivement, ne manquaient jamais l'occasion de se répandre en articles et reportages dithyrambiques sur le parcours politique et les actions de ce personnage. Il y avait aussi, les incontournables « pensées du jour » - ses maximes-, qui inauguraient chaque journal télévisé ou qui s'affichaient en première du quotidien officiel. Cependant, la lecture de certains romans d'Ahmadou Kourouma et de Maurice Bandaman, deux écrivains ivoiriens, semble montrer que ces derniers estiment que cette perception angélisée d'Houphouët-Boigny ne reflète pas totalement la réalité. Pour leur part, après l'examen des figurations d'Houphouët-Boigny dans lesdites œuvres, la plupart des critiques, s'appuyant sur des contenus diégétiques iconoclastes et fortement engagés, aboutissent à la conclusion que Kourouma et Bandaman satirisent ce dernier sans aucune rémission. Cependant pour pertinentes qu'elles soient, ces études laissent inaperçus des remarques et des propos tendant à valoriser la mémoire de ce personnage, cela, du fait qu'elles sont menées dans une perspective d'appréciation trop globalisante.

Tenant, elle, compte de ce phénomène discordant, la présente analyse se propose de montrer comment, effectivement, Houphouët Boigny est doublement représenté. Cette étude qui s'appuiera sur certaines œuvres romanesques de Kourouma et de Bandaman, ainsi que sur des propos extra-fictionnels du second, aura recours en appoint, à d'autres témoignages. Elle permettra, sans doute, à terme d'avoir une vision plus complète de ce personnage controversé.

1. La Mythification Demystificatrice d'Houphouët-Boigny

En 1963, faussement accusé de sédition, Kourouma est injustement emprisonné par le régime d'Houphouët-Boigny, puis relâché quelques temps après. Il nous est impossible de dire si Bandaman Maurice a personnellement subi quelque vexation de la part d'Houphouët ou de son régime. Cependant l'analyse de *L'amour est toujours ailleurs* (pp.52-58), œuvre à forte teneur autofictionnelle, montre qu'il se victimise en s'associant au groupe sociologique étudiant qu'il estime spolié par ce qu'il considère comme la patrimonialisation des ressources économiques du pays par Houphouët-Boigny. En dépit de la haute teneur surréelle et de la surabondance de cryptonymes qui caractérisent les œuvres du corpus, de nombreux critiques n'hésitent pas à assimiler la plupart des figures dictatoriales campées à Houphouët-Boigny. C'est dans cette perspective encore, qu'ils établissent également de nombreux rapprochements entre certains contextes diégétiques et des réalités sociales sous son régime. Ce pseudonymat, cependant, n'oblitére pas la figure d'Houphouët-Boigny, puisque « les [deux] romanciers laissent traîner de nombreux indices qui peuvent aider à reconstituer les faits réels » (Ehora, 2012 : 74,75). En tout état de cause, cette entreprise de figuration de la réalité socio-politique de l'époque d'Houphouët-Boigny cadre avec le but que de nombreux critiques, dont Lezou Dago Gérard (1977 : 211), assignent aux œuvres littéraires : « L'art littéraire est social et d'époque. Tel se définit le jugement de l'écrivain sur son métier. Social, cela veut dire que l'art est peinture, représentation ou reflet de la réalité sociale ».

Avant, tout, il importe de souligner que quoiqu'évoquant le régime d'Houphouët-Boigny, *Quand on refuse on dit non* de Kourouma ne fait pas partie du corpus. C'est un roman inachevé. Sa composition a été interrompue par la mort de Kourouma survenue en 2003. Par ailleurs, dans la suite de l'analyse, certaines références aux œuvres constituant le corpus ne mentionneront que leurs initiales (*Les soleils des indépendance*, (LSI), *Monnè, outrages et défis* (MOD), *En attendant le vote des bêtes sauvages* (EAVBS), *Allah n'est pas obligé* (ANPO), *Le fils de la femme-mâle* (FFM), *La bible et le fusil* (BF) et *L'amour est toujours ailleurs* (AETA)). Dans l'étude, la démystification d'Houphouët-Boigny se basera notamment sur la signification d'une foisonnante présence d'appellatifs divers et des comportements irrationnels qui évoquent fortement des figures mythiques négatives ainsi de pratiques occultes nocives.

1.1. Le foisonnement de désignatifs liés à la dictature

Dans le corpus, Félix Houphouët-Boigny est co-désigné par deux catégories d'appellations. Si le nom *Houphouët* ou Houphouët-Boigny est observé dans MOD et AETA, ANPO il est par contre remplacé dans LSDI, EAVBS, FFM et BF par des pseudonymes dont nous allons parler plus loin. De manière générale, dans les œuvres romanesques africaines, les appellatifs quels qu'ils soient - noms propres, sobriquets et pseudonymes- sont généralement motivés. C'est cette caractéristique que Pierre N'Da (2003 :20) met en évidence quand il affirme que

« dans le choix des noms propres, les romanciers africains savent jouer souvent sur les traits psychologiques et moraux, sur des motivations sociales ou professionnelles, sur des rôles dans l'action romanesque, etc. [et que] par leur consonance simplement, les noms suggèrent déjà l'identité, le caractère des personnages et laisse entrevoir leur fonctionnalité narrative. »

Ce qui précède montre qu'un détour dans la référentialité extratextuelle s'impose pour la détermination des significations des appellatifs, car « la description linguistique du sens d'un Np [nom propre] ne peut pas faire l'économie d'un double renvoi à l'extérieur de la grammaire proprement dite» (Gary-Prieur, 2009).

D'emblée, la démystification d'Houphouët-Boigny sera observée à travers EAVBS et ANPO, dans lesquels existe une foisonnante catégorie de désignatifs périphrastiques contenant tous le mot « dictateur » ou renvoyant à cette figure. Les extraits suivants de EAVBS donnent un aperçu de ce phénomène : « le dictateur » (pp. 186, 187, 193), « le dictateur au totem caïman » (pp.185, 192, 194, 195, 205), « Le dictateur de la République des Ebènes » (pp.172, 189), le « vieux dictateur roussi par les matoiseries et la corruption » (193), l'un des « maîtres de

l'autocratie [...], de l'absolutisme » (183). Le même procédé de désignation se retrouve encore dans ANPO : « Houphouët-Boigny le dictateur de Côte d'Ivoire » (pp. 70, 71), « un dictateur » (p.179), « [le] vieux dictateur de Yamoussoukro (p.180), « le dictateur Houphouët-Boigny » (p.183), « le vieux dictateur Houphouët-Boigny (p.184) »...

Les différents extraits dressent d'Houphouët Boigny une portraiture peu reluisante d'autocrate que ni les aléas du temps, ni la vieillesse n'ont réussi à tempérer. Pire, l'une des images que laisse paraître Kourouma de ce dirigeant, est celle d'un être foncièrement mauvais. C'est une opinion similaire qu'exprime Adama Coulibaly. Se focalisant sur le caractère cynique de la contiguïté de traits antithétiques (« dictateur », « sagesse » et « vieillesse ») par lesquels le narrateur d'ANPO (179) prédique Houphouët-Boigny, il affirme :

«[D]ictateur », «sagesse», «vieillesse» forment un trio où s'affirment les contrastes les plus flagrants : «vieux» et «sage» posent un horizon d'attente de la pondération, de la tolérance alors que la permanence observée est celle de l'intransigeance, de l'autoritarisme. La nature réelle de l'homme est celle de l'autocrate, du tyran. Sagesse et vieillesse ne sont donc que des artifices de l'âge venus recouvrir l'Être réel de l'homme politique. » (Coulibaly, 2004).

Réitérés à l'envi dans les deux romans, ces désignatifs négatifs qui étiquettent Houphouët-Boigny comme un incorrigible dictateur, ont encore la double fonction, non seulement de l'agonir, mais aussi, et surtout de le discréditer, car « par la répétition d'une caricature ou d'un surnom pour un référent précis, s'offre la possibilité de leur fixation dans la conscience commune » (Deligne et Mori, 1990). L'obsessionnel scellage de la dictature à son image le transfigure en Ogre. Cette vision des choses ne semble pas absurde au regard de la cruauté et du prédatisme (au propre comme au figuré) qui lui sont imputés. De fait l'obsédante représentation de figures autocratiques dans les œuvres contemporaines est l'indice patent que de nos jours, le mythe de l'Ogre n'existe pas que dans les récits fabuleux, mais qu'il s'incarne également dans les dirigeants despotiques. Comme le soutient Arlette Bouloumié (2000 : 1107), « le nouvel avatar de l'ogre, c'est le tyran, le dictateur moderne ».

1.2. La transfiguration d'Houphouët-Boigny en Ogre

Si d'emblée la grande partie des dénominatifs assimilent le régime politique d'Houphouët-Boigny à une autocratie, la suite de l'analyse montre sous quelles facettes précises celui-ci se décline formellement. Le mythe de l'Ogre concernant Houphouët-Boigny se réalise dans une allégorisation polytypique de traits négatifs et d'actes ignobles perpétrés par ses différentes figurations diégétiques.

La première figuration de l'Ogre est mise en exergue par un autre surnom, « Le Plus-que-patriarche » qui désigne l'autocrate régnant sur la République icksaine dans BF de Maurice

Bandaman. Le surnom Le plus-que-patriarche renvoie à d'autres désignations liées à la sénescence chez Kourouma telles que *Tiékoroni* [Le vieil homme, en malinké] (EAVS, 189), « un frêle et petit *vieillard* » (EAVBS, 192), *Le vieux président*, « *Vieux* » (ainsi que l'appela l'un de ses collègues en une certaine occasion (EAVBS, 189, 192). Cet affublement de pseudonymes gérontologiques a une portée éminemment expressive, puisque le pseudonyme « est cette ressource linguistique qui permet de sélectionner et de sémiotiser des aspects d'un individu qu'un nom ou un prénom représente généralement dans sa globalité "matérielle et spirituelle", et dans sa continuité temporelle » (Georgeta Cislaru, 2009). Dans le cas d'espèce, ils dénotent la volonté des auteurs de stigmatiser ce qu'ils considèrent comme une obsessionnelle mainmise d'Houphouët-Boigny sur le pouvoir ; et notamment le fait que jusqu'à sa mort, survenue (officiellement) à 88 ans, un âge plus que vénérable, il soit toujours, en maniaque du pouvoir, resté agriffé aux affaires. Cette attitude semble leur apparaître incompréhensible, d'autant plus qu'à un âge très avancé, les individus raisonnables acceptent stoïquement l'idée de mourir, et si nécessaire, de passer le flambeau à la nouvelle génération ; ce quelque soient leurs mérites. Le pire est que cette gérontocratie débouche, selon Bandaman, sur le cannibalisme.

Dans le but d'annihiler les effets débilissants de la sénescence et pour se maintenir en forme - donc au pouvoir -, Le plus-que-patriarche s'astreint effectivement à des cures de jouvence vampiriques et libidineuses. Le vieux président, apparemment, ajoute créance à l'une des « superstitions de l'ogre [qui infère un] pouvoir curatif et régénérateur [à] la chair humaine » (Bouloumié : 1104), et notamment à celle des jeunes. La première de ces cures consiste à faire « vider ses vieilles veines [pour y] infuser le sang frais des nouveau-nés ayant résisté aux différentes méthodes abortives » (BF, 61).

À cette image fabuleuse totalement hallucinante s'agrége, celle, mythique de l'infanticide Chronos « dévorant ses enfants [...] métaphore du père criminel qui tue ses enfants pour garder la toute puissance » (Bouloumié : 1106). Dans les romans de Bandaman notamment, Houphouët-Boigny est campé sous les traits d'un tyran sanguinaire constamment adonné à d'horribles et fréquentes effusions de sang. Bandaman y ferait-il allusion aux victimes des représailles menées en 1970 contre les partisans du PANA (Parti Nationaliste), un parti sécessionniste dirigé par Kragbé Gnagbé ? Selon Gadji Dagbo Joseph, cette crise aurait provoqué, dans des circonstances diverses, la mort de 79 personnes. Ce chiffre comprend notamment les personnes tuées lors des échanges de coups de feu entre les forces de l'ordre et les insurgés du PANA, les personnes tuées plus tard par l'armée, celles qui moururent « en prison à la suite de sévices, châtiments, coups » ou à l'occasion d'une mutinerie, ainsi que celles décédées par suicide ou de maladie. À ce nombre, il faut inclure les 7 autres victimes allogènes et étrangères du PANA, abattues « avant l'arrivée [...] de l'armée ivoirienne dans la région, [...] atrocement tuées, [ou] brûlées vives ». (Gadji : 128-138).

La thématique de l'infanticide s'observe encore dans une inclination à l'embastillement systématique au début des années 60, à l'occasion des événements que les historiens évoquent sous le praxonyme *Les faux complots d'Houphouët*. Des dizaines de personnes, faussement accusées de complot contre le président ont été emprisonnées et torturées. L'une d'entre elles, Ernest Boka, y

perdra même la vie. Selon Samba Diarra, Houphouët-Boigny, dans l'une de ses malades furies suspicieuses, aurait même donné l'« ordre [...] d'arrêter ses propres enfants » (Diarra, 2005 : 100).

Le comble du machiavélisme et de la démesure, qui justifie encore littéralement son rapprochement symbolique à l'Ogre et également à Chronos, est que quelques années plus tard, Houphouët affirmera qu'« il n'y a jamais eu de complot en Côte d'Ivoire, ni de menace de coup d'État » (Grah Mel, 2003 : 211, 217). Cela signifie qu'avant même les conclusions des enquêtes qu'il avait fait mener, il savait ... la vérité sur leur innocence ! Ce cynisme transparait cruellement dans des confidences qu'il aurait également faites à Jacques Baulin, l'un de ses conseillers de l'époque : « À moi, en me montrant, au début de 1965, par un mouvement de tête le lieu de leur détention, il m'avait dit : "C'est là que se trouvent les gens les plus intelligents de Côte d'Ivoire" » (Baulin, 40). À ce qu'il en semble, Houphouët a emprisonné « préventivement » ceux qu'il... soupçonne de *pouvoir* attenter à son pouvoir ! Même si par ce comportement « roublard et [...] machiavélique » (Sangaret, 2005 : 89), il avait voulu annihiler la moindre velléité de coup d'État, les choses sont difficiles à comprendre. En tout état de cause, cette attitude pour le moins absurde, qui épaissit le halo mystérieux entourant parfois ses actes et leurs motivations, évoque par bien des facteurs, celles qui, si l'on en croit Nicole Ferrier-Caverivière, caractérisent les personnages mythiques.

« Ni l'histoire, ni le réel ne sont en eux-mêmes mythiques. Ils peuvent cependant le devenir si, entre autres, un mystère insondable les pénètre, s'ils cessent d'être lisibles, d'évoluer avec logique. Lorsqu'un événement historique ou l'attitude d'un grand personnage apparaît en rupture avec la trame du temps ou la normalité des comportements humains, lorsqu'une zone d'ombre et d'incompréhension les envahit tout d'un coup et les fait échapper aux prises de la science et de la pure intelligence, l'imagination d'un groupe d'hommes ou d'un peuple [...] trouve naturellement le moyen d'imposer ses couleurs et ses métamorphoses, ses déformations et ses amplifications » (Ferrier-Caverivière, 2000 : 604).

Ces agissements cannibalesques tant littéraux que figurés sont, cependant, loin de refléter la totalité des traits négatifs imputés à Houphouët-Boigny. Sa portraiture se décline encore à travers une autre figuration du mythe de l'Ogre qu'on appellera *la dévoration sexuelle* liée à des mœurs très dépravées attribuées au gérontocrate. Dans BF (63) de Maurice Bandaman, ce personnage apparaît, effectivement, d'abord sous l'aspect d'un vieillard lubrique à l'appétence sexuelle débridée, que rien, ni même la pédophilie, ne révolse. En une occasion, il épouse « une fillette de dix ans qu'il aimait follement ». Pire, cet acte n'est pas qu'une simple lubie passagère à mettre au compte des excentricités liées à la sénescence, mais plutôt comme symptomatique d'une personnalité paillardes, abîmée au quotidien dans de sordides virées sexuelles. Effectivement, l'une de ses « cure[s] de jouvence [consiste à coucher avec les] cinquante-sept vierges choisies parmi les plus belles du pays toutes étendues les unes à côté des autres » (BF,

166). Ce qui précède révèle, ainsi qu'on le voit, une homologie étroite entre les agissements inférés à Houphouët-Boigny et le comportement haïssable de « l'ogre amateur de chair fraîche [qui] veut faire siennes les vertus de la jeunesse [et] entretenir son éternité à cette source de vie ». (Bouloumié : 1104).

La thétique de la dévoration attribuée à Houphouët-Boigny est encore enrichie d'un nouvel avatar. Il s'agit de *la dévoration financière* qui se rapporte à sa gestion caractéristique des biens publics; gestion que les deux auteurs jugent calamiteuse. Tiékoroni (dans EAVBS) a une certaine conception de la gestion du patrimoine de l'État qui fait qu'il ne s'embarrasse d'aucun scrupule dans le détournement des fonds publics. Pour lui, en effet, les biens publics font partie de son patrimoine personnel. À Koyaga, fraîchement (auto)proclamé président d'un pays voisin à la suite d'un très sanglant coup d'État, il expose sa philosophie sur la gestion des ressources publiques :

« La première méchante bête qui menace au sommet de l'État et en tête d'un parti unique s'appelle la fâcheuse inclination en début de carrière à séparer la caisse de l'État de sa caisse personnelle. Les besoins personnels d'un Chef de l'État [...] servent toujours son pays et se confondent directement ou indirectement avec les intérêts de sa République et de son peuple. Il doit paraître l'homme le plus fortuné de son pays » (EAVBS, 194).

Et fidèle à cette philosophie prédatrice, il n'hésitera pas à faire main basse sur toutes les richesses du pays, à son profit et à celui de ses proches (EAVBS, 187). Non content de pratiquer ce népotisme outrancier, il est encore accusé de s'adonner, en plus, à de grands gaspillages. La même œuvre fait ainsi état de l'existence pépère que mènent les sauriens pensionnaires du « Lac au caïman » qui rappelle une étendue lacustre du même nom jouxtant la résidence d'Houphouët-Boigny à Yamoussoukro, son village natal. Ceux-ci « bénéficient des trois repas quotidiens que beaucoup de citoyens de sa République ne connaîtront jamais » (EAVBS, 187, 188). On ne saurait passer sous silence la basilique de Yamoussoukro dont la construction a déchaîné un feu croisé de critiques. Si Kourouma l'évoque presque anodinement (EAVBS, 187 ; ANPO, 187), elle cristallise les foudres de Bandaman. Pour ce dernier, en effet, la basilique est un édifice accaparant et budgétivore qui, « de mémoire d'homme [...] n'aura coûté autant d'argent » (BF, 159). Ce bâtiment somptuaire grevant sérieusement les finances nationales, de vitaux «projets de construction de routes et d'hôpitaux » sont annulés (BF, 159). La même exaspération est aussi perceptible dans AETA (52, 53) où Bandaman évoque avec amertume et irritation, les contrecoups sociaux de l'édification de cette construction qu'il juge inutile et dispendieuse :

« En effet, Houphouët bâtissait sa basilique et nous étions furieux de voir des milliards de francs enfouis dans la terre alors que le gouvernement, à cause de la crise économique avait suspendu la bourse des redoublants. Nos bibliothèques manquaient d'ouvrages, les laboratoires étaient sous-équipés, les primes de recherche des enseignants avaient été supprimées. »

En plus de ce qui précède, les auteurs estiment qu'Houphouët-Boigny était trop adonné aux pratiques occultes.

1.3. La satanisation d'Houphouët-Boigny

La plupart des pendants intratextuels d'Houphouët-Boigny sont présentés comme des personnages rompus à des pratiques cabalistiques. Dans EAVBS, Tiékoroni, est encore appelé l'« homme au totem caïman » ; un surnom à consonance mystique. Nkoutigui, le dirigeant de la république voisine (figure textuelle de Sékou Touré, le président de la Guinée voisine) et lui se « combattirent par tous les moyens [dont] la sorcellerie, [...] la magie [ainsi que par] des sacrifices » (EAVBS, 174, 175).

Selon ceux qui ont pu le côtoyer, Houphouët-Boigny accordait beaucoup de crédit aux pouvoirs mystiques des fétiches. Il pensait que tous les Africains sont et resteront immuablement animistes. Pour lui, leur profession de foi chrétienne ou islamique n'est qu'un leurre qui cache indubitablement, suivant sa propre expression, un « fond fétichiste ». C'est ancré dans cette conviction, que selon Jacques Baulin, il aurait affirmé « que s'il faisait fouiller Mgr Yago [l'archevêque d'Abidjan de l'époque] à la sortie du palais [présidentiel], on trouverait des fétiches dans ses poches ! » (Baulin : 7). En une autre occasion, Houphouët aurait taxé le même prélat de « fétichiste en tiare » (Baulin: 36). Par ailleurs, comme le dit encore Jacques Baulin, il « usera et abusera de l'argument fétichiste » (Baulin : 7) pour museler et incarcérer ses adversaires réels ou putatifs. C'est cette réalité que Kourouma, d'ailleurs, traduit dans les lignes suivantes : « Un sorcier, un féticheur, un marabout ou un devin vaticine, révèle qu'un parent ou un ami est sur le point de trahir ou participe à la préparation d'un complot. L'ami ou le parent devient un accusé qui est aussitôt arrêté et emprisonné par le directeur de la Sûreté » (EAVBS, 201).

Dans les œuvres de Bandaman, les figures textuelles d'Houphouët-Boigny (Aganimo l'autocrate de N'Kplimiti dans FFM et le Plus-que-patriarche dans BF) apparaissent rarement comme des humains ordinaires. Ce ne sont pas des simples hommes férus de spiritisme, mais plutôt des démonolâtres constamment mus par de noires menées et consacrés à des pratiques cabalistiques. Les deux potentats sont même haussés sur le même piédestal que des êtres méphistophéliques. Aganimo par exemple, « affronte et [...] tue chaque jour [des hommes dont les] crânes, sexes, langues et orteils ornent [sa] chambre sacrée » (FFM, 162). Par ailleurs, au plus fort de la guerre qui l'oppose à Awlimba III, un géant redresseur de torts, estimant ses ministres trop pusillanimes et timorés, ce « maître des sorciers, des marabouts et des archevêques, grand initié aux sciences occultes [les] transforma [...] en simples momies ». (FFM, 162). La satanisation du personnage se perçoit enfin dans le fait qu'avant de mourir, tué dans le duel épique final qui l'oppose à Awlimba III, il se métamorphose, dans un chassé-croisé époustouflant et pittoresque, entre autres, en aiguille, en morceau de bois, en gros rocher et en lion. Pareillement, dans BF (89), Le Plus-que-patriarche, en plus de mourir et de ressusciter à loisir, avait l'habitude de transformer en un tournemain, suivant les caprices de son humeur fantasque, les falots « ministres [de] tout le gouvernement en des dizaines de grenouilles » pour les désenvoûter ensuite. La représentation que Bandaman affiche d'Houphouët-Boigny est ainsi celle d'un impitoyable et hideux croque-mitaine, qui, en dépit son grand âge suscite à la fois effroi et aversion à ses gouvernés.

L'analyse a permis de mettre en relief un foisonnement de cryptonymes caricaturesques et dégradants ainsi que d'agissements, qui, à l'aune des références extratextuelles renvoient à Houphouët-Boigny. À travers l'obsédante référence à un arrière-monde mythique et mystique funeste dans lequel ses pendants textuels sont négativement imbriqués, ce dirigeant se trouve tératologisé en Ogre, en satyre et en démon. Sa respectabilité et, son aura partant, se trouvent fortement écornées.

Cependant, en dépit de ce qui précède, on note, d'un roman à l'autre ou le temps passant, un certain ravissement des deux auteurs à travers des allotopies. Ce sont des « énoncé[s] violant [la] loi d'homogénéité » (Klinkenberg, 2000 : 152). Ils opèrent une rupture de l'isotopie dévalorisante qui caractérise la peinture d'Houphouët-Boigny.

2. Des Discours Allotopes à Tendance Réhabilitatoire

Les énoncés qui tempèrent l'éthopée d'Houphouët-Boigny s'observent, chez Kourouma, sous la forme de remarques mélioratives portées au compte de ce dernier. Concernant Bandaman, cette variation d'opinion transparait à travers ses propos et son positionnement idéologique sur l'échiquier politique ivoirien. La conduite atypique annoncée dans les lignes précédentes présente une similitude avec celle des personnes asservies au syndrome dit de Stockholm. C'est « un curieux phénomène psychique qui incite les victimes d'enlèvement à manifester une certaine sympathie vis-à-vis de leurs ravisseurs » (Torres et Grenier-Boley, 2014). Cet assujettissement singulier peut même subsister longtemps après l'agression, comme on a pu le constater dans le cas du baron Empain qui, des années après le rapt au cours duquel il fut torturé et se vit amputer d'un doigt, parle des délinquants « avec une certaine "bienveillance" tout en soulignant "la compréhension" qu'ils avaient manifestée à son égard » (Torres et Grenier-Boley). Ce comportement qui paraît absurde ne naît pas ex-nihilo. Il survient lorsque l'otage ou la victime trouve des motifs de sympathie chez l'agresseur du fait de qualités qu'il lui découvre ou de la justesse de la cause que ce dernier défend. L'analyse qui suit, étayée par des énoncés émanant de certains romans de Kourouma, des propos de Bandaman, tout comme ceux d'autres auteurs qui, à l'instar de Kourouma, ont été injustement incarcérés par Houphouët-Boigny, révèle que ce dernier n'avait pas que des défauts.

2.1. L'héroïsation du parcours syndicaliste d'Houphouët-Boigny et l'apologie de sa politique socio-économique

Houphouët-Boigny est précocement propulsé à la dimension mythique. Ce phénomène s'est amorcé, très tôt, avant même sa naissance qu'on disait placée sous un sceau messianique. Selon Kourouma lui-même, qui fait vraisemblablement écho à certaines croyances de l'époque, les circonstances de sa naissance seraient nimbées d'un halo mystique et messianique.

« Samba Cissé [le géniteur de Tiékoroni] est d'une très vieille famille [...] à qui a été annoncé qu'un homme illustre sortirait de son sein [...]. Toutes les branches de la famille depuis des siècles se livrent à de riches et coûteuses adorations avec des sacrifices sanglants pour hâter la naissance, l'avènement de leur homme illustre » (EAVS, 188).

Cette messianité, d'emblée, projette Houphouët-Boigny dans le cercle restreint des personnages historiques devenus des figures mythiques ; ceux que les aèdes de l'Afrique noire traditionnelle, encensaient dans des sagas appelés « récits héroïques traditionnels ». Le prophétisme qui entoure sa naissance, tout comme les « prédictions, [les] prémonitions [et les] rêves » (Koné, 1985 : 35) afférents, a indubitablement scellé à son image une sublimation mythique. En effet, comme le dit Pascale Auraix-Jonchière (2008 : 242), la « prédestination, [le] destin prophétique, [la] fulgurance, [le] mystère, [l']ambivalence, participent à des degrés divers de mutation du personnage historique en figure mythique ».

La stature messianique d'Houphouët-Boigny se trouvera encore rehaussée par la lutte émancipatrice anticolonialiste dans laquelle il s'investira très tôt. Ce faisant, il se place dans la lignée de ceux qui défendent « les valeurs consacrées » (Koné : 62) par le peuple et qui, en retour sont béatifiés par les aèdes dans des récits héroïques pour leur exemplarité. À l'époque, l'Afrique Noire qui se relevait péniblement des guerres de conquête de l'impérialisme européen, avait commencé à subir les affres de la colonisation avec son lot de sévices et d'abus de toutes sortes. Après des études brillantes, Houphouët-Boigny s'engage comme médecin indigène et ne tardera pas à être reconnu tant par l'administration coloniale elle-même que par ses compatriotes comme un jeune médecin africain dévoué et consciencieux (Grah Mel, 2003 : 118-120). Mû par le désir de voir les travaux forcés abolis et son peuple libéré du joug colonial, il crée en 1944 le Syndicat agricole africain et se lance dans un activisme syndicaliste et politique exalté que Kourouma reconnaît dans l'extrait suivant : « Le bon cœur du jeune Tiékoroni [...] l'amena à dénoncer et à combattre les travaux forcés » (EAVBS, 189). Cette lutte, évidemment, suscitera l'animosité du colonat qui s'active, par des brigues et par la violence, à lui barrer l'accès à la députation. Il est malgré tout élu. C'est la terreur politique qui, dès lors, est employée contre lui et ses partisans.

Houphouët-Boigny se trouve grandement héroïsé par cet épisode de sa vie, du fait qu'il apparaît aux yeux de tous, comme le « surhomme, affronté à toutes sortes d'épreuves » (Sellier, 1984) au bénéfice de la collectivité. C'est ce concept de représentativité du héros que Lezou Dago (1977 : 213) confirme en s'appuyant sur Jean-Paul Sartre : « Et l'on sait, Sartre l'a montré, que le héros représente le plus souvent le milieu du destinataire ». Pour avoir fait montre d'une telle abnégation, Soundjata Kéita, le fondateur de l'Empire manding a été unanimement perçu comme un héros positif tant par ses contemporains que par les générations postérieures. Ainsi donc, Houphouët-Boigny est projeté sur le même piédestal que ce personnage mythique révérend depuis des siècles dans toute l'Afrique de l'Ouest. L'aura d'Houphouët-Boigny se trouvera encore consolidée lorsque projet de loi contre les travaux forcés, qu'il propose en tant que député élu quelques mois plus tôt, est voté sous le nom de Loi Houphouët-Boigny (Loi n°46-645 du 11 avril 1946).

L'une des plus vives aspirations des populations de toutes les colonies françaises d'Afrique Noire venait ainsi d'être comblée ! Il « acquiert [en conséquence] une notoriété et une célébrité inégalées en Côte d'Ivoire et en Afrique noire française » (Diarra : 92). Kourouma, dans MOD (238), retraduit la gratitude unanime qui s'ensuit à travers l'émouvante obstination d'une vieille femme, qui passa des « nuits d'attente, de vent, d'insomnie, de froid, [...] de soif, de faim, de raillerie » au milieu d'une route, dans le but de rencontrer Houphouët-Boigny afin de lui témoigner sa reconnaissance pour l'abolition des travaux forcés :

« Mes compliments ! [...] J'avais un mari ; les travaux forcés l'ont emmené tirer les billes au Sud et l'ont tué. [...] Mon fils, c'est les travaux forcés qui l'ont terminé. [...] La vieille répéta des innombrables "Je vous salue et vous complimente", lâcha la main d'Houphouët et s'éloigna en chuchotant : "L'existence à moi n'a plus de cause, de reste ; tout est achevé ; je vais me reposer à présent " » (MOD, 239).

L'héroïsation d'Houphouët-Boigny s'assimile au processus de mythification décrit par Pascale Auraix-Jonchière (2008 : 237) : « C'est souvent parce que le personnage historique vient combler une attente qu'il s'avère propice à la mythification. À peine entré dans l'histoire, il en déborde le cadre ». Les aspects de la biographie d'Houphouët-Boigny tels qu'exposés supra par Kourouma concordent effectivement avec les fondamentaux du mythe politico-héroïque qui part du principe qu'il

« y a [...] dans le psychisme collectif, un ensemble de vieux rêves, d'espoirs ou de haines qui n'attendent qu'une occasion pour s'accrocher à une réalité ; et [que] quand surgit un personnage investi d'un certain pouvoir ou d'une certaine fonction, il cristallise immédiatement tous ces espoirs, tous ces rêves » (Ferrier-Caverivière : 605).

Perçu dans la psyché collective de l'époque, à la fois, comme le prophétique héros libérateur, l'euphorisant cristallisateur et réalisateur des attentes et des espoirs de la communauté, Houphouët-Boigny accède donc tout vivant, - phénomène rare-, au statut de héros mythique. Mais Kourouma ne se contentera pas que d'auréoler le parcours syndicaliste et politique d'Houphouët-Boigny. L'analyse de certains romans révèle qu'il reconnaît aussi un certain succès sur les plans économique et social.

Vers la fin des années cinquante, Houphouët-Boigny décide d'intégrer la Côte d'Ivoire au sein de la Communauté franco-africaine de de Gaulle, au lieu de revendiquer rapidement l'indépendance. Il est aussitôt accusé de « collabo » de la France colonialiste et de suppôt de l'impérialisme capitaliste par la grande partie de l'intelligentsia ivoirienne et africaine. Houphouët-Boigny était cependant sûr de son choix. Il pensait, en effet, que pour les jeunes États africains, couper subitement les amarres avec les puissances colonisatrices, risquait d'être suicidaire. Et qu'au lieu d'être inconditionnellement libérâtes, il valait mieux pour ces jeunes États, pragmatiquement parlant, collaborer avec elles jusqu'à ce que les Africains acquièrent suffisamment de moyens financiers et d'expérience en matière de gestion politique, économique

et technique. C'est ainsi que le 6 avril 1957, au terme d'un échange acide sur la question entre lui et Kwame Nkrumah, l'un des plus ardents indépendantistes africains (dont le pays venait justement d'accéder à l'indépendance), il lui lance sans ambages (Grah Mel, 2003 : 697) ce défi:

« Un pari vient d'être lancé entre deux territoires, l'un ayant choisi l'indépendance, l'autre préférant le chemin difficile de la construction avec la métropole, d'une communauté d'hommes égaux en droits et en devoirs... Que chacun de nous fasse son expérience, dans le respect absolu de l'expérience de son voisin et, dans dix ans, nous comparerons les résultats »

Devenue indépendante en 1960, la Côte d'Ivoire a aussitôt amorcé un développement économique relativement appréciable, que d'aucuns ont qualifié de « miracle économique ivoirien ». C'est de cette réalité que Fama, l'éternel geignard et grand vilipendeur du régime (sans y faire certainement attention) témoigne dans les lignes qui suivent. À l'occasion de l'une de ses éternelles récriminations contre le pouvoir, il se dit incommodé par certaines réalisations infrastructurelles et techniques modernes, réalisées en grande partie quelques années seulement après les indépendances :

« [L]a ville où le soleil ne se couche pas (les lampes électriques éclairant toute la nuit dans la capitale), où les fils d'esclaves et les bâtards [Houphouët-Boigny et son gouvernement] commandent, triomphent en liant les provinces par des fils (le téléphone !), des bandes (les routes !) et le vent (les discours et la radio !) » (LSDI, 100).

Dans EAVBS, Kourouma ne manque pas de reconnaître un succès appréciable de la politique économique d'Houphouët-Boigny à travers ses retombées sur toute la sous-région. Dans les extraits suivants, il assimile la Côte d'Ivoire d'Houphouët-Boigny à un Eldorado accueillant des flots d'immigrés ouest-africains, dont de nombreux concitoyens des deux panafricanistes convaincus Kwame Nkrumah et Sékou Touré :

« Tous les hommes de la République des Monts [la Guinée de Sékou Touré], tous les affamés de l'Afrique de l'Ouest se dirigent vers la République des Ébènes de Tiékoroni, terre de paix et d'accueil des réfugiés. On ne vit aucun homme de la République des Ébènes voulant rallier la République des Monts, le pays de la dignité du Nègre » (EAVBS, 174).

Kourouma reconnaît encore que le pays d'Houphouët-Boigny est le seul qui assure pitance, gîte et un certain climat apaisé, contrairement à ceux de ses deux détracteurs. De surcroît, ces derniers, par la même occasion, sont implicitement présentés comme de terribles tyrans qui exilent ou font fuir leurs compatriotes. L'extrait suivant montre qu'en plus d'être une « contrée d'"hospitalité", [un] "havre de fraternité, de paix" et [une] "oasis de prospérité" » (Diarra : 104, 105), son bilan en ce qui concerne les infrastructures routières, est également éminemment flatteur, comparativement à celui de ses deux rivaux :

« Son pays coincé entre deux États appelés progressistes [le Ghana à l'Est et la Guinée à l'Ouest] occupait une place stratégique dans la lutte contre l'enveloppement du totalitariste communisme international. Son pays devint le seul de la région à donner à manger à son

peuple, à construire des routes, à accueillir ceux que la sécheresse chassait de la savane, du Sahel. Une réussite ! Un miracle ! » (EAVBS, 191).

Il apparaît que s'il est vrai que la satire contre Houphouët-Boigny prédomine dans son œuvre, Kourouma ne manque pas cependant de reconnaître, après coup, la justesse du choix controversé évoqué plus haut. Les extraits ci-dessus semblent d'ailleurs indiquer qu'il souscrit au contenu des propos abjuratoires suivants de Mory Doumbia, une autre victime de l'ex-président, embastillé lui aussi, pour avoir dénoncé sa politique collaborationniste.

« Ce que j'ai compris chez lui, hélas sur le tard et qui était un point sur lequel il n'avait pas tort, c'était le choix qu'il avait fait de placer l'émancipation avant l'indépendance. Il faisait alors preuve d'un réalisme et d'un pragmatisme qui n'étaient pas compris des étudiants que nous étions. [...] Je pense qu'il n'a pas réussi à nous expliquer cette vision avant-gardiste. Ou du moins, le vent de l'indépendance soufflait si fort que tous ceux qui cherchaient à en retarder l'échéance étaient considérés comme des traîtres » (Doumbia, 2013 : 176).

L'impression qui se dégage du regard porté par Kourouma sur le parcours militantiste d'Houphouët-Boigny, contrairement à d'autres aspects de sa biographie est plutôt flatteuse. Il en va de même pour son bilan économique qui, bien que vicié par la gabegie et la corruption, semble être satisfaisant. L'image qu'il semble privilégier d'Houphouët-Boigny sur ce plan est celle d'un despote à la politique économique réaliste et clairvoyante. Mieux, d'autres énoncés de Kourouma, tout comme certaines déclarations de Bandaman Maurice, en filigrane, semblent même trahir une certaine admiration pour ce personnage.

2.2. La fascination de Kourouma et de Bandaman

Le syndrome de Stockholm est la manifestation d'une double sujétion ou, pour parler comme L. Crocq, d'une « "subjugation" de la victime par son ravisseur [caractérisée par le fait], à la fois [de] "mettre sous le joug" et [de] "séduire" » (Torres et Grenier-Boley). Kourouma lui-même, semble avoir subi cette double « subjugation » d'Houphouët-Boigny.

L'analyse de son œuvre romanesque fait apparaître une certaine évolution en ce qui concerne sa perception de ce personnage. Elle passe de l'attitude intransigeante affichée par le personnage principal Fama et le narrateur de LSDI à celle, plus indulgente de Bingo, le narrateur de proue d'EAVBS. Après LSDI qui est un roman surtout caractérisé par une mordante verve satirique, paraît le second roman MOD, qui présente Houphouët-Boigny sous un jour favorable dans le cadre de ses activités syndicalistes et militantes sous l'ère coloniale. La satire revient dans EAVBS et ANPO, les troisième et quatrième romans, mais avec une tonalité plus enjouée, moins acrimonieuse que dans LSDI.

EAVBS, qui, plus que les autres œuvres, campe frontalement et plus explicitement Houphouët-Boigny et son régime, en donne paradoxalement une représentation plus nuancée ; celle d'un « dictateur sympathique ». Dans les deux-avant dernières pages qui closent le récit qui lui est consacré (EAVBS, 204, 205), Houphouët-Boigny est prolixement portraituré au moyen

d'une accumulation d'adjectifs axiologiques subjectifs assez évocateurs, qui, sans conteste, reflètent les sentiments profonds de Kourouma envers ce personnage. Effectivement, comme le dit Kerbrat-Orecchioni, « les adjectifs affectifs énoncent, en même temps qu'une propriété de l'objet qu'ils déterminent, une réaction émotionnelle du sujet parlant en face de cet objet » (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980 : 84).

Ce qui apparaît comme novateur et hautement significatif dans cette ultime représentation, c'est le fait que Kourouma lui concède des qualités en le décrivant comme un personnage aux traits psychologiques saisissants ; un pôle de jonction, à la fois, des sublimes qualités et des pires défauts humains : « [Il] était un [...] homme, avec, portés jusqu'à l'extrême, toutes les qualités, tous les défauts de l'humain. Un homme extrême dans la vertu et le vice, un sac de contradictions » (EAVBS, 204). Ces propos montrent qu'Houphouët-Boigny est finalement classifié dans une posture éthologique équidistante de la vertu et du vice. Ce nouveau positionnement axiologique le réhabilite amplement dans la mesure où il révèle, en définitive, qu'il n'aurait été ni ange, ni démon ; mais plutôt, un homme *pareil* aux autres. Cette opinion rejoint celle de Mory Doumbia, qui, résumant l'essentiel de la vie d'Houphouët-Boigny, affirme que « tout homme a des qualités et des défauts [et qu'il faut lui donner] acte, encore une fois, d'avoir eu beaucoup plus de qualités que de défauts pour la construction de son pays » (Doumbia : 177).

On verra même qu'à la clause du récit concernant Houphouët-Boigny dans EAVBS (204-207), le sentiment mitigé d'antipathie et de sympathie qui semblait animer Kourouma à son égard dans cette biographie, va glisser finalement presque vers une admiration irrépressible. À la page 206, à travers des propos quasi exaltés qui éclatent comme une fascination non contenue, Kourouma affirme qu'« incontestablement, l'homme au totem caïman [Tiékoroni, le pendant textuel d'Houphouët-Boigny] fut un grand parmi les grands ». C'est corrélativement à cette opinion qu'il trouve « méritée », contrairement à bien d'autres, l'institution d'un prix humanitaire [Le Prix Houphouët-Boigny pour la Recherche de la Paix de l'UNESCO] en son nom » (EABVS, 207). Maurice Bandaman, pour sa part, comme on le verra dans les lignes qui suivent, n'échappe pas à cette sujétion.

Des deux écrivains, Maurice Bandaman est celui dont les romans ont le plus vilipendé Houphouët-Boigny et son régime. Dans FFM et BF, l'anathématisation est constante des premières aux dernières lignes (Kobenan, 2013). De plus, dans ses œuvres romanesques postérieures à celles du corpus, il n'existe rien qui vienne en quelque sorte dulcifier les traits picturaux diaboliques sous lesquels Houphouët-Boigny est généralement dépeint dans lesdits romans. Cependant, de manière inattendue, c'est à travers ses propres affirmations et son positionnement idéologique et politique sur l'échiquier politique ivoirien qu'il dévoile et affiche son admiration pour Houphouët-Boigny.

L'apparement politique de Maurice Bandaman apparait au grand jour quand il est élu maire sous la bannière du RDR (Rassemblement des Républicains) en 2001. Plus tard, en 2004, les instances dirigeantes du RDR décident de s'allier au PDCI-RDA, le parti créé par Houphouët-Boigny, et à d'autres groupements politiques, dans le but de remporter les élections à venir. Cette coalition, créée en 2005 et baptisée RHDP (Rassemblement des Houphouëtistes pour le Développement et pour la Paix), a pour but, selon ses créateurs, de promouvoir les idéaux d'Houphouët-Boigny, c'est-à-dire de perpétuer sa pensée politique, sa philosophie, ainsi que sa vision des choses. Quelle sera la réaction de Maurice Bandaman devant cette nouvelle donne ? Va-t-il se démettre de sa mandature du fait que sa famille politique a décidé d'imiter la gouvernance d'Houphouët-Boigny et de faire l'apologie de son idéologie politique; autant de réalités qu'il a tant anathématisées?

Bandaman Maurice ne démissionne pas de ce parti, devenant de facto un houphouëtiste ! Le fait le plus notable encore, est qu'il s'est toujours placé aux premières lignes de cette coalition qui promeut le souvenir d'Houphouët-Boigny. À l'occasion de ses tournées et à travers ses déclarations, il ne se ménage pas pour promouvoir l'union sacrée autour de l'houphouétisme. Dans une interview accordée au quotidien de son parti (*Le Patriote* du 29/04/2008), il révèle que les populations ressentent cruellement le vide causé par la mort d'Houphouët : « "Le temps leur a permis de comprendre que ceux qui ont succédé à Houphouët Boigny, n'ont pas été à la hauteur de la tâche. Ils disent qu'ils veulent un chef capable de diriger la Côte d'Ivoire comme Houphouët-Boigny" ».

Ce qui est assez intéressant à noter, c'est le fait que, comme on le voit dans ces lignes, Bandaman semble être affectivement atteint, tout autant que ces populations, de la disparition de l'ex-président. Tout comme elles, il apparait aussi étreint à la fois par le vif sentiment de nostalgie et de vacuité qui accapare tout homme lorsque périt un être cher. Mieux, du fait même qu'il se fait le porte-parole des populations à travers l'expression « ils disent qu'ils veulent un chef capable de diriger la Côte d'Ivoire comme Houphouët-Boigny », on comprend encore que Bandaman se désespère tout autant que les partisans d'Houphouët de l'écroulement du régime politique de ce dernier. Quelques années après lesdites élections, face à certaines velléités dissidentes qui semblaient menacer la coalition qu'est le RHDP, Bandaman, apparemment alarmé, intervient et lance un appel fervent à l'union sacrée au sein du RHDP. Par la même occasion, il émet également une sévère mise en garde contre ceux qui veulent saper cette unité :

« "Si nous avons affronté unis au RHDP la grande élection présidentielle, ce n'est pas pour les législatives et autres petites élections que nous serons désunis. Nous allons nous entendre. ADO, Bédié, Mabri et Anaky [les dirigeants des différents partis composant le RHDP] vont s'asseoir et décider de qui sera candidat et où. Nous allons suivre le choix de nos leaders. Celui qui n'est pas d'accord ira créer son parti" » (*Le Nouveau Réveil* du 25/08/11).

Plus récemment, en 2014, il embouche encore la trompette de la mobilisation en appelant « les militants et sympathisants [de son parti à une] candidature unique au sein du Rassemblement des Houphouëtiste pour la démocratie et la paix (RHDP) » (*Le Patriote* du 07 Avril 2014). Il apparait manifestement que Maurice Bandaman est devenu l'un des chantres de l'houphouétisme. C'est une posture qui se situe aux antipodes de celle du contempteur invétéré de l'ex-président. Finalement, si l'on croit Bandaman, l'image qu'on devrait retenir d'Houphouët-Boigny n'est plus celle du dictateur étiquetée par une multitude d'appellatifs impertinents, mais plutôt celle de Père fondateur qu'il faut révéler et imiter, en tant que modèle politique, mais aussi en tant que socle de l'unité nationale. À l'instar de Kourouma, Bandaman apparait donc assujéti par Houphouët-Boigny. Ce comportement bizarre, à en croire Kourouma dans EAVBS, caractérise aussi, de manière générale, l'ensemble des victimes des « faux complots d'Houphouët-Boigny ».

3.3. La subjugation généralisée des victimes d'Houphouët-Boigny

Malgré les dommages corporels et psychologiques résultant de leurs dures conditions de détention, de la disparition tragique de l'un d'entre eux, et en dépit du fait qu'Houphouët-Boigny n'a jamais osé demander pardon, ni faire « retrouver leur honneur perdu à travers une révision [de leur] procès » (Grah Mel, 2010 : 217), les anciens prisonniers n'ont pas échappé à la double aliénation caractéristique du syndrome de Stockholm. La plupart d'entre eux se sont montrés magnanimes envers ce dernier, si bien qu'après ces événements, il n'a été constaté aucune révolte, ni aucune démission tonitruante de leur part.

Un facteur a peut-être joué en faveur de cette mansuétude quasi générale. La plupart, à l'exemple d'un neveu qu'il avait avili et même condamné à mort, furent « gracié[s] et comblé[s] de biens et d'honneurs (EAVBS, 207). Nombre d'entre eux ont effectivement retrouvé leurs postes ou ont été affectés à d'autres fonctions administratives ou politiques de premier plan. Certains ont même constitué sa vieille garde, et ceux qui sont encore vivants, sont considérés aujourd'hui, comme les « barons du PDCI-RDA », le parti qu'il a créé. Jusqu'à sa mort, la plupart des ex-détenus ont continué de le fréquenter assidûment. C'est le cas, par exemple, de Samba Diarra cité plus haut, l'auteur de l'un des plus acerbes brûlots qu'on ait reconnus aux adversaires de l'ex-président. Il affirme qu'Houphouët-Boigny lui « a accordé de nombreuses audiences » (Diarra : 106) dont la dernière se situe en 1990, c'est-à-dire, trois années seulement avant son décès. Il était accompagné, à cette occasion par Seydou Diarra (Grah Mel, 2010 : 205), un autre ex-détenu d'Houphouët-Boigny. L'objet de cette entrevue ? « [E]xprimer au Président [leur] compassion et [leur] sympathie, après les invectives et injures des élèves et étudiants à son adresse » lors des manifestations contre son régime (Diarra: 106, 107).

Cela dit, n'existerait-il pas derrière cette longanimité caractéristique et cette espèce d'aboulie singulière, quelque manœuvre suggestive de l'ex-dirigeant? Cela ne serait pas impossible de la part de ce personnage. À en croire Malick Sangaret, l'un de ses familiers

(injustement embastillé lui aussi !) Houphouët-Boigny, bien qu'étant « un homme très humain, [avait un] côté roublard et parfois machiavélique » (Sangaret : 89). Mains observateurs gardent aussi de lui le souvenir d'un homme très intelligent à l'esprit vif et exercé. Même s'il apparaît parfois comme un original dont la vision des choses et les méthodes semblent extravagantes, sa politique découlait d'une bonne connaissance de la psychologie humaine (EAVBS : 197-206). Houphouët-Boigny, ce lecteur de Machiavel (Sangaret : 84) a, pour ainsi dire, soufflé le chaud et le froid par son comportement absurde. Par le fait de suborner ses victimes par des biens et des privilèges après les avoir cruellement maltraités, il se les a sans doute doublement aliénés en leur inspirant tout à la fois la crainte et la reconnaissance. En tout état de cause, une telle méthode de suggestion est loin d'être inefficace, comme en témoigne Robert Greene, dans les propos suivants:

« Une fois que vous avez attiré l'attention, et peut-être vaguement intrigué, il faut entretenir l'intérêt de l'autre avant qu'il ne change d'objet, ne vous laissez pas percer à jour au premier regard. Soyez indéfinissable. Cultivez l'ambiguïté ; montrez-vous à la fois dur et tendre, mystique et bon vivant, naïf et malin. Des qualités contradictoires confèrent de la profondeur, sollicitent, déconcertent. Une allure énigmatique fascine et donne envie d'en savoir plus. Suggérez l'ambivalence, elle vous assurera un pouvoir sur l'autre » (Greene, 2010 :199)

Cette stratégie, s'il y a vraiment eu recours, ne saurait cependant expliquer l'empire qu'il a exercé sur ses anciennes victimes. Même s'ils ont souffert dans leur chair, beaucoup parmi eux admettent assurément, à l'instar de Kourouma et Samba Diarra, qu'Houphouët-Boigny possédait des qualités humaines attachantes. S'ils lui imputaient de graves défauts, ils lui concédaient pour l'essentiel un altruisme très prononcé, un amour inconditionnel envers ses compatriotes, ainsi qu'une obsession de voir son pays se développer rapidement. C'est dans cette optique que, pour certains, l'engloutissement de faramineuses sommes d'argent dans des constructions somptuaires devrait plutôt être perçu comme l'expression d'une inextinguible soif de rehausser l'image de son pays, en le dotant de tout ce qu'il jugeait meilleur.

Par ailleurs, certains d'entre eux, en dépit de leur embastillement abusif, devaient sans doute éprouver un sentiment de gratitude envers lui, pour son implication essentielle dans leur ascension sociale. Beaucoup d'entre eux et/ou certains de leurs proches faisaient, en effet, partie du contingent de cent quarante huit élèves à qui avait été octroyées « des bourses [d'études en France] prises en charge par le Syndicat agricole africain » (Grah Mel, 2003 : 358) qu'Houphouët-Boigny venait de créer. N'eurent été les menées des « colons de Côte d'Ivoire [qui] payaient toutes les places disponibles sur tous les navires » (Grah Mel, 2003 : 359) en partance pour la France, ils eurent été trois cents à bénéficier de cette faveur. Mieux, comme en témoigne Mory Doumbia, Houphouët-Boigny, non seulement continuera d'attribuer des bourses à d'autres jeunes Ivoiriens en France, mais il leur permettra aussi d'y étudier dans les meilleures conditions :

« Nous admirions [...] sa détermination à doter le pays d'un maximum de cadres bien formés. Nous étions heureux de voir le gouvernement verser les bourses, financer le mouvement étudiant ivoirien. Il avait acheté la Maison de l'Étudiant Ivoirien, la MECI, où quelques 50 boursiers pouvaient se trouver à loger. Il faisait vraiment tout pour nous mettre dans les meilleures conditions d'études, pour nous mettre à l'aise. Nous étions les mieux traités de tous les étudiants africains. C'était vraiment pour lui une obsession que nous soyons un jour les égaux des Blancs » (Doumbia : 156).

Conjugués on non, les facteurs évoqués plus haut ont certainement joué un rôle fondamental dans le fait qu'à la mort d'Houphouët-Boigny, ses anciennes victimes se soient mobilisées dans un même élan effusif, pour lui rendre un vibrant dernier hommage. C'est ce témoignage d'affection, et sans doute, de reconnaissance que Kourouma retraduit dans les lignes suivantes d'EAVBS (206, 207) :

« À sa mort, ses funérailles furent conduites par un neveu qu'il avait calomnié, emprisonné, torturé, condamné à mort. [...] Les hommes politiques, que comme son neveu, le dictateur avait calomniés, emprisonnés, affreusement torturés, condamnés à mort et graciés, se sont, à sa disparition, déclarés les plus affectés et se sont réunis autour du président de l'Assemblée nationale pour le pleurer et le regretter plus que les autres citoyens de sa République. »

Le souvenir d'Houphouët-Boigny reste encore vivace dans l'esprit de beaucoup d'Ivoiriens du fait qu'après sa mort survenue en 1993, la Côte d'Ivoire qui connaissait la stabilité politique, a aussitôt basculé dans une période de crise tribalo-politique chronique qui a fini par déboucher sur une terrible guerre civile en 2011. Plongées dans cette instabilité constante, ses partisans, comme nombre d'Ivoiriens ont commencé à déplorer sa disparition. Devant l'incapacité de ses successeurs à ramener la paix et à redémarrer l'économie, ses partisans ont commencé à regretter le doigté avec lequel il arrivait à maintenir dans l'unité la soixantaine d'ethnies du pays. Avec le temps, nombre de ses opposants se sont vite rendus compte que, contrairement à ce qu'ils pensaient, l'ère d'Houphouët-Boigny, en dépit de ses imperfections, aura été de loin meilleure que l'existence presque anomique qui s'est installée après lui. C'est ce désenchantement qu'exprime Samba Diarra dans les propos suivants:

« En effet, on assiste aussitôt après cette disparition, à la descente aux enfers de la belle, riche, prospère et généreuse Côte d'Ivoire. Qui, rapidement devient méconnaissable, se tribalise, s'engage dans le cycle des pronunciamientos, et se rwandalise [...]. Voilà qu'il y a pire après Houphouët-Boigny. Force est alors pour moi de relativiser les jugements portés dans ce livre [*Les faux complots d'Houphouët-Boigny, Fracture dans le destin d'une nation*, Paris, Karthala, 1997]. Probité intellectuelle oblige ! » (Diarra : 104, 105).

Les propos qui précèdent traduiraient-ils une rétractation servile ? La réponse à cette question est négative. Ces observations concessives, tout comme celles évoquées plus haut, ont été faites *après* la mort d'Houphouët-Boigny. Ce facteur primordial fait que pour expliquer ce phénomène, on ne saurait alléguer que leurs auteurs sont devenus timorés par peur de représailles ou d'avoir été subvertis par quelque trafic d'influence. Ces observations semblent plutôt être la

conséquence d'une entreprise de (re)considération moins passionnelle de la gouvernance et de la personnalité d'Houphouët-Boigny. Cette restitution de sa vie fait apparaître, effectivement, chez la plupart de ses victimes, une vision moins manichéenne de sa personnalité. C'est sans doute une telle opinion qu'il avait de lui-même, du moins si l'on se réfère aux propos de Tiékoroni, son pendant diégétique, à Koyaga, l'un de ses collègues (EAVBS, 203) :

« Mes pratiques peuvent paraître condamnables dans d'autres milieux, sous d'autres cieux, dans d'autres contextes ; mais pas en Afrique. Tu auras, au cours de ton voyage initiatique, à me comparer à d'autres chefs d'État et tu concluras rapidement que je suis un ange, un sage qui mérite la reconnaissance de l'humanité ».

Houphouët-Boigny se savait donc sévèrement critiqué. Cependant, il ne pensait pas être pire que les autres dirigeants africains. Samba Diarra qui se définit comme l'« un des Ivoiriens qui ont le plus écorné l'image de marque d'Houphouët-Boigny » (Diarra : 109), concède cela, au terme de l'apologie de plusieurs pages qu'il consacre à sa mémoire :

« Tout bien considéré aujourd'hui, à 40 ans de distance de ces épisodes, force est pour moi, en toute objectivité, de reconnaître qu'Houphouët-Boigny a été un grand chef d'État parmi les grands en Afrique [...] L'homme apparaît sans conteste comme un sémaphore planté sur la colline, qui domine ses successeurs et les ravale au rang de sybarites englués dans la vallée des fantasmes égoïstes et égotistes du pouvoir, et condamnés au sort de Sisyphe » (Diarra : 110).

Ces paroles élogieuses rejoignent celles de Mory Doumbia (177) qui affirme qu'Houphouët-Boigny fut « peut-être même un grand homme, si on le rapporte à tout ce qui se passe actuellement en Afrique [...] au même titre que Nelson Mandela, dans l'histoire de l'émancipation de l'Afrique ».

Houphouët-Boigny apparaît ainsi de loin, non seulement comme un visionnaire, mais également comme le Bâtitteur de la Côte d'Ivoire dont la disparition est amèrement déplorée. Ce retournement de situation ne manque d'ailleurs pas de conférer à l'un de ses apophtegmes favoris qui est « Le vrai bonheur, on ne l'apprécie que lorsqu'on l'a perdu... », une dimension quasi prophétique et un tantinet railleur.

Conclusion

L'iconographie de Félix Houphouët-Boigny menée dans l'analyse a permis de mettre en relief une portraiture aux traits contrastés. Ce personnage apparaît de prime abord sous la figure d'un abominable vieillard farci d'appellations caricaturesques et abîmé dans toutes sortes de pratiques sanguinaires et sordides. Un examen attentif des œuvres de Kourouma, montre toutefois qu'au compte de l'ex-dirigeant coexistent, par moments, de-ci de-là, des remarques moins outrageantes, et parfois même laudatrices. Le même phénomène, perceptible aussi dans des propos de Bandaman et à travers son appartenance politique actuelle, révèle que les deux romanciers ne manquent pas d'admirer l'ancien président à travers, notamment, ses succès

économiques et la cohésion sociale qu'il a instaurée en Côte d'Ivoire avant sa mort. Houphouët-Boigny apparaît ainsi comme un personnage agoni et magnifié tout à la fois par des représentations mythiques qui oscillent entre le vil et le sublime. Aux figurations dégradantes et ahurissantes de l'Ogre filicide et du géronte libidineux, répondent, celles glorieuses et lénifiantes, d'héros national et de Père fondateur.

En tout état de cause, pour paradoxale et bigarrée qu'elle puisse paraître, cette portraiture atypique révèle qu'Houphouët-Boigny est un personnage dont le souvenir, pendant longtemps encore, restera cristallisé dans la psyché collective ainsi que l'atteste l'espèce d'attrait-répulsion qui caractérise sa mémoire. Kourouma et Bandaman, tout comme la majorité de ses contempteurs n'ont pu résister au déroutant magnétisme qui émanait de sa personnalité. Il semble qu'en même temps que se déroule l'opération scripturale de sape de son honorabilité, quelque voix, du tréfonds d'eux-mêmes leur susurre la pondération. En effet, c'est une tâche inconfortable et ardue que d'enfermer Houphouët-Boigny dans un profil caractérologique typique. Comment parvenir à cataloguer ce personnage au caractère et aux actes sibyllins ; un homme que même ses proches collaborateurs n'avaient pas toujours réussi à déchiffrer ? Cela dit, ce portrait contrasté qui, finalement réhabilite en quelque sorte la mémoire d'Houphouët-Boigny n'en constitue pas moins un motif d'éloge pour eux. Effectivement, au lieu d'une portraiture totalement négative qui constituerait en quelque sorte la réplique processive des abus et autres injustices subis ou constatés sous son règne (ce qui de toute évidence semblait être l'objectif originel de leur acte d'écriture), les auteurs ont pu et su faire preuve d'un humanisme appréciable qui est de ne retenir de lui qu'une seule image : celle de l'infatigable Bâtitteur de la Côte d'Ivoire moderne.

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The Other Side of the Wall: Technology and Borders in *Sleep Dealer*

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Abstract

*Technological development is an essential component in preserving a globalised economic system. Job sectors must maintain a human workforce and therefore involve some sort of physical international border crossing. Trade, labor, and immigration between the American and Mexican border has been, and still is, the source of the most controversial border interactions for the last six decades. The U.S. currently lives under the paradox of harboring hostility towards Mexican immigrants, yet accepting their willingness to perform labor within the country that Americans themselves do not want to do. If America can extract non-physical labor from, for example calling centers around the world, how can they do the same with that of the physical, thereby eliminating the need to care for the worker? Alex Rivera's film *sleep dealer* envisions a dystopian world where technology is used by various corporations to extract labor without the "hassle" of supporting their laborers, but is revealed to have the positive value of facilitating a virtual experience of the world, despite some peoples' economic disadvantages.*

Keywords: Immigration, Technology, Film, Mexico, Labor, Science-fiction

Technological development is an essential component in preserving a globalised economic system. For example, current events are filled with stories of countries in the global South providing technical support over the phone to customers in the global North. Either way, these job sectors must maintain a human workforce and therefore involve some sort of physical international border crossing. Trade, labor, and immigration between the American and Mexican border has been, and still is, the source of the most controversial border interactions for the last six decades. The most consistent source of controversy over the years has been illegal immigration of laborers from Mexico into America. The U.S. currently lives under the paradox of harboring hostility towards Mexican immigrants, yet accepting their willingness to perform labor within the country that Americans themselves do not want to do. If America can extract non-physical labor from, for example calling centers around the world, how can they do the same with that of the physical, thereby eliminating the need to care for the worker? Similarly, given how much of a risk it is to cross the border and find work opportunities, Mexicans are at a loss to find how they can somehow glean the same opportunities and rewards for their hard work given the risks of the physical travel. Alex Rivera's film *Sleep Dealer* envisions a dystopian world where technology is used by various corporations to extract labor without the "hassle" of supporting their laborers, but is revealed to have the positive value of facilitating a virtual experience of the world, despite some peoples' economic disadvantages.

High security fences and armed guards stretching approximately 3000 kilometers in length (Noble 147) currently stands as a tool of both political and economic control between the two countries. The fence is also an architectural symbol of the narratives established by American political and cinematic rhetoric (and internalized to an extent by that of Mexico), separating "an idealized North from an increasingly impoverished South" (Zaniello). Cinema consequently manifests each side of the border's views of each other in a way that projects them to the rest of the world and reaffirms these messages for future generations. The majority of Hollywood films about immigration and the U.S./Mexican border convey the implication that when Americans are about to cross into Mexico, they must be nearly pushed south of the border or in search of a short-term debauchery spree. Their lives in America are so ideal, why would they ever leave the North for any long period of time? Meanwhile, no characters in other mainstream Hollywood films need an excuse to vacation in Western Europe to sample any and all parts of its different cultures. So why is it not as easy for mainstream films to feature a character who is motivated to do the same in Mexico? Charles Ramírez Berg (199) asks the same question in his publication *Latino Images in Film* and comes to the conclusion that going into Mexico would risk "the possibility of learning something from Mexico and Mexicans", something that is deemed risky in the first place because of Hollywood's previous construction of Mexico's image according the aforementioned binaries. Therefore, such narratives portray Mexicans as coming into the country for better opportunities in labor and in civilization; immigrants as huddled masses fighting tooth and nail for the American Dream. On the other hand, most Mexican cinematic narratives

particularly portray the United States as both a “hostile neo-colonialist power” and “the site of a deeply coveted capitalist modernity” (Noble 147). In real life situations and those portrayed in Mexican cinema, immigrating to America is the lesser of two evils, one that even if initially idealized by a traveling protagonist, risks cultural isolation, social agitation, and deportation (if traveling illegally), all to support their families abroad.

Events in recent history, from the hostility-inducing Mexican-American War (1846-1848) to the economic growth stimulated through the passing of the North American Free Trade Act (1994), prove that these dangerous borders are not a permanent or un-crossable entity. Especially, in terms of economic circumstances, the U.S./Mexican border was established and constructed to be crossed systematically, but in a way that is regulated and controlled by both parties. One of the first acts of economic border trade between the United States and Mexico was known as the “Bracero Program” (1942-1964). The program allowed a regulated supply of Mexican labor, or “braceros” which translates to either “arms” or slang as “a man who works with his arms and/or hands”. These laborers were sent to the United States in order to assist with all sorts of seasonal agricultural work. An estimated 4.5 million Mexican citizens were encouraged to migrate north of the border throughout the duration Bracero Program (Noble 150-151). However, an inestimable surplus illegal immigration simultaneously poured into America. This fallout prompted the 1950s reactionary “Operation Wetback”, which used mass deportation to control the illegal immigrant flow, followed by Proposition 187, a California law aiming to limit illegal immigrants’ access to health and social services and declaring a state of emergency in San Diego county campaigning “S.O.S.” (“Save Our State”) (Noble 159). These two legislations served as a catalyst for an increased prejudicial attitude towards the Mexican population that included the public, the media, and law enforcement. In 1997, director Alex Rivera released an online digital short film for the website Invisible Cinema titled *Why Cybraceros?* as a satire of migrant labor, globalization, digitalization, the original Bracero Program, and the cultural hostility towards immigrants following “Operation Wetback”. Rivera’s five-minute video is said to be made by the United States Department of Labor, who announces the creation of the innovative “Cybracero Program”. Using footage from the 1940s Council of California Growers advocacy film for the Bracero Program paired with footage of violent acts against Mexicans by the public or by law enforcement, the Department of Labor proposes a solution to the program’s fallout in the form of “cybraceros”, robots that work in the U.S. but are remotely controlled across the border on computers by Mexican workers. Cybraceros are also meant to eliminate other problems stemming from the Bracero Program, including situations in which some workers would run away and stay in the U.S. illegally, or when other illegal immigrants evaded security by blending in with the legal braceros. Either way, this “promotional video” brags the program’s potential for their

success to be able to give “all the labor without the worker” by using the cybraceros, regarded by the narrator as “a worker who poses no threat of becoming a citizen”. Made by the same director and referring to the technology of the same name and same purpose, *Sleep Dealer* can be considered as a sequel to *Why Cybraceros?* Rivera’s second film revolves around how people interact with the cybracero technologies that apparently solve more of America’s problems than Mexico’s. In the film, the protagonist “Memo” is a campesino who feeds his curiosity of the outside world and cybracero work by using a make-shift radio and satellite to intercept calls going across his village in Santa Ana del Río, Oaxaca, Mexico. His radio attracts the attention of a new-age drone, virtually operated in San Diego, California, U.S.A. by Rudy Ramírez, a Mexican-American military contractor for Del Río Water. Rudy’s mission is to destroy the source of the unlicensed frequency by dropping explosives, which end up decimating Memo’s cabin and killing his father. Overcome with guilt, Memo flees to Tijuana, Mexican capital of cybracero labor, to work and send money to his family. There, he meets Luz Martínez, a writer who sells video playbacks of her memories of previous encounters with other people as “stories” online, thereby spreading a much-needed perspective of the various forms of Mexican experience. All of these technologies are accessible by plugging into people’s “nodes”, ports installed in the back, arms, and back of the neck of a person in order to neurologically and physiologically access a virtual world of labor. In *Sleep Dealer*, nodes and the new technologies that come with them are essentially what connects people to the new age in a time where the world seems to be more disconnected and simultaneously more connected than ever before.

The technological advancements that are more connected to the real world than any other in *Sleep Dealer* are those that secure the power of Del Río Inc. The American company is undoubtedly a huge, neo-colonial presence in Oaxaca, due to its corporate control over the natural Mexican water supply. Memo’s father used to own a sizeable portion of land where he grew crops that survived on the local river. Memo remembers fondly about how people used to call him “King of the Town”. All of this changed when the Del Río dam was built. The dam is enormous, its wall as dry as the desert around it, indicating how impenetrable it may be. As Memo and his father climb a set of steps towards a high, barbed wire fence where they are supposed to purchase the amount of water they need from the dam, shadows of a drone disappear and reappear several times over their heads, reminding them and the audience how heavily secured and monitored this area is. An American voice from a speaker hastily says “alright, don’t make any sudden moves” followed by a recorded Spanish translation of the phrase. The English live phrase coming before the Spanish recorded one indicates that this is an entirely American-run company that is taking no “risks” with hiring any Mexicans to do any work for them. During

this sequence, we see that the talking speaker is fitted with a camera and a small machine gun that rotates towards wherever Memo and his father move; this, along with the way the American speaks to the two lends further evidence towards the hostile attitude the company has towards the locals of Oaxaca. The speaker informs Memo and his father that the 35 liters of water they requested costs 85 dollars, the most recent increase in price as of that day. Del Río Water charging so much for a natural resource and changing the prices without alerting the locals are the last indications we need as to how powerful the company's influence over the region truly is.

The incredibly invasive presence of American technology and security not only establishes that America wants to keep Mexican immigrants out; it also presents the intention to regulate the amount of Americans entering the country. It recognizes the American political and cinematic belief that the only reasons an American citizen would ever want to enter Mexico would be to run from the law, or for upper-class Americans to travel for small intervals to take advantage of the country's natural (beaches, weather) or economic (currency exchange rate, purchase of cheap commodities including drugs) resources. As apprehensive as the U.S. is towards Mexican travel, it is conveniently comfortable with accepting the land as having exotic, although barbaric, appeal. This is evident when Rudy decides to cross the border from California to Tijuana in order to apologize to Memo for killing his father. He is met by a sign that reads "Warning: enter Mexico at your own risk" and a cybracero-like speaker/camera fixed with a small machine gun that comes to his car window to identify him, both of which thereby establish apprehension. After Rudy states his reason for traveling is to go on a short holiday, it does not take the robot long at all to open the gate and let him pass into Mexico, thereby establishing acceptance.

The overall neo-colonial nature of Del Río Water and all its corresponding technology is nothing new to Mexican cinema and history. Del Río Water's buyout and restriction of land access and consequent regulated sale of river water is another example of what David Harvey calls in *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism* "accumulation by disposition" (249). In 1951, Grant County, New Mexico, workers of Mine-Mill Local 890 went on a revolutionary strike against the Empire Silver Company that included white and Mexican-American workers and their wives, members of the Auxiliary 209. Years later, an entire HUAC (House of Un-American Activities Committee) blacklisted cast and crew that included screenwriter Michael Wilson and director Herbert J. Biberman teamed up with Local 890 and Auxiliary 209 to make *Salt of the Earth* (1954) (Corrigan & White). The film is entirely based on Local 890 and Auxiliary 209's experience, even going as far as keeping members of the strike on set to consult, write parts of the script, and stand in as actors/extras (characters based on actual participants changed for their safety). The key source of struggle for the residents of Empire Zinc Company-

owned “Zinc Town” is the history of the land on which they work and live. Ramon Quintero, one of the leaders of the Zinc Town strike, tells the story of how the land that he and the other workers mine, originally part of Mexico, was lost in the Mexican-American War, but still belonged to his grandfather. That is until the Empire Zinc Company bought out his family’s and others’ neighboring lands and now demand labor from the presiding residents. The situation is made worse due to the fact that Empire Zinc Company keeps its residents and laborers so poor due to low wages and high expenses, and therefore so dependent upon the company, that it would be impossible for them to afford to live elsewhere. *Salt of the Earth* and Empire Zinc Company’s “accumulation by disposition” resembles that of Santa Ana in *Sleep Dealer*. No Mexicans work for Del Río Water, so they cannot contribute any resources to make purchasing their expensive water any easier. Memo and his family live in what seems like an endless desert; therefore trying to travel and find free water nearby would be a risky option. The most dangerous option would be to break into the reservoir and steal water. We however learn of its danger from a Del Río Water transmission Memo intercepts with his radio in which the company is quick to send the drones after any perpetrators. When Memo accidentally intercepts Del Río Water’s military communication system, we find out the line is reserved for tracking what the military calls “aqua terrorists”. The scene cuts to San Diego, California, depicted by *Sleep Dealer* to be a far more advanced and clean city than Tijuana. The camera takes a considerable amount of time to pan over the towering, all-glass building that is Del Río Water’s military headquarters, as a reminder of how powerful the company is. Compared to the rest of the film, the facility is the most high-tech looking virtual labor factory we will see; as in real life, jobs and workers on American soil are treated much better than those overseas. This is supported by the fact that the machinery on which pilots remotely control drones via their nodes are the most clean and expensive-looking than anything we will see in the factories of Tijuana. The steel elements have a pristine, chrome sheen to them. The room in which Rudy is working is not too bright and coolly lit with a blue tint as the pilots are sitting comfortably while they “fly”. The lighting and seating arrangements offer a sense that, unlike the rest of the factories we will see, neither the supervisors nor the pilots have to worry about falling asleep on the job, because the pilots here are cared for more than Mexican cybracero workers. Their dispatcher suspect the four people-shaped shadows on their screens who have broken into the reservoir are in fact aqua terrorists and instruct a drone pilot at the helm to eliminate them. There is no dramatization of any kind at this point; the audience watches Memo simply listen as three “pops” are heard on the other line. The dispatcher congratulates the pilot on his success, later telling him to “get the other one”. *Sleep Dealer* has essentially created an environment where a company like *Salt of the Earth*’s Empire Zinc has established a level of control and dependency amongst its neighbors and intensified it to deadly levels with the assistance of advances in technology.

Luz Martínez's sales of playback memories of recent experiences is *Sleep Dealer's* technological manifestation of dismantling stereotypes of Mexican culture by sharing truer, in-depth instances of the Mexican experience to a wide audience. Referring to herself as a writer, Luz sells her memories of previous encounters to the online company "TruNode: the world's number one memory market". TruNode is assumed to be an American company due to its English name and the English-dialect pronunciation of the brand. After meeting Memo on the bus, Luz comes home to her Tijuana apartment where she checks incoming hologram video messages recorded on her desktop computer. Luz's nodes provide her computer access to her memory and give her the ability to record her narration in order to attach to the memory itself, thereby creating a story out of it. We then see her "plugging" herself in, her wires and ports look to be in much better condition than those in the cybracero factories, confirming her self-employment. She takes care of her bodily equipment because she is her own boss and her own employee, and therefore not subject to the same abuse most cybracero workers face. Her memories for sale on TruNode are posted as icons containing a small, three-second or so clip of their whole stories under the "El Otro Lado Del Muro" (The Other Side of the Wall) collection, titles of which include "The Struggle Over A Well", "An Encounter With The Rebels", and "First Installation of [My] Nodes". She starts a new "document" titled "A Migrant From Santa Ana del Río" and begins orating the story of her encounter with Memo in tandem with the images from her memories that are being shown on her glass, dual-sided screen. Excluding "First Installation of [My] Nodes", all of her stories revolve around the personal experience of another person who is not herself, giving variety to the perspectives she wants to share. Not only have memories become the newest form of storytelling, but there is also a sense that because Luz is writing non-fiction stories, she can program her computer to interpret via biological connections through her nodes whether or not she is lying, thus damaging the accuracy of the story, and correct her of that mistake. When she says, "I met [a migrant] today, I didn't think much of him-", she is interrupted by her computer who orders her to "repeat the last ten seconds...Please tell the truth". Luz then corrects herself and continues "writing". She thus programs her computer in a way so that she can deliver honest, rarely seen perspectives from "the other side of the wall".

Such honest Mexican perspectives are more present in Mexican cinema than anything coming out of Hollywood. Films like Tony Richardson's *The Border* (1982) feed on the hot topic of illegal border crossing and dramatize the very serious political issues surrounding such occurrences. Despite being based on a series of *LA Times* articles about illegal Mexican immigrants, the film manifests into a social thriller told from the perspective of American police and border patrol officers. Even the critically acclaimed *Traffic* (2000) by Steven Soderbergh

only donates a third of its screen time from the perspective of Mexican citizens, despite the entire plot being about one Mexican-based drug trade's influence on the entire cast of characters. What it comes down to is a typical, damaging representation of Mexico as a land of poverty and a harbor for drug lords, where even its most reputable citizens turn out to be corrupt cops. Meanwhile, Mexican cinema is filled with oppositional perspectives of the Mexican experience, although hardly any of these films are seen in America. Those that reach American screens are handpicked because of a director's reputation or because of it being close to having an "acceptable" message. Even Alejandro Galindo's *Espaldas mojadas* (1955), one of the most famous Mexican border films in cinematic history, had been pressured after two years of release delays by the U.S. State Department to include an introductory warning text because of its apparently subversive subject matter. One of the main characters, Rafael, crosses the border with the goal of chasing the American Dream. During his time in the country, he bounces between low-paying jobs while having to face excruciating instances of racism, cruelty, and exploitation. He decides that while the jobs in America were plenty, he was treated with far more respect and dignity in Mexico, and crosses the border homeward bound. Seeing as the film did not portray America in any positive light whatsoever, the warning message in the opening of the film as approved by the U.S. State Department was written as follows:

Our intention is to warn our compatriots of the problems associated with trying to leave the country illegally, which carries with it the risk of awkward and painful situations that could even cause difficulties for the good relations that fortunately exist between our two countries (Noble 152).

These examples highlight the fact that there is an ideological distance between Mexico and the United States that exists today. Such distance is certainly not absent in the universe of *Sleep Dealer*, but is gradually disappearing via TruNode and the potential of node technology, especially according to Luz as she declares, "I hate that there is so much distance between people. The only good things nodes do is to destroy that distance".

The primary technology used in *Sleep Dealer* are "node" enhancements, which are installed on a person's body so they can plug into, and establish an online connection with, the global economic network. The worker plugged in enters a state of "sleep" in which they consciously "become" their robot on the other side of the border, performing tasks such as construction, housework, and lawn care. In the world of *Sleep Dealer*, America has ultimately solved the "problem" of giving migrants working in the country healthcare, benefits, housing, and education by virtually gleaning their energy and resources from their homeland of Mexico. When Memo arrives in Tijuana, it is clear that so many other Mexicans are as desperate as he is because there are so many "coyoteks" following him around. Coyoteks are those who are

available for cheap, back-alley node installments and Rivera's play on the term "coyote" branded for those who help smuggle undocumented Mexicans into America. If there are so many people like Memo who are so desperate to get nodes they will solicit a coyotek, then there are just as many people who end up over-working themselves just to earn more money and overlooking the fact that the cybracero companies take no mind to the condition of the workers who suffer extreme exhaustion, hallucination, or electric surges causing seizures, blindness or death.

Sleep Dealer opens with a sequence taking place inside the cybracero factory Memo works in. The camera fades in and out from black, to close-ups of fluorescent green-lit tubes and wires plugged into exhausted workers, and to black again. The fluorescent green lighting is a stylistic choice that commonly accompanies films about technology and its darker shade is an indicator that the following story will not be an entirely pleasant one. The lighting itself is dim and therefore casts shadows among the machinery, making it look even more threatening. As the montage continues, it is accompanied by an ominous soundtrack of a simple melody paired with echoing technological moans and pitches, adding to the unsettling nature of the scene. The editing and camera work establishes a sense of isolation and commoditization of these laborers, by shooting pieces of their bodies connected to pieces of machinery as one in the same. The opening sequence continues as the camera focuses on a pair of node-modified arms whose hands seem to be grasping nothing, and cuts to the face that belongs to the same body. The film will later clarify that this is Memo's face; for now however, this is a face that appears to be in a daze, startlingly clouded eyes that are gazing aimlessly. The camera cuts to a medium shot of Memo's entire face to reveal that he is wearing a breathing mask that is low-tech looking in comparison to the machinery attached to his arms and back. The wires that are attached to his nodes hang loosely around him and are covered in several kinks and bends, hinting that the machinery is not in the best condition and that many other people before him have used the same wires. A cut to a wide shot clarifies the eerie nature of this cybracero factory and its overused machinery. We see three more laborers attached to their nodes as they sway and move in a rather slow and robotic nature similar to Memo. This is in reference to Memo's later comment about how these cybracero factories have earned themselves the nickname, "sleep dealers", due to the fact that their workers literally look as if they are sleep walking and sometimes actually do fall asleep at the job, forcing them to head to the nearest "node bar" for a shot of awakening "tika".

The opening sequence introduces the cybracero factory in this way in order to distance us from Memo's rather idealistic introduction to the factory. The duality of the nature of the node technology and virtual labor is hinted at before Memo's first day at work. At this point, Luz has ultimately agreed to become his coyotek. When she finishes installing his nodes, she explains to him that when someone "plugs in", they are in fact in a two-way connection with the machine

they are plugging into. She warns: “sometimes you control the machine, and sometimes the machine controls you”. Memo’s first look at a cybracero factory is through hopeful eyes, that regard the factory as the answer to all of Memo’s problems, “the real American Dream” as his new boss refers, and therefore distorts the reality of what he is seeing. The film’s introduction already showed us the reality Memo chooses to ignore here. The fluorescent lights are now a more white-balanced color, and every metal surface has a lovely polished sheen to it. The wires connecting into the workers’ nodes are all in use, in great condition, and work independently of a machine above their heads that looks like it gives workers leeway whenever they pull their arms downward or across; thus, the workers seem as if they are controlling the machines. The soundtrack that plays during this sequence sounds like a technological lullaby much more uplifting than that of the opening, although still establishing a kind of dreamy environment, as the workers still move as robotically as the opening. Here, we have a closer look at the structure over their heads holding their wires up and are reminded of two very familiar things. One, the way the arms spread and dangle the wires is reminiscent of an infant’s mobile that is used to entrance a child until they eventually fall sleep. Secondly, the way the arms’ hanging wires connect to the workers’ own arms and back of their necks looks very much like the controls for a marionette puppet. The suspicious *mise-en-scène* of this sequence leaves us to wonder if the workers control the machine, while the opening sequence and Memo’s later experiences as a cybracero operator lead us to believe it is actually quite the opposite.

Dual perspectives of globalization and labor are familiar to Mexico or to Mexican cinema. Saul Landau and Sonia Angulo’s documentary *Maquila: A Tale of Two Mexicos* (2000) tackles just such a subject in the age of “maquiladoras”. The term “maquiladoras” can be translated to “factories” in English, although it is notorious for specifically referring to “sweatshops”. One “Mexico” they document is an “overly compliant client-state” of American-hosting maquiladoras that mostly reside in the border towns. The other “Mexico” documented is a rebellious one greatly influenced by the “Zapatistas”, or members of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN). These Zapatistas have seized land in towns such as Chiapas as protest against the maquiladoras, famously crying the mantra of the Mexican Revolution, “Tierra y Libertad” (“Land and Liberty”). Nevertheless, those that support the maquiladoras argue that although they realize the conditions they work in are less than dignifying, “[here in the sweatshops] we earn more and live better” (Zaniello). In *Sleep Dealer*, Memo shares a similar tension between disagreement and compliance in regards to his experience in the cybracero factory. He realizes that if he were to fall asleep or suffer an electric surge, the company would do nothing but adjust his pay to make up for their loss of virtual labor. He is also aware that the robot he “plugs” into is used and abused just as much as he is. After he fully connects for the first time, the film cuts to

his cybracero's slowly focusing point of view. It soon becomes clear that the machinery of his cybracero in San Diego is downright poor. The cybracero's robot claws, core, wheels, and head are rusty and battered, obviously as a result of not having a protective metal skin that would shield the essential skeletal parts from the elements. After a long day of work, he makes a video call to his family and sends them his earnings of the day- 270 dollars - through an instant wire transfer on the screen. Although his family actually receives 180 of the 270, this is certainly more money than he or his family have ever earned in a single day, not since before Del Río Water bought his father's land. At this point, the reward of providing for his family is enough to tolerate the conditions he works in. Nonetheless, the problem still stands that Memo struggles with the lack of control he has over his "machine". When considering the film's political and social contexts, the term "machine" takes on a broader meaning. Luz, Memo, and Rudy's struggle to not give up their control to the "machine" acts as a metaphor for the hyper-exploitative global economy whose progress is facilitated by technology.

While technology may be enabling the worsened conditions of the world in *Sleep Dealer*, the film also proposes technology as a way of assisting the improvement of the world. Like Luz says earlier, nodes are the key to breaking barriers in this world, which must be broken in order to share hidden perspectives with the rest of the world. Yet in order for her to survive, she sells her memories of previous encounters with people who share their own stories with her. She sells her memories of other people's stories without the other person's permission as her own creation. She is essentially yielding her control of her morals to the "machine" in her desperate position to pay back outrageous student loans, an education system manufactured by the "machine". Similarly, Memo struggles with his loss of control under the "machine", but continues to maintain a positive outlook of the potential of border-crossing technology. Back in Santa Ana, Memo used his makeshift radio to listen to various phone conversations: "At first, all I could hear were voices from around the village [...] [then] I started to pick up voices from further away, the big cities [...]" Memo already recognized the potential of technology to help expand his knowledge of the outside world long before being connected via nodes. Rudy is also in a situation where he struggles with his own control under the "machine". He purchases Luz's memories of Memo after recognizing his father as the person he killed with his drone. When he tracks Memo down in Tijuana, he laments giving up his control to the "machine", admitting to Memo, "I was just following orders". Faced with this terrible situation, Memo again finds a positive use for the technology at hand. He executes a plan in which he and Luz help sneak Rudy into the factory Memo works for in order to connect him to his drone and fly it into the Del Río Water company dam. The audience is not given the satisfaction of an explosive impact. Instead, the film cuts to a video call between Memo and his family, who proclaim what a miracle it is that their natural

resource is no longer for sale. Once again, technology breaks a literal barrier, leaving the film to end in the open conclusion that technology has the potential to improve control between man and “machine”.

Alex Rivera’s *Sleep Dealer* is most certainly one of few science fiction films to shatter the genre’s common trope of either man or machine in the fight between the two. In their essay on “technophobia”, Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner make plain the dichotomy of the representation of technology in science-fiction film. On the one hand, “for the conservative individualist critique, [technology] represents modernity, the triumph of radical change over traditional social institutions” (58), and on the other, “the rhetorical strategy of many technophobic films [...] is to establish a strong opposition between terms [...] that does not permit any intermediation” (59). What *Sleep Dealer* does is cross the border that separates the two aforementioned trains of thought, and thus does for science-fiction film’s depiction of technology what Guillermo Gómez-Peña proposes to be done about borders and border culture:

A border tends to be a wall we can only cross if we have the necessary documents; it is a filter that is supposed to purify the passing flux. We can also approach a border wanting to transgress it, to cross it illegally, and to violate its rules (162).

Though *Sleep Dealer* foresees a world in the not-too-distant future where technology is used to “connect [their] nervous system to... the global economy” which consequently yields inhumane results, the film does not cite the technology as the direct cause of the workers’ plight. The film therefore comes to the conclusion that it is those who wield the technology, or the right “machine” that does so, that determines how they shape the world and affect other people.

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Ideologies of Postcolonialism: Shifting Trajectories

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Abstract

It is generally acknowledged that post-colonialism is a product of some ideologies and hermeneutic methodologies that have contributed to its formation and development. As a fighting term, a theoretical weapon, and “the need, in nations or groups which have been victims of imperialism, to achieve an identity uncontaminated by Universalist or Eurocentric concepts and images,” postcolonial discourse is torn between its use of mutually incompatible critical categories. This means that post-colonialism is lacking a monolithic foundation. With this in mind, the present paper seeks to highlight the ideologies and trajectories which have shaped the field of postcolonial studies as an academic discipline, which attempts to undermine and transform the dominance of Eurocentrist colonial discourses. The purpose here is not to provide an exhaustive account of the field, but to focus on the main hermeneutic methodologies that have contributed to the constitution of post-colonialism as a discursive discourse.

Keywords: post-colonialism, postmodernism, Marxism, nationalism, post-structuralism, feminism, secularism

1. Introduction: Post-colonialism as a River with Multiple Tributaries

It goes without saying that there has been a considerable cross-fertilization of ideas between Eurocentric philosophy and post-colonialism.⁶⁵ Many have noted that the project of “provincialising Europe” from the standpoint of non-Western thinkers has considerable resonance in certain strands within European thought - perhaps no more famously than the whole host of counter-Enlightenment philosophers from Nietzsche onward.⁶⁶ At issue is that the centrality of philosophers such as Nietzsche, Heidegger, Derrida and Foucault is evident in the development of postcolonial theory. Thanks to post-colonialism’s appropriation (over-reliance) of European theoretical conventions, many regard postcolonial studies as a predominantly western phenomenon confined to western institutions. This is due mainly to the fact that post-colonialism has developed out of European traditions of thought, namely structuralism, post-structuralism, secularism, liberalism, nationalism, postmodernism, feminism, Marxism and critical race/ethnicity studies. As Leela Ghandi points out, post-colonialism is “situated somewhere in the interstices between Marxism and postmodernism/post-structuralism” (1998: 167). Another equally blunt way of saying this is that postcolonial studies functions as a subdivision within the field of “cultural studies”: the whole body of generally leftist radical literary theory and criticism which includes Marxist, Gramscian, Foucauldian, and various feminist schools of thought.⁶⁷

As Ali Rattansi has succinctly put it, postcolonial studies can be seen as “a heady, eclectic mix of post-structuralism, psychoanalysis, feminism, Marxism and postmodernism”. Philosophers and theorists like “Fanon, Freud and Lacan, Foucault, Derrida, Kristeva, Jameson and Gramsci jostle for position in the works of the major post-colonialist writers - Said, Spivak and Bhabha for example” (1997: 481). What makes postcolonial intellectuals borrowed western

⁶⁵ The ideas of the foundational texts of the West, mainly Immanuel Kant, G. W. F. Hegel, and Karl Marx, who are seen for many as the last three wise men of the Continental (European) tradition, have extensively influenced much of the postcolonial thinking.

⁶⁶ The principal members of the Frankfurt School critical theory have included the founders of the Institute – Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno – Herbert Marcuse, the major ‘New Left’ theorist of the 1960s; Jurgen Habermas, the foremost critical theorist of recent times; and Axel Honneth. Their writings have developed an approach to society that is faithful to the spirit but not to the letter of Marxism. See Andrew Linklater, “Critical theory”, in *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An introduction*, Martin Griffiths. Ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁶⁷ For a detailed critique of this overlapping tendency between cultural and postcolonial studies, see especially E. San Juan, Jr., *Beyond Postcolonial Theory* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

theories is what Said refers to as a “hermeneutics of suspicion” (Said 1993: 308). Postcolonial studies apply the insights of hermeneutics (Bakhtin, Derrida, Lacan, and Foucault) and left-wing political theory to the literature of countries emerging from colonialism. Referring to foundational postcolonial theorists such as Fanon and Aimé Césaire and writers such as Achebe and Salman Rushdie, Lazarus writes: “What is striking about the cultural and critical practice of such writers and intellectuals as these is their simultaneous commitment to the ‘philosophical discourse of modernity’ and to its unique critique”(1999: 8). Being the product of the circulation of knowledge between different continents and across different anti-imperial traditions, post-colonialism is like a river with multiple tributaries.

2. Post-colonialism, Marxism and Nationalism

Most discussions of Marxist theory present Marxism, the tradition of ‘practical-critical activity’ founded by Karl Marx, as an overwhelmingly western or European-oriented body of thought. This has marginalised what might be termed an alternative tradition within Marxism that developed from Marx’s own writings on colonialism and Lenin’s on imperialism, in the context of the anti-colonial struggles of the twentieth century. Postcolonial theory has been one product of this dissident tradition, but its relation to Marxism has remained the subject of much debate and critique. As a project of continuous critique of hegemony, Marxism developed outside Europe to engage with the problems of the political and social realities of the non-western world. Marxist theory “has had many uses and much appeal for post-colonial societies, and for post-colonial theory with its stress on the political construction of cultural events” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2002: 170). Indeed, Marxism was a source of inspiration of the majority of the liberation movements in the world as well as a rich and inspiring body of thought for many postcolonial thinkers. In his *Post-colonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Robert Young emphasises that

the assumption of postcolonial studies is that many of the wrongs, if not crimes, against humanity are a product of the economic dominance of the north over the south. In this way, the historical role of Marxism in the history of anti-colonial resistance remains paramount as the fundamental framework of postcolonial thinking. Postcolonial theory operates within the historical legacy of Marxist critique... For much of the twentieth century, it was Marxism alone which emphasized the effects of the imperialist system and the dominating power structure involved, and in sketching out blueprints for a future free from domination and exploitation most twentieth-century anti-colonial writing was inspired by the possibilities of socialism... Post-colonialism incorporates a Marxism developed outside, and generally neglected in the west; a flexible Marxism responsive to local conditions in the three continents (2001: 6-7).

He also adds,

Postcolonial thought has always been engaged in a process of reformulating, translating and transforming Marxism for its own purposes, and this has operated as a critical dynamic within Marxism itself. Postcolonial theory is a product of Marxist as well as Marx's thought...If postcolonial theory is the cultural product of decolonization, it is also the historical product of Marxism in the anti-colonial arena. For many of the first generation of postcolonial theorists, Marxist theory was so much their starting point, so fundamental to what they were doing, so dominant in contemporary intellectual culture, that it was assumed as a base line prior to all further work. Moreover, their acquaintance with communist revolutionary politics was entirely tricontinental: China, Vietnam, Cuba...Marxism was central to the thinking and practice of probably a majority of the national liberation movements in the three continents after 1917. Anti-colonial movements were already in existence in Africa, Asia and, with respect to US imperialism, in Central and South America at that time. (2001: 68).

The most important point to draw here is that Young's thesis, basically posits that post-colonialism is founded on a Marxist political platform. Viewed in this light, it is worth pointing out that if we look back at the history of post-colonialism, we will discover that the Russian Revolution of 1917, which was inspired by Marxist ideology, acted as the fulcrum for the development of anti-colonial struggles. Young highlights the importance of Marxism to anti-colonial nationalism and also reinstates Marxism in the wider history of post-colonialism. Praising and celebrating Marxism's role in decolonization, Terry Eagleton argues that "in the 1920s and 30s, practically the only men and women to be found preaching racial equality were communists. Most anticolonial movements were inspired by Marxism." **He avers that "Marx** certainly wanted to see justice and prosperity thrive in such forsaken spots." His writings have done "more to help small nations throw off their imperialist masters than any other political current" ("In Praise of Marx", 2011). In brief, as a radical critique of Western capitalism and colonialism, Marxism, Mark T. Berger contends, was assimilated to national circumstances in the wider context of decolonisation, the Cold War and the emergence of Third Worldism (2004: 31).

It is needless to say that Marx's critique of capitalist exploitation and his call for revolt inspired postcolonial thinkers, especially the first generation. In addition to Lenin's writings, Marx "has been used so extensively by anticolonial revolutionaries that processes of decolonization cannot be read apart from Marxist thinking. It has been said that in idealist philosophy all commentaries are footnotes to Plato: in the same way, in post-colonialism all commentaries, even the bad ones, can be seen as footnotes to Marx" (Mishra and Hodge, 2005: 387-388). It is worth recognizing that Marxian political and cultural theory have played an important role in shaping postcolonial theory. John Ruskin, William Morris and other European

Marxists and anti-imperialists were a source of inspiration for many postcolonial activists, such as Ghandi, Nehru, Mao, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, Cabral, C. L. R. James, Samir Amin, Aimé Césaire, Nekrumah and others. For instance, the centrality of anticolonial activists like Frantz Fanon, the use of categories like Antonio Gramsci's "hegemony," or the theories of "underdevelopment" emerging from the works of Samir Amin have taken an immense part in the development of post-colonialism. In particular, Fanon's *Dying Colonialism*, *The Wretched of the Earth* and *Toward the African Revolution* demonstrate Fanon's struggle against colonialism. Given the revolutionary nature of these writings and the context in which they were written, it will be unsurprising to find that they are deeply influenced by Marx and the discourses of western Marxism including the work of the Marxist structuralist Louis Althusser. "Marxist analysis", Fanon argues, "should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem" (1968: 40). Put concisely, post-colonialism draws heavily from Leftist and/or Marxist or Socialist political figures.

Equally important, post-colonialism draws on the Subaltern Studies, a research group inspired by a Marxist analysis. That is, the most significant movement that began postcolonial work was (and still is) the subaltern studies group that (re)examined Indian history and historiography. "It is," Adebayo Williams puts it, "within the Subaltern Studies group, which focused on Indian history and historiography from the perspective of the colonised rather than the conventional Eurocentric perspective fronting as universal category, that post-colonialism found its voice" (1997: 824). Coming from a Gramscian perspective of the subaltern coupled with the insights of various post-structuralist analyses, writers like Gayatri Spivak, Ranajit Guha and Dipesh Chakraparty sought to transform the ways in which the subaltern was located within discourse, history and philosophy. Starting from the observation that history, and imperial history in particular, has been the story of the powerful, the subaltern school has sought to offer an alternative history centered on the experiences and resistance of the colonized, or the subaltern.

Regarded as a founder of postcolonial studies, Edward Said places Marx himself squarely within the Orientalist formation,⁶⁸ while at the same time relying heavily on 'culturalist' strands of Marxism throughout his career. For Stephen Howe, Said was not intellectually influenced by Marxism as a body of thought or of political action, but "with a number of individual thinkers

⁶⁸ This is due to a number of Marx's attitudes towards colonialism especially when he says that "whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution." (Marx and Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence, 1857-1859*, p. 20). See: 1) August Nimtz. "The Eurocentric Marx and Engels and Other Related Myths." *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies*. Eds. Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus, 65-80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 65-80. 2) Pranav Jani. "Karl Marx, Eurocentrism and the 1857 Revolt in British India." *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies*. Eds. Bartolovich, Crystal and Lazarus, Neil. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 81-100.

who are conventionally designated as Marxist: Adorno and Gramsci, Lukács and Fanon, Williams and, more broadly and diffusely, Marxist historians writing on imperialism” (2007: 51). This point can also be found in William Hart’s book *Edward Said and the Religious Effects of Culture* when he states that Said “does not describe himself as a Marxist, but Marxist ideas deeply influence his thinking” (2000: ix). For example, in his recent article, Timothy Brennan considers Said as a Lukácsian Critic. (2013). What Edward Said objects to, as Lazarus rightly insists, is Marxist “dogmatism” (1999: 12). In *Orientalism*, at least, it is clear that Marx’s historicism and Eurocentrism constitute much more significant objections for Said. However, Said “does not dismiss Marxism tout court. Orientalism itself is as deeply indebted to Gramsci as it is to Foucault; and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) is generous in its praise for a range of Left thinkers from Adorno to Raymond Williams” (Moore-Gilbert, 2001: 13). Expressed in different terms, in *Culture and Imperialism*, Said uses Gramsci and C. L. R. James, among others in the Marxist tradition, “to give an aura of leftism to his text” (San Juan, 2006: 47). Also, Abdirahman Hussein suggests that the essays in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* mark a distinct shift toward engagement with and influences from Marxism: “a shift of emphasis from structuralist/poststructuralist thought to Marxism” (Hussein, 2002: 158). That is, later in his career, Said attended to a diffuse assemblage of radical and Marxist thinkers from the colonial and postcolonial worlds turning against Foucault, against contemporary literary theory, and against poststructuralist and postmodernist visions.

In addition to Edward Said’s works, the Marxist critique has intensified rapidly inside post-colonialism. Indeed, a systematic critique of post-colonialism’s politics, methodologies, and objects of study from a Marxist perspective became available, such as Ahmed’s *In Theory*, Robert Young’s *Post-colonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Arif Dirlik’s “The Postcolonial Aura”, E. San Juan, Jr.’s *Beyond Postcolonial Theory*, Neil Lazarus’s *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World*, Neil Lazarus and Crystal Bartolovich’s *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies*, Vivek Chibber’s *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*, *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Theory*, and Gayatri Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak?”. Significantly, Marxist critics within post-colonialism have sought to supplant the textual-idealism with a historical-materialist frame of analysis. Post-colonialism is, then, in close dialogue with the Marxist tradition of criticism, as evidenced for example in the widespread use of the Gramscian term ‘subaltern’. Ato Quayson, in *Post-colonialism: Theory, Practice, or Process?* appears to align his own project of post-colonialising to Marxism as a broad discourse of continuing significance to understanding the condition of the world today. What is more, Spivak argues powerfully for the relevance and usefulness of Marxist methods of analysis. She uses Marxism as a valuable tool in her projects of deconstruction. Hence, there is considerable

overlap in the objects of study of Marxism and post-colonialism. “Marxism and post-colonialism”, Bart Moore-Gilbert claims, “may move by different routes, but their objectives lie in the same direction” (2001: 24). In her article “What is Left in Postcolonial Studies?” Benita Parry asserts that there is an intersection between postcolonial studies and Marxist ecology (2012: 346).

Yet, the past two decades or so witnessed a remarkable sea change in the nature of academic attention to colonial and postcolonial questions. These shifts involved an abandonment or at least relative neglect of themes and preoccupations with which Marxists had been especially concerned. Put concisely, as postcolonial theory has come to prominence over the last three decades, it has largely rejected Marxism as Eurocentric and ignored its theoretical and practical contributions to anticolonial and radical struggle. Many postcolonial scholars fled from Marxist political economy for new kinds of archival, textual, and philosophically informed critique. Marxists of various persuasions, in turn, have challenged postcolonial theory at every step - but in diverse ways. Some writers (Aijaz Ahmad, Arif Dirlik, E. San Juan Jr., Sumit Sarkar) have been openly hostile to postcolonial theory while putting forward alternative readings of history and culture, while others (Tim Brennan, Barbara Harlow, Neil Lazarus, Benita Parry) have aimed to create a space for Marxist scholarship within postcolonial studies, combating and constructing alternatives to its postmodernist elements. So, with the advent of the New World Order and the collapse of the Soviet Union, “there has, in fact, been little direct, serious dialogue *between* Marxists and postcolonial theorists. The neglect (even ignorance) of Marxism in postcolonial studies has often been countered by the reflexive dismissal of the entire field of postcolonial studies by Marxist writers” (Bartolovich, 2002: 1). But, this view is oversimplified leading trivialisation and oversimplification to creep into the discourse on both sides. Marxists viewed postcolonial studies as complicit with imperialism in its contemporary guise as globalisation. In its approach to texts, it is ahistorical. Postcolonial theorists looked at Marxism as Eurocentric, complicit with the dominative master-narratives of modernity (including that of colonialism itself) and in its approach to texts, vulgarly reductionistic and totalising (Ibid.,).

Despite these mutual accusations, Marxism and postcolonial studies have something to say to each other (Ibid.,). Accordingly, Marxism and materialist theories and methods in general have never disappeared from postcolonial studies. In its adherence to a dematerialised “new,” post-colonial studies reaches its conceptual limits. One way to renew the discipline is to (re)establish a serious engagement with the Marxist tradition, which offers a valuable methodology for understanding the “new” configurations of the global economy (Chowdhury, 2006: 154).

Postcolonial critics' attention to difference, disjuncture, and displacement needs to be reshaped by a much closer consideration of the patterns of this new imperialism masquerading as globalisation. For this reason, critics and theorists like Aijaz Ahmad, Arif Dirlik, Benita Parry, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiongo, Neil Lazarus, argue powerfully for the recuperation of Marxism as the best means to conceptualise many of the problems often discussed under the rubric of postcolonial analysis. To illustrate, Benita Parry asserts that "Marxist scholars are reexamining and glossing the founding texts, and are to the fore in advancing further analyses of capitalism past and in our times" (2012: 342). Bartolovich's and Lazarus's *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies* "advocates a strong and visible Marxist postcolonial studies". It aims at reactivating this "disavowed Marxist heritage in the theorization of the (post-) colonial world" ((Bartolovich, 2002: 1, 3). Following this line of thinking, Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge "offer the proposition that unless post-colonialism can re-establish vital links with Marxism it will not survive nor deserve to survive long into the twenty-first century" (2005: 388). To reinsert post-colonialism into the struggle against capitalist globalisation, Vivek Chibber maintains that his recent book *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* has resonated with audiences who are tired of the postmodernist brand of radicalism that is expressed in postcolonial theory and elsewhere and those who hope to see a resurgence of Marxist ideas (2013: 320).

In addition to Marxism, another important source of inspiration for post-colonialism is radical secular nationalism. It is commonplace to notice that most of the liberation movements during the post-second world were drawn by nationalist and secularist ideologies, not religious ones. This is the common picture that exists in almost all postcolonial texts. On the contrary, some religious and in particular Islamic ideologies were so violent in their struggle against the coloniser but their efforts went unnoticed due to the fact that it was the nationalist and secularist elites which took over the reins of many Muslim countries. On a wider scale, secular nationalism has been appropriated by postcolonial secular-liberal elites at the expense of diverse historical struggles of the subaltern classes. "Radical secular nationalism", to use Benita Parry's terms, "was the dominant political philosophy in nations from Indonesia to Algeria during the postwar period, when democratic, socialist, and Marxist perspectives shaped the major programs of protest" (2012: 351). This secular nature of postcolonial nationalism springs from the European nationalism's impact on the formation of the postcolonial consciousness. Emerging with the growth of Western capitalism and industrialisation, nationalism "was a fundamental component of imperialist expansion" (McLeod^{2000: 68}). Even so, many anti-colonial movements attempted to appropriate the liberal aspects of Western nationalism; Third-world nationalisms in the twentieth century have constructed themselves along the earlier forms of American and European nationalisms. Thus, one of the strongest foci for resistance to imperial control in colonial societies has been the idea of 'nation'. It is the concept of a shared community, one which Benedict Anderson calls an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983:15) which has enabled postcolonial societies to invent a self-image through which they could act to liberate themselves from imperialist oppression.

In his influential work *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, Partha Chatterjee claims that as nationalism “challenged the colonial claim to political domination, it also accepted the very intellectual premises of ‘modernity’ on which colonial domination was based” (1986: 30). Stated in different terms, during the late imperial period,

the dominance of the idea of the nation was such that it was largely in terms of a resistant nationalism that the anti-colonial movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came into being, even though it was that force of nationalism that had fuelled the growth of colonialism in the first place. Anticolonial movements employed the idea of a pre-colonial past to rally their opposition through a sense of difference, but they employed this past not to reconstruct the pre-colonial social state but to generate support for the construction of post-colonial nation-states based upon the European nationalist model (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007: 138 -139)

Derived from European thinking, nationalism was appropriated by the postcolonial nationalists to restore and construct their national cultures. In so doing, postcolonial nationalists abrogated Western Eurocentric epistemologies and searched for a nationalist but leftist liberation project based on Marxism and socialism. Post-colonialism therefore emerged out of the activities and ideas of anti-colonial nationalists and their efforts to mesh highly romanticised interpretations of pre-colonial traditions and cultures with the utopianism embodied by Marxism and socialism specifically, and Western visions of modernisation and development more generally.

As one of the most influential concepts used to forge “deep, horizontal comradeship,” left-leaning nationalism was a major source of inspiration for the anti-colonial liberation movements and later for the postcolonial theorists and activists who advocated the creation of national literatures as a crucial means of forging postcolonial identity. Importantly, the anti-colonial and postcolonial writings of people such as Frantz Fanon, Amílcar Cabral and Ernesto Che Guevara provided the theoretical and political foundations of post-colonialism. What is at issue here is the fact that many of the 20th-century nationalist movements, such as Pan-Asianism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Africanism, and Negritude, that helped to bring about independence for colonised states were influenced and inspired by Marxism. This means that Marxism and nationalism had a shared objective: national liberation. To show this intersection between Marxism and nationalism, Robert Young underlines that “most African nationalisms after the Second World War, from Nkrumah and Fanon onwards, were combined with versions of Marxism or socialism, and most communist parties in Asia, such as those in China and Vietnam, started as communist parties which then incorporated nationalism within their agenda.” This alliance between Marxism

and nationalism in the anti-colonial struggles, Young goes on, “has typically been regarded more as a form of nationalism than of Marxism; Marxism is considered to have deviated into a form of nationalism” (2001: 68, 69). It has to be inferred now that many postcolonial theorists, critics and activists have appropriated Marxist thinking, in support of their response to colonial subjection and the reassertion of national, social and cultural identity in the postcolonial era. However, by the 1980s, nationalism and Marxism had entered into a period of dramatic decline, allowing other hermeneutical doctrines like structuralism, post-structuralism, psychoanalysis and postmodernism to dominate post-colonialism. These “new” theoretical enterprises abandoned Marxist analysis of political economy and imperialism in favour of the tropes of hybridity, mimicry, and diaspora that have dominated the postcolonial critical scene in the early 1990s.

3. Postcolonialism, Post-structuralism and Postmodernism

As a method of textual analysis of written or spoken texts or discourses and an approach that treats social practices, objects and institutions as texts, post-structuralism has been a crucial source of inspiration for many postcolonial theorists, critics and activists. Stated differently, many of the key thinkers in the field have been influenced by the post 1960’s intellectual movements of postmodernism and post-structuralism.⁶⁹ Influential thinkers such as Roland Barths, Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault and Julia Kristeva have all had their conceptual and theoretical ideas used, sometimes in slightly modified or developed form, in the work of contemporary postcolonial theorists. In particular, thinkers commonly associated with post-structuralism and postmodernism such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Jacques Lacan figure prominently in the pantheon of post-colonialism. While recognising a common heritage with and indebtedness to earlier critical reflective practitioners and postcolonial political thinkers such as Fanon and Gandhi, the new generation of postcolonial theorists most often understood their project to be entering a new and different era. For example, the high profile postcolonial trinity of Said, Spivak, and Bhabha are each in some ways practicing or indebted to poststructuralist analyses.⁷⁰ They played a key role in bringing the theories and methods of Foucault, Derrida, and Lacan, respectively, into the very centre of postcolonial studies. At stake is that they confirm the centrality of (textual-literary) discourse as a central frame of reference for postcolonial studies. Due to the fact that postcolonial discourse benefits tremendously from

⁶⁹ It is obvious that many of the poststructuralist theorists can be seen as post-modern ones, for postmodernism and post-structuralism have a shared objective: the deconstruction of the logocentric meta-narratives of European culture.

⁷⁰ Indeed, there are a number of postcolonial theorists and critics who relied upon the poststructuralist and deconstructivist methods of analysis. For example, Aijaz Ahmed says that “Subaltern Studies, whose founder, Ranajit Guha, was quite aptly described by Edward Said as a poststructuralist” (1997: 367).

Derrida's and Foucault's deconstructive readings of Western thought, post-colonialism turns out to be, for many critics, a child of post-structuralism or just another branch of post-structuralism.

It may also be noted that there is a rich literature in postcolonial studies that takes post-structuralism very much to heart and uses it to analyse colonial and postcolonial practices. The trends that were manifested in the study of postcolonial literatures in the 1980s and 1990s were of a piece with similar dispositions evident in literary studies more generally, which from the early 1980s had been heavily impacted by the poststructuralist and neoformalist approaches of Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Pierre Bourdieu, Mikhail Bakhtin, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Crucially, the questions which have become so much a part of the post-structuralist canon - otherness, difference, irony, mimicry, parody, the lamenting of modernity and the deconstruction of the grand narratives of European culture arising out of the Enlightenment tradition – are the same to those addressed by the postcolonial thinkers. So, the language of postcolonial theorists is similar to that both of post-structuralism and postmodernism. The second generation of post-colonialists demonstrated the failure of nationalist projects and foundational discourses, and tended to celebrate hybridity, difference and liberal cosmopolitanism. They were predominantly concerned with questions of identity, representation, hybridity, diasporas, migration, etc., than with direct anti-colonial struggle. Accordingly, post-colonialism was transferred from a political description to a cultural one. Privileging of the 'cultural' was seen, with some justification, as an act of opposition and subversion. Three post-structuralist thinkers stand out as being largely influential in the field: Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. These are important to the work of the four key postcolonial theorists: Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Frantz Fanon and Homi Bhabha.

It is worth pointing out that Michel Foucault is at the heart of postcolonial thinking and his work contributes the embedding of the post-structural in the postcolonial. Foucault's works mainly *The Order of Things*, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality* have been highly influential within postcolonial studies, from informing Edward Said's *Orientalism* to the work of subaltern studies and beyond. His analysis of power, authority, modes of surveillance and governmentality has been vital to understanding the dynamics of the colonial world (Ahluwalia, 2010: 600). Stated precisely, Foucault comes to serve as a point of reference within the field of postcolonial studies that one can variously be for or against (Nichols, 2010: 139). In fact, it was Edward Said who first connected anticolonial political movements and ideological critiques with structuralist and poststructuralist theory. Said firmly established Foucault as a central figure in postcolonial theory and therefore set much of the tone of Foucault-reception afterward. The 1978 publication of *Orientalism*, often taken to be the text which, "effectively founded postcolonial studies as an academic discipline," explicitly

references Foucault (along with Gramsci and Raymond Williams) as its main philosophical and methodological inspiration (Young, 2001: 383). Said turned to the post-structuralism of Foucault to provide an alternative take on questions of the relation between power and knowledge, given Foucault's attention to the imbrication between the formation of knowledges and their role in government.

While Said shared many of the theoretical interests of post-structuralists and deconstructionists, "he regretted their lack of concern with historical and political questions" (Howe, 2007: 55). In spite of being influenced by postmodern and post-structuralist thinkers like Foucault, Said was not entirely convinced by their anti-Marxism. He emphasised the importance of history and was motivated by political, not theoretical concerns. He argues that postmodern theory is characterised by a much greater Eurocentric bias although it shares and overlaps with post-colonialism. In his *Culture and Imperialism*, Said criticises Jean-François Lyotard and Michel Foucault for their disappointment in the politics of liberation. He seems to say that after years of support for anti-colonial struggles in Algeria, Cuba, Vietnam, Palestine, Iran, which came to represent their deepest engagement in the politics and philosophy of anti-imperialist decolonization, a moment of exhaustion and disappointment was reached. In all cases, however, the issue of post-colonialism tends to hinge upon representation and knowledge production with Foucault serving as a particular position within this space of questions or form of problematisation. In addition to Said's appropriation of Foucault's ideas, Spivak's first extended discussion of Foucault comes in her famous 1985 essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In this work, Spivak turns more centrally and substantively to Foucault and explicitly connects his work to postcolonial studies. (Nichols^{2010: 128}). In summary, Foucault might be reduced to a , "textual attitude" or an "epistemological position" and that, since post-colonial studies are mostly about getting clear of such questions, Foucault matters to this field.

Jacques Derrida's deconstructionist practices are often regarded as synonymous with post-structuralism. The importance of Derrida to post-colonialism is paramount, especially in the works of Bhabha and Spivak. Inspired by Derrida's critique of Western metaphysics, or logocentrism, Gayatri Spivak has consistently used deconstructivist thinking in her work. She has had a long relationship with the work of Derrida; she takes on the deconstructivist project and puts it within an overtly political context. Her work has also had an ongoing interest in the effects of colonialism and she has combined this with a feminist and Marxist approach. Drawing heavily on poststructuralist strategies, psychoanalytical theory is very significant for the development of postcolonial studies. For instance, Bhabha and Fanon draw on Freudian and Lacanian

psychoanalysis. Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, which analyses the psychological ramifications of colonialism, has been significant for many postcolonial theorists. Influenced by Lacanian psychoanalysis and Derrida's methods of deconstruction, Homi Bhabha has played an important role in changing perspectives on colonial discourse via coining new concepts like mimicry, hybridity and ambivalence. Differing from other postcolonial critics, Bhabha shifts focus from the colonised/coloniser confrontation to a third space beyond the binary structure. In re-launching Derridean *différance* on postcolonial terrain, he provides a narrative scheme for analysing the hitherto neglected grey, ambiguous space of culture, re-naming the colonial subject and colonial discourse in terms of the in-between, and more importantly, turning the indeterminacy of colonial discourse into an agency of counter-hegemonic resistance. (1994: 171, 97).

Crucially, post-structuralism can be seen as “a product of the larger cultural enterprise of post-modernism” (Hutcheon, 1995: 133). Critics and theorists like Derrida, Foucault and François Lyotard form part of the poststructuralist/postmodern Western canon. Beginning its ascendance in the Western academy in the 1970s and 1980s, postmodernism is the deconstruction of the centralised, logocentric meta-narratives of European culture. It can be summarised as “incredulity towards all meta-narratives” (Lyotard, 1981). It is easy to recognise that the overwhelming force of postmodernism in the Western and Anglophone academy has influenced many fields within the humanities, for instance, the dovetailing of the postmodern and the postcolonial in the early 1980s as the anti-Enlightenment ideas of the former met the anti-Western and anti-imperialist concerns of the latter. This shows that postmodernism overlaps significantly with post-colonialism in the sense that the major project of postmodernism is very similar to the postcolonial project of dismantling the Centre/Margin binarism of imperial discourse. For Ato Quayson, however, “the terms post-colonialism and postmodernism are both extremely elusive to classify, and the attempt to bring them together might be thought only to further compound the difficulties” (2000: 132). But, these difficulties seem to have no basis, for a number of prominent postcolonial theorists and critics have been influenced by postmodernism. For many, post-colonialism is certainly dominated by postmodern theories. In short, “post-colonialism is the dialectical mirror-image of postmodernism” (Williams, 1997: 824).

It is almost a truism to say postmodernism's critique of grand narratives have shaped postcolonial studies. This resides in the fact that postcolonial theorists, especially the second generation, pay allegiance to the postmodern writings. In the words of Henry Schwarz, “postcolonial studies is a decidedly new field of scholarship arising in Western universities as the application of postmodern thought to the long history of colonizing practices” (2005: 6). Indeed, postmodernism has been characterised as “that thought which refuses to turn the Other into the

Same” (During, 1995: 125) and this is, of course, where its significance for post-colonialism comes in. Post-colonialism and postmodernism “may be brought together in common thematic, rhetorical, and strategic concerns, especially as these are brought to bear on questions of marginality” (Quasyson, 2005: 88). It may be discerned that post-colonialism owes much of its sophisticated conceptual language to postmodernism. As a matter of fact, the reason behind post-colonialism’s privileging the cultural over the political is due to postmodernism’s emphasis on culture, discourse, and identity.⁷¹ For this reason, post-colonialism is criticised for being apolitical and this is because of the apolitical theories of postmodernism and post-structuralism. The postmodern, to use Ato Quayson’s terms, “is part of an ensemble of the hierarchizing impulse of Western discourses, and that even though it hints at pluralism and seems to favour an attack on hegemonic discourses, it is ultimately apolitical” (2000: 132). As Linda Hutcheon has succinctly put it, “issues such as what is called ‘magic realism’, thematic concerns regarding history and marginality, and discursive strategies like irony and allegory are all shared by both the post-modern and the post-colonial” (1995: 132).

To highlight the unstable, hybrid and fractured nature of colonial and postcolonial identities, post-colonialism “historicizes postmodern thematics, deploying postmodern arguments in the service of decentring world history as well as vindicating and asserting the identities of the formerly colonized” (Xie, 1997: 9). Along similar lines, Aijaz Ahmed affirms that the core of post-colonialism “as it is enunciated by its principal architects, Bhabha and Spivak in particular, is a major instrument for establishing the hermeneutic authority of the postmodern over cultural materials retrieved from outside the advanced capitalist countries” (1997: 374). This shows that postmodernism has exercised an epistemic hegemony over post-colonialism. It imposes Western methods of reading onto non-Western literatures and texts. Put concisely, post-colonialism has been dominated by the postmodern formulations of hybridity, syncretisation, and pastiche while ignoring the critical realism of writers more interested in the specifics of social and racial oppression even religious oppression. In this sense, post-colonialism “tends to privilege ‘appropriation’ over ‘abrogation’ and multicultural ‘syncretism’ over cultural ‘essentialism’” (Gandhi, 1998: 153). This explains why other postcolonial critics who have taken up positions critical of post-structuralism and postmodernism within postcolonial studies like Arif Dirlik, Neil Lazarus, Aijaz Ahmed, Timothy Brennan, and Benita Parry to claim that post-colonialism is “a child of post-modernism.” (Dirlik, 1994: 348). Dirlik emphasises that post-colonialism is a

⁷¹ Post-colonialism is, it can be argued, politically impotent because it ignores the role of political economy. Marxist postmodernists such as Neil Smith, David Harvey, Fredric Jameson, and Nancy Fraser tend to see postmodernism as a symptom of late capitalism. See: Radhakrishnan R. “Postmodernism and the Rest of the Worldn.” In, *The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies*. Eds. Fawzia Afzal-Khan and Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2000).

progeny of postmodernism and this can be observed in the manner in which postcolonial critics acknowledge their debt to both postmodernist and post-structuralist thinking.

Read critically, it was the postmodern moment that shifted postcolonial studies away from its materialist and Marxist roots opening the door to culturalism and idealism. Lazarus complains, for example, that “Raymond Williams, Terry Eagleton, and Fredric Jameson, for instance, who command considerable prestige within the wider ‘theory’ field, are all severely deprived in the field of postcolonial studies” (1999: 358). Ahmad in this respect argues that the term postcolonial “comes to us as the name of a discourse about the condition of ‘post-coloniality’, so that certain kinds of critics are ‘postcolonial’ and others not...the rest of us who do not accept this apocalyptic anti-Marxism, are not postcolonial at all...so that only those intellectuals can be truly postcolonial who are also postmodern” (1995: 10). The fundamental premise behind postcolonialists’ antipathy towards the discourses of Marxism and nationalism is that they are both driven by Eurocentric assumptions. Building on that, under the sign of neoliberalism, prominent postcolonial critics withdrew from left politics and

abandoned anti-capitalist ideologies, pronounce communism dead and Marxism invalidated. They adjusted to a conservative intellectual climate by describing themselves as postmodern or post-Marxist...questions of armed anti-imperialist struggle have been routinely avoided, in favor of resistance manifested as silence, withdrawal, and passive protest. This predilection manifests the accommodationist tendencies of the field, its radical credentials gravely undermined by a failure to address revolutionary violence, on which a critical and serious literature exists (Parry, 2012: 348-352).

Inspired by secular and liberal postmodernism, post-colonialism is synonyms for post-Marxism. What post-Marxism has in common with postmodernism is the categorical dismissal of any theory with Universalist claims. Post-colonialists then yoke together the critique of Enlightenment universalism and that of Orientalist or Eurocentric universalism and use this to reject not only Marxism but nationalism as well.

Dispensing with history and politics in favour of a postcolonial present marked by global flows and hybrid identity politics, post-modernised post-colonialism dismissed Marxism as “foundational, indifferent to culture as well as to non-European cultures, and wedded to metanarratives” (Parry, 2012: 342). What can be inferred from what has been said earlier is that post-colonialism has located itself everywhere and nowhere, eclectically borrowing from other theories and disciplines, regardless of their relevance to the colonial and postcolonial context. It is increasingly indebted to the post-structuralist and postmodern theories. It is a term whose use is, to borrow Neil Larsen’s terms, “virtually restricted to the metropolitan academy and its satellites” (Larsen, 2005: 23). Very interestingly, one of the reasons behind the postcolonial

‘over-reliance’ of postmodern and poststructuralist literary and cultural conventions resides in the fact that postmodernism and post-structuralism’s intellectual roots were post-colonial, carried from Algeria to France, by major French intellectuals. Louis Althusser, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Jean- Francois Lyotard, Jacques Derrida, Hélène Cixous and Jean-Paul Sartre were inextricably linked to Algeria, and some of them were born there. It is remarkable that “the post-colony defined the work of these most significant French post-structuralist and postmodern thinkers” (Ahluwalia, 2010: 598). As Robert Young has pointed out, if “so-called post-structuralism is the product of a single historical moment, then that moment is probably not May 1968 but rather the Algerian War of Independence” (1990: 1). A similar idea can be expressed by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin when they ascertain that the dominant European movements, such as postmodernism are “more indebted to the cultural effects of the material practice of colonization and its aftermath.” They stress that the history of literary and critical movements in the twentieth century is “deeply determined by an interaction with imperialism” (2002: 154). This is, as one might infer, what has whetted the appetite for postcolonial theorists, critics and activists to engage with and appropriate the postmodern and poststructuralist hermeneutics. In short, post-colonialism has often been characterised as being epistemologically indebted to both post-structuralism and postmodernism in its project to provide a critique of the metanarratives of the European Enlightenment.

4. Post-colonialism and Feminism

Women in many societies have been relegated to the position of ‘Other’, marginalised and colonised. It is commonly known that it was in the West where feminists developed a counter-discourse against the patriarchal hegemony. Feminists struggled for a female access to individualism and equal rights in the West. At stake here is that Western feminism has been diverse and not monolithic, but it increasingly pays homage to left-leaning ideologies. Western feminisms as diverse as postmodern feminism, liberal feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism and anarchist feminism have been impacted by Western liberal/humanist discourse and left critique. In other words, Feminism’s intellectual public voice has largely been a secular one. Western feminists like Julia Kristeva, Nancy Fraser and Virginia Woolf seemed to have a strong influence upon other women in ex-colonised countries. Western feminism was, indeed, a source of inspiration for many nationalist and secular forms of non-Western feminisms such as postcolonial feminism, or Third World feminism and black feminism. Since “patriarchy and imperialism can be seen to exert analogous forms of domination over those they render subordinate” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007: 93), post-colonialism has borrowed Western feminist vocabulary. Basing on this, feminist and postcolonial discourses overlap with each other because they “both seek to reinstate the marginalized in the face of the dominant,” and feminists

“share with colonized races and peoples an intimate experience of the politics of oppression and repression, and like them they have been forced to articulate their experiences in the language of their oppressors” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2002: 172). It is obvious that both feminism and post-colonialism oppose Eurocentric dominance and hence they “share the mutual goal of challenging form of oppression” (McLeod, 2000: 174).

It goes without saying that feminism is a constitutive part of the field of post-colonialism. For Linda Hutcheon, feminism has a profound impact on postcolonial criticism (1995: 131). For example, the effect of Feminist Western scholarship on the Third World women is manifested in Lata Mani’s discussion of sati in India and Fatima Mernissi’s application of metropolitan discourse to study the place of women in the Maghreb, and the study of the neo-colonialist exploitation of female peasants in Africa by Africans. It is also crucial to mention that “postcolonial women used the tools of Western liberalism in defence of their cause” (Minh-Ha, 1995: 266). To subvert and dismantle the basic assumptions of dominant systems of language and thought, “feminist criticism has drawn upon deconstruction theory to disentangle polarized concepts in the dominant language” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2002: 174). As a way of illustration, Spivak identifies herself as a Derridean Marxist feminist; Gramsci plays a constitutive role in Spivak’s thinking, and Derrida is Spivak’s greatest inspiration. While recognising the oppression of women everywhere, postcolonial writers have criticised Western feminism and pointed to the risk of producing a singular, monolithic ‘Third World Woman’ in Western feminist texts, where Western women are cast as the normative (liberated) referent and the ‘Third World Woman’ their binary opposite as poor, victimized, domesticated, and traditional (Mohanty, 1995: 259). Mohanty contends that Third world feminisms are constructed “under Western eyes” as passive and accordingly Western feminists are accused of sharing with postmodern theory a common heritage: Eurocentrism and the history of Western dominance. Postcolonial feminist analyses have attempted to draw attention to the differently situated experiences of women in the Third World, while at the same time recognising the need for solidarity and international links between women’s political struggles. In effect, postcolonial feminism is inspired by Marxist, nationalist and secular doctrines.

5. Conclusion

Post-colonialism, as discussed above, has many affinities with Marxism, post-structuralism and postmodernism more generally. Indeed, postmodernism, post-structuralism, Marxism and feminism “clearly function as the conditions of the development of post-colonial theory in its

contemporary form and as the determinants of much of its present nature and content” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2002: 153). Post-colonialism is at best a mishmash of deeply confusing elements deriving from critiques already elaborated by postmodern, poststructuralist, Marxist and feminist thinkers of the West. Now, it is quite clear that viewed in this light, postcolonial theorists and critics have been seen as “mimic men” because of their appropriation of Western conventions and theories neglecting native voices and approaches which counter the Eurocentric tendencies of the West. However, a key area of dispute is that considering post-colonialism as merely appropriating Western scholarship does not do justice to its originality, heterogeneity, and multiple sources of inspiration. Convinced by the view that ‘you can’t dismantle the master’s house with the master’s tools,’ some postcolonial theorists (Ahmad, Lazarus, Dirlk, Young etc.), for instance, confirm that postcolonial knowledge must emerge from the many unwritten and uncollected narratives that are written on the edges of official postcolonial experience. Phrased in different terms, postcolonial thought must establish its own unique voice even as it draws from, and pays homage to European philosophy. Consequently, post-colonialism is marked by the processes of appropriation and abrogation, and globalisation and localisation.

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Violence as the Abject in Iraqi Literature: Ahmed Saadawi's *Frankenstein in Baghdad* and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*

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Abstract

This research examines how violence is represented as the Abject, as described by the theorist Julia Kristeva, in Powers of Horror, in Frankenstein in Baghdad, an Iraqi version of Mary Shelley's novel by Ahmed Saadawi. This novel has a drunken scavenger who collects the body parts of those killed in explosions and stitches them together to form a body. The figure is then inhabited by a displaced soul who begins a campaign of revenge against those who killed the parts constituting its body.

I argue that this monster embodies the Abject, moral pollution or "death infecting life." It is the power of terror. I show how Saadawi's "the what's-its-name", which is how the monster is referred to in the novel, is different from Shelley's monster, since it has no redeeming human features which we can sympathise with. This essay shows how the violence of war is presented as dehumanizing in Saadawi's novel. I closely examine how people in the story lose their humanity and become part of a monstrous reality, living off corpses; how the novel shows that terror is an unstoppable violence that renews itself by creating more violence; and how it suggests that violence can never be stopped unless people reject terror and bury hatred, in order to have an agreed system and order: that a shared humanity can only be restored when we reject and bury the Abject.

Keywords: Violence, Abject, Monster, War, Guilt, Innocence, Mass Media, Salvation

This essay will discuss what Julia Kristeva calls the “Abject” in Iraqi literature. Ahmed Saadawi’s novel, *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, which has recently won the Arab Booker prize, is named after Mary Shelley’s creation. However, the author said that he was not specifically influenced by her novel, but by “the vast cultural space that is called ‘Frankenstein’,” which includes movies, comics, and more.¹

Frankenstein in Baghdad is all about the Abject and violence, which are the motifs and the theme of the novel. Unlike the original story, in which the creature is built by a scientist in his lab, this grim retelling of *Frankenstein* in a contemporary Iraqi context features a monster created by a waste-picker, who stitches together collected human parts fragmented by daily bombings into one body on the roof of a semi-ruined house in an impoverished area of Baghdad. This body is referred to as “shesma,” an Iraqi Arabic word meaning “what’s its name.” The basic idea of the novel is revealed by one of Saadawi’s characters, Farid Shawaf, a young news analyst, who comments on a real event known as Imam’s Bridge Incident that took place in 2005, two years after the US-led invasion of Iraq, in which more than one thousand Shiite pilgrims died on a bridge in Baghdad when somebody warned of a suicide bomber causing a stampede that forced many to jump into the river:

[A]ll security incidents and tragedies we are experiencing have one source which is terror. The innocent people died on the bridge because of their terror of death. Every day we die fearing death itself. [...] We will witness more and more deaths because of terror.²

This shows that the core of the conflict is terror, which have been exaggerated and turned into a monster. This monster, as Saadawi said in an interview, “is made up of parts taken from Iraqis of different races, sects and ethnicities,” therefore it “represents the complete Iraqi individual. In other words, the ‘what’s-its-name’ is a rare example of the melting pot of identities.”³

In this essay, I will deal with the concept of violence as the Abject in *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, after this I will make a comparison between it and Shelley’s novel. After that, I will discuss the questions raised by Saadawi’s novel about war, guilt and innocence, the role of mass media in war times, the American occupation and Western culture and the concept of salvation.

Violence in Saadawi’s novel is the Abject, as described by the Bulgarian-French theorist, Julia Kristeva, in her book *Powers of Horror*. As she notes, “abjection preserves what existed in the archaism of pre-objectal relationship, in the immemorial violence with which a body becomes separated from another body in order to be.”⁴ In other words, for the human subject to be born, it must be violently abjected to be separated from the maternal body. Thus, according to Kristeva, violence exists at the heart of human existence. She suggests that everyone is a monster in some

way. To Kristeva, the Abject “disturbs identity, system, order.”⁵ Frankenstein, either the original or the Iraqi one, is an embodiment of such “disturbance” of a seamless identity, because he is patched together out of other bodies. Violence caused him to come into being. Kristeva says, “Any crime, because it draws attention to the fragility of the law, is abject.”⁶ In other words, violence is monstrosity as the abject is monstrosity as well.

Like Shelley’s, Saadawi’s creature is an excellent example of the Abject. According to Kristeva, the corpse is the utmost example of the Abject object. She says:

The corpse, seen without God and outside of science, is the utmost of abjection. It is death infecting life. Abject. It is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object. Imaginary uncanniness and real threat, it beckons to us and ends up engulfing us.⁷

The corpse is described here as infection, pollution and a real threat to selfhood. Moreover, Kristeva associates it with disgust because it is “the most sickening of wastes.”⁸ It is a border that has been encroached upon; a border between the human and the nonhuman. More importantly here, the corpse is linked to violence. The living body uses violence to expel the waste. In fact, all bodily functions are abject, especially those associated with waste or decay.⁹ This process of expelling waste continues until the body violently expels itself and becomes a corpse. Kristeva says:

There, I am at the border of my condition as a living being. My body extricates itself, as being alive, from that border. Such wastes drop so that I might live, until, from loss to loss, nothing remains in me and my entire body falls beyond the limit—cadere, cadaver.¹⁰

Frankenstein in Baghdad is centered around the word “waste” or abjection. Human lives are wasted and human bodies are treated like waste. We first meet Saadawi’s protagonist, Hadi al-Attag, an old drunken scrap vendor, as he searches for the perfect nose to complete the “hybrid body” he is assembling.¹¹ The reader is faced with the Abject, violence and brutality in the daily scene of Iraq in which parts of the human body were “discarded like garbage”, scattered on pavements and streets, and could easily be picked up.¹² At first, it seems difficult for the scrap vendor to find an intact nose. In an unflinching description, Saadawi writes:

[Hadi] did not want to snatch any of the faces that were offered before him or that he had jumped on during their final moments on the pavement. He wanted a single nose, alone and neglected, that no one else wanted. This is what made his mission so difficult.¹³

The novel's tone is one of black humour as much as horror, almost like Nikolai Gogol's satirical novella *The Nose*, in which a government official loses his nose. In both novels, the abjectness is marked corporeally through distorted noses. In *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, Hadi's task of finding the right nose is not hard after all. In another shocking scene, Saadawi describes how Hadi finally finds the missing part for the corpse that is "rotting".¹⁴

Today, he found it: a great nose with two wide nostrils. He raced with the firemen, who were washing away the blood and corpses' remains, and snatched the nose off the pavement before the water hose pushed it into the gutter.¹⁵

In her description of the Abject, Kristeva notes:

The corpse [. . .] is cesspool, and death [. . .] A wound with blood and pus, or the sickly, acrid smell of sweat, of decay [. . .] These body fluids, this defilement, this shit are what life withstands, hardly and with difficulty, on the part of death.¹⁶

By using similar terms of the Abject such as "rotting," "remains," "blood" and "gutter," Saadawi intends to show how violence has become part of the daily routine in Baghdad, which makes people lose their sense of the sanctity of the human body. Once mutilated and strewn about in the wake of suicide bombers, it becomes part of the waste littered on the streets. Nobody seems to care or to be bothered about it.

Frankenstein in Baghdad, as Saadawi said, was not an adaptation of Shelley's work. However, similarities as well as differences can be drawn between the two novels. In an interview, Saadawi says that there are only two references to Frankenstein in the novel:

Apart from these two references, the people of the Baghdad in the novel call the strange monster the "what's-its-name" or "the one who does not have a name," and perhaps it does not concern them whether it looks like Frankenstein or not.¹⁷

For Saadawi, the main difference between his and Shelley's novel is the theme. He says:

Frankenstein in this novel is a condensed symbol of Iraq's current problems. The Frankenstein-esque atmosphere of horror was strongly prevalent in Iraq during the period covered by the novel.¹⁸

We can track other differences as well, such as that the impoverished Hadi in the Iraqi version lacks Victor Frankenstein's "high hopes" and "lofty ambition."¹⁹ Hadi intends to make something useful out of the cadaver, though he does not know what that is to be; he only knows it is a "terrible and mad deed."²⁰ However, both Victor Frankenstein and Hadi al-Attag have made a secret discovery. Victor has found "the secret of life." He says: "I was surprised that among so many men of genius who had directed their inquiries towards the same science, that I alone should be reserved to discover so astonishing a secret."²¹ Hadi has made a totally different discovery, which has nothing to do with science. It is more about violence and its basis, which lies in disregarding human sanctity. He has found the secret of violence in waste or abjection. Hadi, who is also a storyteller in the coffee shop of his Egyptian friend Aziz El Masry, tells his audience about the story of the creature he has assembled so that it can have a decent burial. Hadi says, "I constructed a full corpse so that it won't turn into garbage [. . .] to be respected and buried like the dead bodies of other people."²²

In Saadawi's novel, Hadi's "intact corpse" comes to life when a displaced soul enters the body and sets out to seek revenge for the victims.²³ In Shelley's story, the creature is animated by an electrical spark. Victor says:

With an anxiety that almost amounted to agony, I collected the instruments of life around me, that I might infuse a spark of being into the lifeless thing that lay at my feet [. . .] by the glimmer of the half-extinguished light, I saw the dull yellow eye of the creature open; it breathed hard, and a convulsive motion agitated its limbs.²⁴

By contrast to this scientific process, the human spirit that enters inside 'what's-its-name' is the lost soul of a guard of a nearby hotel, whose entire body has vanished in a suicide explosion of a municipal garbage truck. Hadi was there when the explosion took place, but he escaped death. The guard's soul steers the body towards revenge, so that it starts a campaign of killing those who caused the death of the people from whose remains his body is composed. After each killing, a part of his body falls away or decays and he has to replace it with body parts from the people he kills. The incident of the explosion was real and took place in 2005. It is cleverly used by Saadawi to show that booby-trapped garbage is used to explode people and turn them into garbage and thus into the *Abject*. The idea of the monster's revenge, which is found in both Shelley's and Saadawi's texts, indicates the continuation of the process of killing and waste or abjection. The monster becomes, like Hamlet, Heaven's Scourge. His terrified victims think of him as "the scourge of God."²⁵ That sends us back to Kristeva, who says that the *Abject* is

“premeditated crime, cunning murder, hypocritical revenge [...] because they heighten the display of such fragility” of the law.²⁶ These abject acts of revenge disturb order by being outside the law.

When Hadi narrates his story of the monster he built, two journalists are among the listeners in the coffee shop, including a blond German woman and a brown-skinned young man, Mahmoud Al-Suwadi, from southern Iraq. The woman decides to leave because she is bored and tells Al-Suwadi that Hadi “is narrating from a movie ... a well-known movie starring Robert De Niro.”²⁷ She is probably referring to the 1994 film version of *Frankenstein* directed by Kenneth Branagh, starring Robert De Niro as the monster. Though this suggests that the film is better known than Shelley’s novel, Saadawi reminds us here that his story is also a fiction, but he wants to interweave fantasy with reality to show the monstrosity and terror of war in Iraq, where it is not a crime to be like Hadi, lifting body parts from scenes of explosions. Saadawi says in the novel, “You could mock [Hadi], or phone the police to inform them of his whereabouts. But he did not steal anything from anyone. He only took what was discarded like garbage.”²⁸ Saadawi refers here to Shelley’s novel in which the monster is created from a mixture of stolen body parts. Victor Frankenstein tells his story to Captain Walton, “Who shall conceive the horrors of my secret toil as I dabbled among the unhallowed damps of the grave or tortured the living animal to animate the lifeless clay?”²⁹ However, Shelley depicted a normal society where it is a crime to steal corpses, as in war-torn Iraq. It is Saadawi’s way of emphasizing the anomaly of a garbage-diver becoming a litter-picker of dead bodies. Saadawi narrates that:

[It] is what [Hadi] usually does anyway, gathering others’ refuse off pavements and from garbage dumps, then selling them on to antique and scrap dealers. What drives him to pick up corpses’ remains may just be an extension of his appreciation for human waste.³⁰

Hadi’s creature, like Victor’s, is nameless. In *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, the name (‘what’s-its-name’) signifies an unidentified source of terror. It is, perhaps, like the nameless terror in which Vladimir and Estragon find themselves shot through with in Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot*. Or, maybe, it refers to the lack of self or identity, as in Beckett’s novel *Unnameable*. Kristeva refers to “that conglomerate of fear, deprivation, and nameless frustration, which, properly speaking, belongs to the unnameable.”³¹ In *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, ‘what’s-its-name’ represents the power of terror caused by sectarian strife. He has a body, but he represents a group of people, the unknown criminals and suicide bombers that provide the body with spares. The name also refers to innocent victims. It even refers to everybody and how everybody is involved in that sectarian war. “Only God, who is not sectarian [in Iraq],” says one of the characters in the

novel.³² On the cover of his book, Saadawi writes, “everybody discovers that they form, relatively, this Frankenstein’s creature, or they provide it with sustenance and growth.”³³ He accuses everybody of having some sort of criminality that disfigures humanity. So the Abject is not the extraordinary here, in Iraq, but has become the everyday – like violence itself.

Frankenstein in Baghdad raises questions about guilt and innocence. ‘What’s-its-name’ kills both sides, Sunnis and Shiites: a leader in Al-Qaida in the Sunni Abu Ghraib area and a militia leader in the Shiite Sadr City. This is because his body is a hybrid of all sects and ethnicities, innocent people and criminals. It wants the help of the media to achieve its mission of vengeance without trouble, sending messages to the media through a tape recorder that belongs to Al-Suwadi, saying:

I was careful about the flesh used in reconstructing my body and that my aides don’t bring me ‘illegitimate’ ones that belong to criminals. But, who can determine the rate of criminality in a person?³⁴

What’s-its-name has many followers, including Saddam’s magician, an old man, who finds in him a tool to take revenge on those who assaulted him after the fall of the regime; the Sophist, who hates the magician and later kills him; The Small Mad, The Bigger Mad and the Biggest Mad, the last three of whom have a great number of followers. By depicting these deranged groups of followers, Saadawi thematicizes the sectarian violence and its mad supporters, who are “the senseless abyss” or “the abyss of abjection” as described by Kristeva in *Powers of Horror* because madness “threatens this passing through the identical, which is what scripture amounts to”.³⁵ *Frankenstein in Baghdad* shows how people go mad, supporting shedding blood for the sake of shedding blood. In another book of hers, Kristeva says that “today’s milestone is human madness,” which is “antisocial” and “apolitical.”³⁶ The characters in Saadawi’s novel are caught in madness without social context when political life becomes unreal.

There is an incident in the novel when the eyes of ‘what’s-its-name’ start to decay and fall apart when he is on a road and gets himself caught up in crossfire between sectarian militias. He sees the approach of a man in his sixties, carrying a bag containing vegetables and bread. ‘What’s-its-name’ thinks of this man as “a lamb brought by God into my direction”.³⁷ He kills the man, takes his eyes and places them in his own face, using the man’s eyeglasses to fix them temporarily till he gets help from his aides. ‘What’s-its-name’ does not feel guilty because he believes that he, “only enhanced the man’s death because he is dead anyway. All innocent people, passing by this ghastly road tonight, shall die like this man”.³⁸ The Magician tells ‘what’s-its-name’ that, “there is no purely innocent people and none who are fully criminals,”

because “in every one of us there is a rate of criminality next to a specific rate of innocence”.³⁹ He also tells him that he is “now half a criminal. Half of the flesh of [his] body belongs to criminals,” warning him that he will wake up one day to find he has become a “super criminal... composed of criminals, a bunch of criminals.”⁴⁰ For the Magician, even the saints are criminals, “as long as the saint possesses a weapon, he becomes a criminal”.⁴¹ Here, we sense an almost unrelieved pessimism with regard to human nature. This pessimism is echoed by Kristeva in her citation from Louis-Ferdinand Celine’s novel, *Journey to the End of the Night*, which is about “the filthy thing” of war:

I had suddenly discovered, all at once, what the war was, the whole war. I'd lost my innocence. You need to be pretty well alone with it, face to face, as I was then, to see it properly, in the round, the filthy thing.⁴²

Both Saadawi’s and Celine’s novels are nihilistic accounts of savage, exultant misanthropy, combined with cynical humour. Céline describes war as madness and the people involved in wars as monsters, saying:

How much longer would this madness have to go on before these monsters dropped with exhaustion? How long could a convulsion like this last? Months? Years? How many? Maybe till everyone’s dead?⁴³

Later in the novel, Al-Suwadi asks Hadi about the end of ‘what’s-its-name’. Hadi replies:

- He will kill all of them. All criminals who committed crimes against him.
- And what next?
- He will fall apart, then decay and die.

Hadi himself is on the wanted list of ‘what’s-its-name’.⁴⁴

Saadawi believes that the monster will end up killing itself because it is made up of the body parts of victims who belong to different groups, each of which views the other as its enemy:

In other words, ‘what’s-its-name’ is the fictional representation of the process of everyone killing everyone. This character is the visual representation of the larger crisis, rather than the solution.⁴⁵

Being on the wanted list of ‘what’s-its-name’, Hadi requests to be the last person to be killed. He is wanted, not because he rejected it, as the case with Victor and his monster, but because he caused the death of the guard of the hotel, whose soul moves the creature. In the scene of the explosion, Hadi was walking that evening near the hotel, carrying “a big suspicious-bag on

his back,” which made the guard of the hotel leave his secure position to check on him, then the explosion took place, killing the guard and throwing Hadi away:

The pressure of the sound of the explosion in [Hadi's] head pushed him a few metres into the air and he lost his canvas bag, his dinner and the bottle of drink. He twirled in the air, feeling stoned and dizzy, feeling that he had died.⁴⁶

From this scene, we understand that Hadi is a victim of the explosion as well as the guard. It is again the questions of revenge, justice, innocence and guilt which are shown to have relative meaning. Al-Mustafa Najjar, the editor at the English edition/translator at Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper, calls it “a novel that suspends moral judgement” because of “the concept of ambivalence” that preoccupies Saadawi novel and the “moral relativism” that is a dominant theme in it whereas Shelley’s novel clearly lays blame at the feet of a high-ranking representative of power.⁴⁷

Frankenstein in Baghdad emphasizes the role of the media in daily violence. In her book *Media Matrix*, Barbara Creed points out that although it repels, the Abject also fascinates. She says:

The human subject is deeply attracted to those things which the culture defines as uncivilised, “other,” non- human [. . .] the public has turned more and more to the media as the main avenue for contact with, and understanding of, the abject. The media bring images of abjection—war, violence, sexual perversity, child abuse, cruelty, death—to the public.⁴⁸

In the media, as indicated in *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, the sectarian war in Iraq has been reduced to a source of entertainment. After hearing a tape recording of ‘what’s-its-name’, Al-Suwadi, the journalist, writes an article with the title, “Frankenstein in Baghdad.”⁴⁹ The article is published under a big photo of De Niro taken from the movie “Frankenstein.” The tragedy on the bridge is turned into statistics for TV channels. People are dehumanized when their death becomes a number.

Frankenstein in Baghdad implicitly questions this concept of salvation. ‘What’s-its-name’ is depicted as Christian. Later in the novel, he is made by his followers to think of himself as a “leader,” a “saint” and even Jesus, “the saviour and the awaited” who is sent by “my Father in Heavens,” as ‘what’s-its-name’ puts it.⁵⁰ Al-Saadawi said in an interview:

Another way of reading it is that the monster represents the saviour, given its desire to take revenge on behalf of all victims. Bringing justice to the increasing number of victims in Iraq today means salvation for everyone. Here, we sense a reflection of the

metaphysical vision of the concept of salvation being achieved at the hands of a single person.⁵¹

The image of the saviour here is Abject, according to Kristeva, who says that the Abject is “the killer who claims he is a savior” because he “does not respect borders, positions, rules.”⁵² The followers of *The Biggest Mad* think that ‘what’s-its-name’ is the image of God embodied on earth and they prostrate themselves on the ground when they encounter him. They even cover their heads with their hands to avoid seeing him because they believe it is forbidden to look at him. This shows the social and psychological decay in times of war. People are driven not by their minds, but by their illusions. It is an attempt to show the destruction, not only of body, but also of the psyche. In his article, “New Writing from the Arab World,” Noam Schimmel states that the novel “depicts the terrors of war, its violence and the way it distorts the psyche both ethically and emotionally.”⁵³ The distortion caused by the monstrosity of violence is huge and fast-growing. According to Saadawi, the monster can be viewed as the epitome of mass destruction: “In other words, ‘what’s-its-name’ becomes a dramatic representation of destruction that has been growing with a sort of a snowball effect.”⁵⁴

The novel tries to show ‘what’s-its-name’ is different and alien, or the Abject, which is, according to Kristeva, “a non-assimilable alien, a monster, a tumor, a cancer.”⁵⁵ In *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, the indirect reference to the invasion of Iraq is shown as the cause of the appearance of this alien. Being Christian, ‘what’s-its-name’ symbolises Western military and cultural invasion. Frankenstein is a popular figure in Western culture, in horror movies and in Halloween parties. Frankenstein represents the ugly part, the Abject, of Western civilization. Their high technology has reached Iraq in a destructive and monstrous shape of weaponry or a Cyborg. Like a Cyborg, ‘what’s-its-name’ cannot be killed with bullets. In fact, he is the demonic nihilism of Western culture projected onto Iraq. He is the tumor and the cancer caused by the invasion of aliens. ‘What’s-its-name’ referring to its ancestors is another allusion to those who occupied Iraq in the past: “I know I have many ancestors, who appeared here on this land in past epochs and times.”⁵⁶

Although his novel might seem fantastical, Saadawi has depicted reality, a decaying reality, of people moving among dead bodies, of a disfigured humanity and of the dehumanizing horrors of war. The permanent presence of death manifests itself in this monster, as Kristeva says the “Abjection is a resurrection that has gone through death (of the ego)” in a transformative process.⁵⁷ The monster seems to experience this “source in the non-ego, drive, and death,” and it also materializes a “resurrection,” as a living corpse.⁵⁸ ‘What’s-its-name’, which embodies the Abject, is moral pollution or “death infecting life.”⁵⁹ He is different from Shelley’s monster, since

he has no redeeming human features which we can sympathise with. In his essay “The Gothic Scene of International Relations,” Richard Devetak describes monsters in fiction thus,

Monsters were metaphors of human anxieties. Part of the reason for this is that monsters are liminal creatures who 'defy borders' and defy “normality”. Their defiance of borders is taken as a threat demanding measures to reinforce the borders between the human and inhuman, to defend the civilised against the barbaric, and to uphold good in the face of evil.⁶⁰

In *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, people lose their humanity and become barbaric and part of a monstrous reality, living off corpses; and that terror is an unstoppable violence that renews itself by creating more violence, which distorts the psyche, both ethically and emotionally. *Frankenstein in Baghdad*, which takes place in 2005, ends with ‘what’s-its-name’ standing solidly in a derelict building, looking out through the windows, just one day before the bombing of the shrine in Samarra, which triggered the civil war in Iraq.

In conclusion, the novel suggests that violence can never be stopped unless people reject terror and bury hatred, in order to have an agreed system and order: that a shared humanity can only be restored when we reject and bury their corpse-like hatred or the Abject. This hatred is like a dead body that can “pollute the divine earth,” therefore it should be buried.⁶¹ This would allow us to a state of being in which the Abject is kept out of sight, in other words, since it can’t be done away with.

Notes

¹ Mlynxqualey, "Baghdad Writes!," *Arabic Literature (in English)*, 30 April 2014, 4 Feb 2015 <<http://arablit.org/2014/04/30/baghdad-writes/>>.

² Ahmed Saadawi, *Frankenstein in Baghdad* (Beirut, Al-Kamel, 2013), 137. All quotes from this version are my translation.

³ Al-Mustafa Najjar, "Iraqi Author Ahmad Saadawi: 'The Novel Implicitly Questions This Concept of Salvation'," 26 March, 2014, *Arabic Literature (in English)*, 4 Feb. 2015 <<http://arablit.org/2014/03/26/iraqi-author-ahmad-saadawi-the-novel-implicitly-questions-this-concept-of-salvation/>>.

⁴ Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 10.

⁵ Kristeva, *Powers* 3.

⁶ Kristeva, *Powers* 4.

⁷ Kristeva, *Powers* 4.

⁸ Kristeva, *Powers* 3.

⁹ See Nancy Arden McHugh, *Feminist Philosophies A-Z* (Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2007) 69.

¹⁰ Kristeva, *Powers* 4.

¹¹ Ahmed Saadawi, "from the novel: *Frankenstein in Baghdad*," in *A Hay Festival Project: Beirut 39*, ed. Samuel Shimon, trans. Anne Shaker (London: Bloomsbury, 2012) 51-56 (51).

¹² Saadawi, "from the novel" 51.

¹³ Saadawi, "from the novel" 51.

¹⁴ Saadawi, "from the novel" 51.

¹⁵ Saadawi, "from the novel" 51.

¹⁶ Kristeva, *Powers* 3.

¹⁷ Najjar, "Iraqi Author Ahmad Saadawi."

¹⁸ Najjar, "Iraqi Author Ahmad Saadawi."

¹⁹ Mary Wollstonecraft (Godwin) Shelley, *Frankenstein or The Modern Prometheus*, 20 December 2013, *Project Gutenberg* (2008), 20 Dec. 2014 <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/84/84-h/84-h.htm>>

²⁰ Saadawi, "from the novel" 54.

²¹Shelley, *Frankenstein*.

²²Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 24.

²³Saadawi, "from the novel" 52.

²⁴Shelley, *Frankenstein*.

²⁵Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 168.

²⁶Kristeva, *Powers* 4.

²⁷Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 26.

²⁸Saadawi, "from the novel" 51.

²⁹Shelley, *Frankenstein*.

³⁰Saadawi, "from the novel" 51.

³¹Kristeva, *Powers* 35.

³²Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 318.

³³See Ahmed Saadawi's comments on the back cover of his book *Frankenstein in Baghdad*.

³⁴ Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 173.

³⁵Kristeva, *Powers* 137, 209.

³⁶Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992) 235.

³⁷Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 178.

³⁸Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 178.

³⁹Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 255, 173.

⁴⁰Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 174.

⁴¹Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 173.

⁴²Kristeva, *Powers* 192.

⁴³ Louis-Ferdinand Céline, *Journey to the End of the Night*, trans. Ralph Manheim (London: Oneworld Classics Ltd., 2010) 15.

⁴⁴Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 146.

⁴⁵Najjar, "Iraqi Author Ahmad Saadawi"

⁴⁶Saadawi, "from the novel" 52-3.

⁴⁷Al-Mustafa Najjar, 'A Golden Piece of Shit: 'Frankenstein in Baghdad' on Morality and War', 6 February 2014, Arabic Literature (in English), 4 Feb. 2015 <<http://arablit.org/2014/02/06/a-golden-piece-of-shit-on-morality-and-war/>>

⁴⁸Barbara Creed, *Media Matrix: Sexing the New Reality* (Victoria: Allen & Unwin, 2003) 8-9.

⁴⁹Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 135.

⁵⁰Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 156.

⁵¹Najjar, "Iraqi Author Ahmad Saadawi".

⁵²Kristeva, *Powers* 4.

⁵³Noam Schimmel, "New Writing from the Arab World," 31 Aug. 2012, 3 Feb. 2015 <<http://www.majalla.com/eng/2012/08/article55233812>>

⁵⁴Najjar, "Iraqi Author Ahmad Saadawi"

⁵⁵Kristeva, *Powers* 11.

⁵⁶Saadawi, *Frankenstein* 171.

⁵⁷Kristeva, *Powers* 15.

⁵⁸Kristeva, *Powers* 15.

⁵⁹Kristeva, *Powers* 4.

⁶⁰Richard Devetak, 'The Gothic Scene of International Relations: Ghosts, Monsters, Terror and the Sublime after September 11', *Review of International Studies* 31.4 (2005) 22 November 2013, 20 Jan. 2014 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40072111>>

⁶¹Kristeva, *Powers* 109.

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Angela Carter's *Nights at the Circus*: a Historiographical Perspective

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Abstract

*Nights at The Circus (1984) is a provocative novel, written by the British writer Angela Carter. It is a feminist postmodern work which combines fantastic events, to convey historiographical happenings. Contrary to the postmodern critics who advance the principle of death of history, feminist postmodernists tend to reassess history, from which they were excluded, by uniting fantasy and history. Historiographical metafiction is an attempt to rewrite history from a female critical angle. In *Nights at The Circus*, the narrative tracks back the past historical events of the 1890's, with an endeavour to plan a more successful female future. Carter's dealing with history implies a corrective political undertone that pays tribute to the marginalized females. The postmodern herstoricism is intermingled with fantasy to inscribe a more even history.*

*As an example, we can take the character of Fevvers in *Nights at The Circus* who evokes Margaret Thatcher: The iron Lady. This example is used to introduce hidden historical truths. Fevvers with her fantastic wings is the symbolic "New Woman" of the late 19th century who seeks to enjoy her economic, social and civil rights. She unveils the historical and political atrocities imposed on women, and deconstructs the patriarchal identity. Through the female herstoricism, Fevvers mould and reconstruct "The New Man" who can fit "The New Woman". Walser, the journalist who embarks on writing the biography of fevvers is deployed by her to integrate into history, all the female tales that have been erased from the bygone historical records. Throughout the whole novel, fevvers cherishes her clock as the emblem of history. When she loses it during the train crash, she lives the Siberian experience, which is depicted by her, as being before history. For Fevvers, as a female representative, history is vital, consequently should be revisited to incorporate women into it.*

Key words: feminism- postmodernism- historiography- herstory- fantasy

The feminist movement has usually challenged the western metaphysical truths from which they have been excluded. Actually, the females have been deprived from a sense of subjectivity as well as a historical past. The official western history has depicted the story of the white male and overlooked the female history. However, the feminist postmodern alliance has strengthened women, and provided them with an opportunity to regain their subjective essence and historical past existence.

In this context, the feminist postmodern rewriting of history has come as a reaction to reinscribe their historical records and pay tribute to the excluded females. Historiography and historiographical metafiction are feminist postmodern attempts to rewrite history through a fictional and fantastic literary style. The conventional historical events are revised from a feminist fantastic perspective. As far as historiographical metafiction is concerned

The narrativization of past events is not hidden: the events no longer seem to speak for themselves but are shown to be consciously composed into a narrative, whose constructed –not found– order is imposed upon them, often overtly by the narrating figure. The process of making stories out of chronicles, of constructing plots out of sequences, is what postmodern fiction underlines (Hutcheon 66).

The postmodern writers start from some historical sequences to weave whole fictional and narratorial plots. Amongst the postmodern feminist writers, the British writer Angela Carter is innovator in writing historical novels. Her book *Nights at The Circus* (1984) can be considered as a “herstorical” novel, rather than a historical, since it attempts to regain the lost female historical voice.

Throughout the whole book, various historiographical instances are conspicuously deployed to pinpoint the ignored feminist historical record. What is appealing in *Nights at The Circus* is Carter’s deployment to historiographical metafiction through fantastic fictional plots. The historical setting of the novel which is the late 19th century, provides significant historical revision of this period, and opens horizons forward to the 20th century.

Without disregarding the fantastic and mythic elements, the historical references are clearly anchored within the writing. To use Sarah Gamble’s words, “*Nights at The Circus*...is a fantasy which ends up by negotiating its way out of fantasy [...]. There is real experience, authentic emotion, to be had in the world outside the circus, and the novel concludes having firmly staked its claim there” (Gamble qtd. in Stoddart 56). The novel hovers around the historical context of the late 19th century which is purposefully chosen by the writer.

In point of fact, it is a period that has witnessed the emergence of Women’s rights which would become a British parliamentary legislation during the 20th century. As a historical fact, in 1865, being elected as a member of the British parliament, John Stuart Mill advanced the issue of Women ‘suffrage as a prior bill in his electoral list. Though Carter does not explicitly mention

these facts, she alludes to them through her fantastic depiction of her heroine: fevvers. The latter, is presented to the reader as a woman with wings. Symbolically speaking, her wings would uphold her to be the equal of males.

This is clearly shown through the words of fevvers' foster mother. After the apparition of her wings, Ma Nelson describes Fevvers as "The pure child of the century that just now is waiting in the wings, The New Age in which no women will be bound down to the ground" (Carter 25)

This alludes to the coming of the 20th century with the liberation of women and their undeniable right to suffrage. *Nights at The Circus* is typically herstorical, in that it rewrites historical evidences from a female perspective, meanwhile it questions the internalized male historical accounts. To refer to Carter's utterances, *Nights at The Circus*

is set at exactly the moment in European history when things began to change. It is set at that time quite deliberately and [Fevvers] is the new woman. All women who have been in the first brothel with her end up doing these 'newwomen' jobs, like becoming hotel managers and running typing agencies, and so on (Carter qtd.in Gamble 144).

The novel anticipates women's freedom at the dawn of a new century, when women had to be economically active, similarly to males and hence should enjoy the same rights as men. Fevvers is presented to us as a female hungry for money. Carter advances a significant characteristic of the twentieth century woman which is economic involvement. "You'd never think she dreamed, at nights, of bank accounts, or that, to her, the music of the spheres was the jingling of cash registers" (Carter 12). By comparing Fevvers' love for money to the patriarchal materialist pursuit, the writer strives to equate both of them at all levels.

Amongst the most significant herstorical aspects of the novel is the identification of Fevvers with the political figure: Margaret Thatcher. During the 1980's the Thatcherite period was characterized by aggressive capitalism which might be reserved for males, rather than females. However, the comparison of Fevvers, to the iron lady is an attempt by the writer to fortify the new liberal woman of the twentieth century. The winged victory embodies the type of females, dreamed of by Thatcher. "Everywhere you saw her picture; the shops were crammed with "Fevvers" garters, stockings, fans, cigar, shaving soap...She even lent it to a brand of baking powder (Carter 8).The economic success of Fevvers is paralleled to the British capitalist development of Margaret Thatcher.

Like Fevvers, Thatcher combined a thirst for elevation, status and fortune with a powerful populism.[and] Fevvers, like Margaret Thatcher, is a self-promoting individualist, who emphasizes the importance of hard work and self-help, always with an eye on the main chance when it comes to national and international money-making opportunities (Stoddart 8-9).

Though the novel tackles real historical occurrence, it weaves it with fantasy. “The setting of *Nights at The Circus* is firmly historicized, placed at the end of the nineteenth century, the year 1899; the novel does not simply mix the real and the surreal. It mixes reference to specifically *historical* facts and personages with fantastic characters and events” (Day 170). This is the essence of herstoricism, as a feminist postmodern re inscription of historical events from which women have been kept out. Within herstoricism, history and fantasy are tightly linked together. Therefore, the fantastic dimensions in *Nights at The Circus* make sense, only in relation to the historical context of the novel. According to Christina Crosby,

To historicize [for postmodern feminists] is first to discover women where there had only been men, to see women in history, and recognize a fundamental experience which unites all women, the experience of being “The other”...Such a reading obviously is no longer wholly within the discourse which produces history as man’s truth, no longer accepts that history has only to do with men (Elam 68).

Herstoricism unfolds copious feminist histories that represent the various female categories. It is important to note that feminist herstorical novels should be analysed in relation to their concrete historical context in order to get their meaningful implications. To study another historiographical instance in *Nights at The Circus*, we can refer to the parliamentary member Rosencreutz, who fiercely opposed the extension of the franchise to women during the later period of the 19th century. Carter ironically deploys this particular political figure, though with a covert implication. To quote from the novel, Fevvers addresses the American journalist: Walser in the following way:

You must know this gentleman’s name! Insisted Fevvers and, seizing his notebook, wrote it down...on reading it: ‘Good God,’ said walser. ‘I saw in the paper only yesterday how he gives the most impressive speech in the House on the subject of votes for women. Which he is against. On account of how women are of a different soul-substance from men, cut from a different bold of spirit cloth...’ (Carter 78-9)

Carter writes about the parliamentary Rosencreutz via a herstorical vision. He is conveyed as a psychologically troubled rich male who purchases Fevvers from Madame Schreck’s museum to kill her and extract from her female supernatural body, a substance that would keep him immortal. This fantastic literary depiction finds meaning only in relation to the authentic historical reputation of the parliamentary Rosencreutz.

His endeavor to kill Fevvers can be explained by his opposition to extend the Franchise to women. However the heroine’s escape from his gothic mansion alludes to the females ‘liberation during the twentieth century, including the acquisition of the electoral right. The fantastic features associated with the British parliamentary Rosencreutz can be recovered only in rational historical terms.

History is not only ideological, in most cases it is also imbued with perspective, written as it is from an official, masculine point of view that omits the private, the personal-and the feminine. Consequently, [...] (women) writers and historians have engaged in the project of

recovering the lost female voice of the past; ‘herstory’ can be characterized as an attempt to “recover women’s submerged or unrealized past” [...].The desire to reclaim and recover a feminine past” (Gruss 245).

This feminist objective can be carried through, by intertwining fantasy with historical evidences that results in a fantastic feminist herstorical writing. Moving to another historiographical exemplary instance, we can mention Lizzie: Fevvers’ foster mother. By the end of the book, Fevvers divulges to Walser, that Lizzie belongs to the English radical tradition. She has been keen to draw her clients ‘attention to numerous political issues and therefore she fails to assume her role as a good prostitute in Ma Nelson’s academy.

Her habit of lecturing the clients on the white slave trade, the rights and wrongs of women, universal suffrage, as well as the Irish question, the Indian question, republicanism, anti-clericalism, syndicalism, and the abolition of the House of Lords. With all of which Nelson was in full sympathy but, as she said, the world won’t change overnight and we must eat (Carter 292).

The writer strives to assert the female political awareness during the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Lizzie epitomizes woman’s political activism which has been neglected and excluded from historical records. Ma Nelson’s brothel, where Fevvers has grown up, proves to be a place that has promoted female political activism. Besides, when they have been in Russia, Lizzie begs the American journalist Walser to send her letters, together with his own ones, to Britain.

Actually, he did so, thinking they were personal. “It turns out that these were not just personal communications but news of Russian internal politics to Russian dissidents in exile; dissidents who would eventually produce the Revolution of 1917” (Day 175). Thus, within the fantastic supernatural narrative events, we are confronted with historical evidences that clearly maintain the female political eminence.

The writer hints to the female radicalism, within her herstorical writing, to highlight the rebellious female nature that succeeds to overthrow the suffocating patriarchal dominance. To quote from the novel, Fevvers informs Walser that “those letters we sent home by you in the diplomatic bag were news of the struggle in Russia to comrades in exile, written in invisible ink...Liz *would* do it, having made a promise to a spry little gent with a ‘tache she met in the reading-room of the British Museum” (Carter 292). The novel opens horizons for gender equality where “the New woman” represented by Fevvers would fit “the New Man” who is the embodiment of Jack Walser. Carter believes in fairness between the sexes rather than the supremacy of one sex over the other. The narrative puts forward, female and male political comrades who are equal radical activists.

This feminist postmodern utopia is conspicuously articulated in most herstorical novels. Feminists endeavor to recover their veiled historical past. Hence “if they want to evade the danger of re-inscribing patriarchal categories into their own works, they have to re-imagine

history as a process” (Gruss 245). By rewriting historical traces of women’s political activism, the writer acts in response to the female exclusion from the officially male-written history. “Women authors return to [the historical novel] over and over again, and places this interest in the historical “in the context of a literary rebellion against the exclusion of women from historical discourse”(Gruss 245).

By setting the example of Lizzie as an English radical activist, Carter associates her name with authentic political leaders. The fantastic characters are intermingled with the real historical figures, to give birth to an original postmodern literary historiography. “The historical roots of Lizzie’s radicalism are with the English radical movement of the 1790s, a movement associated with the names, among others, of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft” (Day 175). The writer’s dealing with history starts from a realistic point of view, though intermingled with fantasy, to accomplish a reconceived male history or a herstorical account. Knowing that the conventional historical narratives have precluded the female material life, women writers have responded to re-inscribe history.

Another visible herstorical example in the novel deals with the suffragist British naval: Lord Horatio Nelson. Carter has intertextually borrowed the leader’s name, who died in the battle of Trafalgar square, to draw some hidden political as well as personal similarities. From the onset of the novel, we are presented with the character of Ma Nelson, the owner of the brothel. To introduce her to Walser, Fevvers explains that she was “called Nelson, on account of her one eye, a sailor having put the other out with a broken bottle the year of the Great Exhibition” (Carter 22).

This description is drawn from the fact that Lord Nelson himself, during his service “had lost his right eye and right arm, and been severely wounded and bruised in his body” (Rhys 100). The heroic description of Lord Nelson is employed by the writer to depict the brothel’s manager: Ma Nelson, who is conveyed as a great suffragist, similarly to Lord Horatio Nelson. Besides, Carter’s choice of Ma Nelson to be the owner of the brothel implicitly alludes to Lord Nelson’s affair with the married Lady Emma Hamilton. The writer strives to align her female character with the historical leader: Horatio Nelson. Ma Nelson is described as a brave woman, equally to Lord Nelson.

Following the death of Ma Nelson, Fevvers inherited her sword, the symbolic implication of braveness, and her clock which epitomizes the importance of history in woman’s life. She says “I took my sword, victory’s sword, the sword that started out its life on Nelson’s thigh” (Carter 53). Similarly to Lord Nelson, the females of the brothel are equipped with courage and determination to fight their ways in life and achieve their obscured rights.

Carter aims to equalize her female characters with the authentic political and historical leaders, though via a fictional and fantastic way, which is the prominent tendency of historiographical metafiction or the female herstorical narratorial writing. By all postmodern literary criteria, we can judge *Nights at The Circus* as a herstorical novel that tends to sustain

women's historical and material life, by bringing back the official history in order to reinstate the concealed female historical activism.

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A Few 'Keys' to Understanding Gibraltar

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Abstract

British Gibraltar, the last colony in Europe, has a population whose cultural identity is uneasy to define: to demonstrate how unique they are, the Gibraltarians wave a flag depicting a coat of arms granted by a Spanish queen. But their land is a bone of contention between London and Madrid. From the outside, the 'eternal' dispute is based on the fact that the strait is the key to the Mediterranean; and yet, it is rather a human problem. A few decades ago, Gibraltar was locked from the outside by Spain; nowadays, the traditional 'Ceremony of the Keys' gives the impression the inhabitants still feel besieged. The Rock's fate is thus closely linked to geography and imperialistic pretensions, making it harder for Gibraltarians to be recognized as a genuine people having the right to decide its future. Self-determination is definitely the most precious 'key', the one Gibraltarians do not possess yet.

Keywords: (straits of) Gibraltar, nationalism, self-determination, decolonization, Spain, UK

Introduction

The history of Gibraltar is complex and its sovereignty has been in various hands. Tariq ibn Ziyad is said to have set foot on the Rock the very day he started his conquest of Spain for the Arabs in 711 (but in fact, for practical reasons, he most probably landed in the bay, around the old Roman town of Carteia) (Chichon, [n. d.]: 14); the Spanish Catholic kings eventually recaptured the place in 1462 after many unsuccessful attempts and sieges; and the peninsula finally became British at the beginning of the 18th century, in 1704. The very shape of the Rock and its central position, both between Europe and Africa, and the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, have made it a mythical place worth possessing, and, although the Spaniards signed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 by which they ceded the territory in perpetuity to Great Britain, they have never ceased to claim it ever since.

But today, Gibraltar may not be so valuable. So what are the reasons for Spain's attitude and its consequences on the Gibraltarians' daily lives? Interestingly, although Gibraltar's history is sometimes difficult to understand, the theme of 'keys' is omnipresent and seems to be a useful guide for those who want to know more about most aspects of the last colony in Europe, and want to understand its present situation. Indeed, from its flag to its people's aspirations, a collection of 'keys' is to be found in Gibraltar – whether they are real keys to the gates of this fortress, or abstract ones emphasising the symbolic role the promontory has always played thanks to its privileged geographical position.

From the outside, the 'eternal' dispute over Gibraltar seems to be based on a piece of land. However, it is above all a human problem. At first, the Britons used to lock the fortress at night but a few decades ago, Gibraltar was locked from the outside by Spain during the so-called 'blockade' period. Gibraltar's past, present and future are thus closely linked to geography and imperialistic pretensions, giving to this small territory (both in size and number of inhabitants) more weight than expected but also making it harder for Gibraltarians to be recognized as a genuine people having the right to decide its future.

1. The Castle and Key Symbols

Surprisingly, although Gibraltar is now proudly British and has been so since 1704, its flag is a Spanish one. The first 'key' in the history of the Rock is that of its coat of arms, which was granted by Queen Isabella of Spain in 1501 and has been kept by the British occupants to the present day. The story even goes that the sovereign herself embroidered the original flag with the

help of her daughter, Juana La Loca, thus showing that, though tiny, the territory of only 6 sq km was of paramount importance for her country. (Vallejo, 27 April 2003).

The other element of the coat of arms, which was of even greater size than the key, was a fortified castle. One should not think that this castle has anything to do with the Moorish castle built by the Arabs and now one of the only architectural testimonies of their long presence on the Rock. Indeed, how could the Spaniards have chosen a Moorish emblem after such a painful *Reconquista* of their native land? The symbolic castle given to Gibraltar was that of the kingdom of *Castile* and was truly meant to assert Spanish domination over the Rock. Indeed, the flag of *Castilla La Mancha* is red and white with a golden castle. This flag was slightly changed for Gibraltar; the two strips were displayed horizontally instead of vertically and the castle became a red one, standing out against the white band of the flag. More importantly, a golden key was added, hanging from the castle gate.

When the Britons captured the Rock, the Spanish residents were left the choice to leave the territory or remain on condition they accepted Queen Anne as their new sovereign. Many of them refused and settled in nearby Spain (West, 1956: 151). They called the town they founded 'San Roque' ('Saint Rock', in English) as homage to their homeland, which can be seen from there. Today, the original coat of arms of Gibraltar is still kept in the town hall of San Roque by the descendants of the 18th-century Spanish inhabitants of Gibraltar. Thus, it is no surprise to discover that San Roque's and Gibraltar's seals are comparable. The most notable difference being that San Roqueños has added a crown on theirs. They did not change the elements depicted on the flag because they claimed they were the original Gibraltarians, and in fact they still do. Many natives of San Roque still believe that the Rock is theirs and that they will go and live there one day, as soon as it is given back to Spain (Pérez Girón, 13 & 14 November 2002). Observing the Gibraltar flag and doing research about its history already raises the question of the disputed status of the Rock and of its sovereignty.

Gibraltar had been the entrance into Spain for the Arabs, so that the Spanish castle and its key can also be interpreted as the image of an invincible fortress at the southernmost tip of the Iberian Peninsula, defending Spain against any other attacks coming from the African continent opposite. In fact, Queen Isabella baptized Gibraltar 'the key to Spain', which means that the country's safety depended on how strong Gibraltar could be. The semi-island was of such importance to her that, according to historians, before she died, she made her people swear that they would never let it fall back into Moorish hands.

This gigantic block of limestone, with its steep slopes and the sea nearly all around it, is in itself a natural citadel, but this does not mean that these characteristics are sufficient to defend it and make it impregnable. Certainly, Queen Isabella and her successors did not realize that more fortifications should have been built seaward, that the existing ones should have been looked after, and this double weakness was exploited by Admiral Rooke in 1704 when he successfully conquered the Rock, stealing the coveted 'key' from the late Isabella of Castile, which must have made her turn over in her grave. If the queen never saw Gibraltar British, her pride is now embodied in the behaviour of some Spanish politicians or citizens who never hesitate to claim in public that Gibraltar has to be given back to Spain.

Another Spanish sovereign thought the Rock was of paramount importance. In the Spanish *Campo de Gibraltar*, north of the Rock, is a hill (in fact, not far away from the town of San Roque) with a particular shape called 'the Queen of Spain's Chair'. A legend indeed has it that, during one of the sieges of Gibraltar in the 18th century, the Queen of Spain sat there and declared that she would not go until she saw the Spanish flag flying on the Rock. Since her soldiers failed to capture the place, it is said that the British Governor of Gibraltar, having heard of the sovereign's determination, gentlemanly decided to hoist the Spanish flag for her to be able to leave her uncomfortable position. This funny story once again shows how important Gibraltar has always been to its Spanish neighbours, for whom it is a sensitive subject, and how tenacious they can be.

The fundamental point about the coat of arms is to remember that the Gibraltarians of today are proud of their rich heritage and mixed cultural influences, and that they wave Isabella's flag as a demonstration of their unique (and of course non-Spanish) identity, which could seem paradoxical at first, and which is certainly seen as an insult by some Spaniards. It proves that Gibraltarians do not reject Spanish culture and do not deny their history.

2. The Key to the Mediterranean

Another 'key' is very similar to the one depicted on the flag, although it is not visible as such. It is also linked to geography, more precisely to maritime routes and the strait. The strait of Gibraltar represents the only natural entrance to the Mediterranean and, until the Suez Canal was dug, and opened in 1869, there was no other way for ships to sail into that sea and trade in the basin. Even after the opening of the canal, Gibraltar remained a port of call for vessels bound for India. Situated at the east entrance to the strait, Gibraltar has often had an invaluable strategic position in wartime, of course, but also in peacetime. The Rock has been described by travellers

as a threatening ‘watchdog’, ‘lion’ or ‘sphinx’ guarding the entrance to the strait (Poitou, 1869: 192-202, quoted by Bennassar, 1998: 475-476). In Ancient Times, Gibraltar was used as a landmark beyond which it was dangerous to wander, and Roman and Greek sailors considered the mountain as one of the two Pillars of Hercules, as the limit of their known world.

But in fact, Gibraltar’s role and strategic value have varied along the centuries, depending on the wars or rivalries between countries and on the evolution of military and maritime techniques. In the Antiquity already, there were fights to control the strait and the Carthaginians’ priority was to exert their trading domination over this route. Like the Phoenicians before them, they invented a series of dangers to deter other peoples from crossing the strait and venturing into the Atlantic (Larsonneur, 1955: 11). And anyway, they used to sink all ship sailing towards the Rock. But, after a long war, the Carthaginians were defeated by Rome in 146 BC and the Romans thus became the ‘possessors’ of the strait. Then, the Vandals settled in the south of the Iberian Peninsula in the 5th century AD, followed by the Visigoths, and the strait lost its traditional role because navigation was not a priority for those peoples.

Gibraltar was only restored to its primary use and importance with the Moors in the 8th century. It appears that no population had lived permanently on the Rock before the Arabs crossed the Mediterranean and founded the first town of Gibraltar (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1968: 7), which means that the territory’s destiny was closely connected with what happened in the strait. It also means that, in the Antiquity, the strait was more important than the Rock itself. Indeed, Gibraltar is a place where life is difficult since the promontory occupies most of its area, and there is no water. Moreover and as strange as it may seem, the semi-island had no real strategic value at the time because the strait there has its maximum width (around 15 km). So locking the strait from the Rock was then totally impossible for military possibilities did not allow it. The only advantage of the place was to be used as an observation post.

The relationships across the strait between what is now Spain and North Africa were numerous and regular during the whole Moorish period. The Arab invaders were the first to build fortifications in Gibraltar and it is assumed that the place was used as a stronghold by Tariq as soon as he arrived in Europe with his troops. Afterwards, the walls and bastions of Gibraltar were still of paramount importance for the Moors as Gibraltar was supposed to be the guarantee of a safe retreat in case of a Spanish upheaval. Strategically, Gibraltar was thus already important but its guns were turned to the north and not to the sea. The Rock was however besieged many times by the Spaniards, who temporarily reconquered it between 1309 and 1333, before the Moors got

it again but definitively lost it in 1462. The end of the *Reconquista* was marked by the capture of Gibraltar which became one of the strongest symbols of Spanish nationalism and the most valuable Spanish fortress at the same time.

But the Spanish Crown did not take advantage of Gibraltar's privileged position and did not make good use of this 'key to the Mediterranean'. Of course, all relationships between Spain and North Africa disappeared but what is more serious is that foreign vessels could enter and leave the Mediterranean freely. Although it possessed Gibraltar, Spain had no control over the strait and was not turned to the basin either. In the middle of the 16th century, though, a maritime rivalry developed between the Spanish and the English but the Spaniards were unable to forbid the access of English ships to the Mediterranean. Unlike what happened in Moorish times, Spanish Gibraltar should have guarded the strait. But the Spaniards' weaknesses prevented the Rock from playing that role because the Spanish fleet was less numerous than the English one. The fortress and town of Gibraltar thus became weaker and weaker and the two and a half centuries of Spanish possession were synonym of sharp decline. As a matter of fact, the activity of the harbour progressively disappeared.

Consequently, although the Rock is physically impressive, it is not naturally strong and the possibilities of defence and commercial opportunities offered by the place depend on the efforts of its possessors. It is obvious that Spain was content with using Gibraltar as the 'key to Spain' and never used it as the 'key to the Mediterranean'. It tends to prove that the Spanish desire to regain Gibraltar has never been founded on logical, practical or strategic reasons but rather on passion.

During the War of the Spanish Succession, the English themselves, when they took Gibraltar, did it almost by accident and anyway without much conviction, only because they had failed to capture Cadiz and Barcelona which were seen as much more valuable but were also better defended and fortified. In 1704, Admiral Rooke conquered the Rock quite easily in three days only, due to the small number of soldiers in the fortress (Larsonneur, 1955: 42-43).

From the start of their occupation of the territory, the English thought they would not keep it for too long. Although they finally kept it, they considered exchanging it several times, especially in the 18th century. Indeed, England was then turned to the Atlantic, not the Mediterranean, and one of its major imperial routes was that of the Cape of Good Hope which led to India; the kingdom also traded a lot with America. In this context, Gibraltar was of no obvious interest. Moreover, it was particularly difficult to maintain a garrison there because Spain refused to sell agricultural products or anything else to Gibraltar. The citadel was thus isolated, which weakened it even more. The living and housing conditions of soldiers and civilians were really

bad; there were problems of discipline among the troops; corruption was the rule and many smugglers were based there. The port was not a good one either: it had not been modernized by the English, had no hinterland and, because of the strong winds and currents, it was hard for sailing ships to get to Gibraltar.

It was thus understandable that Britain should have wanted to abandon Gibraltar all the more as it cost a lot. The Rock had a diplomatic value, though: the English statesmen knew how Spain was eager to get it back and, someday, they would certainly be able to be given an interesting territory in its place. But if the Rock had undoubtedly a symbolic value for Spaniards, public opinion in Britain, although divided on the question, was more and more favourable to keeping Gibraltar because the Rock had acquired a sentimental value for the English too, and it increased their national pride and sense of international power and domination.

But towards the end of the 18th century, with the War of Independence, a new imperial era started for Britain when the country lost part of its empire, having to leave America. London looked at the Mediterranean and the East with a different eye and Gibraltar suddenly appeared as a possession of great importance and, from then on, there were rational reasons to keep it. It all started in 1805 when Gibraltar was crucial for Britain's victory in the naval battle of Trafalgar since English ships could take shelter in its harbour; the 19th century was that of a prestigious Gibraltar playing an essential role as 'key to the Mediterranean'. The traffic constantly increased in the basin and India became one of the keystones of the British Empire. With the opening of the Suez Canal, a new route was adopted to join South-East Asia, across the Mediterranean. It had the advantage of being 100 % maritime and much shorter than that of the Cape of Good Hope. Thanks to Gibraltar but also Malta and Cyprus, the Britons dominated it. They also became the main shareholders of the canal and their military occupation of Egypt followed in 1882.

In the 19th century, efforts were thus made to develop and fortify Gibraltar and its natural qualities as an observation post were used more than ever to invigilate the strait. The military dimension of the Rock thus increased, as well as its commercial importance. Indeed, with the appearance of more powerful steamers, the navigation in the bay of Algeciras was possible and Gibraltar's deep harbour became accessible at last, which means that the economic role of the territory also grew as port of call and commercial harbour, constantly extended and modernized. The colony was used as a coaling station on the road to India; it was also a place where goods coming from Asia were stored before being reexported; numerous insurance companies settled there and subsidiaries of the most active English shipping companies also opened on the Rock. Gibraltar was the pride of Victorian England.

However, the opening of the Suez Canal and the technical progress in steamboats were double-edged for Gibraltar. As soon as the end of the 19th century, the territory started to lose power. Indeed, as the capacity of steamers increased, they no longer needed to be supplied in coal in a place like Gibraltar, which became 'too close' to England, quite paradoxically (Mariaud, 1990: 26-27). The commercial importance of the harbour declined gradually.

To make matters worse, Gibraltar also revealed some weaknesses on a strategic point of view. Steamboats were now able to sail along the African coast, which was too far away from the Rock for it to remain the guardian of the strait (Larsonneur, 1955: 83). In the early 20th century, the development of submarines was also a serious threat since the strong currents in the strait made it impossible to use anti-submarine nets or mines, which would have been carried away, and enemy ships would be able to cross the strait without being stopped, which happened as early as 1915. Because of progress in armament, the British possession was also becoming vulnerable since it was no longer protected from the possible attacks of wide-range cannons located on the Spanish territory, or from air raids. Some British intellectuals or army officers once again suggested exchanging Gibraltar. But Andalusia was so little developed at the time that Gibraltar, in spite of its drawbacks, was rather safe.

During the two world wars, the Rock was nicknamed 'the key to the Mediterranean' again. Between 1914 and 1918, Gibraltar and its harbour were most useful and played the role they had played when the battle of Trafalgar took place, but on a much wider scale, not only for Britain but for its Allies. Battleships could get food and water for their crews, coal or oil fuel, and even be repaired there; the fortress also served as military headquarters.

During the Second World War, Gibraltar's vital importance was even more obvious. In fact, its strength seemed to lay on its past glory, on the common acceptance that it was invincible, on what the shape of the Rock symbolized, and it was commonly thought in the United Kingdom that the colony would never or *could not* fail to its duty. The place was so famous that its reputation had reached the other side of the Atlantic long before the 1940s: in the 1890s, the Prudential Insurance Company of America chose the Rock as its logo and "Strength of Gibraltar" as its slogan.¹

Although, at the end of the 19th century, the colony had started to show some flaws, it proved to be 'rock solid' and reliable during the 1939-1945 conflict, which increased its world fame and helped build its legend. During World War II indeed, Gibraltar resisted and was a fundamental asset since it was used as a base for a great deal of military operations against the Germans and the Italians. Though the Rock alone could not lock the western entry to the

Mediterranean and was bombed several times in 1940, it was one of the keys to the strait and it had an ideal strategic position for the Allies.

This position was so perfect that it became tempting to Germany and, as early as 1940, Hitler had set up a plan to try and capture the naval base, thanks to the combined action of planes, parachuted troops, U-Boats and panzers; then, the *Kriegsmarine* would have locked the strait. The project, whose code name was 'Operation Felix', was very well prepared but, having failed to come to an agreement with General Franco, the *Führer* finally gave it up; indeed, the *Caudillo* refused to involve Spain in the conflict and did not let Hitler's troops cross his country or use its airfields. Meanwhile, the Rock was heavily fortified by the Britons and, after the conflict, Goering declared that the Germans' most fatal error was not to have carried out the attack on Gibraltar (Larsonneur, 1955: 98).

However, the British Government was not aware that the Germans had changed their minds and, knowing that, in case of a Nazi attack, Gibraltar would fall into enemy hands, it had planned 'Operation Monkey' in 1941. It consisted in training a handful of men prepared to live in a secret confined place inside the Rock in order to spy on the Germans. 'Stay Behind Cave'² was an artificial sort of cave or rather a network of small tunnels in which those men could have lived for years if necessary; they had a large quantity of food supplies, rain water coming from a little water catchment, two openings allowing them to see what was happening in the bay and the strait, and a radio to communicate information to the British camp – this radio worked thanks to a dynamo and a bicycle. Those agents would have been 'walled up alive' so that no entrance to this cave could have been found by the enemy. But this scenario never took place and, although constantly under threat (and fully evacuated of its civilian population), Gibraltar played a great part in many critical episodes of the war and was extremely useful to the Allied Forces.

The colony's defences were improved, especially with respect to air raids. From 1940 to 1942, huge tunnels were dug inside the Rock.³ They served as casemates for the troops since thousands of men could live there for months; there were hospitals, kitchens, an impressive generating station, radio rooms, etc.; ammunition, tanks and lorries were stored there too. The ballast thus retrieved from the promontory was used to widen the isthmus towards the west and build a runway.

From 1940 to 1943, the British troops sailing for Egypt, to try and defend Suez from Italian and German attacks, had to cross the Mediterranean, which was dangerous, so they stopped at Gibraltar and were escorted from there by a Royal Navy fleet based in the colony and called 'Force H'. Gibraltar was also the keystone of the November 1942 British-American invasion of North Africa, 'Operation Torch', commanded by General Eisenhower who had his headquarters inside the Rock. During the preparation of this operation, lorries, tanks and even

planes were hidden in the tunnels and the airfield was of course widely used when the offensive took place.⁴

Did Gibraltar have this key role, all along World War II, by accident? It seems that the weaknesses of the Italian navy and air force, Spain's neutrality and the Germans' decision not to attack the colony were decisive factors for the promontory to remain British and play, almost undisturbed, a crucial part in the conflict. But whatever the reasons, the Rock was an invaluable military base in the Second World War and its prestige was enhanced.

However, now that actual conflicts have disappeared from the area, can the Rock still be considered 'the key to the Mediterranean'? In a way, yes. Indeed, even in peacetime, it is essential to keep an eye on the strait since it is the second in the world in terms of navigation (Péroncel-Hugoz, 25 February 1999) (oil tankers, cargo and container ships are seen permanently off Gibraltar). The smuggling of cigarettes and drugs between Morocco, Gibraltar and Spain is still quite active and the strait is also sadly known for the illegal African immigrants who try and cross over to Europe and very often pay for it with their lives.

The top of the Rock (called 'Rock Gun') is equipped with radars and so is the area of 'Windmill Hill Flats', to the south of the territory; Gibraltar is a NATO base and, in a very protected area inside the Rock, civilian and military personnel monitor all movements in the strait thanks to the latest technology. So, even if satellites have replaced cannonballs, the British colony remains of great strategic value.

Some Spaniards have already made clear that a British Gibraltar was unfair, that the validity of the Treaty of Utrecht was disputable and that the Rock had to be given back to them *without any compensation*. Consequently, Spain would find it normal to own the two 'keys' to the strait: Gibraltar and Ceuta.⁵ One of the major sources of Spanish nationalism is undoubtedly Gibraltar, whose possession by the British is seen as an insult. But, already in the early 20th century, the desire to recover the Rock was based on national honour more than on its military value.

3. The Ceremony of the Keys

Unlike the Spanish, the Britons knew that taking Gibraltar did not mean they would keep it without effort. Its first governors were conscious of the weight of national pride in Spain, and

of the ideal position of the territory, at the crossroads between a sea and an ocean (the Mediterranean and the Atlantic), and two continents (Europe and Africa). High defensive walls and bastions were built around the town (now the old town) with only four gates which were locked at sunset for the night. In the early 18th century, there was only one land entry to the town, through Landport Gate, while Waterport, Chatham and Southport could be approached by sea.

From the late 18th century, the impressive keys to the gates of Gibraltar were the object of a ritual every evening: the governor used to hand them to the Port Sergeant who would march to each of these gates, with his armed escort, and lock them. At each gate, a sentry would challenge him with these words: 'Halt! Who goes there?', to which the answer would be: 'The Keys!'.⁶ The Port Sergeant would then return to the Convent (the official residence of the military governor) and hand the keys back to His Excellency with these words: 'Sir! The fortress is secure and all's well'. The keys were collected again in the morning for the doors to be opened for the day.

The most famous governor of Gibraltar was General Sir George Augustus Eliott. He was at the head of the fortress during the Great Siege, so called because it was the longest military siege in the history of the Rock (1779-1783). The Britons managed to keep Gibraltar and the victorious Eliott became a 'national' hero at a time when Britain was losing its American colonies. He was so obsessed with the safety of the colony that he has always been described as carrying the four keys with him everywhere and even sleeping with the bunch under his pillow. Whether this is a legend or not, it shows the importance of the keys. Moreover, Eliott is traditionally represented with at least one of the keys in his hand and the other three hanging from his belt. An early 19th-century statue, kept at the Convent and carved out from the wooden mast of a Spanish ship taken at Trafalgar, is a good example of the association between Eliott, the keys and the safety of the fortress. Finally, Eliott's most famous portrait, visible at London's National Gallery, also shows him holding one of the keys of Gibraltar.⁷ A copy of this painting decorates the wall of the dining hall of the governor's residence.

Most of the fourteen sieges of the Rock took place under British domination, in the 18th century, and the threat of a military attack disappeared afterwards; nonetheless, locking up the town at night remained a habit until 1914. Nowadays, of course, this no longer happens and the bulk of Gibraltar's population lives outside the fortifications of the old fortress. But this tradition is part of the culture of the place and, since 1933, 'the Ceremony of the Keys' has been held twice a year, in April and October; this ceremony is a parade during which the closing of the

fortress is partly reenacted. It takes place in Casemates Square, the north entry to the old town where one of the four gates, Waterport Gate, used to be.

To Gibraltarians, who have very little folklore of their own, these events are a matter of pride and are highly popular among them and tourists alike. In 1997, the Rock had its first civilian governor but the ceremony has not changed and is still performed by the Royal Gibraltar Regiment with marches, music⁸ and the participation of His Excellency. The original bunch of keys is used on this occasion and, the rest of the time, it is kept in the Convent. The governor of the colony has the title of 'Her Majesty's Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Gibraltar' and, when he leaves the place (generally after four years in office) he symbolically hands over the keys of the fortress for them to be kept by his successor.

4. Gibraltarians under Lock and Key

Does this mean that the people of Gibraltar still have the impression they are under permanent siege? This feeling could logically have developed from their history because, even if the last military siege took place more than 200 years ago, another dramatic event of the same kind made them suffer greatly in the second half of the 20th century. Indeed, in June 1969, angry and frustrated for not being able to recapture the Rock, General Franco decided to close the Spanish border at Gibraltar.⁹ In fact, relationships with Spain had been bad for 15 years, since Elizabeth II's official visit to the colony. In the 1960s, two important events had also upset Madrid. In 1967, a referendum was organized by London on the Rock and its results were unambiguous since 12,138 voters wished to stay British whereas only... 44 would have wanted to become Spanish (*Time Magazine*, 22 September 1967); the message to their neighbours could not be clearer. Moreover, in 1969, a constitution was granted by Great Britain to Gibraltar, meaning much more autonomy for the enclave. Those were the two main reasons for the blockade, which was aimed at causing the Gibraltarians' surrender.

It was thus no longer possible to cross the isthmus over to Spain. At the same time, Franco decided to ban all communications (ferries, mail and telephone) between his country and the colony. Since the Rock is a peninsula, the only way for its inhabitants to 'escape' and go to Spain for a few hours was to take the ferry to Tangier and, once in Morocco, take another ferry to Algeciras, instead of simply crossing the isthmus where the frontier lies, or sailing across the bay to reach Algeciras, only 8 km away. Not everybody could do this as it was an obvious waste of time and money.

In their everyday life, Gibraltarians were trapped, locked up, and could no longer communicate with their Spanish relatives (many natives of the Rock had a Spanish spouse) or friends. But people had to ‘survive’ and the Rock’s society changed. Gibraltarians had to adapt to these new circumstances and they learnt to cope. For example, many new associations or sporting groups were created during the period of the frontier closure, for the inhabitants to be able to enjoy themselves on their small Rock.

Though the *Caudillo* died in 1975, the democratic government that followed did not reopen the border until 1985,¹⁰ and only then because Britain was vetoing Spain’s entrance into the EEC. A great number of middle-aged Gibraltarians spent their youth in the shadow of the Rock, quite isolated, and today, they generally speak about this period with bitterness. Even some Spanish authors or historians admit that the blockade of Gibraltar was a blatant mistake and that it only succeeded in developing deep resentment and distrust towards the Spanish government, whereas keeping full contact with Gibraltar and its people would have been the only way to a possible integration into the Spanish national territory (Gold, 1994: 3).

The blockade was a painful period for Gibraltarians and one should not underestimate the consequences of this long episode. The way the inhabitants of the colony experienced it serves to understand why Gibraltar has now ‘closed its door’ to Spain. Although no weapons were used, the blockade is referred to as ‘the fifteenth siege’, which means that there was an actual state of siege both economically and psychologically. Some Gibraltarians go as far as to say that the fence was ‘the second Berlin Wall’ (*Gibraltar Heritage*, 2002), which also shows the shameful view they had of it.

Today, crossing the frontier often remains long and difficult because of the queues of vehicles and of the Spanish customs officers’ checks. It is the only EU internal border where you have to show your ID card or passport.¹¹ By crossing over into Spain, Gibraltarians – even those who were born after 1985 or are too young to remember the sixteen years of the blockade – can only be reminded how ‘different’ they are. During the blockade, ‘the concept of the “other” had been magnified (...) [and] Gibraltarians [became] more conscious than ever before that they did not belong to Spain’ (*Gibraltar Heritage*, 2002). The closed frontier altered the cultural relationships between Gibraltar and Spain forever.

‘Franco’s political aim – to strangle Gibraltar into submission – had had the opposite effect of consolidating the identity of its people and breathing new life into their particular identity and culture’ (*Gibraltar Heritage*, 2002). Thus, the unexpected result of the closure of the frontier is that it definitely strengthened the Gibraltarians’ feeling of belonging to a unique community or

nation, their feeling of togetherness and of a shared destiny. Without the pressure exerted by their neighbours, they would not be so 'patriotic' and so fond of their Rock today.

5. The Key to Gibraltar's Future

A Gibraltarian identity does exist and the people of the territory do not hesitate to show how united they are and how proud they feel to have been born on the Rock. They are also proud to be British, although they would like to be treated as more than second-class citizens by London, and wish they had more support from the British government. Above all, they do not want to yield to Madrid or become Spanish, simply because they are *not* Spanish. For the moment, the British government wants to preserve the good relationships it has with Spain and the people of the last colony in Europe consider they are alone in their struggle against the threat of a forced integration into the Spanish territory.

In the 20th century, the administration of Gibraltar underwent tremendous changes and, today, the Rock is much less colonial and much more autonomous than it used to be in the 18th and 19th centuries. Gibraltar is no longer characterized by a colonial economy almost exclusively based on the army and civil service. The British soldiers massively left the place in the 1980s and the MOD thus stopped being the major employer in the colony. Gibraltarians turned to other activities (financial services, tourism, etc.) and their economy is now prosperous without any financial help from the 'motherland'.

Gibraltarians were also granted full British citizenship in 1981 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1993), which marked a major turning point in their history. Indeed, during the previous centuries, 'the fortress came first'¹² and the civilian population of Gibraltar had no importance for London.¹³ The military governor had all powers; he was the commander of the garrison at the same time as the head of the colony since those were one and a same thing. But at the beginning of the 20th century, the powers of His Excellency were reduced greatly and, nowadays, governors are not necessarily military officers and they only have a symbolic role. Gibraltar is no longer a fortress in the imperial strategy of Great Britain although it can still be useful in case of conflict.¹⁴ But 'decolonisation' has not taken place yet in Gibraltar and its people keep fighting for their basic rights.

Even if the border was reopened a long time ago, restrictions still exist and Spain has not abandoned its claim to Gibraltar's sovereignty. But the more Spain claims Gibraltar, the more it strengthens its people's cohesion. In the same way as during the blockade, the current attitude of Madrid reinforces the Gibraltarians' sense of belonging to a unique 'nation'.

Gibraltarians sometimes demonstrate with flags and banners but there is one particular day of the year when they can show how determined they are: their national day, whose celebrations are held each 10th September to commemorate the anniversary of the first referendum held on the Rock, in 1967. The national day celebrations started in 1992 (Bole-Richard, 10 December 1994) and have always been very successful. Gibraltar even adopted its own national anthem in 1995. On national day, all residents, whether they are native Gibraltarians or not, dress in red and white, their national colours and those of their castle-and-key flag, and gather in the streets before meeting in Casemates Square to sing their anthem and listen to the speeches given by their Chief Minister and other leading political figures, in favour of their rights. Behind the stage is a huge Gibraltar flag with these words: ‘Self-determination is democracy’.

Self-determination is indeed the keyword to try and understand the situation of Gibraltar, its current problems and its people’s claims and aspirations. This word is always used by the Rock’s politicians, whatever their party and, although government and opposition members have traditionally been at loggerheads, there is a consensus of opinion that Gibraltarians should be free to decide their future. Most of them claim that the Rock should be decolonized without being given back to Spain. Unfortunately, the United Nations have always refused to grant the Gibraltarians this right, and they even took sides for Spain in 1964.

The problem is that, according to Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht, if the Britons abandoned the colony, it would have to be given to Spain in priority (Miège, 1995: 464). Thus, if they ceased to be a colony, Gibraltarians would condemn themselves to become Spaniards, which would be a new form of colonialism, and a much worse situation for them. The dispute could be solved only if Spain accepted to abandon its claim over Gibraltar; but since Madrid has always refused to change its views, and continues to call the Rock ‘an anachronism’, there seems to be no way out. What is even more striking is that the Spaniards consider that it would not be ‘anachronistic’ to force the Gibraltarians to pass under their sovereignty.

In September 2001, just before national day, the ‘Self-determination for Gibraltar Group’ organized a collection of keys and encouraged all Gibraltarians to give as many keys as they could. The campaign was a success. Its aim was to have these keys melted in order to make a huge one representing ‘the key to the Gibraltarians’ future’. The argument and message of the group was that this key – which, of course, was supposed to symbolize self-determination – ‘lies in the hands of the people of [the territory]’.

Fighting for the right to self-determination has become a habit, a way of life, almost an obsession. In Gibraltar, everybody is involved in politics, in the sense that they all have an opinion about their situation, and generally denounce it. Even when the Catholic Bishop is interviewed (Caruana, 1 May 2001) about religion on the Rock, he ends up talking vehemently about politics. Life in Gibraltar can be expected to change only if its people are granted the right to choose their future. History seems to repeat itself as, year after year, the claim is the same but there is no solution in sight.

Conclusion

A large variety of keys can be found in Gibraltar's history. From the coat of arms to self-determination, and whether the keys are real or symbolic ones, they help cast light on the Rock's complicated past, present and uncertain future. Too often, Gibraltar has only been considered as a fortress with a key location making it a strategic military base that could be used as a lock to protect the whole Spanish territory from foreign attackers, or to try and prevent German vessels from entering the Mediterranean during the First and Second World Wars. Today, many places of interest still recall the military past of the semi-island with its regular sieges, and guns, batteries or bastions of different periods can be seen all around Gibraltar.

Even if the setting up of the Tripartite Talks in December 2004 can be seen as a step in the right direction, the present situation is still quite tense, if not militarily, psychologically speaking, since London fails to support the Gibraltarians as much as they think it should, and Madrid exerts continuing pressure to try and recover its sovereignty over the place. It may be difficult to determine if the Rock 'belongs' to Spain more than to its present population; but, beyond territorial 'logic' and national passion, it is certain that Gibraltarians belong to their Rock, the most impressive proof being the enthusiasm and unrivalled patriotism that can be observed on national day and also on many other occasions, when the inhabitants proudly put out flags – incidentally, it is to be noticed that in reality no particular occasion is necessary for them to do so. The Gibraltar flag is in fact the most valued symbol of its people's nationalism.

And yet, the human dimension of the Rock has generally been ignored by authors of books on the colony, or by statesmen. However, for three centuries now, people of mixed origins have settled in Gibraltar and have acquired a growing consciousness – that of being a unique community of British nationality, maybe even more Gibraltarian than British, and certainly not Spanish, especially after such an episode as the closure of the border. Thus, Gibraltar is not a traditional colony whose inhabitants would like to emancipate from the 'mother country'; their ancestors have never been forced to be loyal to the British Crown but today, if Gibraltarians were to be

‘sold out’ to Spain, they would have to accept a nationality that is not theirs and in which they do not recognize themselves. It would be creating a new colonial people in 21st-century Europe.

History tells us that Gibraltar is not a natural fortress and that Hitler could have taken it easily in spite of the important garrison present there. So is the expression ‘as solid as the Rock of Gibraltar’ justified? Would Gibraltar’s reputation be much superior to reality? Now that most British soldiers have left the place, Gibraltarians act as the defenders of their homeland; their forefathers successfully resisted numerous sieges and the latest one, the frontier closure, was the longest and the toughest, even if no troops were involved. The population’s best weapon was, and still is, its specificity, cohesion and determination, and the mythical ‘strength’ of Gibraltar is now embodied by its people.

Gibraltarians do have a historical heritage and a cultural identity of their own, comparable to no others, and they claim to be a nation, even if they know that, with 33,000 souls only, they are too small to form a country, and are anyway far from being politically independent. But they want to be taken into account, and the most precious key is the one they do not possess yet: the key to a future that would be in accordance with their wishes.

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Notes

¹ See the Prudential's website: 'Prudential is a company that our customers trust, and our symbol, the Rock of Gibraltar, signifies our strength and commitment to integrity'. <http://www.prudential.com/pxb/privacy>. Accessed 26th January 2015.

²This cave still exists but is not open to the public. It was discovered only ten years ago by accident, although many historians had wanted to find it for decades. This shows how well kept the secret of its location was. Besides, there is strong evidence that there are other caves like this one, but they have remained undiscovered to this day.

³There are no less than 30 miles of tunnels in Gibraltar, the vast majority of them dug for military purposes and the oldest dating back to the 18th century (the 'Great Siege Tunnels').

⁴ During World War II, some soldiers serving on the Rock adopted a key badge. This key was that of the coat of arms but it rather symbolized the role of Gibraltar as 'Key to the Mediterranean'. Different versions existed whether the badge was that of the Gunners from the Gibraltar Defence Force, that of the Fortress Engineers, or that of the Royal Artillery in Gibraltar. It can be noticed that 'today the [Royal Gibraltar] Regiment (...) wears its key with pride (...) on the right sleeve of the service uniforms'. (*Regiment: The Military Heritage Collection*, December 2004: 41.)

⁵Ceuta is one of the Spanish enclaves in North Africa and it is still claimed by Morocco, in the same way as Gibraltar is claimed by Madrid. However, most Spaniards will say, without being able to justify themselves, that Ceuta and Melilla are 'different' from the Rock and that they have no reason to be retroceded to Morocco.

⁶Interestingly, the other two places in the world where a 'Ceremony of the Keys' is held are in the United Kingdom. The Edinburgh ceremony is connected with the Queen when she spends some time in Holyrood Palace and is symbolically offered the keys of the city. But the most similar ceremonial is the daily 'Ceremony of the Keys' which has taken place every night at the Tower of London since the 14th century. The question of the sentry and answer made by the escort to the keys are exactly the same as in Gibraltar, which means that London was taken as a model by the colony since such tradition is not that old on the Rock (in the 14th century, Gibraltar was not British yet).

⁷*George Augustus Eliott, Lord Heathfield*, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1787.

⁸Originally and in times of peace, the fifes and drums were a means to let aliens know that they had to leave the place since its gates were about to be locked.

⁹On the Gibraltarian or British side, the fence has always remained open. As for the two padlocks that locked the frontier for so many years on the Spanish side, they are now kept in a museum in La Línea, the border town.

¹⁰In December 1982, the fence was partially reopened, for pedestrians only; it was fully reopened to all traffic in February 1985.

¹¹Apart from Spain's hostility, there is a second reason to the checks: the United Kingdom did not sign the Schengen Agreement.

¹²The title of a book by Thomas James Finlayson ([1991] 2000): *The Fortress Came First: the story of the civilian population of Gibraltar during the Second World War*.

¹³ Interestingly, the first book dedicated to Gibraltar's civilian population was written in 1951 only (by Dr Henry William Howes).

¹⁴Gibraltar was used as a military base during the Falklands War and the Gulf War.

¹⁵Here, 'Gibraltar' does not refer to the British territory but to the whole strait and to the Spanish coast bordering it.

Pragmatics: a hybrid innovation

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Abstract

My original intention is to prove that pragmatics is a 'hybrid' innovation. It grew out of three distinct branches of knowledge: rhetoric, semiotics and functional linguistics. My assumption draws on three simple observations: (i) many rhetorical concepts, like topoi, inference and argumentation, are pragmatically tackled, (ii) many works document a palpable influence of Aristotelian rhetoric in pragmatic researches (Tyteca & Perlman, 1992; Anscombe, 1995; Ducrot & Anscombe, 1997), and (iii) other works, always, put pragmatics at the cross of disciplines (Eemeren et al, 1986).

The article provides a panoramic survey of pragmatics. Its main issue is to contribute to the understanding of the interface between pragmatics and surrounding disciplines, mainly rhetoric, functional linguistics and semiotics.

Key words: pragmatics, rhetoric, semiotics, functional linguistics, speech act theory.

1. Introduction

Pragmatics is a developing field of inquiry which since its emergence in the last century has received an incessant interest, owing to three major reasons.

- It outlines a holistic approach to language questioning lexical, semantic and syntactic abstract analyses. The pioneering works (Austin, 1962; Grice, 1975; Levinson, 1983; Yule, 1996; Yule, 2010) are commonly recognized as a starting point of investigations in the area of pragmatics. The common interest of these works is to indicate some problems of language understanding which cannot be handled with the semantic, lexical and syntactic tools and stressed then the need to solve them other way.
- Old disciplines, like rhetoric and logic, interact with pragmatics though it is well defined as a linguistic question (Dascal & Gross, 1999; Koszowy, 2010).
- Developing disciplines, too, like semiotics and discourse analysis are integrated in pragmatics (Coreen, 2008; Brown, 1988).

In this context, this article is going to show that pragmatics developed in the matrix of rhetoric, semiotics and linguistics. To achieve such a purpose, a historical and conceptual sketch will be outlined; also a comparison between pragmatics and such disciplines is thought to be relevant to the major claim of the paper.

2. Preliminary remarks

a. To begin with: What pragmatics is about

It is a commonplace that pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics which is in turn well defined as a scientific study of language (De Saussure, 1995, p.6). The direct requirement of this axiom is that pragmatics is a scientific study of language. But due to the fact that surrounding disciplines mainly rhetoric and semiotics have a significant influence on pragmatics (Morris, 1938; Perlman & Tyteca, 1992), such definition does not cover all sides of pragmatics. In the narrower sense, pragmatics is the study of language usage in a context. Yule (1996) defined pragmatics as follow:

Pragmatics is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader). It has, consequently, more to do with the analysis of what people mean by their utterances than what the words or phrases in those utterances might mean by themselves. Pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning this type of study necessarily involves the interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how the context influences what is said. It requires a consideration of how speakers organize what they want to say in accordance with who they are talking to, where, when, and under what circumstances. Pragmatics is the study of the contextual meaning (p.3).

Also, following Yule (1996) and others (Levinson, 1983; Mey, 2009; Yule, 2010), pragmatics is based on four postulates:

- Language is much more than abstraction and formal system. It is much more than lists of grammar rules and list of terms correspond to list things (De Saussure, 1995, p.56). In pragmatics, language is seen a concrete object used in a real context (Levinson, 1983, p.7).
- Semantic and syntactic analysis (Levinson, 1983, pp.251-261) bring about fuzzy and invisible meanings (Yule, 1996, p.3; Yule, 2010, p.128). It is the concern of pragmatics to get to the bottom and the depth of meaning (Yule, 2010, p.128).
- Context (s) is a vital element so as to grasp the intended meaning (Yule, 2010, 130).
- Meaning is interpreted from what said and what is unsaid, (Yule&Brown, 1988, p.27).

b. A glance at the historicity of pragmatics

The emergence of pragmatics dated back to 1960's, several factors contributed to its development. These factors can be classified into direct and indirect. Among the indirect factors is the birth of new linguistic approaches, mainly functional linguistics whose concern is language as means of communication and how people actually use language (Cook, 2003, p.9).

Though it does not call, directly, for a pragmatic approach to language, functional linguistics is, actually, questioning two dominating linguistic schools: (i) structural linguistics mainly De Saussurean definition of language as a system excluding anything except language. "My definition of language presupposes the exclusion of everything that is outside its organism or system-in a word, of everything known as "external linguistics." But external linguistics deals with many important things-the very ones that we think of when we begin the study of speech"(De Saussure, 1996, p.20), and (ii) generative linguistics, which confines the scope of linguistics to the study of language presentation in the mind, rather than the way in which people actually use language in everyday life (Cook, 2003, p.9). Such criticisms are the scaffold on which pragmatists stand to build a comprehensive approach to language.

Morris's theory of signs (1938) is the direct factor of the decline of structural linguistics on one hand and the birth of pragmatics on the other hand. The origin of this conviction is that though he borrowed the notion of sign from structural linguistics (De Saussure, 1995,p.67), Morris defined it as part of a system including its user, technically coined 'the interpreter' (Morris, 1938, p.3). It is very plain for anyone that interpretation is a vital concept in the pragmatic traditions (Yule, 2010, Yule, 1996, Levinson, 1983). For such a reason that most pragmatics pioneering works refer to Morris's theory as a founding theory of pragmatics. Levinson (1983) told us that

The modern usage of the term pragmatics is attributable to the philosopher Charles Morris (1983), who was concerned to outline (after Lock and Pierce), the general shape of a science of sign, or semiotics (or semiotic as Morris preferred). Within semiotics, Morris distinguished three distinct branches of inquiry: syntactic (or syntax), being the study of "the formal relation of signs to one another", semantics, the study of "the relation of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable (their designate), and pragmatics, the study of "the relation of sign to interpreters (1983, p.1).

Levinson's affirmation implies that pragmatics was developed within semiotics, thus throughout three decades one cannot talk about pragmatics outside the periphery of semiotics. As a well defined independent discipline, pragmatics is attributable to Austin and Grice. Their pioneering works, Speech Act theory and maxims of conversation trace the frontier between pragmatics and semiotics. Nerlich (2009) claimed that "The foundations for pragmatics as a linguistic discipline are regarded as having been laid by ordinary language philosophers and speech-act theorists such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, John L. Austin, John R. Searle, and H. Paul Grice" (p.328).

To trace the historicity of pragmatics and its origin as well as its relation with surrounding disciplines, semiotics and linguistics, one finds himself in front of two different findings. On the one hand, relying on the chronological order, linguistics as a scientific study of language, emerged in 1920's, it predates semiotics that appeared, roughly two decades later, in 1938, while pragmatics emergence dated back to 1960's. On this basis, semiotics and pragmatics grew out of linguistics. On the other hand, following Morris's (1938) conviction that semiotics is applicable to all signs, however simple or complex, including language as a particular kind of sign system (p.10), this implies that semiotics covers pragmatics and linguistics.

c. Pragmatics: etymological origin and epistemological background

The term pragmatics can be defined in terms of etymological origin and epistemological background. Etymologically, in the encyclopedia entry about pragmatics, the word pragmatics existed from away before the 1970's in the Greek language. It has as root the same *pragma*, it means action. Epistemologically, pragmatics can be defined in relation to pragmatism as a philosophical tradition that appeared in 1870's in United States. In the encyclopedia entry about pragmatism, there are two major assumptions underlying pragmatism: (i) it rejects the idea that the function of thought is to describe, represent, or mirror reality, and (ii) admits the idea that the function of thought is as an instrument or tool for prediction, action, and problem solving, and most philosophical topics—such as the nature of knowledge, language, concepts, meaning, belief, and science—are all best viewed in terms of their practical uses and successes rather than in terms of representative accuracy.

Both meanings are felt in pragmatics; language is much more than expressing emotions, ideas and giving information, but it is a tool for doing. Searle (1962) claimed "to utter the sentence (in,

of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to *describe* my doing of what I should be said in so uttering to be doing¹ or to state that I am doing it: it is to do it” (p.6).

3. Pragmatics a multidisciplinary area

It is axiomatic that pragmatics is a linguistic subfield. Despite of that, it can never be pondered outside the periphery of semiotics as a general theory of knowledge covering logic, mathematics, linguistics and rhetoric, as defined by its founder, Morris. He wrote

Semiotic has a double relation to the science; it is both a science among the science and instruments of science. The significances of semiotics as a science lies in the fact that it is a step in the unification of science ,since it supplies the foundations of any special science of signs, such as linguistics ,logic ,mathematics, rhetoric and (to some extent at least)aesthetics (Morris,1938,p.2).

Morris’s foregoing affirmation has three direct requirements: (i) semiotics is at the crossroad of disciplines; (ii) surrounding disciplines like logic, rhetoric and linguistics have implications on pragmatics, (iii) pragmatics is a hybrid innovation that grew out of logic, rhetoric as well as linguistics, especially; functional linguistics.

a. Pragmatics and rhetoric: Synergy Interface

One strong reason why it is quite difficult, though possible, to compare such an archaic discipline as rhetoric with such pragmatics which is in its embryonic stages, is that rhetoric is a prevailing prestigious discipline for ages, while pragmatics is a developing if not marginalized discipline, knowing that it does not receive any attention from scholars who do not have consensus about its utility, it is the wastebasket of the trivial findings of the surrounding researches mainly structural linguistics whose interest is language in its abstract form, Yule (1996) claimed “by placing the investigation of the abstract potentially universal features of language in the center of their work tables, linguists and philosophers of language tended to push any notes they had on every day use to the edges. As the tables got crowded, many of those notes on ordinary language in use begun to be knocked off and ended up in the wastebasket (p.6).”

Despite of that, there are many reasons to ponder to pragmatics and rhetoric as two intersecting disciplines. Comparison between pragmatics and rhetoric is plausible taking for granted a very obvious premise, may be naïve, too, that both disciplines shed the light on language as a human property. Also, the comparison is legitimate knowing that, paradoxically; such an overflowing waste basket becomes a source of inspiration for many scholars (Yule, 1996, p.6), and to reinvestigate old issues, mainly argumentation (Tyteac&Perlman, 1992, Ducrot&Anscombe, 1997), using pragma- rhetorical tools.

b-Speech act theory: a pragma-rhetorical innovation

It is a commonplace that Speech act theory (1962) is a founding theory in the survey of pragmatics. It is obvious, too, that its epistemological root is philosophy since its founders John Austin and John Searle are both philosophers of language (Levinson, 1983, pp.227). This is the first clue proving that, philosophy and pragmatics are indirectly intertwined. For such a reason, the relation between speech act theory, as one of the pragmatic issues, and surrounding disciplines aroused an ongoing controversy since its emergence 1960's. Nevertheless, in the late 1990, with the development of historical pragmatics as a field of study that lies at the intersection of historical linguistics and pragmatics, (Nerlich, 2009, p.325), two issues are recognized. On the one hand, speech act theory has rhetorical underpinnings; on the other hand, metaphor as an old rhetorical issue is still survived, and pragmatically tackled which implies that the relation between rhetoric and pragmatics is bidirectional. Lotman (2009) affirmed

Classical rhetorics was not concerned with the effect of speeches, but it is clear that the principle of perlocutionarity derives from the spirit of rhetorics, which regards speech as a responsible activity.) For example, John Searle's discussion of metaphor from the perspective of speech act theory represented the return of the aims of classical rhetorics (...) Searle proposed the following hierarchy: direct speech acts, indirect speech acts, metaphor, and irony. Metaphor emerges when the sentence meaning diverges from the utterance meaning. Searle distinguished between simple and complex metaphors: in the first case, the relationship between a sentence and an utterance is one-to-one; in the second case, several utterances correspond to one sentence. However, in both cases the utterance meaning can be inferred from the sentence meaning. (p.872).

As its label suggests, speech act theory is based on the assumption that language "is not used to say something, to describe states of affairs but rather actively to do thing" (Levinson, 1983, p.228). Such assumption is, actually, inspired from a pragmatic orthodoxy that "the advantages of studying language via pragmatics is that one can talk about people's intended meaning, their assumptions, their purposes or goals and the kinds (for example requests) that they are performing when they speak"(Yule,1996,p.4).

Actually, both assumptions draw on the idea, already expressed in the pioneering work of Aristotle who defined rhetoric as the use of the available means to persuade (Aristotle, 2004, p.50). It implies that behind these different frameworks -rhetoric, speech act theory - lay a common assumption that language is in the end used purposely to change the world, such assumption is central in pragmatics literatures, too. In this direction, Bitzer (1999) claimed that

A work of rhetoric is pragmatic; it comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself; it functions ultimately to produce action or change in the world; it performs some tasks. In short, rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action. The rhetor alters reality by bringing into existence a discourse of such a

character that the audience, in thought and action, is so engaged that it becomes mediator of change (p.229)

Furthermore, Aristotelian definition of rhetoric in terms of speaker's intention -to inform and please his audience (Aristotle, 2004, p. 215) or to persuade his objectors (ibid. 50) - is another clue of rhetorical and pragmatic intersection; it proposes an intimate relationship between rhetoric speech act theory and pragmatics. The origin of this conviction is that intention is a vital concept in pragmatic literatures and a defining feature of speech act theory, as well.

In the pragmatic paradigm, intention and intentionality are axial concepts; broadly speaking they are deployed to refer to speaker meaning (Grice, 1975; Searle, 1962; Yule, 2010), according to Haugh (2008) a considerable amount of theorizing in cognitive philosophical pragmatics, or so called –Anglo-American pragmatics has been permission the view that communication involves speaker's expressing their intentions and the hearer attributing intentions to those speakers (p.99). Similarly, speech act theory outlines a comprehensive view wrapping all sides of language, it categories utterances based on the speaker's intentions (Potts, 2011, p.15).

All in all, what is in common between rhetoric pragmatics and speech theory is the way they conceive language as a tool that shape our thoughts as well as our world.

c.Argumentation: a pragma-rhetorical question

There is a common place repeating that argumentation is as old as rhetoric, according to Aristotle (2004) “an augmentative discourse as a rhetorical species highly embellished with very sophisticated style with the purpose to persuade (p.50). Thus for ages such concepts, argumentation and rhetoric, are interchangeably used, according to Hietanen (2007) “In many rhetorical analyses (...) , the terms ‘rhetoric’ and ‘argumentation’ are used more or less synonymously.(p.100). Accordingly, all of the issues in the interface between rhetoric and developing disciplines, mainly discourse analysis and pragmatics, argumentation engendered continuing controversy for six decades, since 1950's (Tyteca&Perlman, 1958; Amoosy, 2009; Anscobmre, 1987; Ducrot & Anscombe, 1997). Furthermore, theoretical survey authenticates a tie between argumentation and old rhetoric, Perlman and Tyteca (1958) seminal work *Traité de l'argumentation*” is introduced in terms of object that is the study of argumentation and its attachment to an old tradition, of rhetoric and Greek dialectic (p.1). This is felt, too, in two dominating approaches to argumentation- Toulmin's logical approach (1958) and Ducrot and Anscombe (1997) linguistic approach- which put argumentation at the crossroad of disciplines mainly logic and rhetoric. In a collective publication entitled “Argumentation Across the lines of Disciplines”, Eemeren et al (1986), forwarded argumentation as an umbrella term covering four areas of knowledge: logic, dialectic, rhetoric and pragmatics.

So far, theoretical literatures about the intertwine between pragmatics and rhetoric is so giant to review a through descriptive survey of in the limited space of this paper, thus for the sake of brevity, it will be convenient to mention one major thing that argumentative analysis rely heavily on pragmatic and rhetorical tools, as well. Syllogism, topoi and inference as a distinctive triad, in old rhetoric, still survive in most argumentative approaches (Toulmin, 2003, Ducrot & Anscombe).

d. The intersection between functional linguistics and pragmatics

Nineteen seventies was a confounding area in the linguistic survey. On one hand, formal linguistic axioms related to language as a system -grammatical and semantic rules- were downright. On the other hand, new issues related to language use language and language taxonomy were aroused. Also, notes about language use, which are pushed to the edges, are placed on the center. They are useful to indicate some problems of language which are beyond semantic, lexical and syntactic understanding, then to anticipate the need for pragmatics to solve problems related to language use in other way. Bar-Hillel (1971) asserted “forcing bits and pieces you find in the pragmatic wastebasket into your favourite syntactic-semantic theory” (p.405). Also, the taxonomy of language into units was among the aroused issues, Halliday and Hassen (1976) proposed that “a text is a unit of language in use, is not a grammatical use ...text is best regarded as a semantic unit: a unit not of form but of meaning” (pp. 1-2).

In this context, formal linguistics orthodoxies went bankrupt for a central reason that, as a perspective approach, particularly, concerned with language as abstract system regardless its real use (De Saussure, 1995), does not cover different aspects of language. It is the scope of functional linguistics and pragmatics, as well to provide a holistic view to language. Halliday (2004) defined the scope of functional linguistics as follow “We have referred to language (i) as text and as system, (ii) as sound, as writing and as wording, (iii) as structure — configurations of parts and (iv) as resource — choices among alternatives.”(p.19). In the same direction, pragmatists endeavor to fill such gaps between such levels (sound, words structure), and dig up the meaning across other reference more than the truth conditions. Gazder (1979) asserted “pragmatics has its topic those aspects of the meaning of utterances which cannot be accounted for by straightforward reference to the truth conditions of the sentences uttered” (Gazder, 1979, p. 2 as cited in Levinson, 1976, p.12).

Accordingly, functional linguistics emerged as an alternative that brought into consideration a number of issues which are neglected in formal linguistics.

As its name denotes functional is concerned with the way people use language, Halliday and Hassen (1989) define the notion of function as such “what do we understand by the notion functions of language? In the simplest sense of the word ‘function’ can be thought of as a synonym for the word use, so that when talk about functions of language we may mean no more than the way people use their language”(p.14). In the same way, Dik (1997), defined functional

linguistics in terms of study scope, in the following terms, including many notions like communication and influence each others have pragmatic denotations. He claimed

When we take a functional approach to the study of natural languages, the ultimate questions one is interested in can be formulated as: how does the natural language use (NLU) work? How do speaker and addressee succeed in communicating with each other through the use of linguistic expressions? How is possible for them to make themselves understood, to influence each other's stock of information (including knowledge, beliefs, prejudices and feelings) and ultimately each other's practical behavior by linguistic means."(p.3)

Following Dik's affirmation, functional linguistics intersects with pragmatics at two major points: (i) communication is conceived as the ultimate purpose of language user. Yule (2010, p.27), and (ii) cooperation between language users so as to make themselves understood, to influence each other's by linguistic means.

On this basis that Yule and Brown (1988) define functional linguistics in association with pragmatics. They wrote: "The discourse analyst necessarily takes a pragmatic approach to the study of language in use. Such an approach brings into consideration a number of issues which do not generally receive much attention in the formal linguist's description of sentential syntax and semantics (p.27).

So far, the comparison between functional linguistics and pragmatics makes plenty of evidence that functional linguistics and pragmatics intersect at two levels:(i)as descriptive approaches to language, functional linguistics and pragmatics are questioning structural linguistics as a perspective approach, (ii)they brought into consideration a number of issues neglected in formal linguistics, among such issue the way and the purpose for which language is used.

4. Conclusion

The article has presented a very brief survey, both conceptual and historical, of the developments of pragmatics. The study ends with four noteworthy issues.

- It is high time to rethink about pragmatics not as wastebasket (Yule, 1996), but as a prestigious discipline as rhetoric for a strong reason that since its emergence, pragmatics has provided explanations and examinations to linguistic phenomenon which are beyond semantic and syntactic understandings.
- Pragmatics can be seen as a continuation to rhetoric.
- Pragmatics bridges the gap between semantic and syntax.
- Pragmatics can be seen as a mixed marriage between rhetoric as an old discipline and semiotics as a new discipline.

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Human Resources Management

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Abstract

Effective human resource management constitutes the nucleus of every human organization. Thus the success of every organization depends on the effective management of its people. Managing people requires timing and dynamism to forestall shortage and surplus and to ensure organizational continuity and sustainability. Hence proper human resource management at all time is pivotal for organizational development. Utilizing secondary source, this paper discusses the imperative of human resource management to organization. It is within the purview of the paper that organizational survival or otherwise is a function of its personnel management style. The paper canvasses organizational dynamism as well as aggressive training and motivation for organizational survival and societal development.

Key words: organization, organizational development, organizational sustainability, development, effective management

1. Introduction

Organization thrives on human resources. It is the human element that plans, organizes, directs, controls, trains and maintains people towards achieving organizational goals and objectives. Thus organization gets animated and becomes productive through the cooperative efforts of everybody in the organization. It therefore becomes imperative that human resource be effectively and efficiently managed to achieve organizational goals and objectives. This is an important aspect of personnel management. The quality, utilization, relevance and dedication of personnel either in public or private sector are major determinants of organizational viability and productivity and these are to a large extent determined by the nature of human resource management in organization.

Personnel management is often referred to as human resource management, personnel administration and manpower management all symbolizing the importance of managing people in organization. Personnel management offers the opportunity to leverage employee behaviour and organizational performance effectively. The organization's challenge here is to provide an environment that enhances the positive inclinations of its employees and provides close links between the personal goals of individuals and organizational objectives (Collins and Devanna 1992:221).

It needs to be emphasized here that personnel management problems did not really become pressing until we had large aggregation of people working together in one organization. For example, a carpenter who manages his own shop in town with the help of his wife and children has little need for the knowledge and skill of personnel management. Personnel management organizes people into effective teams, department, units and groups and ensure that organizational and individual responsibility are properly discharge. It at the same time protects the interest of the organization and individuals within the organization.

Personnel management like any other field of human endeavour developed from a crystallization of a variety of historical and contemporary influences among which are economics, psychology, social work, engineering and accounting. It is these influences that have combined in a complex fashion to bring the profession to its current position in the management framework. According to Cumming "the origin of personnel management can be found everywhere enlightened people have tried over the years to improve the lot of their workers.

The acquisition, development and utilization of human resources is germane to economic development of nations. In the words of Frederick Harbison cited in Aina (1972:1)

Human resources-not capital, nor income or material resources-constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production, human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organization and carry forward national development.

2. Conceptualizing Human Resource/ Personnel Management

Personnel management is that part of management that is concerned with the maintenance of human relationships and ensuring the physical well-being of employees so that they give the maximum contribution to efficient working (Appleby 1982:265). It pervades all organizations and basic to the success of all organizations is the effective use of human resources. Personnel or human resources management is therefore concerned with the selection and placement of employees, their development and effective utilization with a view to attaining the potential of individual employees and organization goals and objectives (Aina, 1992:2). This realization has assumed an importance in this millennium. Organizations have grown in size, number and complexity, have developed new technologies and work environments and have come to be viewed by society as a source of making one's living. It is therefore very important for every organization to hire, train, pay, motivate and maintain employees. These functions are important because they support the accomplishment of both organizational and individual objectives.

The management of human resources when considered as a professional function in management is usually referred to as personnel management. The British Institute of Personnel Management in its Golden Jubilee in 1963 as cited by Nwokoye & Ahiauzu maintained that:

Personnel Management is a responsibility of all who manage people as well as being a description of the work of those who are employed as specialists. It is that part of management which is concerned with people at work and with their relationship within an enterprise. It applies not only to industry and commerce but to all fields of employment (1984:131).

The above institute statement conceives personnel management as first, the concern of every person who manages or is responsible for the organization of the activities of one or more persons in an establishment. Secondly, personnel management is also conceived as the work of specialists in the management of human resources. In the words of Armstrong cited in Yahaya (1990:17):

personnel management is concerned with obtaining, organizing, motivating and retaining the human resources required by an enterprise and developing an organizational climate and management style which will promote effective effort and cooperation and trust between all the people working in it and with helping the enterprise to meet its legal obligations and its

social responsibilities towards its employees with regard to the conditions of work and quality of life provided for them.

Implicit in the above definition is that personnel management involves the recruitment, selection, utilization and development of the human resources required by an organization for the attainment of its corporate objectives.

As Yahaya (ibid) further observed, with the Armstrong definition that, one can say without fear of contradiction, that personnel management is concerned with the effective management of human resources within a given organization in order to achieve optimum results. This generalized definition is applicable to public as well as to private sector organizations. It assumes that organizations requires an input of men and women in combination with other resources such as money, material, machines, methods and time to achieve a given objective or a defined end.

Thus personnel management is concerned with the planning, organizing, directing and controlling of the recruitment, the placement, the induction, the training, the development, the compensation, the integration and the maintenance of people for the purpose of contributing to the goals of the organization or enterprise they belong to.

As distinct from the private personnel administration, public personnel administration can be defined as the totality of government organization, policies, procedures and processes used to match the needs of public agencies with the people who staff those agencies (Cayer 1986:1). It deals fundamentally with the mode and means by which local, state, and federal government employ and disengage their staff as well as the processes involved in developing them. Personnel refers both to the employees of an organization and to the function and administrative unit responsible for hiring (LeMay 2002:186). Personnel management involves position classification, recruitment and selection, collective bargaining, performance appraisal, training and development, and labour relations functions. Historically, personnel administration shifted from emphasizing the value of responsiveness to emphasizing politically neutral competence among public employees. A notable development was the establishment and spread of the civil service system, which refers to all non-military employees of government and is sometimes referred to as a merit system-an approach to staffing based on formal qualifications for selecting, retaining, and promoting employees-as opposed to both the spoils system and the patronage system, which select employees and award government contracts on the basis of party affiliation or loyalty (ibid).

Public-sector personnel administration and management differs somewhat from that of the private sector. Democratic political institutions and values implicitly constrain public personnel management in various ways (ibid). The public realm must acknowledge and reflect the wishes and needs of an agency's clientele groups, professional associations of employee unions, interest groups, political parties, and the mass media. Fundamentally too, the constitutional provisions have to be followed in public personnel administration. Personnel processes also help determine who makes and implements public policy. These processes must balance demands that inherently involve conflict-improve productivity, protect employee rights, promote affirmative hiring and promotion practices-yet reflect the traditional merit system reforms. Personnel hiring and training practices often clash with values from partisan political debate and conflict that, in turn, affect public agencies through elected political executives and legislations as well as the principles and values promoted by public employee unions (ibid).

The rapidly changing environments within which public agencies operate-the political, social, cultural, and economic-increase demands for flexibility, adaptability, and the need to hire or train staff to keep up with rapid technological development. Yet those demands are placed on a hierarchical structure with long established and frequently entrenched standard operating procedures that are often highly resistant to change.

3. The Functions of Personnel Management

Personnel management performs some functions which impact significantly on organizational performance. The personnel function is often structured so that it is a separate unit that handles it and are often called human resource development (HRD), and they are responsible for administering and making policy for people and positions in the public sector (ibid:188). Generically, there are four human resource functions which are selection, performance appraisal, rewards, and development (Collins & Devanna 1992:220). The term better connotes the multiplicity of functions associated with personnel management. Broadly speaking, personnel 1 functions include the following:

- Position classification
- Recruiting and selecting employees
- Negotiating with collective bargaining units (i.e.; labour relations with unions)
- Doing performance appraisals of current employees, and
- Conducting, training and professional development events.

Each of the above functions is hereby discussed.

4. Position Classification and the General Schedule System

This organizes jobs under a civil service system into classes based on job descriptions that denote similarities of duties and responsibilities, delineated authority, establish claims of command and detail pay scales. In the United States of America, LeMay (op cit:189) posited that the number of positions covered under the cooperative merit system grew steadily from approximately 10percent when the federal system began with the Pendleton Act in 1883 to more than 80 percent after World War II and more than 90 percent by the mid-1970s.

Basically, all civil service classification systems operate under the same five principles:

- (i) Positions, not individuals should be classified
- (ii) Duties and responsibilities characterize and distinguish a position or mark its similarity to other positions.
- (iii) Qualifications-in education, knowledge, experience, and measurable skills-are identified as necessary for certain duties based on the nature of those duties; these are the important ingredients in determining how the position is classified.
- (iv) Individual characteristics of an incumbent employee should not bear on how the position is classified.
- (v) People holding positions in the same class should be viewed as equally qualified for any other position in that class (Shafritz & Russell 1998:406).

5. Recruitment and Selection

This deals with the process of getting individuals to fill the declared vacancies in organizations. Recruitment is the process of advertising job openings and soliciting candidates to apply for them. It attempts to secure adequate numbers of qualified candidates for an agency from which managers can choose (LeMay op cit: 191). The nature of the task is contingent on the level of the position, general socio-economic conditions, the level of government, the type of agency seeking staff members, and how rigorous and organized is the competition from private sector employers.

Examinations test skills used in varying agencies, yet they must be specific enough to test for the skills and competencies needed for a given agency and position. Increasingly, governments use multiple exams; one to test general skills levels and then more specialized tests, interviews and written work that are submitted by each applicant. General exams tend to be written and standardized, although some incorporate oral portions. For middle-and upper-level positions, a combination of written and oral examinations, personal interviews, background education, experience and written statements are all employed to evaluate applicants.

Selection includes not only hiring but also moving people across positions internally. The time and resources that an organization or a manager devotes to this task will reveal whether they truly value people as their most important asset/resource. For organization to be successful the best people must be hired and a culture that guarantees a diversity of viewpoint created.

6. Collective Bargaining

This is a post- recruitment and selection exercise. Collective bargaining refers to such bargaining by a union on behalf of a group of employees as opposed to an individual worker representing him or herself. The centralized personnel agency is formally charged with representing management in the collective bargaining process with public unions (Lemay 2002:193). In the particular case of Nigeria, the Nigerian Labour Congress and her affiliate organizations are statutorily saddled with this onerous responsibility.

According to Gordon and Milakovich (1998:276) a typical bargaining cycle involves the following ten steps:

- (1) An organizing effort is followed by a particular union seeking recognition as the bargaining agent for a group of employees.
- (2) A bargaining team is jointly selected by management and employees.
- (3) The scope of bargaining is determined that is, what will or will not be covered in the contract and what elements are constrained by legislative or executive limits.
- (4) Proposals and counter proposals are set forth by management and union negotiators.
- (5) A tentative agreement is reached.
- (6) The tentative agreement is submitted for a ratification vote by employees and approved by senior management.
- (7) If agreement cannot be reached or if the tentative agreement is rejected, then an attempt is made to resolve the impasse. An impasse resolution process occurs when, during labour negotiations, either labour or management concludes that no further progress can be made toward a settlement. Typically, the resolution process leads to one or more impasse procedures: mediation, fact-finding, arbitration, or referendum.
- (8) A potential strike is discussed.
- (9) Once a contract is signed, its provisions are implemented (referred to as contract administration; it involves both management staff and union representatives).
- (10) The process or sequence begins again, starting at the second step.

7. Performance Appraisal

This is an important function of personnel management that aims at evaluating the subordinate's performance by his/her manager or supervisor as the case may be and the evaluation is used to determine how much of a merit increase the subordinate will receive. Performance appraisal is the formal method of assessing an employee's work performance and is used for decisions about retention and promotion, as well as to document any disciplinary action taken with respect to an employee. Appraisal is an essential but often difficult task for supervisors. Writing useful and objective performance reports is challenging, so personnel offices often attempt to improve the process by developing "objective" evaluation forms. This counters the strong tendency of supervisors to make appraisals that are subjective, impressionistic, or cannot be compared with ratings done by other evaluators (Lemay 2002:195).

Performance appraisal is designed to meet several purposes and promote certain values. It is intended to change improper, inefficient and dysfunctional work behaviour. Appraisal showcases employee's work performance and his/her potentials. It guides decisions about employee training and recommendations for possible promotion (ibid).

8. Common Performance Appraisal

There are five common types of performance appraisal (Shafritz & Russell 1998:407): supervisor ratings, self-ratings, peer ratings, subordinate ratings and group ratings.

- Supervisor ratings: This is the most common type of appraisal and may or may not involve a standardized appraisal form. The employee's immediate supervisor rates the employee's job performance.
- Self-ratings: An employee rates him or herself using a standardized form, often with a narrative report on their own work or submitting work products to substantiate performance.
- Peer ratings: Each individual rates every other employee in his or her own work unit.
- Subordinate ratings: Subordinates rate a supervisor's performance.
- Group ratings: An independent person-often an outsider who is recognized as qualified expert-rates the performance of an entire work unit based on selected interviews or on-the-job visits; the visits are often for periodic programme review purposes.

9. Training and Development

Organization employees needed to be trained and retrained to get the best out of them and to acquaint them with rules and regulations of the organization as well as technological changes and requirements. Training entails skills and knowledge acquisition. Sometimes, this acquisition

is needed when the employee is new to the organization. Sometimes, it is needed because the organization changes its technology. At other times, it is necessary if an individual is to change places within the organization either by lateral transfer or by promotion. Training is the acquisition of the technology which permits employees to perform according to standard. It is defined as an experience, a discipline or a systematic action which causes people to acquire new skills and knowledge and predetermined behaviour (Aina 1992:75). To be effective, training programmes must be evaluated and then incorporated into broader employee-development goals.

Development is concerned with preparing the employees so that they can move with the organization as it develops; changes and grow. Development programmes give participants an opportunity to enroll in evening classes that will enable them to acquire new horizons, new technologies and new viewpoints.

10. Rewards

This is an important aspect of the human resource management functions. Hence the nature of the reward system employed by an organization has impact on staff morale as well as goal attainment. Two issues are of interest in the area of rewards viz: what we are rewarding; membership or performance and identifying the full range of rewards the organization can use to motivate its employees. Some reward categories go to people for membership. For instance, most employees at certain levels of the organization receive the same benefits regardless of performance, while most organizations say that pay is based on merit. Historically, most organizations on merit pay systems did not use the system to leverage performance (Devanna & Collins op cit: 225). There was usually little play in the range of pay increases that differentiated the superior performers from the average performers, and, in most cases were not made public so people did not know if a real difference based on performance existed. The other important issue in reflecting on organization rewards is to think beyond pay and promotion. Rewards here can be through commendation, managerial praise, respect from co-workers, autonomy, responsibility, job security etc. Regardless of its form, reward is pivotal to the success of organization as most, if not all, people work for reward. Therefore effective management of the organization reward system constitutes an important human resource function.

11. Trends in Human Resource Management

Human resource management at both the private and public sectors has undergone significant tremendous transformation in recent time. This is premised on the fact that the hitherto barriers and obstacles to communication have broken down through telecommunication, information and partnerships and the field has witnessed a globalization of human resource

management (HRM) practices. Reforms, driven by political, administrative and technical reasons, have transformed some (public) human resource management systems from regulatory and reactive into strategic and proactive (Selden 2007:39).

In the same vein, the prevailing global economic meltdown with its attendant implications on cost is such that is having implication for both private and public human resource management practices. Some governments are motivated to change, in order to democratize their administrative processes while others are reducing costs (World Bank, 2001a). Thus organizations worldwide are struggling to recruit and retain qualified workers. Downsizing, rightsizing and a tight labour market are now employed to cope with the prevailing economic reality.

In the particular case of Nigeria, while the public sector organization have put embargo on employment, the private sector is either downsizing or laying off employees to cope with the challenges of the global economic meltdown. This is particular so in the banking sector where some employees have been sacked while others have their emoluments reduced by above 30%.

More so, that the 21st century is a computer age is incontestable, the advent of computer and transformation in information and communication technology meant that few hands are recruited to perform the tasks that were hitherto performed by many. Technological advances are also transforming government's ability to recruit. Currently, all states in the United States post jobs openings on-line, and forty five states offer applications on-line (ibid: 4). This has implication for the personnel saddled with the task of managing the human resource.

Moreover, the common approach to performance appraisal which is to have supervisors evaluate the performance of their employees and then tell them the rating is gradually fading out. Currently the trend is toward adopting performance management systems that are results-oriented, participative and developmental (World Bank, 2001b). A performance management system requires that employees and managers jointly prioritize and determine goals and objectives, establishes how employees or teams contribute to the organization's goals, identifies strengths and weaknesses of an individual's performance. The first step is for top-level executives to articulate an agency's mission and goals. Then, managers and programme directors work from this directive to determine strategic and measurable objectives for their units. From these objectives, managers and employees collaborate to establish team and individual performance objectives (Selden op cit: 42).

This approach assumed that by aligning individual and team objectives with agency goals, employees at all levels will have greater ownership of the agency's goals. The agency benefits because employees would be more results-driven. Employees benefit because they feel a greater sense of accomplishment by achieving meaningful objectives and by having the potential to be rewarded based on their performance.

In addition and in line with Selden (ibid), public sector employees have traditionally enjoyed greater protection from dismissal than those in the private sector. There is an emerging movement away from this approach, as seen in the abolishment of the civil service system in Georgia. Senior officials in Australia, Canada, France, Ireland, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom have their appointments terminated at the will of the government.

Conclusion

People constitute the vital machine in every organization. They remain the activators without whom result will not be achievable and aims and goals will be unmet. Thus the successful handling of the human element in organization constitutes the nucleus of the resource management. Without effective human resource both at the public private sectors, development will be elusive and organization in its real sense will cease to exist. However, in achieving the arduous task of managing human resource, experts must be cognizance of the environmental variations in their dealings. Human dynamism implies that a dynamic approach be employed in managing people at work. If organizations want to confirm their commitments to the entire workforce, they must manage their human resource differently. A one-size-fits-all model of human resource management reform is not an appropriate strategy for any organization. Rather reform must be strategic. Thus only through identifying its own needs and demands will organization be able to formulate a strategic approach to reform. Organizations must be particularly self-conscious about staffing levels, consider the duration of a given job, invest in developing and maintaining the skills of its workforce and examine the nature of the reward system closely. The personnel system of the future will need to couple managerial and system flexibilities and modernization with issues of system fit or congruence. Thus the future organization is that one that is capable of managing its human resource effectively and efficiently.

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Le Probleme d'Amenagement Linguistique en Afrique de l'Ouest: le Cas des Langues Exogenes et Endogenes

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Résumé

Cet article porte sur le problème d'aménagement linguistique en Afrique de l'ouest: le cas des langues exogènes et endogènes. La gestion des langues en Afrique de l'Ouest a une histoire qui peut être retracée d'une part depuis la période coloniale, et d'autre part à travers l'action des missionnaires. Pour cette sous région multilingue, le problème se situe aussi bien au niveau de la maîtrise et de la gestion de leur environnement sociolinguistique, que de la mise en œuvre effective des langues exogènes et endogènes qui s'y trouve avec toutes les implications que cela comporte. Qu'ils s'agissent des implications sociopolitiques ou culturelles, il est évident que le problème de langues au sein de la CEDEAO tire son origine de la conférence de Berlin de 1884 et du traité de Versailles de 1919 qui donnent lieu au morcellement du continent, connu au nom, de l'Afrique entre certaines puissances coloniales. Un morcellement inéquitable qui va incontestablement peser de tout son poids sur la diffusion des langues coloniales aussi bien que sur les langues autochtones bien après les indépendances. L'article conclure que le débat réel devrait porter sur l'adoption d'une politique linguistique capable de promouvoir une interaction et un enrichissement mutuel entre les langues africaines et les langues héritées de la colonisation, afin de promouvoir le développement de l'éducation en tenant compte de l'urgente nécessité de développer massivement la main-d'œuvre, de mettre au point et d'adopter des normes acceptables pour le reste de la communauté internationale.

Mots-clés: Politique linguistique, aménagement linguistique, concurrence linguistique, langue exogène, langue endogène

1. Introduction

On ne peut pas discuter de la politique linguistique sans prendre en considération la nature même de la langue et de son influence dans la société. A l'évidence, les situations sociolinguistiques des pays n'ont, en apparence, aucune similitude et commandent des politiques linguistiques, originales et particulières. Par contre, d'un pays à l'autre, on observe que les mêmes phénomènes sociaux s'arrivent lors qu'il s'agit du dynamisme linguistique que l'on souhaite orienter. On constate également que les mêmes problèmes techniques se posent malgré les différences de langues. Par exemple, la définition et la description d'une forme standard de la langue aussi bien pour son enseignement que pour son utilisation comme langue administrative, langue des médias écrits et parlés, langue de la vie économique et langue de travail. D'où, presque partout, il se pose un problème de la mise à niveau et de la normalisation des vocabulaires requis, la préparation, la publication et la diffusion des ouvrages linguistiques de référence tels qu'en grammaire, dictionnaires, lexiques adaptés à des clientèles variées, la formation du personnel chargé de l'application des mesures retenues, etc. C'est ce qu'affirme Simo Bobda (2008:xi), lorsqu'il dit:

The language question in Africa involves, in one way or the other, the various languages used in the continent, namely the exoglossic languages, the indigenous languages, and pidginised languages like Pidgin English. It has to do with status planning, but also the structural forms of the languages considered.

Donc, les langues exogènes dans ce contexte se réfèrent aux langues qui sont utilisées comme langues maternelles au sein du continent africain, soit des langues autochtones soit des langues créolisées. Alors que les langues exogènes sont les langues que nous avons adoptées par le fait de la colonisation.

L'enjeu d'un aménagement linguistique peut répondre à deux objectifs sociaux distincts, mais étroitement liés l'un à l'autre : la promotion d'une langue et la concurrence, entre les langues en présence. En fait, la promotion d'une langue est la réponse à la concurrence qu'elle subit de la part d'une autre langue. C'est là l'origine de tout aménagement linguistique. En essayant de le démontrer, Laforge et McConnell (1990 :306) expliquent qu'en Espagne, la promotion du Catalan ou de l'euskara que sont des langues exogènes vise à contrebalancer la prédomination de l'Espagne une langue endogène en Espagne ; au Québec, la promotion du Français vise à endiguer la pression de l'anglais; en Belgique, les Flamands veulent sauvegarder leur langue face au français des Wallons.

Un aménagement linguistique, même avec l'appui d'une législation ne supprime pas la concurrence, elle ne peut tout au plus que la contenir en y faisant contrepoids. On ne pourrait même croire que c'est le cas des langues en situation de danger. Tel n'est certainement pas le cas. Deux exemples le démontrent, aux Etats-Unis et en France.

Jusqu'à maintenant, personne ne doute ou du moins ne doutait que l'anglais soit la langue des Etats-Unis, sans qu'il ait été nécessaire d'en préciser le statut dans la constitution américaine. L'anglais n'est certainement pas mis en danger par la présence de plus en plus grande de la langue espagnole. C'est plutôt la politique du *melting pot* qui est compromise par le fait que les immigrants de langue espagnol tendent maintenant à faire usage de leur langue dans la vie publique et non dans le seul domaine de la vie familiale et communautaire comme le faisaient les immigrants du passé. Des défenseurs de la langue anglaise s'en émeuvent et se sont constitués en groupe de pression, sous un nom qui est tout un programme, 'for English only', avec un certain succès, puisque vingt cinq états de l'union ont déclaré l'anglais comme une seule langue officielle.

Puis la France a jugé nécessaire de contrer les effets de la pression de l'anglais sur le français et a adopté différentes mesures à cette fin: création en 1966 d'un "haut comité pour la défense et l'expression de la langue française", voté en décembre 1975 d'une première législation linguistique.

C'est donc ce tandem, promotion d'une langue et concurrence linguistique, qui est au départ de tout projet de politique de langue. Le besoin et la volonté de promouvoir une langue découlent de la fonction identitaire qu'elle assume au sein d'une communauté. la langue n'est pas un simple moyen de communication, comme on le dit souvent. C'est aussi, et surtout un puissant agent de cohésion sociale. En effet, la langue crée entre les individus, une solidarité et une connivence de tous les instants. Elle symbolise et manifeste l'appartenance à une société et à une culture différente des autres, tout aussi riche en signe de respect. La langue soude ses locuteurs en une et une communauté dont les membres partagent une histoire, un destin politique, les institutions, à l'égard des autres communautés linguistiques, et donc les autres langues. Tous ses locuteurs y trouvent réconfort et sécurité.

Si, à cause des contacts avec une autre langue, ces sentiments sont mis en péril, si la sécurité linguistique et culturelle est compromise, l'intention, puis la volonté de protéger langue et culture prennent racine dans l'opinion publique et finissent par s'imposer aux partis politiques et au gouvernement (Bourdieu 244).

Lorsque plusieurs langues coexistent sur le même territoire, elles ont tendance à se partager les divers domaines de l'organisation sociale, suivant que les locuteurs d'une langue dominant dans tel ou tel domaine et y imposent l'usage de leur langue. Cette tendance provoque la concurrence linguistique et entraîne le plus souvent la suprématie de la langue la plus forte. C'est donc ce partage qu'une politique linguistique cherche à influencer en faveur d'une langue, en modifiant les règles du marché linguistique pour les mesures administratives ou juridiques.

Identifier les domaines d'utilisation de la langue, c'est donc à la fois identifier les lieux de la concurrence linguistique et ceux, où une politique linguistique peut être efficace. Il devient alors évident qu'une politique linguistique doit être globale pour être efficace.

2. Aménagement linguistique, de quoi s'agit-il?

Lorsqu'on entreprend un aménagement linguistique, on vise donc à intervenir sur une langue ou sur les langues utilisées dans un certain pays ou une région. Il peut s'agir soit de fixer l'écriture d'une langue donnée et /ou d'en élargir le lexique, soit de promouvoir telle langue au détriment des autres ou, au contraire, de lui retirer son statut de langue dominante, ou encore de faire respecter un équilibre entre les langues en présence. L'aménagement linguistique est une notion relativement récente et recouvre les suivants :

La politique linguistique: l'ensemble des choix conscients effectués dans le domaine des rapports entre langue et vie sociale, et plus particulièrement entre langue et vie nationale ; la politique linguistique est liée à l'Etat; et *La planification linguistique*: la recherche et la mise en œuvre des moyens nécessaires à l'application d'une politique linguistique.

Elle concerne donc aussi bien ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le statut (les fonctions attribuées aux langues: administration, éducation, relations commerciales, etc.) et le corpus (les langues elles-mêmes, dans leurs formes et leurs règles: écriture, grammaire, orthographe, néologismes, lexicologie, ingénierie linguistique Renard (2001 :101).

3. Contraintes à la promotion des langues endogènes en Afrique

Dès les indépendances des pays en Afrique, des efforts ont été déployés aux niveaux national et international pour assurer la promotion des langues africaines. Des institutions internationales comme l'UNESCO se sont constamment employées à encourager les nouveaux Etats Africains en émergence de développer et de renforcer leurs richesses culturelles, leurs systèmes éducatifs et leurs langues nationales. Beaucoup de linguistes ont accompli des travaux forts remarquables dans le domaine de la recherche et de la production linguistiques sur les langues africaines. Dans presque tous les pays africains, les Départements de Linguistique et de

Langues des Universités et Centres de Recherche ont mené d'importants travaux de recherche scientifique et collecté des données très utiles sur les langues africaines. Les chercheurs et les enseignants ont pour leur part, largement fait la preuve de leur capacité à mettre au point des matériels pour l'enseignement et l'apprentissage des langues Africaines. En dépit de la bonne volonté et des bonnes intentions apparentes manifestées en faveur de la promotion des langues africaines, on doit reconnaître qu'il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Il existe encore de nombreuses contraintes qui limitent la promotion des langues africaines, à savoir : contraintes d'ordre historique, d'ordre politique, économique, socioculturel et d'ordre pédagogique.

4. Contraintes de nature historique

Parmi les principales contraintes à la promotion des langues Africaines, Ayo Bamgbose (1991 :69) cite l'héritage colonial qu'il présente comme

...la situation d'héritage, c'est-à-dire la manière dont l'expérience coloniale continue d'influencer et de conditionner les problèmes et les pratiques bien après la colonisation. Par exemple, lorsque les pays africains élaborent des politiques dans le domaine de l'éducation, ils ont en fait tendance à maintenir la logique des politiques du passé, comme l'illustrent parfaitement la sélection même des langues, les rôles qui leur sont assignés, le niveau retenu pour l'introduction de ces langues et la difficulté à changer les langues ainsi introduites.

Tout comme pour les frontières politiques héritées de la colonisation, les dirigeants politiques et les décideurs africains ont pour politique linguistique de maintenir les langues locales existantes dans leurs enceintes naturelles et garder les langues héritées de la colonisation comme langues officielles; de peur de créer de nouveaux problèmes en cherchant à en modifier le statut, le rôle et la place. La conséquence évidente de cette situation est que la langue d'éducation, à travers le continent est encore celle du colonisateur. Dans le cas de la région de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, les langues d'éducation sont les suivantes :

- a) Le français dans toutes les anciennes colonies françaises et belges.
- b) L'anglais dans toutes les anciennes colonies britanniques;
- c) Le portugais dans toutes les anciennes colonies portugaises.

L'éducation dans la langue maternelle n'est toujours pas assurée dans la plupart des anciennes colonies françaises de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. La politique d'interdiction des langues africaines dans le secteur formel de l'éducation s'explique, en grande partie, par l'héritage de la politique française en matière d'éducation pendant la période coloniale. Ce qui encourageait ou plutôt imposait l'utilisation du français, tout en décourageant l'utilisation des langues africaines à l'école.

Par contre, l'enseignement en langue maternelle est beaucoup plus développé dans quelques anciennes colonies britanniques comme au Ghana et au Nigéria. Cette pratique est conforme à la politique coloniale britannique dans le domaine de l'éducation et des langues.

La conclusion évidente que l'on peut tirer à cet égard est que le statut, le rôle et la place des langues européennes (l'anglais et le français) et des langues africaines sont restés les mêmes depuis la période coloniale comme Bamgbose (1991 :70) constate:

Quelque trente ans après l'accession de la plupart des pays Africains à l'indépendance, la difficulté à abandonner les modèles historiques établis témoigne de la persistance de l'héritage colonial.

5. Contraintes d'orientation politique

Dans la planification et l'élaboration linguistiques, l'attribution de nouveaux rôles et fonctions aux langues est déterminée, dans une large mesure, par la lutte pour le pouvoir et l'hégémonie. Stewart (1968) propose une liste de dix fonctions généralement associées aux situations de multilinguisme, comme dans le contexte de l'Afrique de l'Ouest: langue officielle, provinciale, de grande communication, internationale, de la capitale, de groupe, d'instruction, en tant que matière d'enseignement, littéraire et religieuse.

.Langue officielle

Tous les pays de l'Afrique de l'Ouest sont multilingues, mais ils n'utilisent qu'une seule langue à des fins politique et éducative. La langue officielle est déterminée dans la constitution de chacun de ces pays. Dans les pays de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, les langues officielles (l'anglais et le français) remplissent effectivement les trois fonctions. Dans les pays où l'anglais est la langue officielle, cette langue est utilisée par le gouvernement à la fois dans leurs activités quotidiennes, à des fins éducatives et culturelles, et à titre de symbole. L'utilisation de l'anglais y est exigée par la législation en vigueur, pour toutes les transactions officielles. Dans les pays francophones, la législation en vigueur exige l'utilisation du français dans l'administration, l'éducation et toute transaction ou activité officielle.

.Langue provinciale

Une langue peut avoir un statut provincial ou régional et dans ce cas, sa fonction officielle ne couvre pas une échelle nationale, mais se limite plutôt à une zone géographique plus restreinte. Le français au Québec, l'anglais au Cameroun Occidental et le français en Wallonie, en Belgique, sont des exemples typiques à cet égard.

En Afrique de l'Ouest, certaines langues sont prédominantes dans des vastes régions, sans réellement jouer le rôle de langue régionale officielle. A cet égard, il y a les cas du hausa dans la partie Nord du Nigéria, de l'igbo à l'Est, et du yoruba à l'Ouest de ce même pays, ainsi que du mooré dans la région centrale du Burkina Faso. Les dirigeants africains sont très réticents quant à l'alignement des frontières en fonction des divisions linguistiques. C'est une constante de la politique africaine depuis la fin de la colonisation et le début des indépendances.

Langue de grande Communication

Les langues qui peuvent être utilisées comme moyen de communication à travers les frontières linguistiques au sein d'une même nation sont considérées comme jouant un rôle de grande communication. Par exemple, le bambara/jula au Mali, en Côte d'Ivoire et au Burkina Faso, le hausa au Niger, Sénégal et en Gambie. Même si ces langues sont utilisées à d'importantes fins de communication, elles ne bénéficient pas néanmoins d'un statut officiel. Elles facilitent certes l'intégration, en tant que langue véhiculaires, mais tant qu'elles n'auront pas un statut de langue officielle ou provinciale/régionale. utilisée dans l'administration et l'éducation, leur valeur sur le plan de leur statut constitutionnel et de leur prestige reste très négligeable. Toutefois, ces langues peuvent devenir rapidement des langues d'intégration au cas où elles sont utilisées comme langue d'instruction. Il convient donc de noter que les dirigeants politiques et les politiciens aiment bien utiliser ces langues pour la mobilisation horizontale au cours des campagnes politiques.

Langue internationale

La fonction internationale se réfère aux langues de grande communication au niveau international, comme l'anglais et le français. Dans le contexte de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, l'anglais et le français jouent un rôle politique très important. Sur le plan interne, ces langues sont cruciales pour le pouvoir politique, le prestige social, la puissance économique. Sur le plan de l'éducation, elle ouvre la porte à l'acquisition des connaissances, à la science et à la technologie. Ce sont naturellement des langues utilisées pour la communication avec le monde extérieur dans tout domaine de développement. Les populations rurales les considèrent surtout comme des langues permettant de s'assurer le contrôle du pouvoir. Selon Sanou (1990:68) :

Les paysans que nous avons rencontrés lors de notre séjour (...) ne rêvent plus d'un système éducatif qui fournisse à leurs villages des fonctionnaires et les diplômés des universités (...) La première chose qu'ils veulent maintenant c'est de connaître le français, (...) le plus important pour eux, c'est d'acquérir l'arme de base pour l'auto-défense dans un monde dominé par les dirigeants parlant tous le français et les réduisant ainsi au silence. Leur

souhait d'apprendre la langue française, témoigne de leur volonté de revendiquer leur droit de s'exprimer et de se faire entendre, qui leur a été nié pendant longtemps.

Il serait difficile de trouver un meilleur plaidoyer en faveur de l'utilisation de la langue française à l'école comme langue d'instruction. Compte tenu de tous ces constats, les langues émergentes sont susceptibles de renfoncer leur statut de langues de communication provinciales, régionales, nationales, voire transfrontalières; Mais il est peu probable qu'elles remplaceront le français et l'anglais comme langues officielles et langue d'instruction, du moins dans un avenir proche. Ces langues nationales, régionales, provinciales et transfrontalières, ne sont pas assez développées à pouvoir remplacer les langues officielles. A moins d'un changement radical, les dirigeants politiques actuels ne viendront sans doute pas prendre une telle décision politique suicidaire qui détruirait leurs carrières politiques.

Langue de la capitale

La fonction de langue de la capitale se réfère à la situation où une langue de grande communication est la langue de communication dans la capitale et ses environs, comme le hausa à Abuja et le mooré à Ouagadougou. Etant donné que très souvent, le pouvoir politique, le prestige social et les principales activités économiques sont concentrés dans la capitale, la principale langue de communication dans la capitale et ses environs peut jouir d'un statut particulier. Toutefois, en Afrique de l'Ouest, où les langues officielles sont soit le français, soit l'anglais, une fonction ou un rôle particulier n'est pas assigné à la langue parlée dans la capitale.

Langue de groupe

Cette fonction se réfère à l'utilisation de la langue comme médium normal de communication entre les membres d'un même groupe culturel ou ethnique. Dans le contexte de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, où les entités que les Européens appellent souvent « tribus » sont qualifiées, à juste titre de 'nations' par Sow (1977 :12), la langue de groupe a un statut de « langue nationale », avec un rôle et une fonction très symboliques:

L'Etat Africain est multinational et les communautés ethniques qui le composent avec leurs langues, leurs cultures, leurs territoires, leurs histoires leurs technologies spécifiques, leurs économies ... sont des nations au même titre que les Kurdes, les Tchèques, les Ukrainiens, les Géorgiens, les Basques, les Slovènes, les Albanais etc... et non des tribus, comme les ethnologues de l'époque coloniale voudraient nous faire croire.

Selon Sow (1977), la garantie de l'identité et la promotion des langues et des valeurs culturelles des communautés nationales africaines, ne présentent aucun danger, ni aucune menace à l'unité et à la stabilité politique des nouveaux Etats-nations, comme certains auteurs ont voulu nous le faire croire dans le passé. Une telle politique linguistique n'entrave pas l'apprentissage des langues internationales ou de grande communication comme l'anglais et le français. En fait, les expériences entreprises au Burkina Faso, au Mali et au Sénégal ont montré que les enfants apprennent mieux et rapidement le français quand ils maîtrisent déjà leur langue maternelle (Nikiema 1999).

Toutefois, le multilinguisme et l'intégration nationale demeurent des questions chaudement débattues en Afrique. Le multilinguisme est-il un obstacle à l'intégration nationale? L'émergence d'une Etat-nation est-elle liée à l'existence d'une langue commune? Schwarz (1965 :39), soutient que le multilinguisme entrave l'intégration nationale. Selon lui, « les différences entre les langues indigènes divisent les populations, perpétuent les rivalités ethniques, affaiblissent les allégeances nationales et augmentent les risques d'un sentiment séparatiste. Les langues locales contribuent au développement de la culture tribale qui ne favorise pas l'intégration nationale. Chaque langue locale est en outre, intrinsèquement liée à une culture tribale. Ainsi, l'utilisation d'une langue tribale renforce l'attachement à une tribu, ce qui est contraire au sentiment national qui ne se développe que légèrement.

Langue d'instruction

Cette fonction se réfère à la langue en tant que médium pour dispenser des enseignements dans les écoles primaires, secondaires et supérieures. La décision d'utiliser, d'autoriser ou d'encourager l'utilisation d'une langue comme médium d'instruction à un niveau donné est essentiellement une décision d'ordre politique. De même, l'opposition à un système éducatif bilingue ou à l'utilisation des langues africaines dans le secteur formel de l'éducation dans les pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest s'explique, dans une large mesure, par, des considérations d'ordre politique.

Langue littéraire

La langue littéraire est la langue utilisée à des fins littéraires ou académiques. La promotion des langues africaines à des fins littéraires ou culturelles, est une initiative essentiellement politique qui peut servir à promouvoir une plus grande prise de conscience au niveau national. Toutefois, il y a quelque facteur limitatif à cet égard, car seules les langues qui comptent parmi leurs locuteurs des intellectuels et des artistes engagés, bénéficient d'une telle promotion, ce qui peut renforcer les sentiments de frustration parmi les locuteurs des autres langues.

Langue religieuse

La langue religieuse est la langue utilisée particulièrement dans le cadre du rituel d'une religion donnée. Le christianisme, en particulier le catholicisme romain, a œuvré à la promotion du latin et du grec dans les établissements confessionnels tels que les séminaires. De nos jours, l'arabe prend de plus en plus d'importance dans des pays comme le Sénégal, la Mali, le Niger et le Nigéria à cause de l'expansion de l'islam dans ces pays. L'émergence de l'arabe comme une langue de grande communication, est encouragée par les pays arabophones et les organisations internationales comme l'Organisation de la Conférence Islamique (OCI), la Banque Islamique de développement (BIDD), l'organisation islamique pour l'éducation, la science et la culture.

Dans la plupart des pays africains, la stabilité politique est si précaire que l'on élabore les politiques dans les domaines de l'éducation et de langue avec la même prudence que quand on marche sur les œufs. Car, depuis la période de l'indépendance dans les années 60, la plupart des conflits et des guerres les ont pour causes profondes des problèmes associés à la langue, à l'ethnicité et au partage du pouvoir politique et des ressources économiques.

6. Contrainte d'ordre économique

La considération économique détermine les politiques et décisions qui peuvent ou ne peuvent pas être mises en œuvre. Dans les pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest, le système éducatif demeure l'affaire de l'Etat. La conséquence est que le développement de l'éducation et des langues est avant tout une question de budget. Dans un contexte de sous-développement et de pauvreté extrême où plusieurs secteurs prioritaires sont en concurrence pour obtenir chacun une allocation budgétaire substantielle, les responsables de l'éducation doivent travailler avec l'enveloppe budgétaire qui leur a été allouée.

Même si le coût de la formation des spécialités et des enseignants des langues et celui des productions des matériels didactiques d'apprentissage dans plusieurs langues ; langues maternelles ou langue communautaires comme les langues véhiculaires peuvent paraître prohibitif, aux regards des maigres ressources budgétaires allouées au secteur de l'éducation. Obanya (1999 :94) soutient qu'en premier lieu, les enseignants doivent être formés dans le domaine de la créativité ou être en mesure d'exploiter les matériels se trouvant au sein de la société, évitant ainsi le recours exclusif ou excessif aux matériels imprimés comme les ouvrages. En second lieu, dans l'examen des questions relatives à l'éducation, l'accent devrait être mis non pas sur les dépenses, mais plutôt sur l'investissement. Le troisième argument de l'auteur est que la coopération interafricaine devrait être renforcée pour faciliter la mise en œuvre des politiques linguistiques visant à promouvoir les langues africaines en vue de leur utilisation dans l'éducation, et la vie sociale. Une telle approche est-elle possible en Afrique où il y a un bon nombre de langues partagées.

7. Contraintes d'ordre socio- culturelle

Dans la région de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, la question de la langue est très complexe et les planificateurs et les décideurs de ce domaine doivent surmonter de nombreux obstacles d'ordre socioculturel pour réussir dans leur travail. Très souvent, on entend dire et on lit que le développement d'une nation ne peut pas se réaliser en dehors du développement de l'identité et de la culture nationales, ou encore que l'intégration ou l'unité nationale est impossible sans unité culturelle et linguistique. L'argument souvent avancé à cet égard est que les pays puissants en Europe, en Asie et en Amérique, tout en forgeant leur unification politique, développaient également une idéologie unificatrice axée sur une seule et même langue. Isayev(1997 :192) résume cet argument en ces termes : La langue est la caractéristique la plus évidente et la plus importante d'une nation. Il ne saurait y avoir de nation sans une base linguistique commune. Compte tenu de l'argument développé, au contraire que tous les pays africains sont composés de plusieurs nations ayant chacune une langue et une identité culturelle spécifiques, la politique d'une nation, une langue ne peut pas s'appliquer aux pays africains. Selon Bamgbose (1996 :94), l'état-nation à langue unique est un concept du 19^{ème} siècle, qui n'a plus guère de pertinence aujourd'hui . Il va sans dire qu'une langue commune n'est pas une condition indispensable pour un Etat unifié et qu'un ou plusieurs groupes linguistiques majeurs peuvent coexister avec les conflits négligeables entre eux Kelman (1971 :94).

8. Conclusion

En retenant le français et l'anglais comme les seules langues officielles et d'instruction dans le secteur formel de l'éducation, et en confinant les langues africaines aux programmes d'éducation informelles et périphériques, considérées comme de moindre importance, les anciennes colonies ont préféré maintenir le statut quo, qui n'était pas à leur avantage. L'utilisation d'une langue européenne dans l'éducation afin de maintenir l'unité nationale est une énorme illusion. Il n'est même pas certain qu'une langue européenne puisse devenir un instrument efficace d'édification et de développement d'une nation en Afrique, car les langues européennes resteront des langues étrangères pour la majorité des africains.

Cet étude conclure que le débat réel devrait porter sur l'adoption d'une politique linguistique capable de promouvoir une interaction et un enrichissement mutuel entre les langues africaines et les langues héritées de la colonisation, afin de promouvoir le développement de l'éducation en tenant compte de l'urgente nécessité de développer massivement la main-d'œuvre, et de mettre au point en adoptant des normes acceptables pour le reste de la communauté internationale.

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Foucault, Power and Culture

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Abstract

This paper explores the powerful works of French philosopher, Michel Foucault and examines its implications for understanding power and cultural relations. Despite this, there has been very little Foucauldian analysis of culture and its relationship to power (Powell 2012). Hence, the article discusses the relationship between Foucault's conceptual tools of 'power', the emergence of 'the modern subject', the individual and the important concept of 'body' as they apply to a methodological and epistemological understanding of culture in contemporary society.

Key words: Power, Culture, Archaeology, Discourse and Theory

1. Introduction

'My objective has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects' (Foucault 1983: 208).

Michel Foucault's work covered a vast range of topics and has been influential across a variety of disciplines. Powell (2012) suggests that Foucault was a 'masked philosopher' who deliberately sought to avoid being aligned with any particular school of thought: "It is true that I prefer not to identify myself, and that I'm amused by the diversity of the ways I've been judged and classified" (1997: 113). Despite this preference, writers have identified affiliations, influences and the productivity of encounters with the work of other scholars and traditions: Nietzsche and Weber (Braidotti 1991; Owen 1997); Marx (Smart 1983); Kuhn (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982); Gramsci (Kenway 1990) feminisms (Sawicki 1991; McNay 1994) and Habermas (Ashenden and Owen 1999). Commentators have also suggested new terminologies to capture the essence of his approach: 'interpretative analytics' (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, 'modes of information' (Poster 1984) 'governmentality studies' (Burchell, Gordon and Miller 1991; Dean 2007) and the analysis of 'dispositifs' (Deleuze 1992). In addition, his ideas have become influential in a variety of fields of investigation aside from generic cultural studies: criminology (Garland 1985), management and organization (Knights and McCabe 2003), cultural research (Kendall and Wickham 1999), philosophy (Armstrong 1992) and sociology and politics (Burchell, Gordon and Miller 1991).

Foucault's refusal to be characterised in particular ways may be interpreted as a deliberate political strategy central to his overall philosophy (Raulet 1983). He rejects any allusion to certainty in cultural and political life and holds that there is no universal understanding beyond history – placing him at odds with currents in Marxism, as well as rationalist thought in general. That noted we can find imperatives which receive differing degree of emphasis throughout his work, one of which is "to discover the relations of specific scientific disciplines and particular cultural practices" (Rabinow 1984, 4). He has engendered an awareness that disciplines, institutions and cultural practices operate according to logics that are at variance with the humanist visions that are assumed to be culturally embedded (Powell and Biggs, 1999, 2000). In other words, the overt meanings given to activities do not correspond to their overall consequences. Whether these outcomes are intended or accidental was less important to Foucault than the analysis of power. As Barry Smart (1983, 77) points out, Foucauldian analysis asks of power: 'how is it exercised; by what means?' and second, 'what are the effects of the exercise of power?' Within those strategies and tactics, investigation would need to be centred on the mechanisms, the 'technologies' employed and to the consequences of change.

One example of this disjuncture between humanist vision and cultural practices and its effects on the direction of modernity derives from Foucault's (1977) analysis of "utilitarianism". A pervasive theme of Foucault's work is the way in which the panopticon technique 'would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything perfectly' (1977, 173). Foucault describes how panopticism (based on the design of the utilitarian philosopher and cultural reformer Jeremy Bentham) becomes a process whereby certain mechanisms permeate cultural systems beyond actual, physical institutions. Techniques are thus 'broken down into flexible methods of control, which may be transferred and adapted ... (as)... centres of observation disseminated throughout society' (1977, 211-2).

The mechanisms used to extend the reach of centres of power through the cultural body will vary depending on the grounds upon which they are required to operate. There are, in other words, periods in which particular sites and forms of conduct are subject to novel mechanisms and technologies in order to facilitate the transition from one state of affairs to another (Butler, 2000). These technologies may be overtly applied during periods of flux until moral relations have been accepted, whilst during the process of their application they both modify and are modified by the individuals or groupings charged with their implementation. Although Foucault does not impose any sense of causality on the development of such discourses, it is possible to discern the need for both an explicit moral reason and a method of operation, shaped to whatever new contexts are appropriate.

As Rouse (1994) has pointed out, an examination of the relationship between power and knowledge is central to interpreting and understanding cultural phenomena via a Foucauldian framework. One of the consequences of power and knowledge is that rather than the focus on the explicit use of a particular technique of knowledge by someone in power to cause a certain effect, attention is drawn to the reflexive relationship between both elements. This leads to a concern with: 'the epistemic context within which those bodies of knowledge become intelligible and authoritative. How statements were organised thematically, which of those statements counted as serious, who was empowered to speak seriously, and what questions and procedures were relevant to assess the credibility of those statements that were taken seriously. ...The types of objects in their domains were not already demarcated, but came into existence only contemporaneous with the discursive formations that made it possible to talk about them' (Rouse 1994: 93).

So, just as knowledge shapes what action is possible and what power is exercised, those actions also shape the creation of new knowledge and what is thereby given credence. Over time, legitimate '*domains*' are established which both define what is real and what can be done about it. Other possible interpretations are simultaneously discounted and delegitimised. The result is a view and mode of practice in which power and knowledge support each other. These domains not only sustain, for example, certain professional discourses, they mould what those professions might become. This analysis of power and knowledge emphasises their entwinement and the processes that occur as a particular domain takes shape. It also marks a distinction between what

a method for both understanding and obtaining knowledge produces and the relationship between the shaping of that product and the distribution of power.

How did Foucault proceed to ‘uncovering’ discourses and practices? An answer to this question requires an analysis of archaeology and genealogy and we turn to this in the next section of the article. It is important to examine these concepts as contextual backdrops for understanding his approach to subjectivity in the subsequent section, before finally moving on to consider the legacy of his work.

2. Tools for Thinking

Archaeology

It is through “historical investigation” that scholars can understand the present. However, when utilising historical inquiry, scholars should “use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest” (Foucault 1980, 54). In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* Foucault (1972) discusses “archaeology” as the analysis of a statement as it occurs in the historical archive. Further, archaeology “describes discourses as practices specified in the element of the archive” (1972, 131), the archive being “the general system of the formation and transformation of statements” (1972, 130). Whilst an understanding of language would ask what rules have provided for a particular statement, the analysis of discourse asks a different question: “how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?” (1972, 27).

The use of an archaeological method explores the networks of what is *said* and what can be *seen* in a set of cultural arrangements: in the conduct of archaeology there is a visibility in “opening up” statements. For example, the work of Brooke-Ross (1986) illustrates how the rise of “residential care” in western culture produces statements about the “residents old age” while statements about “their ageing” produces forms of visibility which reinforce the power of residential care. Such visibility is consolidated by resource allocation; the cost of residential care stands at £8 billion per year (Powell, 2012) - hence the consolidation of statements pertaining to ageing reinforces institutions such as residential care and the revenue they generate. In this context archaeology charts the relationship between statements and the visible and those ‘institutions’ which acquire authority and provide limits within which discursive objects may exist.

In this approach we can see that the attempt to understand the relations between statements and visibility focuses on those set of statements that make up institutions such as prisons – instructions to prison officers, statements about time-tabling of activities for inmates and the structure and space of the carceral institution itself. This leads to the production of: ‘a whole

micro - penalty of time (lateness, absences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body (incorrect attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, indecency)' (Foucault 1977, 178).

The crucial point is that this approach draws our attention to the dynamic inter-relationship between statements and institutions. Secondly, the attempt to describe "institutions" which acquire authority and provide limits within which discursive objects may act, focuses again on the institution which delimits the range of activities of discursive objects (Powell & Biggs, 2000) – it is at this point that an exploration of the architectural features of the institution would be used to understand spatial arrangements. In a similar context, Goffman (1968) wrote about how spatial arrangements of 'total institutions' operate to provide care and rehabilitation at an official level and capacity, underneath the surface. Such institutions curtail the rights of those within them: 'Many total institutions, most of the time, seem to function merely as storage dumps for inmates ... but they usually present themselves to the public as rational organizations designed consciously, through and through, as effective machines for producing a few officially avowed and officially approved ends' (Goffman 1968, 73).

A fundamental difference between Goffman and Foucault's interpretations of institutions would be, however, that whereas Goffman sees total institutions as an aberration, untypical of society as a whole, Foucault's critique assumes that the carceral element of institutional life encapsulates a core feature of cultural life. In order to get a better understanding of what is punished and why, I wanted to ask the question: how does one punish?' (Foucault 1989, 276). Foucault never felt totally comfortable with archaeological analysis and felt that discourses did not reveal the irregularities between on going within cultural practices. As a result he developed his methodology during the course of his investigations.

Genealogy

Foucault acquired the concept of "genealogy" from the writings of Nietzsche. Genealogy still maintains elements of archaeology including the analysis of statements in the "archive" (Foucault 1977, 1980 and 1982). With genealogy Foucault (1977) added a concern with the analysis of power/knowledge which manifests itself in the "history of the present". As Rose (1984) points out, genealogy concerns itself with disreputable origins and "unpalatable functions". This can, for example, be seen in relation to psycho-casework, care management and probation practice (Biggs and Powell 1999, 2001; May 1991; 1994). As Foucault found in his exploration of psychiatric power: 'Couldn't the interweaving effects of power and knowledge be grasped with greater certainty in the case of a science as 'dubious' as psychiatry?' (1980, 109)

Genealogy can be distinguished from archaeology in its approach to discourse. Whereas archaeology provides a snapshot, a 'slice' through the discursive nexus, genealogy focuses on the processual aspects of the web of discourse – its ongoing character (Foucault, 1980). Foucault did attempt to make the difference between them explicit: 'If we were to characterise it in two terms, then 'archaeology' would be the appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursiveness, and 'genealogy' would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local discursivities, the subjected knowledge's which were thus released would be brought into play' (Foucault 1980, 85).

Foucault is claiming that archaeology is a systematic method of investigating official statements such as discourses (McNay, 1994). Genealogy is a way of putting archaeology to *practical* effect, a way of linking it to cultural concerns: 'A genealogy of values, morality, asceticism, and knowledge will never confuse itself with a question for their 'origins', will never neglect as inaccessible the vicissitudes of history. On the contrary, it will cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning; it will be scrupulously attentive to their petty malice; it will await their emergence, once unmasked, as the face of the other. Wherever it is made to go, it will not be reticent – in 'excavating the depths', in allowing time for these elements to escape from a labyrinth where not truth had ever detained them. The genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of the origin, somewhat in the manner of the pious philosopher who needs a doctor to exorcise the shadow of his soul' (Foucault 1984, 80).

The Making of the Modern Subject

Foucault's use of genealogy cannot be divorced from an understanding of power, nor can the constitution of the subject. With this in mind our approach will be to consider his analytical ingenuity via an examination of different modes through which 'subjectivity' is constituted. Foucault (1982, 1983) grounded this as a pivotal mode of analysis that has been deployed in reflections on his own life (Miller, 1993). Subjectivity appears as both an experiential and discursive strategy that 'goes beyond theory' (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983) and provides us with a way to problematise the explanatory value and relevance of his analyses.

We will discuss Foucault's approach to subjectivity in terms of classification, dividing and self-subjectification practices. These operate in ways to structure subjectivity under the auspices of the 'rise of modernity' where, commencing in the seventeenth century, the cultural sciences, early capitalism and institutions began to co-ordinate new ways of objectifying 'populations' in western societies. In Foucault's analysis the realm of the 'cultural' becomes the object of enquiry.

Here, the term 'cultural' means: 'The entire range of methods which make the members of a society relatively safe from the effects of economic fluctuation by providing a certain security' (Donzelot 1980 p. xxvi). Thus, in *Discipline and Punish*, the study: 'traces the historical emergence of the cultural as a domain or field of inquiry and intervention, a space structured by a multiplicity of discourses emanating from the human sciences which, in their turn, are derived from, yet provide, a range of methods and techniques for regulating and ordering the cultural domain' (Smart 1983).

Classification Practices

Foucault's (1980) main concern was to show that the 'truth' status of a knowledge derives from the field in which it, as a discourse, is employed and not from the interpretation of a subjects' thoughts or intentions. Discourses are powerful in that they operate as a set of rules informing thought and practice and the operation of these decides who or what is constituted as an object of knowledge. The relationship between the subject and truth should be viewed as an effect of knowledge itself. Quite simply, the subject is not the source of truth. As Foucault put it: 'what if understanding the relation of the subject to the truth, were just an effect of knowledge? What if understanding were a complex, multiple, non-individual formation, not 'subjected to the subject', which produced effects of truth?' (Foucault in Elders 1974: 149).

Knowledge is not separate from the realm of 'practice'. Knowledge is a practice that constitutes particular objects – non-theoretical elements – that are part of practice itself. Knowledge and the subject of knowledge are fused as part of the relationship between knowledge and power that is culturally constructed: 'The important thing here, I believe, is that truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and functions would repay further study, truth isn't the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth' (Foucault 1980: 131)

Foucault is deliberately questioning the individual subjects' will to construct as he sets about exploring the relationship between 'discourse' and 'subjectivity'. What emerges is a grounded understanding of power/knowledge construction and reconstruction as discourses transform people into types of subjects - as classifying practices. Through these techniques of knowing, human attributes are studied, defined, organised and codified in accordance with the meta-categories of what is 'normal'. Classifying practices and techniques of normalisation designate both the objects to be known and the subjects who have the authority to speak about

them. Discourses thus encompass both the objective and subjective conditions of human relations (1973, 232) and these emerging forms of cultural regulation, characterised by notions of discipline, surveillance and normalisation, are core to his theoretical studies (Foucault 1977).

The knowledge and practices are also referred to as 'epistemes' which are "the total set of relations that unite at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences and formalised systems" (Foucault 1972: 191). Cultural science disciplines, in different ways, order the status of those who can validate knowledge through inquiry. Foucault designates a discourse's function of dispersing subjects and objects as its 'enunciative modality' (Foucault 1972: 50). This modality encompasses roles and statuses and demarcated subject positions. Together they act to structure the space of regulation where the professionalisation of knowledge is instigated.

Dividing Practices

Dividing practices are deployed in order to maintain cultural order - to separate, categorise, normalise and institutionalise populations. In *Madness and Civilization* (1973a), *Birth of the Clinic* (1975) and *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault illustrates how 'unproductive' people were identified as political problems with the 'rise of modernity'. The state divided these people into 'the mad', 'the poor' and 'the delinquent' and subsequently disciplined them in institutions: asylums, hospitals, prisons and schools (Foucault 1977). These exercises of disciplinary power were targeted at the subject and constituted techniques in these institutions. For instance, as we noted earlier, in *Discipline and Punish* Foucault argues that since the 18th century, prison authorities increasingly employed subtle regulatory methods of examination, training, time-tabling and surveillance of conduct on offenders in which we find a whole 'micro-penalty'. Overall, dividing practices are seen as integral to the rationalism of the Enlightenment narratives of liberty, individuality and rights and as fusing with governmental forms of human calculation and audit.

Self-Subjectification Practices

The previous modes of classification and dividing practices co-exist. Professions examine, calculate and classify the groups that governments and institutions regulate, discipline and divide. The third mode of self-subjectification is more intangible. These practices designate the ways in which a person turns themselves into cultural subjects. Foucault claims that self-subjectification entails the deployment of technologies of the self: 'Techniques that permit individuals to affect,

by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, their own souls, their own selves, modify themselves, and attain a certain state of perfection, happiness, purity, supernatural power' (Foucault, 1982: 10). In Foucault's work self-subjectification practices proliferate in the domain of sexuality because the occupying sciences of medicine, psychology and psychoanalysis obligate subjects to speak about their sexuality. In turn, these sciences characterise sexual identity as esoteric and dangerous (Foucault 1980). Thus, the association of sexual truth with self-subjectification gives 'experts' their power.

Self-subjectification practices inter-relate with classification and dividing practices to construct modern subjects. For instance, subjects are created by human sciences that classify problems, identities and experiences; the systems of power that divide, stratify and institutionalise types of 'elderly' subjects and the technologies of the self that impose upon individuals the reflexive means to problematise themselves. What Foucault seems to be confronting us with is a disturbing vision that our ideas about the depth of human experience are simply cultural veneers that exist in an interplay between power and knowledge. Shumway (1989) calls this a 'strategy of exteriority': a strategy that 'does not stem from a claim that the true being plain and visible, but from a rejection of the claim that the true is systematically disguised' (1989: 26). Foucault's analysis of subjectification practices highlight techniques used by administrative powers to problematise subjects and the games of truth employed by those who seek to know them through classification techniques.

Subjectivity: Three Domains

Foucault juxtaposes his axis of classifying, dividing and self-subjectification practices with one that delineates three domains of subjectivity: the body, the population and the individual. These domains elaborate how modes of subjectivity traverse modern cultural relations.

The Body

The 'body' is a subject of discursive and political inscription. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault (1977) claims that penal practices produce the 'soul' of the offender by disciplining the body and corporealising prison spaces. In prisons, the body's most essentialist needs - food, space, exercise, sleep, privacy, light and heat - become the materials upon which schedules, curfews, time-tables and micro-punishments are enacted. The body discipline developed in prisons has parallels throughout the broader disciplinary society. Indeed, the success of modernity's domination over efficient bodies in industry, docile bodies in prisons, patient bodies

in clinical research and regimented bodies in schools and residential centres attest to Foucault's thesis that the human body is a highly adaptable terminus for the circulation of power relations.

It would be a mistake to believe Foucault is alone in arguing that the rule of the body is fundamental to modern politico-economical and professional regimes of power. Critiques of the domination of the body were the mainstay of Frankfurt theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) long before Foucault's work. As he noted of their work: 'As far as I'm concerned, I think that the Frankfurt School set problems that are still being worked on. Among others, the effects of power that are connected to a rationality that has been historically and geographically defined in the West, starting from the sixteenth century on. The West could never have attained the economic and cultural effects that are unique to it without the exercise of that specific form of rationality' (Foucault 1991, 117). Foucault's contribution, however, is to locate the ways in which 'bio-power' and disciplinary techniques construe the body as an object of knowledge. For example, *The History of Sexuality* depicts the dominion with which 19th century experts constructed a hierarchy of sexualised bodies and fragmented the population into groups of 'normal', 'deviant' and 'perverted'.

While Foucault's definition of the body has inspired numerous debates, the task of refinement and problematization have largely been the province of feminist scholars. Foucault has been criticised for his lack of sensitivity and attention to gender inequality and women's history thereby requiring theoretical revision in order to overcome such limitations (Powell and Biggs, 2000). Feminists have stressed that the body is both a site of regulation, where gendered identities are maintained and a site of resistance, where they are undone and challenged. McNay (1993) agrees with Foucault that 'sexuality is produced in the body in such a manner as to facilitate the regulation of cultural relations' (1993, 32). However, contra-Foucault, she notes that not all aspects of sexuality, corporeality and desire are products of power relations. Passionate cultural relationships based on friendship do not necessarily facilitate intense forms of surveillance and regulation. 'Friends' can transform disciplinary spaces and engage in disrupting practices. Similarly, Butler (1990, 140-141) claims that ritualised body performances that bind women to fictional feminine identities can also become deconstructive performances that expose the arbitrariness of identities.

3. The Population

Foucault outlines how the modern state enhanced its power by intervening in the very life of the 'bio-politics of the population' (1980, 139). In this process power has two poles. First, a

pole of transformation and second, the human body as an object of control and manipulation. The first revolves around the notion of 'scientific categorisation': for example, 'species' and 'population'. It is these categories that become object of systematic and sustained political intervention. The other pole of is not 'human species' but the human body: not in its biological sense, but as an object of control and manipulation. Collectively, Foucault calls these procedures "technologies" which centre around the 'objectification' of the body. The overall aim is to forge: 'a docile body that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved' (1977, 198).

Beginning with the inception of modernity, Western administrators rationalised their management of cultural problems with technically efficient means of population control: statistics, police, health regulations and centralised welfare. Such means constituted governmentality: an assemblage of ruling practices, knowledge authorities and moral imperatives that converged on the population in order to extend the reach of the state. The controversial point is that governmentality is more complex than state power. Custodial institutions and health programmes configured individuals into sub-strata of the population. For example, pension policies explicate 'the elderly' as a particular group of people, while statistics elaborate their status as a demographic entity (an 'ageing population'). Thus, the disciplinary formation of subjects as a population makes possible the government of subjectification.

The Individual

If disciplinary gaze is a first step, then 'interiorization' of that gaze is the second. Foucault's cultural constructivism, consisting of classification and dividing practices, technologies of the self and political grids of bodies and populations has fuelled his critics claims that he deprives human subjectivity of agency (Smart 1983). Minson claims that Foucault burdens the body with being true subject of history and 'the flickering counterpart to the dull individual of sociology' (1985, 93).

Foucault emphasises two important aspects of individual agency that counteract his critics. First, the victims of modernity's disciplinary matrix - the prisoners, patients, and children - can subvert the regulatory forms of knowledge and subjectivity imposed upon them. Second, while power/knowledge relations construct governable individual subjects, such subjects are not fixed to their conditions of ruling and do become agents of resistance to them (Foucault 1977, 1991). To investigate the 'how' of power then requires: 'taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point...it consists of using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used. Rather than analyzing power relations from the point of view of its internal

rationality, it consists of analyzing power relations through the antagonism of strategies' (1982: 211). Power is exercised on free subjects and guides, but does not necessarily determine, conduct.

In this formulation the individual is not the traditional subject caught in a war between domination and liberation. Rather, the individual is the personal space where both active and passive aspects of human agency and identity surface in the context of material practices. Identity may be imposed through the surveillance of a subject population. This surveillance produces both discipline (that is, conformity to the norm), and the disciplines (regulated fields of knowledge and expertise). Disciplinary surveillance involves first individualizing each member of the population to facilitate the collation of observations across the population.

From these observations, statistical norms are produced relating to a multitude of characteristics. These norms are then applied back to the subjected individuals who are categorized, evaluated and acted upon according to their relation to the produced norm. Foucault's work focused on the 'history of the present' and 'power/knowledge' synthesis and how the subject was formed (Foucault, 1977 and 1978). Here Foucault's work is on the 'microphysics of power' and the interplay of power relations, dividing practices and tactics in particular contexts (Foucault, 1977): the 'doctor' and 'patient'; 'prison officer' and 'prisoner'; 'teacher' and 'student' and 'care manager' and 'older consumer'.

4. Discussion

'It may be that the problem about the self does not have to do with discovering what it is, but maybe has to do with discovering that the self is nothing more than a correlate of technology built into our history' (Foucault 1993, 222).

Foucault's formulation presumes the notion that individual lives are never quite complete and finished – that in order to function culturally individuals must somehow work on themselves to *turn* themselves into subjects. The notion of 'technologies' offers the opportunity for a particular analysis of the sites and methods whereby certain effects on the subject are brought about.

Objectifying technologies of control are, for example, those invented in conformity with the facets of self-understanding provided by criminality, sexuality, medicine and psychiatry investigated by Foucault. These are deployed within concrete institutional settings whose architecture testifies to the 'truth' of the objects they contain. Thus, the possibilities of self-experience on the part of the subject are in itself affected by the presence of someone who has the

authority to decide that they are ‘truly’ ill such as a ‘doctor’ of medicine (Powell and Biggs, 2000). ‘Subjectifying’ technologies of self-control are those through which individuals: ‘effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality’ (Foucault 1988, 18).

The important issues that Foucault raises via a questioning of the centrality of the subject are associated to ‘truthful’ formulations of the task or the problem that certain domains of experience and activity pose for individuals themselves. The boundaries of self-experience change with every acquisition, on the part of individuals, of a possibility, or a right, or an obligation, to state a certain ‘truth’ about themselves. For example, bio-technology in popular culture can tell a ‘truth’ of selling a dream of unspoken desire of ‘not growing old’ to people. However, it is the self-experience of subjects that can refute, deny and accept the ‘truth’ claims of bio-technology. In the case of lifestyles in popular culture, the active adoption of particular consumer practices, such as uses of bio-technology contributes to a narrative that is compensatory in its construction of self (Biggs and Powell, 2001). Thus, the recourse to the notion of technologies of self is capable of accommodating the complexity of the ‘subject’.

Although Foucault maintained the distinction between the technologies of power/domination and the technologies of self, these should not be regarded as acting in opposition to or in isolation to one another. Indeed, Foucault frequently spoke of the importance of considering the contingency of both in their interaction and interdependence, by identifying specific examples: ‘the point where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself and, conversely, the points where the technologies of the self are integrated into structures of coercion’ (Foucault 1993, 203). The distinction should therefore be considered as a heuristic device and not the portrayal of two conflicting sets of interests. Overall, we should see Foucault’s entire works as providing ways of understanding cultural relations that require on our part active interpretation, not passive regurgitation.

To take one modern example of how we might think with, alongside (and against perhaps?) Foucault, take the question: how is modern bio-ethics rooted in a specific configuration of subjectivity? The body culturally represents the best hiding place, a hiding place of internal illnesses that remains inconspicuous until the advent of ‘expert’ intervention. In other words, what are the effects of this problematization given its conditions of possibility? Subjective relations to the self will be affected to the extent that cultural life confronts individuals with the proposition that this subjective truth – the truth of their relation to themselves and to others – may be revealed by ‘bodies’, which are also object of manipulation, transformation, desire and hope. In this way we might anticipate through ‘culture’ (Powell, 2012) the relations between illnesses,

new technologies, power, the body and desire. While confronting an illness this involves a deliberate practice of self-transformation and such transformativity must pass through learning about the self from the truth told by personal narratives within popular culture. How is this culture and the body itself, however, interacting with and being changed by advances in bio-medical technology and the power of huge pharmaceutical companies?

Foucault is often seen as a structuralist, along with those such as Barthes, Althusser and Levi-Strauss. In reply to questions which sought to make such parallels, he was consistent: 'I am obliged to repeat it continually. I have never used any of the concept which can be considered characteristic of structuralism' (1989, 990). Perhaps the best way to view this is by examining his idea of historical 'events'. He refuses to see events as symptomatic of deeper cultural structures and focuses upon what seems to be marginal as indicative of relations of power. Events thereby differ in their capacity to produce effects. The following quote helps us see how this can be applied to cultural analysis: 'The problem is at once to distinguish among events, to differentiate the networks and levels to which they belong, and to reconstitute the lines along which they are connected and engender one another. From this follows a refusal of analyses couched in terms of the symbolic field or the domain of signifying structures, and a recourse to analyses in terms of the genealogy of relations of force, strategic development, and tactics. Here I believe one's point of reference should not be to the great model of language (langue) and signs, but to that of war and battle' (Foucault 1980, 114).

What about those questions concerned with whose culture, whose identity and how is this produced? These are the questions that pre-occupied Foucault. His refusal to see power as a property of say, a particular class, immediately leaves a question over his politics in terms of the idea of struggle? As he said: 'I label political everything that has to do with class struggle, and cultural everything that derives from and is a consequence of the class struggle, expressed in human relationships and in institutions' (1989, 104).

This leaves us with a question: against whom do we struggle if they are not the owners of power? Who creates cultures and how might alternative forms find public expression and does this change anything? These questions immediately bring forth issues concerning the relationship between Foucault and Marxist theory. Class structure, race and gender are key determinants of the position of individuals in capitalist society. It is difficult for 'techniques of resistance' to be mobilised when particular groups are de-commodified and marginalized and lose their cultural worth and voice (Biggs and Powell, 2001). At the same time Foucault sees subjectivity not as a fabricated part of a deeper reality waiting to be uncovered, but an aspect of the reality systematically formulated by resistances and discourses. He sidesteps the binary relationship set

up by Marxist theory between true and false realities, ways of knowing and political consciousness (Foucault 1980) and seeks to loosen knowledge, ideas and subject positions from categories of cultural totality: for example, cultural formation, mode of production, economy and society.

Culture is rearticulated in Foucault's thought to historical and societal features ignored in those models of cultural reality that 'read off' culture according to deeper structures. Foucault looks to areas such as medicine, sexuality, welfare, selfhood and the law, and to marginalised cultural groups, local politics and the micro-levels of culture. In these studies he found cultural, discursive and historical substrata in which relations of domination were apparent that were not simply reducible to modes of economic exploitation. The idea of 'governing' then captures the ways in which the 'possible field of action of others' (Foucault 1982a: 221) are structured. Yet in inheriting this approach authors have produced panoptic visions in which resistance is subsumed within impersonal forces. This results from over-looking two main aspects in Foucault's work. First, in terms of his own question, what are the 'limits of appropriation' of discourse? Without this in place, all does appear quiet on the battleground. Second, and relatedly, the agonism that exists between power and freedom (May 1999). This suggests that where there is power, there is also resistance; power thus presupposes a free subject. If there is no choice in actions, there is no power. A slave, therefore, is not in a power relationship, but one of physical constraint (Foucault 1982).

Foucault notes three types of struggle: those against domination; those against exploitation and those against subjection and submission. The latter, whilst rising in importance in the contemporary era, do not do so to the exclusion of domination and exploitation as many of his followers have appeared to suggest. To understand why particular actors enjoy more power than others, as opposed to seeing power as a 'machine in which everyone is caught' (Foucault 1980: 156), an account of resistance is needed. Because Foucault views freedom as part of the exercise of power, he does not provide for such an account. Yet, in answer to a question concerning 'power as evil', he spoke of the need to resist domination in everyday life: 'The problem is rather to know how you are to avoid these practices - where power cannot play and where it is not evil in itself' (Foucault 1991b: 18).

What makes Foucault's overall theoretical work inspiring, is how he animates and locates problems of knowledge as 'pieces' of the larger contest between modernity and its subjects. By downplaying the individual subject, Foucault shows how 'bodies' and 'populations' are sites where 'human beings are made subjects' by 'power/knowledge' practices (Smart, 1983, 44). To look for a possible form of transgression in order to change cultural relation, we must examine

within contemporary arrangements the possibility for it to be 'otherwise'. We thus find, in Foucault's later work, an insistence upon the reversibility of discourses through 'resistance'. Subjects of power are also 'agents' who can strategically mobilise disjunctures in discourses and in so doing, open up the world of possibility in a world that seeks order through discipline and surveillance.

4. Conclusion

In his essay on Kant's 'What is Enlightenment (*Was ist Aufklärung?*)?' Foucault writes of his work as being an 'historical ontology of ourselves' through a critique of what we do, say and think. He is clear throughout the essay concerning what this form of critique is not: neither a theory, doctrine, or body of knowledge that accumulates over time. Instead, it is an attitude, 'an ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them' (Foucault 1984: 50). What is the motivation for this work? 'How can the growth of capabilities be disconnected from the intensification of power relations?' (1984: 48).

There is no 'gesture of rejection' in this ethos. It moves beyond the 'Outside-inside alternative' in the name of a critique that 'consists of analyzing and reflecting upon limits' (Foucault 1984: 45). The purpose being 'to transform the critique conducted in the form of necessary limitation into a practical critique that takes the form of a possible transgression' (1984: 45). Overall, it is genealogical in form: 'it will not deduce from the form of what we are what it is impossible for us to do and to know; but it will separate out, from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, or think' (1984: 46). The ideal lies in the possibility of setting oneself free. To examine the internal modes of the ordering of truth, but not in the name of a truth that lies beyond it, is seen to open up possibilities for its transgression.

Despite criticisms that his work lacked a normative dimension (Fraser 1989), the orientation for Foucault's approach is clear. The issue translates into one of how one-sided states of domination can be avoided in order to promote a two-sided relation of dialogue. The journey for these investigations being from how we are constituted as objects of knowledge, to how we are constituted as subjects of power/knowledge. What we can take from Foucault is the insight that critical approaches to cultural analysis cannot practice on the presupposition that there is an essence to humanity. The idea of coming to know ourselves differently and viewing the possibilities for transformation, is about interpreting ourselves differently.

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A Product-Process Analysis of Saudi Student Writers' Essays

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Abstract

Writing as an interactive process of thoughts and words has been the focus of two different yet complementary approaches, namely the product approach and the process approach. While the product approach focuses on the formal properties of texts, their macrostructure and grammar, the process approach attends primarily to students' meaning-making processes. These two approaches can present a clearer picture of writing skills and lead to direct and immediate pedagogical implications. This paper is an attempt at reconciling process and product approaches to ESL/EFL writing. The paper investigates Saudi learners' product deficiencies and attempts to infer Saudi learners' writing processes through a retrospective composing process questionnaire and a product multi-levelled analysis. The analysis shows that the students fail to conceive writing as a lengthy, multistep, recursive, and creative process. Their product contains deficiencies at the levels of cohesion and coherence in addition to interlanguage errors at the morpho-syntactic level and at the vocabulary level. The deficiencies at the cohesion and coherence levels reflect the students' lack of familiarity with the appropriate formal and content schemata. The paper recommends instating writing as a process that gives priority to cohesion and coherence and relating these to formal and content schemata.

Key words: Product approach, process approach, interlanguage, cohesion, coherence, contrastive rhetoric, error analysis

Introduction

The present paper proposes that writing, very much like speaking, is an interactive process of thoughts and words and distinguishes two major approaches in writing research. They are (i) the product approach where focus is on the text as product for analysis and (ii) the process approach where focus is on the progression of the act of writing. As discussed in Raimes (1991), Johns (1997) and Weigle (2002), different perspectives of writing give different emphases either to product / text, or to individual writer cognitive process. In the product approach, writing is a subsidiary skill that is cut-off the other major skills (reading, speaking, and listening), and is implemented as a means for mastering syntactic forms, testing accuracy, and the overall organisation of different text types and paragraphs (Raimes, 1991; Silva, 1990). In the process approach, the focus is primarily on the composing behaviours as well as the different stages that both “skilled” and “less skilled” L2 (and L1) writers go through during the act of writing (Reid, 2001; Raimes, 1991). This paper is an attempt to bridge the gap between process and product oriented approaches to ESL/EFL writing. The paper investigates learners’ product deficiencies and attempts to infer the processes learners go through while writing essays. It seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What processes do Saudi students follow in writing essays?
2. Which Arabic linguistic and text organisation features do Saudi students transfer most into their writing?

The study has three major hypotheses:

1. Product analysis can shed much more light on writer’s cognitive process than what recent literature has claimed.
2. Saudi students’ writing is often difficult to follow due to learners’ difficulties in making their writing cohesive and coherent.
3. Saudi students have problems in ordering ideas and signalling relationships between ideas.

1. Literature review

This section presents a critical review of the main product-oriented approaches to ESL/EFL writing, within audiolingualism, error analysis and contrastive rhetoric. It highlights and discusses the main principles and characteristics of the process-oriented approach. The final part

of this section attempts to reconcile the process and the product approaches and stresses the complementarity of the two approaches and their role in developing a better understanding of the nature of ESL/EFL writing among Saudi learners.

1.1. Product-oriented approaches

There has always been a strong trade-off between the approaches for teaching writing and the actual products and processes learners follow in developing this skill.

1.1.1. Audiolingualism

The audiolingual method viewed writing as the “hand-maid of the other skills” i.e. listening, speaking and reading, (Rivers, 1968: 241). In language instruction, writing often takes the form of sentence drills, fill-ins, substitutions, transformations, and completions. Raimes (1991: 408), who advocates writing as a process, maintains that if students concentrate on grammatical accuracy, they hardly pay attention to how sentences cohere and contribute together to text meaning. Silva (1990: 13) also states that there is little concern with purpose or audience in the audiolingual method.

1.1.2. Error analysis

Error analysis developed out of the disenchantment with audiolingualism and contrastive analysis and out of the Chomskian influence on first language acquisition research (Corder, 1981: 2). It signalled a shift towards the learner and often considered the classroom as being artificial. It approached writing as a product and focused mainly on the sentence level; it studied learners’ errors at the level of the sentence and below. The success of error analysis to account for learners’ processes in producing discourse (spoken or written) was modest. Error analysts inferred the causes of errors at the level of the sentence by gathering plausible evidence (Dulay, Burt, and Krashen, 1982: 142).

Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982: 146) offered a detailed taxonomy of errors.

1. Linguistic errors are at the levels of phonology, morphology, and syntax.
2. Surface errors include omissions, additions, misforming, double marking, misordering, archiforms, and alternating forms.
3. Comparative errors are interlingual, developmental, and ambiguous.

4. Communicative effect errors: some of them impede communication while others do not.
- 5.

It is worth noting that in Dulay, Burt, and Krashen's taxonomy surface errors and comparative errors are linguistic errors at the level of the sentence, and "some communicative effect errors" could reflect text production/message building difficulties. The latter received little attention in error analysis research.

1.1.3. Contrastive rhetoric

Contrastive rhetoric was first introduced by Kaplan (1966), who highlighted differences in the written discourse of students from different cultures, and noted that ESL writers "employ a rhetoric and a sequence of thought which violate the expectations of the native reader" (1966: 4). Subsequent contrastive rhetoric studies have revealed that some discourse features in L2 writing are the manifestation of L1 rhetorical conventions, confirming L1 interference in L2 writing (Hinds, 1987; Ostler, 1987). They have shown that cultural expectations can affect reader's conception of text coherence. For example, native speakers of English expect writing to be hierarchically organised, with explicit connections between propositions/ideas in the text so that readers do not need to infer these connections on their own (Leki, 1991; Hinds, 1987). Arabic rhetorical structures are said to differ. Arabic discourse relies on coordination, repetition and parallel structures, while English rhetoric is linear, direct, and reader aware (Ostler, 1987). Contrastive rhetoric studies have shown that Arabic speaking learners tend to transfer their L1 rhetorical conventions in ESL writing (Sa'adeddin, 1989).

Ostler (1987), who compared essays written by Saudi students and chunks of published professional English writings, concluded that Arab learners' essays were syntactically satisfactory, but seemed foreign still. They displayed an overuse of parallelism, sound effect, and coordination. Native English texts, by contrast, tended to rely more on subordination and rarely used sound effect or parallelism. Ostler (1987) assumed that these differences were due to transfer of Arabic rhetoric, which was still under the influence of the oral tradition.

Sa'adeddin (1989: 39) identified the following features in some Arabic texts: vagueness, over assertion, repetition of propositional elements, cohesion by repetition, exaggeration, circularity that gives the impression that nothing is happening, verbosity, face-to-face interactional expressions, frequency of rhetorical questions, emotive and unsupported statements, digressions, and redundancies. Many of these features pertain to the oral mode in Arabic, and Arab writers

assume that “these (features) are universally accepted markers of truthfulness, self-confidence and linguistic competence, as well as intimacy and solidarity” (Sa’adeddin, 1989: 39).

Although contrastive studies rely on transfer to explain learners’ deficiencies, one could point out that some learners’ errors are developmental and may not appear in experts’ writings. Proponents of the process approach maintain that the contrastive rhetoric approach discourages creative thinking, examines the product only, and ignores both the context from which L2 writers emerge and the processes these writers may have gone through to produce their texts (Silva, 1990: 15; Leki, 1991: 123).

1.1.4. Textlinguistics

Text analysis “concentrates solely on the product. Much of the analytic work undertaken in textlinguistics is of this type” (Brown and Yule, 1983: 23). It investigates textuality, which includes intentionality, acceptability, and informativity, as well as cohesion and coherence (de Baugrande and Dressler, 1981).

1.1.4.1. Cohesion and coherence

For Halliday and Hasan (1976: 2, 33, 329) cohesive relations within and between sentences create texture. These relations can be exophoric, i.e. they lie outside the text and play no part in textual cohesion, or endophoric, i.e. they lie within the text and form cohesive ties within it. Endophoric relations may be anaphoric, or look backward to an item or items in the text for their interpretation. They may be cataphoric, or look forward into subsequent text.

Halliday and Hasan (1976), Hatch (1992) and Nunan (1993) have provided overlapping taxonomies of cohesive relationships. These cohesive relationships include in particular (i) reference, (ii) substitution and ellipsis, (iii) conjunction, and (iv) related lexis.

Coherence has to do with the ways in which the components of the textual world are accessible and relevant, i.e. the configuration of concepts and relations that underlie the surface text (de Baugrande and Dressler, 1981). Coherence involves relations across the text, such as causality, enablement or reason, plan or purpose, and directionality. For de Baugrande and Dressler (ibid), writers assume that readers supply information to the text in order to make sense of it. Writers and readers rely on their (shared) knowledge of the world, i.e. their life experience, which includes their experience with texts themselves (written or spoken)¹.

However, as Brown and Yule (1983) have observed in their review of textlinguistics, “the analysis of the product, i.e. the printed text itself, does not involve any consideration of how the product is produced or how it is received” (24).

1.2. Process approach

Influenced by L1 writing research on composing processes (Zamel, 1976), ESL/EFL writing researchers undertook studies from the process perspective. Attention to product, including both linguistic and rhetorical forms, came under criticism (Kamimura, 2000: 2). Teachers and researchers reduced attention to grammar and linguistic accuracy, and developed an interest in what L2 writers actually do as they write. Making meaning and writing multiple drafts gained primacy over accuracy and pattern following (Raimes, 1991: 409). Researchers began to view the learner-writer as “creator of text” (Raimes, 1991: 409), and composing as “a non linear, exploratory, and generative process whereby writers discover and reformulate their ideas as they attempt to approximate meaning” (Zamel, 1983: 165). The composing process involves strategies such as planning content, overall organization while writing, rehearsing, rescanning, revising at the discourse level and editing (Raimes, 1987: 452; Hirose and Sasaki, 1996: 152; Rouissi, 2014, 64).

Based on the analysis of hundreds of protocols, along with their own observation, process-oriented researchers found that writing is a lengthy, multi-step, recursive process of struggle over meaning and clarity (Zamel, 1983; Raimes, 1985). The skilled L2 writers were similar to their L1 counterparts in that they tended to plan more, revise more at the discourse level, and spend more time on the given task (Raimes, 1987; Zamel, 1982, 1983). The unskilled L2 writers were similar to their L1 counterparts in that they tended to plan less and revise more at the word and phrase levels (Raimes, 1985, 1987; Zamel, 1983). A lack of competence in writing in English results more from the lack of composing competence than from the lack of linguistic competence (Zamel, 1982; Raimes, 1985). Krapels (1990: 50) has found that using L1 when writing in L2 is often at the level of vocabulary², and it enables the L2 writer to carry on the composing process with relative ease. Friedlander (1990) has found that using L1 when writing in L2 often results in better ideas and organisation and consequently better essays, particularly if the writing tasks are on culture-bound topics.

Although the process approach investigated the underlying processes involved in writing, validated individual variation in the composing process and provided sound implications for the classroom, it reduced the attention given to product and to assessment criteria, assumed that L1 and L2 writing are essentially the same, and downplayed L2 language limitations on writing in a second language (White, 2000: 7). Myles (2002) believes that the process approach to writing is appropriate only when learners receive feedback on their written texts. Finally, according to Torghabeh, Hashemi, and Ahmadi (2010), lack of models (of writing as a process) in this approach represents a drawback.

1.3. Reconciling process and product approaches

Because each of the reviewed approaches limits its attention to particular aspects of writing and tends to downplay the role of factors that do not fall within its scope, this section purports that an integrated approach to process and product is essential to investigate the nature of L2 writing (Kamimura, 2000; Mahfoudhi, 2001; Tangpermoon, 2008). Kamimura (2000) believes that the two approaches are not separable. Tangpermoon (2008) claims that teaching writing as process and as product results in an unbalanced L2 writing performance. Tangpermoon also argues that integrating these two approaches enables EFL learners to transfer the skills they have gained.

Error analysis focuses on the lexical and syntactic features of the written essay, contrastive rhetoric focuses on discourse level text structure, process approach attends to writers' composing behaviours and draws attention to the importance of audience and writing purpose.

Writing "refers not only to text in written script but also to the acts of thinking, composing" (Cumming, 1998: 61). A complementarity of approaches becomes a prerequisite to understand and examine the nature of L2 writing. Maintaining a balance between process and product orientations is not only necessary to investigate the various aspects of students' writing, but also necessary in ESL/EFL instruction. Lack of either approach leads to incomplete analyses and causes unsuccessful EFL writing performance.

2. Context of the study and data collection procedures

13 essays produced by 13 different Saudi university students at the College of Languages and Translation, King Saud University, were randomly selected out of 30 papers. In addition, a retrospective composing process questionnaire was administered to the 30 students who took part in this study.

The students' English proficiency level may be qualified as high- intermediate (Description of *Mosaics 2*, 2002). They are at Level 4, the last level in the language foundation course. At Level 5, students in the College of Languages and Translation concentrate on linguistics courses and at Levels 6 to 10, they study translation, mainly from English into Arabic. In theory, at least, students are familiar with how a paragraph is organised. They received training and instructions on drafting, re-drafting, revising, and editing. Students covered notions like topic sentence, supporting details, concluding sentence, and linkers at Levels 1, 2 and 3.

At Level 4, writing classes concentrate on the essay. Focus is on planning, thesis statement and angle choice in the Introduction, organisation of paragraphs in the Body of the essay in

accordance with what the thesis statement announced, and the role of the conclusion and possible ways of formulating it. These skills are taught through texts that cover certain themes and constitute the backbone of the chapters in *Mosaics 2*, 4th Edition, 2002. Teachers are required to assign writing topics that are close, but not identical to the themes covered in the textbook. Prior to the topic assigned for this study, the students dealt with two topics: learning languages and adventurous people.

The topic assigned for this study was a mid-term exam. It read as follows, “Write an essay that has an introduction, a body, and a conclusion on the nature of a good language learner.” The students were given 45 minutes to write their essay. Those who exceeded the time limit were granted enough time to complete their essay. Immediately after handing in their essay, the same students were given each a retrospective composing process questionnaire. This was meant to investigate their composing processes.

The frequent use of think-aloud protocols as the main data source may be an effective way to obtain “real-time data” on the participants’ writing processes. Empirical studies based on think-aloud protocols point to the difficulty participants have to produce think-aloud data while writing in L2 (Raimes, 1985, 1987). This technique seems to interfere with the writing process itself and affect the quality and content of the participants’ writing (Stratman and Hamp-Lyons, 1994); it may even result in the subject giving a “modified version of what actually occurs while thinking” (O’Mally and Chamot, 1990: 91).

As said earlier, the present study employed an immediate retrospective composing process questionnaire; it guarantees non-interference with the writing process and ensures access to the subjects’ short-term memory. In preparing the questionnaire, I consulted several questionnaires (e.g. Kamimura, 2000; Mahfoudhi, 2001), but produced a questionnaire that I consider appropriate to the context of the study. The questionnaire consists of three sections: “pre-writing” section, “while-writing” section, and “post-writing” section. This division explores and probes the students’ planning, writing, and revising behaviours.

The section on “pre-writing” asked the students whether they planned before actually beginning to write, and if so, what and how they plan. The section on “while-writing” asked whether the students relied on Arabic, wrote as much possible, and hesitated while writing. It also asked about textual features to which they paid attention. The textual features ranged from content and organisation features to spelling and punctuation. The section on “post-writing” asked whether the students reread and revised their essay, and if so, which textual features they paid attention to.

3. Results and discussion

This section presents the post composing process questionnaire results and relates them to the analysis of the students' essays.

3.1. Retrospective composing process questionnaire results

This section concentrates on the learners' composing strategies employed in pre-writing, while-writing, and post-writing. Focus is on note making, planning, reading, writing, re-reading, revising, and editing.

3.1.1. Pre-writing

Commenting on their pre-writing strategies, 56% of the students did not make a plan and 51% did not think about organization. The majority of the respondents, 65%, wrote with no audience in mind, apart from the teacher. Lack of reader awareness may be due to the non-specification of audience in the essay topic and to the exam situation context. The students were more concerned with generating/recollecting ideas than with organizing them. Because the students paid little attention to jotting down words in preliminary drafting (only 30% said they did), vocabulary was felt to be least challenging.

3.1.2. While-writing

The majority of the informants, 91%, maintained that they thought and wrote in English from the beginning. This may seem rather strange in a context where code switching is very frequent, but this may have to do with the similarity of the topic assigned to the content of texts studied in class. Most students, 74%, reported to have hesitated and to have stopped while writing and many reported to have tried, 60%, to write as much as possible. This meant that the students monitored carefully their production while trying to say as much as they could; they tried to achieve accuracy and fluency. This is indeed reflected in the high scores that the following linguistic and textual aspects received, 87% for content, 87% for organization, 91% for relating thesis statement to the body of essay, 87% for grammar, and 83% for spelling. Punctuation received a comparatively low score, 48%. Students, as said above, seemed to have relied on retrieving from memory sentences that they assembled next to each other and, as the product analysis reveals, they tended to often use coordination.

3.1.3. Post-writing

The students' endeavour to reconcile accuracy with fluency, while writing, remained virtually unaltered at the post-writing stage. The linguistic and textual aspects that had high scores were organisation, with 91%, vocabulary 91%, spelling 91%, grammar 87%, and content 73%. An outsider to the scene or a researcher who relies solely on the retrospective composing process questionnaire or interview would assume that the students produced excellent written pieces. In fact, the students did not do much editing, let alone drafting and redrafting, of what they had produced at the while-writing stage. The features that the students attended to while writing were virtually the same, and little or nothing was changed, crossed, or improved.

The while-writing stage was thus the decisive stage for the Saudi students. Because they endeavoured to achieve accuracy and fluency, hesitated, wrote on, stopped, and then proceeded, the students expended their energy and used up their capabilities. They came out of the while-writing stage exhausted and relieved. Then, when they moved on to the post-writing stage, they focused on the same linguistic and textual features that they had directed their attention to. Exhaustion and relief affected their attention, and their careful reading became ineffective. It gave them a sense of self-satisfaction.

The linguistic and textual features that the Saudi students said they paid attention to most were those that they felt they were weak at, mainly because their inevitable audience, i.e. their teachers, had told them so. The attention they paid to textual and linguistic features, within and across the while-writing stage and post-writing stage, indicates that the Saudi students assumed that effective writing was a one-go-process. This mega-mental effort came before a few moments of concentration and hardly before crucial planning actions at the pre-writing stage.

3.2. Product analysis results

The analysis of product seeks to identify and discuss the most salient and recurrent deficiencies. The deficiencies identified are at the levels of grammar, vocabulary, cohesion, and coherence. The classification and analysis draws on the literature and the data at hand. Product analysis serves to infer composing strategies that learners go through before, while, and after writing.

3.2.1. Morpho-syntactic analysis results

The morpho-syntactic errors made in the 13 essays were 193. The average number of words per essay was 200 and the average number of morpho-syntactic errors per essay was 15. Omissions were grammatical morpheme errors. They included verb inflections (e.g. the language that help) representing 10% out of the 193 errors, noun inflections (e.g. it has many advantage) representing 7%, copula 'be' (e.g. you not enthusiastic) representing 5%, prepositions (e.g. students must listen to how pronounce) representing 4%, and indefinite articles (e.g. some people can speak more than language) representing 4%.

Addition errors were at the level of the definite article (e.g. a language is a system of sounds that the human beings used); they represented 10% out of the 193 errors. Errors comprised the addition of prepositions (e.g. I got benefits that led me to join in this college); they represented 5%. Addition errors were at the level of the use of subject pronoun (e.g. many people when they travel they use English) and at the level of direct object (e.g. a good language that you know more about it); they represented 5% each. Addition errors were also at the level of the indefinite article (e.g. learning needs a commitment to serious work); they represented 3%.

Misformation errors were of five major types. There was the incorrect use of auxiliaries (e.g. it is make you to speak); it represented 10% of the 193 errors made in the 13 essays. There was the misuse of prepositions (e.g. I was in secondary school), of nouns (e.g. the ambitious of the student), and of tense (e.g. when I was in secondary school, I was reading books). They represented each 5%. There was also the incorrect use of tense modals (e.g. he can does)³, of compound nouns (e.g. languages learners) and conditional sentences (e.g. If he had knowledge, he will swim); they represented each 3%.

Misordering errors represented 3% out of the 193 morpho-syntactic errors. They were mainly embedded direct questions in affirmative sentences (e.g. one must first decide what kind of language should he use depending on his motive).

The omission of the copula 'be' is due to interference from Arabic structure, which is characterised by a near absence of the auxiliary system. The definite article in Arabic is usually attached to the noun or adjective that it precedes, (e.g. Language or a given language is one word; the equivalent of "*thelanguage*" in Arabic). A subject and its proform or the object and its proform are common in both High Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic) and Low Arabic (the vernacular), (e.g. the language that you know it; Reading it helps). Some verbs that are transitive in English are intransitive in Arabic (e.g. to join in an institution). Some nouns can be used in the plural or the singular and are preceded by one equivalent of many/much in Arabic (e.g. many

advantages is in Arabic ‘many/much advantage or advantages’). A habit in the past is expressed in Arabic by the use of the equivalent of be in the past + verb in the present, thus the equivalent of “when I was a student I was reading books” is correct in Arabic. In a complex sentence that contains the conditional, the verb in the main clause is made of the equivalent of “will” and the verb in the present, so the equivalent of the sentence “If he had knowledge, he will swim” is grammatical in Arabic.

It is worth stressing, however that the Arabic sentence has the VSO(A) order, the SVO(A) order, or the SA order, with A standing for Adjective or Adverb. The rich morphological inflection that Arabic enjoys permits such flexibility. It is also worth mentioning that around 55% of the morpho-syntactic errors were due to transfer from Arabic. The figure here cannot be precise because some errors could be interlingual and intralingual and developmental.

Overgeneralisation is intralingual and developmental (Richards, 1971: 174); it is the extension of a rule to cover similar patterns. Second language learners, as is the case with first language learners, use overgeneralisation because they rightly assume that rules are recursive and often extend to similar cases in similar morpho-syntactic contexts. Saudi learners used the auxiliary ‘have’ with third person singular pronouns, (e.g. he have a good language). They added and they omitted the third person singular morpheme –s (e.g. he must learns; the language that help). Omissions and additions may be indicative of some variability within and/or across learners’ interlanguages. Variability may be due to the semantic insignificance of the third person singular morpheme –s and its arbitrariness.

Omission associated with overgeneralisation may be due to redundancy reduction. In other words, if the learner senses that a morpheme such as the past participle marker ‘–en’, the indefinite article ‘a’, or as we said above, the third person singular –s, does not affect communication, he does without it (Littlewood, 1998: 28). Omission may be due to the saliency hypothesis, which states that less salient and less visually or auditory prominent items are acquired at a later stage (Dulay, et al., 1982: 33).

Some other developmental errors among Saudi learners are due to their grappling with some restriction rules on certain items in the language, (e.g. make business, take care about dictionaries). Such errors are a result of little control of syntactic restrictions over vocabulary items.

Intralingual and developmental errors at the morpho-syntactic level were less varied and smaller in number than *interlingual errors*; they represented around 40% of the morpho-syntactic errors in the Saudi students corpus. As said earlier, it is difficult to provide an exact figure or an

accurate percentage. However, this imbalance is noteworthy, especially that the subjects were Fourth Level university students studying for a BA in English language and translation.

3.2.2. Vocabulary analysis results

Extensive vocabulary knowledge is a pre-requisite in a successful engagement in any writing activity (Mahfoudhi, 2001). The Saudi students' impoverished vocabulary was manifest in the production of non-idiomatic vocabulary, (e.g. 'give your time studying' for 'devote time to your studies'). These represented 23% out of the 219 vocabulary errors recorded. It was also manifest in the use of improper selection of vocabulary items (e.g. 'inquire language' for 'acquire language'). Improper selections represented 14%. These errors took a signifier for another near-homonymous signifier⁴.

Spelling errors were numerous and very detrimental to the Saudi learners' overall product. The following series is just illustrative, e.g. i thing, committiment, quistion, belive, throug, futuer. Out of the 219 vocabulary errors recorded, 138 were at the level of spelling; they represented 63%. The Saudi student writers seemed to have internalised a pronunciation of English words affected by the phonological system and phonotactic rules in Arabic. They inserted the schwa phoneme, or any other vowel in Arabic, when the cluster of consonants exceeded the consonant cluster that Arabic allows, and they maintained this addition in their spelling. The doubling of the consonant / t / in 'committiment' follows the Arabic spelling feature called 'shadda' and the insertion of / i / is required by the phonotactics of Arabic and a result of assimilation with the /i/ that precedes / t /.

There was a tendency among the Saudi student writers not to differentiate between the close, front, short vowel / i / and the more close, more front, and longer vowel / i: /, so 'believe' which is pronounced like 'live' was written 'belive'. The spelling of a word like translator as 'translater' resulted from an overgeneralisation, since translator sounds like teacher, baker, and transmitter. The omission of many silent phonemes that occur at the end of words like 'throug', 'therefor' and 'insid' are indicator that Saudi students like many young people around the world today read little and write even less. Saudi students' failure to produce idiomatic vocabulary indicates further that they make little effort to read and write serious and insightful documents. Like most young people at their age, they are good at producing mobile phone and face-book messages.

3.2.3. Cohesion and coherence

The 13 essays contained 210 conjunctive ties with an average of 16 per essay. The average number of words per essay is, as mentioned earlier, 200 words. The conjunctive ties occurred

intra-sententially and inter-sententially. They also occurred at the beginning of paragraphs, e.g. First of all, secondly, thirdly, finally.

There were 19 instances of inappropriate use of connectives, (e.g. Learning requires hard working so you must be enthusiastic; the language is science, therefore there are many ways to learn it). Both ‘so’ and ‘therefore’ express causal relations (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 256). According to de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), causality, as far as coherence is concerned, is where action B follows from action A, (e.g. John sat on a wobbly chair (so) he broke it) and where the agent in A did not intend to cause B, for in this case we will be talking of enablement, (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

Students’ essays had a high rate of coordinators, 70 out of 210 (33%). They had less subordinators, 32 out of 210 (15%). Connor (1996: 34) remarks that unlike in Arabic, subordination in English is much more favoured in writing. She claims that coordination allows for assembling sentences next to each other, thus affecting coherence negatively⁵.

In addition to a good deal of repetition of lexical items that coordination tolerates – if not exacerbates – and paraphrasing, there were many cases of face-to-face interactional expressions that were represented by the use of the second person singular pronoun ‘you’, the imperative form, and direct questions. Furthermore, the data exhibited unclear references of pronouns, mainly in coordinate sentences where punctuation was either neglected or misused. Most, if not all, these shortcomings would perhaps be quite acceptable in the oral mode in Arabic and, depending on the speech event, in English. The following introductory paragraphs reflect many of the observations made here⁶.

Excerpt A

There are many learners of all of sort of science. Also there is a language learner. While all of them has her or his nature, the language learner has her or his nature. But what a bout a good language learner’s nature. What about their target language.

Excerpt B

There are several reasons that make a language learner, and excellent one. However, I believe that there are three important reasons of the nature of a good language learner. The ability to memorize a huge sum words with no difficulty, working hard and taking the matter seriously, and receiving the right education are in my opinion the way to a good language learner.

There is a reliance on parallelism in excerpt A. Sentence 1 stands in parallel with the first part of sentence 3 and sentence 2 stands in parallel with the second part of sentence 2. The content of these sentences could be condensed in a sentence like, “A learner’s nature determines to a large extent the field of study he engages in”. The abovementioned parallelism gives the impression to

the English reader that there is circularity or little progression⁷. Instead of asking two direct questions, one could add, “The language learner is no exception.”

In excerpt B, the first sentence is general and non-informative (see Connor, 1996: 34-37, for a similar observation on a different corpus). The use of “however” at the beginning of sentence two is rather odd. ‘Several’ may be synonymous to ‘numerous’ in the learner’s lexicon. The three reasons that the student writer gave are not equal in weight, to say the least. Finally, circularity and repetitiveness are clear in the complex verb phrase that follows the three reasons, “...are in my opinion the way to a good language learner.”

Conclusion

The present article has attempted to infer Saudi learners’ writing processes through a retrospective composing process questionnaire and a careful product multi-levelled analysis. It has relied on both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

The analysis shows that students tend to overlook the fact that writing is a lengthy, multistep, recursive and creative process that yields as it evolves and develops unthought-of ideas. Memorisation of words, sentences, or paragraphs is an obstacle to note making, planning, and outlining at the pre-writing stage. It is also an obstacle to the generation of ideas and to stylistic improvements at the while-writing stage. The false assumption that writing is a one-go-process where all the mental capacities and all skills are used in complete synchrony is embedded in a culture that venerates the knowledgeable who speaks the truth, does not hesitate or err, and is (pretends to be) spontaneous. Because students undertake the post-writing stage as they undertake the while-writing stage, they miss the opportunity of directing their attention to a particular level of text production at a time.

At the morpho-syntactic level, students’ interlingual errors are more varied and they exceed by far their intralingual counterparts. At the vocabulary level, the analysis has revealed a strong influence of pronunciation on spelling. It has also shown that pronunciation is interlingual. I believe that all errors are developmental, i.e. they reflect an interlanguage, but it seems that interlingual errors are harder to fade out. They are harder to rise to the learners’ attention, as it were. The deficiencies that the present study has revealed at the cohesion and coherence levels may reinforce the resilience of learners’ interlingual errors. The rather excessive use of coordination, repetition, parallel structures, and direct questions is due to a failure in developing formal schemata and, even, content schemata. Saudi students do not read much in English, and many are not aware that they need to develop familiarity with formal and content schemata⁸.

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Endnotes

- ¹ . Texts are increasingly multi-modal today.
- ² . Especially when the two languages share the same origins, e.g. French, English.
- ³ . More on Saudi students' cognition of modal auxiliaries is in Rouissi and Abdesslem (2015).
- ⁴ . Vocabulary selection errors might be considered spelling errors, but as shall be seen, the latter do not affect the signifier-signified relationship.
- ⁵ . As far as written discourse in Arabic is concerned, the intersentential coordinator / wa / often stands for (replaces) a full stop and does not undermine coherence the way the frequent use of intersentential and in English does.
- ⁶ . Because the course concentrates on the production of thesis statement that has an angle, the students tried their best to include in their introduction a thesis statement and organise the paragraphs in the body of their essays in accordance with the thesis.
- ⁷ . The teacher asked Fourth Level students to translate into Arabic an essay they had written in English. They produced a literal translation and did not find anything wrong with the Arabic version. The Arabic version contained spelling errors, morpho-syntactic errors, vocabulary selection errors, in addition to cohesion and coherence problems.
- ⁸ . Some stated in their essays that they are learning English mainly because they feel it is their duty to enlighten non-Muslims and guide them to the right path. Saudi students of English need to realise that they need to read more in the target language and to develop writing skills that will prepare them for academic writing and research.

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Othering in the EFL Classroom: an Action Research Study

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Abstract

The purpose of this action research study is to raise the comfort level of Qatari college students by investigating the phenomenon of 'othering' (stereotyping) in the classroom. The review of the literature helped establish theoretical framework for 'othering'. This study was conducted in the researcher's beginning-intermediate (level 2) classroom in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) program. Data collection sources implemented for this study are interviews for both student and personnel participants, a survey for personnel, and a questionnaire for students.

Key words: Linguistic Imperialism, Othering, Self vs. Other, Orientalism, Anglicism

Research Focus

Through his experience teaching academic English and ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) in both California and overseas, the researcher has benefited greatly from Dr. Robert Phillipson's (1992) theory of linguistic imperialism, especially the aspect of 'othering' (stereotyping/marginalizing) students. Teaching English is multi-layered and in the case of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) overseas to native students, especially, the expatriate teaching community is liable to compromise the religion and culture of their students. Studying this phenomenon of exploiting English overseas for imperial and political gains has brought a new sense of cultural sensitivity to my teaching. The researcher also believes that students have the right to learn English as a second or foreign language in a safe and supportive environment free from any hidden or unhidden ideological agendas that are meant to discriminate or stereotype them. This conviction has led to this research focus.

The researcher is a firm believer that promoting cultural sensitivity of native students is quite relevant to larger context of higher-education and society by enabling and empowering students to pursue future academic goals, whether immediate or long-term. The historical context of ESOL teaching suggests lowering the affective filter (Krashen, 1992) of students in order to increase the potential of language acquisition or learning. This theory of 'othering' is neglected by instructors that view native students' culture inferior to theirs. Therefore, cultural sensitivity is completely neglected as a means of lowering the students' affective filter.

The historical context of how the researcher came to believe in the importance of cultural sensitivity is based on the fact that expatriate instructors entering a foreign culture may result in the ideological oppression of students due to the difference in religion, culture, values, family, language, ethics, custom, etc. As educators, we are not to serve as agents of empire through ESOL.

Based on an area of focus concerning the promotion of cultural sensitivity of instructors towards native students, the researcher can now better understand the problem and implications prior to before deciding upon a resolution that addresses my interest of lowering the affective filter (Krashen, 1982). In order to achieve this outcome, the authors that the researcher has provided in the literature review provide a balance for the factors of my topic.

Ensuring student success through the research on this topic will support the strategic plan that this college has envisioned. The researcher plans on following up on this issue on a yearly basis in order to help manage it. He believes that student success relies on their state of emotional well-being nurtured by the college. If it is lacking, then the institution will not be successful as well, not just the students. Search Criteria

As a means of developing background and theoretical knowledge on the research topic, the researcher conducted a literature review. ERIC, JSTOR, and EBSCOhost were the research databases used in order to gather peer-reviewed and reputable sources. The author accessed the database through Southwestern College's library access page. Entering keywords such as "stereotyping" and "othering" yielded decent results to a few peer-reviewed articles. Then the researcher included the words "orientalism" and "language" to narrow down the search. The researcher then selected numerous studies for reference and conducted the reading. Through annotation and markings, the author extracted relevant information to his study. Each research article read shared a similar context and concentrated on the same problem. The readings profoundly introduced the researcher to a wider perspective on how common this problem is becoming, even in American schools.

Literature Review

Research from Palfreyman (2005) and (Borrero, Yeh, Cruz, & Suda, 2012) has shown that students may be stereotyped at school by their expatriate teachers. Regardless of the geographic location, all of the literature reviewed shows that the native student population is the victim of this phenomenon. For example, native Hawaiian students may be stereotyped by teachers from the mainland based on inter-cultural differences amongst Americans (Borrero, Yeh, Cruz, & Suda, 2012). Furthermore, as Inokuchi and Nozaki (2005) have found, the stereotyping of ethnically diverse students is not limited to exterior American states, rather, it has been occurring even in Midwestern American classrooms. Now that this problem has become global, the author believes investigating it in different contexts, such as in the Middle East, is necessary.

Since this topic is still being explored, not many empirical research studies have represented the context the researcher conducted the study in. Nevertheless, the references found are adapted in to the author's research due to their generalizability (Mills, 2013). As mentioned the overlying theory that this topic is developed from is 'orientalism' (Said, 1970). Through this theory, the phenomenon of 'othering', or in other words – stereotyping, (Phillipson, 1992) were investigated in the classroom.

Discrimination has no boundaries; therefore, an expatriate instructor may subconsciously export his or her biases or prejudices against a certain ethnicity. Most notably are the images that Western media portrays of certain cultures. Middle Easterners are depicted as evil (Said, 1970), and since English is viewed as the global language (Pennycook, 1998), the English language is believed to bring dignity and honor to people that have not yet entered the fold of mainstream English (Lippi-Green, 1995). Such propaganda has gained momentum through the expatriate population in Asian countries.

The ideology of equating English with civility has roots in Imperial Britain. A concept in linguistic imperialism discourse known as 'Anglicism' (Pennycook, 1998) explains that English is a very important part of the Western Imperialists identity. The Anglicist views him/herself as the giver of civilization to the world, and the English language has become an integral piece of that mission (Pennycook). Those that are not Anglicists are seen as the 'other(s)' (Pennycook, 1998). In the global field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), 'othering' can occur anywhere. The cases in Hawaii and the Midwest prove that it can even happen in Western countries. Rich and Troudi (2006) have proven that it happens to Saudi Arabian students studying in the United Kingdom. Their research was conducted shortly after the subway bombing incident, and the feedback received from the international students is alarming. One student participant was jokingly reminded that Saudis are terrorists (Rich & Troudi, 2006). Although Anglicist countries like the United Kingdom have most of their physical empire, the ideological empire continues to use the English language as its vehicle.

The manifestation of 'othering' that Middle Eastern or Muslim students suffer has been explained through 'orientalism' (Said, 1970). Any Western discourse concerned with Islam and the Middle East as a means of the old adage "learning about your enemy" can be understood as orientalist discourse. Tibawi (1965) traced the origin of orientalism back to time of the crusades in which the Saracens can be fought with the pen as well as the sword. Thus, teachers who blatantly do stereotype Middle-Eastern students are, in a sense, either willing or unwillingly, continuing the crusading legacy.

Naturally, students that are stereotyped or 'othered' may not be comfortable in their learning experience. Their level of comfort can be measured by the 'affective filter' (Krashen, 1982). The benefits of lowering the affective filter are almost endless. For example, if a student lacks confidence or has low-self-esteem due to being stereotyped, this means that the affective filter is high and must be lowered. If lowered, the student will then be empowered to dedicate him/herself to the school.

The literature review provided the opportunity of discovering the underlying factors that allow for stereotyping to occur. Cultural hegemony is an oft-recurring theme that has found its way to schools overseas. Western culture has been dominating other cultures for decades, but now, through globalization, native cultures are at risk (Fischer, 1993). An expatriate teacher may not be aware that he or she is an asset in the hegemonic cultural domination of other countries if stereotyping or any other form of 'othering' is exercised (Canagarajah, 1999).

Ultimately, warding-off stereotyping in the classroom and in the school as a whole will eventually help counter orientalist efforts in the Middle East. An expatriate teacher may unintentionally view a student through a stereotypical lens in the shadow of the war on terror propaganda. Again, since not much research has been done in 'othering', the researcher believes that a contribution can be made in the Arabian Gulf State of Qatar. Aside from a study conducted in Turkey, nothing has been presented regarding the topic in this region. With a solid understanding of orientalism (Said, 1970), the researcher approached this action research from sympathetic and humanistic standpoint. Furthermore, with some knowledge of the

native culture and language, the researcher also understood the perspectives of the student participants better than one keeping him/herself isolated from the native people.

Purpose, Defining Variables, and Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to present an action research study of the phenomenon of linguistic imperialism in a college ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) setting in the Arabian Gulf. A particular focus was placed on the variable of 'othering', which can be understood as stereotyping of native students by expatriate instructors and staff.

Variables Considered in the Study

Author	Year	Variables Considered in the Study											
		Theory	Periphery	Center	Linguistic imperialism	Anglicism	Hegemony	Linguistic ideology	Standard language myth	Stereotyping	Othering	Colonialism	Orientalism
Freire, Paulo.	1970	•											
Canagarajah, A S.	1999	•	•	•	•	•							
Fischer, Edward F	1993						•						
Haviland, John B.	2003							•					
Lippi-Green, R.	1997								•	•			
Eriksen, T.H.	1992						•						

Intervention/Plan

The researcher communicated to his students and personnel the purpose of the research. He then developed a focus group from his student participants. The teacher presented students with open-ended questions during the focus group meeting for discussion. Participants from personnel were surveyed first and then underwent individual interviews. Data was also audio recorded. It was then analyzed and encoded. Lastly, the researcher analyzed and posted the results.

Membership: Participants and Context of the Study

The participants of this action research study included a total of about 14 students from the researcher's beginning-intermediate (level 2) English as a Foreign Language college class. The research took place at a college in the Arabian Gulf. The personnel participants consisted of five expatriate members of the faculty.

Negotiations

The researcher needed permission from my colleagues in the EFL department as well as other departments and from each student that underwent the study. Permission to undertake my research was granted by my director and the associate dean of instruction.

Timeline – General

In the first week of November (after IRB approval), the researcher distributed questionnaires to students as well as forwarding the online survey to personnel. Subsequently, in the same week, the student participants underwent focus group and personnel took part in semi-structured interviews as well. Data recording and analysis was done in the following week. The researcher compiled a findings report in the third week for the purpose of presenting results to the department chair by the end of the week.

Statement of Resources

For this explorative case study, informative qualitative data was collected using open-ended questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and a focus group interview. Themes such as identity, gender, ethnicity, and religion were all be taken in to account. Students' perceptions, feelings, frustrations, desperation, etc will be considered as data. As well, the results from personnel were considered as data.

Data Collection Plan

Triangulation was used so that the research did not depend on only one data source. This method also allows for a cross-checking of data (Mills, 2013). Two different types of data collections methods were used for the result of the primary question: Describe how Qatari students perceive being stereotyped by expatriate instructors in an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) context? An open-ended questionnaire were first be used to prepare student participants for the focus group. This questionnaire can be found in the appendices section (Appendix A). This information is important to gather for the purpose of determining the possible factors of stereotyping and the participants' sense of identity. This data was compiled on paper for archiving and coding. More data was gathered through the focus group discussions. Guiding questions for the focus group are found in Appendix B. The focus group allowed student participants to elaborate on their survey responses and voice out their feelings. The focus group also enabled the students to express their perceptions, feelings, frustrations, desperation, etc since they may have not the opportunity to do so before. The final method of collecting data was through a narrative journal kept by the researcher. This enabled the teacher to formally record the in-class observations and reflections (Mills, 2013). The teacher also recorded the comments made by student participants about other expatriate personnel after class as data. By using different means of collecting data, the teacher gathered information through students' written responses, attitudes, and discussions.

The instructor also employed triangulation to collect data for the secondary questions of this action research. How are situations of stereotyping are managed? What are the appropriate and inappropriate scenarios of dealing with encounters of stereotyping? As a means of knowing the effects of stereotyping of students, the researcher presented the expatriate personnel with a structured online survey to elicit knowledge or awareness about the problem of stereotyping. See Appendix C for list of survey questions. This survey enabled the personnel to explore their perceptions of students' experiences and what insights they may have about the Qatari culture. Second, expatriate personnel underwent a semi-structured interview. The interview questions are listed in Appendix D. Through the interview format, the researcher investigated the problem of stereotyping and elicited responses that may have revealed the participants perspective and explanation of holding such a view. Lastly, the researcher noted his observations from the survey and interviews as a means of reflecting throughout this study.

Plan for Increasing Validity

To ensure that an action research study is free from bias and fallacious information, the necessary precautions for validity needed to be taken. Such guaranteed that the collected data is accurate and that the benefits that students may gain from it multiply.

This action research study was meant to not only to help in my further development as a instructor, but also to empower students and provide them with a voice. Since students are the center, the data acquired from the study was audio-recorded and transcribed. This was to eliminate any possibility of data manipulation. By a heightened sense of awareness for data manipulation, the researcher also

screened out any cases of biases or fabricated data. Furthermore, through collegial support, the researcher called on another faculty member to peer-review the study.

Although deemed unnecessary (Mills, 2013) through generalizability, the findings of this study are aimed to be adapted to any similar context. Stereotyping is a global problem and to apply this study in defense of students worldwide will be a great accomplishment.

Results

Stereotypes

Both the focus group and personnel interviews revealed that negative stereotypes for Qataris exist are prevalent. The recurring codes that prove this are that they are “lazy,” “spoiled,” and “arrogant (Appendix H).” One of the personnel interviews actually reinforced these stereotypes by agreeing to have witnessed such traits. The awareness of these stereotypes by students show that they are very much conscious of such sentiments that have led them to believe that some if not most of their expatriate instructors do not care about them, and they can support their belief with statements such as, “I don't care if there is still three students [left], they [can] all drop” (Appendix H), which was made by one of the expatriate instructors that almost all of the focus group students had experienced.

Racism

Most of the personnel interviewees as well as focus group students acknowledged racism against Middle-Easterners. Since direct racism against students will likely result in the termination of expatriate personnel, students did not mention any cases of racism directed against them inside the classroom. However, when they travel to western countries, they have been subjected to long and painstaking and excessive security screening of their luggage, and according to one student that was returning from, “they even touch[ed] my hair (Appendix H).” The personnel interviewees agreed that it exists and that “it's horrible, and human beings, uh, I don't know, be better than that (Appendix I).”

Emotional reaction to racism

The interviews revealed that students have no respite against direct cases of racism other than “internalizing” (Appendix I) it or feeling helpless and “angry” (Appendix H) as a result. Drastic emotional reactions can result in students discriminating against Westerners that live in their country as in the case of one student's aunt who swore to “tell the [Qatari] police to treat [such Western people] badly, like what they treat us (Appendix H).”

Misunderstood

Culture clash is inevitable in a setting of native students and expatriate instructors. From the aftermath of this clash, a lack of understand from the visiting group may serve as the paralyzing factor in developing any type of trust or rapport with the students. Therefore, students will revert back to what they can find comfort in, hence, “the Qatari teacher, he will be understand (Appendix H).”

Cultural Difference

From the 38 participants, 28 believed that their native Qatari students' culture is quite different than theirs (Appendix K). The implications of this mentality indicate that either consciously or subconsciously, 'othering' (Phillipson, 1992) is in effect.

Discomfort with Students' Native Language

Notably, at least a quarter of the personnel participants of the survey are not comfortable at all with the native language of their students (Appendix K). This sentiment is another indication of 'othering' taking place in the college based 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1992), whereas, the language of the native population is viewed as inferior and thereby, as 'others.'

Unfamiliar with Students' Educational Background

More than half of the personnel participants expressed that they either have no or limited knowledge of their college students' educational background (Appendix K). This has lead the native students to believe that their expatriate teachers are not concerned with their educational success, and with statements made as, “I don't care if there is still three students [left], they [can] all drop” (Appendix I) by

some expatriate teachers, the native students have evidence to support their lack of confidence in their instructors.

Student Preparedness

More than half of the personnel participants felt that their students are not prepared for college (Appendix K). Since the native students are not familiar with the type of preparedness that their expatriate instructors expect from them, the possibility of them falling victim to the “lazy” (Appendix H) stereotype is high.

Conclusion

This intervention would not have been successful if were not for the participants. All research relies on data, and it was made possible thanks to students, colleagues, department's chair, and the college as a whole for allowing this action research case study. From the results of this research, it can be said the future of native Qatari students learning in an EFL context is grim should underlying negative stereotypes, racism, and lack of understanding from some of their Western expatriate instructors continue.

Implications

The intended effects of my actions were to initiate ongoing research in this topic, contemplate on how to use my research for student retention, and to learn more about the native students. The unintended effects of my actions were that, unexpectedly, more personnel members asked to be involved as additional participants to the research. Also, another unintended action is the discovering fact that students have to cope with being stereotyped and racism without any help.

The educational issues that have arisen from this research indicate that some Western expatriate instructors seemed to have neglected critical pedagogical aspects such as ethics, empathy, mercy, open-mindedness, tolerance, and compassion for students. For example, when teaching immigrant students in American classrooms of ESL, teachers nurture the students and serve as guides in the brand new educational and cultural experience; but, in the EFL context, students in Qatar are not met with the same support. This phenomenon is to be researched in subsequent studies.

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Appendix A

Student Open-ended Questionnaire

- Q1. Could you describe what makes someone a good teacher in Qatar?
- Q2. Could you describe what makes someone a bad teacher in Qatar?
- Q3. How often have you had a bad teacher?
- Q4. Could you describe whether or not you feel that your foreign teachers understand you?
- Q5. Could you describe whether or not you feel that your foreign teachers respect you?
- Q6. How comfortable do you feel in your foreign teachers' classroom?
- Q7. Is there anything you dislike about your college?

Appendix B

Guiding Questions for Student Focus Group

- Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)
- Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?
- Q3. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qatari people? If you have had experiences being stereotyped, describe one of these stereotyping. Have you experienced these stereotypes in school at the college level?
- Q4. Have you ever been harassed because of your cultural background as a Qatari college student?
- Q5. Do you believe you have ever been insulted or treated differently because of your Qatari identity? Describe one of those times. Where were you? Who was with you? Have you ever experienced these in college?
- Q6. Do Qatari college students act/ behave/ think/ feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?
- Q7. What are some stereotypes you have heard about Qatari people? Have you experienced such stereotyping in college?
- Q8. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?

- Q9. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?
- Q10. How do you cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do you ask for help?
- Q11. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community?)

Appendix C

Survey for Personnel

- Q1. Culturally speaking, how different are your students from you?

Extremely different.

Very different.

Moderately different.

Slightly different.

Not different at all.

- Q2. How familiar are you with Qatari culture?

Extremely familiar.

Very familiar.

Moderately familiar.

Slightly familiar.

Not familiar at all.

- Q3. How comfortable are you with the Arabic language?

Extremely comfortable.

Very comfortable.

Moderately comfortable.

Slightly comfortable.

Not comfortable at all.

Q4. How knowledgeable are you about the religion of Islam?

Extremely knowledgeable.

Very knowledgeable.

Moderately knowledgeable.

Slightly knowledgeable.

Not knowledgeable at all.

Q5. How knowledgeable are you about governmental primary and secondary education in the State of Qatar?

Extremely knowledgeable.

Very knowledgeable.

Moderately knowledgeable.

Slightly knowledgeable.

Not knowledgeable at all.

Q6. How prepared do you think your students are for a college education?

Extremely prepared.

Very prepared.

Moderately prepared.

Slightly prepared.

Not prepared at all.

Appendix D

Interview Questions for Personnel

- Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)
- Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?
- Q3. Do you notice Qatari college students act/behave/think/feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?
- Q4. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qataris? Have you witnessed any of these stereotypes at the college?
- Q5. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?
- Q6. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?
- Q7. How do you think students cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do they ask for help?
- Q8. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community)

Appendix E

Timeline for Implementation

October 19, 2014 – Submit proposal for approval by Southwestern College's Institutional Review Board.

November 2, 2014 - Distribute questionnaires to 14 students.

November 2, 2014 – Send survey link to 5 personnel participants.

November 2-5, 2014 – Conduct focus group of 14 students.

November 6, 2014 – Conduct individual interviews of 5 members of the personnel.

November 6, 2014 – Analyze and record findings from all data sources.

November 7, 2014 – Analyze and transcribe findings from all data sources.

November 8, 2014 – Analyze and transcribe findings from all data sources.

- November 9, 2014 – Record findings on paper in narrative form.
- November 10, 2014 – Continue to record findings.
- November 11, 2014 – Continue to record findings.
- November 12, 2014 – Write recommended set of actions.
- November 13, 2014 – Continue writing recommended set of actions.
- November 14, 2014 – Continue writing recommended set of actions.
- November 15, 2014 – Compile findings to present to department chair.
- November 16, 2014 – Continue compilation of findings to present to department chair.
- November 17, 2014 – Present findings to department chair.
- November 18, 2014 – Provide department chair with narrative of findings.
- November 20, 2014 – Commence Project H.
- November 21, 2014 – Commence Project H in progress,
- November 22, 2014 – Finalize project H for submission as a complete assignment.
- November 27, 2014 – Write narrative reflection of presentation.
- November 28, 2014 – Commence Project I.
- November 29, 2014 – Project I in progress.
- November 30, 2014 – Project I in progress.
- December 4, 2014 – Check Project I for revision and editing if needed.
- December 5, 2014 – Check Project I for revision and editing if needed.
- December 7, 2014 – Finalize project I for submission as a complete assignment.

Appendix F

Qualitative Data Analysis for Interviews

Student Sample Responses to Focus Group Interview Questions

Students Response

Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)

“Our studies makes us strong as students.”

Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?

Focus group student #1 - “Proud, um, lucky. We don't have to pay taxes. We don't have to pay for electricity. We don't have to pay for education. We don't have to pay for the hospital.”

Q3. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qatari people? If you have had experiences being stereotyped, describe one of these stereotypings. Have you experienced these stereotypes in school at the college level?

Focus group student #1 -“ We are rich and we don't worry about something. We have all the nice things in the world, and we have all the convenient things for life. We have a lot of money.” “Yes, when I was in Malaysia some taxi was work in Qatar and he say you have a lot of, uh, your salary is very high and you don't worry about something and you can go anywhere, like this.” Anywhere you go they told me same thing.” “Mr. R [Western expatriate instructor] always say here [at the college] your education is free, you don't pay for it.” “

Q4. Have you ever been harassed because of your cultural background as a Qatari college student?

Focus group student #2 -“No, in college?” “Outside [yes].” “Here,[in Qatar], myself, the Masri (Arabic word for Egyptian nationals). My mother she go she want buy something, she [Egyptian] told my mom, “You're Qatari?” “My mother say, “Yeah, yes, they told we not buy [sell] for you 'cause you are Qatari” “My mother, she, told them, “close your business.”

Q5. Do you believe you have ever been insulted or treated differently because of your Qatari identity? Describe one of those times. Where were you? Who was with you? Have you ever experienced these in college?

Focus group student #1 -“Even in the, uh, all of the shops of Abaya (national dress of Qatari women), uh, they (non-Qatari shopkeepers) say make the price higher like we get another [price].”

Focus group student #2 -“In any shop, yeah, we [they] make high prices.”

Focus group student #3 -“In taxi, taxi.”

Focus group student #2 -“Like the people who are out for money, and say, “I have surgery here, and I need money, and they Qatari, they [think] we [must] give them money right away.” “ A lot of money, they think like that.” “You know [inaudible Arabic word] sihr (black magic)?” “Yeah, if you not give him some, uh, last week, uh, she come, one lady, the, she told open the door, me, I am Umm Muhammad (honorific name for a woman, meaning mother of Muhammad), there is too much Umm Muhammad [that] I know,” “Open the door, she come, one boy, he don't have, uh, arm, she told [me], “where your mother?,” “She [Umm Muhammad is now] inside my home, She [I] tell him [her], “why you come here?,” “what you want?,” and then she told [me], “I want money or your [used] clothes, if you're not give me, then I will do magic to you!” I close the door, I call my father, my father, she [he] call the police, and [the police] took him [Umm Muhammad] out.

Focus group student #1 -“In her [another student's] job, they think, Qataris are lazy.” “He [her non-Qatari] manager said, “you want us to come [to Qatar] so we can do you job.”

Focus group student #4 -“Uh, Ms. K, said, “Qatari [students and the country] [is] not good, uh, another country [is better] after job, uh, have best, uh Emirat [the United Arabi Emirates] is best in the country [the Arabian peninsula]. “Uh, Ms. K, [also] say, no problem teaching [I do not have to be] here, I can go to Emirat, no problem.”

Q6. Do Qatari college students act/behave/think/feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?

Focus group student #1 -“If it's, uh, a man, Qatari man, they [students] will be more serious, you know, they can't laugh aloud, the same in [with] Western man, like this.”

Focus group student #2 -“The Qatari teacher, he will be understand, because he know the past [primary and secondary Qatari school experience], high school, what you [Qatari students] will need.” “The West [Western teacher] come, and all be good, in the English...”

Focus group student #2 -“No, no, not like this, the students think he don't understand our language, it's ok, like we can laugh, we can say anything.”

Focus group student #4 - “I, uh, [act] different.” “I understand West[ern people]. I shy in [with] the Qatari people. Uh, I don't like to talk together, uh, I don't understand. Uh, I know Arabic, but [if the] language is being taught is English [language] -[by] Qatari people, uh, study [teaching] English, then I can't study [learn from them].

Focus group student #1 – “Sure, like we will be more shy, we will respect more him more.”

Focus group student #2 – “We be in[on] the time.”

Focus group student #1 - "Because....."

Focus group student #4 - "Because, you[he] know my father..."

Focus group student #1 - "The Qatari knows our rules." "Sometimes, not all the time, he know to explain[what he is teaching] for us."

Focus group student #3 - "And he [has] [the] same language."

Focus group student #1 - "He will appreciate [it] if we...."

Focus group student #2 - "He will help us."

Focus group student #1 - "It depends [on the expatriate teacher how we behave], like, uh..."

Focus group student #2 - "Like, uh, there [is] one [expatriate] teacher here [who says], "[whether] you understand or don't understand, I take the salary." "Why he say like this?"

Focus group student #1 - "We will not respect him, and we will not be [inaudible]."

Focus group student #2 - "After [I] finish the level, I [re-] member this teacher, [if] I see this teacher in the way, oh, I don't like [to] see [him/her]." "[However] Someone, who teach me honestly, [inaudible Arabic], I told [will tell] my friend [to take this] teacher."

Focus group student #1 - "Like, Ms. K. My friend was in her class, when she, when they [her] students] told her, "we don't understand," "she [Ms. K.] wrote all of the letters together [on the whiteboard]. They [students] still don't understand." "[She] doesn't care."

Focus group student #2 - "[On] The first day [of class], she [Ms. K.] told [the students], "I don't care if there is still three students [left], they [can] all drop."

Focus group student #1 - "We will feel bad [if that happened to us]. It's the first day and she, uh [inaudible]."

Q7. What are some stereotypes you have heard about Qatari people? Have you experienced such stereotyping in college?

This question was already answered in the previous questions.

Q8. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?

Focus group student #1 - "Not all of them, but, uh, like, Mr. R, he don't care if we, we, will not pass." "He know[s] 4:00 o'clock (time of the students' first class) [it is] to crowded [due to the construction outside]"

and he put for me 8 lates [tardies].” “He don't want to help us, like, you, we, we late one minute, we're [marked as] late.” “He tells us, “study hard or you will fail.”

Focus group student #1 – “Sure, he will treat they [Western students] well, and, uh, he will help them. “He will, uh, teach them more nicely.”

Q9. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?

Focus group student #1 - “Maybe some of them [target us].... no, I don't think so because it is more in the Middle East than the West, Egypt.” “Some of them because of the [politics], you know.”

Focus group student #1 - “Like when I [was coming] back from Munich airport, they searched [my bags] more carefully.” “They even touch[ed] my hair.”

Focus group student # 3 - “England”. “Same [situation].”

Q10. How do you cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do you ask for help?

Focus group student #1 - “No one [for help].” “But my aunt she works in [the] airport, she said, when she will [be] back [in Qatar], she will tell the [Qatari] police to treat [such Western people] badly, like what they treat us.”

Focus group student #1 - “ We will be angry [if we cannot do anything] and will forget [about it].

Q11. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community?)

Focus group student #1 - “Everything, like, uh, parking, [the] building, the website.”

Focus group student #5 – “They should take the sick leave excuse.”

Focus group student #6 - “[Or when] If somebody dies.”

Focus group student #1 - “It's not fair to have three exams in one day.”

Focus group student #1 - “Also, the cafeteria.”

Focus group student #2 - “Uh, [we] choose the teachers.” “Not [be] dropped, and then waiting [to be reinstated].”

Focus group student #3 – (inaudible)

Focus group student #1 – “She (about focus group student #3) wants more Muslim teachers.”

Focus group student #1 - "We have grammar class from 4:00-6:00[pm], and we have to wait 'til 5:30pm and then we [can] will have to pray." "After [Mr. R] [is] finished."

Focus group student #2 - "He [does] not care for pray[er]."

Appendix G

College Personnel Sample Responses to Interview Questions

Personnel #1

Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)

"Yeah, students usually get support from their families. There are cases when they are not supported by their husbands and their brothers." "I'll give you two examples:

[A level 2 student's brother] He didn't want to get up in the morning to drive her to school. He just wanted her to drop out and that was a hardship for her. There should have been more support for the family."

"Another student, her husband doesn't support her very much, but it's interesting because her lack of support [from him] gives her a real drive to get As. She wants to show him it's worthwhile what she's doing."

Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?

"To me, culture means habits that you pick up from you environment [from] people who raised you. It doesn't mean what I was taught is what I chose to acquire. Culture should take on what you're exposed to. It's taken on subconsciously. I think it's super important."

Q3. Do you notice Qatari college students act/ behave/ think/ feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?

"In many ways, I don't think they do. Mostly, I'm exposed to them as an authority figure in the classroom, so in that way, they will act differently."

Q4. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qataris? Have you witnessed any of these stereotypes at the college?

"I was in Oman for five years and I heard that Qatar was kind of like [the] Emirates. That they don't mingle with the expats so much. [That] They're arrogant and snooty. [However] My impression of Gulf Culture is that they are welcoming."

Q5. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?

“I don't think so.”

Q6. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?

“Yeah, I would say so, but everyone has. I think what's going now is horrible racism against Arabs in America, UK, Canada, as how I like to put it – against small brown people including Hispanics. I think it's horrible, and human beings, uh, I don't know, be better than that.”

Q7. How do you think students cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do they ask for help?

“I have an Omani friend named Shams and he's a pharmacy student. He went to England about two years ago. Shamis is the most open-hearted, wonderful, young man. A couple of times people were really nasty to him in England. He took it hard. He didn't know why someone would do that to him. I think he didn't ask for help and internalized it. It was really hard on him. I think he felt shame. I don't know that they do cope with it.”

Q8. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community)

“I think help is needed before college. I think people should be taught study skills before coming here. They will [soon] be disqualifying students from midterms if they miss more than five classes . I think that's an interesting experience. I don't know how the students will take it. Maybe they won't come or will feel like they're being punished. I think some things need to be learned really early on before they get to us [at the college]. They're not set up for this [college experience]. They're used to being really respected as the dominant first group. We're [expatriates] just add-ons. I think we're doing the right thing if their goal is to join other communities that are doing this stuff. My only complaint about this place [Qatar] is the human rights issues.

Personnel #2

Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)

“I haven't been at this college long enough to comment on that.”

Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?

“It's important. I think reflects how Canada is as a culture – how Canada is as a culture, open, tolerant. That's why I think I'm a bit like that.”

Q3. Do you notice Qatari college students act/ behave/ think/ feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?

“I don't notice.”

Q4. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qataris? Have you witnessed any of these stereotypes at the college?

“Before I came here [to Qatar], I lived in the U.A.E., and I was told that Qatar is more conservative than the U.A.E, but I don't notice that. In my experience of the last 10 weeks, I've found they're no different.”

Q5. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?

“I haven't taught Western students.”

Q6. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?

“[Yes] I think every culture has people [that] are racist all over the world.”

Q7. How do you think students cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do they ask for help?

“Students told me they didn't experience racism in the Emirates except tribal conflict. When some of them traveled to a Western country, they did experience racism, people blurting stuff in the streets and people coming right up to them being belligerent with them. They told me that they ignored it. I think they handled it really well. [It] could have gotten in to a fight or say comments back. They experienced racism and I think they have handled it really well.”

Q8. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community)

“I think there needs to be emphasis on social-sustainability. I think that despite talking to student, they're telling me that they are concern about losing their culture and language. Our job as a college would be to teach sustainability.

Personnel #3

Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)

“I see persistence, long-term goals, and connections to the tribe, tribal goals and doing what is best for their community.”

Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?

“It's very important. It makes me feel at home and connected to other people.”

Q3. Do you notice Qatari college students act/ behave/ think/ feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?

“It depends if it's male or female [student]. I think it's a matter of showing what they can do for the Western expats. There's more a tenuous feeling than what someone looks like.”

Q4. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qataris? Have you witnessed any of these stereotypes at the college?

“People have spoken about them, but I don't pay attention to them because I take people as they come. I've heard they don't work hard. I think there are ideas and perspectives imposed on our students and they [stereotypers] do not want to bridge the cultural divide.”

Q5. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?

“I hate stereotypes because I don't want to be stereotyped.”

Q6. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?

“I think it depends on the instructor. I think they are sometimes. There are people that impose their perspectives and ideas on other people to abuse..(inaudible). I think it's mixed, but I definitely think that [it] happens.”

Q7. How do you think students cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do they ask for help?

“I think all groups have. If you look at Rwanda. I always look it at as the question of “other,” you know part of my group. Yes, I believe they have been a target and most recently, after 9/11, definitely. This bad view has been, repeated, repeated, repeated, and imposed on. It's not accurate. That's human nature, unfortunately, I (inaudible). “I think a lot of times students expect to be treated that way -vestiges of colonialism. Certain groups of privilege and others not. Students sometimes actually believe the hype and believe the Fair and Lovely commercial. They've [been] bombarded with that stuff, so it makes them feel like they are not desirable.”

Q8. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community)

“I think students should build on their tribal relations to become cohesive. We're trying to bring a Western model [of education] in to Eastern though. We have to work within the context in what we have here and build on that.”

Personnel #4

Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)

“This probably is not a typical answer, but I think they want to have as much fun as possible. I think they have sense of community [and it] brings them together when they are down. I think [their] values are strong. They care of people.”

Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?

“I describe myself as an American. I think sense of identity gives people an idea of who they are. If they don't know who they are then it's hard for them to make goals, succeed, and prosper, and drive in life, and I think people rely on it and go back to their identity to make a good choice on what they should do next or why xyz happened.”

Q3. Do you notice Qatari college students act/ behave/ think/ feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?

“I think that they do. I haven't seen them interacting directly with Qatari teachers, but my perception is when I'm [walking] past an Arabic classroom is that students are more stoic, they feel there is not much wiggle room. I think that they respect the people more and are in more in line to follow their authority. I think with the Westerners, they are more comfortable in some ways. They are not worried about offending or upsetting us because we're not in their club, so to speak.”

Q4. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qataris? Have you witnessed any of these stereotypes at the college?

“Oh, that they're spoiled, yes, I've seen that. That they're lazy, yes, I've seen that. They are prideful. Those are the three I've heard the most.”

Q5. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?

“No, I don't think so. I think we hold them to the same standards regardless of their ethnicity.”

Q6. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?

“ Yes, I think that there is a lot of misinformation about Qataris and Middle-Easterners. People paint this group of individuals with a broad brush and they shouldn't. I think it's ignorance. The media likes to sell newspapers who breed on fear. Yeah, I think they are targeted and it has to do with racism.”

Q7. How do you think students cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do they ask for help?

“I think they lash out. I don't think they care, but I think they go to the dean [or] the highest [ranking] possible person. My students don't tell me they experience racism or (inaudible) very often.”

Q8. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community)

“I think people need to take more responsibility. I think that they need to do more for themselves. I get tired of the excuses, not taking any responsibility. I don't think they were raised to take responsibility. Students have maids, and campaigns like “don't throw your bag at your maid and this kind of stuff. So, I think it starts very young and from that age, they need to learn to be self-sufficient and take care of things, and not pawn stuff on other people.”

Personnel #5

Q1. What are the strengths you witness in the Qatari college student community? (In other parts of the Qatari community?)

“I think that they can have a nice sense of community amongst themselves. For example, I had a really nice class this past quarter that had really nice communication with each other, and even made a Whatsapp group during the class and I'm sure they after, too. I think they have a very strong sense of family, which is nice to see. Among the students I've had, some of them have a good direction – they're ambitious, they want to improve themselves for themselves, but also their children, and they're thinking about their kids as they're studying.”

Q2. How would you describe what your cultural identity means to you?

“I think [identity] in part forms how I view the world and how probably unconsciously or consciously, sometimes, make a lot of comparisons to the way I see things to people from other cultures. I think there's a sense of comfort to it. That's true for me and probably most people.”

Q3. Do you notice Qatari college students act/ behave/ think/ feel differently with Western expatriates? Why/Why not?

“I definitely see them behaving differently in the beginning, and because they don't know me, they are more reserved. They open up as [we] get through the quarter and talk about stuff. I think yes, and of course, I have to compare it with how they are with non-expats, I don't see those interactions.

Q4. What are some stereotypes you have heard about the Qataris? Have you witnessed any of these stereotypes at the college?

“[That] All Qataris are rich, they are all wealthy, privileged, spoiled, and have I witnessed any of that? I think yes, in small part, but most of them are lovely people, generous, very kind, very thoughtful. Have I seen things that looked spoiled? - yeah, for example, and this is my interpretation. When I see a young woman followed by her maid carrying her books, that's strange and feels spoiled.

Q5. Do you believe that Qatari students are treated differently than, say, Western students based on their ethnicity?

“I don't see anyone different since they are all Qatari, so I don't know how to answer that [question]. I wouldn't say they're treated differently because of their ethnicity. They are treated in the way that they are taught.”

Q6. Do you believe Qataris or Middle Easterners have been the target of racism throughout history?

“I would imagine, yes, I'm not sure it would be racism [because] Qataris are of many races and so are other races.”

Q7. How do you think students cope with experiences with stereotypes and racism? Who do they ask for help?

“I have not had any students ask me for help like that. I don't know.”

Q8. What areas of improvement that you see are needed in the Qatari college student community? (In other areas of the Qatari community)

“I think we need to be a little more proactive in helping them to see what the expectations are in Western style education if that is what their country wants for them, and it's not up to us to decide that.”

Appendix H

Themes and Categories Emergent from Native Qatari College Student Focus Group Interview and Personnel Interviews.

Themes/Category	Frequency of code
Stereotypes	3
Negative stereotypes	8
Racism directed at students traveling abroad	11
Coping strategy for racism:	
Emotional reaction to racism	6
Misunderstood by some Western expatriate teachers	3

Appendix I

Qualitative Data Analysis for Survey Items

Themes and Categories Emergent from Personnel Survey

Themes/Category	Frequency of code
Cultural Difference	
Extremely different	9
Moderately different	10
Very different	9
Discomfort with Students' Native Language	
Not comfortable at all	10
Not Familiar with Students' Educational Background	
Moderately knowledgeable	8
Slightly knowledgeable	10
Not knowledgeable at all	9
Student Preparedness	
Slightly prepared	12
Not prepared at all	12

Appendix J

Themes and Categories Emergent from Open-Ended Survey for Students

Themes/Category	Frequency of code
Not understood by some Western expatriate instructors	8
Discomfort in some Western expatriate instructors' classroom.	3
Not feeling respected in some expatriate instructors classroom.	2
a. Preventing faithful students from praying.	1

Universal Pragmatics as a Methodology for Analyzing Institutional Cultures

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Abstract

Habermas maintains that the democratic nature of the public sphere can only be maintained within the context of the ideal speech situation. Truth, in this framework, means democratically arrived at consensus, free from domination. If consensus breaks down, that is if validity claims cannot be vindicated because they have been critically challenged, then truth claims may only be recovered through conditions of discourse in argumentative reasoning.

This involves the cooperative search for truth. If not allowed to progress because all participants have not been allowed to raise or challenge truth claims involving the four speech acts, then what results is a situation involving conflict and ideology. Conflict arises when "consensus concerning distribution of opportunities for satisfying needs breaks down" (Held 346).

What is necessary then is a critique of ideology through the "considerations of universal pragmatics" in order to determine the degree to which communicative action has given way to strategic action and particular interests of a dominant group as opposed to the generalizable interests of the entire community (Habermas 1979, 112-113).

It is therefore important to analyze the normative structure of particular socio-cultural systems and institutions in order to determine whether all participants have equal opportunities to employ all speech acts including communicatives, representatives, regulatives, and constatives. In the event that all actors are not able to employ and therefore fulfill their obligations which are necessary for establishing the ideal speech situation, then it is possible that what exists is a culture whose norms are entirely disconnected from justification.

This paper suggests that Universal Pragmatics as constructed by Habermas can be used as a practical methodology for analyzing various institutional cultures.

Keywords: Habermas, Universal Pragmatics, Ideal Speech Situation, Public Sphere, Culture, Democracy

Habermas's intent is to "identify and reconstruct the conditions of possible understanding" (1979, 1) in order to provide for a normative basis to critical theory which hinges on communicative interaction. Habermas' critique of both positivism and of Marx's approach to historical materialism has anticipated a theoretical and methodological perspective that is concerned with communicative competence in order to provide for a social structure free from distorted communication and domination.

The Habermasian perspective regarding communicative competence has rested upon what has been called the "linguistic turn." It refers to the acknowledgement of an "anthropologically deep seated" human potential and interest that fosters the development of human social structure within the context of language and reason. This chapter focuses on the articulation of Habermas's methodological approach to social research that has developed on the basis of what he has called "Universal Pragmatics," or the rational reconstruction of discourse.

Universal pragmatics encompasses the development of a cognitive ethics wherein moral validity claims are as capable of being grounded or supported as statements about empirical observations. It is within the structure of speech and communication that Habermas believes he has located the roots of critical theory and thus by extension the basis "of the good and true life" through self-reflection and undistorted communication.

The human interest in autonomy and responsibility is not mere fancy, for it can be apprehended a priori. What raises us out of nature is the only thing whose nature we can know: language. Through its structure, autonomy and responsibility are posited for us ... In an emancipated society, whose members' autonomy and responsibility have been realized, communication will develop into the non-authoritarian and universally practiced dialogue from which both our model of reciprocally constituted ego identity and our idea of true consensus are always implicitly derived. To this extent the truth of statements is based on anticipating the realization of the good life (1971, 314)

With this "linguistic turn" Habermas seeks to recast the foundations of historical materialism and critical theory in order to determine a more comprehensive perspective concerning all forms of domination. This encompasses both instrumental rationality necessary for critique based upon understanding relationships of production, and communicative rationality, which enhances possibilities for consensus building and thus the possibility for realization of a democratic society.

Instrumental rationality ... carries with it connotations of successful self-maintenance made possible by informed disposition over, and intelligent adaptation to, conditions of a contingent environment. On the other hand ... communicative rationality carries with it connotations based ultimately on the central experience of the unconstrained, unifying, consensus-bringing force of argumentative speech, in which different participants overcome their merely subjective views and, owing to the mutuality of rationally motivated conviction, assure themselves of both the unity of the objective world and the intersubjectivity of their lifeworld (1984, 10).

This position impacts a number of areas including methodology, epistemology and legitimation of the social structure itself. It is directed toward action that is aimed at reaching understanding through language that is identified as the specific medium of understanding at the social-cultural stage of human evolution.

The contention is that communicatively competent interaction through the "speech act" utilizes language, which has an inherently rational component. Actors and interactions which do not fit the profile regarding communicative competence are more likely to be subject to distorted forms of communication and less likely to be committed to reaching understanding. It is through understanding and the desire to work toward consensus that a democratic community is established and the good and true life possible.

However, the establishment of a democratic community depends upon the legitimacy of the interaction and thus the structure in which that interaction takes place (1975, 72). Legitimacy is tied to "rightness" which is a Habermasian term related to validity claims concerning interpersonal relations established in the speech act. Habermas has written extensively about the relationship between legitimacy and the state (Habermas 1992, 440). This paper further discusses this connection, in relation to the social structure in chapter four.

Held says that Habermas is distinguishing between cognitive and non-cognitive ethics. Cognitive ethics refers to "intersubjectively recognized norms" produced by consensus and "based on the primacy of rational criticism" (Held 1980, 330).

Non-cognitive ethics, on the other hand, are legitimated on the basis of legal belief systems rather than interpersonal relations and offer no distinction between concrete commands and intersubjectively agreed upon norms (Habermas 1975, 104).

Thus a cognitive ethics is dependent upon communicative rationality that finds its legitimacy in the inherent nature of what Habermas calls the "speech act." The speech act is the core of the theory of communicative competence or what has come to be known as universal pragmatics.

The Speech Act

Universal pragmatics acknowledges the speech act as the basis for universal validity claims in order to ascertain common social interests through rational discourse, which by nature is devoid of deception. This necessitates a critique of language which anticipates a critique of consciousness; a Marxian concept.

From this perspective the roots of critical theory for a democratic society are further understood and contextualized not only within the boundaries of economics or politics or ideology, but within the structure of language and communication.

The speech act provides a tangible unit of culture that can be examined objectively to determine the conditions rendering its use meaningful. Speech acts themselves vary from the relatively simple to the more complex. A single sentence or phrase may be regarded as a speech act for certain purposes, while in other cases it may be more appropriate to examine an entire conversation, book, or episode. The issue is not so much the level of complexity or specificity at which speech acts are examined, but the fact that speech acts themselves are taken as the unit of cultural analysis (Wuthnow 199).

Speech acts can be analyzed on the basis of validity claims in order to determine whether discourse is being carried out according to the rules of communicative action and rationality or according to the goal directedness of instrumental rationality (Habermas, 1979, 119). Communicatively competent speakers are concerned with four universal validity claims essential to communicative action in order to provide for the possibility of consensus and understanding. The four following claims are identified for anyone intending to be involved in "the process of reaching an understanding" (1979, 2).

- a. Uttering something understandably;
- b. Giving {the hearer} something to understand;
- c. Making himself thereby understandable; and
- d. Coming to an understanding with another person.

The four are typically condensed for discussion to include the terms comprehensibility, truth, truthfulness or sincerity, and rightness or legitimacy, as the corresponding validity claims. The contention is that communicative action can continue only if participants suppose that the claims, which are raised, are justified.

Forester identifies the validity claims as "the four norms of universal pragmatics" and "four norms of ordinary communication." He says it is helpful to pose them as practical questions in applying them to research.

1. Is the communication comprehensible, so others can understand what in fact is happening around them or to them?
2. Is the communication true? Can we believe it, bet on it? Is there evidence supporting it? What do other accounts of the situations say? Are the listeners being offered information upon which they can act, or are they being misinformed, however unintentionally?
3. Is the communication offered sincerely and uttered in good faith, or are the listeners being manipulated, misled, fooled or misguided?
4. Is the communication legitimate, given the role and the participation of interested parties, or is the communicator taking advantage of professional status unfairly (Forester 210)?

Habermas contends that consensus about the validity claims exists in any interactive communicative situation. If the validity claims cannot be vindicated or upheld then undistorted communication cannot continue (1979, 4).

In addition to the four validity claims inherent in communicative action Habermas describes four "domains of reality" including language, the internal world, the external world, and society, which correspond to each claim. In communicative action which is rational in that it seeks consensus and understanding, all domains are apparent and addressed, and thus all validity claims raised, but all are not necessarily given priority nor are they "thematized." "Thematization" will be dealt with shortly.

The domain of language itself corresponds to the validity claim of comprehensibility and acts as the medium of inter-relation between the other three domains, which include external nature, society and internal nature.

External nature corresponds to the truth validity claim. It is the domain that is objectivated and is thus perceived to be manipulable. Consequently in the present social structure it often includes people and situations as objects.

Society corresponds to the validity claim of rightness or legitimacy. It deals with normative structures, symbolically prestructured by society involving conformational attitudes that are not self-denigrating but rather work toward the establishment of consensus. A communicator acting communicatively according to such norms is not seeking to manipulate or to distort.

Internal nature corresponds to the validity claim of truthfulness or sincerity. It includes all wishes, feelings and intentions. It encompasses and expresses personal experiences and knows the self as subjectivity (Habermas 1979, 67-68).

This points to the fundamental importance of speech and the necessity for focusing upon it thoroughly as a basis for critical theory. Through its structure, speakers accomplish "demarcations" or boundaries wherein certain realities are established in everyday experiences.

The subject demarcates himself: (1) from an environment that he objectifies in the third-person attitude of an observer; (2) from an environment that he conforms to or deviates from in the ego-alter attitude of a participant; (3) from his own subjectivity that he expresses or conceals in a first-person attitude; and finally (4) from the medium of language itself (66).

Again, it is important to emphasize that all domains are acknowledged for communicatively competent actors wherein the interactive function of language is allowed to fulfill its reflective potential. This appears to be the major difference existing between communicative and instrumental rationality.

These "demarcations" can be thought of as four different dimensions in which communication in the form of interaction can be distorted or suffer a breakdown. A problem with comprehensibility develops when a misunderstanding takes place about one's utterance. Resorting to such tactics as paraphrasing and elucidation can alleviate such a breakdown.

Communicative action can suffer a setback if the truth about what one has said is not accepted. The validity claim of truth corresponding to the reality domain of external nature can be restored with reference to additional information or "citing recognized authorities."

In addition, the validity claim of truthfulness incorporating the internal domain can be jeopardized if one's intentions are questioned because of insincerity, deception, etc. It is possible that good faith can be restored "through assurances, consistency of action, or readiness to draw, accept and act on consequences" (McCarthy 289).

Finally disruption in consensual relationships can develop if validity claims regarding the normative component of rightness within the societal domain are questioned. This would involve a challenge to one's right to engage in argument or discourse on the basis of the perceived appropriateness of one's role or status.

Within this framework, it is important to remember that language is the tool that joins the structure of communicative action and rationality in order to have a hope for undistorted communication and thus freedom from domination and exploitation. However language as a "mechanism" can be replaced in "the competition ... between principles of societal integration."

Thus there is a competition ... between the mechanism of linguistic communication that is oriented toward validity claims ... and those de-linguistified steering media through which systems of success-oriented action are differentiated out (Habermas 1984, 342).

In the case of social integration that is driven by purposive-rationality, the important steering mechanisms become power and money. In this context the lifeworld, (the world of shared meanings and subjective understandings already mentioned in chapter two) comes to be formally organized by these destructive mechanisms.

Social action is no longer coordinated through value consensus but rather through such institutions as the legal order which forms the connection between the economic system (money) and the administrative system (power). This "rationalization of the lifeworld makes possible a kind of systemic integration that enters into competition with the integrating principle of reaching understanding and ... has a disintegrative effect on the lifeworld" (343).

The concept of the lifeworld along with that of communicative action provide a general framework for social theory. The lifeworld, represented by such elements as culture (external domain), society (societal domain) and personality (internal domain), is necessarily related to processes that allow for reproduction of the lifeworld itself (1989, 138). These reproductive processes including cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization correspond generally to the various speech act components including propositional, illocutionary and expressive which will be discussed below.

The above communicative action functions must be allowed to work toward symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. If the process is interfered with, a number of structural crises can result including withdrawal of legitimation, alienation, loss of meaning and withdrawal of motivation for members of a social system (142-143).

However the methodological analysis of such crises must involve not only a lifeworld perspective organized around communicative action but, a systems perspective dealing with the processes of material reproduction. This then is comparable to the reconstruction of historical materialism mentioned in the last chapter.

In capitalist society, purposive-rational action measures success by way of efficiency and economy of effort that generally are enhanced through specialization in the division of labor. This however leads to a devaluing of lifeworld contexts in which reaching an understanding through language and communicative action is no longer paramount because other steering media such as power and money become favored.

This has allowed for a system of rewards and punishments which has generated a structure of control rather than for an avenue through which consensus might be established by linguistic means. Rather than communicative competence, money and power have become the regulators of the social structure, particularly in relation to organizations that have developed along hierarchical lines.

To the extent that methodical-rational conduct of life gets uprooted, purposive-rational action orientations become self-sufficient; technically intelligent adaptation to the objectified milieu of large organizations is combined with a utilitarian calculation of the actor's own interests. The life conduct of specialists is dominated by cognitive-instrumental attitudes toward themselves and others (1989, 323).

Individuals in such organizations typically define themselves as professionals involved in an expert culture. Consequently by definition they distance themselves a great deal from the larger society. Such "professionalization" of individuals brings with it an impoverishment and further devaluation of the lifeworld.

Ironically, the effect is even more tragic in those areas of action that specialize in cultural transmission but have attempted to resist being penetrated by the steering mechanisms of power and money. Such areas have traditionally depended upon ideals of mutual understanding (330). The lifeworld in relation to the state and steering mechanisms is discussed further in chapter four.

Aspects of Universal Pragmatics

Universal pragmatics is concerned with "utterances" or what it defines as "the elementary units of speech." This concept distinguishes between sentences, which are governed by rules of grammar, and utterances, which are governed by pragmatic rules.

Whereas the production of grammatical sentences is only concerned with the validity claim, comprehensibility; the use of the sentence in the context of possible understanding as an utterance, must also satisfy the other three validity claims. Communicative competence thus must include comprehensibility, truth, truthfulness or trust, and perform in such a way that it is perceived as right according to recognized norms (1979, 29).

Assuming comprehensibility then, universal pragmatics incorporates three different aspects with regard to the speech act and in relation to the other three validity claims. The theory of elementary propositions is concerned with acts of reference and prediction in order to represent something in the world. This is measured against the validity claim of truth and is in relation to the external domain already discussed.

The theory of first person sentences or linguistic expressions is concerned with the intentions of the speaker and is measured against the validity claim of truthfulness or trust. It is related to the internal domain.

The theory of illocutionary acts is concerned with the establishment of interpersonal relations. It is related to the societal domain and is measured against the validity claim of rightness and thus is a normative component. Habermas says that for a theory of communicative action it is this third aspect that is particularly important (1979,34).

Another important element is the "double structure of speech" which focuses upon both the illocutionary and the propositional components of speech, which as already discussed, deal with truth and rightness, and the domains of the external world and society.

The illocutionary component involves the intersubjectivity between speaker and hearer that emphasizes the normative element. It is therefore relational and constructs the framework for the propositional element (content). The illocutionary element involves communication about the role in which communicated content is used and can be considered to be performative in nature or at least related to a performative attitude for the speaker.

A basic feature of language is connected with this double structure of speech, namely its inherent reflexivity ... In filling out the double structure of speech, participants in dialogue communicate on two levels simultaneously. They combine communication of content with communication about the role in which the communicated content is used (42).

The propositional content or information is communicated in the speech act but is yet separate from the illocutionary element. The distinction between illocutionary and propositional components has to do essentially with a distinction between meaning and force.

It points to further differences between sentences and utterances. Essentially meaning is applied to propositional elements and is applicable to either sentences or utterances. Force, however is something that is primarily related only to utterances. Performative expressions therefore involve the intentions with which propositional content is formed.

This is especially important as it relates to the intersubjective nature of communicative action; the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Understanding thus involves a continuum from two individuals who understand an expression the same way to two individuals who enjoy an agreement concerning the rightness of an utterance in relation to a mutually recognized normative background.

Thus the task of universal pragmatics is the rational reconstruction of the two primary structures of speech: illocutionary and propositional.

The illocutionary component consists in general of a personal pronoun in the first person, a performative verb, and a personal pronoun in the second person--for example, "I (hereby) promise you ...," "I (hereby) command you ...," "I (hereby) assert to you ..." the appropriateness of the expression hereby is an indicator of the fact that performative utterances establish the very relation that they linguistically present (McCarthy 282-283).

Habermas maintains that every utterance is embedded in interpersonal relations that are more important than semantic content. The principle task of speech act theory is to clarify the performance status of utterances, meaning that action is necessary and that every utterance must establish a relation between speaker and hearer. What becomes apparent then is the "generative power" of speech acts.

A speech act succeeds or fails based on the relation of the speaker and the hearer. First of all however, the speaker must have intended the relation and secondly the hearer can understand and accept the content uttered by the speaker in the sense indicated such as a promise or suggestion. Thus interpersonal relations are fostered by successful speech acts, but also rely upon the understanding being established (1979, 35).

The execution of a speech act is a condition of possibility of experience, namely the communicative experience that the hearer has when he accepts the offer contained in the attempted speech action and enters into the requested connection with the speaker (48).

The meaning of illocutionary acts are learned only as participants in performative speech actions and this is developed only through the establishment of interpersonal relations. By contrast we learn the meaning of sentences only in the objectivating attitude of observers, through the representation of facts.

The establishing of an interpersonal relationship seems to be key to whether or not the meanings of linguistic expressions can be categorized as illocutionary or propositional. Categorization does not mean that certain speech acts are excluded in favor of others. Rather, thematization is involved wherein two levels of communication are entered at once (Austin 144-145).

Thematization of Validity Claims

Habermas says that either the interpersonal relation or the propositional content can be made centrally thematic in communication. Thematization refers to the practice in speaking of emphasizing certain validity claims over others even though it is necessary for all to exist if communicative competence is to be achieved.

Participants, in communicating with one another about something, simultaneously enter upon two levels of communication---the level of intersubjectivity on which they take up interpersonal relations and the level of propositional contents. However, in speaking we can make either the interpersonal relation or the propositional content more centrally thematic; correspondingly we make a more interactive or a more cognitive use of our language (1979, 53).

What follows from this assertion is an understanding of speech act patterns in relation to the thematization of an interactive use of language which corresponds to regulative speech acts, and thematization of a cognitive use of language, which corresponds to constative speech acts.

Regulative speech acts thematize relations between speaker and hearer while considering the propositional content of utterances in only peripheral ways. Regulative speech acts consequently raise rightness as a validity claim and are concerned with normative contexts of communication.

The normative contexts of communication include such regulative speech acts as commands, admonitions, prohibitions, refusals, promises, agreements, notices, excuses, recommendations and admissions. While they do indeed address and contain truth claims relating to propositional content (all communicative action must) they primarily stress the relation between the speaker and the hearer (54).

Regulative speech acts offer important clues to the normative contexts of a given culture. Speakers incorporate these clues into the content of their speech acts thereby indicating a great deal about the interpersonal relations, traditions and values of a particular societal domain.

While speakers as actors may not necessarily recognize this relationship as a set of pre-existing norms or patterns for interaction, it nevertheless is used to judge communication as legitimate or illegitimate. That is, a speaker is evaluated on the basis of a culture's normative standards and may or may not feel free to claim legitimacy. Habermas refers to this as a "speech-act immanent obligation."

In the interactive use of language, the speaker proffers a speech-act immanent obligation to provide justification. Of course regulative speech acts contain only the offer to indicate, if necessary, the normative context that gives the speaker the conviction that his utterance is right. Again, if this immediate justification does not dispel an ad hoc doubt, we can pass over to the level of discourse, in this case of practical discourse. In such a discourse, however the subject of the discursive examination is not the rightness claim directly connected with the speech act, but the validity claim of the underlying norm (64).

This social world through the regulative speech act establishes the distinction between what is and what ought to be. However in the case of distorted communication the opportunity for discursive examination is likely circumvented by structural imperatives.

Constative speech acts stem from the cognitive use of language and explicitly raise truth claims in relation to the external domain. Constative speech acts include such things as reports, explications, communication, elucidations, narrations, assertions, reports, predictions, and denials. While they do contain an implicit acknowledgement of normative validity claims their primary validity claim concerns propositional content. Thus they thematize the content of an utterance about an observation or experience in which the speaker "refers to something in the objective world, and in such a way that he would like to represent a state of affairs (1984, 325).

In the cognitive use of language, the speaker proffers a speech-act immanent obligation to provide grounds. Constative speech acts contain the offer to recur if necessary to the experiential source from which the speaker draws the certainty that his statement is true. If this immediate grounding does not dispel an ad hoc doubt, the persistently problematic truth claim can become the subject of theoretical discourse (Habermas 1979, 64).

This cognitive use of language permits only propositional assertions, which raise the truth claim and exhibit a correspondence between statements and facts. It is concerned with functions of speech, which allow analysis of the "conditions for making statements about the world" (White 54).

The expressive use of language, corresponding to the validity claim of truthfulness and thus to the internal world, relates to the speaker's wishes, feelings and intentions. Also known as avowal speech acts, they are self disclosing in nature and self-representative.

However, they are not typically thematized unless the speaker's truthfulness is not taken for granted.

The truthfulness with which a speaker utters his intentions can, however, be stressed at the level of communicative action in the same way as the truth of a proposition and the rightness (or appropriateness) of an interpersonal relation. Truthfulness guarantees the transparency of subjectivity representing itself in language (57).

Expressive speech acts allow the speaker to describe something that exists in his subjective world. He is thus able to refer to a situation and publicly disclose information of which only he has had privileged access. Through expressive speech acts, actors are able to demarcate boundaries between the external and the internal world.

This means that a speaker who engages in a constative speech act at the same time gives expression to a belief or conviction. With the correct performance of a regulative speech act, the speaker gives expression to a feeling of obligation.

In this way, the beliefs about facts can be distinguished from the facts themselves in the case of constative speech acts, and in the case of regulative speech acts "the feelings of someone who expresses regret or gratitude ... can be distinguished from the corresponding illocutionary acts (1989, 67).

Since the goal of communicative action is the establishing of understanding in order to circumvent distorted communication and thus the debilitating effects of alienation and exploitation, it is imperative that the relationship between the speaker and hearer becomes possible.

In the event that the speech act fails because the utterance is not acceptable, if consensus breaks down, or if validity claims cannot be vindicated because they have been critically challenged, then truth claims may only be recovered through conditions of discourse in argumentative reasoning. This involves the cooperative search for truth within the context of experiences relating to the external, internal and societal domains.

However, statements about experiences are still only statements in a discourse, which it must be remembered are bound to the structure of truth claims already discussed. Thus, analysis of discourse involves two levels and therefore two validity claims which can be justified discursively. These include the validity claims of truth (propositional statements) and correctness or rightness (appropriateness).

The two levels of discourse analysis include theoretical discourse and practical discourse which relate directly to the two primary validity claims respectively. Habermas maintains that it is especially important that participants be able to freely move back and forth between the two levels in order to insure that what he calls "the force of a better argument" predominates.

Only in the ability to freely to move to increasing levels of reflection can democratic discourse and undistorted communication be achieved. If this freedom is established as the normative basis for discourse and the opportunity for rational discussion is allowed to prevail, then the possibility exists for the establishment of the "ideal speech situation."

The Ideal Speech Situation

This perspective allows the implementation of a methodology for critical theory which allows the conditions of the ideal speech situation to be used as a discursive yardstick by which systematically distorted communication can be analyzed. Universal pragmatics maintains that "Truth" can only be arrived at democratically in discursive situations free from domination.

This necessitates a normative situation that fosters the opportunity for better arguments to have voices in establishing consensus. Such an interactive situation is essentially what Habermas means by the ideal speech situation. It involves the vindication of all validity claims through freedom to move between both theoretical discourse and practical discourse.

Thus the conditions necessary for the ideal speech situation can be described and incorporated into a critical theory of society through an analysis of discourse.

The condition for a grounded consensus is a situation in which there is a mutual understanding between participants, equal chances to select and employ speech acts, recognition of the legitimacy of each to participate in the dialogue as 'an autonomous and equal partner' and where the resulting consensus is due simply 'to the force of the better argument' (Held 343).

What is especially important in this situation then is the existence of equal opportunities for all participants to not only utilize speech acts but to engage in dialogue about their validity. The "ideal speech situation" assumes a rational consensus free from all forms of domination.

It involves a normative component necessary for establishing the building blocks to a better lifeworld and presupposes that the outcome of debate will not hinge on such steering mechanisms as power and money but rather on "the force of a better argument."

This ideal acknowledges the complexities of social and political conditions, yet assumes that the model of the ideal speech situation can be used to guide social and political decision making rather than finding and building the ideal social structure. This acknowledgement of the absolute importance of constraint-free-discourse goes to the very core of the theory and methodology of universal pragmatics.

A structure free from constraint assumes the automatic and equal opportunity for all participants to engage in the selection and employment of speech acts. This includes all speech acts in a "symmetrical distribution."

Participants must have the same chance to employ constative speech acts, that is to put forward or call into question, to ground or refute statements, (or) explanations, so that in the long run no assertion is exempt from critical examination ... to employ representative speech acts, to express their attitudes, feelings intentions, and so on that the participants can be truthful in their relations to themselves and can make their inner natures transparent to others ... to employ regulative speech acts, to command, to oppose, to permit, to forbid, and so on, so that privileges in the sense of one sidedly binding norms are excluded (McCarthy 306-307).

What is described here is the process of discursive will formation through which the public sphere (which is discussed in chapter four) can be repoliticized in order for legitimation to be achieved within a given culture. The contention is that only through the parameters of the ideal speech situation, which incorporates practical discourse, can decisions about issues, which are of importance to society, be made rationally and democratically with any hope for consensus.

Discursive will formation through the ideal speech situation must include the four speech acts: communicatives, representatives, regulatives and constatives. The four speech acts are related to four respective validity claims: comprehensibility, truthfulness, appropriateness and truth.

It must be remembered that if the validity claims, when raised, cannot be supported there must be automatic acceptance of the possibility for discourse regarding the conflict. Practical discourse is important since it serves generalizable rather than particular interests. This is directly related to the notion of general symmetry regarding the opportunity for all to select and employ speech acts. It represents a methodology for establishing the existence of systematically distorted communication and consensus reached through constraint rather than through the exercise of rational argument. A methodology utilizing universal pragmatics thus considers the existence in discourse of all speech acts including communicatives, representatives, regulatives and constatives.

Communicatives

Participants in the ideal speech situation must be equally able to engage in communicative speech acts. That is they must be able to "initiate and perpetuate discourse" to the extent that they are not restricted politically, economically or socially. Included in this supposition is that they be able and at will to both raise questions and answer questions within the discursive context.

Since the underlying validity claim is that participants are understandable, it is essential that proper grammar and sentence structure are utilized. However this requirement is frequently not a difficulty in cultural settings. Rather, barriers to employment of communicative speech acts come from lack of opportunity to engage in discourse, inability to question other participants, structural constraints, which do not allow access to all discursive situations and economic disadvantages which do not allow all participants equal opportunity.

Other constraints to the employment of communicative speech acts may include outright deception on the part of more knowledgeable participants, who are able to change the rules of a particular engagement and thus minimize the effectiveness of other arguments whether or not they are better. This would include such tactics as the insistence on additional criteria by which participants are judged "worthy" in order to take part in raising issues and asking questions.

Representatives

Representative speech acts are those that concern the opportunity participants have to express themselves sincerely in order that they might fully represent their opinions and attitudes regarding various issues in the lifeworld. It is essential in order for the potential of the ideal speech situation to develop that individuals feel free from both external and internal constraints upon their arguments.

"Representative" speech acts (such as to reveal, expose, admit, conceal, pretend, deceive, express), through which--in conjunction with intentional verbs (think, believe, hope, fear, love, hate, want, desire, and the like)--we mark the distinction between the "real" self and the expressions in which it appears, thematically stress the claim to truthfulness or veracity (McCarthy 286).

It is essential that speakers be able to claim truthfulness or sincerity or if challenged be able to make a case for themselves.

Internal constraints can work against this paradigm in situations where participants are part of institutional cultures for instance, which are committed to certain policies without regard for rational arguments from other parties.

External constraints can also circumvent the ability of speakers to fully represent their arguments. Such barriers to expression might come from political and economic interests. That is, private and specialized political and economic interests might be powerful enough to jeopardize more generalizable public interests.

External constraints of this nature have the potential to misguide, mislead and manipulate. This type of distortion includes insincerity on the part of powerful participants, which are often translated into expressions of false concern and the hiding of motives. There also can exist a major misrepresentation of the public good which can lead to a great deal of deceitful policy making in order to enhance a particular as opposed to the generalizable welfare.

Since representative speech acts have a relation to the speaker's subjectivity, his or her presentation of the subjective self, depending upon internal and external constraints, may or may not be a truthful presentation and in fact may be self-deceiving.

Regulatives

Regulative speech acts represent the third requirement for communicative action and necessitate that all participants enjoy equity in the ability to forbid or permit arguments. They therefore indicate a normative condition and can include both a moral and a legal representation.

Normatively regulated speech acts embody moral-practical knowledge. They can be contested under the aspects of rightness. Like claims to truth, controversial claims to rightness can be made thematic and examined discursively...In moral-practical argumentation, participants can test both the rightness of a given action in relation to a given norm, and, at the next level, the rightness of the norm itself (Habermas 1984, 334).

Regulative speech acts thus encompass normatively regulated action and include such things as recommendations, commands, warnings, requests, excuses and advice. These represent the relationship between “the is” and “the ought” and allow the speaker to express his or her conviction that what is being said should be said.

If a challenge develops concerning the rightness of what is being said, the speaker (assuming communicative action is operational) should have the freedom to exercise the opportunity to present arguments as to why what he or she is saying is not contrary to existing norms.

However, this situation is also approachable on another level involving the validity of the underlying norm itself. Thus the speaker can actually challenge the underlying norm in an attempt to circumvent it for the purpose of lending credence to an argument.

Distorted communication exists when the opportunity, which speakers should have within communicative action, to make arguments that what they are saying has validity, is cut off. On occasion this speech act situation and accompanying validity claim will also be circumvented in the context of one participant withholding important information from another participant under the guise of such things as national, internal or institutional security and secrecy.

Frequently state and governmental agencies, and large corporate institutions are in particularly favorable positions of power to be able to take advantage of such communicative distortions thereby hindering communicative action and the fostering of consensus on the basis of interaction. In such instances, the reality of the situation is that not all pertinent information is available to all interested participants.

Thus the distortion can be accomplished from two directions including either an inability to argue for the validity to speak or the inability to argue that the opportunity for access to all information is valid. Such cases can involve examples where government legislation, acting as the normative standard, hinders the access to information and thus needs to be severely questioned.

In the one case, actions are judged according to whether they are in accord with or deviate from an existing normative context, that is, whether or not they are right with respect to a normative context recognized as legitimate. In the other case, norms are judged according to whether they can be justified, that is, whether they deserve to be recognized as legitimate (Habermas 1985, 89).

However if even the opportunity to question such norms is circumvented, then distorted communication continues unencumbered.

Constatives

Constative speech acts represent the fourth requisite in the ideal speech situation. This requirement provides for equal opportunity of all participants to engage in and critique interpretations, explanations, justifications and statements so that through open consideration and criticism free and open discourse can develop.

Constative speech acts, in thematizing the claim to truth, include such utterances as asserting, reporting, explaining, contesting, denying, predicting and narrating. They refer to the speaker's experiences in distinguishing between the world of being and the world of illusion in order to represent a particular state of affairs.

This objective world is defined as the totality of states of affairs that either obtain or could arise or could be brought about by purposiveful intervention ... Through his beliefs and intentions the actor can take up basically two types of relation to the world ... In one direction the question arises whether the actor has succeeded in bringing his perceptions and beliefs into agreement with what is the case in the world; in the other direction the question is whether he succeeds in bringing what is the case in the world into agreement with his desires and intentions (Habermas 87).

Perhaps as important however, is that all actors are given equal opportunity to offer constative speech acts. Otherwise whether they are successful or not becomes irrelevant. Thus the ideal speech situation depends on access to opportunity at participation even more so than the success of individual actors as participants.

A number of things may work to circumvent the prerequisites of the ideal speech situation with regard to constative speech acts. For one, if participants are not allowed access to all information, then "what is the case in the world" cannot be brought into agreement through discourse. If one party is able to keep certain information off the agenda, they are essentially able to control the construction of knowledge about reality.

In such situations things like governmental or institutional policy may actually be exempt from discussion. In addition certain facts about the objective world may actually be kept from discourse because revelation would be damaging to the position of those attempting to control discourse.

Thus while constative speech acts typically are considered to be associated with the opportunity to present information about the objective world, the opportunity to disagree and debate another participant's perception of the objective world is just as important. If such omissions are allowed, it is likely that the truthful grounding of statements and arguments will result in distortion.

What results is a situation wherein one participant or group of participants is systematically kept from the opportunity to achieve understanding in discourse. That is, they are not allowed the opportunity to succeed based upon the "force of a better argument" either through observations about the world or through intentions to intervene.

In other words, merely the claim that a procedure, process or institution is functioning democratically and rationally is irrelevant if it cannot meet this test of critical theory involving the use of universal pragmatics on the basis of historical and speech act analysis (Kemp 1988, 197).

Summary and Future Work

Any number of institutional structures and policy-making procedures may be analyzed using universal pragmatics as a methodological framework. Regarding day-to-day interaction in these institutional settings something very important is at stake.

Public broadcasting, for example, both on the national and local level is an important channel for citizen participation, yet suffers from a variety of structural contradictions. Some of the most ironic contradictions however come from relationships inside local public broadcasting institutions wherein producers and managers find themselves in conflict because of structural constraints over policy making norms and ideals regarding programming.

The situation provides an interesting paradox for study since on the one hand public broadcasting's systemic goals concerning democracy and diversity appear to be undergoing almost constant bombardment from various steering media including money and power. And, on the other, local public broadcasting personnel find themselves in almost continuous conflict with one another because of these systemic contradictions. Thus they often engage in strategic and instrumental action in discourse with one another, rather than communicative action, in order to survive. Essentially particular interests rather than generalizable interests appear to permeate the entire system.

A follow-up paper to this one will provide analysis of the structural contradictions with which local public broadcasting managers and producers must deal. From the perspective of universal pragmatics, such structural and organizational contradictions appear to pressure public broadcasting personnel into a choice between using instrumental rationality and strategic action, which are means/end oriented, focus upon political and economic survival, and construct both programming and the audience as commodities as opposed to communicative action which includes a normative component, includes equal opportunity and employment of all speech acts and constructs programming as potentially empowering to the voiceless and the audience as a citizenry.

The determination of how meaning is constructed for public broadcasting managers and producers in relation to the external, internal and social world involves the social structural contradictions they encounter in day-to-day activity and relationships. Such activity and relationships directly affect the type of programming offered in this area of the public sphere and thus impacts the maintenance of democracy.

This concerns public broadcasting's structure as an element in the public sphere and focuses upon the daily interaction (speech acts) of a local public broadcasting network and its personnel as they live life and attempt to construct knowledge in it (Wellmer 84). Whether democracy and communicative action can flourish in such an atmosphere is questionable

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An Action Research on a School Drama Community Service-Learning Project at Danhai Civic Theater in Taiwan

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Abstract

This action research explores an experienced drama teacher's experiences and observations toward a school drama play at a community service -learning project from Aletheia University in Taiwan. The action research covers practices through a six month cyclical process which involve planning, acting, observing, evaluating, and reflecting at a school community project to arrive at better understanding of several issues including language improvement, immediacy behaviors, and school-community relationships. Results indicated that having a short-term drama play caused severe pressure and heavy work load on faculty teacher; therefore, it might be the short period of time is not sufficient for a thorough preparation. The budget for the drama play was limited and the professional field of educational arts was also neglected. The play performed off campus at Danhai Civic Center which is troublesome, such as the schedule, the absence and ignorance of the theater staffs, and the facilities are not sufficient. However, the experience of using drama activities in the community helps students to have incredible memories in their lives. These findings may help educators solve problems on how to close the gap between schools and communities and make room for smooth transitions for building up campus-community services in the future.

Keywords: Action research, Drama/theater in education, School community service-learning

1. Connections between drama education and students' learning

Empirical studies that use drama performance in a theater context do so with different age groups, i.e., junior to university school students. Several studies done with different ages and subjects in drama/theater education show how these empirical studies can be set up and conducted. For example, drama can be a useful tool for teaching mathematics. Humphrey (2006) conducted an investigation on the impact of drama on the acquisition of geometry concepts. Participants were 26 at-risk fourth grade students randomly divided into two groups. The study used fifty minutes of creative drama activities per day for a one-week period of time, a multiple choice test to examine the academic achievement along with a Likert survey to investigate the students' interest and attitude toward math. Drama activities were taught in class for the experimental students, while the control group was instructed by traditional methods involving lecture and in-class practice. The results showed that the experimental group performed better on the achievement test than the control group, lending support to the idea that drama activities are an effective teaching method for math because (Humphrey, 2006). A comparison study on 87 sixth graders (Saab, 1987) tested the effects of two methods: one using a drama-based mathematics instruction and the other using a textbook-oriented mathematics instruction. The results showed that drama based activities caused a significant increase in mathematics achievement test scores (Saab, 1987). Duatepe (2004) investigated the drama based instruction on seventh grade students' attitudes toward mathematics and geometry compared to conventional teaching. Three seventh grade classes from a public school in the 2002–2003 academic years participated in this study and the study lasted thirty lesson hours. Drama based instruction had a significant effect on students' angles and polygons achievement, circle and cylinder achievement, retention of these achievements, van Hiele geometric concepts, and attitudes toward mathematics and geometry as compared to the traditional teaching method. The significantly better performance by the experimental group students was attributable to the potential of the drama-based instruction. Within a group of 500 students surveyed by Ufuktepe and Ozel (2002), 90% of these students indicated that this novel way of teaching was fun compared to traditional instruction. The teacher used interactive music and drama activities to teach abstract mathematical concepts to help students gain knowledge of problem solving strategies and collective thinking. The data concluded that more varied approaches could increase students' interests and facilitated better internalization of math concepts (Ufuktepe&Ozel, 2002). According to Sheinback (1996), "math education in particular should encompass instruction that combines visual, auditory, and kinesthetic modalities, use concrete representations of math concepts, and involve games and mnemonic devices to aid memory tasks for solving problems" (as quoted in Humphrey, 2006, p. 11).

Drama is an effective method for science and communication skills. For instance, Dorion (2009) also supported two strategies for drama activities in science class. First, in what he calls, “social stimulations”, the researcher uses role plays to convey topics with contexts of social, cultural, and intellectual discourse occurring in science contexts. Secondly, Dorion (2009) employs mime and role play to explain abstract phenomena. These drama strategies also have their potential to convey affective knowledge such as empathy and meta-cognitive awareness of morality and ethics to the science classroom. Most students, when it comes to drama in the classroom, instinctively respond to one another through their roles bringing about the nature of creative drama activities which can be considered to be an improvisation tool to imagine, perform, and reflect upon human experience. It is an effective strategy to help elementary students learn difficult science concepts (Hendrix, Eick, & Shannon, 2012).

Likewise, Ballou (2000) studied 24 vulnerable sixth grade students with respect to their attitudes toward drama learning. Students were randomly selected to participate in this twenty-week experiment (four hours per week) in-school drama experience. The results of this study indicated that creative drama had a significantly positive effect on experimental students’ communication skills and on their attitudes towards creative drama learning. Drama activities promoted older junior students’ motivation for drama course and aided students in knowing how to use body language and facial expression to reach their goals of communication (Chang & Su, 2002). Fitzgerald (2007) employed drama activities as a participatory research technique for working with 10 young students with disabilities to co-construct experiences of abstract physical education, sport, and free-time activities. The results showed that the students were cooperative with each other to express themselves in a meaningful way through their follow-up movements, gestures or verbal responses. The author also said that drama was a worthwhile and relevant strategy for engaging students with severe learning disabilities. Furthermore, Huang (2012) did a study on 20 fourth-year students in England and found out that children enjoyed physical involvement in the drama activities and their confidence, motivation, commitment, creativity, different thinking, empathy, and communication were all generated and stimulated. Those studies showed that drama can assist students with disabilities in PE education and increase students’ socialization skills and the development of self-growth. Huang (2012) also examined the effects of using drama in education into third-grade students’ character education curriculum through picture books. It was found that drama strategies had positive impacts on students’ interest of participation, learning, discussion, self-growth, self-examination, “self-recognition”, “care of peers”, “acceptance of others who are different from them” and “respect of the lives of animals.” (p.58)

Akın (1993) studied third graders' socialization skills through creative drama instruction. The experimental group received a ten-week drama course; the control group did not. The Moreno sociometry test was administered as pre- and post-test to both groups. At the end of the experiment, there was an increase in the socialization level of the experimental group. Yassa (1999) investigated high school students' perception of drama enactment on their social interactions. Sample interviews were conducted at two high schools which consisted of 2 male and 4 female students and 3 teachers. Findings of the study showed that drama as performance enhanced students' social interaction. Yassa (1999) also stated that drama as performance enhanced high school students' self-confidence, self-image, and self-efficacy. Farris and Parke (1993) carried out a study on 5 sixth grade students who participated in a three-week session drama workshop to find out what students thought about drama and how it helped them in the classroom. The sample group composed of 19 gifted students and the drama instructor was individually interviewed at the end of the experiment. During the three-week session, students were asked several verbal questions related to their drama activities. According to the findings, students suggested that this approach created an atmosphere of acceptance, increased cooperation, self-confidence, self-actualization, and empathy. Students could freely take risks without negative peer pressure. After the researcher investigated and observed a fifth-grade class for eight months, it was clear that Wetterstrand's (2002) conceptions of educational drama and critical thinking are significantly related. All students who participated in drama enriched classes and student interviews were video-recorded and served as the raw data for the researcher. The study confirmed students' critical thinking skills emerged in drama activities. Fischer (1989) examined the effects of drama enactments on cognition. A total of 107 junior high students participated in the study. Both the test and control groups received instruction in the school district's mythology studies classes. Analysis of the data resulted in significant correlation between drama and reasoning or logic and critical thinking. Students in the test group who experienced drama as performance scored significantly higher logic, reasoning, and abstract thinking scores compared to the control group.

The high school students' learning motivation, creativity, and other skills such as fashion design closely associated with self-image issues were stimulated by drama performance activities (Su, 2006). Porteous (2003) investigated the value of drama in the development of the awareness of self as perceived by young people between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. She interviewed 5 participants in drama performances from urban settings to get their opinions. Considering participant responses, she concluded drama as performance was helpful for young people's understanding of themselves. They stated that they knew when they had done excellent work. Gorjian et al. (2010) conducted a study with 60 students to investigate whether drama rehearsals could reduce the psychological pressure of memorizing the content in isolation. Most

of the teachers were trained to follow prescribed techniques and the study could find no values to students of teacher stories of practice due to the fact that the teacher's content and personal practical knowledge was invalid for the younger students (as quoted in Spilchuck, 2009).

2. Connections between drama education and teaching

The growth in using drama/theater education in schools had been incorporated drama-related learning activities into the school curriculum. Teachers became more aware of the potential of drama for motivating learning in teaching different subjects (Ward, 1930). Drama can also assist teachers in their teaching, for example, Downs, Javidi, and Nussbaum (1988) carried out a research on award-winning teachers who worked at secondary and college levels by using drama education, the results demonstrated that those award-winning teachers use drama activities often in their teaching. In another case, Özmen (2010) conducted a mixed-method experiment to measure the impact of a drama course on nonverbal immediacy behavior. Immediacy behavior in this educational context refers to behavior, either verbal or nonverbal, that brings about a feeling of physical or psychological closeness between teachers and students. This could include anything from facial gestures and expressions to clothing worn. A total of forty-four teachers at an English language teaching (ELT) department in Turkey served as the experimental group in Özmen's experiment. There were twenty-three teachers who participated in the acting course for fourteen weeks; twenty-one teachers were in the control group. Both groups were administered the pre- and post-tests. Qualitative data was used to collect teachers' reflections, observations for trainees, teacher trainers and administrator of the department. The results indicated that the nonverbal immediacy behavior of pre-service teacher trainees improved significantly via the drama course. Moreover, prospective teachers displayed a remarkable level of advancement in constructing their professional identities, such as:

...offering acting activities, leads teacher trainees to develop their nonverbal immediacy behavior; contributes to the development process of teacher identity in pre-service teacher trainees...acting activities and techniques can be adapted to pre-service teacher education and suggested for use by teacher trainers without a background in acting or performing arts; ...considering teaching as a role to be rehearsed and [practiced] in the pre-service years; ...contributes to the development process of teacher identity and to a professional perspective towards the occupation in pre-service teacher trainees. Teacher identity can be studied, rehearsed, developed and supported in pre-service teacher education via a syllabus based on acting theories and practice, and offering acting activities. The process of the development of the teacher identity can be identified in certain hierarchical stages as awareness, control, autonomy, self-confidence and self-esteem. While awareness, control and autonomy were found to be hierarchical, self-confidence and self-esteem were observed as an increasing variable during these initial stages (p.12).

3. The unique trait of drama brings teachers and students together

Numerous researchers have used drama as a teaching method to increase students' English proficiency. Research shows the effectiveness of drama in students' development from different age groups. It is suggested that drama is especially useful and effective for teachers in teaching because of its unique traits which make learning enjoyable, fun, challenging, and relevant to real-life concerns. Participating in different role-play situations allows students to explore actions, issues, and relationships with others (Wagner, 1999). The circumstance that during the rehearsals and the performance of a play, the students gain long-term learning experiences in relative to language, literature and culture along with significant perceptions contributing to their personal development (Marini-Maio & Ryan-Scheutz, 2010). Dunn and Stinson (2011) conclude that: "When drama learning experiences are planned and implemented by teachers who are concerned with, and aware of, dramatic form and we are able effectively to manage the four roles of actor, director, playwright and teacher, across both the macro and micro levels of planning and implementation, the language outcomes for students are enhanced." (p.630) The so-called 'Process drama' involved the interactions between students and teachers in challenging activities which the teachers directing the class and the students take on various roles, such as actor, director, as well as observer. Over the teaching units in the classroom, there is a continuous output in the tangible developments. This learning and teaching process require teachers and learners to act both verbally and non-verbally in the phrases of preparation, re-enactment and reflection. The learner will systematically improve the use of their linguistic and cultural abilities and knowledge in a variety of ways (Bowell & Heap, 2001).

4. Drama pedagogy in foreign language teaching and learning

"Over the course of the past two to three decades drama pedagogy has advanced to become an important reference discipline in Foreign Language" (Schewe, 2013, p.12) Huang (2012) conducted one study (examining 20 pupils from fourth grade) to combine process drama and puppetry on children's literacy learning. The results revealed that the quality of speaking, listening, reading, literacy, and poetic writing was improved. Therefore, this study demonstrated that the combination of these two teaching mediums might have significant contributions in language and literacy development. Drama-based activities have positive effects on language development, self-development, and communication skills according to several additional empirical researchers. Drama not only helps students' on language and literacy development, but also makes difficult and unfamiliar texts such as the plays of Shakespeare easier for students as evidenced in a study by Chang and Su (2000) where they used a group of 37 daytime junior students in the elective drama class who participated in the drama activities for a Shakespeare

class. The data therein showed that dramatized scenes assist students in overcoming the difficult text of Shakespeare. Through dramatic performance methods, students found that Shakespeare was not as difficult as they once thought, and it made the class more interesting to incorporate performance with the text-based teaching method. Even though students' speaking skills did not progress in that particular study, according to the results of the students' survey, through the performance approach to the course, students enjoyed Shakespeare and overcame their learning difficulties in this class. Students also believed that it was invaluable to 'act out' scenes from real dramas in a theater course. Dramatic performances increased the students' interest in understanding the language, drama techniques, and role analysis in Shakespeare (Chang & Su, 2002).

Dowdy (1998) found that English drama enhances students' speaking skills and also retrains their intonation. In addition, through drama performances students' speaking and listening abilities can be supported and enhanced by the activity. Dunkel (1986) and Smith (1984) preceded Dowdy with the same basic results. Drama/theater in education is it is strongly recommended as a teaching methodology in the EFL field as an ideal way of bringing together the skills of foreign language learning, since acting skills include breathing, clear articulation of sounds, pace of the speech, tempo, intonation, and so on (Scott, 2007). Chen (2012) integrated educational drama strategies into English teaching and the results showed that educational drama strategies were "interesting", "active" and "impressive" to participants which increased students' motivation and abilities of listening, speaking, reading and writing. In sum, there are numerous empirical researches demonstrating that drama can be used in education as a teaching method on literacy, mathematics, science, communication skills, verbal creativity, socialization skills, and self-development and so on. As a result, teachers can integrate drama activities to make classes vivid and interesting to motivate students in class. From the studies stated above, drama education has been extensively used in different subjects with different student ages.

5. Drama education and school community-based research and practice

From the school's standpoint, resource sharing, working partnership and common understanding on the basis of mutual service, these three elements should be able to promote the common development of the relationship between school and the community. The direction of education reform is to strengthen the relationship of the school and the community in order to increase student learning opportunities. The concept of "school community, community in the school" is the best portrayal of the direction of education reform because education and community are closely related. For this reason, schools should "make the best use of social resources" and motivate the community to provide more staff and funding to assist schools'

development and improve teaching environments. The school also needs to be opening up and actively participating in community activities, so that schools and communities have a good and close interaction on both the effective implementation of using of community resources to really combine school curriculum development and community life (Shan, 2002).

For way of comparison with overseas educational direction, according to Honig, Kahne and McLaughlin (2001) as well as McLaughlin & Talbert (2001) in the last 20 years, the United States has “to strengthen the relationship between the school and the community to enhance learning. In this approach the students’ learning opportunities can be summarized into four categories: The first category, called a “connection with the school's service plan” (school-linked services initiatives), for the various services provided by the school community, including service and health and personnel. The second category, as (community service or service learning programs) so that the community’s children and young people to have more opportunities to participate in community activities to enhance their chances of learning. The third category, school programs lead to employment (school to work initiatives), to allow local businesses to provide educational opportunities to youth. The fourth category was provided with community-based agencies and organizations (community-based organization) services, so that young people get the opportunity to grow and develop (as cited in Shan, 2002). It recognizes drama-based teaching and learning as Eisner’s (2008) artistic approach, that it an art and shares unique insights and learning opportunities to include the aesthetic field such as theatre, music, visual art, dance, film, performance art (as cited in Schewe, 2013). However, most of the studies investigated the elementary and high school levels and few research studies were conducted by using drama at the university level and even fewer studies used drama activities in a community-based learning service environment. In this study, drama could be a perfect match for a community-based action research project such as a service learning one where participants serve at the Civic Theater. In so doing, this action research provides an opportunity to link drama learning and community service at the Danhai Civic Theater to contribute performance art to the community while providing the said benefits to the students who participate.

6. Drama education and service-learning

"Service Learning" is a "teaching" and "learning" approach, which can link together the experiences of community service, academic learning, and the development of personal growth and civic responsibility. The service is integrated into various academic disciplines, so that students learn more effectively and become good citizens. "Service learning" is a voluntary service and also a trend to solve social problems and meet social needs. In 2001 the United Nations designated that year as the "International Volunteer Year", and soon through our

"Volunteer Service Act" bill; this concept has been involved in many service learning objects in terms of young people participating in volunteer activities and thus promoting service-learning as part of an important resource for our country (Chao, 2008). Lin (2006) considered service learning as an effective pedagogy method, which includes academic study; and by requiring some structural reflective operations linked to community service, mutually reinforcing for each other, the benefits are far beyond mere service or learning in itself (p. 171). The objectives for the service providers are for using the structured arrangements through a planned process of reflection and evaluation of social service activities to accomplish the needs of people who are served, and to promote learning and development and community development service for the providers. "Reflection" and "reciprocity" are the two key concepts and elements for the central core value of "service learning" (Yang, 2002). In 1999 the Commission for National and Community Service provided the definition of "service learning" as one of the learning methods that learners, through active participation in complete and organized service experience, get learning, learn cooperation, reciprocity, diversity and grow as human beings (Haug, 2000 & 2002). Therefore, service-learning is a teaching method, a kind of "reciprocal" relationship, with an attention to the process of reflection, solution of social problems, and having a tendency to meet social needs. In addition, there are "many different universities [which] have incorporated service-learning into their curricula to address the contextual, motivational, and multidisciplinary team needs" (Chang, Wang, Chen and Liao, 2011, p. 238).

To fully understand the connection this paper makes, it is important to ask why drama education was used in this community-based action research. Drama, as an 'embodied experience', creates a deeper understanding of dramatic art which provides a platform for an intensive learning experience for the students. It is the intention of a drama education to benefit from the wealth of forms found in the arts for teaching and learning purposes, above and beyond the procedures usually associated with foreign language teaching and learning such as general pedagogy, linguistics and literature.

According to Chang, Wang, Chen, and Liao (2011), "researchers should try out their theories with practitioners in real situations and real organizations." (p. 237) In order to incorporate an expert's professionalism with drama learning, the study began with a Senior Play titled: *The Dream of Queen Esther*, run by an Associate Professor and Play Director Dr. Scott at Aletheia University in 2013. It includes practices through a six-month cyclical process which involve planning, acting, observing, evaluating, and reflecting at a school community action research which provides students with service learning opportunities and benefits of the goals of this study. However, few studies were found by drama effectiveness with service learning in the university level. The findings may help to close the gap between school and community for building good interactive relationships as defined by Reason and Bradbury (2008), "as a

participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowledge in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which is believed is emerging at the historical moment of the research. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities” (p. 4). Since the study naturally incorporates the investigation of the professional and practical knowledge displayed from the drama teacher’s perspectives and the researcher’s observations toward school community service and provide the insight to understand the difficulties, problems, and suggestions on building the campus-community partnerships that this study seeks to improve.

Method

Research Design

A qualitative research is seen as the best suited to provide the local grounding and detail required to understand the influence of short-term drama education used in a community-based action research from the students’, faculty teacher’s, and observer’s perspectives toward it (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). This study took place in a university settlement, Aletheia University, located in Taiwan. This study analyzes English major students’ behaviors at drama activities, the faculty director’ and the observer’s perspectives on performing a short-term senior drama play- *The Dream of Queen Esther*, a biblical drama in three acts written by American playwright Walter Ben Hare in 1920.

Participants

Nineteen English department students (6 male and 13 female students) from the senior play class directed by Aletheia University faculty teacher, Dr. Scott, performed *The Dream of the Queen Esther*. Dr. Scott has taught drama class since year 1984 at Soong Sil University, Seoul, South Korea for 5 years, at Fu-Jen Catholic University from year 1989 to 2009, at Aletheia University from year 2009 to now and other schools. She has taught drama courses and directed drama plays more than 40 years and this person is surely an “experienced teacher” for sharing her experiences on drama education. The researcher and observer, Dr. Su, has taught English classes from 2008 to the present at Aletheia University.

Theoretical Foundations

“Action research is a family of practices of living inquiry that aims, in a great variety of ways, to link practice and ideas in the service of human flourishing. It is not so much a methodology as an orientation to inquiry that seeks to create participative communities of inquiry

in which qualities of engagement, curiosity and question posing are brought to bear on significant practical issues.” (Reason & Bradbury, 2008, p.1) The researcher/observer used an action research approach to seek deeper meaning or new understandings by interviewing Dr. Scott and the theater students, and observing during the preparation time and final performance at Danhai Civic Center. The transcripts, letters, reflections, journal entries and so on were collected to understand and represent Dr. Scott’s experiences. That is experience, discovery, interpretation, understanding and experience of the cycle to explore the core of the problems into the framework. In particular, her engagement in the drama pedagogy reflected not only her four decades of teaching drama courses, but also her involvement in all aspects including designing and making most of the costumes herself.

Results and Discussion

The community-based action research was conducted by Dr. Scott from planning, acting, observing, evaluating, and reflecting at a school community project. Action research in essence integrates practical problem-solving with theory building. Researchers “explore the experiences and difficulties the insiders had in their problems and confirm what researchers saw in their field work. It helps raise the real issues behind the scene and shed light on the possible solution.” (Chang, Wang, Chen, & Liao, 2011, p.239) These findings from Dr. Scott’s and the (observer) researcher’s action research for this campus-community project have provided insights into the drama play as a key for professional development and community service learning for university students.

Setting (planning)

This section provide a description through Dr. Scott’s stories when working with the Danhai Civic Center Theater on the planning stage (six months ahead for the project begins) for the action research, the question was asked for Dr. Scott, “What are the difficulties or problems you encountered to work with the community at Danhai Civic Center Theater while using their location or doing the rehearsals?” Dr. Scott pointed out that:

The staff from the community (Danhai Civic Center Theater) was supportive; when the administrator there realized our limited budget, she told me about the Danhai Civic Center theater facility. We arranged the dates for the performance week. The chair Dr. Lee read the Chinese instructions carefully and she noted that in fact the theater would be free for our department production. The only charge would be for the air conditioning. The theater staffs at the Danhai Civic Center usually were not there during the day because they mainly worked in the evenings. I found out that the Danhai Theater did not have any color light filters for lighting design. The final time I could see the stage was on the night before the play performance when the theater staff helped me to put the color light filters on certain key

lighting instruments. I was not able to borrow very many filters of the right colors, so I chose as many deep blue and amber as were available, and two magenta filters for special spotlights. The two Danhai theater staff members were very helpful and nice. Although they are working for the city government with time restrictions, they gave us much more time. The other offices and staff in charge of the rest of the building had nothing to do with the theater and were not very accommodating (T20131220Q1).

It is important to make sure if there is a rental fee or check on extra facilities needed at the planning stage initial usage. The difficulties for the teacher were not only the schedule of the Danhai Civic Center, but also the absence and inexperience of the theater staff at the Danhai Civic Center, and the facilities being somewhat insufficient. Therefore, a clear point for in planning is that extra expanses on transportation fees are needed when performing off campus at a community. The experience of the organizer in the planning stage allowed for better perceptions of performance and a reduction of anxiety at the time of the drama performance. As seen from the observations of the teacher and the researcher, planning incorporates details which are strongly aided by experience. These details allow for smoother, more focused work in all areas of the action research.

Identification of the Difficulties/Problems

There were several difficulties which Dr. Scott faced in the beginning of the rehearsals. These difficulties allowed for a development in identifying the problems which were present in the activities and therefore aided in defining the actual goals to be achieved. Some technical problems arose: Dr. Scott had less than an hour to learn the Danhai Civic Theater light control board and then 15 minutes before the curtain, the theater assistant there introduced her to a new way to run the lights by groups. She had to learn this without any time to practice (T20131212O1). Another significant issue, from Dr. Scott's observations, was that students seemed to feel they could do their parts without rehearsals and did not feel they needed to practice with the faculty director. Dr. Scott indicated specifically in her comments that: The group failed to achieve team spirit and consequently, the lines remained stiff and artificial, without adequate feelings and interactions in the performance. This students' attitudes were completely opposite from last spring's play group (*Once upon a Deserted Island*), who loved rehearsals and came twice as much as required. They also worked very hard on voice and diction and English pronunciation. Consequently, they could be clearly understood outdoors and without microphones. In this year's cast, however, there were only two actors who could be understood, and even then their vocal quality was inadequate to convey the emotions properly (T20131212O1). The results spurred the researcher to question why the group failed to achieve a team spirit, while the group from the previous year was so much more motivated and successful.

It may be as Dr. Scott said that “*Where this play became extremely challenging was students were in the lack of understanding about the purpose of rehearsals and high standards for a stage performance.*” (T20131212Q1). A great number of researchers agree that drama-type activities generate skills that are less repetitive, more affective, and innovative to increase students’ critical thinking and cognitive reasoning (de la Roche, 1993; Harvard-Project-Zero, 2001; Knapp, Shields, & Turnbull, 1995). In addition, Chang and Su (2002) utilized drama in their listening and speaking class with 31 night-school freshmen in the experimental group and 30 students in the control group in Taiwan. The findings demonstrated that students’ oral expression skills improved significantly in the experimental group. In particular, their pronunciation, expression, confidence, and team-work were significantly increased. However, the results of this study differ greatly with Chang and Su’s (2002) study. As compared with the students last year, students this year displayed stiff and artificial acting with emotionless lines and a failure to achieve and maintain a team spirit. In addition, unhelpful situations occurred unexpectedly, such as with the light control at Danhai Civic Center. Those problems might make implementing a drama play at a community theater appear difficult; nevertheless, through the experience from this campus-community service, an insight can be gleaned into how such an encounter could happen when linking a school community project with a short-term drama play. Identifying problems in advance during the planning stage is crucial to a smoothly successful experience. Identifying the problem areas within the research pointed out one major point as stressed by Ballantyne, Packer & Bain (1997) in that the way to improve language skills, team work, etc. comes from practice/rehearsals. However, as Dr. Scott points out, the students didn’t feel this was necessary. If the educational goals are to benefit from past research the lessons of that research should be heeded as best as possible. Here the motivational problem, students being uninterested, was a major detractor and therefore possibly the major reason for the difference from the results of Chang and Su’s (2002) study.

Initial Intervention

The drama teaching method is currently a mainstream theory (drama in education) for university foreign language learning. The variety of learning styles of drama motivates students to learn; its principle is to encourage the students’ active participation rather than passive learning. In fact, creative drama is especially widely used in foreign language classes in many universities (Conard, 1998; McCaslin, 1990). However, the results of the teacher’s observations and feedbacks were negative. Dr. Scott mentioned that:

Students participated in the drama course for getting more credits with low motivation of performing on stage and low attendance from rehearsals. In this case, the play was chosen during the summer, and auditions for *Dream of Queen Esther* were held at the very beginning of classes in September (and this was the first time the play was performed at

Danhai civic Center). Therefore, there were a three full months of preparation time of acting. Some points are different from previous years and examples (normally it will take a full year for an annual play on campus every year) (T20131227O2). According to Dr. Scott and the theater students, inadequacies in the performance were in large part caused by students who were merely seeking academic credits and lacked genuine motivation or proper attitudes to perform. This prevented the production from attaining the high standards reached in previous years. Additionally, some students who were initially cast in a role were subsequently dismissed from their parts due to absences from rehearsals and lack of progress in learning lines (R20140115O1).

Acting

Students indicated that three months of preparation for acting was not enough for a play. Practicing over a greater period of time would allow actors to integrate their parts better, creating a better outcome in the play. Students could also be trained to perform more complex tasks. Because student members were often required to utilize the technical, professional, and linguistic skills of acting, the drain on students' time, energy and motivation could be considerably higher when performers served for very short terms.

There were several noteworthy observations about the acting performances which also provide insight into identifying problems with the overall activity. The student who initially was appointed as the student director turned out to have a serious negative attitude toward the faculty director and attempted to be a divisive element to the very last. The student who was appointed to replace her lacked English skills, organization skills, and overall competence to be sufficiently helpful. He came from the Communication Skills class and performed very poorly onstage-about the worst performance by a student the teacher had ever directed (T20131223R1). The results showed that the poor outcome of the performance of having a short term drama play as campus-community service may clearly be seen as a challenge for both students and teachers as they absorb time and resources in this type of project (R20140115O2). Even though the Gorjian, Moosavinia and Jabripour (2010) study showed that drama can be effective for developing student's understanding of English literature, the teacher, however, tried to simplify the play script to meet the students' abilities and aided to her understanding in the classroom where she works with students. For a short-term play like this, it might be difficult and challenging for students to memorize long monologue speeches. Dr. Scott cut about one-third of the original play script- deleting all the long monologue speeches and several roles. She took some ideas from another, newer experimental scripts and added the short visual scenes of the captives, the Astrologer/fortune-teller, and the Scroll scenes. She also changed the music, sound effects, and dance of the original play to Jewish and Persian themes including the belly dance choreography and live guitarist. These changes were made to suit the students' abilities and to make the play performance more visually and musically attractive for the audience(T20131220Q1). Dr. Scott's

long experience with different students indicates that she has knowledge and understanding of the abilities of students in familiar educational settings such as the university here in Taiwan. Her assessment in simplifying the script and adjusting it for players and audience was understandable and, in this case, necessary.

Follow-up Interventions

Evaluation and reflection in an action approach requires in-depth knowledge of perceptions; follow-up interviews were conducted to obtain the best possible information for these purposes. The implementing of a campus-community project at Danhai Civic Center gave rise to critical and somewhat overwhelming situations which needed to be overviewed and the observations of them discussed. Two critical situations had to be dealt with on the performance day. No student was capable or willing to handle the light cues; therefore, the teacher had to do this herself. That meant she had to be in the light control room on the third floor behind the balcony because they could only run through the play once before that evening. The teacher tried to learn the various dimmer control numbers and make a cue sheet during this time, but it was also necessary for her to do the set decoration onstage and the makeup for all the characters except the four female roles. Remarkably, after putting filters on the lights, she went back to her office to finish sewing costumes, which took her all night and she did not go home before meeting the students, truck, and taxis in the morning. The weather was very cold both in the theater and outside, but because we were listed to pay for the air conditioning, the a/c must have been on full blast. This is mentioned since it is relevant to perceptions and impressions. Environment has a powerful effect on performance and reaction to others (T2014116R1).

Dr. Scott identified some more interventions:

Even with their nice support with the lights and my efforts to protect the backstage from outside students, the performance was not up to the level of previous years. The student actor playing the role of Haggai never learned his lines and of course, stumbled through them onstage. Miley failed to do the PowerPoint (to show the Chinese caption of the scripts for the audiences) with the translation; however another student managed to produce a flier with a printout summary of the play in Chinese. The senior students also failed to do the program and both fliers and programs were distributed to the audience eventually because I appointed one of my sophomore students to give out programs, since the seniors failed to do this as well (T2014116R3).

Therefore, the results showed that an experienced drama teacher was a must for the drama course and production play, the teacher who directs a drama play needs to know about the holistic art including music, costumes, settings, make-up, literature, and so on. Another problem which appeared on her reflection was the limited budgets, suitable places on campus for a performance,

lacking of awareness and appreciation for the professional field of educational arts from the system of high education. From the teacher's reflection, we can see the MOE and schools in Taiwan did not support the drama activities in the first place and that was the reason why the teacher needed to find a place off campus to perform the play, even though it created an opportunity to link a school community project, however, these problems need to be taken as a consideration as an educational reform to identify and clarify the problems that existed. (T20131220Q2).

Reflections

The reflection from Dr. Scott as follows:

Most of the students this year had part-time jobs or they did not like to stay after school for the rehearsals, they were much less enthusiastic, hardworking, and responsible compared to other years, which were the reasons why Dr. Scott was forced to do most of the jobs and it is a pity that students did not benefit on "learning by doing" from the drama and service learning process. None of the students ever mastered the English language component of his/her role, and all seemed unable or unwilling to remember from one practice to the next the authentic pronunciation and inflection of the lines. Attendance at rehearsals was very irregular (T2014116R4)

The results from Dr. Scott were also very different from Ryan-Scheutz and Colangelo (2004) who did an experimental study on 11 participants in a university level setting with different levels of foreign language proficiency to examine whether the experience of using theater is particularly effective for university students. The results showed that consistent tendencies toward improvement in oral proficiency, vocabulary, reading comprehension, listening, writing, knowledge of language structures, and recognition of idioms. The data demonstrated an overall positive influence on factors such as students' oral and reading proficiency, self-confidence, and general enthusiasm for the language and culture; thereby confirming the benefits of using theater in L2 learning.

The reflection from the observer (researcher)

The results from the researcher were consonant with Ryan-Scheutz and Colangelo (2004) as follows: The mission can be accomplished only by someone like Dr. Scott who is very patient and passionate for drama education can do the work. She was a dedicated colleague (R20140215R2). My observations gave me the opinion that students did a great performance in a short time and the audience was entertained and satisfied with students' performance. Although Dr. Scott has a very high standard in drama plays and I could tell she was not satisfied with the

result of the performance, I see the entire drama activity in a positive way. That is, I see students' tremendous progress and the fantastic job on acting and English pronunciation that they did. Students liked to show off and they had tried their best to perform on stage. It was obvious that they enjoyed themselves with citizens' applauses for accomplishing a play in six months off campus. Performing at Danhai Civic Center generates goodwill in the community that benefits both students and citizens (R20140225O4).

The advantages students and the teacher see in having a drama community service

The opportunity to perform a drama play and gain acting experience also has important effects on students (20140111S1; 20140112 S8). The positive atmosphere within the learning process and the encouragement aroused between classmates is a form of cooperation that can bring relational values and intimacy to the students (20140111S4). Students who were shy, after the training they had, changed their acting skills, expression ability, English ability, the sense of teamwork, body language expression, and the performance on stage and in presenting their own acting styles. Especially, stage fright can be overcome from the repetitive drills as well as learning interest and performing experience being increased (20140315 T1). The experience of the drama play especially will be a good method to acquire skills, enhance a personal record for a resume or even get a job more smoothly (20140112 S8).

The result can be incorporated with DiPietro (1987) in that drama activities are the best method to use for providing a service for a community because they are entertaining and fun. They also provide the opportunity for students' proficiency of language learning because English "intonation" and "clarity" are two considerations in learning a language for Asian students. English drama performance provides chances, training opportunity, and practice in the interesting rehearsal environment for students to speak English more fluently. The observational opinion of the researcher is different from Dr. Scott because the standards of drama performance are different between the two. The researcher concludes that drama can bring students' positive influences, improvements, enthusiasm, and development for language and service learning. The learning process was not a smooth progression and the students' attitudes might not have been as active during the community service as desired by the teacher or researcher, but the result of final drama production at Danhai Civic Center was profound, meaningful and memorable for the students as observed by the researcher. In other words, the results have clear implications that drama as theater or performance should be adopted as a teaching method, especially as a semester-long course within the foreign language department curriculum.

Evaluation

There were some positive developments during the drama practices. Dr. Scott stated that even though there were stumbling blocks in the process of drama play, there were some nice surprises including: The actual core group of senior students was small from the beginning and very weak in English language proficiency and teamwork skills. In this situation, three of the sophomore students came to the rescue as stage crew; and the actor who played the King was recruited from the Communication Skills class. He successfully learned his role and made remarkable progress in his language and social skills as well. The student who handled the sound effects and music was another example of someone who made a lot of progress. Although the teacher had to research and download all of the sound and music cues; the student was able to use his skills to burn the CDs and run the sound successfully at rehearsals and during the performance (T2014122R5). The results support Jacoby (1996) and Kendall (1990), who give their definition of service-learning as “an educational experience or program mode,” and it is an experience of education, where the students are involved in community service activities and also seeks to plan to create opportunities to promote students’ learning and development. The data of evaluation also incorporated with Duatepe’s study in 2004, reaffirms that drama/ theater encourages group practice and increases students’ self-confidence and self-actualization. This learning process led to more substantial learning of literary materials and helped students to experience a deeper sense of sympathy; consequently, their motivation to learn was heightened. The learners were fully engaged in learning and produced necessary content in action, while being liberated from stressful memorization conditions. Drama activities made learning easier and understanding better by supporting active involvement, creating a collaborative study environment, giving chances to improvise daily life examples, giving opportunity to communicate, providing meaningful learning, supporting long-lasting learning, and improving self-awareness for students.

The results, as same as Su’s (2006) study, showed the students like this kind of experimental teaching of drama as performance, in particular by rehearsing, and public performance. Such courses may be a “fusion language teaching” as well as “multiple intelligences” and “collaborative learning” teaching methods to enhance students’ learning motivation and language abilities, and may inspire students in English language proficiency and creativity through drama as performance (Su, 2006). In conclusion, the result coincide with Wessels and Maley (1987), drama could be used in language teaching because it applies to in-depth communication skills making it one of the important language learning theories. The concept of “school community, community in the school” is the best picture of the direction of education reform because education and community are closely related. The *Danhai Civic Center Theater* is a professional performance venue with a beautiful, mobile sound shell which is especially arranged for concerts

and which worked well for the “walls” for the *Esther* setting. It also has a screen and projector; however the faculty director believed the projector was still out of order. If she had known that the seniors would not be able to make the translation PowerPoint, she would have tried to use the screen for projected scenery. This would have enhanced the visual setting much more. They were located not very far from Aletheia University, and she had already told the Music Department about their facility. Since the charges are very small, this could be an ideal place for future performances. The one drawback was that space still needed to be more suitable for rehearsals for department plays. Two dress rehearsals needed to be scheduled in the Danhai Theater to allow for adequate time to prepare the lighting and other production needs. Our production of *Esther* was the first play to be performed at Danhai; and no other university had ever used their facility before. Ideally, Aletheia University administration will see the need for a suitable theater and concert auditorium on campus in the future.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The results in the paper make it evident that starting a campus-community project with short-term drama play is not easy for both teachers and students. At the end, students did not want to leave the theater after the drama performance at Danhai Civic Center, which strongly suggests that the experience of using drama in the community service was meaningful and memorable to them. According to the reflection from Dr. Scott, an experienced teacher of art performance is a must, and problem solving skills were also required. Extra expenses needed to be taken as a consideration, when performing off campus the budget would be higher compared to a performance in your own school. The experience of using drama activities in the community helps students to have incredible memories in their lives. Dr. Scott and the researcher’s action research, observations and reflections gave educators’ insights and important details into drama education in a community-service learning activity. Some pedagogical implications for EFL teachers are as follows: there are a great variety of ways to link school professionalism with different community services; however, it is strongly recommended that using drama education at different communities such as historical sites, charity institutions and so on. However, the findings also showed that a three- month acting period for students is not enough for a profound performance. It might be better to extend the preparation time to a year as an annual play on campus.

While academic achievement is important for students, it is a teachers’ responsibility to emphasize the additional benefits of service-learning, including fostering civic responsibility, commitment to service, and development of key personal values. The institution of an annual play as a tradition at Aletheia University is recommended in order to keep a high standard of performance at a community location and to allow enough time for the extensive preparation that

the project requires. This would permit organizers to deal more smoothly with student problems, avoid last-minute uncertainties, and allow a strong focus on research goals such as language skill gains and other benefits that come with campus-community activities. The descriptive results presented here raise a variety of issues that are ripe for further investigation, not only for the program at Aletheia University, but also for all the universities in Taiwan or elsewhere. The study has revealed indicative relationships among factors from students' status, teachers' experiences and drama education for a campus-community service; however, this study was unable to examine the interrelationships among these factors. Future multivariate analyses will allow a more distinctive understanding of these relationships. In addition, future research will explore what can be learned from using more sophisticated definitions of drama education and campus-community service available for future study.

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The Endless Process of Becoming and the Transformation of Identity in Amitav Ghosh's *Sea of Poppies*

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Abstract

The postmodern identity is always in a state of becoming. The permeability of boundaries eradicated the traditional belief in a unified identity. Modernist fiction was dominated by the belief in a unique and stable identity. But postmodernists no longer highlight the centrality of the self. The concepts of wholeness, identity, authenticity and the idea of centeredness are subverted in postmodern fiction. Postmodernism refutes the notion of origin and the possibility of fixing one's identity. The postmodern self is perceived in terms of fragmentation. Accordingly, identity is an endless process of becoming. Postmodern theorists aborted the search for the nature of the self due to their certainty about the impossibility of obtaining an objective truth about anything. In addition, subjectivity does not exist because it is produced by language which is held to be slippery. Emile Benveniste shows the importance of language in building the self since "it is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject, because language alone establishes the concept of ego in reality, in its reality which is that of being" ("subjectivity in language," 40).

*Amitav Ghosh, in his novel *Sea of Poppies*, investigates into the construction of identity and the nature of the self. The characters try to transform all the internal and external forces that shape their identities mainly their historical background, their family ties and at last their memories. This transformation takes place in the ship *Ibis*. Each person escapes from a specific situation in his/her homeland. Mr Zachary Reid flees the American racial discrimination and Paulette is running away from the authoritarian European community in India. Accordingly, Deeti becomes Aadi and Kalua transforms into Maddow Colver. The characters' reconstruction of their identities conveys the resistance to Ghosh's text to adopt a stable and solid identity. National identity is shaped by fluidity which is best seen through Paulette who despite her French origin, she easily identified with Bengali culture including food, language and the dressing style. The characters are engaged in a process of rediscovery. Paulette runs away from her benefactor's sexual desires by assimilating with the Indian culture and escaping her European ancestry.*

The characters' identities are put at the margin due to exploitation, migration and colonialism. These outsiders tried to travel from the margin to the centre. In fact, the orphaned Paulette enters the ship disguised as a man, Zachary Reid passes for a white person and Deeti escapes her husband's funeral pyre and changes her name together with her daughter. The reader notices the ambivalent state of the characters due to their desire to eradicate their memories and past identities and form new ones that help them integrate with their present condition.

Key words: Identity, Postmodernism, Becoming, Masquerade, Transformation, Displacement

1. Introduction

Sea of Poppies refers to identity as being shaped by the postcolonial situation of diaspora and migrancy and the postmodern belief in change. In fact, postmodern identity is always in a state of becoming. The permeability of boundaries eradicated the traditional belief in a unified identity. Identity is a referential notion defined by the Structuralist theory as located in culture, Marxist theory links it with ideology while Foucault stresses its formation by discourse. In the Indian English literature, identity is formed by history, nation, religion and other concepts. Thanks to technology and media, the transformation of the self has become an easy process. In light of the postmodern theory, we now speak about the erasure of the subject. In his novel *Sea of Poppies*, Amitav Ghosh investigates the construction of identity and the nature of the self. The characters try to transform all the internal and external forces that shape their identities mainly their historical background, their family ties and at last their memories. This transformation takes place in the ship Ibis. Ghosh refutes the concept of national identity which is based on the belief in borders. He deconstructs the fixed interpretations of the national and cultural identity.

2. The Theoretical Part

Modernist fiction was dominated by the belief in a unique and stable identity. But postmodernists no longer highlight the centrality of the self. The concepts of wholeness, identity, authenticity and the idea of centeredness are subverted in postmodern fiction. Postmodernism refutes the notion of origin and the possibility of fixing one's identity. Following Ferdinand De Saussure's binary oppositions, identity can be defined as relational, where the existence of one person relies on its difference from another. Identity is seen as fixed and unchanging but it is also marked by difference and polarization. Difference is not only a source of heterogeneity but also a means of exclusion and marginalisation. Essentialism imposes a set of characteristics on a particular group. As a matter of fact, all the members of each group are identified according to the same feature and all those who don't have that characteristic are considered as others.

Unlike Essentialists who tend to establish one aspect of identity such as gender as the dominant one, postmodernists celebrate diversity and instability in order to eliminate marginalization and oppression. The postmodern self is perceived in terms of fragmentation. Accordingly, identity is an endless process of becoming. Postmodern theorists aborted the search for the nature of the self due to their certainty about the impossibility of obtaining an objective truth about anything. In addition, subjectivity does not exist because it is produced by language which is held to be slippery. Emile Benveniste shows the importance of language in building the self since "it is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject, because language alone establishes the concept of ego in reality, in its reality which is that of being" ("subjectivity in

language,” 40). Consequently, relying on Derrida’s concept of deferral of meaning, the perception of the self as stable and unified is a mere illusion.

If the Cartesian subject is defined as rational and embodying the centre of the world, Foucault then dislodges the self from its egocentric and domineering position by refuting the claims for unity and asserting its changing nature. Identity is marked by disintegration. Foucault articulates the death of the subject since he conceives it as a mere effect of power. In *The Order of Things* (1973), Foucault demonstrates that the subject is a modern construction “before the end of the eighteenth century, man did not exist [...] He is a quite recent creature, which the demiurge of knowledge fabricated with its own hands less than two hundred years ago.” (308)

Diaspora and migration are associated with colonialism and its aftermath. To escape colonialism’s shaping of their selves, the characters in the novel decided to belong to a new nation. Displacement is one of the most important themes in Ghosh’s novels. The reader notices the ambivalent state of the characters due to their desire to eradicate their memories and past identities and form new ones that help them integrate with their present condition. This fact reflects the postmodern concern with meaninglessness and absurdity of existence. The characters try to transform all the internal and external forces that shape their identities mainly their historical background, their family ties and at last their memories. This transformation takes place in the ship *Ibis*. Each person escapes from a specific situation in his or her homeland. Mr Zachary Reid flees the American racial discrimination and Paulette is running away from the authoritarian European community in India. Accordingly, Deeti becomes Adii and Kalua transforms into Maddow Colver. The reconstruction of identity conveys the resistance of Ghosh’s text to adopt a stable and solid identity.

The other is represented according to stereotypical images which enact the colonizer as the object of knowledge. In their missionary zeal to civilize the other, the imperialists fix their identity as superior and civilized. Western thought is based on fixing a centre and excluding the margin. The white man is seen as the norm for universal humanity while the other is an inferior being with a shattered identity. The denial of an autonomous identity for the colonized fuelled his desire to possess one through the imitation of the colonizer. The colonized’s identity is described as being ambiguous and unstable. Western civilization’s grand narratives, including the longing for fixing identity, which in fact entails otherness and injustice no longer, maintain their credibility.

To overcome and to undermine the binary between the self and the other, Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994), stresses the emergence of a liminal state, which is a new form of identity posited in-between cultures and which refers to the impurity of both cultures. Homi Bhabha emphasized the loss of fixity in identity. Liminality aims at reversing the conventional

stereotypes which are used to distinguish between the educated and civilised colonizer and the savage and backward colonised. In-betweenness is a cross-cultural exchange between the centre and the periphery. The colonial subject hybridizes Western assumptions in order to challenge the colonial rule and to assert the importance of the indigenous culture.

Hybridity is a subversion of the dominant forces. The concept of hybridity leads to the impossibility of the postcolonial subject to return to cultural purity. Bhabha points to the impossibility to fix identity and to the necessity for a cultural exchange which will contribute to the creation of a liminal state. Homi Bhabha talks about the impossibility to redefine subjectivity since the quest to recall a transparent national past on which to set an authentic national identity is impossible. After independence, many authors stressed the necessity to reformulate the indigenous identity which had been erased by colonialism.

3. Masquerade in Ghosh's *Sea of Poppies*:

In *Sea of Poppies*, identity is shaped by social, economic and political powers. Indian English literature rejects Western values and norms. Consequently, in Ghosh's novel the victims of colonialism possess the central position unlike white Westerners. The process of colonization is apparent through Mr. Burnham' and Zachary Reids' conversation highlights the superiority of Europe:

Isn't that what the mastery of the White man means for the lesser races? As I see it, Reid, the Africa trade was the greatest exercise in freedom since God led the children of Israel out of Egypt. Consider, Reid, the situation of a so-called slave in the Carolinas—is he not more freely than his brethren in Africa, groaning under the rule of any dark tyrant? (79)

Also, Mr. Justice Kendalbushe views the British Raj in India as a divine mission and calls them the upholder of civilization. Neel Rattan Halder talks about the colonizers as 'new Brahmins' to reveal their purity and superiority. However, there are some characters who disregard the superiority of the Europeans and Captain Chillingworth is one of them. He dismantles the binary opposition of colonizer/colonized by arguing that "we are no different from the Pharaohs or the Mongols: the difference is only that when we kill people we feel compelled to pretend that it is for some higher cause. It is this pretence of virtue, I promise you that will never be forgiven by history." (262)

Postmodern novels celebrate difference and blur all the hierarchical oppositions. This is exactly the case of Ghosh's novel in which the characters' relationships rise above race, class and origins. The different migrants deconstructed the barriers that divided them and forged new ties. Deeti claims that:

On the boat of pilgrims, no one can lose caste and every one is the same: it's like taking a boat to the Temple of Jagannath in Puri. From now on, and forever afterwards, we will all be ship siblings- Jahaz bhais and Jahaz bahens to each other. There is no difference between us. (356)

The ship helped them to emerge as new selves. They experience the birth of new identities called 'Jahaz-bhai' and 'jahaz-bahens.' To Deeti "all the old ties were immaterial now that sea had washed away their past." (431)

National identity is shaped by fluidity which is best seen through Paulette who despite her French origin, she identified easily with Bengali culture including food, language and the dressing style. Ghosh analyses the effects of colonialism on people. The characters are engaged in a process of rediscovery. Paulette runs away from her benefactor's sexual desires by assimilating with the Indian culture and escaping her European ancestry. Ghosh describes her attempt to conceal her identity as the following:

She had also disguised her appearance in a number of other ways: her feet were lacquered with bright vermilion *alta*; her hands and arms were covered with intricate, henna designs that left very little of skin visible; and under the cover of her veil, the line of her jaw was obscured by large, tasseled earrings... (359)

Paulette transcended the traditional belief in women as submissive and passive. She resisted the established gender identity and reclaimed the concepts of rationality and autonomy. She transformed into a woman who fights oppression and longs to establish her selfhood. Paulette represents the image of the bold woman who manages to overcome all the troubles that faced her. She succeeded to assimilate with the new alien culture and design a new identity. Women characters not only participate in social life but also they are so involved in decision making. In Ghosh's fiction, women play leading roles. Despite the fact that their roles are limited, female characters control most of the events in the novel. Ghosh exposes the patriarchal oppressive rule and women suffering as a result. Deeti is victim of the patriarchal traditional society which imposes sati in the funeral pyre of her husband.

Many other characters also tried to cope with the new environment. Zachary wanted to integrate with the laskari group. He easily coped with their speech "as if his oddly patterned speech had unloosed his own tongue" (16) and changed his eating habits "to a Laskari fare of karibat and kedgereee- spicy skillygales of rice, lentils and pickles, mixed on occasion with little bits of fish, fresh or dry...he soon grew to like the unfamiliar flavours"(23).

The novel is about the political and economic situations that triggered the emigration of Indian '*girmityas*' or indentured laborers to the Mauritius islands. The labor migration increased

during the British rule. Ghosh's novel is interested in the desperate situation of the Indian indentured laborers who were victims of the abolition of slavery which was replaced by cheap labor. Monsieur d'Epinau, the French landowner told Zachary Reid "tell Mr Burnham that I need men. Now that we may no longer have slaves in Mauritius, I must have coolies, or I am doomed" (21).

The experience of Indenture has been the most remarkable Indian migration for years. Amitav's novel is interested in the themes of indenture and identity transformation. Prior to the nineteenth century, travelling outside India was restricted to pilgrimage and trade. The indentured emigration is the first significant diasporic movement. The abolition of slavery and the Chinese policies' opposition to the opium trade led to the emergence of the *grimityas* migration. The missionary capitalist Benjamin Brightwell Burnham considers the indentured emigration as the emancipation of the Asians. He states that "when the doors of freedom were closed to the African, the Lord opened them to a tribe that was yet more needful of it-the Asiatick" (74). The indentured workers came from the poppy growing regions of India. They were victims of exploitation because they worked with low wages.

Ibis brought together people from India, Britain, China and North America. We can notice English sailors like Mr Doughty and Mr Crowle, and the American Zachary Reid and Indian lascars like Subedar Bhyro Singh and Serang Ali. The fact that Indian farmers were obliged to grow poppy instead of useful crops caused poverty and famine. The British encouraged Indian peasants to illegally cultivate and export opium to China which led to the corruption of Chinese people who became addicted to opium. Ghosh speaks about the British Raj's annihilation of the Indian's agrarian economy:

The town was thronged with hundreds of other impoverished transients, many of whom were willing to sweat themselves half to death for a few handfuls of rice. Many of these people had been driven from their villages by the flood of flowers that had washed over the countryside: lands that had once provided sustenance were now swamped by the rising tide of poppies; food was so hard to come by that people were glad to lick the leaves in which offerings were made at temples. (202)

The Opium war between China and India is apparent through Mr. Doughty who says "(T)he trouble, you know, is that Johnny Chinaman thinks he can return to the good old days, before he got his taste for opium. But there's no going back – just won't hoga" (112). The Opium is a symbol of the British Raj's oppression. Benjamin Brightwell Burnham, a leading merchant of the East India Company, explains to Zachary "that British rule in India could not be sustained without opium... the Company's annual gains from opium are almost equal to the entire revenue of . . . the United States" (115). The Opium war is mentioned in the novel through the character Deeti who

was drugged on her wedding night with opium by her mother-in-law. As a consequence, Kabutri, Deeti's daughter, is "fathered not by the husband, but by Chandan Singh, her leering, slack-jawed brother-in-law" (39). Her husband "usually remained in a state of torpid, opium-induced somnolence by the time he fell on his bed" (36). Deeti escaped the Sati ritual after her husband's death and became a servant on the Ibis. She constructed a new identity. She becomes Aditi. She:

Did not feel herself to be living in the same sense as before: a curious feeling, of joy mixed with resignation, crept into her heart, for it was as if she really had died and been delivered betimes in rebirth, to her next life: she had shed the body of the old Deeti...and was free now to create a new destiny as she willed, with whom she chose. (178)

The Ibis is a gathering of various people such as American sailors, Indian and Bengali lascars, coolies, opium cultivators, policemen, sahibs and prisoners. While Ibis is marked by fear and despair, many characters view it as a source of change and transformation of their previous identities. Faced with an unknown future, the *grimitiyas* decided to lose their sense of belonging. The intimacy felt by women toward each other proved that it's hard to maintain boundaries. Their old selves are deemed to failure. Ghosh speaks about the unity between the immigrants as the following: "from now on, and forever afterwards, we will all be ship-siblings -jabazbbais and jabazbadens- to each other. There'll be no differences between us" (328).

4. Conclusion

Diversity has become the most significant character of the ship. The displacement the character undergoes triggered a new sense of belonging. Deeti and Kalua hide their actual identity because they wanted to live a new life. Deeti changed her name:

It was on her lips to identify herself as Kabutari-ki-ma, the name by which she had been known ever since her daughter's birth... her proper, given name was the first to come to mind and since it had never been used by anyone, it was as good as any. Aditi, she said softly, I am Aditi. (233).

The characters' identities are put at the margin due to exploitation, migration and colonialism. These outsiders tried to travel from the margin to the centre. In fact, the orphaned Paulette enters the ship disguised as a man, Zachary Reid passes for a white person and Deeti escapes her husband's funeral pyre and changes her name together with her daughter.

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The various faces of intermediality in Lech Majewski's works

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Abstract

The article examines the role of intermediality in the works of one of the most famous Polish directors, Lech Majewski, who also cooperates with foreign film studios and actors. In his movies, Majewski focuses mostly on the functions of paintings, thus his works are often inspired by great artists, such as Giorgio Chirico, Bosch, Breughel. Such great inspiration is also the reason for which the director tries to present paintings into the other media – as digital images and film. This combination of different media is a really interesting and complex issue, and it is also a topic of the paper.

In the paper, the author focuses on analysis of various faces of relations between different media (mostly between painting and digital movie) in Majewski's works; it shows intermedia and intramedia configurations and strategies and explains why intermediality is so special in the director's movies.

*The paper refers to selected theories of Hans Belting, Andrzej Gwóźdź, François Soulages, Ivonne Spielman and other thinkers, creating a theoretical background for the analysis of particular movies (especially *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, *The Mill and the Cross*, *The Roe's Room*).*

Key words: intermediality, anthropology, image, medium, Lech Majewski, digital art

Introduction: Lech Majewski, an artist involved with images

One of the factors that make Lech Majewski's creations an intriguing artistic phenomenon is undoubtedly the impossibility of classifying the author and his works under a specific movement or even as the core of national art (but he has Polish roots) within the scope of which works by numerous other artists function. Majewski – a director, writer, painter, essayist, composer, set designer, “Renaissance man” – is called by critics a “nomad” and “outsider,” constantly on the road not only between countries and continents but also between various media allowing him to express innovative directorial ideas, for a reason (Zawojski, 2003 and Majewski, *Sila...*).

In the director's words – usually in relation to the most ambiguous works of his – a recurring statement appears that the foundation of his art is the image and that he himself, above all, remains a painter, who does not limit himself to implementing his visions on canvas only. The artist speaks of his painting roots in the following way: “In my case, everything starts with the image. Then the form and technique of recording it are different. I am a painter, although I don't paint on canvas but on film, paper and in space. I have got out of painting, which has evolved into the world, even into this conversation” (Majewski, 2002). This is not the only statement from which it arises that the image is treated by the artist in the total dimension, determining the perception as well as, in a way, existence of reality. Majewski gave the fullest expression of this conviction in his newest movie, *The Mill and the Cross*, where the story told is nearly completely conditioned by its painting prototype – Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Procession to Calvary*. From the quoted statement it also arises that to the director, as important as the image itself (its meaning, symbolism) is the way in which it is conveyed, because the medium determines the final shape of the image. In relation to the director's works, Irit Rogoff's words seem particularly true:

“[V]isual culture opens up an entire world of intertextuality in which images, sounds and spatial delineations are read on to and through one another, lending ever-accruing layers of meanings and of subjective responses to each encounter we might have with film, TV, advertising, art works, buildings or urban environments” (Rogoff, 14).

The theoretician emphasizes that the idea of intertextuality, along with the development of visual culture, has broadened its meaning, as intertextuality does not pertain only to literary texts but now encompasses also “cultural texts” – music, film, artistic works – and becomes intermediality. Testaments to the permeability of texts understood in this way as well as, above all, image media, can be successfully found among the works by the author of *Angelus*. It also gives rise to Majewski's film reflection on the idea of intermediality, which gains special meaning in relation to cinema, the most medially eclectic cultural creation.

In this respect, from the point of view of the present text, the most significant seems the relationship between the image and the medium, which, in Majewski's art, has various

implementations and gains an intermedial dimension. Image anthropologist Hans Belting writes about the combination of the image and the medium as follows:

“The notion of image may only benefit when one speaks of the image and the medium as two sides of the same coin, which cannot be separated, also when they do separate, meaning different things, upon our glance. (...) The medium is characterized precisely by the fact that as a form (mediation) of image it comprises both the form and the matter, usually separated when we speak of works of art and esthetic objects. (...) One cannot reduce an image to the form that the medium comprises when it is the medium of image; (...) There is dynamism in this relationship that cannot be expressed by means of traditional augmentation referring to the question of image” (Belting,15).

In this short “introduction” to the understanding of the idea of medium, one may notice that Hans Belting, one of the most interesting theoreticians of imagery and mediality in recent years, departs from its traditional meaning (rooted in the esthetic discourse), problematizing them and closely connecting the two with the category of imagery as well as corporeality. Belting accurately notes that a medium cannot be reduced only to the form of image, that is, for instance, canvas or cinema screen. The exemplary canvas and screen have a large number of various connotations and immanent features that influence the ontology of the image, sometimes transforming, complementing or negating it. There is an unbreakable relation between the image and its medium, thus Belting sets his understanding of the category of medium against the reductional approach of media studies so clearly. This approach (it is difficult not to yield to the temptation to suspect the theoretician of an unjust generalization; however, it seems that Belting formulates the conclusion in this shape in order to show the difference existing between both the discourses) has a clear tendency to identify the medium with technological creations; he separates both the categories, not taking into consideration the play taking place between them (Belting, 50-51).

Majewski is one of the directors who notice this play and ambiguity, obviously experimenting with the boundaries of permeability of images and their media. By means of his works, he proves that both the phenomenon of the presence of paintings in film as well as their unconventional functioning within a different medium require another theoretical reflection in the abovementioned context. The problem of the relationships between the media and images gains importance by means of the fact that both painting and film are understood by Majewski in a specific way and appear in his works in different meanings and variations. It is interesting that paintings corresponding with the director’s audiovisual works come mainly from the Renaissance era, and authors that undoubtedly occupy the most place in his imagination are Paolo Ucello, Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Majewski himself states that his first full length movie, *The Knight*, paid “homage to quattrocento” (Majewski, 1990), and that he refers in his movies mainly to the works by “old masters”. Direct painting trails are very important in interpreting Majewski’s works; however, I am certain that the reflection on this matter should not be limited to finding painting correspondences, as the relationship between film, video and art seems much more complex in the author’s works.

Therefore, to specify the way Lech Majewski's works exist in the culture of the "new audiovisuality," I will use the category of a "crash," and it will not be a mere rhetorical device. The evolution of the author's creative road from traditionally understood painting through the media of photography and film, to video and digital art, does not constitute mere assimilation into the shape of contemporary culture. What is more, one should also think whether it is actual evolution, as none of the media that Majewski uses exist in the "pure" form, and the author himself states that "film is the continuator of image art. It is thinking by means of images" (Majewski, *Sztuka...*). His works constantly balance on the border of paintings and media, exploring not only their own surfaces but also the space created between them, frequently showing the helplessness of theory in the face of practical actions. Nullifying the divisions imposed by critics on images belonging to the pre-reproduction or reproduction era as well as the age of digitalization (mentioning Walter Benjamin's alternative two-stage division into auratic and post-auratic images (Koepnick, 34-35) is also justified here), Majewski seems to implement his own vision of imagery combined with mediality, which has not only an eclectic but also a more hybrid dimension, preserving dialectical cohesion in its diversity. He defines his movies in the following way: "To me, *The Gospel According to Harry* is a painting, *Basquiat* is a movie about a painter, *Wojaczek* is like a graphic, *Angelus* is about Ociepka and painters, while *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, I think, does not require a commentary" (Majewski, *Gdyby...*). Therefore, this short description proves that the category of "film" combining the image and the medium is too narrow to describe the director's works, while he does not even mention his video-artworks or "autobiographic opera" *The Roe's Room...* The inadequacy of theoretical categories to define the author's strategies is also shown by the fact that Majewski himself has introduced a few terms: "digital neorealism" (Majewski, 2004), "visual fresco," video-fresco" (Majewski, 2006) which emphasize the coexistence of images and media in his works as well as the problematic character of this coexistence.

Toward intermediality

Hans Belting, quoted above, does not pay much attention to intermediality itself, stating that: "Intermediality, on its part, is only one special form of interaction between image and the medium. This interaction encompasses also the mystery of being [*Sein*] and appearance [*Schein*] present in the world of images" (Belting, 63). Therefore, the theoretician treats intermediality as one of the faces of mediality, not requiring a separate theoretical look. This concept has lived to see its detailed interpretations in media studies and esthetic discourse, which are worth mentioning here. However, one must note that various theories of intermediality (usually differing not in their general concept but in nuances of meaning or terminology) are so numerous that the ideas of the oldest codifiers, Dick Higgins and Gene Youngblood, are commonly called the "archeology of intermediality" (Chmielecki, 27). Due to this fact, in my reflections, I will refer only to selected theoreticians, whose theses seem the most coherent and symptomatic, expressing the core of Lech Majewski's intermedial interests best.

In my opinion, theoreticians of intermediality may be divided into those that believe intermediality to be the phenomenon of mutual effect and coexistence of various media (an

approach adopted by Yvonne Spielmann, among others) as well as those who speak of intermediality when within one medium various media operations are performed, leading to transformations – and here another term should be applied: **intramedial** transformations. The differentiation between those is ambiguous and still becomes the bone of contention between the theoreticians (Chmielecki, 46). More and more often, however, one encounters theses that try to combine the two aspects of intermediality. In Majewski's works, both the forms of intermedial relations appear. Polish media theoretician Andrzej Gwóźdź describes intermediality as follows:

“The transience of media structures, the transformations of one medium within another one and the forms of networking various media decide upon the intermediality of messages. When this structure of transience becomes ‘suspended’ in between forms of various media, when it ceases to be transparent, in a way ‘working’ to celebrate the vision, one can speak of media hybrids” (Gwóźdź, 1998, 178).

In his theoretical works, Gwóźdź devotes the most attention to this area in which various media “touch,” combine and adjoin one another; he calls them the “interface”:

“Therefore, speaking of this interface, I mean here this borderline woven both of technologies (the coupling of systems) as well as culture (the meeting of diverse image formations), I mean that what is created at this point of contact causes a number of ‘inter’ consequences: interdiscursive, intertextual, intermedial. They are usually connected with one another, which makes different texts, discourses and media meet in the interimage, mutually affecting one another” (Gwóźdź, 1998, 180-181).

Therefore, Gwóźdź notes that intermedia studies encompass not only intermedial strategies (ways of combining various media), discourses connected with mediality or media themselves perceived as separate beings, but also media creations that belong to the area “in between”. In contemporary audiovisual culture, such creations are not only effects of complicated technological experiments but, above all, movies, more and more often basing on computer technologies and digital camcorders. In his analyses of “media hybrids”, Gwóźdź mentions examples from works by, among others, Ruttmann and Wenders; many of the theoretician's remarks, in an almost unchanged form, may be related to Majewski's strategies, who frequently uses analog and digital technologies as well as the oldest media: light, mirror, painting canvas, in one work.

Yvonne Spielmann, on the other hand, deriving the understanding of the medium from the semiotic tradition, supports the “dialogic theory of intermediality”, basing it on the analogy to intertextuality: “Referring to the text–text relationship in a way accepted in the theory of intertextuality, I understand by the term intermediality such mixed forms that arise from correlations of the forms of various media and that themselves mediate in this difference” (Gwóźdź, 1999, 167). Spielmann formulates also the typology of intermedial relationships, taking into consideration the “dialogic model” and the “transformative model”. The first one consists in the transposition of the characteristics of one medium into another medium (e.g. the characteristics of painting into film); the other one, based on Julia Kristeva's theory of

intertextuality, speaks of the creation of a new constructive form when transfer from one sign system to another one takes place (Spielmann, 66-70). In her theory of intermediality, Spielmann broadens the scope of intertextuality, as the basis of which she accepts Kristeva's theses. The researcher focuses on the relation between media understood as different sign systems. The approach proposed in the essay is based on anthropology, not semiotics; however, I think it is important that Spielmann pays attention to the analogy observable between intermediality and intertextuality. In my reflections I accept Belting's understanding of the term medium (which is not equivalent to the sign system), but the context of intertextuality also points to an important fact: media may refer to other media, creating a specific intermedial relationship. In theories of intermediality, this autotelic dimension of the intermedium is more and more often taken into consideration (Kluszczyński, 76).

It would be easiest to summarize the research on intermediality with a statement that it pertains to any possible operations taking place in the space between media and inside of their structure, which lead to the creation of new hybrid, inter- and intramedial creations. The processes, as Maryla Hopfinger rightly notes, are "the shift out of pre-arranged, accepted and so far preserved divisions. Secondly, they are the recognition of new possible connections, combinations, relationships. Finally, they consist in the merging of diverse output components into a new integrated whole" (Hopfinger, 72). One may also add, quoting Andrzej Gwóźdź, that "[i]t is, generally, about such ways of imaging that constitute explicit interference in the older and the newer, although already adapted, rules of visibility, founded on the mechanisms of representation, proper to traditional cinematographic imagination" (Gwóźdź, 2003, 160). Manipulation of media and on the border of media allows artists to reach new image qualities in cinema and audiovisual art. More and more interesting opportunities within the scope of mediality appear, although they do not pertain only to the formal or technological aspect of the works (at least in the case of authors aware of the sources of their experiments and their consequences), but translate into their message, casting a new light on interpretative possibilities. I will take into consideration this significant aspect of intermediality in my analysis of Majewski's works.

The digital paintbrush – Majewski's intermedial strategies

"In his creations, the author of *Wojaczek* declares himself to be an adherent to the mysticism of the frontier, a supporter of the territories and phenomena from 'in between,' where a special kind of tension is created, of which idle homogeneity is deprived" (Lebecka, 9). His beliefs are reflected also in the media matter, in which he incorporates images that he shapes. Here I would like to propose the analysis of selected intermedial strategies present in the director's works and think about what consequences for the shape of intermedia may arise from the application of electronic technology by Majewski.

A significant stage in the shaping of intermedia in the artist's works was the decision to utilize digital media, because it opened a completely new field of creative explorations, the result

of which are, above all, video-installations and video-artworks. As I have mentioned before, Majewski is not a director in whose works technological effects dominate. He is not fond of technological novelties, but inspired by “old masters” and the spirituality of eras gone by. In the image he looks mainly for the “Faustian depth,” which is denied to digital images, accused of being simulative (Chmielecki, 171). Therefore, it appears that Majewski, when he first reached for a digital camcorder, was forced to do so by the hardships of creating *The Roe’s Room*, which was first staged as an “autobiographical opera” and then transposed into the medium of video, now displayed both as a movie as well as a series of installations (in this form it could be viewed during Biennale 2001). As Zawojcki rightly notes, work on *The Roe’s Room* was much more the forecast of the artist’s future media experiments than an actual turning point on his artistic road (Zawojcki, *Poezja...*). However, the passage out of the borders of the analog medium showed the way in which Majewski would perceive work with a digital camcorder. This is expressed by the metaphor of the “kino-brush” (cinema-brush) formulated by Lew Manovich, the validity of which is explained by the theoretician as follows:

“I would like to compare the shift from analog to digital filmmaking the shift from frescos and tempera to oil painting in the early Renaissance. (...) The switch to oils greatly liberated painters by allowing them to quickly create much larger compositions (think, for instance, of the works by Veronese and Titian) as well as to modify them as long as necessary. This change in painting technology led the Renaissance painters to create new kinds of compositions, new pictorial space, and new narratives. Similarly, by allowing a filmmaker to treat **a film image as an oil painting** [my emphasis – E.T.], digital technology redefines what can be done with cinema” (Manovich, 293).

– and with image, one may wish to add to the theoretician’s words. The author’s understanding of the digital medium as a revolutionary sender of artistic messages is significant here due to the fact that not many theoreticians draw as far-reaching conclusions, limiting themselves to the negation of digital imagery (Gwózdź, 2004, 115-116). Manovich’s theses are, nevertheless, confirmed by Majewski himself in his works and statements. Magdalena Lebecka quotes commentaries by the artist in which he emphasizes that work on generating proper pictures for *The Mill and the Cross* with the use of a computer was a painting experience to him, a painter’s work, which is different from the traditional form only in the measures utilized (Lebecka, 153). However, asked about the “digitalism” of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, the artist replied: “This is how I felt. As if holding a paintbrush and attacking the reality with it” (Majewski, 2004). Majewski, not yielding to the common demonization of digitalism, noticed another stage of the evolution of the painting medium in it. He even contained his feelings in the categories that he calls applied creative strategies. The notions “moving fresco,” “video-fresco” or “digital neorealism” paraphrase terms derived from the painting tradition. Therefore, Majewski has found a very interesting way of adapting electronic technology to implement his ideas: he treated it as a painter’s tool, the painter, as the director himself declares, painting not only on canvas, but engaging other media and creating hybrid structures from them. It is the “point of contact” of painting, photography, film and digital imagery, where series of installations and video-artworks (*DiVinities*, *The Blood of a Poet*) as well as movies (*The Garden of Earthly Delights*, *Glass Lips*, *The Mill and the Cross*) have been created.

The Garden of Earthly Delights is a movie in a number of aspects special among Majewski's works. One of the reasons is, undoubtedly, the application of digital media that the director used to avoid on a large scale before. The point of departure of the work is the central part of the triptych painted by Hieronymus Bosch c. 1500 (Devitini Dufour, 46). This is a very complex vision, full of allegoric and symbolic references. From the very beginning, Majewski established dialogic perspectives of looking at the work in the movie. One of them is presented by Claudine, an art historian, whose ambition is to reach the whole complexity of the universe of Bosch's painting. The woman wishes to find in the work the answer to the question over which she agonizes, that is whether man is able to reach the paradise, whether such a reality exists and if it does, then why the painter presented it in an everyday world and did not refer to the vision of Eden present in the Bible. As the action develops, it turns out that the protagonist suffers from an incurable laryngeal tumor; therefore, we may assume that in Bosch's painting she also looks for solace and confirmation that physical death is not the end of existence itself. Another perspective is adopted by Chris, Claudine's partner, an engineer and "advocate of symmetry believing in the golden division, Pythagorean, *homo faber*" (Lebecka, 127). The man admires the technical excellence of Bosch's work and thus attempts to carefully film even its smallest elements. Chris uses a digital camcorder also to record every moment of their visit to Venice. Therefore, Claudine will try to penetrate Bosch's work as intensely as possible, trying to experience *The Garden* as fully and in as much detail as she can (in order to do so, she will create "living pictures" inspired by Bosch with her lover); Chris, on the other hand, believing in the mimetic power of the digital camcorder, will try to capture as much of the last weeks of Claudine's life as possible.

In *The Garden*, the digital camcorder expresses Chris's opinions on the topic of the relationship between images and reality. It allows the man to record the most intimate moments of his relationship with Claudine and the everyday life that they lead together in Venice. Critics have emphasized a number of times that this exceptional, two-level role of the camcorder (within the plot and as a formal means) determines the uniqueness of Majewski's movie (Sobolewski, 2004). It is difficult not to agree with the opinion that the choice of the digital medium has determined the shape of the author's work. The director himself has called his method "digital neorealism" (Zawojski, *Poezja...*), emphasizing the special role of the new medium in imaging the reality. What is more, in *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, the digital camcorder was used in order to maximize the intimacy of the message. Grzegorz Dziamski points to this role of video in general:

"The thing about video that attracted artists, aside from the medium's newness, was its intimacy and the possibility of instantly replaying the recorded images. Video could be used as a witness to the most personal actions and confessions of the artist, as it happened in video recordings (...)" (Dziamski, 37).

The Garden, however, does not have a uniform media structure. The whole movie was recorded with a digital camcorder but, within this basic medium, painting and photographic media are also present, nuancing the structure of the movie. The ubiquity of Bosch's triptych in

The Garden is emphasized by a series of interesting scenes featuring the protagonists. When they move into the apartment in Venice, Claudine talks her lover into reconstructing selected scenes from *The Garden*. The woman focuses on preserving their fidelity to the original. There are a few sequences presenting the “living pictures” in the movie. In one of them, Claudine asks Chris to look for a toad for her and then puts it on her breasts and looks at herself in the mirror in order to feel like the woman in Bosch’s painting. The lovers lock themselves in a suitcase that is supposed to imitate the huge shell from *The Garden*; they also build a large plastic film cocoon, inside of which they make love, following the example of the characters in the painting. Moreover, Chris impersonates the triptych man who walks on a rope balancing an egg, symbolizing perfection, on his head. In another scene, the lovers bathe in a city fountain, imitating the characters who, in the painting, gather around one being the spring of youth. Finally, there is a sequence in Majewski’s movie in which the protagonists, wrapped in transparent material, take on the poses of men and women in Bosch’s work. The director films them by means of freeze frame images. It appears that Claudine, somehow transferring fragments of the painting universe into her own reality, wishes to “feel” the depicted reality, “touch” it the way she touches objects in the Venice apartment. This special kind of exegesis of the triptych intensifies her esthetic experience of the work, because the woman no longer fulfills the role of a mute viewer but becomes a subject actively constituting the meaning of the painting. Therefore, she projects her own experiences onto the world presented in Bosch’s triptych, at the same time deeply contemplating and... reviving the work.

The device used by Majewski is especially interesting and coherent with the director’s views on painting. It is also a special kind of an intermedial device that consists in the revival of the picture, not only by means of giving it a digital form but also by means of “recreating” it as a pantomimic show. Writing about various kinds of intermediality, Andrzej Gwóźdź states the following:

“Intermediality appears to be (...) the merger of forms – combining the form(s) of one medium ‘on the part’ of the form(s) of another one, which causes various figurations of self-reflexivity of the media; or it pertains to the process of transposition of the form(s) within the same medium (and thus refers to **intramedia transfer** [my emphasis – E.T.]” (Gwóźdź, 2004, 18).

Therefore, the theoretician is right to note that the “merger” of media forms does not consist in the creation of “clusters” of various messages only. Intermedia transpositions can take place both between media (in different variants) as well as within one basic media structure. This is what happens in Majewski’s works, in the most general terms.

In order to clarify this differentiation, I suggest speaking of intramediality rather than intermediality in the case of the abovementioned media relations taking place in *The Garden* (as well as *Angelus* and, partially, *The Roe’s Room* and *Glass Lips*). The media differentiation that can be observed in the abovementioned works does not appear between media but inside of the major medium, and this operation slightly changes the basic pattern of intermediality. As for

intramediality, we still have to deal with the creation of borderline or hybrid images; however, this phenomenon takes place not “on the border” of media but within their structure. In other words, if in the film medium another medium appears, which does not function within it only as a quote from the reality which does not mean anything, then it transforms this basic media structure and overlaps it. The picture that appears in a media place constructed in this way is conditioned not only by the movie’s formula but also by the characteristics of, for instance, canvas or photography. Due to the mutual permeating of the media and their coexistence within one structure one may say that the formula arising from it is composed of a few separate mediatizations which have overlapped one another.

As early as during the creation of *The Garden*, Majewski began working on a series of miniatures created by means of the medium of video, called *DiVinities*. They took their final shape only three years after the premiere of the movie in 2006. Along with another collection of video-installations *The Blood of a Poet* (they combined into the movie *Glass Lips* later), they are an example of using the hybrid element of digital technology in combination with “traditional” media (pre-digital era). As given by Soulages:

“In reality, the digital image allows for an infinitely richer, more complex, practical and esthetic use. Digital esthetics is the esthetics of endless hybridization. It opens to the culture of hybridization, to the new order of seeing and the new way of producing, transferring and perceiving images” (Soulages, 149).

Majewski treats the digital image in a similar way. Working with a digital camcorder gave him new experiences and allowed him to reach effects that would otherwise be unattainable for a traditional camcorder; it also influenced the viewers’ perceptive process. I have already emphasized that to the artist, digitally generated imagery is another stage of the evolution of painting; therefore, in the series of installations and video-artworks, paintings and poetic images also occupy an important place.

DiVinities are twelve video miniatures shown simultaneously on separate screens. Therefore, the viewer can, by means of navigation, select images that he or she wants to see, arranging the order of watching. Initially, scenes from *The Blood of a Poet* were shown in a similar way, in which Majewski broke away from the linear manner of narrating, ceding this role to the viewers. *DiVinities* are characterized by the author as follows:

“*DiVinities* are visual poems. Each fragment of the series is a separate world, both particular movies as well as the whole series are contemplative in nature. It was very important to refer to tradition, especially the Renaissance, and, generally, very important in the creation of the series was Hans Memling’s *Last Judgment*. The concept of video-artworks was born while viewing this painting in Gdańsk. The showcase in which *The Last Judgment* is placed made it difficult to experience the work – one had to force his way through glass reflections – so I took a camcorder and filmed it. Then I noticed that hell in the painting was completed with the silhouettes of people reflected in the showcase” (Majewski, *Wywiad...*).

Therefore, from the author's words it arises that his series of video-artworks are deeply conditioned by the painting medium and the poetic image. The intermedial correspondence existing in this way makes them a hybrid work "taking place" in the space between media. Each of the media has a mighty influence on the shape of the whole. Majewski, in this case, does not mention photography, although it is also present when the camcorder is still. Thus the series *DiVinities* can be called quite a classic formula of the intermedium.

The Blood of a Poet is also strongly rooted in the tradition of non-digital media, exploring the borders of media permeability:

"It [*The Blood of a Poet*] is the borderland of three worlds: art, film and photography. Thirty three separate video-artworks projected simultaneously belong to the world of art, arranged linearly become a film; photographs and lightboxes are a separate chapter. Poetry and painting are immanent elements of my artistic origins" (Majewski, 2006).

Majewski says directly that the series of installations is the art of the media borderland; it is created on the border of media, through their mutual permeability, complementation and exclusion. In *Glass Lips*, it functions as some pre-set structure, in the series *The Blood of a Poet*, although it presents exactly the same story inspired by Jean Cocteau's poetic movie, it gives much more possibilities of the viewer's participation. Just as in the case of *DiVinities*, the work is watched simultaneously on several screens. Thus it is the viewer who takes the decision which pictures and in what order to see.

"Video-artworks – each of them separately – are closed, self-sufficient wholes. However, they can be read together through the continuity of characters appearing there. Simultaneously projected on walls, like moving frescos, they allow us to combine them in a potentially unlimited number of ways – with black and white photograms, colorful lightboxes as well as with sculptures, as it happened during the 2008 exhibition at Warsaw Zachęta."

– as Magdalena Lebecka comments on the exhibition of Majewski's works. Her statement shows that not only are the works themselves intermedial in nature, but also the way of their presentation shows the dialogism of the transmedia message. The miniatures from both the series are at times presented together, complementing one another and conducting a dialog. It is the viewer who should decide how they will be composed. I would not like to overuse the fashionable category, although we can speak here of receptive interactivity. Although the viewer receives ready-made images and cannot change anything as far as they are concerned, his or her will and imagination replace the narrator, arranging a non-linear series of images. Majewski believes that in this way, video art opens a new area between the work and the viewer:

"Narrative tradition sets limitations. Video art makes the viewer the co-creator of narration, moving from one screen to another; he or she can come back or leave, thinking that it is not interesting at all. Here begins a completely new story, a completely new dimension. Closer to the reality, because I perceive reality non-linearly (...). It is good to penetrate new means

of expression in order to touch some deeper reality, if just for a moment” (Majewski, *Sila...*).

I think that the fullest and the most spectacular testament to the realization of intramediality is the director’s newest movie, *The Mill and the Cross*. The digital tale about Bruegel the Elder’s painting seems to shape a completely new face of the relations between media, the point of departure of which has become electronic technology, because we view a film work in which the newest achievements of computer graphics have been used in order to recreate a painting: its colors, perspective, composition. From the verbal message of one of the graphic artists and editors working on the movie, I know that the crew began their work by filming Bruegel’s painting in extreme detail. Each element was augmented so that one could see the tiniest movements of the paintbrush and nuances of color combinations, which are not visible to the naked eye. The painting by the “old master” was later recreated by means of the film media with unusual accuracy. The graphic artists had to become painters who, by means of computer technology, reconstruct the whole process of creating *The Procession to Calvary*. In the album issue of *The Mill and the Cross*, one may find pictures illustrating this difficult graphics work (Gibson, Majewski, 176-177) as well as an interesting storyboard depicting particular shots, prepared by Jerzy Ozyga (Gibson, Majewski, 199-218). In the movie, various sketches for the painting discussed by the movie Bruegel with the merchant played by Michael York are shown as well.

Therefore, the painting does not function in Majewski’s work as a quotation, it is not encrusted within the diegesis, but creates the portrayed reality as much as digital technology does. Of course, we cannot see the canvas and we can view the work only on the screen; however, it is this special case when the properties of two different media permeate themselves. In the movie, the composition and perspective applied were transferred from the painting. The characters wear handsewn and handpainted clothes, taking on poses of the characters in *The Procession to Calvary*. Moreover, the spacetime within which the actors move is not completely natural either – it has been transformed in a way that perfectly imitates that from Bruegel’s work. I have also mentioned that Majewski considered transforming the pictures into ones that would seem painted with oil paint and tempera on canvas. In as perfect a way as possible, in *The Mill and the Cross*, two kinds of mediality were fused to combine into an unusual experiment with the formulas of cinema and painting.

In his essay devoted to *The Procession to Calvary*, which was the main basis for the movie scenario, Michael Gibson notes that Bruegel’s painting may be called a Renaissance movie. The art historian supports his notion with the fact that the work is not just depicted – it was told and now it creates a special kind of narration (Gibson, Majewski, 109). Therefore, the process of transforming it into a series of moving pictures appears to be a natural operation, using the film potential present in it.

Currently, it is difficult to precisely name this kind of intermedial relationships, as Majewski's movie is not a simple combination of various media; it is not based only on using intramedial relations either, although we encounter mediatization a few times in it. In *The Mill and the Cross*, media that seem very remote from one another appear to paraphrase, permeate, specify each other, presenting interesting image coincidence, escaping final categorizations. Here it is appropriate to add that each time this device deprives the viewer, not accustomed to such complicated media structures, of the treacherous comfort of the *voyeur*. On the receptive level, the multiple mediatization "rouses" the viewer from perceptive patterns, "forces" him or her to stop longer in front of given fragments, surprises the viewer and gives him or her food for thought.

Conclusion

As has been stated before, Majewski's works negate a number of common image patterns, proposing completely new solutions; thus the artist is frequently forced to create suitable categories and names for his activity. In this case, Andrzej Gwóźdź's words seem appropriate:

"(...) therefore, one needs to ask about the **status of contemporary audiovisual images**, and, in this context, dare formulate the basis for new electronic imagery, founded intermedially, which would make us realize the changes occurring in the contemporary iconosphere, under the influence of numerous points of contact of media corporealities, among others" (Gwóźdź, 2003, 39).

The various and complicated faces of intermediality, about which Gwóźdź writes and which can be found in Lech Majewski's works, are the best evidence of the changes taking place in image ontology. It is difficult to categorize it, as even the notion of intermediality does not comprise the full scope of media relations that can be observed in the director's works. It is not the first time that the theoretical thought cannot catch up with artists' imagination.

To me, the most interesting attempt at approaching the complexity of contemporary images revived by media seems a thesis by Ryszard Kluszczyński, who, writing about film as a new kind of intermedium, emphasizes that it is "sending, seeing one medium through another one, mutually stimulating and activating other media" (Kluszczyński, 76). Only so broad an approach toward the issue, in my view, allows us to point to the possible faces of mediatization, within the scope of which a new dimension and shape of contemporary imagery is created. The analysis of complex media formulas constituting a very important aspect of Lech Majewski's works should make us realize those changes.

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Self as Other in Walker Percy's *The Second Coming*

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Abstract

Walker Percy, who describes in his novels the modern malaise of the twentieth century that causes an undefinable anxiety for the individual, examines what it means for the individual to exist. The problematization of the individuals' sense of self, who question the meaning of life, forms the focal point in Percy's novels. The author discusses the individual's self-alienation and his/her life in a never-ending, desperate journey on the path towards meaning. However, the author departs from the tenets of Søren Kierkegaard's views here and takes a stance closer to Martin Heidegger's point of view. Percy not only problematizes the "existence" and "selfhood" concepts but questions his relation with language as well. In this respect, the journey of the modern individual towards meaning is examined at the intersection of language, selfhood and existence in this study.

Keywords: existence, selfhood, language, alienation

Walker Percy (1916-1990) diagnoses the modern malaise of the twentieth century, which is existential in character, in his novels—*The Moviegoer* (1961), *The Last Gentleman* (1966), *Love in the Ruins* (1971), *Lancelot* (1977), *The Second Coming* (1980), *The Thanatos Syndrome* (1987). Focusing on “what it is like to be an individual, to be born, live and die in the twentieth century” (Percy, *Signposts* 151), Percy asks some basic questions regarding human self: “[W]hat happens when feels in the deepest sense possible that something has gone wrong with one's very self? When one experiences the common complaint of the age, the loss of meaning, purposelessness, loss of identity, of values and so on?” (Percy, *Signposts* 211). As a physician novelist, Percy considers that the major task of the novelist is to diagnose and present the condition of the self in the twentieth century. Conveniently, he depicts the protagonists in “search” for more authentic existences in his novels. While the author continuously portrays the desperate searches of his protagonists who experience “life-in-death” condition in his fictional works, he presents some theoretical explanations on possible ways of knowing the world, the self, and the existence in his nonfictions, *The Message in a Bottle*, *Signposts in a Strange Land*, *Lost in Cosmos*.

Percy's fictional world and his philosophy carry the traces of his life as well as his readings on philosophy, literature, and theology. The author examines life and death in the ruins, the first examples of which he saw in his own family, in his works. His father, LeRoy Percy, committed suicide in 1929 when he was only thirteen years old. His mother moved with her three sons to the home of his uncle William Alexander Percy whom Walker Percy defines as “another kind of searcher for life in a vanishing old South culture” (Pridgen,18). Three years after his father's death, Percy's mother died in an automobile accident, which the author believed to be a suicide. It was at Trudeau Sanatorium, where he was hospitalized in after contracting tuberculosis while he was an intern at Bellevue Hospital in New York City, that Percy began to think about the nature of the modern malaise he encountered in his childhood. He read philosophy, literature, language theory, and theology at Trudeau Sanatorium. His readings in such philosophers and authors as Heidegger, Jaspers, Marcel, Sartre, Kierkegaard, Camus led him to an inquiry into the nature of existence and self. However, his main interest has always been on “what it means to be a man”, which still remains unanswered. He explains the reason behind this interest by referring to the fact that science explains almost everything except this vital point in his essay “From Facts to Fiction”: “After twelve years of a scientific education, I felt somewhat like the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard when he finished reading Hegel. Hegel, said Kierkegaard, explained everything under the sun, except one small detail: what it means to be a man living in the world who must die” (Percy, *Signposts*188).

Starting from his first novel *The Moviegoer*, which won the National Book Award in 1962, Percy introduced his readers into the world of characters where an endless and somehow desperate journey into the nature of existence left the individual in a position in which s/he was a stranger to not only a familiar environment but her /his own self as well. In this study, the alienation process of the person from her/his own self and becoming an other for her/his self will be examined in *The Second Coming*. The motive behind choosing this novel for such an analysis

is that *The Second Coming* as one of the latest novels of the author differs from his previous novels in that he presents a more Heideggerian analysis rather than a Kierkegaardian one and elaborates on his views on the relation among self, language and existence as well. Benita A. Moore emphasizes this difference at the beginning of her article “Language as Sacrament in Walker Percy’s *The Second Coming*” as follows:

The novel breaks ground from Percy’s earlier novels in two major ways. First, Percy elaborates a Heideggerian analytic out of the Kierkegaardian explorations of his earlier novels, and he changes from a simple quest motif (male) to a compound male-female quest. Where previous major female characters were foils for, or replicators of, male angst, the female quest motif in *The Second Coming* offers a genuine alternative to the male search, and her alternative is in the Heideggerian mode. (281)

This difference is significant in terms of this study since it gives a more suitable ground for a phenomenological and psychoanalytical analysis. Hence, the main emphasis will be put on the process where the characters become alienated not only to themselves and but to language as well and how they try to cope with such an alienation that makes their selves “other” to themselves.

In the novel, Walker Percy tells the story of two people, Will Barrett and Allison Huger, both of whom have difficulty in living. The novel starts with a scene where Will realizes his absurd condition in a world he has fallen into: “For some time he had been feeling depressed without knowing why. In fact, he didn’t even realize he was depressed. Rather was it the world and life around him which seemed to grow more senseless and farcical with each passing day” (Percy, *The Second*1). Will, who has pursued a successful career, retired when he desired, has enough money to continue his life comfortably, but still cannot figure out what is wrong with him and why all he has seems so farcical and meaningless all of a sudden. On the other side, Allie is a schizophrenic who has taken refuge from the world in a mental institution and who tries to establish a “normal” life for herself. While Will’s life becomes an exemplary depiction of the life of the twentieth century man who is more depressed than ever, Allie’s life is worth examining in order to understand the effort of a psychotic person to return to daily life. The intersection of the lives of these two characters creates a very suitable environment to ask the questions which Percy has tried to find answers throughout all his life. While the questions posed by the author in his novels are mostly related to the nature of self, they also emphasize an important insight about today’s world: Why is man so unhappy in an age when science and technology are more advanced than ever? Will’s wondering on “what had gone wrong, not just with himself but, as he saw it, with the whole modern age” (Percy, *The Second*5) echoes this emphasis. Then, the question becomes what a person can do if s/he cannot benefit from science, technology and money—over which the foundations of the whole age are placed. In his article “Diagnosing the Modern Malaise”, Walker Percy explains the real reason under this condition as following:

The real pathology is not so much a moral decline, which is a symptom, not a primary phenomenon, but rather an ontological impoverishment; that is, a severe limitation or crippling of the very life of the twentieth-century man. [...]. What has happened, I think,

is that, with the ongoing impoverishment of human relations by a misapprehension of the scientific ethos which pervades the Western world . . . (Percy, *Signposts* 214-15)

When Will Barrett's condition is examined more closely, it is seen that he suffers from the above mentioned pathology of the modern age besides all other factors in his life. His question "Is it too much too wonder what he is doing there, this pleasant prosperous American, sitting in a \$35,000 car and sniffing cordite from a Luger?" (Percy, *Signposts* 15) is indeed a common question posed by many people who receive good education, hold good jobs, have enough money but who cannot still figure out what is missing. Therefore, his depression and boredom, which he cannot give any meaning, seem to be a proof that there is something wrong with him; however, it is no doubt that he is trapped inside a circle of "misapprehension of the scientific ethos which pervades the Western world".

On the other side, the other main character of the novel, Allison Huger, represents an entirely different world. She has stayed in a mental institution for several years, has continuously taken electroconvulsive therapy and finally escaped from that institution. Although electroconvulsive therapy has certain therapeutic advantages in certain kinds of mental illnesses, it can be taken as a symbol of the scientific ethos that is dominant among a considerable number of psychiatrists. It is no doubt that the patients suffer from this system since such an approach suppresses and even exterminates their subjectivity. R.D. Laing focuses on such a system and its discontents in his work *Self and Others* in detail:

There is a distinction between fragmentation that does violence to personal reality, and a legitimate analysis of one aspect of a situation at a time. One does not wish to sever "mind" and "body", "psychic" and "physical". One must not treat "persons" as "animals" or "things", but one would be foolish to try to disrupt man from his relation to other creatures and from the matter that is his matrix. It is immensely difficult not to subject unwittingly our human reality to such conceptual mutilation that the original is lost in the process. (65)

Allie's repetitive reaction "no buzzing cousin" throughout the novel is a kind of scream to free herself from a position where her "self" means nothing and where she is treated as an object rather than an individual. The most striking example of her electroconvulsive therapy experience is seen in her notes "instructions from myself to myself": "Take a hot bath. Eat and sleep for twenty-four hours. You will be very hungry after the buzz (remember?) and tired and sore. You'll feel like a rape victim in every way but one" (Percy, *Signposts* 29). Her voice's sounding "rusty and unused" to her (24) after she has taken refuge from the mental institution shows how detached she is from herself and from the language she can describe herself in. Her alienation from her "self" and her language is another side of the pervasion of the scientific ethos in the Western world. Elizabeth Roudinesco points out the fact that such a pervasion has not provided solutions but even complicated matters more in her book *Why Psychoanalysis?* under a chapter "The Defeat of the Subject"—a significant title in terms of the scope of this study:

Nowadays, physical suffering manifests itself in the form of depression. Depressive people, affected body and soul by this strange syndrome mixing sadness and apathy, the quest for identity, and the cult to oneself, no longer believe in the validity of any therapy. And yet, before rejecting all treatments, they seek desperately to conquer the emptiness of their desire. They thus move from psychoanalysis to psychopharmacology, and from psychotherapy to homeopathic medicine, without taking time to reflect on the origin of their unhappiness. And indeed they no longer have time for anything, even as time of life and time of leisure, the time of unemployment and the time of boredom are extended. Depressive individuals suffer all the more from the freedoms obtained because they no longer know how to use them. (3)

In the same work, Elizabeth Roudinesco claims that “modern democratic society wants to banish from the view the reality of unhappiness, death, and violence, even as it seeks to integrate differences and resistances into a single system” (5). The depiction of Will's life—if his uneasiness is disregarded—represents an ideal world that modern democratic society attempts to create. People are playing golf, drinking, talking, laughing, going to church, enjoying themselves. More important than all, they believe themselves to be happy. It is only Will among these people that feels something is wrong. However, the system is so successful in ignoring the presence of unhappiness, death, and violence that Will tends to think the problem is with himself: “[S]urely it is fair to say that when a man becomes depressed, falls down in a sand trap, and decides to shoot himself, something has gone wrong with the man, not the world” (Percy, *Signposts*4-5). Roudinesco defines one characteristic of the depressed person at the end of the twentieth century as an addictive dependence on the world. Since the depressed person lacks a revolutionary perspective on her/his self, s/he cannot find any way to give meaning to her/his existence. R. D. Laing uses the term “ontological insecurity” for such a condition: “The individual in the ordinary circumstances of living may feel more unreal than real in a literal sense, more dead than alive; precariously differentiated from the rest of the world, so that his identity and autonomy are always in question” (*The Divided*42).

When Will's condition is evaluated in the light of the views of Elizabeth Roudinesco and R. D. Laing, it is seen that he presents all symptoms of being a depressed person in ontological insecurity. The insecurity and uncertainty become so unbearable that he experiences depersonalization, which is “a technique that is universally used as a means of dealing with other when he becomes too tiresome or disturbing” (Laing, *The Divided*46). Through this experience, Will sees himself as a man among other men, as a body among other bodies: “As he stepped out, he caught sight of a shadowy stranger in the mirror fixed to the door. But he quickly saw that the stranger was himself. [. . .] He smiled. That was it. With two mirrors it is possible to see oneself briefly as a man among other men rather than a self sucking everything into itself. . .” (Percy, *Signposts*13-14). Depersonalization is significant here in that it is an indicator of the degree of Will's insecurity. It should also be noted here that there is an important difference between the above-mentioned depressed person—the defeated subject at the end of the twentieth century—and Will. He is aware of his uneasiness and unhappiness, and tries to find the origin of his unhappiness. While his mind is in a state of confusion trying to restore his own self, he makes a discovery that will change the rest of his life: “What he was thinking about was what he was

going to do next but at the same time he noticed that he did not feel bad. Why is it, he wondered, that I feel that I have all the time in the world to figure out *what to do and the freedom to do and that what is more I will do it?* (Percy, *Signposts* 58)". Such a freedom which many people avoid makes Will's questioning on existence, God, and love easier. It can even be said that it is his realization on his freedom to act that makes his relation with Allie possible.

Percy's introduction of Allie to the novel in the second chapter brings another dimension to the novel since Allie is a psychotic, that is, she is outside the system considered "normal" by many people. After she has escaped from the mental institution where everybody apart from herself takes decisions on her life, she is finally alone to decide for herself in the outside world. Deprived of her language and subjectivity to a significant degree, the only way for her to set a new life for her is to observe other people, in addition to writing the notes titled "instructions from myself to myself", that shows her the steps she should follow in order to survive in the outside world. Among various discoveries Allie makes during her observation, the most significant ones are related to how people use language and communicate. The people's way communication is one of the effective factors that expels her from the ordinary, "normal" or normotic life. The fact that people do not talk in full sentences, yet can understand each other is one of the most surprising things for her. Since she cannot grasp what is behind the exchange of signals between people, she is troubled with speech: "Words surely have meanings, she thought, and there is my trouble. Something happens to my words coming to me from other people. Something happens to my words. They do not seem worth uttering. People don't mean what they say. Words often mean their opposites (Percy, *Signposts* 82)". However, this trouble provides a wider perspective for her while observing people because she is not constraint by the exchange of signals in a conventional way and she sees the world considered "normal" from a neutral point of view.

While trying to understand the outside world and to set a new life for herself, another important discovery Allie makes is that she is the person who is going to decide for herself; that is, she is finally free: "What was my (your, our) discovery? That I could act. I was free to act" (Percy, *Signposts* 40). However, there comes another question with this discovery as well: What is she going to do with time? A secure way to decide what to do with time seems to observe people and to act in the accepted way, but this is not so easy as it seems at the beginning. Allie divides the people around her mainly into two groups as the people who have plans and those who do not. At this point, she realizes that other people act automatically most of the time and she fears that she may break down the code:

Otherwise, she might find herself confronting a person, step to the right with him, to the left, and so on. What then? What she feared was a breakdown in the rules of ordinary living which other people observed automatically. What if the rules broke down? Suddenly she remembered that she had once been an A student. But what if she flunked ordinary living? (Percy, *Signposts* 32)

It is worth noting that Allie's fear carries the traces of wondering about what happens if she does break the code. Her being an A student once was considered to be a sign of success in

life but her admission into a mental institution later “proved” such an assumption to be invalid. Then, there seems to be no certain criteria in determining success in life. Thus, it may be said that Allie does not believe in the common code wholeheartedly but she thinks it makes living among people easier to follow their rules. In a sense, Allie’s lack of knowledge on ordinary life makes it possible for her to evaluate events from an objective perspective and to free herself from conventional approach at to some degree. This objective perspective can be claimed to be the most significant element that forms the relation between Will and Allie. R.D. Laing focuses on the importance of the relation between self and others since it is one of the ways on how individual defines her/himself:

The person whom we describe, and over whom we theorize, is not the only agent in his “world”. How he perceives and acts towards the others, how they perceive and act towards him, how he perceives them as perceiving him, how they perceive him as perceiving them, are all aspects of “the situation”. They are all pertinent to understanding one person’s participation in it. (*Selected Works* 81)

The people around Will describe him as a winner in life and even get angry with his continuous unhappiness. It is as if it is only Will who knows somehow his life did not work at all: “In two seconds he saw that his little Yankee life had not worked after all, the nearly twenty years of making a life with a decent upstate woman and with decent Northern folk and working in an honorable Wall Street firm and making a success of it too” (Percy, *The Second* 73). However, such a realization does not make his life easier since one has to extend his/her account explicitly or by implication to a whole “nexus” of others, imaginary, dreamed, phantasied, or “real” (Laing, *Self* 65). Indeed, it is the uneasiness of Will and Allie, which is caused by how others perceive them, that makes their relation possible.

Allie is trying to define herself while Will does the same but in a different way. Allie seems to be constructing her sense of self out of nothing since she cannot remember anything. Thus, she is free from the gaze of others to some degree. Yet, her following words show that this is not a complete freedom: “I’m talking to the deep-I or the I-defy—only I thought we had agreed it became I-define. Your I as you want to define it” (Percy, *The Second* 89). Another significant sign that shows she is in the same position as Will before she is admitted to the mental institution is the influence of her mother on her: “My mother refused to let me fail. So I insisted” (Percy, *The Second* 94). This insistence can be understood as the reason why she was admitted into the mental institution by the majority of people. In the final analysis, this shows how seriously her subjectivity is taken from her. Her following question reflects this condition indeed: “Is there an I inside me?” (Percy, *The Second* 111). On the other side, Will seems to be trapped in the necessity that he has to act in the same way as others. Since modern democratic society of the modern age forbids unhappiness, it is as if Will had no chance to live his unhappiness and uneasiness and to be different from others around him. However, this sense of being trapped does not eliminate one’s need for others. R. D .Laing expresses this need as following: “All “identities” require another: some other in and through a relationship with whom self identity is actualized. The other by his or her actions may impose on self an unwanted identity” (*The Divided* 81).

This need is realized by the complementary relation between Will and Allie. While others are trying to make Will obey the conventional norms, Allie gives him a space where he can breathe. His first meeting with Allie is when he goes into a cave in order to commit suicide. The reason for this action lies in the question which echoes his ontological insecurity in Laing's terms: "what is the word for a state which is not life and not death, a death in life?" (Percy, *The Second* 126). Will's decision to commit suicide is indeed related to his father's suicide. However, he considers his father's as one which is realized in vain. On the other hand, he claims that his will represent progress in the history of suicide:

What was the Great Discovery? We may as well say it right out. It dawned on him that his father's suicide was wasted. It availed nothing, proved nothing, solved nothing, posed no questions let alone answered questions, did nobody good. It was no more than an exit, a getting up and a going out, a closing of a door. (Percy, *The Second* 182).

Consequently, it is possible to suggest that the relation between Allie and Will forms a space where both can make their "great discoveries". Will's decision to give up the idea of suicide and the removal of Allie's fear of being an other and an incoherent person cause them to lead entirely different lives. Thus, although it is too assertive to claim that they are completely out of their ontological insecurity, it is no doubt that they have discovered a place where they are freed from the norms of normotic society, which is called to be the modern democratic society of the present day.

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Enseigner le Temps Historique

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Abstract

Historical knowledge is not just data, but an act, the act of learning, research and understanding in time. Thus, the learning of history requires intellectual operations that allow us to decipher the time axes of historical events. Historical time is a primordial element in the historical study; however historical time has three dimensions: the present, the past and the future that their assembly is difficult to access.

Keywords: historical time, historical memory, identity

Résumé:

La connaissance historique n'est pas une donnée, mais un acte, l'acte d'apprendre, de rechercher et de comprendre dans le temps. Ainsi, l'apprentissage de l'histoire nécessite des opérations intellectuelles qui nous permettent de jalonner les axes temporels des événements historiques. Le temps historique est un élément primordial dans l'étude historique, cependant le temps historique comporte trois dimensions: le présent, le passé et le futur dont leur assemblage est une tâche difficile à accéder.

Mots clés : temps historique, mémoire historique, identité

1. Introduction

La diversification des modes d'appartenance et la crise identitaire dont l'aspect le plus important est la mise en question d'une identité commune ont incité les historiens à s'interroger sur la mémoire puisque cette dernière favorise la continuité avec le passé collectif. « *La mémoire agit à ces deux niveaux : légitimation de l'ordre social et des processus d'intégration, ou, symétriquement, constitution et affirmation de l'identité sociale* »¹. Mais comment peut-on envisager une mémoire en faveur de la formation d'une identité commune ? Penser la mémoire pose un problème épistémologique chez les historiens dans la mesure où la mémoire tisse une relation intime avec le vécu, cependant l'historien tente toujours à se libérer du vécu. Il cherche à porter une vision objective et critique de son vécu pour mieux le comprendre. Dans le même esprit d'idée, « *L'histoire est la reconstruction toujours problématique et incomplète de ce qui n'est plus. La mémoire est un phénomène toujours actuel, un lien vécu au présent éternel* »².

Bien entendu, la quête identitaire réside dans la mémoire. Toutefois, pour concevoir notre identité il importe de critiquer la mémoire et temporaliser ses informations. Par conséquent pour historiser la mémoire afin de former une identité commune le concept de la conscience historique se présente comme une démarche intellectuelle nécessaire dans l'appropriation de l'histoire et la formation de l'identité commune. En effet, par la conscience historique demeure possible l'articulation entre passé et présent. Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon a signalé que « *je retiens d'abord que la conscience historique est conscience temporelle. Elle est au moins conscience de la présence du passé, de son actualisation possible dans la société présente* »³.

Par ailleurs, la conscience historique a été abordée rarement en Tunisie hormis quelques exceptions comme le travail du philosophe Fathi Triki intitulé « L'esprit historien », il reste encore un objet d'étude peu relevé par les chercheurs tunisiens. En revanche, L'intérêt pour la conscience historique était un intérêt cultivé par les didacticiens allemands de l'histoire depuis les années 1970. Ailleurs dans le monde, si on connaissait le concept, on s'y montrait peu intéressé. Mais avant d'aborder le concept de la conscience historique nous élucidons deux notions clés de la conscience historique qui sont : l'historicité et le temps historique.

¹ *L'histoire entre mémoire et épistémologie*, ouvrage collectif, sous la direction de Bertrand Muller, Paris, Payot Lausanne, 2000, p. 23.

² Dosse., *L'histoire*, Armand Colin, 2000, p. 183-184.

³ *Identités, Mémoires, conscience historique*, textes rassemblés par Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon et Didier Nourrisson, Lyon, Université de Saint-Étienne, 2003, p. 28.

2. L'historicité

L'être humain se caractérise par son historicité dans la mesure où il ne peut pas se situer dans ce monde sans être dans le temps. En fait, l'homme opère un rapport avec le temps, mais ce rapport diffère de l'un à l'autre ; c'est ainsi qu'on parle d'un temps vécu, temps universel et temps historique. La diversité des rapports avec le temps engendre plusieurs aspects de temps. Par exemple nous pouvons percevoir le temps de notre expérience vécue sans préciser l'avant et l'après de cette expérience. Dans ce cas on parle du temps vécu c'est-à-dire le rapport au temps se réduit au présent. Mais si nous opérons une relation avec le temps qui dévoile un va et vient entre notre expérience vécue et notre passé nous pouvons parler d'un temps historique. Mais le rapport au temps ici ne réduit pas au passé, mais il est aussi celui du présent et du futur. Paul Ricœur a signalé que « nous faisons de l'histoire et nous faisons de l'histoire parce que nous sommes historiques »¹. Dans cette perspective, on va opter pour la conquête arabe de VII^e siècle comme un événement qui a réellement eu lieu en Afrique du Nord et non pas comme une simple tradition légendaire. Alors, la conscience de sa propre situation historique nous permet de saisir ces liens temporels avec nos expériences actuelles. La détermination de la condition historique de la conquête arabe nous incite à comprendre le déroulement de cet événement dans le temps. De ce fait, nous allons essayer de répondre à la question qu'est-ce que l'historicité ?

L'historicité c'est se situer dans le temps pour comprendre le monde, autrement dit c'est la conscience de l'homme de son passé qui a des liens avec son présent. Dans cette perspective Régine Robin disait que « ne jamais oublier la complexité des phénomènes qu'on étudie et, pour ne jamais oublier cette complexité, toujours bien les situer dans leur contexte, dans leur chaîne du temps, dans leur chaîne de causalités pour bien établir une distance critique. Se mettre même à la place des gens du temps passé, ne pas faire d'anachronisme, ne pas juger à partir d'aujourd'hui »². En fait, l'historicité donne l'intelligibilité aux événements historiques puisque l'histoire étudie les phénomènes dans le temps. L'historicité se présente comme un élément essentiel de la temporalité. Cette dernière qui est une unité d'articulation entre la triplicité de temps ne peut pas avoir sens sans un étirement entre un avant et un après qui est l'historicité. « Il manque à la temporalité un trait pour qu'elle puisse être tenue pour intégrale : ce trait est celui de l'étirement entre naissance et mort »³. En outre on ne peut pas étudier le passé afin de comprendre notre présent et prévenir le futur sans mettre en évidence l'enchaînement historique des événements. À cet égard, Paul Ricœur a affirmé que « si nous sommes dans l'histoire, c'est d'abord parce que nous existons dans une temporalité »⁴. Autrement dit, la construction du fait

¹ Ricœur., P, *La mémoire, L'histoire, L'oubli*, Paris, Seuil, p. 374.

² *L'histoire entre mémoire et épistémologie*, ouvrage collectif, op. cit, p. 41.

³ Ricœur., P, *Temps et récit III Le temps raconté*, Paris, Seuil, 1985, p. 107.

⁴ *L'histoire entre mémoire et épistémologie*, op. cit, 30.

historique est effectuée toujours en opposant l'historicité du fait à nos sens communs ou à nos croyances vécu. Ainsi, cette approche nous est utile pour comprendre les transformations des sociétés et les rapports au temps induits par les différentes demandes sociales qui précèdent l'élaboration des finalités de l'enseignement de l'histoire. L'historicité n'est pas une donnée qu'on se perçoit spontanément mais c'est un résultat d'un long travail sur la temporalité des phénomènes historiques qui a pour corollaire de les situer entre un passé et un présent. L'historicité est

« assurément pas le temps, grandeur physique, ni davantage, du moins sans plus de précisions, ce temps qui est une dimension de l'être. Il s'agit, bien sûr, du temps de l'histoire ou temps historique, ce tiers-temps à la fois édifié par des hommes sans le vouloir et subir comme allant de soi, donc simultanément représenté et, d'une certaine façon, vécu en tant qu'il est temps, de l'agissement, qu'il convient de référer dans tous les cas au présent vivant, d'hier ou d'aujourd'hui, d'une conscience historique et, avec une insistance particulière, parce qu'alors thématized, d'une conscience historique qui serait celle d'historiens »¹.

De ce fait, l'historicité désigne l'analyse des expériences passées tout en opérant une relation entre les dimensions temporelles du passé, présent et futur.

La durée se définit par l'inscription d'un phénomène entre deux dates c'est-à-dire l'avant et l'après notamment que « l'histoire est la science des hommes dans le temps » écrivait Marc Bloch. Cela veut dire que les événements ne sont pas isolés, mais ils sont étroitement liés par le temps. L'historicité détermine l'enchaînement chronologique des événements. Donc elle constitue l'un des objets privilégiés de l'histoire. Suzanne Citron disait que « *sortir de l'ambiguïté, c'est saisir l'histoire elle-même dans son historicité, dans une donnée qui la dépasse et qui l'embrasse* »². En effet, en déterminant la différence entre passé et présent il est possible de saisir quelque chose qui serait le temps historique.

L'histoire est une inscription dans le temps. Ainsi l'historicité est une composante essentielle dans l'écriture du récit historique. En effet, écrire de l'histoire c'est manier conjointement le passé et le futur d'un même événement. Par ailleurs, l'historicité fait partie de l'explication des événements passés. « *L'expliquer, c'est l'inscrire dans un contexte temporel, le lier à des faits passés, le projeter vers un devenir qui lui donne sens. Cette capacité à user d'un*

¹ Lonclud., G, *Annales*, 61^e année, n° 5, sep-oct 2006, sur les régimes d'historicité, sur les régimes d'historicité, Paris, Armand Colin, p. 64-65.

² Citron., S, *Enseigner l'Histoire aujourd'hui : la mémoire perdue et retrouvée*, Paris, Les Editions ouvrières, 1984, p. 31.

temps 'prospectif' et 'rétrospectif' est fondamentale en histoire : elle est à proprement parler la capacité à construire un événement comme tel, c'est-à-dire comme rupture »¹. Par ailleurs, construire un récit historique passe d'abord par la reconstruction de l'historicité des événements. Placer cette dernière entre un avant et un après crée l'intelligibilité de l'histoire. Dans cette perspective, Fernand Braudel apprécie la longue durée comme un moyen qui nous permette de comprendre le monde dans lequel nous vivons. Il a affirmé que

« Les événements d'hier expliquent et n'expliquent pas, à eux seuls, l'univers actuel. En fait, à des degrés divers, l'actualité prolonge d'autres expériences beaucoup plus éloignées dans le temps. Elle se nourrit de siècles révolus, même de toute "l'évolution historique vécue par l'humanité jusqu'à nos jours". Ainsi, un passé proche et un passé plus ou moins lointain se mêlent dans la multiplicité du temps présent : alors qu'une histoire proche court vers nous à pas précipité, une histoire lointaine nous accompagne à pas lents »².

Dans le même ordre d'idée, enseigner l'histoire c'est d'abord travailler sur le temps, c'est-à-dire construire chez les élèves la conception et l'intelligence du temps historique. La compréhension du temps induit la mise en œuvre de son épaisseur. Cela veut dire que le temps historique diffère du temps vécu par la mise en ordre temporel les conjonctures des événements. Se libérer du temps vécu c'est interroger le présent de notre société sous l'angle du temps passé. Dans l'enseignement de l'histoire l'appropriation du temps historique constitue un enjeu éducatif très important. Dans ce contexte nous nous posons la question suivante : qu'est-ce que le temps historique.

3. Le temps historique

Le temps historique est conçu comme la forme que prend dans le discours historique la totalité des pratiques historiées, forme visant à l'intelligibilité de ces pratiques. Marc Bloch a signalé que « *l'historien ne pense pas seulement « humain ». L'atmosphère où sa pensée respire naturellement est la catégorie de la durée* »³. Le temps historique nous permet de saisir la profondeur de la durée. Il est donc cette forme rendant intelligible un contenu, sorte de support, elle manifeste la structure des pratiques. Cette forme essentiellement produite dans et par le discours, rend diversement compte des pratiques.

¹ Fourmond., T-H, *Du côté des élèves : apprendre, expliquer, rédiger*, in contributions à l'étude de la causalité et des productions des élèves dans l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie, colloque international, INRP, Paris, 1998, p. 87.

² Braudel., F, *Grammaire des civilisations*, Paris, Arthaud-Flammarion, 1987, p. 3-4.

³ Bloch., M, *Apologie pour l'histoire*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1997, p. 4.

On voit par là que le temps historique n'est pas la connaissance des dates, mais il est plutôt un repérage des événements dans leurs conjonctures. Le temps de l'histoire est cette prédétermination de la chronologie. Autrement dit, la chronologie est un effet du temps historique. En effet, « *le temps historique se caractérise par sa durée, ses rythmes et ses contenus ou registres. La durée se définit par l'inscription d'un phénomène entre deux dates et, par extension, permet d'observer la simultanéité ou la succession de plusieurs phénomènes* »¹. Une autre caractéristique du temps historique est d'être feuilleté en plusieurs registres, politiques, économique, social et culture. Tous ces caractères constituent un outillage précieux de l'analyse historique, mais pour les mettre en œuvre l'historien doit procéder par une rigoureuse mise en intrigue de la temporalité pour qu'elle donne du sens à l'événement. En effet, le couple événement/temporalité est donc fondamental dans l'appréhension de la notion d'historicité.

L'étude du temps historique est assurément inévitable dans notre recherche qui s'intéresse à interroger les pratiques scolaires vis-à-vis de la construction d'une conscience historique chez les élèves. Il convient ainsi d'identifier le rapport des élèves au temps historique après l'enseignement de la conquête arabe afin de saisir leur conscience temporelle de cet événement.

a. Rapport des élèves au temps

a. 1. Les difficultés des élèves de s'orienter dans le temps

Bien entendu la construction de l'histoire ne se fait pas à l'exclusion de l'appropriation du temps historique. En effet, apprendre la longue durée c'est savoir les liens et l'ordre historique entre les faits fondateurs. Il semble donc qu'une frise historique donne du sens aux événements et transmet chez les élèves le temps affectif ou vécu à un temps porteur des sens historiques. Mais il faut signaler, que le temps historique ne se réduit jamais à une simple mise en ordre chronologique des événements. Ainsi, le temps historique est une intelligibilité des événements. Il participe à gérer la simultanéité et la continuité, l'irréversibilité et la rupture, la courte et la longue durée. A cet égard nous nous posons la question suivante : Est-ce que les élèves sont-ils capables de faire la liaison entre leur temps vécu et leur passé lointain ou ils procèdent par la simple mise en ordre chronologique de faits fondateurs ?

48% des élèves savent situer la conquête arabe dans l'histoire médiévale. Egalement, ils manifestent de grandes difficultés à organiser des événements appartenant à des périodes différentes. En effet, la mise en ordre de l'événement entre l'avant et l'après constitue une carence chez 44,26% des élèves. Ce qui explique l'incapacité des élèves à maîtriser les modalités

¹ Stouder., P, *Clés pour l'enseignement de l'histoire*, CDRP de l'Académie de Versailles, 2004. p13.

de la perception temporelle, notamment qu'ils font une confusion entre la conjoncture historique de la conquête arabe et celle de l'extension de l'empire Ottoman, qui constitue le début de l'histoire moderne Arabe.

Par ailleurs, les élèves ne révèlent pas seulement des difficultés dans la mise des événements dans l'ordre du temps, mais ils rencontrent aussi des obstacles dans la périodisation. Dans cette posture Antoine Prost a signalé que « *la périodisation permet de penser à la fois la continuité et la rupture. Elle affecte d'abord l'une et l'autre à des moments différents : continuité à l'intérieur des périodes, rupture entre elles* »¹. C'est ainsi l'avant et l'après de la conquête arabe est insaisissable chez les élèves. Cela prouve que les élèves apprennent la conquête arabe sans effectuer une articulation signifiante entre l'avant et l'après. Or, périodiser c'est substituer à la continuité insaisissable du temps une structure signifiante. Si la chronologie est une mise en ordre du temps selon la succession des faits, la périodisation est une identification des ruptures et des continuités des événements dans le temps. Cependant, la majorité des élèves interrogés entretiennent un rapport affectif avec les événements. De plus, ils ne savent pas agencer la conquête arabe entre un avant et un après. Cela révèle que les élèves ont une représentation factuelle de l'histoire dans la mesure où ils trouvent des difficultés dans l'historisation de ce qu'ils ont appris.

a. 2. Tendance des élèves à apprendre les événements à l'exclusion de leur temporalité

L'histoire est une matière qui s'intéresse à l'étude des événements dans le temps. C'est ainsi pour construire l'histoire il faut construire le temps historique, c'est-à-dire concevoir la conjoncture de l'événement et l'agencer entre un début et une fin. En outre, le temps historique nous permet de retenir les liens entre le passé et notre temps vécu. Mais les élèves interrogés expriment une tendance à approprier les événements plus que la temporalité. En effet, 40,89% des élèves expriment qu'après l'appropriation de l'histoire n'ont retenu que les faits fondateurs, ce qui prouve leur incapacité de manier un lien entre la conquête arabe et leur présent. Dans cette posture, Henri Irénée Marrou a défini l'histoire comme la connaissance du passé humain, mais il assure que cette connaissance « *est la relation, la conjoncture, établie par l'initiative de l'historien, entre deux plans d'humanité, le passé vécu par les hommes d'autrefois, le présent où se développe l'effort de récupération de ce passé au profit de l'homme* »². Ainsi, l'enseignement de l'histoire assume la mission d'appréhender aux élèves de penser le passé pour savoir se situer dans le monde. De ce fait la compréhension du parcours temporel des événements devient une condition inéluctable pour saisir l'historicité de notre objet d'étude. Cependant, Les élèves

¹ Prost., A, Douze leçons pour l'histoire, Paris, Points, p. 115.

² Marrou., H-I, *De la connaissance historique*, Paris, seuil, 1954, p. 32.

trouvent des difficultés à apprendre la conquête arabe dans une longue durée, notamment que 56,55% parmi eux affirment que leur présent ne constitue pas un aboutissement de la conquête arabe. Cependant, les élèves sont conscients que cette conquête a provoqué un changement profond au niveau de la société maghrébine. Comment entretenir un lien historique entre ce changement et leur vécu ? La reconstruction des liens entre la conquête telle qu'elle est passée au IIV^e siècle et le présent constitue une démarche difficile. Ce que nous avons remarqué à travers les réponses des élèves est la carence au niveau de l'explication et l'interprétation de ce qu'ils ont appris. En effet, les élèves qui pensent que la conquête arabe constitue un événement historique fondateur dans le façonnement de leur société actuelle, ne peuvent pas dégager quelques éléments de rapport entre le passé et le présent.

Par ailleurs, l'explication présente une condition essentielle de l'appropriation du temps historique. Dans cette perspective Antoine Prost montre que « *l'explication du passé se fonde sur les analogies avec le présent, mais elle nourrit à son tour l'explication du présent* »¹. Mais la majorité des élèves n'arrivent pas à relier, par une explication rationnelle, les événements passés de la conquête et leurs expériences. Ce qui explique encore que les élèves ne savent pas se repérer dans le temps. En fait, ils n'ont pas procédé par une démarche interprétative qui leurs permettra de manier une articulation signifiante entre les faits historiques et leurs conjonctures. Donc les événements retenus restent dépourvus de leurs temporalités, ainsi ils ne peuvent pas trouver les rapports historiques entre les périodes lointaines dans le temps et leur présent. Dans cette posture Paul Veyne a remarqué que « *notre vision du passé exprimerait notre situation présente et nous nous peindrions nous-mêmes en peignant notre histoire* »². Cependant, les élèves n'arrivent pas à expliquer le mouvement temporel de la conquête en rapport avec leur situation actuelle. Selon eux la seule liaison retenue entre la conquête et leur présent c'est le convertissement des maghrébins à l'islam.

Pour conclure, nous constatons que l'appropriation de la conquête arabe par les élèves n'a pas mobilisé leur pensée historique puisqu'ils ont retenu des événements isolés de leurs conjonctures. Donc, ils ne sont pas conscients de l'articulation historique entre ce qui s'est passé pendant la conquête et ses rapports avec la société maghrébine actuelle. Or l'enseignement de l'histoire a un but primordial que l'on peut résumer ainsi : construire une conscience historique chez les élèves pour savoir situer dans le monde. Mais cette finalité est conditionnée par le niveau de compréhension des événements en liaison avec leur temporalité, parce que « *l'histoire serait la conscience que les peuples prennent d'eux-mêmes* »³. Il importe que l'enseignement de l'histoire soit délibérément ouvert sur le temps présent et ne se dissocie pas de la transmission

¹ Prost., A, *Douze leçons pour l'histoire*, op. cit, p. 161

² Veyne., P, *comment on écrit l'histoire*, Paris, Seuil, 1978, p. 100.

³ Veyne., P, *comment on écrit l'histoire*, op. cit, p. 109.

d'un héritage et d'une culture à la formation d'une identité commune. Par ailleurs, dans la conscience de continuité et discontinuité temporelle de la conquête arabe nous pouvons nous inscrire dans le présent et partagé une mémoire collective. Dans cette posture l'école joue un rôle très important notamment dans la réalisation de va-et-vient permanent entre les deux pôles de la durée : passé et présent. Le présent étant l'univers de l'élève qui accomplit l'acte de compréhension de la conquête arabe et le passé étant l'univers historique de cette conquête. L'école pourrait aider les élèves à hiérarchiser les faits de la conquête au rythme auquel ils changent. En effet, la conscience du déroulement des événements dans le temps n'est pas une donnée, mais une construction intellectuelle qui se réalise au présent. Jaques Le Goff a montré que l'opposition passé/présent est une démarche intellectuelle primordiale dans l'acquisition du temps historique. Il a affirmé dans cette posture que « *le temps de l'histoire n'est pas celui de la psychologie ni celui du linguiste. Toutefois, l'examen de la temporalité dans ces deux science confirme le fait que l'opposition présent/passé n'est pas une donnée naturelle mais une construction* »¹.

b. Conception des élèves de l'histoire : une matière vouée au passé

Jaques Le Goff a montré que « *pas plus que les rapports entre mémoire et histoire, les relations entre passé et présent ne doivent conduire ni à la confusion ni au scepticisme. Nous savons maintenant que le passé dépend partiellement du présent* »². De ce fait, Penser l'histoire, c'est effectivement établir des liens et des contrastes entre les sociétés humaines, entre les époques plus ou moins éloignées de nous, mais en même temps il est indispensable d'établir un rapport avec le présent. Par ailleurs, l'interprétation, la périodisation et l'articulation entre les faits passés avec notre société sont des opérations intellectuelles nécessaires dans l'appropriation de l'histoire et la mobilisation de la mémoire.

Ainsi, l'étude historique s'intéresse au passé en relation avec le présent. C'est bien entendu que « *l'histoire ne s'enferme pas dans le passé, mais s'ouvre dans le présent. Du clos à l'ouvert, de la certitude à la crise, la transition est la même* »³. Dans cette perspective nous nous posons la question suivante : est-ce que les élèves ont établi dans leur appropriation de la conquête arabe un rapport signifiant entre le passé le présent ?

L'événement n'a pas de sens s'il n'a pas été opéré dans un parcours du temps. De ce fait les événements n'existent pas isolément. Mais ils sont construits par l'historien pour configurer une intrigue intelligible qui explique une évolution logique dans le temps. En effet, la mise en

¹ Le Goff., J, *Histoire et mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1988, p. 25.

² Le Goff., J, *Histoire et mémoire*, op. cit, p. 223.

³ Gattinara., E-C, *Les inquiétudes de la raison*, Paris, Vrin, 1998, p. 44.

intrigue devient un fondement de la réflexion sur la formation de la connaissance historique parce qu'elle prend en compte l'enchaînement temporel des événements afin de les donner un sens. Dans cette perspective, Antoine Prost montre que « *la mise en intrigue commence avec le découpage de l'objet, l'identification d'un début et d'une fin. Le choix des limites chronologiques n'est le bornage d'un champ que l'on voudrait labourer, mais la définition de l'évolution qu'on veut expliquer, et donc de la question à laquelle on va répondre. Le découpage de l'intrigue décide déjà du sens de l'histoire* »¹. Donc l'événement acquit son sens par une configuration signifiante entre son début et sa fin. C'est ainsi que le rapport entre le passé et le présent d'un événement constitue le cœur de l'intelligibilité de l'histoire et la formation d'une conscience historique.

En revanche, les élèves interrogés n'ont pas manifesté un va et vient entre le passé et le présent dans leur appropriation de la conquête arabe. Dans leur définition de l'histoire (voir annexe), 46,72% des élèves pensent que l'histoire est une matière qui ne projette jamais leur expérience personnelle. Ils affirment que l'histoire est vouée à l'étude du passé et que la conquête arabe n'a aucun lien avec leur situation présente. Selon la majorité des élèves « *l'histoire est l'étude des événements passés* ». Cependant, 22,9% seulement déclarent que l'histoire est « *la connaissance du passé qui nous permet de comprendre notre situation actuelle* », et 30,32% des élèves se manifestent indifférents à l'histoire.

La conception que se font les élèves de l'histoire a largement des implications sur leur conception du temps historique. En effet, des élèves montrent des rapports diversifiés à l'égard du temps historique. 22,13% des élèves interrogés représentent le temps historique comme un parcours linéaire des périodes et 29,5% des élèves déclarent que le temps historique est l'ensemble des changements qui affectent l'humanité et qui méritent d'être étudiés par l'historien. Mais, à ce propos Marc Bloch assure que « *le temps véritable est un continu. Mais aussi un perpétuel changement* »². Ainsi, concevoir le temps historique c'est saisir le parcours linéaire du temps et les changements qui constituent les nœuds du rythme temporel.

Le temps historique est la pierre angulaire de l'étude historique puisqu'il donne aux événements leur intelligibilité. C'est le temps qui réalise l'enchaînement des faits historiques et les situe entre un avant et un après. Le temps historique maintient l'intelligibilité des événements par les mises en ordre entre deux repères historique. Dans ce contexte nous posons la question suivante : comment faire pour comprendre les événements historiques en rapport avec notre présent ? Pour répondre à cette question nous signalons que la mise en ordre chronologique des

¹ Prost., A, *Douze leçons pour l'histoire*, op. cit, p. 225.

² Bloch., M, *Histoire et mémoire*, op. cit, p. 36.

événements passés nécessite aussi un travail d'articulation entre les événements ordonnés dans le passé et notre actualité. A cet égard se révèle l'importance de la conscience historique qui est une compréhension de la distance temporelle entre un événement passé et un présent. En effet,

« en gros, la conscience historique désigne la capacité à penser l'histoire, à penser le présent et l'avenir en fonction de l'histoire et à se penser dans l'histoire. Cette capacité est révélatrice d'une attitude face à l'histoire comme tissu d'événements et comme récit du passé »¹.

En guise de conclusion, les élèves approprient la conquête arabe en se référant à des événements fondateurs afin de construire une chronologie linéaire. Cependant, la temporalité de l'histoire ne se réduit pas à une simple mise en ordre chronologique des événements, mais à une conscience des rapports entre les événements passés et la situation actuelle.

4. Le rapport passé/présent

Dans son livre « Temps et récit », Paul Ricœur a essayé de donner une définition herméneutique de la conscience historique. Pour lui la construction de la conscience historique passe par la recherche de la dialectique du passé et du futur et leur échange dans le présent en effet « *pour aller plus loin, il faut prendre le problème par l'autre bout, et explorer l'idée que ces perspectives brisées puissent retrouver une sorte d'unité plurielle, si on le rassemble sous l'idée d'une réception du passé jusqu'à celle d'un être-affecté par le passé* »²

Faire l'histoire c'est trouver la médiation imparfaite entre trois temps : passé, présent et futur, c'est une sorte de renversement de stratégie en levant l'abstraction la plus tenace dont ont souffert nos tentatives pour cerner la « réalité » du passé, l'abstraction du passé en tant que passé. Celle-ci résulte de l'oubli du jeu complexe d'intersignification qui s'exerce entre nos attentes dirigées vers le futur et nos interprétations orientées vers le passé. De cette manière nos expériences vécues tendent à l'intégration et nos attentes à l'éclatement des perspectives. Ainsi, espace d'expérience et horizon d'attente font mieux que de s'opposer polairement, ils se conditionnent mutuellement : c'est une structure temporelle de l'expérience de ne pouvoir être rassemblée sans attente rétroactive.

¹ « Les jeunes et l'histoire », *Documents et Travaux de Recherche en Education*, revue n° 30, Paris, INRP, 1998, p 13.

² Ricœur., P, *Temps et récit*, op. cit, p. 300.

Dans le même ordre d'idée, le présent, désormais, est perçu comme un temps de transition entre les faits du passé et le futur. Or, seul un changement du rapport de l' « horizon d'attente » à l'espace d'expérience rend compte de ce changement sémantique. Hors de ce rapport, le présent est indéchiffrable. Le présent n'est jamais nouveau, au sens fort, que dans la mesure où nous croyons qu'il ouvre des temps accélérés. Le présent se trouve écartelé entre deux fuites, celle d'un passé révolu et celle d'un futur. Dans ce sens l'articulation entre le passé et le futur est déterminante dans notre conscience historique.

« Il faut rouvrir le passé, raviver en lui des potentialités inaccomplies, empêchées, voire massacrées. Bref, à l'encontre de l'adage qui veut que l'avenir soit tout égard ouvert et contingent, et le passé univoquement clos et nécessaire, il faut rendre nos attentes plus déterminées et nos expériences plus indéterminées. Or, ce sont là les deux faces d'une même tâche : car seules des attentes déterminées peuvent avoir sur le passé l'effet rétroactif de le révéler comme tradition vivante. C'est ainsi que notre médiation critique sur le futur appelle le complément d'une semblable médiation sur le passé »¹.

Alors, la dialectique entre passé et présent est effectuée souvent par nos regards sur le futur qui serait définitivement étanche aux expériences passées.

De ce fait, la conscience historique est une conscience temporelle. Elle est au moins conscience de la présence du passé, de son actualisation possible dans la société présente. Mais plus encore, elle articule non seulement passé et présent, mais passé et futur : être conscient de ce que fut la société, l'homme social, permet de juger, de choisir, de donner au temps un sens, et par là même d'imaginer un avenir ; en même temps être conscient d'un « horizon d'attente » informe la lecture que l'on fait du passé et donne au devenir une signification. Le présent est pris en compte, non seulement comme aboutissement du passé, mais comme objet d'où on soulève des interrogations nouvelles sur ce passé.

En outre, se penser dans le temps, c'est se penser comme être historique, assigner un sens au passé et participer à la construction identitaire. La conscience historique nourrit l'identité individuelle ou collective : elle est conscience d'appartenir à un groupe qui a une histoire, un héritage, que l'on assume ou rejette, qu'il s'agisse d'une famille, d'une classe ou d'une nation. Elle investit le passé de valeur, en choisissant les événements qui font mémoire, qui ont une force symbolique telle qu'ils sont pour ainsi dire toujours présents. Autrement dit, elle attribue au passé un sens « pour soi », elle en permet l'appropriation au sens fort du terme. Ce faisant, elle projette sur le passé les valeurs qui participent de l'identité actuelle du groupe, pour en marquer la différence ou pour en faire des valeurs éternelles. Par ailleurs, depuis les années soixante-dix, le

¹ Ricœur., P, *Temps et récit*, op. cit, p. 313.

concept de la conscience historique a commencé à émerger dans le champ des historiens. Quels sont les facteurs qui contribuent à la mise en évidence de ce concept ?

On peut dire que plusieurs facteurs ont participé dans l'émergence de la conscience historique comme un champ de réflexion. Parmi les facteurs nous citons surtout l'apparition du courant postmoderniste. Ce dernier poserait une équivalence entre la fin de l'histoire et une ré-homogénéisation totalisante et anhistorique de la perception de la réalité. Ce courant est venu troubler le monde historien. En outre, dans l'esprit du postmodernisme tout savoir est une narration, un simple texte, qui comme tout texte n'a de valeur qu'on tant que texte. Or l'historien, rappelons-nous il y a un instant, est justement un producteur de textes, de ces textes qu'on nomme habituellement récits ou narrations. Ce sont des textes construits selon des principes et des démarches historiques bien validées entre autres la causalité et la chronologie, sans lesquels aux yeux de l'historien il n'est de texte historique valable. Lorsque le postmodernisme étend la notion de validité à tout texte quelque soient sa nature, son objet, son mode d'élaboration ou sa fonction, lorsque à la limite l'objectivité et les procédés d'objectivation sont présentés comme totalitaires, l'historien se sent quelque peu déstabilisé. Déstabilisé et dans une certaine mesure dépossédé, puisqu'on voit le champ d'activité qu'il se croyait réservé envahi par d'autres courants littéraires, de linguistes, de philosophes, d'anthropologues et de psychologues.

Devant cette situation, pour maintenir sa place dans le champ scientifique, l'historien choisit d'élargir ses perspectives et ses pratiques. Par conséquent il plonge à son tour dans la mémoire et la conscience historique. Ce n'est plus l'histoire des réalités du passé qui l'intéresse, afin de les comprendre et de les expliquer, et de saisir leur impact sur le présent, mais plutôt la saisie des perceptions qu'on en a aujourd'hui, que ces perceptions soient justement fondées ou non. Ainsi, la quête de la perception se substitue à la recherche du vrai.

a. La conscience historique ne prend pas racine de la conscience spontanée

Bien entendu, L'histoire est une reconstruction, non pas une restitution des événements. L'histoire est un domaine où il ne peut y avoir d'intuition, c'est un champ de certitude rationnelle qui fait place à un savoir de fait dont la source est étrangère à la conscience. Donc l'histoire est une activité intellectuelle qui découle de l'explication et l'interprétation des faits historiques. La conscience spontanée est une perception de temps du moi, mais la conscience historique est une assimilation de deux temps : temps du moi et temps de l'histoire, « l'histoire est connue par un être qui est lui-même dans l'histoire »¹. En fait la signification du temps de l'histoire nous permet

¹ Veyne., P, *Comment on écrit l'histoire*, Paris, Seuil, 1971, p.100.

de saisir la signification du temps du moi Raymond Aron lorsqu'il parle du sens des parties et le sens du tout signale que

« un mot a une signification parce qu'il nous renvoie à une idée ou à une chose, mais, en même temps, il a une signification parce qu'il est partie d'un tout qui a lui-même un sens. Et le sens du tout donne seul au mot sa signification exacte »¹,

en effet, pour être conscient de notre expérience vécue nous devons d'abord être conscient du sens du processus historique de cette expérience.

En revanche, tout ce que la conscience spontanée connaît de l'histoire est une étroite frange de passé dont le souvenir est encore vivant dans la mémoire collective de la génération actuelle. Donc la conscience spontanée reste attachée au sens de quelques parties de notre expérience vécue sans connaître les origines des événements transmis par la mémoire collective. Mais cette mémoire collective qui est la source de cette conscience spontanée n'est pas mobilisée c'est à dire n'est pas mise en question, ce qui engendre une conscience immédiate non problématisée ou irréfléchie. Elle est étroitement liée au vécu. En effet,

« Quand il arrive à la conscience spontanée de penser un passé, c'est pour l'envisager comme l'histoire de l'édification du monde humain actuel, qui est tenu pour achevé, terminé, comme le serait une maison désormais bâtie, ou un homme fait qui n'a plus qu'à attendre la vieillesse »².

En fait, la conscience spontanée ne fait pas l'articulation entre le passé, le présent et le futur, elle reste attachée à un moment fixé dans le temps et elle reste aussi prisonnière d'une perception immédiate à l'égard d'un événement. A cet égard Paul Veyne a noté que

« A quelque époque que l'on se place, les hommes "primitifs" non moins que civilisés, ont toujours su que leur destin serait en partie ce qu'ils le feraient être par leur action. Ils ont su aussi qu'il s'était écoulé du temps avant eux ; mais la connaissance de ce temps leur demeure étrangère, parce que l'action n'englobe pas la connaissance du passé et n'a pas non plus l'usage de cette connaissance »³.

Il se révèle alors que pour saisir notre présent nous devons chercher ses racines dans le passé, ce dernier qui devrait être réactivé pour être vivant et présent. Cela veut dire que la conscience historique est une activité intellectuelle qui vise, par une interprétation prudente des traces laissées par le passé, à comprendre la continuité et le changement ainsi que les causes et les conséquences des événements historiques. Autrement dit, c'est une démarche historique qui

¹ Aron., R, La philosophie critique de l'histoire, Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, Paris, 1969, p. 76.

² Chenu., M-D, La théologie au douzième siècle, Vrin, 1957, p. 75.

³ Veyne., P, *Comment on écrit l'histoire*, op. cit, p. 104.

nécessite l'explication et l'interprétation du passé pour combler la distance temporelle qui nous sépare aux faits lointains dans le temps. De ce fait, l'interprétation et l'explication jouent un rôle très important dans la réactivation du passé.

L'interprétation historique, qui procède par des méthodes et des démarches scientifiques, se donne pour but d'investir entre le quotidien et le rationnel. C'est une interrogation sur la différence entre la familiarité que l'on éprouve avec le monde environnant et l'étrangeté que représente le monde que nous avons perdu. La discontinuité qui oppose notre présent au passé devient alors un atout pour déployer une conscience historique. « *La distance temporelle n'est donc pas un obstacle à surmonter... Il importe en réalité de voir la distance temporelle une possibilité positive et productive donnée à la compréhension* »¹. En fait, l'histoire n'est pas seulement une restitution du passé, mais aussi un travail réfléchi qui nous porte d'éclairage sur notre présent et nos attentes tout en articulant consciemment la triplicité temporelle : passé, présent et futur.

b. Totalité de l'histoire et articulation consciente entre les trois temps

Nous référons avec Reinhart Koselleck pour saisir l'écart entre les modèles temporels à l'œuvre dans l'opération historiographique et les catégories temporelles de l'histoire. S'agissant des notions de champ d'expérience et d'horizon d'attente, il s'agit, note Reinhart Koselleck, « *de catégories de la connaissance susceptibles d'aider à fonder la possibilité d'une histoire* »². Plus radicalement, il s'agit de définir le « temps de l'histoire », tâche de toutes les questions posées par la science historique l'une des plus difficiles à résoudre. En effet, s'agissant des contenus de l'histoire, un système fiable de datation suffit ; quant aux rythmes temporels des ensembles que le discours historique délimite, ils se détachent sur le fond d'un « temps de l'histoire » qui ponctue l'histoire pure et simple, l'histoire tout court.

Le parallélisme est frappant entre le couple horizon d'attente et espace d'expérience et le couple présent du futur et présent du passé. Les deux couples relèvent du même niveau de discours. De plus, elles se portent mutuellement secours : les structures du temps historique ne se bornent pas à donner à celles du temps mnémotique une amplitude plus vaste, elles ouvrent un espace critique dans lequel l'histoire peut exercer sa fonction correctrice à l'égard de la mémoire ; en retour, la dialectique augustinienne du triple présent rouvre le passé de l'histoire sur un présent d'initiative et un futur d'anticipation dont il faudra le moment venu retrouver le manque au cœur

¹ Gadamer., H-G, *Vérité et méthode*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1976, p. 137.

² Koselleck., R, *Le futur passé*, Paris, Ed. L'école des hautes études en science sociales, 1990, p. 208.

de l'entreprise historique. Il reste que Koselleck est habilité à dire que « ni saint augustin ni Heidegger n'ont fait porter leur interrogation sur le temps de l'histoire ».

L'apport des analyses de Koselleck consiste dans le traitement de ces catégories comme conditions du discernement des changements affectant le temps historique lui-même, et principalement des traits différentiels de la vision que les modernes ont du changement historique¹. La modernité est elle-même un phénomène global, dans la mesure où elle appréhende les temps modernes comme des temps nouveaux ; or cette appréhension ne se laisse réfléchir qu'en termes d'éloignement croissant des attentes à l'égard de toutes les expériences faites jusqu'à aujourd'hui. L'ouverture de l'horizon d'attente désigne par le terme « progrès », la condition préalable de la conception des Temps modernes comme nouveaux, ce qui constitue la définition tautologique de la modernité. A cet égard, on peut parler de « temporalisation de l'expérience de l'histoire » en tant que processus de perfectionnement constant et croissant. Des expériences multiples se laissent énumérer tant dans l'ordre de l'attente que dans celui de l'expérience remémorée ; des progrès inégaux se laissent même distinguer ; mais une nouveauté globale creuse la distance entre le champ d'expérience et l'horizon d'attente. Les notions d'accélération et de caractère disponible de l'histoire appartiennent au même cycle. L'accélération est l'indice infaillible que l'écart ne se maintient qu'en se modifiant en permanence ; l'accélération est une métacatégorie des rythmes temporels qui lie l'amélioration au raccourcissement des intervalles ; elle donne à la notion de vitesse une touche historique ; elle permet de parler de retard, d'avancer, de piétinement, de régression. Quant au caractère disponible de l'histoire, à son caractère faisable, il désigne une capacité qui est à la fois celle des agents de l'histoire et celle des historiens qui disposent de l'histoire en l'écrivant.

La liaison entre l'espace de l'expérience et l'horizon d'attente constitue est apparaît indispensable dans le travail de l'historien. « *La configuration du temps passe par la narration de l'historien. La configuration historique ainsi envisagée se déplace entre un espace d'expérience qui évoque la multiplicité des parcours possibles et un horizon d'attente qui définit un futur-rendu présent, non réductible à une simple dérivée de l'expérience présente* »². On ne peut donc penser la discontinuité que sur un fond de continuité qui est le temps lui-même. En fait, sans articulation entre passé, présent et futur ou espace d'expérience et horizon d'attente, le temps apparaît comme quelque chose de totalement discontinu, comme un ensemble chaotique de fragments sans liens entre eux. Mais faire les liens entre le passé, présent et futur nécessite une démarche explicative afin de justifier l'enchaînement historique d'un phénomène. L'explication

¹ Le titre « Le futur passé » peut être entendu au sens de futur tel qu'il n'est plus, de futur révolu, caractéristique de l'époque où fut pensée l'histoire en tant que telle.

² Dosse., F, *L'histoire*, op. cit, p. 107.

joue le rôle d'opérateur, de mise en relation d'événements hétérogènes et nous permet de mieux comprendre la réalité historique.

5. Conclusion

L'étude du temps historique pose un problème épistémologique qui est le suivant : pour être conscient du temps, qui est une condition indispensable pour mobiliser notre mémoire, et pour faire l'articulation entre les trois temps, effectuerions-nous une étude du passé pour comprendre notre présent ou nous commencerons par le présent pour descendre au passé ? Bertrand Muller dit « Ne jamais oublier les complexités des phénomènes qu'on étudie et, pour ne jamais oublier cette complexité, toujours bien les situer dans leur contexte, dans leur chaîne du temps, dans leur chaîne de causalités pour bien établir une distance critique. Se mettre même à la place des gens du temps passé, ne pas faire d'anachronisme, ne pas juger à partir d'aujourd'hui »¹. Mais il ajoute aussi « *malheureusement, le travail de 'historien ne correspond pas tout à fait à cet idéal* »². Dans ce contexte, le retour vers le passé est indispensable pour affranchir la distance temporelle, mais il ne faut pas oublier que le présent est l'aboutissement du passé, les historiens des Annales par exemple Lucien Febvre, a pris le contre pied des historiens méthodiques (qui prônent l'histoire événementielle). Ils ne déplorent pas l'irréductible part du présent de l'historien qui intervient fatalement dans son appréhension du passé. Ils entendent assumer pleinement ce présent, mieux, ils proposent d'en partir. L'historien « *part du présent et c'est à travers lui, toujours, qu'il connaît qu'il interprète le passé* »³. En revanche, l'historien n'a pas besoin de se demander si c'est le présent qui l'aide à comprendre le passé ou le passé qui l'aide à comprendre le présent ; la confrontation des deux lui permet de s'arracher au cadre idéologique à travers lequel il adhère au monde qui l'entoure et de produire un certain savoir. « *La temporalité n'est pas du tout un étant, mais se temporalise* »⁴. Cela veut dire que se situer dans le temps conduit à réfléchir sur les antériorités, les postériorités, les concordances des temps et de mettre en relation la connaissance factuelle et la datation pour construire du sens autour de la date.

¹ Muller., B, *L'histoire entre mémoire et épistémologie*, op. cit, p. 41.

² Muller., B, *L'histoire entre mémoire et épistémologie*, op. cit, p. 41.

³ Febvre., L, *Leçon d'ouverture au collège de France, Combats pour l'histoire*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1992, p. 15.

⁴ Ricœur., P, *Temps et Récit*, T.III, op. cit, p. 105.

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The problematic of modernization in the intellectual project of Al- Jabri: an analytical critical approach

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Abstract

In this study, I distinguished the concept of modernization from that of modernity, contextualized Al-Jabri project historically and conceptually, and showed his status within the rational critical current, which emerged after the defeat of 1967. Then I examined the vision Al-Jabri of how to modernize the Arab Thought in the context of the relationship that he adopted between heritage and modernity. I showed that this vision is based on three axes: the axe of the critique of the heritage, and the axe of the critique of modernity, and the axes of constitution. I finished the research with some critical remarks centered on the harmonizing nature of Al-Jabri's work. I broached also the limitedness of his conceptualization of the mind and rationality, and his contradictory attitudes of some of the elements of modernity such as secularism because of his consideration of the intellectual and political Arab reality. That limited the free movement of thought, which can only be absolute, adventurous and exploratory.

إشكالية التحديث في مشروع الجابري الفكري: مقارنة تحليلية نقدية
مبارك حامدي جامعة القيروان تونس

المُلخَص

ميّزت في هذا البحث بين مفهومي التحديث والحداثة، وأطرت مشروع الجابري تاريخياً ومفهومياً، وبيّنت منزلته ضمن التيار النقدي العقلاني الذي برز بعد هزيمة 1967. انتقلت بعدها إلى طرح رؤية الجابري لكيفية تحديث الفكر العربي في إطار العلاقة التي يتبناها بين التراث والحداثة. وبيّنت أن تلك الرؤية تقوم على لحظات ثلاث: لحظة نقد التراث، ولحظة نقد الحداثة، ولحظة التأسيس، وأنهيت البحث ببعض الملاحظات النقدية تتمحور حول الطابع التوفيقي عند الجابري، ومحدودية مفهومه للعقل والعقلانية، وتناقض مواقفه من بعض مقومات الحداثة كالعلمانية مثلا بسبب مراعاته الواقع الفكري والسياسي العربي. وهو ما حدّ من حركة الفكر الذي لا يمكن إلا أن يكون مطلقا ومغامرا واستكشافيا.

الكلمات المفتاح

التحديث - الحداثة - التراث - التأسيس - العقل والعقلانية

مدخل

تقتضي الإحاطة بمفهوم التحديث عموماً تحرير القول في تعريفه، وتخليص إشكالياته من الدائرة المفهومية التي يتحرك في مداراتها من جهة، واستدعاء شروط ظهوره في التاريخ العربي المعاصر على وجه الخصوص من جهة أخرى، لذلك ارتأينا أن يتخذ هذا المدخل التمهيدى مسلكين تأطيريين: منهجى وتاريخى:

أ- التأطير المنهجي:

يرتبط مصطلح التحديث (modernisation) مفهوماً ولسانياً بمصطلح الحداثة (modernité)، وهو مصطلح دالّ على نمط من التفكير والسلوك والعيش على غير قياس¹، ويميّز النصف الثاني من القرن العشرين في العالم الغربي، أمّا مصطلح التحديث فيدلّ على الجهد المبذول في اتجاه تحقيق ذلك النمط، ومما يجمع مصطلحي التحديث والحداثة أنّهما مقابلان للتقليد، وفي صراع مستمرّ معه، وتنتج حركتهما إلى الانفصال الدائم عن الخطاب المتمركز حول مفاهيم الهوية والأصالة، لذلك فإنه لا معنى للتحديث عن الحداثة والتحديث في مجتمعات لا تملك تراثاً ولا عصراً وسيطاً كما هو الشأن في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، كما يقول جون بودريار.² والتحديث مصطلح حديث في الفكر العربيّ، إذ لا نجد هذه المادة اللغوية (ح، د، ث) بهذا المعنى أو قريباً منه في المعاجم والكتب التراثية العربية والإسلامية بما فيها القرآن الكريم*، ويذهب بعض الدارسين إلى أنّ مصطلح التحديث إنّما ظهر في فرنسا في القرن السابع عشر في مقابل مصطلح النهضة الذي تعني ترجمته الحرفية الولادة الثانية (Renaissance)³، وإذا كان فكر النهضة الأوروبية قد رأى في الفكر اليوناني والروماني مثلاً أعلى ينبغي توليد نهضة جديدة منه، فإنّ فكر عصر الأنوار المنتشي

¹ - انظر قول جون ماري دوميناك: ليس للحداثة خطاب مؤسس، لأنّ لها أساسها الخاصّ، Jean-Marie Domenah, approches de la modernité ; éd. Marketing. Paris. 1986. p15.

على خلاف المصطلحات الأخرى من قبيل: نهضة و انبعث و إصلاح الخ.....

² - Jeans Baudriard, Encyclopédie Universalis, corpus 15, modernité, p552-

* - ابن منظور، لسان العرب، مادة (ح، د، ث)

³ - هاشم صالح، مدخل إلى التنوير الأوربي، دار الطليعة/ بيروت 2005، ص242

بفتوحاته الفلسفية والعلمية قد ولى ظهره للماضي وتولى المستقبل، و نشب صراع بين دعاة القديم وأنصار الحديث في جلسة عقدتها الأكاديمية الفرنسية سنة 1687، واستمر الخلاف بعد ذلك سنوات، أما مصطلح الحداثة فيعتقد أنه لم يظهر إلا في منتصف القرن التاسع عشر (1849)، وأول من استخدم هذا المصطلح هو الشاعر الفرنسي شارل بودلير (ت1868 م) وجيرار دي نرفال (ت 1855م)، وإن لم يأخذ كامل معناه إلا لاحقا كما أسلفنا¹.

وهكذا فإنه من المشروع القول "إنّ تاريخ النعت "حديث" أطول من تاريخ الحداثة"²، إلا أنه من المهمّ التساؤل عن كيفية التمييز بين ما هو حديث وبين ما هو مجرد حاضر أو معاصر.

ليس بوسع عامل الزمن وحده تمييز الحديث من مجرد المعاصر، إذ الحديث معاصر بالضرورة، إلا أن المعاصر قد لا يكون حديثا، ذلك أنّ الحديث يمتصّ الزمن جدّته حتّى يصير قديما*، لذلك ينبغي النظر إلى خصائص الحداثة في تجسدها الأوروبي، ليتسنى لنا معرفة اتجاه التّحديث باعتباره الجهد المبذول في التّاريخ لتجسيد مظاهر الحداثة و خصائصها كما بيّنا آنفا.

يتفق جلّ الباحثين على أنّ خصائص الحداثة تتلخّص في عدّة مظاهر منها: العيش على غير مثال ورفض التقليد، ونزع القداسة عن العالم، والفردية، والعقلانية³ الخ... وليس من همّنا في هذا الحيز المحدود تحليل

1 - J.M. Domenach. Opp cit.p14

بميّز دوميناك بين حدثين متعاقبتين: الأولى من سنة 1780 إلى سنة 1880، والثانية من سنة 1880 إلى سنة 1960، الصفحة نفسها.

2 - E.u. J. Baudrillard.opp.cit. p.552

* تفتنّ القدامى إلى هذه النسبية في قضية الجدّة والقدم من حيث علاقتها بآلية الزمن، إذ يقول ابن رشيق: " كلّ قديم من الشعراء فهو محدث في زمانه بالإضافة إلى من كان قبله": العمدة في محاسن الشعر وآدابه ونقده، ج1، تحقيق محمد محي الدين عبد الحميد، ط5، دار الجيل للنشر والتوزيع، بيروت / لبنان، 1981، ص90.

3 - للتوسّع في خصائص الحداثة يمكن العودة على سبيل المثال لا الحصر:

- Peter Berger, Affrontés à la modernité, éd. La Centurion. Paris 1980 (traduction française par

Alexandre Bombien)

- Jean-Marie Domenach, Approche 0 la modernité, opp.cit -

هذه الخصائص، بقدر ما يعيننا تحليل التيار التحديثي المرتبط بها في الفكر العربي المعاصر متمثلاً في نموذج محدّد هو مشروع المفكر المغربي محمد عابد الجابري، ولا يتسنّى لنا ذلك إلا متى رصدنا بوادر ظهور هذا التيار التحديثي في الفكر العربي المعاصر.

ب- التّأثير التاريخي

إذا كان الرأي منعقداً تقريباً على أنّ النهضة العربيّة قد نشأت على دويّ مدافع نابليون الذي غزا مصر سنة 1789م¹ فإن ظهور التيار العقلاني النقدي في الفكر العربي المعاصر قد ظهر إثر الهزيمة العربية أمام إسرائيل سنة 1967م، فقد ظهرت مشاريع نقدية ميّزت حقبة السبعينات وما تلاها إلى اليوم، وقد وسمها الباحث المغربي محمد نور الدين أفاية بالاتجاه النقدي الذي "يحاول مساءلة مكونات العقل العربي وذلك بهدف الكشف عن آليات هذا العقل وعن أسسه المعرفية والابتعاد، جهد الإمكان، عن المناظرة الإيديولوجية والمذهبية التي تحكمت في الفكر العربي منذ عصر النهضة إلى الآن"²، وقد عدّ السيّد يسين أربعة منها هي: مشروع حسين مروة ومشروع الطيب تيزني اللذان يشتركان في كونهما مشروعين ماركسيين، ومشروع حسن حنفي، "ومشروع عابد الجابري هو المشروع الرابع - بحسب ظهوره- في قائمة المشاريع"³، والحقيقة أنّ السيّد يسين يغفل مشروعين آخرين مهمّين هما: مشروع عبدالله العروي، ومشروع محمد

- محمد الكحلوي، الهوية و التحديث، سلسلة كتاب الحرية، ط1 جريدة الحرية/ تونس، فيفري 2010 وخاصة فصل: الحداثة و التحديث من ص31 إلى ص 45

¹ - يحدّد بعضهم بداية النهضة كذلك بوفاة الأمير فخر الدين الأكبر بلبنان (1635م) انظر البرت حوراني، الفكر العربي في عصر النهضة، ترجمة قلم عبد الكريم عزقول، دار النهار للنشر، د.ط. بيروت/ لبنان، دت. نقلا عن: محمد صالح المراكشي، قراءات في الفكر العربي الحديث والمعاصر، سلسلة موافقات، الدار التونسية للنشر.ط.، تونس، ص 274، الهامش 26 و يذهب آخرون إلى أنّ النهضة لم تبدأ بغزو بونايرت لمصر، بل بدأت منذ عصر ابن تيمية وابن خلدون في القرن 14م. انظر: أبو يعرب المرزوقي، شروط نهضة العرب والمسلمين، دار الفكر العربي ودار الفكر، ط1، بيروت / لبنان، دمشق / سوريا، 2001، ص9.

² - محمد نورالدين أفاية، المعقول والمتخيّل في الفكر العربي المعاصر، مجلة المستقبل العربي، السنة 5، العدد 160، حزيران، 1992، ص 7.

³ - السيّد يسين، تعقيب 1 على بحث للجابري، ضمن تأليف جماعي: التراث و تحديات العصر في الوطن العربي (الأصالة و المعاصرة)، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية ط2، بيروت/ لبنان 1987، ص59

أركون، والأول منهما يسبق جميع المشاريع التي ذكرها الباحث، إذ استهله سنة 1967م بكتابه الشهير: الإيديولوجيا العربية المعاصر، أي عقب الهزيمة مباشرة.

فماهي سمات هذه المشاريع الفكرية، بحيث استحققت من أجلها أن تعتبر نقلة نوعية في الفكر العربي المعاصر؟

لعلّ أهم ما تتسم به تلك المشاريع هي الجدة والجزرية سعياً إلى القطيعة مع نمط من التفكير كان سائداً قبل الهزيمة، فقد اتجه بعض المفكرين لا إلى نقد الفكر فحسب، بل إلى نقد أسس التفكير وآليات إنتاجه ذاتها أيضاً، أي إلى نقد العقل ومفاهيمه و تصورات. يقول الجابري في هذا الصدد: "إنّ العقل النهضويّ كان رومنسياً حالماً، فطرح كلّ القضايا السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية دون إن يلتفت إلى نفسه فينقد طريقة اشتغاله وإنتاجه لهذه الأطروحات"¹، وينعى الجابري على فكر النهضة عدم التفاته إلى نقد العقل، بل جعل ذلك سبباً أدى إلى فشل النهضة، يقول الجابري: "إنّ نقد العقل جزء أساسي وأوليّ من كلّ مشروع للنهضة، ولكنّ نهضتنا العربية الحديثة جرت فيها الأمور على غير هذا المجرى، ولعلّ ذلك من أهمّ عوامل تعثرها إلى الآن (...). وهل يمكن بناء نهضة بغير عقل ناهض؟.. عقل لم يقم بمراجعة شاملة لآلياته ومفاهيمه وتصورات ورؤاه"².

ومهما يكن من شأن التيار التحديثي النقدي الذي نشأ إثر هزيمة 1967، فإنّه لم يشكّل كلاً متجانساً، إذ اختلفت الرؤى، وتنوعت المسالك إلى التحديث باختلاف الخلفيات النظرية والأسس الفلسفية، وتنوع المناهج والرؤى، وتجسّد كلّ ذلك في الموقف من التراث ومن الحداثة، وأية ذلك أنّه في حين دعا الجابري مثلاً إلى عودة نقدية إلى التراث من أجل إعادة إنتاجه وتعقيله، وتبيئة الحداثة الغربية في تربة الثقافة العربية كما

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث و الحداثة (دراسات و مناقشات)، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، ط1، بيروت/

لبنان، 1991، ص 243

² - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، المركز الثقافي العربي، ط4، بيروت/ لبنان، الدار البيضاء/ المغرب، 1991،

ص5

سنرى،¹ فإنّ عبد الله العروي قد دعا إلى "طيّ الصفحة"² وإحداث قطيعة تامّة مع التراث، وتبنيّ الحداثة الغربية.

فما هو توصيف الجابري لطبيعة الأزمة العربيّة؟ وما مفهوم التحديث عنده؟ وكيف يرى العلاقة بين التراث والحداثة؟ وما حدود مقاربتة التحديثية؟

1 - التّحديث في مشروع الجابري

لمّا كان التّحديث في جوهره فعلا في الواقع والتاريخ والأذهان، فقد كان من الضّروري أن يباشر الجابري فحص مجالات الفعل تلك للوقوف على الوقائع والأفكار المعيقة للتحديث، والانطلاق ممّا هو موجود قصد معالجته، ويقع تحديد طبيعة الأزمة التي تعيشها المجتمعات العربية في مقدمة ما ينبغي حدّه. فما هي طبيعة الأزمة العربية في نظر الجابري؟

1 - توصيف الأزمة

يكتسي تحديد طبيعة الأزمة التي تمرّ بها الحضارة العربيّة الإسلاميّة منذ قرون أهميّة قصوى، إذ على أساسها يتحدّد نوع المعالجة، وتتنّضح سبل التّحديث، وقد عُنِيَ الجابري بذلك فتساءل إن كانت أزمة الثقافة العربية الحاليّة (إشكالية الأصالة والمعاصرة، الحداثة، التراث الخ..) هي أزمة انعكاس إيديولوجيّ لصراع طبقي يجري في مستوى الواقع الاجتماعي، أم أنّها أزمة تتّصل بالثقافة؟ ويجب الجابري منطلقا من إشكالية محدّدة هي إشكالية الأصالة والمعاصرة: "إنّ إشكالية الأصالة والمعاصرة في الفكر العربي الحديث والمعاصر لا تعكس بالضرورة وضعا طبقيّا ولا تعبّر بالضرورة عن مصالح طبقية، وبعبارة أخرى إنّ المواقف المختلفة إزاء هذه الإشكاليّة ليست بالضرورة جزءا ولا مظهرا من الصراع الإيديولوجي بالمعنى

¹ - كرّر الجابري أطروحة الأساسية هذه في أغلب مؤلفاته. انظر مثلا: محمد عابد الجابري، التراث والحداثة (دراسات ومناقشات)، مصدر سابق، ص16

² - عبدالله العروي، (مقالة في المفارقات)، المركز الثقافي العربي، ط3، بيروت/ لبنان، الدار البيضاء/ المغرب 2001، ص10

الكلاسيكي للكلمة، أي الصّراع بين إيديولوجيات تعكس مصالح طبقية متناحرة¹، ذلك أنّ للفكر في علاقته بالواقع قدرا من الاستقلالية، إذ "أنّ الفكر، في مستويات معيّنة، إذ يعكس الواقع، حتى في أدنى درجات استقلاله النسبي، لا يعكس كما تفعل المرآة التي يرى فيها الشّخص وجهه بكلّ قسماته وتجاعيده، بل غالبا ما تكون الصورة المنعكسة متموّجة متداخلة الأجزاء كالصورة التي تعكسها المرآة المهشّمة (...). [و] هناك مستويات من الفكر تفصلها عن الواقع مسافات كبيرة (...). كالقضايا المنطقية والفلسفية والرياضية (...). وإشكالية الأصالة والمعاصرة في الفكر العربي الحديث والمعاصر – فيما أعتقد- من هذا النوع، فهي إشكالية نظرية يميل استقلالها النسبي عن الواقع نحو المائة في المائة²، وفي مقابل ذلك يرتفع الجابري بإشكالية الأصالة و المعاصرة، وهي نظير إشكالية التراث والتّحديث كما يذكر هو نفسه³ إلى كونها نتيجة لاصطدامنا مع النموذج الحضاري الغربي منذ عصر النهضة، وأنّه لا خيار لنا أمام الحداثة الغربية مثلما أنه لا خيار لنا في مواجهة تراثنا، وهكذا "فالمشكل الذي يواجهنا ليس مشكل أن نختار بين أحد نموذجين، ولا مشكل أن نوافق بينهما، بل إن المشكل الذي نعاني منه هو مشكل الازدواجية التي تطبع كل مرافق حياتنا المادية والفكرية"⁴.

فالأزمة إذن ليست تعبيراً عن صراع اجتماعي أو طبقي بل هي ذات طبيعة ثقافية تشكّلت على مراحل في رحم التّراث، مثّلت لحظة أبي حامد الغزالي (ت.1111م) ذروة سنامها باعتبارها لحظة هزيمة العقلين البرهاني والبياني وسيادة العقل العرفاني كما سيأتي بيانه ، وزاد من استفحال هذه الأزمة ظهور التّحدّي الذي فرضته الحضارة الغربية الغازية، لذلك فإنّ أعراضها قد تخلّقت في مستوى الفكر وفي بنية الأداة

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، إشكالية الأصالة والمعاصرة في الفكر العربي الحديث والمعاصر: صراع طبقي أم مشكل ثقافي؟،

ضمن كتاب جماعي، التراث وتحديات العصر في الوطن العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 29

² - محمد عابد الجابري، إشكالية الأصالة والمعاصرة في الفكر العربي الحديث والمعاصر، مصدر سابق، ص 30-31

³ - المصدر نفسه، ص 57

⁴ - المصدر نفسه، ص 34

المنتجة لذلك الفكر، أي في العقل كما يقول الجابري،¹ وهو ما يفسّر مغامرته الكبرى في إعادة قراءة التراث في مجمل ما كتب.

هكذا رسم الجابري صورة الأزمة على المستويين النظري والمفهومي من جهة، وعلى المستوى العملي اليومي من جهة أخرى.

فكيف يرى الجابري سبيل التحديث؟ وما هي المسالك الممكنة، في رأيه، لتجاوز أزمة الحضارة العربية المعاصرة؟

2- التحديث

تنهض رؤية الجابري في التحديث على لحظات ثلاث: لحظة إعادة قراءة التراث، ولحظة نقد الحداثة الغربية، ولحظة تبيين تلك الحداثة واستنباتها في الثقافة العربية المعاصرة عبر الانتظام في اللحظات المنيرة من التراث.

أ- لحظة إعادة قراءة التراث

لما كانت رؤية الجابري التحديثية مرتكزة على ضرورة الانتظام في لحظة تنويرية من التراث فقد سعى إلى العودة إلى هذا التراث يقرؤه ويفكّكه في سبيل محاولة القبض على اللحظة المشرقة المأمولة من أجل استننافها، وكان لا بدّ له، قبل ذلك، من تعريف التراث المقصود الذي يروم قراءته، يقول الجابري: "اخترنا بوعي التعامل مع الثقافة "العالمية" وحدها، فتركنا جانبا الثقافة الشعبية من أمثال وقصص وخرافات وأساطير وغيرها، لأنّ مشروعنا مشروع نقديّ، ولأنّ موضوعنا هو العقل، ولأنّ قضيتنا التي نحاها لها هي

¹ - تعدّ هذه الأطروحة إحدى المسلّمات الكبرى الموجهة لمشروع الجابري، راجع مثلا : محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص5.

العقلانية"¹ ويبرّر الجابري إسقاطه لفروع الثقافة العربية التي عدّها بأنّ دراستها من اختصاص الباحث الأنثروبولوجي الذي لا يهتمّ بالبعد النقدي، ولا تختلط لديه الذات بالموضوع، وتحدّد جهد الجابري التفكيكي للتراث العربي في مستويات ثلاثة هي: المستوى المعرفي والمستوى السياسي والمستوى الأخلاقي، وهي مستويات يرى الجابري أنها تشكّلت في مرحلة مبكرة من الحضارة العربية الإسلامية، أي في ما يسمّى بعصر التدوين. وهو عصر اعتبره الجابري إطاراً مرجعياً للفكر العربي، فيه تأسست النظم المعرفية الثلاثة في الثقافة العربية بنى معرفية متميزة من حيث مراجعها وأسسها²، وهي البيان والعرفان والبرهان، التي تنتظم فيها مختلف المعارف والعلوم العربية والإسلامية: علوم البيان تضمّ النحو والفقه والبلاغة وعلم الكلام الخ...³ ويطلق عليها اسم " المعقول الديني" وينهض منهجها على آلية معرفية هي قياس الغائب على الشاهد، وهذه العلوم عربية إسلامية خالصة لأنّ نشأتها كانت بداية من العصر الراشدي وصولاً إلى العصر الأموي. أما علوم العرفان فتضمّ التصوف والفكر الشيعي والفلسفة الإسماعيلية والتفسير الباطني للقرآن والفلسفة الإشرافية والكيمياء والطب والسحر والطّاسمات وعلم التنجيم، ويطلق الجابري على هذه العلوم اسم " اللامعقول العقلي" أو " العقل المستقل" ويتحدّد تاريخ ظهورها بالعصر العباسي الأول، أمّا مصدرها فهو الثقافات السابقة على الإسلام من غنوصية وثقافة هرمتية، والخاصية الأبرز لهذا النظام هي قيامه على رؤية للعالم قوامها الكشف والاتصال والتجاذب أي على صلة روحانية مباشرة بين الذات وموضوعها. أما النظام الثالث فهو نظام البرهان الذي يضمّ علوم المنطق والرياضيات والطبيعيّات والفلسفة اليونانية الأرسطوطاليسية، وينهض هذا العقل على الملاحظة التجريبية، وعلى منهج سببي يربط الأسباب بالنتائج، وهو حقل معرفي شكّل عقلاً مخصوصاً، وكان ظهوره في عصر المأمون (ت 218هـ) وحركة الترجمة التي رعاها وشجّعها، ولئن كانت ولادة هذا العقل في المشرق العربي على يدي الكندي وإلى حدّ ما عند الفارابي، فإنّ ازدهاره الحقيقي قد تمّ في بلاد الأندلس والمغرب كما يقول الجابري على يدي ابن حزم (ت

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 7

² - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، فصل عصر التدوين: الإطار المرجعي للفكر العربي من ص 56 إلى ص 72.

³ - لمزيد التوسّع في حدّ علم الكلام وأطواره يمكن العودة إلى: محمد بوهلال، إسلام المتكلمين، سلسلة الإسلام واحداً ومتعدداً، دار الطليعة ورابطة العقلايين العرب، ط1، بيروت / لبنان، 2006، وخاصة الفصل الأول في حدّ علم الكلام ومنزلته التاريخية، من ص 13 إلى ص 33.

456) وابن باجه (ت 533هـ) وابن رشد (ت 595هـ) وأبي إسحاق الشاطبي (ت 790هـ) وابن خلدون (ت 808هـ) ، وقد مرّت العلاقة بين العقول الثلاثة (العقل البياني والعقل العرفاني والعقل البرهاني) بثلاث مراحل من الاتّصال والانفصال، فكانت سمة مرحلة التأسيس هي الانفصال، يليها تبادل الأسس مع المحافظة على السمات الخاصّة في مرحلة تالية، انتهاء إلى مرحلة من التداخل بين بنى متشظية في مرحلة ثالثة، وقد نشأت الأزمة من هذا التداخل، إذ "كان من الطبيعي أن يتطوّر التصادم والتداخل بين تلك البنيات من تصادم ثنائي (مثنى مثنى) إلى تصادم عام بين تلك البنيات جميعها. وهذا ما حدث فعلا، وكان أبو حامد الغزالي (ت 505) هو الذي تشخّص في تجربته الروحية وإنتاجه الفكري هذا التصادم والتداخل"¹، إذ أدخل التصفوف ذا الأسس الهرمسية والمنتمية إلى بنية العقل العرفاني (العقل المستقل) إلى الفضاء السنّي المعتمد على العقل البياني، كما وظّف المنطق المنتمية إلى العقل البرهاني، لا لإنتاج المعرفة بل للدفاع عن معطيات قبلية²، وإذا كانت لحظة الأزمة عند أبي حامد ترتكز على فلسفة ابن سينا (ت 427هـ) فإن لحظة التأسيس الثانية على يدي ابن رشد في الغرب الإسلامي ترتكز على ابن حزم وابن تومرت (ت 1128م) وابن باجه. يقول الجابري " إقصاء "العرفان" والفصل بين "البيان" و " البرهان"، ذلك هو نفس الخطّ الذي ينتظم الخطاب الرشدي الذي يستعيد مشروع ابن حزم، عبر ابن تومرت وابن باجه، ولكن على مستوى آخر أغنى وأعمق"³.

فماهي القيمة الإجرائية لهذا التفكيك الذي أجراه الجابري لبنى العقل العربي في سياق إشكالية التحديث؟

كشفت قراءة الجابري الحفرية للتراث عن الصوت العقلاني الصّالح للاستئناف، وبين قطيعته مع التراث اللّاعقلاني السابق له ممثّلا في العقل البياني والعقل العرفاني، إذ لا بداية من الصفر كما أكّد مرارا، ولا بدّ

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق ص. 281.

ولمزيد التوسّع في نماذج من تأسيس البيان على العرفان، انظر محمد بوهلال، الغيب والشهادة في فكر الغزالي، نشر كلية الآداب، ط1، سوسة/ تونس، ودار محمد علي الحامي، تونس، 2003 وخاصة الفصل الثاني من الباب الرابع، وهو متمعّص لدراسة مفهوم السببية، من ص 564 إلى ص 610.

² - محمد عبد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 284، وانظر للمؤلف نفسه: بنية العقل العربي، دار النشر

المغربية، ط7، الدار البيضاء/ المغرب، 200 من ص 419 إلى ص 421.

³ - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 316

من الانتظام في عمل سابق، مشدداً على أن المشروع الثقافي الأندلسي، بما انطوى عليه من روح اجتهادية، قابل لأن يمثل أساساً مناسباً لكل عملية تحديث¹، ولئن اختنق هذا الصوت في البلاد الإسلامية كافة وانتصر العقل المستقيل²، فإن من أوكد واجبات أي حركة تحديثية أن تبعث هذا التيار العقلاني من جديد.

ومع ذلك يظل من المشروع التساؤل: كيف يمكن أن تستأنف اللحظة التنويرية وهي لحظة ماضية ووقع تجاوزها معرفياً وسياسياً وإيديولوجياً؟ كيف يمكن وصلها بالحاضر؟

تتلخص إجابة الجابري في حركتين: حركة أولى تتمثل في قراءة التراث في سياقه التاريخي وفهمه في إطار المعطيات التاريخية التي حقت بتشكّله من أجل الوقوف على نسبيته، وحركة ثانية تتمثل في استلهامه، ومدّ عقلانيته المشروطة بظرفها كي تتلاءم مع معقولية العصر وشروطه، يقول الجابري موضحاً: "الهدف الذي نرمي إليه هو جعل التراث معاصراً لنفسه على صعيد الإشكالية النظرية والمحتوى المعرفي والمضمون الإيديولوجي، الشيء الذي يتطلب معالجته في محيطه الخاص، المعرفي والاجتماعي والتاريخي، وهذا هو معنى الموضوعية، وفي الوقت نفسه جعله معاصراً لنا بنقله إلينا ليكون موضوعاً قابلاً لأن نمارس فيه وبواسطته عقلانية تنتمي إلى عصرنا، وهذا هو معنى المعقولية"³، ولا تكتمل الحركتان معاً إلا بالانفتاح على منجزات الحداثة ومكتسباتها وفق قراءة مخصوصة وضمن رؤية محدّدة، وعليها مدار الفقرة اللاحقة.

ب- لحظة نقد الحداثة

يتبنّى الجابري مفهوماً للعقل حدّده الفيلسوف الفرنسي أندري لالاند A.Lalande، ميّز فيه بين مستويين من العقل: العقل المكوّن أو الفاعل La raison constituante والعقل المكوّن أو السائد La raison constituée، ومن خصائص الأول أنه يميل إلى الثبات لأنه الملكة التي يمتلكها كلّ الناس وتمييزهم عن

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، بنية العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 545.

² - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، ص 325

³ - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث والحداثة: دراسات ومناقشات، مصدر سابق، ص 47

للقوف على نموذج تطبيقي لما قرره الجابري في شأن المرحلة الموضوعية من القراءة والمرحلة المعقولية (الاستمرارية) يمكن العودة إلى قراءته لمفهوم البدعة، ولحكم ميراث البنت في: المصدر نفسه، من ص 50 إلى ص 54 للمثال الأول، ومن ص 54 إلى ص 56 للمثال الثاني.

الحيوان، أمّا الثاني فمن خصائصها التحوّل من حقبة زمنية إلى أخرى، والعلاقة بين العقلين، كما يقول الجابري، جدلية، فلئن كان العقل المكوّن ينشئ المبادئ والقواعد وأسس الاستدلال التي تشكّل في حقبة ما نظاماً معرفياً معيّناً، فإنّ هذا العقل ذاته، أي العقل المكوّن، يتشكّل وفق المادّة التي أنتجته.¹

إنّ لهذا التمييز نتيجتين مهمّتين:

أولاً: الحكم بالاختلاف بين العقل العربي والعقل الغربي، وهو ما يعني في سياق إشكالية التحديث استحالة تبني عقل ما من خارج منابته الأصلية، ولو كان هذا العقل هو عقل الحداثة، ذلك أنّ وقوعها خارج الثقافة العربية يجعلها "لا تستطيع أن تحاورها حواراً يحرك فيها الحركة من داخلها، إنّها تهاجمها من خارجها ممّا يجعل ردّ الفعل الحتمي هو الانغلاق والنكوص"². وحتى إذا وقع التسليم بأن الحداثة الأوروبية هي اليوم حادثة عالمية فإن انتظامها في التاريخ الثقافي الأوروبي يجعلها مشروطة بشروطه،³ مثلها مثل أيّ ظاهرة تاريخية أخرى محدودة بحدود زمنية ترسمها الصيرورة على خط التطور، ومن هذه الملاحظة تتولّد نتيجة أساسية في فكر الجابري حاسمة في توجيه مسالك التحديث عنده، وهي القول بخصوصية العقول، ونفي وجود عقل كوني واحد، ويستدلّ على ذلك بالاختلاف بين الزمنين الثقافيين العربي والأوروبي، ففي حين مرّت أوروبا من النهضة إلى الأنوار إلى الحداثة فما بعد الحداثة بصورة متعاقبة بعد أن استوعبت كلّ مرحلة سابقتها، وانتظمت فيها، فإنّ الأمر في العالم العربي مختلف إذ أنّ "النهضة" و"الأنوار" و"الحداثة"، لا تشكل عندنا مراحل متعاقبة يتجاوز منها اللاحق السابق، بل هي عندنا متداخلة متشابكة متزامنة ضمن المرحلة المعاصرة التي تمتد بداياتها إلى ما يزيد على مائة عام، وبالتالي فنحن عندما نتحدث عن "الحداثة" فيجب أن لا نفهم منها ما يفهمه أدباء ومفكرو أوروبا⁴، وهكذا تشرّع مقدّمات الجابري إلى القول بحداثات متعدّدة بتعدّد الثقافات كالحداثة الصينية والحداثة اليابانية الخ...⁵

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مرجع سابق، من ص13 إلى ص17

² - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث والحداثة: دراسات ومناقشات، مصدر سابق، ص16

³ - المصدر نفسه والصفحة نفسها.

⁴ - المصدر نفسه، والصفحة نفسها

⁵ - المصدر نفسه، ص11

ثانياً: تقتضي الملاحظة السابقة أنّ التّحديث يتمّ داخل العقل العربيّ نفسه انطلاقاً من معطياته الخاصّة في حقبة زمنيّة ما وذلك بتطوير مبادئ العقل الفاعل وقواعده، لتحديث العقل السائد. يقول الجابري: "يمكن النظر إلى "العقل العربي" بوصفه عقلاً فاعلاً ينشئ ويصوغ العقل السائد في فترة تاريخية ما، الشيء الذي يعني أنه بالإمكان إنشاء وصياغة مبادئ وقواعد جديدة تحلّ محلّ القديمة، وبالتالي قيام عقل سائد جديد، أو على الأقلّ تعديل أو تطوير، أو تحديث أو تجديد العقل السائد القديم".¹

إنّ الملاحظتين السابقتين تفضيان إلى تصوّر للحدّثة مخصوص يتلّون بخصائص منبثقة من الثقافة المحليّة، إذ "الحدّثة رسالة ونزوع من أجل التّحديث، تحديث الذهنية، تحديث المعايير العقلية والوجدانية"². إلا أنّ السؤال يظلّ ملحاً حول كيفية تجسيد التّحديث المنشود بعد المجهود النقدي التمهيدي على جانبي التراث والحدّثة، وهو عمل تمهيدي لأنّه نهض على التقويض والقطيعة، ولا يكتمل إلاّ بجهد تأسيسيّ مقابل يقوم على البناء والوصل من جديد، وعلى هذا مدار الفقرة الموالية من البحث.

ت- لحظة التأسيس

إن نقد التراث والحدّثة معاً، والتعامل النقدي مع كلّ منهما هو الكفيل وحده، في نظر الجابري، بتحقيق نوع من التّمفصل بين ما هو عقلائي وقابل للحياة في التراث وبين ما هو كوني في الحدّثة، وهو تمفصل محقق للتّحديث المنشود، يقول الجابري مؤكّداً على التلازم بين هذا النقد المزدوج لكلّ من التراث والحدّثة: "إنّ السؤال: "كيف نتعامل مع الفكر العالمي المعاصر" [هو] الوجه الآخر لسؤال: كيف نتعامل مع التراث"³، بل إنّ الحدّثة ذات المسارات المتعدّدة، كما يراها الجابري، تفرض خصوصيات تميّز عمليّة التّحديث في كلّ مجتمع فـ "عندما تكون الثقافة السائدة ثقافة تراثيّة فإنّ خطاب الحدّثة فيها يجب أن يتّجه أولاً وقبل كل شيء إلى "التراث" بهدف إعادة قراءته وتقديم رؤية عصرية عنه"⁴، وهو رأي مكملّ لرأي جون بودريار في أنه

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص16

² - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث والحدّثة: دراسات ومناقشات، مصدر سابق، ص17

³ - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث والحدّثة: دراسات ومناقشات، مصدر سابق، ص11.

⁴ - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث والحدّثة (دراسات ومناقشات)، مصدر سابق، ص56، 67

لا معنى للحدث في بلد ليس له قرون وسطى، ولا تراث مهم¹. ويتناقض هذا الموقف مع من يرى تولي الحدث كما هي متحققة في الغرب، ويرفض التراث باعتباره عائقا في طريق التحديث، وهو رأي يتبناه تيار ثقافي واسع في الفكر العربي المعاصر، وفي مقدمته المفكر المغربي عبدالله العروي²، كما يتناقض موقف الجابري مع الرأي المقابل الذي يتمسك بالتراث ويدعو إلى تبني مناهج السلف، ويعتبر الحدث الغربي جاهلية عصرية.

فهل يمكن أن يعدّ هذا الموقف توفيقاً انتقائياً؟

يبدو أنّ رؤية الجابري للتحديث أبعد ما يكون من التوفيق، ذلك أنّ "عصر التدوين الجديد" الذي ما فتئ يدعو إليه يقوم على "نقد النماذج كلّها"، وأنّ ما يتبناه من الحدث يحتاج، بعد أن يخضع لعملية نقد صارمة، إلى عملية استنبات في تربة صالحة من التراث، وليس إلى مجرد انتقاء وتوفيق بين رؤيتين ثقافيتين، وهو أمر يختلف كذلك عن موقف استلابي آخر تجاه الغرب يتمثل في أخذ نتائج تقدّمه وثمراته، والإعراض عن مبادئه وأسسها المتمثلة في العقلانية والروح النقدية كما يقول الجابري³.

فما هي هذه التربة التراثية الصالحة؟ وما الذي يؤخذ منها تحديداً؟ وكيف يتمّ التفصل بينها وبين الحدث؟ ووفق أيّ رؤية يمكن استئناف النظام البرهاني وهو البعد الحيّ من التراث، خصوصاً إذا علمنا أنّ هذا النظام المعرفي المتمثّل في الرشديّة قد وقع تجاوزه؟

إنّ طرح هذه الأسئلة يجعلنا نواجه بشكل ملموس معضلات رؤية الجابري التحديثية ويضع رؤيته قيد الاختبار. وللإجابة عن هذه الأسئلة يعتمد الجابري قراءة بنيوية للفكر فيبحث عمّا يسمّيه بوحدة الإشكالية في عصر ما، وهي جملة العلاقات التي تربط بين الأفكار مهما اختلفت مجالات البحث، وكلّ إشكالية مدى زمنيّ محدّد يدعو الجابري بالمجال التاريخي الذي يقوم على محتوى معرفي (المفاهيم والتصورات والآليات...)، وعلى مضمون إيديولوجي، وإذا كان المحتوى المعرفي محكوماً عليه بالموت والقبليّة

¹ - Jean Baudrillard, E.U.renaissance, opp.cit.p552-

² - يعتبر موقف عبد الله العروي في القطيعة مع التراث من أشدّ المواقف جذرية ووضوحاً، راجع موقفه في كتابه: مفهوم العقل (مقالة في المفارقات)، المركز الثقافي العربي، ط3، بيروت/ لبنان، الدار البيضاء/ المغرب، 2001، ص10

³ - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث وتحديات العصر في الوطن العربي (الأصالة والمعاصرة)، مصدر سابق، ص55

للتجاوز، فإنّ المضمون الإيديولوجي متحوّل متبدّل بحيث يمكن للفكرة الواحدة أن تحمل مضامين إيديولوجية عديدة¹.

وتأسيساً على ذلك فإنّ ما يُستدعى من الرّشدية ليس مضمونها المعرفي بل محتواها الإيديولوجي، فإذا كان ابن رشد قد حارب الفكر الغنوصي الهرمسي الذي مثله التراث السينوي (نسبة إلى ابن سينا)، وحاول "إعادة تأسيس كاملة للعلاقة بين "البيان" و"البرهان" وعلى أساس نظرة واقعية عقلانية إلى الأمور"²، فإنّ من واجبنا مواصلة هذه القطيعة بمحاربة كلّ مظاهر اللّامعقول في حياتنا و تبني كلّ ما هو عقلائي ونقدي وعلمي وواقعي، وتوظيف هذه القطيعة في بناء المشروع التحديثي، والتفاعل مع الحداثة الغربية على النحو الذي تفاعل به ابن رشد مع الفكر اليوناني، إذ ميّز بين الآلة والمادّة، أي بين المنهج والنظرية، وتولّى الأولى وأهمّل الثانية³، وهكذا فإنّ الجابري يدعونا إلى بناء المحتوى النظري لحدائتنا الخاصّة باستلهاام الأسس والمناهج التي سمحت للغرب ببناء حدائته، إذ الحداثة، عنده، "أولا وقبل كلّ شيء [هي] حداثة المنهج وحداثة الرؤية"⁴. ولا يتمّ هذا البناء إلاّ بالمزاوجة بين ما هو عالمي وكوني في كلّ من التراث العربي والفكر الأوروبي المعاصر، وبهذا التآليف الإبداعي وحده يذوب التناقض الظاهري بين الأصالة والمعاصرة، وتصبح المقابلة بينهما مقابلة غير ذات مضمون، لأنها حينئذٍ "بمثابة وضع الفكر الإنساني في مقابل نفسه، تحت تأثيرات واهية قومية أو دينية أو "حضارية" مزعومة"⁵.

هكذا انبنت رؤية الجابري التحديثيّة الدّاعية إلى تدشين منطلق نهضويّ جديد على مرتكزات ثلاثة هي: نقد التراث ونقد الحداثة وتبني ما هو عقلائي فيهما استئنافا واستلهااما من أجل الانخراط في حداثة مجترحة من

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، نحن والتراث: قراءات معاصرة في تراثنا الفلسفي، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، ط1، بيروت / لبنان، 2006، ص ص 33، 34.

² - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 322
من المفيد أن نلاحظ أنّ الجابري حين يتحدّث عن الخطّ الرشديّ إنّما يقصد نقديّة ابن حزم وأصوليّة الشاطبي وتاريخية ابن خلدون، انظر مؤلفه: بنية العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 532.

³ - محمد عابد الجابري، نحن و التراث: قراءات معاصرة في تراثنا الفلسفي، مصدر سابق، ص 57.

⁴ - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث والحداثة، (دراسات ومناقشات)، مصدر سابق، ص 16.

⁵ - المصدر نفسه، ص 40.

التراث الخاص بالأمة، منفتحة، بالقدر نفسه، على الفكر العالمي المعاصر، محققة، في المحصلة، لشروط
"الاستقلال التاريخي التام" بالمعنى الغرامشي كما يقول الجابري.¹

فإلى أي حدّ يمكن الاطمئنان إلى الأسس النظرية والمنهجية التي شيّد عليها الجابري رؤيته التحديثية؟ وهل
يمكن التسليم بالخلاصات التي انتهى إليها؟

II - قراءة نقدية لإشكالية التحديث في فكر الجابري

عالج الجابري إشكالية التحديث ضمن مشروع معرفي نسقي مغلق شيده بعناية²، منطلقاً من تحديد الإشكالية
ووضع فروض ومسلمات لها، وصولاً إلى خلاصات ينتهي إليها البحث، غير أنّ الباحث السيد يسين يرى
في هذه الفضيلة خطورة بالغة تتمثل "في أنه إذا كانت المسألة الأساسية التي يصدر عنها الباحث ليست

¹ - محمد عابد الجابري، بنية العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص 543.

² - يعرف الفيلسوف الفرنسي باشلار المشروع المعرفي بأنه " جملة من الأفكار تنتمي إلى منظومة معرفية واحدة وتتجسد عبر
تقنيات محدودة في بناء المفاهيم والمصطلحات والمناهج التجريبية"، وتنتج، حسب باشلار، عن هذه المشاريع المعرفية، وحدة
في الإشكاليات والتساؤلات المطروحة للبحث والمعاينة.

انظر: G.bachelard, Le nouvel esprit, Paris- 1934, P11.

نقلاً عن: حكيم بن حمودة، بعض الفرضيات الأولية حول قصور الفكر المغاربي ضمن كتاب قضايا فكرية: الفكر العربي على
مشارف القرن الواحد والعشرين، إشراف محمود أمين العالم، يصدر عن "قضايا فكرية للنشر والتوزيع" عدد: 15 - 16، القاهرة /
مصر، يوليو 1995، ص 126.

صحيحة، أو ليست هي المسلمة الوحيدة، فإن كل البناء بعد ذلك يمكن التساؤل عن متانته¹، ويضرب الباحث على ذلك أمثلة عديدة منها مسلمة الجابري بأننا لا نزال نطرح الأسئلة نفسها التي طرحها رواد النهضة، وهو موقف يرى الباحث أنه يتجاهل الممارسة التاريخية منذ فجر النهضة إلى اليوم متسائلا: "هل حقا نحن نطرح الأسئلة نفسها التي طرحها رفاة الطهطاوي؟ وهل يمكن ذلك بعد أن مرّ المجتمع العربي بحقبة ليبرالية كاملة، امتحنت فيها الأفكار الليبرالية، ووضعت المؤسسات الليبرالية على محك التطبيق؟ وهل يجوز [ذلك] بعد حقبة الاشتراكية العربية التي قادتها الناصرية، والتي أدت إلى تغييرات كبرى على صعيد الفكر والممارسة؟"²

أما المسلمة الثانية التي بنى عليها الجابري مشروعه التحديثي فهي استقلال الفكر عن الواقع التي ترتب عنها اعتباره الأزمة ذات طبيعة ثقافية، وينبغي معالجتها ضمن هذا الإطار، أي عبر البحث عن جذورها في التراث القديم وترسباته في الثقافة المعاصرة للوقوف على عوائق التحديث، وهي مهمة نهض بها الجابري في استجلاء خصائص العقل العربي ومحدداته، مبينا أسباب لا فاعليته مقترحا سبلا ملموسة لتنشيطه وتحديثه، ولعلّ كثيرا من الباحثين العرب لا يقرّوه على هذه المسلمة، ومنهم على وجه الخصوص المفكرون ذوو النزعة الماركسيّة، أو الذين لا يقنعهم التفسير الأحادي للظواهر السياسية والاجتماعية وغيرها. ولأجل ذلك وسم بعضهم الطرح الجابري بالمثالية، يقول السيد يسين في ذلك: "حين يقرر الجابري أن المضمون الإيديولوجي للتراث يعتنقه "الناس" بعد غياب أصوله الطبقية، فهو لم يتوقف ليسأل نفسه: أي ناس؟ وهؤلاء الناس ألا يمكن تصنيفهم طبقيا؟ (...). إننا نرى أنّ تأكيد الجابري أنّ إشكالية الأصالة والمعاصرة هي إشكالية ثقافية محض (...). إنما هو وضع مثالي بحث، بالمعنى الفلسفي للكلمة. فهو يعلي من الأفكار على حساب الواقع بكل ما يمرّ به من تفاعلات وصراعات. وكأنّ هناك مشكلات يمكن أن توصف بأنها فكريّة، تكون محصنة من تأثير الواقع عليها"³. إذن، وفق وجهة النظر هذه، فإنه لا مناص من التحليل الطبقي لتشخيص الأزمة العربية، وهو تحليل يقتضي النظر في البنى الاجتماعية وأساليب الإنتاج السائدة، وربط كلّ ذلك

¹ - السيد يسين، تعقيب 1 على مداخلة الجابري، ضمن كتاب جماعي، التراث وتحديات العصر في الوطن العربي: الأصالة والمعاصرة، مرجع سابق، ص 61.

² - المرجع نفسه والصفحة نفسها

³ - السيد يسين، تعقيب 1 على مداخلة الجابري، مرجع سابق، من ص 62 إلى ص 64

بالأفكار والإيديولوجيات، على نحو يكون معه من الضروري أن تحمل مشروع التحديث طبقة اجتماعية ما لأنها تجد فيه تعبيراً عن مصالحها وتطلّعاتها، وإذا كان هذا هو التحليل الماركسي الحرفي، فإن كثيراً من الاجتهادات الماركسية الأخرى قد أفضت إلى التركيز على البعد التاريخي للأزمة، فأدخلت في منظور التحليل تبعية المجتمع العربي في العصر الحديث، وهي تبعية ينتج عنها تطوّر في بعض القطاعات وتقهر في أخرى، كما تتوزع القاعدة الاقتصادية إلى مجالات متفاوتة المعاصرة¹، فلا غرابة أن تغيب الذهنية المدنية مثلاً عند العرب مع وجود المدينة، لأن الذهنية العربية متأخرة عن الواقع المادي للوجود العربي، ولا غرابة أن يختار مجتمع مدني ثقافة بدائية قبلية أسلوباً للتعبير.²

إن غياب البعد التاريخي عند الجابري قد تجلّى في إهماله لمفهوم التأخر بمعناه الشامل: تأخر الذات عمّا كانت عليه، وتخلّفها عن ركب الحضارة الحديثة في نطاق رؤية تؤمن بوحدة التاريخ الإنساني، وهي وحدة لم يعد يماري فيها أحد في عصر العولمة³. وقد أثر غياب البعد التاريخي كذلك في بعض المفاهيم المؤسسة لمشروع الجابري التحديثي، ومنه مفهوم القطيعة الذي وقع داخل التراث بين الفكر المشرقي الهرمسي الغنوصي والفكر الأندلسي المغاربي العقلاني، وخاصة بين محاولة ابن حزم تأسيس البيان على البرهان وإعادة ترتيب العلاقة بينهما باستبعاد العرفان، وبين إدماج الغزالي العرفان، ممثلاً في التصوّف، في البيان وتشريع العلاقة بينهما، فإذا تذكرنا أنّ ابن حزم سابق تاريخياً للغزالي تبين لنا أن المقطوع معه لاحق في الزمن للتيار القاطع معه، وبذلك يتّضح تمسك الجابري بالتحليل البنيوي للفكر دون الالتفات إلى البعد التاريخي، وتسلّمنا هذه الملاحظة إلى إحدى الخصائص المميزة لمشروع الجابري، وهي: النظرة الأحادية

¹ - عبد الله العروي، العرب والفكر التاريخي، المركز الثقافي العربي، ط4، الدار البيضاء / المغرب، بيروت / لبنان / 1998، ص151

² - عبد الله العروي، الإيديولوجيا العربية المعاصرة، المركز الثقافي العربي، ط4، الدار البيضاء / المغرب، بيروت / لبنان / 1999، ص144

³ - يفضل أركون مصطلح التفاوت التاريخي لأنه يوجّه قياس مقدار التأخر من جهتين: تأخر الحاضر مقارنة بتطور سابق للأزمة، وتأخر بالقياس إلى الغرب الحديث أيضاً، و بذلك يلتقي أركون مع العروي في هذه المفهوم المفتاحي لتوصيف الأزمة العربية.

راجع محمد أركون، قضايا في نقد العقل الديني (كيف نفهم الإسلام اليوم؟)، ترجمة هاشم صالح، دار الطليعة، ط2، بيروت / لبنان، 2000، ص95.

إن في مستوى المنهج أو في المستوى المادّة التراثية المقروءة: ففي مستوى المنهج تسلّح الجابري بالتحليل الإبستيمولوجي وهو فضيلة كبرى، كما يرى محمود أمين العالم مثلا، غير أن هذه الفضيلة في تقديره هي "نقطة القصور في هذا العمل النقدي الكبير. فهذا التحليل الإبستيمولوجي للفكر العربي لا يقوم فحسب مفصولا ومنبثًا عن الجذور والأسس الاجتماعية والتاريخية لهذا الفكر، وإنما يمتدّ هذا التحليل ليصبح سندا ومرتكزا لإصدار حكم عامّ قاطع على العقل العربي كلّ. إنّ التحليل الإبستيمولوجي لوقائع الفكر عملية بالغة الأهمية بغير شك، ولكن الاقتصار عليها ثم إصدار حكم شامل تأسيسا عليها وحدها، يسقط هذا الحكم فيما يمكن أن نسمّيه بالنزعة الإبستيمولوجية التي لا تفضي إلى قصور هذا الحكم عن الإحاطة بحقائق الواقع الثقافي والحياتي فحسب، بل إلى قصور كذلك في منهج تغيير هذا الواقع وتجديده، بل إلى قصور في الرؤية العقلانية النقدية عامة".¹ وقد تلافى بعض المفكرين العرب هذه الأحاديّة المنهجية، فتبنّوا منهجا متعدّدا قصد الإحاطة بالظواهر المدروسة من كل جوانبها، ولعلّ المفكر الجزائري محمد أركون واحدا من أهمّ ممثلي هذا المنهج التعدّدي.²

كما تظهر الاختزالية أيضا في تجزئة العقل العربي أولا إلى عقل برهانيّ وعقل بيانيّ وعقل عرفانيّ، وفي الرّهان على العقل البرهاني وحده في تحقيق التحديث، كأنما حركات التحديث في التاريخ لم تتوسّل سوى العلوم الرياضية والطبيعيات والمنطق الخ... ولم تولد قبل ذلك أحلاما في الفنون والأشعار، هذا إن سلّمنا أصلا بمشروعية الفصل بين النظم المعرفية الثلاثة. يقول محمد أركون مفنّدا الأحاديّة والاقتراع الذي مارسه مشروع الجابري التحديثي: " التاريخ لا تصنعه فقط الوقائع التي حصلت بالفعل، وإنما تصنعه أيضا أحلام البشر وخيالاتهم وطوباويتهم التي تشكل بحدّ ذاتها قوة مادية تضغط على مسار التاريخ وتحركه".³

¹ - محمود أمين العالم، ملاحظات منهجية تمهيدية حول نقد الجابري للعقل العربي، مجلة الوحدة (مجلة فكرية ثقافية شهرية تصدر عن المجلس القومي للثقافة العربية)، العدد 51، السنة 5 ديسمبر 1988، ص 132

² - راجع على سبيل المثال لا الحصر: محمد أركون، الفكر الإسلامي: قراءة علمية (ترجمة هاشم صالح)، مركز الإنماء القومي / المركز الثقافي العربي، ط 2 الدار البيضاء / المغرب، بيروت/ لبنان، 1996، من ص 5 إلى ص 7

³ - محمد أركون، الإسلام: الأخلاق والسياسة، ترجمة هاشم صالح، منشورات اليونسكو بالتعاون مع مركز الإنماء القومي، ط1، بيروت - باريس، 1990، ص ص 180، 181

ويظهر الاقتطاع كذلك في مستوى المادة التراثية المقروءة، فقد اكتفى الجابري بالثقافة العالمية دون الثقافة الشعبية، ثم قلص الثقافة العالمية نفسها فحذف من دائرة اهتمامه النصوص الأدبية والفنية، وأعرض عن دراسة الفقه العملي والتنظيمات الإدارية والاقتصادية والصناعية والعسكرية الخ... وهي تجليات للعقل العملي لا غنى عنها لتجنب الأحكام المبتسرة والمبتورة حول العقل العربي¹. ولا يعني الجابري من تبعات هذا الاقتطاع أن يقول: "تركنا جانباً الثقافة الشعبية من أمثال وقصص وخرافات وأساطير وغيرها، لأن مشروعنا مشروع نقدي، ولأن قضيتنا التي ننحاز لها هي العقلانية. (...). مشروعنا هادف إذن فنحن لا نمارس النقد من أجل النقد، بل من أجل التحرر مما هو ميّت أو متخشب في كياننا العقلي وإرثنا الثقافي"². إن الثقافة الشعبية والأساطير والقصص والأمثال والخرافات التي يسكت عنها الجابري هي الممثلة بحق لعقل الجماهير الواسعة، فإذا كانت طبيعة الثقافة قديماً نخبوية تجري مفاعيلها بعيداً عن الطبقات الشعبية بسبب ظروف حضارية معروفة، فإنّ عدم تعبير الثقافة عن المجتمع في الواقع العربي الرّاهن، وضعف انعكاس المجتمع في الثقافة أمران جليّان بسبب الخصائص الاجتماعية للمثقفين العرب من جهة، وفي ظل الاستبداد السياسي والانحلال التاريخي من جهة أخرى³. ولعلّ مشروع المفكر الجزائري محمد أركون قد سعى إلى سدّ هذا النقص بانفتاحه على الخيالات والتصورات والأوهام والثقافة الشفوية⁴.

¹ - محمود أمين العالم، ملاحظات منهجية تمهيدية حول نقد الجابري للعقل العربي، مرجع سابق، ص ص 139، 140. راجع موقف أركون التعددي تجاه التراث في قوله: " عندما أقول التراث فإنني أقصده بالمعنى الشامل والكامل والتعددي، أي بكل خطوطه واتجاهاته، وليس فقط من خلال خط واحد يبتز ما عداه." محمد أركون، قضايا في نقد العقل الديني (كيف نفهم الإسلام اليوم؟)، مرجع سابق، ص 194.

² - محمد عابد الجابري، تكوين العقل العربي، مصدر سابق، ص ص 7، 8

³ عزيز العظمة، تعقيب 4 على مداخلة الجابري، ضمن مؤلف جماعي، التراث وتحديات العصر في الوطن العربي (الأصالة والمعاصرة)، مرجع سابق، ص 75. يذهب العروي أيضاً إلى اعتبار الثقافة العربية غير عضوية، أي مقطوعة الصلة بالظروف الاجتماعية والطبيعية، ويستدلّ على ذلك بتنقل الفقهاء والأدباء قديماً في بلاد العرب للتدريس وغيره دون أن تتلون إبداعاتهم الفكرية والإبداعية بظروفهم الجديدة إلاّ لماماً. انظر: عبد الله العروي، عبد الله العروي، ثقافتنا في ضوء التاريخ، المركز الثقافي العربي، 6 بيروت/ لبنان، الدار البيضاء/ المغرب، ص 174.

⁴ - انظر على سبيل المثال: محمد أركون، قضايا في نقد العقل الديني، (كيف نفهم الإسلام اليوم؟)، مرجع سابق، ص 194.

إنّ النهج الاختزالي الذي توخّاه الجابري، والانحياز إلى مفهوم القطيعة في التعامل مع التراث، والنظرة الصّفويّة إلى الثقافة، جميعها تكشف عن ضيق بالتعدّد والاختلاف، ولا يمكن لمن ضاق بالتعدّد والتنوع والاختلاف في التراث أن يؤسّس مشروعاً تحديثياً ينهض على الإيمان بالديمقراطية وقبول الاختلاف.

وهكذا فإنّ ما مارسه الجابري من قطيعة جذريّة مع جانب من التراث لا يختلف عن المواقف الراديكاليّة الدّاعية إلى طيّ صفحة التراث، ويذهب بعضهم إلى أنّ حرص الجابري على الوصل الجزئي مع التراث قد تكون وراءه رغبة في "الاستماع إلى وتائر التاريخ، محاولاً الاستفادة من تجاربه. لكن الأمر الذي لا ينتبه إليه الجابري والذي يمكن أن يكون مناقضاً لمواقفه واجتهاداته الفكرية، هو أنه يبالغ في استحضار الهاجس السياسي أثناء تفكيره في المشروع النهضوي العربي، ناسياً أن تغليب الحسابات السياسية في مجال النظر يقلّص من جذوة الفكر وجدواه، كما يقلّل من جراته"¹، ولنا على ذلك شاهد هو رفضه للنقد اللاهوتي الذي باشره بعض المفكرين العرب ومن أهمّهم محمد أركون الذي يصرّح بأنّ مراجعته للتّراث تستهدف تأسيس لاهوت جديد، لأنّ الأرض، في رأيه، لا تتحرّر حتى تتحرّر السماء²، فالجابري لا يرفض هذا النقد من حيث المبدأ، ولا يشكّك في جدواه المعرفيّة والمنهجية، ولكنّه يتحفّظ في تبنيّه بسبب الوضعيّة الحضاريّة العربيّة الراهنة، وبدافع الخشية من تقلّص دائرة متقبلي دعوته التّحديثيّة، يقول الجابري: "لا أرى أنّ العالم العربيّ في وضعيته الراهنة يتحمّل ما يمكن أن نعبر عنه بالنقد اللاهوتي (...). أنا لا أقول هذا تقيّة بل اقتناعاً بأنّ المسألة مسألة تطوّر وأنّ النقد اللاهوتي يجب أن يمارس داخل كل شخص منّا، في ذاته"³.

وجماع القول فإنّ الملاحظات النقدية التي أوقفنا عليها النّظر في مشروع الجابري التّحديثي قد تركّزت في عيوب البناء النسقيّ لمشروعه، وفي بعض مسلماته النظرية كاستقلال الفكر عن الواقع والموقف الاختزالي

¹ - كمال عبد اللطيف، أسئلة النهضة العربية: التاريخ - الحداثة - التواصل، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، ط1، بيروت / لبنان 2003، ص ص 94، 95. يقول عبد اللطيف في هذا الصدد: "الموقف التاريخي والعقلاني من النقد وضرورته يتطلبان في نظر الجابري مراعاة أحوال الوقت، وبقنصيان مباشرة النقد القادر على استيعاب الذات في تاريخيتها، واستيعاب العصر في زمانيتها المفتوحة على زمانية الخصوصي والمحلّي بمختلف ملابساتها وشروطها التاريخية الضاغطة المؤثرة"، المرجع نفسه، ص 94.

² محمد أركون، قضايا في نقد العقل الديني، مرجع سابق، ص 281.

³ - محمد عابد الجابري، التراث و الحداثة (دراسات ومناقشات)، مصدر سابق، ص 131، 132.

الانتقائي في قراءته للتراث، كما تعلق بعض الملاحظات بالجانب المنهجي كالأحادية المنهجية وتغيب التحليل التاريخي، فضلا عن الحضور الضاع للهاجس السياسية على حساب الصرامة والجرأة الفكريتين. ومهما يكن من أمر فإن هذه الملاحظات لا تنال من عمق المشروع التحديتي لمحمد عابد الجابري، ولا من متانة بناء هذا المشروع وأطروحاته، كما نخلص إلى أن المشروع التحديتي لمحمد عابد الجابري منغرس في سياقه الثقافي والحضاري، إذ هو يساجل مختلف المواقف المطروحة على الساحة الفكرية العربية المسكونة بهاجس التحديث، فقد جادل الداعين إلى تبني المنجز الحداثي الأوروبي والقطيعة التامة مع التراث، كما حاور دعاة استعادة التراث ومناهج السلف والقطع مع الحداثة الغربية باعتبارها غزوا فكريا وجاهلية معاصرة، وأخذ موقفا نقديا من التراث والحداثة كليهما، فدعا إلى قطيعة جزئية مع التراث، وإلى رفض القراءة التراثية للتراث من جهة، ساعيا إلى ما سماه بـ "الاستقلال التاريخي التام" بالمفهوم الغرامشي، وإلى تبني ما هو إنساني ومطلق في الحداثة، ورفض النسبي والمحلي فيها من جهة أخرى، غير أنه انتهى في رأي بعض ناقديه إلى موقف توفيق إقصائي جسد، في نظرهم، حسا غير ديمقراطي يرفض التعدد والتنوع في التراث، وينذر بحداثة مشوهة ترفض الآخر والمختلف في الحاضر، على نحو يعكس أزمة العقل التحديتي العربي أكثر مما يساهم في تجاوزها.

وقد بدا مشروع الجابري أيضا منشدا إلى الهم السياسي وما يفرضه من تكتيكات ظرفية، بحكم انخراط صاحبه في الشأن السياسي اليومي، وهو ما حدّ من جرأته الفكرية وتجردّه العلمي والأكاديمي، وأوقعه في التقيّة المعرفية التي اتهمه بها بعضهم حين رفض مثلا النقد اللاهوتي من منطلق مراعاة "أحوال الوقت"، لا تأسيسا على نظر عقلي و تجرد علمي.

ومهما يكن من أمر، فإن المشروع التحديتي للجابري عمل ضخم نشط في واقع حضاري عربي موسوم بالتشوّه والتأخر والتفكك والتبعية، على نحو جعل من مهمة المفكرين في التحديث مهمة غير يسيرة، لذلك لم يكن من الغريب أن يواجه مشروع الجابري بعض النقد في مستوي المنطلقات النظرية والمنهجية، وهو ما يستدعي النظر إلى المشاريع التحديتية التي باشرها المفكرون العرب ضمن أفق تكاملي، ينهض فيه بعضها بسدّ النقص في بعضها الآخر، ويحقّق قيمة التنوع، ويدعم فضيلة الاختلاف.

IJHCS

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Discourse and Social Customs in Ademola Dasylyva's *If the gods must be!*: An Applied Linguist's Perspective

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Abstract

This paper aims at linking the poetic text, "If the gods must be!" written by Ademola Dasylyva, with its interpretive social context and syntactic structures as employed by the poet in the work. This is achieved by means of identifying the relationship between texts, processes and in their social conditions, both in the immediate conditions of institutional and social structures, a model presented by Fairclough (2001). Fairclough is of the opinion that analysing features of texts in ways which facilitate the productive integration of textual analysis is a part of processes of social change. The following questions provide a clear and systematic applied linguist approach to the text's analysis: Why is the text written? How is the text constructed? Are there deliberate manipulations of language by the poet? What syntactic choices have been made by the poet? Analysis reveals that the poet's choice and style of weaving words together has implications for describing and naming characters in the poetic text as they evoke in the readers disparate and varied social and cultural customs of religion, war, food, hunting and drumming among the Yoruba. However, this innovative use of words and wordsmithing by the poet consequently culminates into a synergy of the Yoruba cultural bifurcation.

Key words: Discourse Analysis, Social Customs, Linguistic Analysis

Introduction

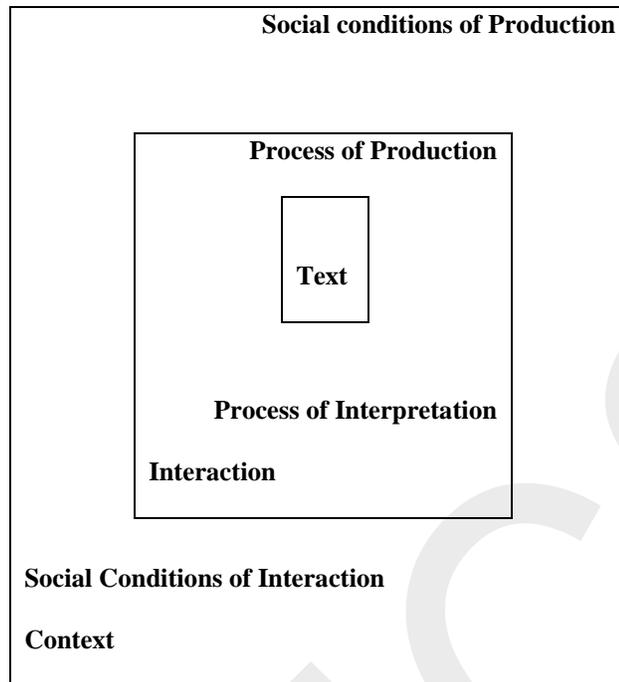
“If the gods must be” is a text selected from a 2006 ANA/Cadbury Award winning collection of poems *Songs of Odamolugbe* written by Ademola Dasyuva, a Nigerian Professor of Oral and African Literature. The poem is from all indication a satire carefully crafted to evoke images of Africa’s culture, politics, religion, culinary, music, and history in general, and in particular, to express the masses’ undisguised hate and rejection of the military government at the time. The poet creatively weaves words to showcase an aesthetic piece of tapestry depicting the complexities of the Nigerian military dictatorship through the medium of the drum master, *Ayan* to stir up songs of abuse, subversion and rebellion geared towards transformative meaning on a scaffold of spiritual cacophony, and show of naked power by "the gods", meaning, the rulers. Hence, the poem metaphorically portrays Aso Rock, Nigeria’s seat of power characterised by chaos and decadence prevalent during the military dictatorship, through the unrestrained behaviour exhibited by the Yoruba deities catalogued in the poem.

Ironically, the poet wittingly and creatively invokes spiritual intervention of Yoruba gods for two paradoxical functions. First, he resorts to the use of the *Oriki* (panegyric poetry) tradition to appease the gods to suppress bitterness, suffering and disappointment experienced by the masses. Second, the gods to whom the supplications are addressed are apparently incapable of solving the hydra-headed challenges. Having taken over power, to the dismay of the people, they turn out to exhibit abuse of power, naked ambition, greed, voracious eating and drinking, sexual pervasion and gross indiscipline. Here lies the dilemma of Nigeria as a nation! The leaders to whom the masses entrusted power, the leaders who are the custodian of freedom, peace, unity and equity are the aberrant!

Nevertheless, the poem culminates into a climax when the people revolt and, again, through the medium of drums, warnings of revolution against tyranny are sent to the leaders. Ultimately, restoration, peace and unity become imminent.

Methodology

The applied linguistic analysis involves two levels which are lexico-semantic and syntactic (linguistic). Also, situation contextualisation of the poem is attempted to illustrate the political, cultural, immediate and physical contexts presented by the author. Hence, the Fairclough (2001) model is considered best and adapted for the purpose of the present study.



Fairclough's (2001) Model of Discourse

Text Analysis

In order to have a guided text analysis, the whole poem is categorized according to the different theses presented such as politics, religion, history, culinary and culture. Hence, the poet's choice of words, and syntactic structures to depict both the immediate conditions of the situational context (military dictatorship) and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures (cultural, religious, and historical) are illustrated systematically.

Situation Contextualization

The text is replete with genealogical nuggets, personal epithets, commemorative place-names, proverbs and songs and all this is pre-eminently knowledge of events according to Scott (1991). These poetic narratives integrate not only information about the past, but knowledge of the present and how those within the cultural and social present interpret history (Ochs and Capps, 1996; Bender and Wellberry, 1991)

The author illustrates the political situation of Nigeria through a paradoxical mix of religion and moral decadence, corruption and music. Hence, he depicts the recklessness of the military leaders

through the wantonness and gluttony displayed by the gods, also, the poem reflects anarchy and unrest through the medium of the talking drum beaten by *Ayan*.

All had abandoned their duty posts! Ate, and ate, and ate; (Prn+VP+Prn+NP+V+Conj+V+V)
Took their repeated turns, each, at the *vomitorium*! (V+Prn+AdjP+Prn+PrepP)

With the connivance of *Elegbara*, madness was let loose, like (PrepP+N+VP) A
desperate bull escaping from some confused butchers, (NP+V+PrepP)
Raw madness in the homestead (AdjP+PrepP)
Unleashed terror on our homestead: (AdjP+PrepP)

Some hunters suddenly went berserk, (NP+Adv+V+Adj)
Turned swine and swindlers (NP+Conj+N)

Cultural context of the poem reflects norms and mores of worshipping Yoruba deities such as *Ogun*, *Esu*, *Sango*, *Orunmila* (gods) and *Oba*, (Sango's wife) *Oya* (Ogun's wife originally) and *Osun* (Orunmila's wife) (goddesses) along with the objects of worship.

Physical context of the text is expressed through deictic expressions of time, place and person. For instance places of actions include: *Bere-roundabout*, *Oke-Ado market*, *Imeko*, *Ketu*, *Oke-Imesi*, *Ira*, and *Isanlu*. These places mirror historical events revealing the myth behind each god.

Ogun ignored *Imeko*, the town of *agidi-meal*,
Offered a full grown cock to appease *Elegbara* at *Ketu*;
Insisted on messing up at *Oke-Imesi* on his
Way to *Ire* when he arrived from *Isanlu*,
Dressed in fiery palm-fronds!

Politics

The field of discourse here is revolt, anarchy and resolution which is achieved by such words and expressions as repetition of noun phrases (the gods, my people) and ritualized lexis (*vomitorium*, *Elegbara*, *Orunmila*, *Oosaala*, *Esu Laaroye*, *swindlers*, *homestead*, and *butchers*) to achieve iconic visuals to represent various processes. Names of gods represent military government officials whose characterology in this context depicts despotism. The poet could not display total freedom of expressing the true situation of things as a result of military repression in Nigeria at this period; hence, his heavy allegorical and satiric use of adjectives in these sentences in which the military/soldiers are being referred to as "hunters" , e.g.

Some hunters suddenly went berserk, (Np+Adv+V+Adj)

Turned swine and swindlers, (Adj+Cood+N(adj))

A desperate bull escaping from confused butchers, (NP(adj)+V+Prn+NP(adj)).

In other to convey people's revolt and rebellion to the public, the gods, *Ogun* and *Elegbara* are being called upon for assistance since war, chaos, destruction and revolt are imminent. The stanza below illustrates this.

Ogun from Ire is cloak'd in ironic Septuagint, (N+Prn+N+V+Prep+Ad)

Adorned in sceptre of flaming fronds, (V+Prep+N+Prep+Adj+N)

Ogun's present where blood smells, (N+V+RelativeCls)

That he, Ogun, assists his faithful at war! (Prn+Prn+N+V+NP+AdvP)

Music

Music is germane to this text in that the poet communicates through the medium of *Ayan* who beats *batakoto*, and the talking drum. Hence, people's protest is presented through the talking drum and the poet alludes to the fact that only trained ears understand the message of the talking drum.

Ayan, Ayan, isn't you I set my eyes first upon (N+N+V+Prn+Prn+V+Prn+N+Adj+Prep)

This dawn of better days? (NP+PrepP)

Survival, survival is war, Ayan! (N+N+V+N)

The war is here; the war is now! (NP+V+Adv; NP+V+Adv)

You must tell it to Ogun! (Prn+VP+Prn+PrepP)

Drum it to Sango, tell it to Ogun, (V+Prn+Prep+N+V+Prn+Prep+N)

Drum it to Ogun, tell it to Sango! (V+Prn+Prep+N+V+Prn+Prep+N)



Yoruba drummers: The nearest beats the *omele ako* and *bata*, the other two beat on *gangan*
the talking drums

Religion

The poet deliberately uses selected lexis, subordinate clauses and idiophones such as *ada* (an iron cutlass depicts the symbol of his bravery), *agidi*, *cock*, *aja*, *emu*, *akara* and *ekuru*, (objects of worship believed to be eaten by the gods under reference). The use of indigenous lexemes is deliberate to lace the poem with originality and sacredness. Such expressions as ‘*whose bathroom is the fatal cross-road at Ikire*’ ‘*author of confusion*’ ‘*ruler of Bere roundabout*’ are used to identify and characterise *Ogun* and *Elegbara (Esu)* who could be chaotic, confusing and deadly. The personality of *Ogun* reveals his love for food, wine and women as well as his favourite dress – palm fronds.

At Ire, they welcomed Ogun with waist-wiggling women, (PrepP+Prn+V+N+PrepP)
Ogun tried his restless third leg in each of them (N+V+Prn+NP+PrepP)

Cleaned his sweating body with their succulent (V+Prn+NP+PrepP)
Bosoms, washed his pleasure down with (N+V+Prn+N+PrepP)
Aja, *emu*, *akara*, *ekuru*, and a cock, his favourite menu; (N+N+N+N+Conj+NP+Prn+NP)



Ogun worshippers at the shrine



A blacksmith, naturally an Ogun worshipper



Ogun clothed in palm fronds



Ogun Shrine covered with the blood of sacrificed animals

Shrines for Ogun in Africa is usually located outside, his sacred trees are *Peregun, Akoko, Atori, and Iyeye* and he is normally by the side of the wall, Ogun also loves *Mariwo*, (Palm fronds). Ogun is for Justice, as he is the bars which holds prisoners in, he can also release them. **He is believed to be a** great and mighty warrior who is worshipped at night as Yoruba say he goes to farm early in the morning and comes home (about nine) at night. Prayers are offered to Ogun after his priest might have poured palm oil on Eshu, Yoruba God of Justice whose shrine is right next door to Ogun. The two gods are very close, hence the author's reference to the two gods as a pair in the text. In Yoruba land no hunter goes on a hunting expedition without offering some sacrifice to Ogun or paying due homage, also, no soldier goes to war without paying homage to Ogun. If Ogun is neglected, it is the general belief that he is capable of causing very bad accidents and bloody battles.

The poet, with his choice of words, gives an enigmatic and vivid description of the person of Sango. He is the god of thunder and lightning and the thrower of thunderbolt (edun ara) or stones (Jakuta) hence, the poet's choice of words such as:

They say; (Prn+V)
Sango is justice, (N+V+Adj)
The great One, (NP(Det+Adj+N))
Stern, fiery, his look; (Adj+Adj+NP)
A fighting dragon, they say, (NP+Prn+V)
Sango the great One (N+NP)
Whose growl is mixed anger of hungry (Adj+N+V+Adj+PrepP)
Lions, when rains fall! (N+Rel Cls)

They say; (Prn+V)
The great Jakuta (NP)
Whose fury is fumed-fire, (Adj+N+V+NP)
Thundering bolts his fight-bearer (NP+Prn+N)



Ose Sango



Sango Devotees worshipping



Sango



Sango

Yoruba history asserts that Sango was the third Alaafin of Oyo, being the second son of Oranmiyan, the founder of Oyo Empire. Alaafin Siyanbola (his real name) Sango, in his life time, had three wives: Oba, the first legitimate wife, Osun, the second and Oya, the third who are concubines. Oya, who was his favourite was a mystical creature who can transform into human form although she was basically an animal. Listen to the poet again:

(Sango) Had sneaked out of Elegbara's party, drunk with lust (VP+PreP+V+PreP)
Eloped with Oya, Ogun's wife; a repeat of what (V+PreP+NP+NP+Prn)
He did with Osun, Orunmila's wife, haba! (Prn+V+PreP+NP+Exc.)

Oya from Ira was at table too, so were Oba and Osun, (N+PreP+N+V+PreP+Adv+V+N+Conj+N)
Two mortal rivals, co-wives of Olukoso, the latter had sat close (NP+NP+NP+VP+Adv)
To Sango, her pair of long ears she hid under her heavy head-gear;
(PreP+AdjP+Prn+V+PreP+Prn+AdjP)

Elegbara's function as portrayed by the poet is that of the author of confusion. He skilfully appeased all the gods with their favourite delicacies and when they were full and drunk, set them all against one another typical of *Esu*. Also, through him, the poet presents the local cuisine of the Yoruba tribe in general and the gods' favourites in particular.

But Elegbara had a settled agenda: (Conj+N+V+NP)
Unknown to his chartering guest-gods... (V+PreP+Prn+NP)

Discussion

This paper has been able to analyse the text, *If the gods must be* by integrating content with a set of assumptions concerning the constructive effect of language and social practice (Milliken, 1999; Wood and Kroger, 2000). Hence, the analysis presented here confirms that the poet is the creator of texts as no word is created in isolation and as the poet produces words, the

audience/reader interacts and interprets such words influenced by the social conditions of production and interpretation. Consequently, the poet manipulates both stereotypic and ritualized language to make homophoric references to cultural, religious, political and musical knowledge as desired.

Syntactic analysis reveals lexical cohesion (repetition) as well as heavy deviation from the basic SVCOA structure which underscores the fact that the poet manipulated words arrangement to achieve his purpose. The author's preponderance use of adjectives, pronouns and prepositions in addition to noun phrases in contrast to verbs reveals that the poem is crowded with imagery and mental illustrations. This grammatical analysis presents a strong connection between form, function and context.

Conclusion

The poet has addressed social and political issues in Nigeria through his choice and style of weaving words together. This has implications for describing and naming characters in the poetic text as they re-create imaginatively in the readers, different and varied social and cultural customs of religion, war, food, hunting and drumming among the Yoruba. For instance, the character named *Sango* is intended to invoke power and fear in the readers on one hand and then to illustrate military leaders' autocratic rule in Nigeria on the other hand. This feeling brings to fore the truth that contrary to public belief, the gods may not be completely sacred. Also, the use of *Ayan* by the author is an innovation introduced to written poetry as a form of expression. It is otherwise known as drum poetry. This art of drum poetry mirrors the fact that there was no freedom of expression at the time of military rule in Nigeria when the poem was written.

At the long run, the innovative use of words by the poet reveals that tales such as the text used in this analysis are constantly evolving at multiple individual, social, and cultural levels having a history or histories, the construal of which itself is an act of temporal construction improvised from an already existing repertoire of cultural forms and natural phenomena (Bender and Wellberry, 1991). This finally culminates into a combined effort of all the Yoruba deities at salvaging the situation if actually they would want to remain as gods to the masses and by extension; resolution of political bifurcation in Nigeria is intended.

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Muslim Women Speak Out in North Africa during the Arab Spring

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Abstract

People – from the West and the East – hold different views about the status of women in Islam. Claims such as Muslim women are uneducated, subservient, and have no say in decision-making, that Muslim husbands are allowed to beat their disobedient wives, and that men and women are not equal before Allah predominate the Western discourse about Muslim women pre and post the Arab Spring. These claims, which have emanated from a misunderstanding of the basic teachings of Islam at certain times, old tales and proverbs at other times, generated a bad image about the Muslim woman. This paper probes into the status of women in the Islamic and the Judeo-Christian traditions. In the first place, the researcher discusses how Islam came to elevate women to a high status and eradicate all the demeaning stereotypes targeting them. Then, he puts more focus on some Muslim women who were acting as agents of change in North Africa in the Arab Spring arena. These women, who did not adopt almost any feminist tendency, come to paint a new picture of the Muslim woman as defiant, brave and strong enough to work alongside men for the sake of change in their countries.

Keywords: Islam, Women, Arab Spring, Feminism, North Africa.

Introduction

Before the advent of Islam, women were treated almost like animals. They were merchandise that could be bought and sold in public tribal markets. They were inherited together with other possessions and properties of the house from man to man. Thorburn (586) holds that their activities in Greece and Rome “were largely centered around the home.”¹ Brown (26) argues that “pre-Islamic Arab women endured a hellish existence. If a girl survived to adulthood, she would find herself essentially the property of her father, then her husband, with no economic or social independence or rights.”² In a similar vein, Mudimbe-Boyi (79) claims that “except for the mothers, women in proverbs are portrayed as more unfaithful than virtuous, and men are warned time and again not to fall for their charm and evil intentions.”³

In today’s Islamic and Judeo-Christian worlds, scholars are becoming more and more interested in and concerned with the status of women, gender issues, feminism, women rights, to mention but a handful; they are all reacting against any role distinctions between men and women at work and inside and outside the house sphere. So, when we read for example that God has created woman from man, that man is the head of the woman, wives should submit fully to their husbands, and that only men should lead prayers at the mosque and at the church, we immediately think that religion has been unfair to women. The present paper is going to spot the light on the status of women in the shade of Islam. I shall consequently address the following issues; hopefully, they will unravel some of the mysteries turning around the major themes of this international conference. So, how were women viewed in ancient civilizations? Can Muslim men beat their wives in the name of Islam? Finally, do Muslim women in North Africa, in the so called-Arab Spring, have a voice or not?

I. Historical Perspectives

The issue of women is a complex and a highly controversial one. It is widely assumed that all past civilizations have degraded women. In pre-Islamic era both among Jews and the non-nomadic Arabs the position of women was degraded in the extreme. Women have indeed endured lots of sorrow, oppression at that time. They were viewed as a threat for the Arab family and were reduced to a sign of disgrace amongst the menfolk. The ancient Arabic proverbs illustrate the ideas of pre-Islamic Arabia as to the position of women, e.g.:

¹ Thorburn, John E. *Companion to Classical Drama*. The United States of America: VB Hermitage, 2005. Print.

² Bown, Daniel W. *A new introduction to Islam*. Singapore: Backwell Publishing, 2009. Print

³ Mudimbe-Boyi, Elisabeth M. *Beyond Dichotomies: Histories, Identities, Cultures, and the Challenge of Globalization*. The United States of America: State University of New York Press, Albany, 2002. Print.

- “A man can bear anything but the mention of his wife.”
- “Women are the whips of Satan.”
- “Neither trust a king, a horse, nor a woman.”
- “Our mother forbids us to err and runs into error.”
- “What has a woman to do with the councils of a nation?”
- “Obedience to a woman will have to be repented of” (Hughes 677).¹

Thus, it can be said that Arabs in the age of ignorance displayed a strong phobia and aversion for women to the extent of female infanticide (Devi 24).² They buried their newborn daughters alive, just like Hindus who buried the woman alive with her husband if he precedes her in death (El-Neil 79)³. From this angle, it may be argued that women were considered as second class citizens, sex objects, source of trouble, deficient (lower than men in intellect and religion), etc.

In early Judaism, the image of the woman was dark and gloomy. Admittedly, Jewish scholars have pointed out that Jews had negative attitudes vis-à-vis women. If ever positive, most of their positive statements refer to women in their capacity as spouse and mother, almost never to women as female beings *per se*. They are the source of evil. Consider the poetic verses below:

¹ Hughes , Thomas P. *A Dictionary of Islam*. New Delhi: Subham Offset Press, 2001. Print.

² Devi, Uma K. *Women's Equality in India: A Myth or Reality?* New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 2000. Print.

³ El-Neil, Ibn. *The Truth about Islam*. New York: AEG Publishing Group, 2008. Print.

Be not jealous of the wife of your bosom,
lest you teach her to do evil against you.
Give no woman power over you
to trample upon your strength.
Do not go near a strange woman,
lest you fall into her snares.
Do not dally with a singing girl,
lest you be caught by her tricks.
Entertain no thoughts about a virgin,
lest you may stumble and incur penalties for her.
Do not give yourself to prostitutes,
lest you lose your inheritance.

(...)

Avert your eyes from a comely woman.
Do not gaze at beauty belonging to another.
Through woman's beauty many have been seduced
and by it passion is kindled like fire.
Never dine with another man's wife
or revel with her at wine;
or your heart may turn aside to her
and in blood you may be plunged into destruction (Horst 74-75).¹

Judaism has placed women at a severe disadvantage. Their position was subordinate to that of man in every aspect of life – be it political, social, religious or whatsoever. As Montefiore and Loewe (Haddad 4) commented some decades ago: “The difference in the relations of men and women to each other makes a constant difference between the Rabbis and ourselves. It is always cropping up... Women were, on the whole, regarded as inferior to men in mind, in function and in status.”² In Judaism, we can find negative views about women that are not different from those of Greek tradition. It was said that it was better to walk behind a tiger than behind a woman. According to Munawar Ahmad Anees, Greek people's antipathy towards women was such that a daily prayer was uttered: “Praise to You God, for You did not create me a woman” (Hasyim 7).³

In the Athenian tradition, only the elite and males had the right to obtain an education. Females, even those from the elite class, were not given the same opportunity. Negative views about women have not only appeared in social and cultural discourses, but have also permeated the teachings and norms of religion. These religious norms are a large factor contributing to the marginalization and segregation of women (ibid.).⁴

¹Horst, van der W P. *Hellenism, Judaism, Christianity: Essays on their Interaction*. The United States: International Center for Islam and Pluralism, 1998. Print.

²Haddad, Yvonne Y., and Findly, Ellison B. *Women, Religion and Social Change*. The United States of America: States University of New York Press, 1985. Print.

³Hasyim, Syafiq. *Islam: An Indonesian Perspective*. Indonesia: International Center for Islam and Pluralism, 2006. Print.

⁴Ibid.

Within the Christian tradition, women have been subordinate to man in both creation and in daily life, though the equality between men and women has always been taught regarding salvation. A number of scriptural passages speak about the subordination of woman, especially in St. Paul, which has been used to legitimate the marginalization of woman. This view continues to be prevalent in many Christian churches (King in Furseth and Repstad 180).¹ Baur & Crooks (140) maintain that “no female rabbis existed until 1972, and the Roman Catholic Church still does not allow female priests.”² In a similar vein, some theologians advocate limiting the pastoral office to men because the Bible teaches that God is more like the male than the female. Proponents of this view believe that certain Scripture references clearly show that the female cannot bear the divine image to the same degree as the male (Grenz and Kjesbo).³

The Danish writer, Wieth Knudsen talked about the status of women in the Middle Ages saying: “According to the Catholic faith, which considered the woman as a second class citizen, very little care and attention was given to her” (Al-Sheha 27).⁴ Women are represented as bad and slanderous. Thomas Aquinas, a well-known Christian theologian, said that women are bent down in submission to males because they are naturally weaker. Men are the beginning and final goal in a women’s life. It is because of this that God has made women submit to males (Hasyim 7).⁵

For many centuries Mary, known in the Christian West as the virginal mother of God, has been the most visible woman in Christian history. She has been the focal point of a wide range of works in literature, art, music, theology and many architectural sites have been named after her. Her modesty, humility, devotion, and obedience to God made of her an archetype for Christian women. From both the devotional and doctrinal traditions, Mary has become known through history by hundreds of names, including: Mother, Virgin, Queen, Immaculate Conception, Our Lady of Mercy, of Sorrows, of Peace, of Perpetual Help, of the Highway, of the Rosary, of Chartres, Lourdes, Fatima, and Guadalupe. Every age tends to shape her according to its own needs (Coyle 62).⁶ The most stunning poem written on Virgin Mary was published in the 20th century. Irrespective of the severe critic one can give to the poem, it undoubtedly expresses Mary’s strong devotion along with her divine role in the process of salvation. Is Mary the rose, then? Is Mary the tree?

¹ Furseth, Inger., and Repstad, Pal. *An introduction to the Sociology of Religion: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives*. England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006. Print.

² Baur, Karla., and Crooks, Robert L. *Our Sexuality*. The United States of America: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2008. Print.

³ Grenz, Stanely J., and Kjesbo, Denise M. *Women in the Church: A Biblical Theology of Women in Ministry*. The United States of America: InterVarsity Press, 1995. Print.

⁴ Al-Sheha, Abdul Rahmane. *Women in the Shade of Islam*. Saudi Arabia: Saudi Arabia Islamic Educational Center ncd, 1997. Print.

⁵ Hasyim, Syafiq. *Islam: An Indonesian Perspective*. Indonesia: International Center for Islam and Pluralism, 2006. Print.

⁶ Coyle, Kathleen. *Mary in the Christian Tradition: From a Contemporary Perspective*. England: Gracewing House, 1996. Print.

“But the blossom, the blossom there, who can it be?
Who can her rose be? It could be but one:
Christ Jesus, our Lord, her God and her son.
In the gardens of God, in the daylight divine
Show me thy son, mother, mother of mine” (Jeffrey 495).¹

Therefore, except for the figure of Virgin Mary, women in the Christian tradition cherished less rights and suffered under man’s control. In some cultures like Chinese and Indian, it is reported that the woman used to be buried with her husband’s corpse or would be passed on as a kind of inheritance. The question that arises now is: What rights did Islam bring to the woman? And is the Muslim husband allowed to beat his wife in the name of Islam? Also, are men and women equal before Allah or not?

II. Women in the Shade of Islam

Before the advent of Islam, women had no status in society. They were neglected, marginalized and under the control of the men folk. It was Islam that, for the first time, challenged the laws of dark ages and introduced women to many sectors of life. In His perfect wisdom, the Almighty Allah says the following: “*O mankind! Lo! We have created you from male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct. Lo! Allah is Knower, Aware*” (Al-Hujuraat 13 as Translated by Pickthall 565).²

These Koranic verses certainly express a deep veneration and reverence to women in that it has given them the same status which has been granted to man. Islam has conferred on women all the social and political rights they need to fully engage in their communities. They are entitled to all the privileges bestowed upon man. In addition to worldly matters, women are equal to men in the spiritual sense. Since they have come from the same single soul and seed, they should not be treated harshly or rudely. Men are recommended to deal with them in a soft and mild manner.

Can Muslim men beat their wives? This is a question that is becoming problematic for many scholars in Islam nowadays. An Arab proverb reflects some male Arabs’ attitudes toward women: “A woman is like a rug: the more you beat her, the better she becomes” (Kramarae & Spender 508).³ Many misconceptions arise out of this due to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Islam. Engineer (200-201) claims that “the Prophet has...strongly disapproved of beating one’s wife. We find a Hadith in authentic collections, which is as follows: “Could any of you beat his wife as he would be a slave, and then lie with her in the evening?”

¹ Jeffrey, David L. *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*. England: Gracewing, 1992. Print.

² *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur’an: Text and Explanatory Translation*. Trans. Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall. New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur’an Inc, 1992. Print.

³ “Violence: Middle East and the Arab World.” *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women’s Issues and Knowledge*. Ed. Cheri Kramarae and Dale Spender, Dale. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

According to a Hadith in Abu Da'ud, Nasa'I, Ibn Majah, Ahmad bin Hanbal and others, "Never beat God's handmaidens" i.e. he forbade to beat any woman.¹

Nevertheless, we ought to point out there is a Qur'anic verse that has created lots of controversy in scholarly and academic circles about women's beating, and it goes as follows: "Men are in charge of women because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property (for the support of women). So, good women are the obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded. As for those from whom ye fear rebellion, admonish them and banish them to beds apart, and **scourge** them. Then, if they obey you, seek not a way against them. Lo! Allah is ever High Exalted, Great! (emphasis is mine) (al-Nissa 34 as Translated by Pickthall 80).²

The pre-mentioned Koranic verse has aroused a heated debate in the West, yielding to different (mis)interpretations. Tellingly, it was revealed in response to a situation which has been described by Zamakhshari in his *Kasshaf*. This verse shows that there was the practice of wife beating specially among the Arabs of Meccan origin. So, According to Zamakhshari, "Habiba bin Zaid complained to the Messenger of Allah that her husband Sa'd bin Rabi' slapped her. The Prophet told her to 'retaliate'. But this caused serious problem among men as they would not accept retaliation from their wives and hence they complained to the prophet and then this verse (34) was revealed" (Engineer 201).

In relation to the phrase "scourge them", it is explained that the verse should not be taken literally, as apparent command to scourge one's wife is contradicted by the practice of the Prophet himself. It is evident from authentic Traditions that the Prophet himself intensely detested the idea of beating one's wife, and said on more than one occasion, 'Could any of you beat his wife as he would beat a slave, and then lie with her in the evening?'³ In fact, all the Muslim authorities stress that this 'beating', if ever resorted, "it should be more or less symbolic – 'with a toothbrush, or some such thing' (Tabari, quoting the views of scholars of the earliest times), or even 'with a folded handkerchief' (Razi); and some of the greatest Muslim scholars (e.g., Ash-Shafi'i) are of the opinion that it is just barely permissible, and should preferably be avoided: and they justify this opinion by the Prophet's personal feelings with regard to this problem (Asad in Saeed 131).⁴

In his humanistic approach to women, the Prophet has been reported to have said: "Rifqan bil Qawarir."⁵ Rippin (212) states that 'Qawarir' means glass vessels or bottles. Muhammed used

¹ Engineer, Asgharali. *The Qur'an, Women, and Modern Society*. India: New Dawn Press Group, 2005. Print.

² *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an: Text and Explanatory Translation*. Trans. Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall. New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an Inc, 1992. Print.

³ Saeed, Abdullah. *The Qur'an: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Print.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The Prophet had a servant called Anjasha. The latter used to have a sweet singing voice that would stimulate the caravan of camels to move swiftly. The Prophet asked him once to drive on slowly and to be kind to the women who were accompanying him in the travel.

this word figuratively to indicate the delicate nature of women¹. Glass is liable to break easily if it is harshly manipulated. So is the delicacy in every woman; in her delicacy resides her beauty.

Gender issues and women rights in Islam continue to generate much debate and an ongoing attention in the East and the West alike. Irrespective of the whole metamorphoses Muslim women have been subject to, they are very often portrayed as subordinate and inferior beings, desperately in need of freedom and emancipation from the Muslim patriarchal system that brings them to a lower rank. Islam brought with it liberation and a great emancipation for women, who were mistreated, oppressed and severely persecuted in the pagan era. Bernard Lewis, known as one of the greatest Western experts on the history of Islam and the Middle East, makes the following statement: “In general, the advent of Islam brought an enormous improvement in the position of women in ancient Arabia, endowing them with property and some other rights, and giving them a measure of protection against ill treatment by their husbands or owners. The killing of female infants, sanctioned by custom in Pagan Arabia, was outlawed by Islam” (Lewis 210).²

Islam has brought enormous rights and improvements to the status of women. Its original teachings describe women and men as different but equal. Muslim women of the Prophet’s time have often served as reference groups for role behavior in their societies. The roles of women such as Fatima (daughter of the Prophet and wife of the fourth caliph), Khadija (first wife of the Prophet who was a business woman) or Ai’shah (the last wife of the Prophet), provide important role models in the ideal sense (Hussain 5).³ These women were definitely the icons of chivalry, change and even courage. Their relations with their husbands and other members of the community were predicated on love, harmony and mutual respect. Such a good behavior and arsenal of good ethical values would be reiterated and advanced in many ages to come by Muslim women; they would be omnipresent in the public sphere and consequently speak out their agonies and miseries to the masses. This, however, led them to take different ways in order to effectively handle and address the question of women. Although much can be done to improve the position of women in Islam, lots of misunderstandings occur since the West attempts to transpose a western style of living, set of beliefs, norms and values onto Muslim women who are having a different culture and history. In what comes next, we shall probe into the status of Muslim women in North African societies, particularly in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt. Muslim women of these countries have already spoken out against social injustice manifest in day-to-day harassment, occasional cases of rape, victimization and mistreatment of their compatriots.

¹ Rippin, Andrew. *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur’an*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Print.

² Lewis, Bernard. *The Middle East: A Brief History of The last 2,000 Years*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995. Print.

³ Hussain, Freda. *Muslim Women*. Great Britain: Billing & Sons Limited, 1984. Print.

III. North African Women Speak Out

According to reports by the World Economic Forum and the United Nations Development Program, Muslim women of North Africa have long lagged behind those in other countries in terms of opportunities and leadership positions in politics and business. This has hurt the region's overall progress.¹ Yet, the Arab spring has introduced us to the determination, bravery and strength of the Muslim woman who had recourse to streets and to social media to call for a change in her society. During the mass protests that led to the overthrow of Zin al Abidine Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak, Muamar Ghaddafi, Abdellah Saleh, women were present everywhere. They were in the front row challenging the despotic regimes, throwing stones and intermingling with men in their fights against the repressive police machine, and meanwhile they were documenting the clashes with their mobile cameras and then tweeting and posting the videos on YouTube and other social network platforms. They repeatedly tried hard to hand out food, water and medicine to patients and they chanted a number of slogans in favor of democracy, freedom and political change. Their actions spoke louder than their words: "There were women of both secular and Islamist tendencies; Muslims and Christians fought together. Some had long experience (in militant opposition groups or feminist associations), others had grown up in the opposition movements that emerged on the web during the last decade, and still others were not a part of any activist organizations" (Merlini and Roy 66).²

They managed to speak out against the demeaning stereotypes of passivity and oppression that emerged in the colonial and post colonial literature about the Muslim woman as submissive and subservient to man. In their place were outspoken voices, defiant eyes, faces of hope and courage, shouting in the streets alongside men for regime change and new democratic governments that would place their rights among their top priorities. Armed with literacy and militancy, these women started to assert themselves in many ways. The central protagonists of them in the Arab Spring were almost not affiliated to any religious or political party. There was, for example Asma Mahfouz, the twenty-six-year-old Egyptian woman who made a brave, four-and-a-half-minute "video-blog" with her own mobile phone, later posted on YouTube. In the video she strongly invited Egyptians to demonstrate: "I'm making this video to give you one simple message. We want to go down to Tahrir Square on January 25. [...] Whosoever says it's not worth it because there will only be a handful of people, I want to tell him you are the reason behind this, and you are a traitor just like the president or any security cop who beats us in the streets. Your presence with us will make a difference, a big difference (Dutta 215).³

Also, the Egyptian blogger and human rights activist Nawara Negm used Twitter to motivate the youths to stay politically active. Her civil rights compatriot and activist blogger

¹ Giacomo, Carol. "Women fight to define the Arab spring." *The New York Times*. 11 Nov. 2012. SR12. Print.

² Merlini, Cesare., and Roy, Olivier. *Arab Society in Revolt: The West's Mediterranean Challenge*. Virginia: R. R. Donnelley, 2012. Print.

³ Dutta, Mohan J. *Voices of Resistance: Communion and Social Change*. The United States of America: Perdue University, 2012. Print.

Esraa Abd El Fattah – was known as the “Facebook Girl” for her updates on Facebook and Twitter during the Revolution – continues her work with the Egyptian Democratic Academy, training youth in media production and election monitoring.¹

These women broke taboos and played a very prominent role in the political change in their countries. Young women of Tunisia, like the blogger Lina Ben Mhenni subverted that image of the Muslim woman as passive and weak. She was one of the few Tunisian bloggers and cyber activists who tweeted and blogged under real name whilst the ex-Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was still in office: “In early January, she travelled to Sidi Bouzid, and was the only blogger in Regueb and Kasserine when the security forces massacred people there. Her accounts and photographs of the dead and injured ensured that other Tunisian activists and international media knew what was happening in the centre of the country during the most violent days of the uprising.² The copious attention she received from the Western media and news of the young woman’s possible nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize has resulted in an outcry in her country, wavering between those who support her and those who attack and criticize her for the attention she has received from the Western world. Owing to this buzz, her father confiscated her computer and car key and stripped her of accessing her Facebook page and Twitter account. Certainly, these women faced one of the most sophisticated cyber-censorship regimes in the world. They were hacked savagely beaten, and jailed, but they did not give up their strong resolution for change. The Egyptian woman Mona Seif recounts her story: “Pre-January 25 whenever we would attend protests, I would always be told by the men to go to the back to avoid getting injured, and that used to anger me. But since January 25 people have begun to treat me as an equal. There was this unspoken admiration for one another in the square. We went through many ups and downs together.” (Merlini & Roy 67).³

In Morocco, women have also been playing an important role during the Arab Spring. Initially, they took to back up the oppressed peoples of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Afterwards, they tried to call for a change through the 20 February movement. These Moroccan women came from all social classes and ideologies; they took part in the movement and shouted in the streets together with men. The common denominator between all of them is that they want political change, dignity and equality.

The most outstanding figure of the 20 February movement was Selma Maarouf, who appeared on the first video calling for change in Morocco. As soon as she took part in a protest in Rabat, she was brutalized and beaten and was strongly determined to demand that education should be accessible to everyone and should not be a privilege of the well-to-do. Selma stood at the forefront of every protest that took place in Rabat. With her brother Ghassane, they have been

¹ Shapiro, Samantha M. “Revolution, Facebook-Style.” *The New York Times*. 23 Jan. 2009. MM34. Print.

² Ryan, Yasmine. “Tunisian Blogger Becomes Nobel Prize Nominee.” *AlJazeera*. 2011. 25 Jan. 2013 <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2011/10/2011106222117687872.html>>.

³ Merlini, Cesare., and Roy, Olivier. *Arab Society in Revolt: The West’s Mediterranean Challenge*. Virginia: R. R. Donnelley, 2012. Print.

consistently spotted at every protest, nose to nose with security forces at times, but always undeterred and unresolved: Selma raising a Facebook sign, handing a flower to a security officer, or defiantly standing up to the baltagui trying to intimidate her. A real ball of fire, hope, and courage! One might rightly say that where there is a will, there is Selma!¹

Another young woman that displayed a remarkable charisma in the 20 February Youth Movement was Hassna Ziani. Among her peers, she was nicknamed the “Young Revolutionary”. She was so preoccupied to defend women’s rights and the afflictions of the disadvantaged people whose rights have been abused by force. As a member who worked on slogans, Hassna has been actively engaged in the movement alongside the youths to encourage the Moroccan citizens to join the movement and participate in peaceful demonstration for the sake of change. She has received many threats and provocations from the police, which in turn, have caused more trouble for her family. She wrote: “Some members of the police came to our home and threatened my mother and held her responsible for my political activities, but this made me even more determined to continue the struggle to build democracy (Boughalbi 3).²

Women kept coming out in North Africa to be heard in different occasions. They have learned the power of collective action and the strength that uniting their voices can bring true change to them. In Egypt, they are still fighting for more rights regarding rapes and sexual assaults. In one demonstration, for example, more than 18 cases of sexual assaults were reported to be shocking to the Egyptian public and the Western diplomats: “With police protection negligible, some women are taking their security into their own hands. At a recent march to call attention to the sexual attacks, several women held knives above their heads. ‘Don’t worry about me,’ said Abeer Haridi, 40, a lawyer, ‘I’m armed’” (El Sheikh & Kirpatrick A1).³

Nawal Al Saadawi, one of the most prominent feminists and leaders of women’s rights in the Arab world, argues that “things didn’t improve for women, and we are going backward.”⁴ Obviously, her claim denotes that there is no consensus and agreement between feminists themselves inside Islam. Paul Delaney, some years ago, cautioned the *New York Times* readers that feminists in North Africa are taking diverging paths. He referred to two Moroccan feminists, namely Hind Taarji and Assia Belghiti, who regard themselves in the vanguard of change for women’s rights in North Africa. The issue of women’s freedom, and house responsibilities were at stake. According to Delaney, Miss Taarji is a single woman. She lives in her own apartment and has traveled widely. She advocates equality between men and women. “She says that change in

¹M4C. “A Brave Feb20 Young Woman: Featuring Selma Maarouf.” 16 May 2011. 12 Feb. 2013 <<http://moroccansforchange.com/2011/05/16/a-brave-feb20-young-woman-featuring-selma-maarouf/>>.

²Boughalbi, Amina. “Hasna Ziani, Young Activist.” *Institut Supérieur de l’Information et de la Communication*. Jun. 2011. 6 Jan. 2013 <www.isic.ma/isiclick8.pdf>.

³ El Sheikh, Mayy., and Kirkpatrick, David.D. “Rise in Sexual Assaults in Egypt Sets Off Clash Over Blame.” *The New York Times*. 26 Mar. 2013. A1. Print.

⁴ Lynch, Sarah. “Arab Spring Reforms Still Leaving Women out in th Cold.” *USAToday*. 24 Sept. 2012. 24 Mar. 2013 <<http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2012/09/24/arab-spring-reforms-still-leaving-women-out-in-the-cold/57826430/1>>.

the status of women is taking place rapidly, particularly among the young, but that women have to fight for their rights.¹ Contradictions spring out when it comes to marriage for example. Miss Taarji believes that some men opt for an educated woman cherishing traditional roles to upgrade their social status, and they are strongly determined to stay dominant in the house sphere controlling their wives. Strangely enough, those feminists who are hankering after gender equality, Delany notes, demand that their husbands should pay for them and take charge of all the house responsibilities, especially financial ones. The second feminist is Miss Belghiti, whose religious affiliations take her to uphold different views with respect to women's rights at home. She is "a poet, a politician and an Islamic scholar, who advocates women's rights, but with constraints that take into account Islamic tradition and what she regards as women's special roles as wives and mothers."² Unlike Miss Taarji, who insist that Muslim women should continue struggling to gain more rights in their societies, Miss Belghiti argues that more rights will come automatically to Muslim women without any feminist ideology, and that militant feminism in North Africa will certainly both yield to and provoke "a revolt by the men that would jeopardize those rights already granted."³

It is not a question whether a secular or an Islamic feminism that can work best to improve the status of Muslim women in North Africa. The real question, however, is whether Muslim women are ready or not to put up with the potential challenges that might crop up in the whole scenario. Some Muslim women had been tremendously influenced by Western feminism and secularism. Even worse, they exploited the issue at hand to disseminate and propagate particular ideologies not in conformity with Islam. Aliaa Magda Elmahdy, Amina Tyler, Sila Sahin have already resolved to protest against males' domination in their countries through nudity. Phrases like "My body belongs to me", "Our tits are deadlier than your stones!", and "religion kills" led to an outrage in the Muslim world and a counter-discourse from Muslim conservatives.

In 2011, for instance, Sila Sahin posed nude in the German magazine *Playboy*. In an interview published in the magazine, she described her act as one of self-emancipation and liberation. She identified it with Che Guevara's revolution, so she proclaimed:

My upbringing was conservative, I was always told, you must not go out, you must not make yourself look so attractive, you mustn't have male friends. I have always abided by what men say. As a result, I developed an extreme desire for freedom. I feel like Che Guevara. I have to do everything I want, otherwise I feel like I may as well be dead.⁴

¹ Delaney, Paul. "In North Africa, Feminists on Diverging Paths." *The New York Times on the Web*. 6 Jan. 1988. 20 Mar. 2013 <<http://www.nytimes.com/1988/01/06/world/in-north-africa-feminists-on-diverging-paths.html>>.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Fox, Holly. "Turkish-German woman's playboy cover stirs controversy." *Deutsche Welle*. 21 Apr. 2011. 23 Mar. 2013 <<http://www.dw.de/turkish-german-womans-playboy-cover-stirs-controversy/a-15021188-1>>.

Such a new discourse which feminism in the light of the Arab Spring has produced is in disharmony with Islam, Judaism and even Christianity. All these monotheistic religions stress the importance of women to a whole nation's progress within boundaries of respect and decency. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was virtually right when he declared that no nation can ever be worthy of its existence if it does not take its women along with the men. He claims that:

No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men. There are two powers in the world; one is the sword and the other is the pen. There is a great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both, that of the women"¹ (Syed & Ozbilgin 112).

It is true that the Arab Spring has both stimulated and urged Muslim women to take up different leading roles in Muslim majority countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, etc, yet they still need to make many efforts to be on equal footing with men.

Conclusion

In this paper I have applied the feminist theory in my analysis of the status of Muslim women in North Africa. I have started with a brief historical overview of the position of women in the pagan era and ancient civilizations. Then, I have emphasized that Islam has come to liberate and honor women from oppression, cruelty and the brutality of the menfolk. The Islamic teachings based essentially on the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions stressed the equality between the sexes in worldly and spiritual matters. Therefore, any mistreatment of women must be attributed to a misreading and misinterpretation of Islam. Afterwards, I have focused on the positive roles which Muslim women played during the Arab Spring in North Africa. These Muslim women strongly collaborated with men and were both present and dynamic in the public scene of mass revolts. They acted as motors of change in their societies and were able enough to speak out against injustice and inequality. Despite being subject to sexual assaults, harassment and persecution, they managed to paint the gloomy picture in green.

Interesting enough, one can note that some women emerged with a strange feminist discourse to do away with men's control and domination. They took to nudity as one way to destabilize and shake the whole Muslim society owing to their total immersion in the Western feminist doctrine being less compatible with Islam. The paper concludes that feminist movements, both inside and outside the house of Islam, are holding different if not contradictory perspectives and approaches to the question of women. Will women continue speaking out or keeping silent in North Africa? Man's view towards them can determine that.

¹Ayub, Nailah., and Jehn, Karen. "The Diversity Scenario in Pakistani Organisations. *Managing Cultural Diversity in Asia: A Research Companion*. Ed. Jawad Syed and Mustapha Ozbilgin F, Mustapha. United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2010. Print.

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