

Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences

Editor in Chief:

Otto F. von Feigenblatt, M.A., F.R.A.S.

1420 High Point Way SW Suite B,

Delray Beach, Florida 33445 (USA)

Associate Editors:

Anthony P. Johnson, M.A., Ph.D. Candidate

Isiaka Alani Badmus, M.S., Ph.D. Candidate

University of New England (Australia) and
the International University of Humanities
and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

Editorial Assistants:

Vannapond Suttichujit, M.Ed., M.Ed.

Jaime Archicano, B.S.

Editorial Board:

A. Mani, Ph.D.

Professor, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific
University (Beppu, Japan)

Associate Senior Fellow, Institute of Southeast
Asian Studies, Singapore

Distinguished Senior Fellow of the Journal of
Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences

Giles Ji Ungpakorn, Ph.D.

Former Associate Professor,
Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok,
Thailand)

Public Intellectual and Political Activist
Distinguished Senior Fellow, JAPSSD

Bernhardt Blumenthal, Ph.D.

Professor, Lasalle University (Philadelphia,
USA)

Chairperson of the Foreign Language
Department

J. P. Linstroth, D.Phil (Oxon)

Senior Researcher, International Peace
Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), Norway

Ko Yiu Chung, Ph.D.

Professor, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific
University (Beppu, Japan)
Senior Fellow, Journal of Alternative
Perspectives in the Social Sciences

Robert A.C. Salazar, Ph.D.

Professor, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific
University (Beppu, Japan)
Senior Fellow, Journal of Alternative
Perspectives in the Social Sciences

Joseph Tse-Hei LEE, Ph.D.

Professor of History, Pace University (New
York, USA)

Dip Kapoor, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of International
Education, University of Alberta (Alberta,
Canada), Senior Fellow of the Journal of
Alternative Perspectives in the Social
Sciences

Mark Davidheiser, Ph.D.

Chair of the Africa Peace and Conflict
Network

Assistant Professor of Conflict Resolution and
Anthropology,

Nova Southeastern University (Fort
Lauderdale, USA)

Jason J. Campbell, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor of Conflict Resolution and
Philosophy

Nova Southeastern University (Fort
Lauderdale, USA)

Aijaz Wassan, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of
Sindh (Jamshoro, Pakistan)

Fellow of the Journal of Alternative
Perspectives in the Social Sciences

Dolores Martin Moruno, Ph.D.

Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences

Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre de Recherche en Histoire des Sciences et des Techniques / Cité des Sciences et de l'Industrie (Paris, France)

Mirela Mazilu, Ph.D.

*Assistant Professor, University of Craiova (Craiova, Rumania)
Fellow, Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*

Leslie Fadiga-Stewart, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor, Delta State University (Mississippi, USA)

Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra, Ph.D.

*Research Associate, Centre for Central Eurasian Studies,
University of Mumbai (Mumbai, India)*

Om Prakash Dwivedi, Ph.D.

Senior Lecturer, Lovely Professional University (Punjab, India)

Shaleen Kumar Singh, Ph.D.

*Lecturer, C S J M University (Kanpur, India)
Senior Fellow, Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*

Erna Oliver, DrTh

*Lecturer, University of South Africa (Pretoria, South Africa)
Adjunct Fellow, Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*

Magid Shihade, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor, Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) (Lahore, Pakistan)

Dhrubajyoti Bhattacharjee, Ph.D.

*Lecturer, Siliguri College (West Bengal, India)
Research Scholar, Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi, India)*

Seema Shekhawat, Ph.D.

Research Associate, University of Mumbai (Mumbai, India)

Mojeed Alabi, Ph.D.

*Centre Africain de Formation et Recherche Administratives Pour le Developpement (CFRAD) (Tanger, Maroc)
Fellow of the Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences
AKM Ahsan Ullah, PhD*

*Assistant Professor, Institute of Population Health University of Ottawa (Canada)
Senior Fellow of the Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*

Andrew J. Hosmanek, J.D.

Adjunct Assistant Professor, University of Iowa (Iowa, USA)

Nilanshu Kumar, Ph.D.

*Senior Lecturer, Feroze Gandhi College, Rae Bareli, (U.P.), India,
Senior Fellow, Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*

Steven Shirley, Ph.D.

*Assistant Professor, Keimyung University (Korea)
Distinguished Fellow, JAPSS*

Yin C. Chuang, Ph.D.

*Assistant Professor, Taiwan Normal University, (Taipei, Taiwan),
Associate Fellow, JAPSS*

Jagannath Ambagudia, M.Phil

Lecturer and Assistant Director, Center for the Study of Law and Social Exclusion, National Law School of India University (Bangalore, India)

John P. McCarthy, M.A., C.Phil, RPA

Adjunct Professor of History and Historic Preservation, American College of the Building Arts (South Carolina, USA)

Abdulazeez Yusuf, Ph.D. (Candidate),

Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences

*Universiti Sains Malaysia (Penang, Malaysia),
Adjunct Fellow, Journal of Alternative
Perspectives in the Social Sciences*

Delray Beach, Florida 33445 (USA)

*A.J. Sebastian, Ph.D.
Reader, Nagaland Central University
(Nagaland, India)
Chakrapani Ghanta, Ph.D.
Director, Center for Social Empowerment
Department of Sociology, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar
Open University (Andhra Pradesh, India)
Senior Fellow, JAPSS*

*Oscar A Gómez S, M.S.
Doctoral Student, Tohoku University (Sendai,
Japan)*

Advisory Board:

*Nolan Quiros, Ph.D
Vice President for Academic Affairs,
University for International Cooperation
(San Jose, Costa Rica)*

*H.E Phillip von Feigenblatt, Count of Kobrin
Itinerant Ambassador of Panama to the
Middle East, Former Ambassador of Panama
to Egypt and to Libya, Former Minister of
Tourism of the Republic of Panama*

*H.E Morris von Feigenblatt, Baron of
Feigenblatt-Miller
Former Consul General of Costa Rica to
Alicante, Spain*

*Malcom Cooper, Ph.D
Vice President, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific
University (Beppu, Japan)*

*H.E Marian Count Voss de Cousances
(Houston, USA)*

*Contact Information:
journalalternative@hotmail.com*

editor@journal.vpweb.com

<http://www.japss.org>

1420 High Point Way SW Suite B,

*The Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the
Social Sciences is indexed and catalogued in
and by the following:*

- Directory of Open Access Journals
(DOAJ)*
- EBSCOhost*
- E-Journals.com*
- Open J-Gate*
- getCITED*
- Google Scholar*

Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences

A Journal of the Guild of Independent Scholars

Published by JAPSS Press

Volume 2 Number 1 May 2010

Contents

Research and Analysis

<i>An Empirical Phenomenological Psychological Study of Farmer-herdsmen Conflicts in North-Central Nigeria</i> Adekunle Oluwasegun and Adisa Solagberu	1
<i>Planet or Profit: Remodeling the Climate Change Negotiations</i> Gwendolyn Smith.....	28
<i>The Importance of Culture in Emic Interpretations of the History of Thailand's Southern Separatist Movement: The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1943 and the Malaysian Relationship with the Separatists</i> Otto F. von Feigenblatt.....	46
<i>Conflict Discourse among Sudanese Dinka Refugees: Implications for Cross-Cultural Analysis and Resolution</i> Tina Jaeckle and Alexia Georgakopoulos.....	57
<i>Self-Help as a Strategy for Rural Development in Nigeria: A Bottom-Up Approach</i> Akpomuvie Orhioghene Benedict.....	88
<i>Dramatic Problem Solving: Transforming Community Conflict through Performance in Costa Rica</i> Steven Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopoulos	112
<i>African Traditional Education: A Viable Alternative for Peace Building Process in Modern Africa</i> Okoro Kingsley.....	136
<i>Patriarchy: Perpetuating the Practice of Female Genital Mutilation</i> Sharmon Lynnette Monagan.....	160
<i>Art and Spirituality on Second Life: A Participant Observation and Digital Quest for Meaning</i> Mary Stokrocki.....	182
<i>The Cameroon and Nigeria Negotiation Process over the Contested Oil rich Bakassi Peninsula</i> Nicholas Tarlebba and Sam Baroni.....	198
<i>Exclusion of Private Sector from Freedom of Information Laws: Implications from a Human Rights Perspective</i> Mazhar Siraj.....	211
<i>Meaning of Life and Death in the Poetry of John Paul II</i> Sebastian, A.J.....	227

<i>Participation Motive in the Paralympics</i> <i>Omar-Fauzee, M.S, Manisah Mohd-Ali, Soh Kim Geok and Norazillah Ibrahim</i>	250
<i>The Psychological Preconditions for Collective Violence: Several Case Studies</i> <i>William Walter Bostock</i>	273
<i>The Power of Social Media Image</i> <i>Beatriz Peña Acuña</i>	298
<i>Impact of Globalization on Traditional African Religion and Cultural Conflict</i> <i>Alphonse Kasongo</i>	309
<i>Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta</i> <i>Isiaka Alani Badmus</i>	323
<i>Multiple Opinions and Perspectives</i>	
<i>New Normalcy and Shifting Meanings of the Practice of Veiling in Turkey</i> <i>Ibrahim Kuran</i>	364
<i>Restoring Lost 'Honor': Retrieving Face and Identity, Removing Shame, and Controlling the Familial Cultural Environment through 'Honor' Murder</i> <i>Brooklynn Welden</i>	380
<i>Latinos in U.S. Film Industry</i> <i>Beatriz Peña Acuña</i>	399
<i>Greed and Glory: The American Way!</i> <i>Eshanda James</i>	415
<i>Gandhi, Civilization, Non-Violence and Obama</i> <i>Tamer Söyler</i>	430
<i>Dependency Theories and the Icelandic Pension Crisis</i> <i>Phillip Andrew Smith</i>	446
<i>Deconstructing the Caste Hegemony: Lambada Oral Literature</i> <i>Suneetha Rani Karamsi</i>	455
<i>Awards</i>	
<i>Scholars of the Month and New Members of the Editorial Board</i>	468

NEW FROM YKING BOOKS

Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region

*Security Challenges, Regional Integration, and
Representative Case Studies*

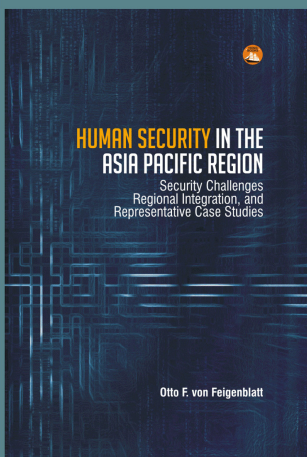
OTTO F. VON FEIGENBLATT

200 pp, 5 illus., \$38 cloth



YKING BOOKS

18, Jain Bhawan, Opp. NBC,
Shanti Nagar, Jaipur-302 006
Ph.: 0141-222 1456, 94140 56846
e-mail : ykingbooks@gmail.com



“Exceptionally stimulating, *Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region* integrates security challenges and regional integration. Otto F. von Feigenblatt’s comparative monograph takes a magisterial overview of the region by comparing intra-regional and regional dynamics to produce a novel perspective of the Asia Pacific region. The brilliant synthesis in exploring the two Chinas’ problem in relation to Costa Rica and the use of Sarawak’s past to probe for a solution in Southern Thailand provide originality and vision of a rising young scholar. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the region.”

Prof. Dr. A. Mani
Vice President, Ritsumeikan
Asia Pacific University
Japan

AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE OPEN ACCESS MOVEMENT
ALL OUR TITLES CAN BE DOWNLOAD AT NO COST FROM OUR WEB-SITE

JAPSS PRESS, Inc

New Titles:

La "Economía de "Burbuja" en Japón

By Erneschè Rodríguez Asien



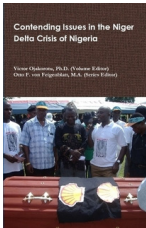
Paperback, 217 pages

"El crecimiento de la burbuja financiera a mediados de los años 80, hasta su explosión a principios de los 90 en Japón, trajo como resultado un gran número de créditos irrecuperables, que causaron graves problemas en el sistema financiero nipón..."

La "Economía de "Burbuja" en Japon provides rare glimpse at Cuban scholarship in the field of economic development. Ernesche Rodriguez Asien is a Professor at the University of Havana as well as bureaucrat at the Central Bank of Cuba. \$25.95

Contending Issues in the Niger Delta Crisis of Nigeria

By Victor Ojajorotu, Ph.D.



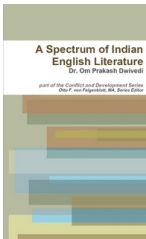
Paperback, 308 pages

This edited volume deals with a vast array of issues related to the Niger Delta Crisis of Nigeria.

\$77.82

A Spectrum of Indian English Literature

By Om Prakash Dwivedi



Paperback, 114 pages

This is a collection of critical essays on Indian English Literature by diverse hands, with a special focus on the theme of conflict and development in it. It contains thirteen essays by as many scholars, and the scholars contributing to it are both Indian and Westerners. Indian authors like, Raja Rao, R.K. Narayan, Amitav Ghosh, V.S. Naipaul, Manohar Malgonkar, Salman Rushdie, Jhumpa Lahiri, Girish Karnad, Aravind Adiga, Kiran Desai, Kamala Markandaya, and their texts have been studied herein. This collection will, hopefully, prove useful to teachers and researchers and find a place on the shelves of the libraries the world over.

An Empirical Phenomenological Psychological Study of Farmer-herdsmen Conflicts in North-Central Nigeria

Adekunle, Oluwasegun, A. and Adisa, Solagberu, R, University of Ilorin, Nigeria

Abstract: *Importunate farmer-herdsmen conflicts in Nigeria portend serious socioeconomic consequences. Using the Empirical Phenomenological Psychological approach (EPP-approach), the study is a qualitative analysis of farmer-herdsmen conflicts. Research sample consisted of thirty farmers and twelve herdsmen, selected using a multi-stage cluster random sampling technique. Hermeneutic interview technique was used to elicit data from respondents. Data analysis revealed twenty-two categories, which resulted in four themes namely: causes of conflict, experiences, coping responses, and management perspectives. Although there was no consensus on the causes of conflicts, inadequate knowledge of stock routes, depleting soil fertility, and the need to increase scale of operation by both groups increased the potential for conflicts. Both groups exhibited differing conflict experiences and responses, but exhibited willingness to find lasting solution to the conflicts. Major recommendations include increased awareness, compliance and periodic revision of stock routes; and better coping mechanisms among both parties. It is also imperative to set up farmer-herdsmen conflict management at community, local, state, and federal government levels.*

Keywords: *Farmer-herdsmen conflicts, Causes, Management, EPP-approach*

1. Introduction

Conflict in resource use is not uncommon and perhaps not unnatural in human ecosystems. Moore (2005) noted that conflict *per se*, is not bad: it is perhaps a necessity in the evolution and development of human organizations. But when conflicts degenerate to violent, destructive clashes, they become not only unhealthy but also counter productive and progress-threatening. Nyong and Fiki (2005) pointed out that resource-related conflicts are responsible for over 12

percent declines in per capita food production in sub-Saharan Africa.

Competition-driven conflicts between arable crop farmers and cattle herdsmen have become common occurrences in many parts of Nigeria. In a newspaper study of crisis in Nigeria between 1991 and February 2005, Fasona and Omojola (2005) found that conflicts over agricultural land use between farmers and herdsmen accounted for 35 percent of all reported crises. Politico-religious and ethnic clashes occurred at lower frequencies. Another study of 27 communities in North Central Nigeria showed that over 40% of the households surveyed had experienced agricultural land related conflicts, with respondents recalling conflicts that were as far back as 1965 and as recent as 2005 (Nyong and Fiki, 2005). De Haan (2002) observed that no less than twenty villages were involved in farmer-herdsmen conflicts annually in the states covered by his study. Nyong and Fiki's (2005) study found a spatial differentiation in conflict occurrence, as more violent conflicts took place more frequently in resource-rich areas like the *Fadama* (flood plains) and river valleys than resource-poor areas.

The Fulani cattle herdsmen have identified conflicts arising from land use as the "most important" problem they face in their occupation (van't Hooft, Millar and Django, 2005). Describing the annual herding cycle of the Fulani cattle herdsmen, Iro (1994) stated that the herding season begins with southward movement of the herd and along rivers and stream valleys from October to December – marking the end of rainy season and beginning of dry season. January to February is the harmattan season that is characterized by longer grazing hours, herd splitting, and more frequent visits to stable water sources. These thus increase southward movement of the herds. The months of March and April are usually the toughest for the herdsman and his cattle, as it is the hottest period in the grazing calendar. Indeed, he now herds his cattle only in the evenings and nights (Riesman, 1977). May and June signify the end of dry season and vegetation begins to appear. This also marks the beginning of northward movement of cattle herds. From this period up till September, which is the peak of rainy season, though characterized by cattle-breeding, more milk production and shorter grazing hours, cattle

herding coincides significantly with arable crop production. Farmer-herdsmen conflict therefore becomes prevalent during this period. The resultant increase in competition for arable land has often times led to serious manifestation of hostilities and social friction among the two user-groups in many parts of Nigeria. The conflicts have not only heightened the level of insecurity, but have also demonstrated high potential to exacerbate the food crisis in Nigeria and other affected countries due to loss of farmer lives, animals, crops and valuable properties (Cotula, Toulmin and Hesse, 2004). For instance, the conflict in Darfur region of Sudan started as a resource-based conflict between herdsmen and farmers before transforming into a full-blown war that has claimed over 200,000 lives and rendered over a million people homeless (FEWS-NET, 2007). Just as in The Sudan, farming and cattle-herding respectively are predominantly associated with distinct ethnic groups.

The threat to human security occasioned by these conflicts is quite real. Indeed, Fasona and Omojola (2005) showed that there appears to be a “very strong correlation” between the patterns of the clashes and human security. Human restiveness and communal clashes have become more prevalent in the savannahs where intensive and extensive crop production activities are particularly predominant around the flood plains. The cattle herdsmen are now being found in the south – the Guinea savannah and forest belt - in search of pasture for their herds (Oyesola, 2000; Ajuwon, 2004). Indeed, Ajuwon (2004) reported farmer-herdsmen conflict in Imo State, south east of Nigeria. In a study carried out in Nigeria’s Guinea savannah, Fiki and Lee (2004) reported that out of about 150 households interviewed, 22 reported loss of a whole farm of standing crops, 41 reported losses of livestock, while eight households from both sides reported loss of human lives. Their study also indicated that stores, barns, residences and household items were destroyed in many of the violent clashes. Serious health hazards are also introduced when cattle are reared to water bodies that serve rural communities.

The implications of all these may put question marks on the achievability of the 10% growth rate in the agricultural sector being proposed by the federal government of Nigeria. Neither would it be easy for the Kwara State

government to achieve 20% increase in area under actual cultivation nor grain yields from the present 0.99 to 2.5 metric tones per hectare being proposed in its State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) as released by the State Planning Commission (KWSPC, 2005). Conflicts resulting from the use of *Fadama* land may also jeopardize huge financial investment by government, Africa Development Bank and World Bank in the *Fadama* projects nationwide (Ardo, 2004).

The causes of farmer-herdsmen conflicts are often not far-fetched. However, there appears to be no consensus among both groups on the causes of their mutual conflict. According to de Haan (2002), while farmers cite destruction of crops by cattle and other property by the pastoralists as the main direct causes for conflicts cited, burning of rangelands and *Fadama* and blockage of stock routes and water points by crop encroachment are major direct reasons cited by the pastoralists. Bell (2000) described the role of what she referred to as 'meta conflict'- on going disagreement as to what the conflict itself is about, opining that until there is substantial agreement about the cause of the conflict, reaching agreement on how the divided society reconcile may be almost unattainable. An in-depth insight into the perceptions of conflict actors could thus be useful tool towards resolving farmer-herdsmen conflict. The present study is a qualitative phenomenological investigation of the perceptions and conflict experiences of arable crop farmers and cattle herdsmen in north-central Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. Analyze the perceived causes of conflict among the participants - farmers and herdsmen
2. Examine the conflict experiences of participants
3. Analyze participants' responses to mutual conflicts
4. Examine the conflict management opinions of participants

2. Methodology

A five-stage technique was used by randomly selecting Kwara State from the list of six states that made up the

north-central geo-political zone in Nigeria. Kwara State is located in Latitude 7° 55' and 100° North and longitudes 2°20' East. Lying in the middle belt of Nigeria, the state has a land area of 32,500 km sq made of Guinea Savannah vegetation to the south and Derived Savannah to the North. There is also a Fadama belt that stretches the length and breadth of the River Niger. Annual rainfall is between 1000-1500mm while maximum average temperatures are between 30° and 35° Celsius (Kwara State Diary, 2007).

Agriculturally, the State is significant for food production in Nigeria because of its rich soil that supports the cultivation of many crops. The state has a cultivable land area of 2,447, 250ha (Kwara State Planning Commission, 2004). Similarly, it has abundant livestock that comprises of cattle, goats and sheep. Sharing boundaries with Ekiti, Oyo, Osun, Kogi, Niger State and the Republic of Benin, it has four main ethnic groups namely, Yoruba, Nupe, Baruba and Fulani.

Ten out of the 16 Local Government Areas in the state had history of frequent farmer-herdsmen conflicts. Two LGAs (Edu and Moro) associated with frequent conflicts were randomly selected. In each of the two selected LGAs, three farming communities and two herdsmen transit camp were randomly selected. From each of the selected communities, five farmers and three herdsmen respectively were selected using cluster random sampling technique. Thus, 30 farmers and 12 herdsmen were interviewed in the phenomenological data collection process.

Hermeneutic Phenomenological Interview Technique (HPIT) was used to gather data needed to achieve the objectives of this study. According to Lester (1998), Phenomenology involves gathering "deep" information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participant" (Lester, 1998 p.1). This method is particularly effective at pin-pointing the experiences and perceptions of individuals from their own perspectives, and therefore at challenging structural or normative assumptions. Criticisms of phenomenology are that it generates a lot of papers, notes and audio tapes for analysis and that people may not understand what it is, expecting similar parameters to apply

as for quantitative research (Lester, 1998). It is however well appreciated that when the purpose is to illuminate the specific, identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation and inform policy and action, phenomenological methods are simply suitable (Plumer, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Moustakas, 1994; Mazeelle, 2002; Smith, 2003 and Lekoko, 2005). Reconnaissance surveys to the selected LGAs were conducted along with some trained enumerators and interpreters before data collection.

An interview guide made up of four questions relating to farmer-herdsmen conflicts was used in gathering in-depth data from the respondents. The questions were: (1) what are the causes of farmer-herdsmen conflicts? (2) What are your personal conflict experiences? (3) How do you normally respond to the conflicts? (4) What are the ways by which the conflicts can be managed? It was pre-tested with five farmers and one herdsman to ensure that the procedure and terminologies were appropriate to the prospective respondents. This yielded no need for a change in the designed interview guide and procedure. Each of the four questions was often followed by corollary questions without compromising strict adherence to the objectives of the research. The interviews, lasted between 20 and 30 minutes per participant, were conducted in two stages. The first stage was for the farmers, while the second featured the herdsmen. Each interview was audio-recorded, followed by verbatim text transcriptions that constituted material for data analysis. Also, an interviewer-administered questionnaire was used to elicit some personal socioeconomic data on the respondents. For ethical reasons all participants were guaranteed anonymity.

3. Analysis of Phenomenological Data

The sample consisted of barely educated 30 farmers (18 men and 12 women), whose mean age, annual income, and household size were 44 years, USD 674.2, and 14 people respectively. Also, the mean farm size, and farming experience of the farmers were 2.8 Hectares and 13.7 years respectively. All the twelve herdsmen were uneducated male,

whose mean age; annual income and household size were 26 years, USD 1355.95, and 9 people respectively. Their mean herd size and herding experience were 41 cattle 9.1 years respectively.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982; p.145), phenomenological data analysis entails “ working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned”. This research adapted the empirical phenomenological data analysis procedure developed by Karlsson (1993), and used by Giorgi (1997) and Friman, Nyberg and Norlander (2004). Consisting of hermeneutical elements, it essentially consists of five steps, which according to Norlander, Bloom, and Archer (2002) and Pramling, Norlander, and Archer (2001) may not be seen as strict rules and may be adapted according to the phenomenon under study. These steps which were solely undertaken and reviewed by the researchers are: verbatim transcription of the audio-taped interviews, reading the transcription of each participant to get a good understanding and feeling of the material, identification of ‘small units’, which are terminologically referred to as Meaning Units, MUs. The MUs are the salient issues or points that are raised by the participants (the number of participants that raise a particular issue is the MU), synthesis of the MUs into ‘situated structures’ which are essentially summary formats or categories, and collapsing of the categories\‘situated structures’ into more general themes, which form the pivots for the discussion of the findings.

4. Results and Discussions

The goal is to gain deeper insights into the conflict management opinions and personal experiences of respondents with regards to mutual conflict over use of agricultural land. Data analysis yielded 349 NUs with relevance to purpose and research objective. These were converted into 22 categories presented in a randomized order without following any particular criterion or strategy to avoid any bias as suggested by Friman, Nyberg, and Norlander, (2004). A shortened description of each category is here presented, followed by few citations concerned with each

category. The categories are brought together, summarized and discussed in four themes namely: Perceived causes of conflicts, Conflict experiences, Reactions to conflict, and Management of conflict situations.

Frustration (22MUs – 18 for farmers, 4 for herdsmen)

Respondents, particularly farmers, expressed increasing frustration as a result of 'constant' destruction of their farms by 'Fulani men'.

Example: -- 'It is really devastating year in year out....'/'-- 'How can I be farming for cattlemen?'/-- 'Do they want to stop us from farming?'/-- 'I am left with nothing from my farm this year. How do I fend for my family? Should I go and steal?'/-- 'Last year they (cattle herdsmen) nearly killed two of my sons after destroying my farms. What did we do for them?'/ A herdsman with a very large herd of cattle exclaimed '..... We are overwhelmed by scarcity of fodder for our cattle'. Another young herdsman said: 'We now undergo greater stress before getting grass and water for our animals. It is now very rigorous....'/' -- 'The job of cattle herding has become more demanding and stressful.... It is frustrating as well...'

Accusations and Counter-accusations (18MUs – 15 for farmers, 3 for herdsmen)

Mutual accusations and counter-accusations were prevalent among both groups. Farmers blamed herdsmen for farm destruction by cattle, while herdsmen blame farmers for farming on lands that were hitherto not cultivated, and probably not meant for farming.

Example: '...These herdsmen are wicked, evil people....'/'-- 'The Fulani are ungodly by deliberately taking their cattle to my two farms every year'/'-- 'The herdsmen are not farming within their stock routes'/'-- 'They lie by saying our farms are on their stock routes,... you saw my farm yesterday, is it along their stock routes?'/-- 'Even if they encounter farms along their routes, does it make any sense for them to destroy farms that took a lot of money and sweat to establish. Also, among herdsmen: '...how should farmers

deny my cattle of pasture? /--'We are not destroying their farms. They decided to plant on our grazing routes, how do they expect us to feed our animals?'/ 'Farmers accuse us wrongly because we are always their targets. They never met us on their farms...'

Job Interest (19 MUs- 15 for farmers, 4 for herdsmen)

This theme concerns the depth of respondents' interest in their respective occupations as this is crucial to the sustenance of their livelihoods. Both groups generally expressed great interest in their occupations even in the face of the problem caused by farmer-herdsmen conflict as well as other difficulties they encounter day-to-day in their respective occupations.

Example:-- 'farming is a job I cannot leave for any other.' /-- 'I am sure that my children would continue from where I shall stop.' /-- 'Other comments from farmers included: 'The farmer is king...'/-- 'No farming, no food.' /-- 'I enjoy farm work a lot.....' /-- 'I hope to increase my farm size' /-- 'I farm all year round... and am happy to do so.' /-- 'If I get more money today, I shall start mechanized farming.' /-- 'Farming is the most honourable work... I am proud to be farmer.' A herdsman said, '.....If I don't herd cattle, what would I herd, rabbits?'/-- 'I enjoy cattle herding.... I cannot do any other work.' /-- '.....It is very interesting...'/

Farmer Poverty (21 MUs)

Conflict might be increasing poverty among arable crop farmers.

Example: A young farmer said '..... I am poorer now, due to the excesses of these *Bororos*' / 'Now, I cannot pay my children's school fees' / '.... Even no food for my family to eat...'/ 'We are now left with nothing' /-- 'I don't know how my family and I would survive this problem, as we are already impoverished' /-- 'Every year sees us lamenting and losing everything we have' /-- 'I have been turned into a beggar while not being lazy or disabled,.....after working so hard and spending so much money' /-- 'Farming makes one poor

here because of the acts of these herdsmen.’/-- ‘I am seriously indebted, I have no means of paying back as a result of destruction of all my farms by cattle herdsmen’

Stressful Conditions (13MUs – 11 for farmers, 2 for herdsmen)

Conflict actually produced or aggravated stress among the respondents.

Example: ‘... I was unable to sleep for three nights after my cassava farm was devastated by the Fulani’, said a middle-aged farmer who had a large family. Others: ‘... I lost my temper...’/-- ‘I cannot understand myself again’, said a widowed, young farmer. ‘I don’t think I will be able to recover from the effects of this calamity. My three farms were destroyed simultaneously in two days. I nearly became insane.’/-- ‘I felt greatly annoyed and was ready to do anything.....’/-- ‘I lost weight and everybody knew something was wrong with me’/-- ‘Even my children at home knew I was having problem when my farms were destroyed.....I was disturbed for a very long period.’/-- ‘increasing problem with farmers has introduced a lot of stress into the work of cattle herding.....the situation is very bad.....we are indeed unhappy, too.’/--

Lack of Attention (21MUs – 17 for farmers, 4 for Herdsmen)

Bordering on despondency, respondents expressed a great deal of regret for getting no attention from ‘anybody’ hopelessness

Example: ‘... They have forgotten us...’/-- ‘A cow that has no tail relies on God to ward off houseflies’/-- ‘Our complaints have not been answered by the leaders....we don’t know what we did to them to warrant this kind of neglect, and they were always telling us to farm.’/-- ‘The government must pay attention to this problem’/-- ‘how can we produce more food when we are not respected?they look down on us as if we are not created by God.’ /-- ‘... no one to speak for us...’/-- ‘they only remember us at election periods.’/--

Similar statements among herdsmen include: ‘we have never been assisted by anybody....’/-- ‘no one cares about the

Adekunle, Oluwasegun, A and Adisa, Solagberu, R, University of Ilorin, Nigeria

cattle herdsmen./--‘nothing has been provided for us. /--‘we have our own problems too.....

Information Gap (19 MUs – 17 for farmers, 2 for herdsmen)

The lack of awareness about stock routes\grazing reserves among both parties is a potential source of conflict. Example: ‘... Are there really designated stock routes for herders?’ Other comments that show information gap were: ‘...we don’t know the stock routes’/ ‘let the government tell us the stock routes and we shall abide’/ ‘How could we know the stock routes,.....nobody told us of them.’/ ‘There are no stock routes here... we do not know of them’/ ‘My farm is very far away....it is a big farm devoted to maize and cassava..... It was thrice devastated by cattle, I don’t know whether it is on the stock routes or not’/ ‘... cattle should not be herded into farms, stock routes or no stock routes...’/ ‘No one knows of them here.’/ A herdsman also said that ‘My brothers that new the stock routes very well are not around anymore’.

Government (24 MUs – 20 for farmers, 4 for herdsmen)

Respondents, especially farmers expect a lot from government. Example: ‘... Government should help us.’/ ‘The herdsmen should be given separate grazing zones that would be far away from farming communities.’/ ‘Government should take this issue seriously by having a special agency to oversee the problem of farmers and herdsmen.’/ ‘government should support them to have ranches where they would raise their cattle.’/ ‘There should be more effort to make both farmers and herdsmen know the (stock) routes ... especially we the farmers. We are ready to obey the routes...’/. ‘Among the herdsmen: ‘.....Government should encourage us too...’/ ‘Government should enforce stock routes regulations, and create new stock routes...’/ ‘We need to be helped by government to reduce the problem we encounter in our work....’

Depleting Soil Fertility (16 MUs- farmers)

Farmers complained about declining soil fertility, which necessitated them to look for virgin lands to enhance productivity. Example: 'Our lands are no longer fertile.'/ 'I had to abandon my farm for another place due to declining soil fertility.'/ 'Our soils are no longer fertile.'/ 'We just have to look for new lands.'/ 'It is not possible for us to remain on one spot for ever We need to exploit new lands because of declining soil fertility.'/ 'In my own case, I have been using this land for farming for many years...'/ 'I had since noticed that the land is not giving me desirable results.'/ 'I had no choice than to look for fresh land.'/ 'The only thing we have to do is to exploit virgin lands if we have to remain as farmers.'

New Stock Routes (13 MUs- 9 for farmers and 4 for herdsmen)

Stock routes are important determinants in farmer-herdsmen conflict. Both groups expressed the necessity for new stock routes. Example among herdsmen: 'We have been using the same routes for up to fifteen years.'/ 'It is good to have new stock routes if they are easy to ply for us and our cattle.'/ 'Our problem with farmers would be solved if the stock routes are re-defined.'/ 'It will be good to revisit the issue of stock routes, because it is the cause of the problem.' Among the farmers, examples are: 'If it is possible to give them another stock route, so that they will stop destroying our farms, we welcome it.'/ 'They should be given a separate route that they would use for their cattle.'/ 'Giving herdsmen another stock route is a good idea, but would they comply...?'/ 'A solution to this problem is that the government should design a new stock route for these herdsmen, so that they would stop disturbing us.'/ 'We have been calling for new stock routes for the herdsmen for a long time.'

Fertilizer (19 MUs)

The scarcity of farm inputs, especially fertilizer, is a problem farmers complained about. It is closely tied to the issue of soil fertility. Farmers expressed the view that availability of fertilizer could reduce the necessity for shifting cultivation that they mostly embark on in order to solve the problem of soil infertility. Examples of their statements: 'There is very short supply of fertilizer for our crops.'/ 'I always find it difficult to get fertilizer to use in my farm.'/ 'To get fertilizer is a serious problem for us.'/ 'If there is adequate and timely supply of fertilizer, our problems would be minimized.'/ 'I was unable to get even a single bag of fertilizer this year and I therefore devoted the most part of my farm to cassava.' / 'Farming nowadays require the use of fertilizer ... one will just be wasting his time. We have problem getting adequate fertilizer.'

Transportation (21 MUs –17 farmers, 4 for herdsmen)

Another major issue raised during the interviews was the problem relating to transhumance and movement of farm inputs and output. They believed that poor transportation facilities contribute to the problem of farmer-herdsmen conflict. The following are the examples of their statements that point to this fact: 'We could farm elsewhere and move away from where our farms are being destroyed, but the roads are very bad.'/ 'There are no vehicles to convey us to other places we could use as farms.'/ 'We encounter great difficulty transporting ourselves and farm output.' / 'If the roads are good, we can farm far away from the reach of the cattle herdsmen'/ 'Better roads could reduce the tension between farmers and herdsmen.'/ 'Bad roads are discouraging us a lot.' Among herdsmen, there was unanimous call for good roads as well. Example: 'Good roads would enable us to move away and prevent frequent clashes with the farmers.'/ 'We also benefit when the roads are good.'

Increasing Enterprise Size (14 MUs – 11 farmers and 3 herdsmen)

Increasing the scale of production among both farmers and herdsmen has continued to be a great challenge. The two groups indicated that the need to increase output has contributed to the level and rate of conflict between them. Example among farmers: 'I try to increase the size of my farm yearly.'/ 'No one wishes to remain on one spot. I try to make farm bigger every year.'/ 'A big farm is the pride of the farmer. Why should I be happy or satisfied with a small farm?' 'Successful farming requires a large piece of land...not necessarily on a single location. One should have a farm that can make life meaningful, unless he has another source of income.' Among the herdsmen: 'When you breed animals, definitely it would lead to increase in herd size.'/ 'There are cattle herdsmen coming from other parts of the country, and even from outside the country.'

Water (4 MUs, all herdsmen)

Drinking water for cattle is a major concern for herdsmen, especially during dry season. The search for water could thus be cumbersome. It may also affect farmer-herdsmen competition for resource use. Example: 'We face a lot of difficulty when we search for water for our animals.'/ 'This is because farmers use water bodies (river banks) for vegetable production... this is where the problem lies.'/ 'Our animals need to drink water, especially during hot weather.'/ 'It is true that we sometimes pass through farms to get to rivers and water sources.'

Fighting Back (11 MUs – 8 for farmers, 3 for herdsmen)

A number of respondents on both sides stated that they actually retaliated what was done to them as a way of defending themselves and property. Example among farmers: 'We made them (herdsmen) realize that what they did was wrong by fighting them ...'/ '...We seized their cattle to avenge the destruction of our crops.'/ 'The other time.... they

beat our people after destroying our farms ... we fought back ...' / 'We want peaceful coexistence with them, but we are ready to defend ourselves ...' / 'How can someone destroy your farm and start fighting you ... and you would not defend yourself ...' Among herdsmen, the examples are: 'They wrongly accuse us of destroying their farms when actually they did not meet us on their farms ... fighting could start ... we fight back ...' / 'We all know that peace is important ... we hate fighting, but you cannot steal our cattle and expect us to smile at you. Nobody would like that...' / 'We fight only when we are provoked. We don't initiate fighting.'

Compensation (16 MUs -12 for farmers, 4 for herdsmen)

Compensation as a factor in farmer-herdsmen conflict was also mentioned by respondents from both sides during the phenomenological interviews. Example among farmers: 'They sometimes agree to pay back for what their cattle had eaten.' / 'I got compensated once in a while ...' / 'Getting the Fulani herdsmen to pay for the damage they are causing us is very difficult ...' / 'Some people were lucky to get compensation ... I have not been so lucky. No one has ever paid me a single Kobo.' / 'If they are made to pay compensation ... they would be wary of destroying people's farms.' 'Even if they compensate us, is it enough?' Among herdsmen: 'I paid compensations to farmers many times.' / 'If they ask for compensation, we normally give them.' / '.... We paid them compensations....' / 'I am tired of paying compensations ... but it helps to prevent violence when we settle amicably.'

Guarding Farm (18 MUs for farmers)

Farmers became more security-conscious in the face of their conflict with herdsmen, by guarding their farm physically. Example: 'We started guarding our farms from morning till about 7.00 PM. It made a great impact, but it denied us the time for other important activities'. / 'My children guarded the farms to prevent the Fulani herdsmen from destroying our farm... yet the farms were attacked one way or the other.' / 'We now made sure we spend more time

in the farm than before so that our farms would be safe from Fulani herdsmen.’/ ‘Once they know you are in the farm, they would not venture into it ... but the moment you are out of the farm, they are certain to come there.’/ ‘... they sometimes come in the evening time ... their actions are deliberate.’/ ‘I stay a little longer in the farm, while I ask my family to go home and make food.’/ ‘I come to the farm everyday and live very late in the evening just to prevent cattle from grazing on my crops.’/ ‘I cannot afford to lose my ‘sweat’ to cattle herdsmen; we stay longer in the farms.’/ ‘I use other means to guard my farm ... you cannot understand ... it works well.’

Litigation (12 MUs – 8 for farmers, 4 for herdsmen)

Farmer-herdsmen conflict could also lead to court actions. Example from farmers: ‘I reported..... but nothing came out of it.’/ ‘I took the incident to the police and it was settled in court.’/ ‘I don’t like court cases, but last year when the whole of my farm was destroyed by cattle, and with strong evidence I took the matter to the court and won.’/ ‘It is normal to seek redress in court when you have been wronged.’/ ‘they always deny ... even when they are caught red-handed ... with ample evidence ... they loose in the court.’ ‘Going to court is not a complete solution, but it could be necessary to do so especially when you have nothing to fall back to and you have concrete evidence ... I think it is alright.’

Among herdsmen: ‘I have been taken to court by farmers twice, I lost in both cases ...’/ ‘Taking us to the police or court cannot solve the problem ... We can solve the problems without going to the police.’/ ‘It (going to police/court) is a waste of time and money. When we are guilty, we accept...’ / ‘I try as much as possible to avoid court cases with farmers ... I don’t like it.’

Associations/ Unions (10 MUs, 8 for farmers, 2 for herdsmen)

The role of associations/unions among both groups was also highlighted during the interviews, as references

were made to them by respondents from both groups. Examples among farmers: 'We often discuss this matter at union meetings, but ...' / 'Our unions are doing their best to solve this problem.' / 'We have appealed to the government through our association.' / '...even last week, our union members attended a meeting with Ministry of Agriculture officials on this issue.' / 'I reported the issue to our union leaders ... their own farms were also destroyed before.' There was a time we held meeting with their (association) leaders on how to avoid violent conflicts.' Among herdsmen: 'Our associations have met with them severally ... it made some impact.' / 'I also believe that at the level of associations a lot of progress could be achieved ... we should come together and solve the problems ... conflicts pay no one.'

Local Authorities/ (13 MUs - 10 for farmers, 3 for herdsmen)

Local authorities' roles were also mentioned by a number of respondents from both sides during the interviews. Examples of related statements by farmers include: 'The traditional ruler here is as concerned about the problem as any one of us. He called us many times to be calm ... to avoid any fight.' / 'Our local leader is active in this matter. If the leaders are more involved in coordinated way, it will be helpful.' / 'We cannot overlook the role of the traditional ruler in this situation. I think they are important.' / 'they are powerless ... all they do is to appeal to us not to fight.' / 'He is only asking us to pursue peace and other pieces of advice.' / 'Please tell me what can the traditional ruler do ... he has no control over the Fulani people. His own farm was destroyed many times. It is a serious matter.' Among herdsmen: 'Our leader meets with them regularly to speak on our behalf.' / 'Whenever we have problem, we quickly report to our leader. He normally advises us on what to do.' / 'Our leader always appeals to us to be careful with farms ... to avoid conflict.' / 'We get support from our leaders during crises with farmers.'

Cooperation (11 MUs, 6 for farmers, 5 for herdsmen)

Cooperative effort in farmer-herdsmen conflict was also indicated by farmers as well as herdsmen during the interviews. Among the farmers, the examples are: 'It requires effort on both sides for us to have peace on this matter ... no one can do it alone ... we must come together.'/ 'There must be understanding from both sides ... it is very important.'/ 'We are willing to cooperate with them, if only they would exercise some restraint.'/ 'We are peace-loving, we are ready for anything or programme that would lead to the end of this trouble.'/ 'There is need for mutual understanding and cooperation among farmers and herdsmen ... and even government.'/ 'Fighting every year yields nothing but losses. It is only mutual cooperation and assistance from government that could eliminate these conflicts.' Herdsmen also commented on the issue of cooperation: 'We also want peace. We are certainly ready to cooperate with farmers and anyone on this matter.'/ 'Is there anyone that loves fighting all the time ... it is only by dialogue that things of this nature could be solved.'/ 'I don't like the way things are going on. It is unfortunate, but if we join hands together with the government ... there would be peace sooner or later.'/ 'We need to cooperate and understand ourselves.' 'The only way to solve this problem is for us to understand and appreciate the other side of the story as well...'

The results of this phenomenological study described the perceived causes of farmer-herdsmen conflict among respondents, their experiences and responses to conflict as well as their perspectives on how to effectively manage conflict. The respondents were asked to describe their personal (subjective) experiences and give concrete examples to broaden the understanding of the phenomena under study as well as to ensure credibility. Although the 22 categories highlighted above individually gave some information on the results of the phenomenological interviews, but it is expedient to amalgamate the related categories into themes for discussion. The 22 categories are thus summarized into four themes namely: perceived causes of conflict, conflict experiences, responses to conflict, and managing conflict.

Perceived causes of conflict

This theme concerns the views of the respondents on the specific, immediate and remote causes of farmer-herdsmen conflicts. The categories under the theme are categories 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 16. These are inadequate attention, information gap, depleting soil fertility, fertilizer, poor transportation, increasing scale of enterprise, and water respectively. Together and individually, these were the perceived causes of farmer-herdsmen conflict according to the participants in the phenomenological interviews. Information gap with respect to the stock routes was a major factor contributing to farmer-herdsmen conflicts. Depleting soil fertility, inadequate supply of fertilizer, and the need to increase scale of operation by both groups were also found to indirectly precipitate conflict, as farmers confirmed that they sought for virgin lands to farm. By so doing they might move into stock routes inadvertently. Depleting soil nutrient and quality were also reported by Adegboye (2004) and Haggblade, Hazel, Kirsten, and Mkandawire (2005) as being responsible for slow agricultural growth in Nigeria and the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. This finding is consistent with those of other researchers such as Gefu and Kolawole (2002), Moore (2005), and Nyong and Fiki (2005) that intensification and extensification of agricultural production due to increasing human population contributed to the rate and level of farmer-herdsmen conflict in Africa south of the Sahara. Adegboye (2004) also noted the effect of depleting soil fertility on farmer-herdsmen conflict and declining food production. The problem posed by poor/inadequate transportation infrastructure by limiting production scale and creating encumbrances in the farm location was also noted in the interview data. Lack of good roads and other peculiar transportation means might have made farmers locate their farms at 'convenient' places without giving due considerations to whether or not they were using herdsmen's stock routes. The issue for drinking water for cattle was another factor. Water for domestic consumption as a crucial problem of rural communities has also been noted by other researchers including Todd (2007). The search for drinking water, according to the herdsmen could be problematic, and

it has often led to fracas with farmers and local residents who abhorred sharing drinking water with cattle. Consistent with the observations of Boege and Turner (2006) and Osinde and Turner (2007) who, in their respective studies, stated the striking correlation between water scarcity and conflict/tensions over access to water, this finding perhaps indicates that water scarcity may be a crucial element in farmer-herdsmen conflict in the study area.

Personal conflict experiences

This theme is concerning the personal lived experiences of participants during and after their mutual conflict for land use. Categories 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7 are under the theme. These are interest, frustration, farmer poverty, stress, and setbacks respectively. This is consistent with the findings of Prowse (2008) that poverty among farmers is real. It is note-worthy that respondents expressed remarkable interest in their respective occupations despite the negative consequences they experienced as a result of their mutual conflict. This perhaps is an indication of their resilience in the face of undesirable and stressful situations. Another peculiar finding relates to the level of frustration occasioned by farmer-herdsmen conflict, and the perceived high level of farmer neglect. This feeling of neglect among farmers, also noted by Bengtsson (2007), is capable of worsening the current low agricultural productivity by psychologically dampening the spirit of farmers to produce. It was, however, amazing to find out that frustration and interest in their respective occupations among respondents went *pari pasu*. This could be due to the observations that agricultural activities have become part of culture in rural Nigeria (Agunbiade and Adedoyin, 1998). Rural people may continue to be involved in agricultural activities, whatever the odds are. Another experience in the interviews was that, particularly among farmers, the conflict brought about setbacks in their occupational and other life activities.

Responses

This theme deals with the responses, not necessarily the coping strategies, of the participants in the

phenomenological data gathering. It actually revealed deeper information on how the respondents reacted to the conflict, not how they coped with the effect of their mutual conflict. The categories that come under this theme are categories 3, 17, 19, and 23; which are accusations/counter-accusations, report to local leaders, fighting back, and guarding farm respectively. It is obvious from the accusations and counter-accusations from both sides that neither of the two was ready to accept blame for the conflict. It shows that there was some level of misunderstanding. While farmers accused herdsmen of destroying their farms, herdsmen claimed that farmers were farming on the stock routes meant for their cattle. Farmers claimed that herdsmen deliberately invade their farms. Some farmers in the interviews claimed they actually met herdsmen cutting down their maize plants for cattle to devour. These accusations were immediate responses that led to conflicts.

Reporting to local authorities was another response among respondents from both sides. This obviously have the tendency to slow down the tempo of the occurrence of a conflict. We may thus label this particular as being conflict-averse. However, some respondents claimed to fight back as their immediate response, especially when they knew which herdsmen attacked their farms. This set of respondents may be referred to as being conflict-prone. To protect their farms and probably forestall reoccurrence of farm destruction by cattle, some farmers adopted the response of guarding their farms by staying longer into the evenings. This obviously has the negative effects of denying them and their children the time for other equally important domestic activities.

Managing conflict

This last theme centers on the perspectives of participants on how to manage farmer-herdsmen conflicts (categories 10, 12, 18, 20, 22, and 24). These were identified as government, new stock routes, compensation, litigation, associations/unions, and cooperation respectively. Most of the participants believed the government must show a more serious commitment to the management (prevention and control) of farmer-herdsmen conflict. They expressed their readiness to cooperate with government in this regard.

Related to the call on government was the need for enforcement of compliance with, and creation of new stock routes. Participants believed that this would go a long way to prevent frequent clashes over land between the two groups. They also expressed the need for more information on the stock routes so that all stakeholders would be aware of them. Another perspective was that offenders should pay compensation, which should be commensurate with the level of damage either to farm or cattle. Farmers, particularly, called for higher compensation for the destruction of their farms.

The use of litigation process by the farmers in seeking redress was also highlighted during the interviews. The interviews revealed that the herdsmen abhorred legal actions, and may thus be prevented from herding their cattle into farms if they are made to realize that they would be taken to court if they contravened stock routes regulations. This finding is consistent with the results of a study by Crook (2007) in Ghana which revealed that the use of litigation in formal courts is not only popular, but has also helped in reducing land disputes.

Another view was the need to involve farmers' and herders' unions/associations in the management of conflict. That unions and associations need to play greater roles is consistent with the observations of Heemskerk, Nederlof, and Wennink (2007), and the findings of Hesse, Ezeomah, Hassan, and Ardo (2001). Lastly, but closely related, was the call, and mutual preparedness for cooperation and reciprocal understanding. Both sides maintained that it is only through dialogue and constructive cooperation that the much desired peace could be achieved.

5. Conclusion and Policy Implications of Findings

This phenomenological study with its sample of thirty farmers and six herdsmen attempted to shed lights and deepen the appreciation of the peculiarities of farmer-herdsmen conflict. Although the participants in this study were randomly selected, the ultimate intention, as in most qualitative research, was not to lay claim to exact representativeness but to provide some very important

insights on the phenomenon to policy makers as well as researchers. For instance, the study finds out that the adequate and timely provision of fertilizers and enhancement of rural transportation would hopefully help in reducing farmer-herdsmen conflict. Same for provision of safe, drinking water as it would reduce the sharing of streams and other water bodies between rural residents and herdsmen's cattle. Findings here also indicated that, despite frustrations, setbacks and conflict-induced poverty, farmers in particular still had remarkable interest in farming. It indicates, perhaps that the easiest and most welcome way of helping the rural poor is to continue to implement policies and programmes that would enhance agricultural development. The study recommends the following as policy implications of findings:

1. A multi-stage conflict management framework is required to curb the danger posed by farmer-herdsmen conflict. The proposed framework should be statutory committees at community, local, state, and federal government levels. It should also include the relevant occupational unions.
2. Traditional and local leaders should be well involved in finding solutions to farmer-herdsmen conflict. The committees proposed above must have representatives of the local leadership.
3. Farmer poverty is not only pervasive; available it is also on the increase, due to many factors that include farmer-herdsmen conflict. A lot of efforts have been put in place with no meaningful success. There is therefore the need for more concerted and deliberate policies and programmes on how to find realistic and practical solutions to farmer poverty.

Acknowledgement

The authors wish to acknowledge the contributions of Mr. Yusuf T. Ilofa, Mumeen Bashar and Miss Esther Dauda during data collection. We also acknowledge the assistance received from Mr. Razaq Bolaji and Mr. Christopher Jiya during data analysis.

References

- Adegboye, R. O. (2004) Land, Agriculture and Food Security in Nigeria. Paper presented at Faculty of Agriculture Lecture, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. 25th February, 2004.
- Agunbiade, J. B. and Adedoyin, S. F. (1998). Socioeconomic Perspectives of the Farmers' Children Farm Plots in the Sustenance of Youth Interest in Agriculture. In Adedoyin, S. F. and Torimiro, D. O. (Eds.). *Rural Children and Future Food Security in Nigeria*. Sageto and Co. Ijebu Igbo. Pp. 159-169.
- Ajuwon, S. S. (2004) Case Study: Conflict in Fadama Communities. In *Managing Conflict in Community Development*. Session 5, Community Driven Development. P.12
- Ardo, H. J. (2004). Natural Resource Management among Fadama Communities. Paper Presented at the Workshop on Environmental Governance and Consensus Building for Sustainable Natural Resource Management in Nigeria, Kaduna Nigeria. Pp. 16.
- Bell, C. (2000). *Peace, Agreements and Human Rights*. Oxford. Oxford University Press. Pp. 416
- Bengtsson, B. M. I. (2007). *Agricultural Research at the Crossroads*. Science Publishers. New Hampshire, USA. Pp. 350.
- Boege, V. and Turner, M. (2006). Conflict Prevention and Access to Freshwater In Sub-Saharan Africa. In *Conflict Prevention, Management and Reduction in Africa*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, Development Policy Information Unit.
- Bogdan, A.D. and P.F. Biklen (1982). *Phenomenological Data Interpretation*. Wefson, NY. Pp.145.
- Cotula, L; Toulmin, C; and C. Hesse (2004). "Land Tenure and Administration in Africa: Lesson of Experience and Emerging Issues," IIED. Retrieved Oct. 10 2005 from <http://www.iies.org/drylands/pubs/documents/LT-cotula.pdf>

Adekunle, Oluwasegun, A and Adisa, Solagberu, R, University of Ilorin, Nigeria

- Crook, R. (2007). The Law, Legal Institutions and the Protection of Land Rights in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire: Developing a More Effective and Equitable System, IDS Research Report 58, IDS: Brighton. Available at <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/rr/Rr58.pdf>
- De Haan, C. (2002). Nigeria Second Fadama Development Project (SFDP), Project Preparation Mission Report, Livestock Component, World Bank. Pp1-13
- Fasona, M. J. and Omojola, A. S. (2005). "Climate Change, Human Security and Communal Clashes in Nigeria." Paper at International Workshop in Human Security and Climate change, Holmen Fjord Hotel, Oslo Oct. 21-23, 2005. Pp. 3-13
- FEWS-NET (2005). 'Resource Based Conflict and Food Security'. Available at <http://www.fews.net/>. Accessed on 13/9/2006, 04:33 AM
- Fiki, C. and B. Lee (2004). "Conflict Generation, Conflict Management and Self-organizing Capabilities in Drought-prone Rural Communities in North-eastern Nigeria: "A case study". *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 19(2): 25-48.
- Friman, M; Nyberg, C; and Norlander, T. (2004) Threats and Aggression Directed at Soccer Referees: An Empirical Phenomenological Psychological Study. *The Qualitative Report*, 9 (4), 652-672.
- Gefu, J.O. and A. Kolawole (2002). "Conflict in Common Property Resource Use: Experiences from an Irrigation Project". Paper Prepared for 9th Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property. Indiana.
- Giorgi, A. (1997). The Theory, Practice and Evaluation of Phenomenological Method as Qualitative Research Procedure. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*. 28(2), 235-260.
- Haggblade, S; Hazell, P; Kirsten; and Mkandawire, R. (2005). Making the most of African Agriculture. id 21 natural resource Highlights. *Agriculture*. Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex www.id21.org/nr

An Empirical Phenomenological Psychological Study of Farmer-herdsmen Conflicts in North-Central Nigeria

- Heemskerck, W; Nederlof, S; and Wennink, B. (2007). Access of the Poor to Agricultural Service The Role of farmers' Organizations in Social Inclusion. Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Kit Publications. Pp. 150.
- Hesse, C; Ezeomah, C; Hassan, U. A. and Ardo, A. A. (2001). An Assessment of Organizational Effectiveness of Pastoral Organizations in Northern Nigeria. DFID, Kaduna, Nigeria. Pp. 12-28
- Ingawa, S. A; Ega, L. A; and Erhabor, P. O. (1999). Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in Core-states of the National Fadama Project, FACU, Abuja. Pp.11-27
- Karlson, G. (1993). Psychological Qualitative Research from a Phenomenological Perspective. Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Kwara State Planning Commission KSPC. (2005). State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) Document. Pp.16-32
- Lekoko, R. N. (2005). "Perceptions of Community Resistance to community Development Professionals in Botswana." *Journal of Extension Systems*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Raleigh, USA. Pp.31-45.
- Lester, S. (1998). An Introduction to Phenomenological Research. Middlesex University, England. Pp. 1-5
- Marzelle, D. J. (2005). What is Phenomenology? Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology, Washington, DC. Pp.1-5.
- Moore, K. M. (2005). Conflict, Social Capital and Managing Resources: A West African Case Study. CABI Publishing, Cambridge, USA. P. 44-53
- Moustakas, C. (1994). Phenomenological Research Methods, London. Sage. P. 25
- Norlander, T; Blom, A; and Archer, T. (2002). Role of High School Teachers in Sweden on Psychology Education: A Phenomenological Study. *The Qualitative Report*, 7 (3).

Adekunle, Oluwasegun, A and Adisa, Solagberu, R, University of Ilorin, Nigeria

- Nyong, A and Fiki, C. (2005). "Droughts-Related Conflicts, Management and Resolution in the West African Sahel." Human Security and Climate change International Workshop. Oslo; GECHS, CICERO and PR20. Pp 5-16
- Osinde, R.and Turner, M. (2007). 'Competition for Water: Are Water Riots Greater than Water Wars?' Id21 insights. P.7. Retrieved on 4th March, 2008 from <http://www.id21.org/nr/links1.html>
- Oyesola, D.B. (2000). Training Needs for Improving Income Generating Activities of Agro-Pastoral Women in Ogun State, Nigeria. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development, University of Ibadan
- Pramling, N; Norlander, T; and Archer, T. (2001). Moral Expression in 6-7-year Old Children's Stories in Sweden, Hungary, and China: A Phenomenological Study of Childhood. *Childhood*, 8, 361-382.
- Prowse, M. (2008). 'Making Agriculture Work for Poor People'. Retrieved in 1st May, 2008 from <http://www.id21.org/nr/links1.html>
- Riesman, P. (1977). Freedom in Fulani Social Life: An Introspective Ethnology. Translated by M. Fuller. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. P.23
- Smith, W. D. (2003). Phenomenology. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Stanford: Stanford Press pp 1-17.
- Stanley, L and Wise, S. (1993). Breaking Out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology London, Rutledge. P.25
- Todd, R. (2007). 'Recovering the Costs of Rural Water Supply: Community Initiatives in Nigeria' Retrieved in December 2007 from <http://www.id21.org/nr/links1.html>
- Van't Hooft, K; D. Millar; and S. Django. (2005). Endogenous Livestock Development: Report from a Workshop in Cameroon. *Campas Magazine* pp. 38-39.

International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (IUHS)

Opening September 2010!

Welcome to the new university designed for the Global Leaders of the 21 st century.

A postindustrial knowledge society requires leaders with an interdisciplinary training. More than just technical skills are needed to succeed in a globalized world. IUHS provides the best of universal design learning with quality research. All faculty members hold advanced graduate degrees in their fields and most have considerable experience as practitioners.

- A.A. in International Studies**
- B.A. in International Relations**
- M.A. in Global Leadership**
- Professional Training and much more...**

Apply Now!!!

**www.iuhs-edu.net
info@iuhs-edu.net**

*Urbanizacion Monte Roca, Escazu,
San Jose, Costa Rica*



International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (IUHS)

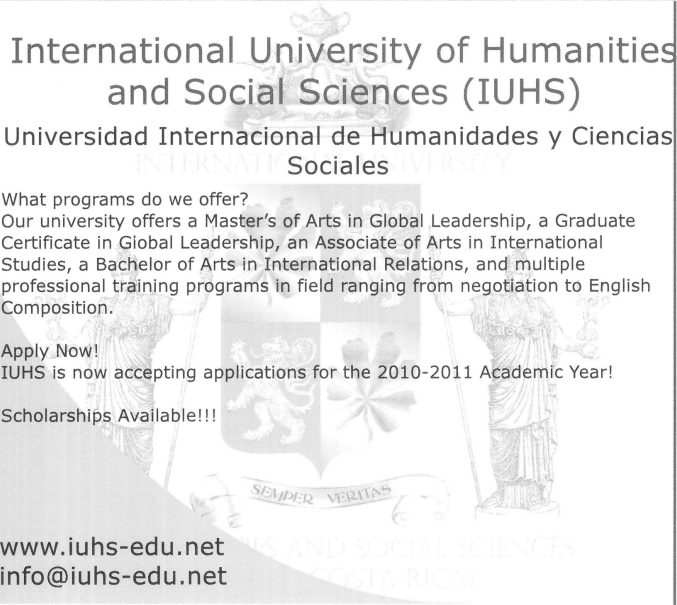
Universidad Internacional de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales

What programs do we offer?
Our university offers a Master's of Arts in Global Leadership, a Graduate Certificate in Global Leadership, an Associate of Arts in International Studies, a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations, and multiple professional training programs in field ranging from negotiation to English Composition.

Apply Now!
IUHS is now accepting applications for the 2010-2011 Academic Year!

Scholarships Available!!!

**www.iuhs-edu.net
info@iuhs-edu.net**



Planet or Profit: Remodeling the Climate Change Negotiations

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Abstract: *The global community proposes to take measures for combating climate change. The United Nations initiated a process that brought together experienced negotiators to discuss the twin solution of mitigating greenhouse gas emissions and adapting to the new environment in the Copenhagen summit. However, the competing goals and lack of trust resulted in a failure to reach a mutual beneficial agreement between nation-states. This paper examines the negotiation process and where it failed in streamlining issues, facilitating communication, creating equity and promoting transparency. The paper argues that the negotiation process underwent capitalization, and the approach needs to be reformed with inclusion of environmental consciousness instead of rationalization. To overcome these barriers, we propose to reflect on the peacemaking practices exercised by traditional communities.*

1. Introduction

An increasing awareness for the environment since the World Summit in 1992 has led to the institutionalization of multilateral debates. The international negotiations, developed under the United Nations (UN) umbrella, provide an opportunity for nation states to obtain more than they would individually gain in their effort for protecting the earth under ongoing economic development. Nation states are increasingly transferring their national responsibility to global forums in finding solutions to pending environmental problems such as changing climate, increasing pollution and growing energy consumption (Habermas, 2008).

Many of the nation states negotiate for resources to cope with the uneven distribution of environmental risk. Environmental issues are often reframed from a holistic, multidisciplinary and multilevel problem into smaller issues,

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

with liability, intellectual property, access to resources and sharing of benefits as the main topics for negotiation¹. This segmentation has led to avoidance, redirection and postponement of the real problems to later dates. As such, the climate change convention has been changing its scope, issues, parties and communication patterns since the beginning (Fogel, 2002). However, this approach has resulted in one of the most tedious negotiations in the international environmental arena.

The difficulty with the climate change debate lies in the ambiguity of scientific research outcomes that are preventing parties to be held accountable for potential effects of environmental destruction. Besides uncertainty is climate a global good that is impossible to manage per individual country, unlike many other environmental goods e.g. biodiversity, water, land. Combating global warming requires a full and complete collaboration among nation states, thereby stepping out of the instrumental and profitable relationship between mankind and nature (Barry, 2007). A failed effort for reaching such common ground is the World Climate Convention held in Copenhagen in December 2009. This convention's inability to deliver results is an increasing concern among nation states, scientists, environmentalists and the general public (Depledge, 2006, Dessler & Parson, 2006).

This paper begins with analyzing the UN framework for negotiation, before exploring the roles of the parties, issues and the mechanics of the climate change negotiations in Copenhagen. Subsequently, the paper discusses the current negotiation pattern and proposes to use elements of indigenous peacemaking to maintain the balance among negotiating parties.

2. The Institution of the UNFCCC

¹ <http://www.unccd.int/convention/text/convention.php>;
<http://www.conferencealerts.com/index.htm>;
http://unfccc.int/essential_background/convention/background/items/2853.php

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the institutional framework that guides nation states in their negotiations. The nation states bundle in groups because they have limited power when operating alone. There are two polarized streams active; the wealthier “Northern” countries and the developing “Southern” world. Because the geographical climate effect is expected to be mild in the North compared to the South (IPCC, 2007), the target of the North is pursuing economic growth and their consumptive way of life (Ikeme, 2003). Most Northern countries, except from those existing in European Union, define their BATNA¹ as either delaying the negotiations or avoiding to fulfill their obligations (Black, 2010).

Southern nations are bundled in the Group-77 and China. These countries are in the majority and consist of mostly nature dependent communities. Southern countries are worried if their adaptive capacity will be sufficient enough to overcome the impacts of rising temperature, rising sea-level and intensifying weather. Their main goal is to receive compensation from the North for emissions released in the past, especially in conjunction with the effluents generated from industrial development (Thomas & Twyman, 2005). Such historical issues are often used in the UN negotiations as diversions from tackling the main problems. In that same line of thought, the developing countries realize that the effects of climate change are heavily dependent on their social, economic and political situation in-country (Dessler & Parson, 2006).

The developing countries are in a disadvantaged position because they have fewer resources to target climate change. Their goal is to acquire finances to adapt to the new climate rather than mitigating it. Thus, the developing nations are the dependent and affected parties in the negotiations (Lewicki, Barry & Saunders, 2007). Yet developing countries may be only participating to avoid to be left behind. The lack of a clear path for negotiation shows that developing countries have difficulty assessing their BATNA. Also, the South feels that the negotiation is occurring in a fast changing environment (Docherty, 2005). This change is felt since the private sector was allowed to

¹ Best alternative to a negotiated agreement (Lewicki et al. 2007).

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

become part of the negotiations to facilitate trade in emissions in 2000 (Fogel, 2002).

Since its inception, the debate has developed working structures and validated important decision-making processes (O' Riordan & Jordan, 1999). The architecture of the UNFCCC debate lies in the hand of the chairperson. The chairperson is usually picked from a pool of respected experts and appointed by the majority-rule of nation-states. Both the chairperson and his/her secretariat function as the manager to the negotiation, and control the agenda, communication, administrative processes and compliance mechanisms¹.

Parties negotiate about several issues. The discourse concentrates on two important tracks: adapting to the changing climate and mitigating the release of greenhouse gases. Negotiations in both tracks are based on scientific outcomes produced by climate scientists. Yet are these outcomes uncertain and leaders in the debate misuse the uncertainty for making decisions to their advantage (Patt, 2007). Scientists spearhead the working bodies with their factual-inductive approach to negotiation (Cohen, 2004). Because only highly regarded scientists with wide geographical coverage can participate², they are forming an elite group with a seemingly more important role than the main parties in the negotiation. Habermas (1975) recognizes the cultivation of such a superstructure as one that is dependent on its potential for embedding knowledge. Thus, science became a major tool to negotiate within the debate.

In the scientific nimbus, communication between parties is instrumental. Parties are set to communicate through working groups and plenary sessions. The standpoints presented in the plenary are often the result of negotiations in smaller working groups. The negotiations are guided scientific rationalism because the majority of chairs have been coming from the North. Following Docherty's (2005) concept, the negotiation uses rational rather than meaningful explanations. However, meaning is an important concept for stakeholders that deal with environment, because environmental issues are directly linked to human

¹ http://unfccc.int/secretariat/history_of_the_secretariat/items/1218.php

² <http://www.ipcc.ch/about/index.htm>

survival (Williams & Parkman, 2003). However, climate change is difficult sense because personal experiences are still uncommon (Leiserowitz, 2006).

The decision-making process is based on consensus. More than 150 parties need to agree for a decision to become effective in the plenary meeting called the Conference of the Parties (Robins, 2010). This system is not based on the legal and cultural pluralism of different nation states (Cohen, 2004). It requires nation states to have long-term visions and sufficient negotiation expertise to be an active player in the negotiations. It remains difficult for nation states to commit to agreements that stretch into more than one term of Government (Hovi, Sprintz & Underdal, 2009).

The basis for decision-making is the bracketed (disagreed) text as developed by the negotiating parties. The first document that circulates is often strong and thorough. However, the final agreement has weak incentives and enforcement capacity (Egenhofer & Georgiev, 2009). One good example is the Kyoto protocol of 1997, in which targets were set for decreasing greenhouse gas commitments. The final protocol provides sufficient space for flexibility, enabling non-compliant countries to delay their commitments until a second negotiation round in 2012 (Von Stein, 2008; Vezirgiannidou, 2009). In consequence, trust between parties is worsening to the extent that some parties are even hesitant providing information to others. Therefore, the divide between North and South further expands which negatively impacts the efficacy of decision-making. Depledge (2006) even finds that innovation in the debate is stalled.

3. The Negotiations in Copenhagen

Since 2007, the UNFCCC proposed to negotiate towards a binding agreement in Copenhagen. The negotiations were intended to primarily create a new global deal on lowering emission targets from industrialized countries (Climatico, 2010). Because the Kyoto protocol will terminate in 2012, parties need to reach consensus about a new treaty on emission targets. Copenhagen was seen by many as a momentum to raise awareness among the global

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

population and to force the industrialized world leaders to commit to significant reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

Pre Negotiation

In the pre negotiation phase parties usually set the tone for the negotiation. This includes framing of issues, developing a fair process and defining the interrelationship between parties (Essentials). Before Copenhagen, several working groups meetings were held to frame the issues in bracketed text in a draft document. These meetings ended up in a loose document with many issues still to be discussed. However, other incidents have either negatively or positively influenced the atmosphere in which the negotiations would occur.

The first incident occurred in November 2009, one month before the start of the Copenhagen negotiations in the ASIA-Pacific Summit. The leaders of the Asian and Pacific countries stated that the Copenhagen target was unrealistic. Also, they could not find agreement on a regional emission reduction target¹. The statement of Asia and the Pacific nations demonstrated that the countries were not willing to take the lead in Copenhagen.

Second, the Prime Minister Rasmussen of Denmark, chair of the meeting, compiled a draft political declaration before the negotiations commenced (Black, 2010). The declaration, drafted by Denmark with a select group of Northern countries, was intercepted and published by the media a few days before the negotiations started. Many nations were surprised by the incident and especially developing countries started distrusting the process. Their position of dependency may have also lessened the motivation to negotiate (Lewicki et al., 2007). The trust in the process further declined with a public dispute between Prime-Minister Rasmussen and the Environment Minister of Denmark, Hedegaard, over the course of action towards the negotiations (Guérin & Wemaere, 2009).

Positive intentions were shared by several heads of states, such as the United States (USA), Brazil and the EU, who stressed the urgency for making a commitment in the negotiations. However, significant actions from these

¹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8360982.stm>

countries remained pending, and only China and India, both fast growing economies in Asia, committed to a voluntary reduction in emissions a few days before the negotiations started (Climatico, 2010). This example was a first move, and according to Cohen (2004) an important step for creating positive dynamics in the debate.

Issues and Interests

The debate has changed negotiations over issues several times. UNFCCC historically focused on promoting planting of trees against the high levels of emission release by the developing world caused by massive deforestation. However, with the release of the science second report in 1995, the discourse began to emphasize large scale forest carbon sequestration. By the year 2000, the release of a science report proposed and initiated the exchange of carbon between the nature-rich developing world and the industrialized countries (Fogel, 2002). Such frequent change of focus increases the complexity of the negotiations, currently involving trade, economy, research, innovation, human rights (Egenhofer & Georgiev, 2009).

Due to the complexity of the issues, a loose text was negotiated in Copenhagen. Also, the issues were arbitrary divided over the two track system of mitigation and adaptation. This resulted in an uncooperative framework for nation states to negotiate. In addition, the two track system had a negative effect on the negotiation as it reflected the historical equity disputes between the developing (adapting) and developed (mitigating) world. Cohen (2004) stresses the importance of cooperation to built relationships between parties. Lack of cohesion makes a process less transparent and enables the stronger power parties to make moves. For instance, the nontransparent process in Copenhagen facilitated the North to sidestep the overall target of a 2 °C decrease in global temperature (Guérin & Wemaere, 2010).

The interest of the Northern countries was divided. Although the Northern countries were obliged as world leaders to set an example and make a strong commitment, the EU was interested in cutting back emissions while the USA and Japan were more focused on changing the UN process (Egenhofer & Georgiev, 2009). The USA preferred to

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

negotiate in an informal setting that would result in a non-legally binding document. Their participation in the negotiations was minimal (Egenhofer & Georgiev, 2009).

Negotiation

The negotiations followed the pattern of distributive bargaining. The negotiations on mitigation focus on either a 1.5 (Southern standpoint) or 2°C (Northern standpoint) decrease in greenhouse gas emissions (Müller, 2010). The adaptation track concentrated on the amount of finances the North should allocate for the Southern countries to overcome extreme climate hits. Nation states negotiated on both tracks by inserting, amending and deleting bracketed text in the main document. Nevertheless, there was not much progress made since the North had limited power and was resisting making (unwanted) concessions. The North had to look for other ways to get their interests met.

The USA started complaining about the bracketed text to the chair of the meeting in an informal setting (Müller, 2010). This move initiated a course of informal meetings that dominated the negotiations. It is important to notice that both a formal and informal settings are important in group negotiations (Lewicki et al., 2007). Therefore, the UN has institutionalized the informal meeting of the “Friends of the Chair”. In this meeting, the chair has the opportunity to meet with influential persons to brainstorm about the main issues when the meeting is in a deadlock. However, the chair of Copenhagen overlooked the negative effects such meetings can have on transparency, especially when the informal meetings outweigh the formal settings where decision-making takes place.

Brazil, China, India and South Africa as rapidly growing nations with increasing emission release were equally interested in mitigation and adaptation. These countries assessed their BATNA based on the non-participation of the USA. According to Hafner-Burton & Montgomery (2006), the change in dynamics created an opportunity for establishing new power relations. Brazil and federates strived for a positive outcome of the negotiations so they can address their growing problems at the home front. China and India’s ambitious pledge for decreasing emission

occurred just before they bundled with South-Africa and Brazil to form a new block called BASIC. BASIC wanted to lead the process, thereby overshadowing the mediator role the European Union had previously played in bringing together the North and South on several issues. The EU is known for playing a mediator role in the majority of environmental negotiations under the UN umbrella.

After the negotiation blocks reshuffled, the meetings entered into a next level. Ministers from the 193 participating countries arrived to overcome the deadlock. This tactic is well known in international negotiation (Cohen, 2004). At that time, the USA pledges a large amount of finances for adaptation, but still does not make any concessions for reducing emissions (Müller, 2010). Lewicki et al. (2007) find that power defines the path of negotiations. Similarly, the USA used the momentum to force chair Hedegaard to remove the negotiated text from the table. The chair introduced a new text even before the two-track groups had reported to her (Müller, 2010). After a strong reaction from G-77 and BASIC on issues of respect and transparency, the original text was reset two days after (Guérin & Wemaere, 2009). However, there was insufficient time for the Ministers to compile a comprehensive text for discussion by the Heads of States.

With the appearance of the Heads of States in the last days, the negotiations dissolved into two separate entities: the formal UNFCCC and the informal Heads of States. In the latter, the 25 Heads of States each made a public statement which triggered a trust problem between the USA and China. China was facing Lewicki et al.'s (2007) dilemma of trust with the lack of commitment by the USA. This trust problem led the Heads of States only to commit to a political declaration. The negotiations for the political declaration took place in a closed environment, with the BASIC countries and the USA as the main negotiators (Muller, 2010, Guérin & Wemaere, 2009). Such informal sessions have contributed to the lack of transparency.

The final political declaration needed to become adopted by all the nation states in the plenary of the UNFCCC. However, due to time constraints, the chair hastily opened and closed the meeting so that nations could review the document for adoption. Because the UN process is

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

suppose to promote equity and transparency, the South objected to the chair for: 1) not having reached commitment over 1.5°C decrease in greenhouse gas emission release, 2) the lack of transparency and 3) the lack of respect for the nations and the process (Müller, 2010). The political document was not adopted by the nation states in the plenary meeting.

Outcome

In such unstable environment, the UN support structure may not have been strong enough to withhold the negotiation being influenced by outside parties. Docherty (2004) believes that outside pressure can make negotiations fail. By being overly present in the streets of Copenhagen, the media, environmentalists and the general public put increasing pressure on the world leaders. For instance, President Obama from the USA provided the outcome of the political meeting to the press before the accord was discussed with the nation states (Climatico, 2010). This shows that the individual score was more important than the global goals.

The outcome of the Copenhagen negotiations is still a text under discussion. The political declaration of the world leaders can be seen as an intention. It is questionable if participating nations have gained by entering into these multilateral negotiations or if they would be better of combating climate change on their own. For instance, for Suriname, a small developing country that is one of world's greenest yet most vulnerable nations to sea-level rise (IPCC, 2007), the negotiations have not provided significant benefit in terms of finances needed for adaptation and mitigation. Suriname could be better off by making bilateral deals in the carbon trading market with European countries, similar to their neighbor Guyana. In general, most countries see the negotiations as a failure, both in process and in content. However, the negotiations have promoted countries to go into *retraite* and evaluate their positions, their role and future in the climate negotiations (Egenhofer & Georgiev, 2009).

4. Native Peacemaking

Compared to the late 90s, the climate debate has diverted focus from global protection to a capitalistic undertaking. The debate has involved many more actors beyond the conventional UN setting: corporations such as Bank of America, Fortis and NewsCorp became alliances because they are interested in trading carbon to comply with their emission standards (Dessler & Parson, 2006).. Most nation states are now following the route of the North because they want to take advantage of the opportunities presented in the carbon market (Holzinger, 2001). This follows a concept developed by Lewicki et al. (2007), who find that individuals their perceptions is formed by the power and rights parties in the negotiations.

“Capitalization” has not promoted bridging the divide between the North and South. Not even the best global negotiators and leaders could divert the lack of equity and respect in the process. Most nation states agree that the UNFCCC process needs to change. The framework should transform the distributive bargaining towards integrative bargaining, because climate is a non-distributive global good. Then, the UNFCCC has an obligation to guide nations in moving away from the instrumental relationship into a more respectful, equal connection with nature, as described by Marcuse (Barry, 2007). Because climate change is not directly visible or experienced, the nation states rely on the message that is created by the institution (Maibach Leiserowitz, & Roser-Renouf (2009). This message is framed by science and driven by profit. One way to make climate change a priority issue in all nations is through communicating a univocal and personal message (Weber, 2006) to address the causes, the potential solutions and the policy framework for climate change.

The UNFCCC cannot provide sufficient transparency to the process. Because the actual bargaining is always under a time constraint, the plenary meeting is only used to formalize decisions that are already taken in the “back rooms”. Cohen (2004) suggests not to rush the issues on the table to prevent failure of the negotiations. Trading time for outcomes can not only alter the feeling of safety, but also the transparency during the overall bargaining process.

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Transparency is a concept that is embedded in peacemaking practices of traditional communities. Because traditional communities base their existence on a knowledge-practice-belief system, the element of time has a circular, never-ending dimension (Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2000). For instance, traditional communities take time to grieve and heal the relationship with parties in conflict, as they value the interrelationship between parties. They adjust processes during negotiation to avoid domination of one party over the other (Walker, 2007).

The UNFCCC should be more sensitive to the time-factor to promote transparency. They should follow the concepts of traditional communities to facilitate transparency in the process. For example, the “behind the door” negotiations of the Heads of States were not reported to the outside world or in the official UNFCCC records. To improve transparency, the UNFCCC could take time to inform the parties about this event before rushing new issues to the table. Also, the negotiation process needs a more flexible mode of communication. The current mode operates by using diplomatic language (Cohen, 2004). Therefore, in the UNFCCC, there is an increasing inability to discuss and solve social problems because of the tighter institutional links. By providing more opportunity for nation states to speak, and using flexible and reflective language, the UNFCCC can start overcoming the communication gap (Smith, 2009). Following Habermas’ theory, the powerful, institutional “superstructure” then outgrows the resource-dependent group, thereby creating an increasing distinction between the two groups (Ritzer, 2008).

Lastly, many scholars are calling for more equality in the climate change debate (O’Riordan & Jordan, 1999, Sowers, 2006, Depledge, 2006). Equality is the most important prerequisite for a successful negotiation process. Walker (2007) sees inequality as an ingredient for failure, as it negatively influences group power and dynamics. Yet domination can be overcome by the guidance and wisdom of the leaders. This can be demonstrated with an example from the UN biosafety negotiations in 2001. The chair of the biosafety negotiations, the Colombian Environment Minister Juan Mayr previously lived and worked with indigenous communities. Mayr used his indigenous knowledge to get the

UN meeting out of deadlock. He modified the conventional UN setting and moved the meeting from the UN building in New York to a hotel in Montreal. He was aware that he needed to create a neutral place to promote transparency. Then, Mayr gave every group a teddy bear and each bear could only speak for ten minutes at a time. That system created equality to come out of the impasse (Bail et al. 2003). Whether the leadership of the climate debate is able to follow Mayr's footsteps and overcome the global rally for profit, remains unknown.

5. Conclusion

The paper demonstrates the UNFCCC's intention is to create an equitable setting for the negotiations to occur, however, the individual nation's positions and interests are changing faster than the institution's ability to facilitate these in the negotiations. The UNFCCC needs to overcome some barriers. First, there is high involvement of politics and the process continuously reinstates the North-South divide. It seems that the role the power party's play define the framework in the negotiation. Specifically, the unwillingness of the USA to effectively participate and pursue capitalistic interest had pulled the climate change negotiations into a stalemate, especially because other parties followed their direction. Second, even though the process is already far ahead, the negotiation groups are still changing. The majority of the developing countries is showing negotiation fatigue (except BASIC) and is accepting domination instead of fighting inequality (Smith, 2009).

The UNFCCC can build on native peacemaking to provide for a more equitable process, in which the role of the power parties and politics are clear and non-dominating. Native peacemaking teaches that the process is more important than the content of the negotiations. A respectful process, in which all parties should decide on the process, will prevent parties to complain as non-transparent, unfair or invalid. Such a process provides enough time for nation states to improve their participation, and rethink their interest and position. This will be crucial for the success or failure of the climate change negotiations. In conclusion, the

Gwendolyn Smith, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)*

UN system needs to face a dilemma of choosing for profit or the survival of humankind (planet). The UN can use elements of native peacemaking to improve the understanding for a renewed relationship between parties and between mankind and nature.

References

- Bail, C. Falkner, R. Marquard, H. (2003). *The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety: Reconciling Trade in Biotechnology with Trade in Environment and Development? 2nd ed.* London: Earthscan Publishers.
- Barry, J. (2007). *Environment and Social Theory*^{2nd. Ed.}. New York: Routledge.
- Berkes, F. Colding, J. Folke, C. (2000). Rediscovery of Traditional Ecological Knowledge as Adaptive Management. *Ecological Applications* 10(5), 1251-1262.
- Black, R. (2010). Why did Copenhagen fail to deliver a climate deal? In Outreach Special Post COP 15 Issue. Retrieved from http://www.stakeholderforum.org/fileadmin/files/Outreach_issues_2009/OutreachFinalWrapUp.pdf on 21 January 2010.
- Climatico (2010). Copenhagen debriefing: An analysis of COP 15 for long term negotiation. Retrieved from <http://www.climaticoanalysis.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/post-cop15-report52.pdf> on 21 January 2010.
- Cohen, R. (2004). *Negotiating Across Cultures: International Communication in an Interdependent World*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Depledge, J. (2006). The Opposite of Learning: Ossification in the Climate Change Regime. *Global Environmental Politics* 6(1), 1-22.
- Depledge, J. (2007). A Special Relationship: Chairpersons and the Secretariat in the Climate Change Negotiations. *Global Environmental Politics* 7(1), 45-68.
- Docherty, J. (2004). *The Little Book of Strategic Negotiation: Negotiating During Turbulent Times*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.
- Dessler, A. Parson, E. (2006). *The Science and Politics of Global Climate Change; A Guide to the Debate*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Egenhofer, C. & Georgiev, A. (2009). The Copenhagen Accord: A first stab at deciphering the implications for the EU. Centre for European

Gwendolyn Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Policy Studies (CEPS). Retrieved from <http://www.ceps.be/book/copenhagen-accord-first-stab-deciphering-implications-eu> on 21 January 2010.

Fogel, C. (2002). *Greening the Earth with Trees: Science, Storylines and the Construction of International Climate Change Institutions*. Published Dissertation University of California, Santa Cruz.

Guérin, E. & Wemaere, M. (2009). The Copenhagen Accord: What happened? Is it a good deal? Who wins and who loses? What is next? Institut du Développement Durable et des Relations Internationales (IDDRI). France: Paris. Retrieved from <http://www.iddri.org/Publications/Collections/Idees-pour-le-debat/The-Copenhagen-Accord-What-happened-Is-it-a-good-deal-Who-wins-and-who-loses-What-is-next> on 24 December 2009.

Habermas, J. (1975). Towards a Reconstruction of Historical Materialism. *Theory and Society* 2(3), 287-300.

Habermas, J. (2008). The Constitutionalization of International Law and the Legitimation of a Constitution for World Society. *Constellations* 15(4), 444-455.

Holzinger, K. (2001). Negotiation in Public Policy-Making: Exogenous Barriers to Successful Dispute Resolution. *Journal of Public Policy* 21(1), 71-96.

Hovi, J. Sprintz, D. & Underdal, A. (2009). Implementing long-term climate policy: Time inconsistency, Domestic politics, International anarchy. *Global Environmental Politics* 9(3), 20-39.

Ikeme, J (2003). Equity, Environmental Justice and Sustainability: Incomplete Approaches in Climate Change. *Global Environmental Change* 13, 195-206.

IPCC, (2007). *Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability*. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. M.L Parry, O.F. Canziani, J.P. Palutikof, P.J. van der Linden and C.E. Hansen Eds. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Lewicki, R. Barry, B. Saunders, D. (eds.) (2006). *Essentials of Negotiation*. (4th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill/Irwin.

- Leiserowitz, A. (2006). Climate Change Risk Perception and Policy Preferences: The role of Affect, Imagery and Values. *Climatic Change* 77, 45-72.
- Maibach, E. Leiserowitz, A and Roser-Renouf, C. (2009). Climate Change in the American Mind: Americans' Beliefs, Attitudes, Policy Preferences and Actions. Yale University and George Mason University. CT: Yale Project on Climate Change. Retrieved from <http://environment.yale.edu/uploads/CCAmericanMind.pdf> on 12 March 2009.
- Müller, B. (2009). Copenhagen 2009: Failure or final wake-up call for our leaders? Oxford Institute of Energy Studies. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordenergy.org/pdfs/EV49.pdf> on 13 February 2010.
- O'Riordan, T & Jordan, A. (1999). Institutions, Climate Change and Cultural Theory: Towards a Common Analytical Framework. *Global Environmental Change* 9, 81-93.
- Patt, A. (2007). Assessing Model-based and Conflict-based Uncertainty. *Global Environmental Change* 17, 37-46.
- Ritzer, G. (2008). *Sociological Theory*^{7th Ed}. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Robins, N. (2010). The Copenhagen Accord-An ugly duckling. In Outreach Special Post COP 15 Issue. Retrieved from http://www.stakeholderforum.org/fileadmin/files/Outreach_issues_2009/OutreachFinalWrapUp.pdf on 21 January 2010.
- Smith, G. (2009). The Inequity in the Global Climate Change Negotiations. Unpublished paper for Nova Southeastern University.
- Thomas, D & Twyman, C. (2005). Equity and Justice in Climate Change Adaptation amongst Natural-Resource-Dependent Societies. *Climatic Change* 15, 115-124.
- Von Stein, J. (2008). The International Law and Politics of Climate Change: Ratification of the United Framework Convention and the Kyoto Protocol. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 5, 243-268.
- Vezirgiannidou, S. (2009). The Climate Change Regime Post-Kyoto: Why compliance is Important and how to achieve it. *Global Environmental Politics* 9(4), 41-63.

Gwendolyn Smith, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)*

Walker, P. (2004). Decolonizing Conflict Resolution: Addressing the Ontological Violence of Westernization. *American Indian Quarterly* 28(3,4), 527-549.

Weber, E. (2006). Experience-based and Description-based Perceptions of Long-Term Risk; Why Global Warming Does Not Scare Us (Yet). *Climatic Change* 77, 103-120.

Williams, J. & Parkman, S. (2003). On Humans and Environment: The role of consciousness in environmental problems. *Human Studies* 26, 449-460.

The Importance of Culture in *Emic* Interpretations of the History of Thailand's Southern Separatist Movement: The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1943 and the Malaysian Relationship with the Separatists

Otto von Feigenblatt, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Abstract: *This paper explores the role of culture in two important events in the history of the separatist struggle in the Muslim South of Thailand. The first event was the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1943, promising Britain's support for independence or annexation to British Malaya in exchange of military and intelligence support against the Japanese, between the traditional Melayu leadership and the British Colonial Office represented by the commander of the British forces in Malaya during World War II. Emic and etic explanations are provided from the point of view of the Melayu leadership and of the British. The second event that is discussed is more complex and involves Malaysia's support for the separatist movement and subsequent negotiations during the 1980s between Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur leading to an agreement stipulating that Malaysia would cease aiding the separatist movement in exchange of Thailand's support against the Communist Party of Malaya along the porous Thai-Malay border. Finally, a brief conclusion summarizes the importance of culture in the history of the separatist movement of Southern Thailand.*

Keywords: *Thailand, Malaysia, Separatist Movements, Ethnonationalism*

1. Introduction

The three border provinces of the Thai South, Yala, Narathiwat, and Pattani, are predominantly inhabited by Muslim Malays, also known as Melayu Patani due to their Malay dialect. Historically, they were part of the independent Kingdom of Patani and during the 16th century represented the height of Muslim Civilization in Southeast Asia (Yegar 2002; Roux 1998). The rise of the unified Kingdom of Ayutthaya and later on of Siam to the North was followed by

**Otto von Feigenblatt, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

military incursions to the Southern Muslim Malay Sultanates (Wyatt 2003). A loose relationship of vassalage was established by King Rama I and maintained with few changes until the ascent to the throne of Siam by King Chulalongkorn, Rama V in the late 19th century (McCargo 2009). Chulalongkorn's drastic modernization program included the centralization of the administration of the kingdom and led to the first attempts at the direct administration of the Malay Sultanates of Patani, Terengganu, and Perlis (Yegar 2002).¹ The centralization of administration was resisted by the Malay Muslims in the South and their traditional leaders were tolerated by the Central Government until the early 20th century when direct administration by Thai bureaucrats was imposed by Bangkok and traditional leaders were left with only a ceremonial position (Roux 1998; Yegar 2002).²

World War II provided an opportunity for the Melayu Patani to seek outside help in order to reestablish their autonomy and possibly their independence from the Thai Central Government. Since Thailand had joined the axis powers and supported the Japanese, the Melayu of the South decided to support the British forces of British Malaya. The British made good use of them as fighters and in providing intelligence about the Japanese. Traditional leaders, lead by Tunku Mayhiddin, brokered an agreement with the British Commander which stipulated that in exchange of military and intelligence support by the Malay Muslims of the South of Thailand, the British would support their independence from Thailand or at least their annexation to British Malaya after the end of the War (Yegar 2002).

After the end of the War, the British decided not to annex Patani and Satun in order to avoid destabilizing Thailand. Needless to say, the traditional leadership of the South of Thailand felt betrayed and after the independence

¹ Perlis and Terengganu were annexed by British Malaya after the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909. Patani was recognized as part of Siam.

² The last ruling Sultan of Patani, Tunku Abdul Kader, escaped to Malaya in 1932 after the Coup ending the absolute Monarchy in Siam.

of Malaysia it was supported by relatives in Malaysia such as the royal family of Kelantan, *inter alia* (Millard 2004). The conflict between the Malaysian Federal government and the Communist Party of Malaya, during the 1960s and 1970s, complicated the relationship between Malaysia and the Thai South (Neher 2002). Communist forces operated along the porous Thai-Malaysian border and were tolerated by the Thai authorities (Smith 2005). The Thai Government used the communist threat as negotiating leverage to convince the Malaysian Government to stop supporting the separatist movement in the South. Kelantan continued to support the rebels while the Federal Government ceased to do so. Pressure mounted and even Kelantan was restricted from aiding the separatists (Smith 2005; Jory 2007; Liow 2006).

Both of the previously described events were pivotal in the history of the separatist movement in the South of Thailand. The following sections provide *etic* and *emic* interpretations of the events so as to bring to the fore the role of culture in the wider context of the unrest in the Deep South of Thailand. Nevertheless, the issues are complex and the parties are not monolithic entities and therefore the explanations provided are exploratory in nature rather than conclusive.

2. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of World War II

During the early stages of the Japanese occupation of Thailand and later Malaya the situation for the allied forces was dire (Neher 2002). Manpower was limited and logistical and intelligence support was badly needed by the British forces operating in Malaya (2002). The traditional leaders of the Melayu Malay community of the South of Thailand decided to side with the British in exchange for support for independence or annexation to British Malaya at the end of the War. Malay Muslims in the South of Thailand cooperated with British forces by providing food, shelter, logistical support, fighting men, and intelligence (Yegar 2002). Several sources mention an important oral agreement between the traditional leader of the Melayu Patani, Tunku Mayhiddin, the son of the last Sultan, and the Commander of the British

Otto von Feigenblatt, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

forces in Malaya, representing the Colonial Office. While there is no documentary evidence of the agreement, several witnesses have come forward to attest that the encounter between the two leaders took place and that British support for independence or at least secession from Thailand was promised in exchange for the aforementioned support (Yegar 2002; Ungpakorn 2007; Gunaratna and Acharya 2006). As was mentioned in the introduction, British support for the independence of greater Patani was not forthcoming and the region was recognized to be sovereign territory of the Kingdom of Thailand (Ishii 1994).

How to interpret the event? First a standard *etic* explanation will be provided which will then be complemented with two *emic* interpretations. During the early stage of the War, the British forces needed the help of the Malays in order to defend the dwindling territory under their control. Furthermore, the Pacific theater of the war was not a priority at the time and most decisions were taken by local commanders based on the particular circumstances of the situation. Therefore the British commander took the opportunity to cement an alliance for pragmatic reasons. After the war, the main priority of the British and the allies was to have a stable Thailand at the center of Southeast Asia and geopolitical considerations trumped any other considerations. The lack of a written agreement provided an expedient excuse for breaching the previous understanding between the parties.

While the previous *etic* standard explanation seems plausible it is far from exhaustive and leaves important ideational and cultural aspects out. An *emic* interpretation from the perspective of the Malay leadership is that the British entered a formal agreement based on honor between the representative of Great Britain, the British Commander, and the leader of the Melayu Patani nation, Tunku Mayhiddin. According to them the agreement was later breached by the British due to selfish considerations and this is considered a dishonorable betrayal. On the other hand a British interpretation of the event greatly differs from the previous one. According to the British the agreement was provisional in nature due to its oral nature. Moreover, the

British Commander did not have the authority to make such an agreement in any case nor did the Colonial Office. Since the agreement was merely a provisional "gentlemen's agreement" then it was not legally binding on the British Government. The need to have a stable Thailand trumped the need for self determination.

Several cultural factors are important in the *emic* explanations previously presented. It is clear that the two parties viewed the value of an oral agreement differently (Nisbett 2003). In addition to that, the perceived powers of the British Commander also differed. Finally, the underlying assumption of pragmatism in diplomacy was an issue (Murdock 1955). At the risk of oversimplification, it can be asserted that traditional Malay aristocrats, such as the leaders who negotiated the agreement with the British, held in equal respect written and oral agreements (Nisbett 2003; Mulder 1996). Moreover, they assumed that a Commander had the same power as a traditional Malay leader to enter into binding agreements. Both assumptions proved to be incorrect. Thus while culture cannot be considered the sole explanatory factor in the breach of the "gentlemen's agreement", it complements *etic* neo-realist explanations based on blanket assumptions of actor self-interest and perfect rationality.

3. Malaysia's Relationship to the Separatist Movement

The second "event" that will be discussed is not a discreet one-time event but rather a trend in a long term relationship punctuated by several major agreements. There is a very close socio-cultural relationship between the three border provinces of the South of Thailand and the northern Malay Sultanates of the Federation of Malaysia (Jory 2007; Liow 2006, 2006; Roux 1998). Furthermore, the three border provinces share a common language and religion with them. Even the royal families of the Sultanate of Kelantan and of Patani are closely blood related. Nevertheless the initially high support provided by Malaysia to the separatist movement in the South of Thailand, of the early post-

**Otto von Feigenblatt, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

independence period gradually gave way to a policy of non-interference in the 1970s and 1980s.

Why did Malaysia's support for the rebels decline over the years? A statist explanation to the previous question based on realism would assert that Malaysia stopped supporting them when their cost-benefit analysis made support for them too costly. More specifically, the rise of the threat of communism in Southeast Asia in the late 60s and 70s made military cooperation with Thailand more important than the promotion of self determination (Askew 2007; Liow 2006). Thus the pragmatic support of the rebels during the early post-independence years was an attempt to balance power by weakening Thailand while the change in policy was due to the need to fight the threat posed by the Communist Party of Malaya (Askew 2007; Neher 2002). From a security perspective, Thailand was ignoring the troops of the CPM in its side of the border as long as they did not attack Thai targets and due to sovereignty Malaysian forces were not allowed to pursue them into Thai territory (Yegar 2002; Askew 2007). Thailand used the threat of the CPM as leverage so as to convince the Malaysian government to stop supporting the separatists.

The previous explanation assumes that the parties are unitary actors, operating under perfect rationality, and motivated by self interest (Cozette 2008; Tang 2008; Hazen 2008). Avruch criticizes this "sealed black box" assumption and recommends including a nuanced cultural analysis into the picture (1998). Firstly, Malaysia was not a unitary actor in the relationship in discussion. As a Federation, the individual Sultanates have considerable autonomy and their own political leaders. It is also important to mention that Kelantan and Trengganu, both under the control of an Islamic political party, Parti Islam Se-Malaysia, continued to support the separatists even after the Federal Government decided to stop doing so (Askew 2007; Yegar 2002). Moreover, there are considerable cultural differences between the Northern Malay Sultanates and the rest of the Federation (Millard 2004). For example, the dialect spoken in the Northern Malay States is closer to the one spoken in Southern Thailand (Roux 1998). In addition to that, the

Northern Sultanates are more religiously conservative than the rest of the country (Millard 2004).

An *emic* explanation of the change in the relationship from the point of view of the separatists would take those cultural factors into consideration. For example, the close relationship between the Sultan of Kelantan and the traditional leadership of Patani would be emphasized. It could even be asserted that Kelantan has more in common with Patani than with other Malaysian Sultanates (Millard 2004). Thus, from the point of view of the separatists Kelantan supported them due to their close ties in term of kinship, cultural affinity, and common history of oppression under the Siamese (Yegar 2002). The change would be interpreted as pressure from the secular leadership in Kuala Lumpur and the weaker socio-cultural links between the people of Patani and those of the rest of Malaysia. An *emic* explanation from the point of view of the leadership of Kelantan would be very similar to the one of the Melayu Patani.

A proper *etic* explanation of the change in the relationship between Malaysia and the separatist movement should take into consideration realist factors such as security in addition to cultural factors. Internal political factors are also important, such as the difference between the political culture of the northern Sultanates and the rest of the Federation (Millard 2004). Therefore a more nuanced explanation of the change in the relationship would attempt to open the "black box" assumed by realist scholars and look at internal cultural variation as well as commonalities (Avruch 1998; Shani 2008; Kessler 2009).

4. Conclusions

The two "events" discussed in this paper were used to explore the role of culture in conflict. Culture was used as a complementary explanatory variable in order to emphasize the *emic* interpretations of events. *Etic* explanations in the realist tradition tend to omit culture as a valid concern and give primacy to control over resources and hard power (Guilhot 2008; Kolodziej 2005). The situation in traditional

**Otto von Feigenblatt, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

security studies is no different from that found in international relations. Traditional Security paradigms tend to give primacy to the security of the state at the expense of other actors and take a narrow view of the factors that can be considered important (David Carment 2009; Khong 2006; Abulof 2009).

The unrest in the Deep South of Thailand is a good example of an ethno-national conflict that has been mostly analyzed through the traditional lenses of international relations and security studies (Ungpakorn 2007; McCargo 2004). Geopolitical factors such as the balance of power in Southeast Asia and the rise of communism have been emphasized and local cultural grievances and basic human needs from the point of view of the Muslim Malay population of the region, have been ignored (Jitpiromrisi and McCargo 2008). The recent surge in violence shows that the root causes of the conflict have not been addressed by Bangkok and that a new more holistic approach is needed. Cultural insecurity on the part of the population of the Deep South is at the root of the violence and thus a proper inquiry as to the root of that cultural insecurity should be undertaken and the findings must be properly integrated in to any possible policy interventions (Jitpiromrisi and McCargo 2008; Ungpakorn 2007; Liow 2006).

References

- Abulof, Uriel. (2009). "Small Peoples": The Existential Uncertainty of Ethnonational Communities. *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (1):227-248.
- Askew, Marc. (2007). *Conspiracy, Politics, and a Disorderly Border: The Struggle to Comprehend Insurgency in Thailand's Deep South*. Vol. 29, *Policy Studies*. Washington DC: East-West Center Washington.
- Avruch, Kevin. (1998). *Culture & Conflict Resolution*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Cozette, Murielle. (2008). Classical Realism on the Future of International Relations. *International Studies Review* 10 (4):667-679.
- David Carment, Patrick James, and Zynep Taydas. (2009). The Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict: State, Society, and Synthesis. *International Studies Review* 11 (1):63-86.
- Guilhot, Nicolas. (2008). The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of IR Theory. *International Political Sociology* 2 (4):281-304.
- Gunaratna, Rohan, and Arabinda Acharya. (2006). Thailand. In *Flashpoints in the war on terrorism*, edited by D. S. Reveron and J. S. Murer. New York: Routledge.
- Hazen, Jennifer M. (2008). Armed Violence in Asia and the Pacific: An Overview of the Causes, Costs and Consequences. *United Nations Development Program // Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development*, http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/UNDP_Armed_ViolenceAsiaPacific_Overview.pdf.
- Ishii, Yoneo. (1994). Thai Muslims and the Royal Patronage of Religion. *Law & Society Review* 28 (3):453-460
- Jitpiromrisi, Srisompob, and Duncan McCargo. (2008). A Ministry for the South: New Governance Proposals for Thailand's Southern Region. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 30 (3):403-428.
- Jory, Patrick. (2007). From 'Melayu Patani' to 'Thai Muslim': The Spectre of Ethnic Identity in Southern Thailand. *Working Paper* <http://ssrn.com/paper=1317162>.

**Otto von Feigenblatt, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

- Kessler, Oliver. (2009). Toward a Sociology of the International? International Relations between Anarchy and World Society. *International Political Sociology* 3 (1):87-108.
- Khong, S. Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong. (2006). *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History*. 1st Edition ed. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Kolodziej, Edward A. (2005). *Security and International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Liow, Joseph Chinyong. (2006). International Jihad and Muslim Radicalism in Thailand? Toward an Alternative Interpretation. *Asia Policy* (2):89–108.
- . (2006). *Muslim Resistance in Southern Thailand and the Southern Philippines: Religion, Ideology, and Politics, Policy Studies*. Washington, D.C.: East-West Center.
- McCargo, Dunca. (2004). Southern Thai Politics: A Preliminary Overview. *POLIS Working Paper* (3), <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/research/working-papers/wp3mccargo.pdf>.
- McCargo, Duncan. (2009). The Politics of Buddhist identity in Thailand's deep south: The Demise of civil religion? *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40 (1):11-32.
- Millard, Mike. (2004). *Jihad in Paradise: Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia*. Armonk: East Gate Books.
- Mulder, Niels. (1996). *Inside Southeast Asia: Religion, Everyday Life, and Cultural Change*. Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books.
- Murdock, George. (1955). Cultural Relativity. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 11:361-370.
- Neher, Clark D. (2002). *Southeast Asia in the New International Era*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Nisbett, Richard E. (2003). *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently...and Why*. 1st Paperback ed. New York: Free Press.
- Roux, Pierre Le. (1998). To be or not to be: The Cultural Identity of the Jawi (Thailand). *Asian Folklore Studies* 57 (2):223-255.
- Shani, Giorgio. (2008). Toward a Post-Western IR: The Umma, Khalsa Panth, and Critical International Relations Theory. *International Studies Review* 10 (4):722-734.
- Smith, Paul J. (2005). Border Security and Transnational Violence in Southeast Asia. In *Terrorism and Violence in Southeast Asia: Transnational Challenges to States and Regional Stability*, edited by P. J. Smith. New York: East Gate Books.

The Importance of Culture in Emic Interpretations of the History of Thailand's Southern Separatist Movement: The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1943 and the Malaysian Relationship with the Separatists

- Tang, Shiping. (2008). Fear in International Politics: Two Positions. *International Studies Review* 10 (3):451-471.
- Ungpakorn, Giles Ji. (2007). *A Coup for the Rich: Thailand's Political Crisis*. Bangkok: Workers Democracy Publishing.
- Wyatt, David K. (2003). *Thailand: A Short History*. Thailand ed. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Yegar, Moshe. (2002). *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma/Myanmar*. New York: Lexington Books.

NEW FROM YKING BOOKS

Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region

*Security Challenges, Regional Integration, and
Representative Case Studies*

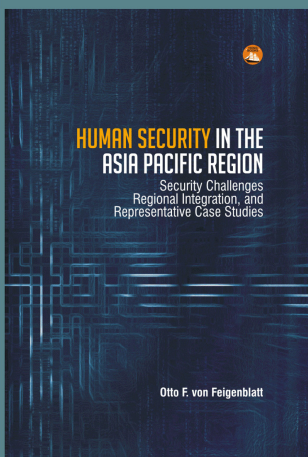
OTTO F. VON FEIGENBLATT

200 pp, 5 illus., \$38 cloth



YKING BOOKS

18, Jain Bhawan, Opp. NBC,
Shanti Nagar, Jaipur-302 006
Ph.: 0141-222 1456, 94140 56846
e-mail : ykingbooks@gmail.com



“Exceptionally stimulating, *Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region* integrates security challenges and regional integration. Otto F. von Feigenblatt’s comparative monograph takes a magisterial overview of the region by comparing intra-regional and regional dynamics to produce a novel perspective of the Asia Pacific region. The brilliant synthesis in exploring the two Chinas’ problem in relation to Costa Rica and the use of Sarawak’s past to probe for a solution in Southern Thailand provide originality and vision of a rising young scholar. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the region.”

Prof. Dr. A. Mani
Vice President, Ritsumeikan
Asia Pacific University
Japan

Conflict Discourse among Sudanese Dinka Refugees: Implications for Cross-Cultural Analysis and Resolution

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Abstract: *This 1-year ethnographic research, situated in a conflict, social construction, and social ecological theoretical framework, utilized the Hymes' S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model and field notes to document the verbal and nonverbal conflict discourse, as well as the presence of Dinka cultural attributes, within four specific social contexts: home, church, community meetings, and memorial services. Emerging themes included Speaking "Like a Dinka," Dinka women and role conflict, tribalism and ethnic conflict, Dinka and economic hardship, and Dinka and face behaviors. Discussion includes the practical impact of this research on an interpersonal, organizational, community, and intercultural level for conflict analysis and resolution professionals.*

We have the memory of yesterday. We have the reality of today and we hold the hope of tomorrow. (Sudanese Dinka Elder, Jacksonville, Florida)

1. Introduction

Conflict analysis and communication professionals, including mediators, negotiators, peacekeepers, and mental health therapists, are in a distinctive role to assist eastern cultures through conflict analysis, resolution, and transformation approaches. Due to migration, protracted civil wars, and the increasing search by political refugees for safety outside of their country of origin, there is a rising necessity for the development of these unique cross-cultural techniques. Although culture frequently binds these groups through a shared history of trauma, family, and identity, culture is also considered dynamic and is significantly

affected by the influence of the social constructions and contexts in which it exists. Moreover, culture and the verbal and non-verbal expression of conflict are deeply interconnected, further establishing an important role for innovative research in understanding the various approaches and realities among refugee groups who have resettled in the United States.

All known languages include terms and phrases which describe various types of conflict actions and feelings and these are frequently framed by the diverse contexts and settings in which they occur (Carbaugh et al., 2006). Within the manifestation of verbal and non-verbal communication lie cultural representations of a distinct community through the expression of meanings, symbols, premises, and rules. Language, dialogue, and speech are not only considered a medium to the interaction itself but also serve to shape and ultimately constitute the social life within a particular culture (Philipsen, 1992). It is through the determination of these communication patterns within a particular culture which allows for the expansion of a multi-faceted conflict analysis frame of reference. In addition, the inclusion of the specific contexts in which conflict communication occurs further enhances the ability to understand the presence of cultural change and movement on both a macro and micro level (Oetzel et al., 2006).

One of the more recurrent cross-cultural misunderstandings occurs between Africans and Americans with regard to communicating the meaning and expression of conflict. In addition to the differences between these collectivistic and individualistic cultures, there are also dramatic disparities in shared patterns and themes of communication, underlying beliefs, and traditional philosophies of life that serve to ultimately shape identity and ethnicity. Chung and Ting-Toomey (1999) explained that ethnic identity is frequently molded by the norms of the socialization process, creating diverse experiences and changes in communicative expression over a lifetime. Traumatic social events such as forced displacement and genocide throughout the history of Africa are among only a few of the issues which have impacted the development of various ethnic identities (Deng, 1995). For African political refugees, particularly the Sudanese Dinka resettling in the

*Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)*

United States, these prior experiences as well as their transnational family status have undoubtedly been integral in creating their multiple perceptions and realities of conflict within the context of a new place and time.

Due to the presence of three government approved refugee resettlement agencies in the area, a few hundred Sudanese from several tribal groups began to resettle in 2001 in the Northeast Florida region, specifically Jacksonville (Hecht, 2005). At present, it is estimated that approximately 500 to 600 Sudanese refugees reside in Jacksonville, however, the Florida Department of Children and Families does not differentiate between the various tribal and ethnic groups in their statistics (Florida Department of Children and Families, Refugee Services, 2006). However, according to World Relief, a Jacksonville Refugee Resettlement agency, approximately 75 to 80 percent of the Sudanese refugees in this area originate from the Dinka tribe in the Southern Sudan and these numbers are only expected to increase as additional family members receive asylum (Svihel, 2006).

As a highly collectivistic culture, the norms, values, and the experience of trauma, have frequently shaped how Dinka tribal members communicate and approach conflict situations on a multitude of levels. The significant presence of this unique African community, my close physical proximity to Jacksonville, and the opportunity to learn about conflict from the Dinka provided clear justification for conducting this original and important research.

2. Conceptual Framework and Review of the Literature

This study utilized two theoretical and conceptual frameworks: social constructionism and social ecology to examine conflict discourse among the Sudanese Dinka refugees in Jacksonville, Florida. Berger and Luckmann (1966), building upon the work of Durkheim, developed social construction theory to explain the manner in which human beings subjectively interpret varying meanings and realities in the context of everyday life. These multiple

“realities” and interpretations then become the knowledge that sociologists seek to understand in order to define dimensions of culture. These foundations of this knowledge can be discovered in many aspects of human life. Berger and Luckmann (1966) further argued that one such essential element was through language and speech which is capable of transmitting symbolism and meaning through patterns and themes, allowing for insight into these multiple realities and creation of identities depending on the social context. Moreover, these scholars (1966) considered man as living within a “web of human relationships” that is further defined by the social structures and historical institutions in which they exist.

Conflict and communication researchers have advocated in the last five years for the application of a social ecological framework in qualitative data collection and analysis. Single level research often overestimates the local effects on conflict and underestimates the cross level effects of cultural, historical, and societal factors (Rousseau & House, 1994). Thus, Oetzel et al. (2006) emphasized Bronfenbrenner’s (1977, 1979) social ecological framework as it intersects environmental influences on conflict into four levels for analysis: Micro (face-to-face interaction in specific settings-interpersonal conflict), meso (interrelationships among various micro-systems-organizational conflict), exo (forces within the larger social system-community conflict), and macro (cultural beliefs and values-intercultural/international conflict). McLeroy et al. (1988) also noted that the social ecological model allows for the viewing of patterns (such as conflict communication) through multiple levels and across various conflict contexts. Oetzel et al. (2006) further argued that there is an important role of context in understanding conflict communication, the possibilities of integrative systems approaches, the blurring of essentialized categories, and the presence of change and movement on both macro and micro levels of conflict analysis.

Culture creates an additional layer of complexity in the study of conflict communication due to the differences in historical, political, and spiritual factors. The majority of research on intercultural and cross-cultural conflict behavior has utilized Western/individualistic conceptualizations of

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

conflict and conflict styles in an etic manner (Elsayed-Ekhouly & Buda, 1996; Gabrielidis, Stephen, Ybarra, Dos Santos Pearson & Villareal, 1997; Oetzel et al., 2001; Ohbuchi, Fukushima, & Tedeschi, 1999). However, Oetzel et al. (2006) argued that the use of the emic perspective is crucial to incorporate non-western perspectives for more effective resolution approaches. These authors (2006) further emphasized the identification of specific symbols and cultural attitudes that have been shaped by the variables of history, particularly if this involved violence, in order to move toward constructive conflict resolution.

Dell Hymes (1974) is largely credited with the development of the method and approach of the ethnography of communication. Previously identified under the umbrella of sociolinguistics as the “ethnography of speaking” by Hymes in 1962, this technique is based upon three primary assumptions: (a) communication is systematically patterned and needs to be studied on its own and for its own sake; (b) the systematicity is intimately linked with social life and needs to be studied as such; and (c) the nature of the communication itself is culture-specific therefore cross-culturally diverse (Carbaugh, 1990).

There have been over 200 ethnography of communication studies conducted since its conception. Many researchers and scholars have utilized this approach to study various aspects within communication, including culture, conflict, gender differences, meanings, and codes (Hymes, 1962; Bailey, 2000; Basso, 1996; Covarrubias, 2002; Fitch, 1998; Hymes, 1996; Katriel, 2004; Philipsen, 1992; Samuels, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Sherzer, 1987; Tannen, 1984, 1986; and Urban, 1991). Moreover, Saville-Troike (1982) further explained that for anthropology, the ethnography of communication extends understandings of cultural systems to language, at the same time relating it to social organization, role-relationships, values and beliefs, shared patterns of knowledge, and the study of cultural maintenance and change.

3. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to document, analyze, and identify themes and patterns of conflict discourse within the Sudanese Dinka community in Jacksonville, Florida. Given that culture is frequently conveyed through the verbal and non-verbal actions associated with communication and language, this research included a variety of social contexts (home, community meetings, church, and memorial services) for comparison and contrast. The S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G model was utilized as the primary methodological foundation to collect and analyze a series of speech events and speech acts within Dinka cultural and social interactions.

4. Method

4.1 Rationale for Using the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. Model

The ethnography of communication and the use of the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model (a mnemonic), as developed by Hymes (1974), has provided researchers the ability to study many different types of discourse as a series of speech events and acts within a cultural context. These include, but are not limited to, place, naming, silence, time, identity, personhood, face, voice, and relationships. Philipsen (1992) expanded the work of Hymes' through the assumptive foundation that speaking and communication within any culture is a considered a structured process that can be documented to determine representations and distinctions. Philipsen (1997) added the concept of speech codes to determine locally and culturally constructed resources, pattern, and meanings in language. This dissertation study incorporated the methodological work of both of these scholars to document, analyze, and identify patterns in conflict discourse among Dinka refugees across several contexts in Jacksonville as they provide the ability for comprehensive findings.

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

4.2 Data Collection

Participant-observation, field notes, and the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model were utilized to record the verbal and non-verbal conflict discourse among the Sudanese Dinka refugees within four specific contexts. Complementary study one addressed the following three research questions: RQ1: Utilizing the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model, how is conflict expressed through verbal discourse in the following four contexts among Sudanese Dinka refugees? RQ1(a): Home; RQ1(b): Church; RQ1(c): Community Meetings; and RQ1(d): Memorial/Funeral Services; and RQ2: Utilizing the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model, how is conflict expressed through non-verbal discourse in the following four contexts among Sudanese Dinka refugees? RQ2(a): Home; RQ2(b): Church; RQ2(c): Community Meetings; and RQ2(d): Memorial/Funeral Services. RQ3: What aspects of Dinka culture are present to assist with conflict analysis?

4.3 Study Participants

The study participants included approximately 350 single or married men and women ages 18 years of age or older; refugees who originated from the Dinka tribe of the Southern Sudan in Africa; and all possessed the proficiency and capacity to speak and comprehend English. In addition, all of the study participants are multi-lingual and also speak Dinka, Arabic, Swahili, Nuer, and several other African dialects. All are political refugees who have been granted asylum in the United States and have resettled in Jacksonville, Florida.

4.4 Description of Four Contexts/Study Settings

To address the research questions, four specific settings and contexts were selected. The first was in the home setting was specifically chosen for this study as it allowed me as a researcher to observe and participate within the family system in their natural environment. Often, these

homes consisted of one or two bedroom apartments in lower socioeconomic neighborhoods.

The second setting was in the Sudanese church. Although some of the Dinka do attend mainstream organized churches, there are two distinct Sudanese churches in Jacksonville. One church is attended by Sudanese refugees and immigrants from a variety of tribes and the primary language spoken during this service is Juba Arabic. The other church is comprised of the Lost Boys of the Sudan, who primarily originate from the Dinka tribe, and the spoken language is Dinka. Although the majority of the Sudanese refugees are proficient in the English language, worshipping in their tribal languages provides an excellent opportunity to maintain their cultural customs and values.

The third setting for this study is community meetings. The majority of these meetings were held at a local facility, such as the American Legion or at a local rented hall. These meetings were comprised primarily of Sudanese Dinka from the Bor region of the Sudan although at times Sudanese Arabs and other tribal groups were also represented. When several tribes and ethnic groups attended these meetings, the social dynamics had a tendency to change and conflict openly expressed.

The fourth setting for this study included memorial and funeral services which occurred either at the American Legion or at a church. The services I attended were held in remembrance of Dr. John Garang on the one year anniversary of his death and for one other Sudanese family member who resided in the Sudan or the Kakuma Refugee camp.

5. Data Analysis

5.1 Review of Field Notes and S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. Model

The notes compiled utilizing the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model to gain additional interpretation of verbal and non-verbal conflict discourse were reviewed for consistency and focused analysis. The information gathered within these four separate contexts were compared and contrasted to gain a

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

general overview of conflict communication and cultural characteristics and approaches of the Sudanese Dinka.

5. 2 Analytic Coding

Next, qualitative analytic coding of the field notes, including open and focused, was utilized. Emerson et al. (1995) define open coding as “reading through the field notes line-by-line to identify and formulate any and all ideas, themes, or issues they suggest, no matter how varied or disparate” (p. 143). Emerson et al. (1995) also defined focused coding to include “fine-grained, line-by-line analysis based on topics that have been identified as of particular interest” (p. 143). Furthermore, the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model notes were also coded based on the similarities and differences of each context. In the results chapter, each letter of the mnemonic is utilized to examine the series of speech events and speech acts within four cultural contexts.

5.3 Phase Three: Identification of Themes and Patterns

An important and on-going procedure in data analysis following analytic coding is the re-reading, re-reviewing, and re-experiencing of the all written information in order to ensure that all themes, patterns, and variations have been identified. In this process, “an ethnographer gains fresh insights in her own understanding and interpretation of people and events by reviewing a completed set of notes” (Emerson et al., 1995: p. 145). Wolcott (1994) further recommended the search for common and recurring themes in the data in order to draw connections between the culture sharing group and the larger theoretical framework.

6. Findings and Interpretations

Speaking “Like a Dinka”

While this research identified five major patterns, Speaking “Like a Dinka” effectively encompasses the other four significant themes, however, it was important to also emphasize and discuss these separately to provide a more comprehensive perspective and understanding of this particular culture. Although there are several cultural attributes present to describe the verbal and nonverbal methods and manner of relating and speaking among the Dinka in Jacksonville, the first I have addressed is language and code-switching.

Language

It is essential to begin with a discussion of language as the basic component in any speech event in order to develop a global picture of the “personhood” or what it “looks like” to be a “Dinka” living in Jacksonville, Florida. During several participant observations, the Dinka refugees appeared to share a tacit understanding regarding the use of a specific language or dialect and this varied by contexts or settings within the community. Although the majority of Dinka have become fluent in English as a second or third, and sometimes fourth, language, they have also maintained their first language in Arabic and/or Dinka and frequently utilize these during cultural and conflict discourse. In addition, a significant number of the Dinka also speak Kiswahili although its use in the community is limited. Depending on which native language is used, the Dinka express their connection to each other with shared constructed meanings, identities, and histories. In general, those Dinka who predominantly speak Arabic originate from the northern provinces of the Southern Sudan or have had significant influence by the Arab culture, whether through living in Khartoum, the Arab dominated capital, or assimilation. In contrast, the Dinka who predominantly speak the Dinka dialect originate from the lower portion of the Southern Sudan and have not experienced assimilation into the Arab culture or have rejected the use of the Arab language due to

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

long-term conflict. This will also be discussed further in the section regarding tribalism.

The identification of which specific language(s) was predominantly spoken across the four settings assisted in the development of a general overview of what it is to speak "like a Dinka" as well as the social norms and rules which govern this behavior. This is of particular importance for cross-cultural analysis and resolution professionals as it provides a foundation in understanding the use of native language(s) as central to Dinka identity and expressions of conflict. The presence or lack of presence of their native language in these contexts also served the following: as an indicator of the level of assimilation; as culture, historical, and ethnicity maintenance as refugees resettling in Jacksonville; and as a basis for understanding code switching in multilingual settings.

Another vital factor in language is the use or nonuse of a formal versus an informal manner of presentation, as well as the verbal and nonverbal meanings that are attached. The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (Richards, Platt & Weber, 1987) defined "formal speech" as "the type of speech used in situations when the speaker is very careful about pronunciation and choice of words and sentence structure. This type of speech may be used, for example, at official functions, and in debates and ceremonies" (p. 109). In contrast, informal speech is considered more "casual" and the use of jargon or slang is more prominent. In addition, nonverbals can be presented in a formal or informal manner.

There were distinctive and differential patterns across the four contexts that assisted in the creation of unique speech situations. As Hymes' (1989) explained "Within a community one readily detects many situations associated with (or marked by the absence of) speech" (p. 51). Likewise, Philipsen (1992) argued that speech denotes more than the transmission of information, but also a difference, across groups, in what gets done.

Across the four contexts, there were also patterns of the use of numerous languages utilized in a single event, with the exception of one church episode in which only Dinka was spoken. However, the use of formal speech was observed in both church settings as well as memorial

services. Moreover, Dinka social norms and rules for appropriate behavior were more clearly expressed through verbal and nonverbal discourse in these formal settings. In contrast, there was the presence of informal speech in the home setting and during community services which indicated slightly more relaxed cultural role expectations and norms. It is imperative to further explore the specific nuances of these cultural behaviors in order to comprehend the complexity of the manner in which the Dinka relate to others in their own community and their environment. These cultural norms include the verbal and nonverbal expressions and representations of the sense of time; honor and respect; power; silence; speaking “like a Dinka man”; and speaking “like a Dinka woman.” Each will be addressed separately.

Time

For the Sudanese Dinka, like many other African cultures, the sense and interpretation of time is quite different than that of Americans. In general, the Dinka will arrive later, sometimes an hour or more, than a scheduled time. This more casual sense of time is typical in the villages of the Southern Sudan. However, this difference in the United States has actually created conflict for many in terms of employment and other commitments. When I attended any of the Sudanese events in Jacksonville, I also observed on several occasions that the sense of time was different for several of the Dinka.

Honor and Respect

There were several reoccurring cultural behaviors which demonstrated a sense of honor and respect within the verbal and nonverbal discourse among the members of this culture. I observed these aspects not only across the four contexts, but also in additional interactions with this community over this 1-year ethnographic study. One of these behaviors is the use of titles of distinction. These titles, in turn, become a significant part of an individual’s identity and place in the cultural community.

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

For the Dinka, an elder, a parent, or an individual who has significantly provided assistance to the refugees in Jacksonville is often denoted this symbol of honor and respect. In verbal discourse, this title is typically expressed through the use of “Momma” and this is placed before a woman’s first name. Dinka men are not addressed by a similar title such as “Papa,” however, are distinguished by other methods. There are, however, a few American, non-Dinka individuals in the Jacksonville community who have “earned” this title through consistent acts of kindness and assistance for the Dinka refugees. This requires a significant amount of time and dedication to the Sudanese community but more importantly, an establishment of trust.

Another important title or recognition in the Dinka community is given to a minister or pastor. When a Dinka man is referred to as “Pastor” there is a high expectation of honor and respect from others in their cultural group and this is frequently expressed through specific verbal and nonverbal behaviors. Like the title of “Momma,” the term “Pastor” is also placed in front of a person’s first name. However, no Dinka women, to my knowledge, have been given this title in their community in Jacksonville. In addition, the nonverbal gestures of respect toward the pastor included limited verbal and nonverbal interruptions when the pastor spoke, with the exception of words of praise in response, such as “alleluia” and the raising of hands high in the air as a symbol of agreement. I observed this aspect on several occasions as indicated in the following field note.

In addition to these verbal expressions of respect though titles, there were several examples of nonverbal cues within discourse that demonstrate this important aspect. This included the use of space and distance among the Dinka as they relate with others inside their culture. I noted distinct patterns of cultural social norms and rules regarding these attributes across all four contexts as well as during other community observations.

For Dinka families, regardless of context, the method and manner of demonstrating honor and respect through space and distance was expressed through the restraint of affectionate physical touch in front of others. While children

frequently touched or were held by their parent(s), this was very different for couples. In contrast to American or Western norms, a Dinka couple display respect and honor for each other and their culture by refraining from physical contact (hugging, touching, holding hands, or kissing) in the presence of others in their home or in public places. This is strictly adhered to among the Dinka in Jacksonville.

The use of space and distance is also central in how the elder men and women were shown respect by younger Dinka individuals in the community. In the Southern Sudan, it is common for the elder Dinka men to sit in the front of any event, followed by the younger men behind them, then the elder women who attend to the care of the children, with the younger women typically preparing food to serve (S. Svihel, personal communication, June 29, 2007). Although in the United States, the configuration of this space and distance has been modified among the Dinka due to assimilation, there is still the presence of the cultural norms of honor and respect for the elders in the community.

Eye Contact

Unlike American or Western cultures, direct eye contact for the Dinka between men and women is not considered appropriate for any reason within their community. This is a very strict cultural social norm, however, with their resettlement in Jacksonville, there has been some acceptance and practice of direct eye contact between Dinka men and American women as long as the overarching and accepted norm. This does not appear to be the consistent pattern among the Dinka men and women.

Gestures

The use of gestures in the Dinka community is also an important and essential form of nonverbal discourse which demonstrates respect and honor among all the Dinka. One of these unique gestures is the handshake. While I am accustomed as an American to expressing acknowledgement of an individual with a firm handshake, I experienced a different form of this gesture the first few times I met several

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Dinka individuals in Jacksonville. This handshake consists of an extension of the hand and the Dinka will slap the palm of your hand with their palm prior to shaking the hand. It is typically rapid motion and is utilized by both the younger men and women as well as the elders. Moreover, this nonverbal gesture is considered an informal manner of a respectful and friendly acknowledgement for both Dinka men and women; however if this involves an elder, the handshake is more firm. I noted this gesture throughout this ethnographic study and in virtually all contexts and settings.

Another interesting and noteworthy gesture utilized among the Dinka, in particular men, is a modified hug that serves as respectful greeting. According to cultural norms, men are allowed to touch each other, but not women, and this is accomplished through a very short, tap on the shoulder.

As a collectivistic culture, the Dinka also express their gratitude more publicly to those individuals, both within and outside of their community, who have positively assisted them in some manner. Typically, this predominantly nonverbal gesture of gratefulness and respect occurs in the form of a Sudanese community party in which the Dinka come together, the younger women have prepared Sudanese food, and a celebration occurs in which the community as a whole demonstrates their thankfulness. The provision of assistance to even one Dinka individual is viewed as caring for the entire Sudanese Dinka community and therefore it is recognized publicly. This is in contrast to the individualistic manner of simply expressing thanks verbally or through a gesture of a card or gift.

Silence

The use of the silence in nonverbal discourse within this culture has two varied yet important meanings in understanding ways of relating among the Dinka. The first, and perhaps the most common, is the use of silence as nonverbal sign of respect when spoken directly to by a male of female elder. For the younger men and women, even if they disagree with what the elders are verbally expressing,

silence is expected rather than open disagreement as this is viewed strictly as disrespectful under social norms.

The second meaning of silence as a nonverbal aspect of Dinka discourse can be viewed as a purposeful expression of dislike, particularly if a Dinka individual does not agree with what is verbally being shared. There was a pattern in this research of the use of silence when an American would address a Dinka individual in a direct and stern tone. Some of the Dinka would also eventually choose to stop talking to the American friend to demonstrate the depth of disagreement and dislike. This has created at times a level of conflict between a few in the Dinka community and some of the American individuals who have volunteered their time, guidance, and financial support to assist with assimilation. This conflict appears to be significantly based in distinct cultural differences between Western and Eastern conflict management approaches.

Power

The expression of power in the verbal and nonverbal discourse among the Dinka also presented some interesting findings for this study. As previously established, there are distinct power differentials between the elders and the younger Dinka, as well between the men and women. This hierarchy defines the level of respect required as well as the value placed upon individuals. For the Dinka, an elder not only represents the most powerful person in the community but also the values, history, and importance of the culture itself. Moreover, when the Dinka honor their elders, they are honoring their history. Likewise, if an elder male is also a military leader, it is expected that he receive the greatest amount of respect and honor. In this case, all younger men and women are expected to exercise all previously discussed cultural verbal and nonverbal behaviors toward the elder with the power. The expression of power which is present between Dinka men and women will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

*Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)*

Speaking “Like a Dinka Man”

Given the unique differences between the sexes in this culture, it is also imperative to discuss the specific nature and personae of what it means to speak “Like a Dinka man.” As established in previous discussion, the men in the Dinka culture are considered on many levels to have more “value” than their women counterparts. Upon birth, boys are celebrated as they are considered the future of the family as well as the culture. As the young Dinka boys become men in the Sudan, they are expected to marry and continue the family lineage through the birth of many children with typically more than one wife. Moreover, in the Dinka villages, the young men are taken to visit the elders to learn the social norms and rules of the culture. This is practiced religiously in the Sudan (S. Svihel, personal communication, June 29, 2007). However, for the Dinka men in Jacksonville, there have been considerable changes in their manner of relating and speaking.

To be a Dinka man is to be viewed and perceived as powerful. This first begins with the outward appearance of power through the wearing of a suit or military uniform. With the influence of Dr. John Garang as a significant Dinka military leader, the need to look “sharp and smart” is essential in this community. Another aspect and manner of relating among the Dinka men in Jacksonville is the use of verbally communicating with each other in a ritualistic manner separate from their wives. At the majority of Dinka and Sudanese events, the men sit on one side of the room together and the women on the other. This is considered an important time for the men to discuss important family or community issues, or simply to enjoy each other’s company through fellowship and bonding. When this occurs, the women do not interrupt or speak to their spouses as it would be viewed as disrespectful. As a non-Dinka guest, I also became aware of the cultural norm for women to allow this space and distance for the men to talk among themselves.

Power for Dinka men can also be found in their traditional role in the home. A Dinka man is expected to make the important decisions for his wife and his children, however, he generally participates in little to none of the

actual childcare. This is not viewed as a traditional Dinka male role, although more men who have resettled in Jacksonville with their families have been required to provide more assistance in the home if their spouses need to work for economic reasons.

Dinka men in Jacksonville are expected to be the leaders, whether political or in religious matters, in the community. In the Sudan, Dinka men have typically served in the role of clan, tribal or community leaders (Deng, 1972). "Traditionally, the Dinka political system functioned through lineages, and this system centered on the Paramount Chief, his subordinate chiefs, and elders. Political leadership is considered divine and is traced through religious legends that are continually retold to reinforce contemporary structure. A Dinka Chief is not a ruler in the Western sense, but a spiritual leader whose words express divine enlightenment and wisdom and from the point of consensus and reconciliation" (pp. 111-112).

Another major influence of Dr. John Garang was his extensive educational background. For Dinka men, particularly many of the younger men known as the Lost Boys, the attainment of education is essential to their personae. Several of these men share the goal to receive their college degree and then return to the Southern Sudan to assist with rebuilding this area or serve as military leaders. To achieve the respect that Garang received as a leader would be the ultimate perception of power for several of these young men.

It is important to discuss the some of the cultural changes that have occurred among the young Dinka men since resettling in Jacksonville. These changes have been a direct result of the acculturation process and the embracing of Western values by several of these men, however, it has created conflict with the Dinka elders and within the community itself. As previously mentioned, the young men are required to meet on a weekly basis with the Dinka elders in the Sudan, however, this has not been occurring as frequently as defined by cultural social rules. In addition, this movement away from the collective structure of the Dinka culture toward more individualistic choices has led some of the elders to question the future.

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

The cultural rules for marriage are not absent for the Dinka man. The unmarried and typically young Dinka living in Jacksonville is still required under the social norms to return to the Sudan to marry a Dinka woman. This marriage must first be approved by the elders, the families, and a dowry of cattle paid to the bride's father. The man must then travel to the Sudan to get married and his wife will need to remain there until she is approved to migrate to the United States, which could take many years. There may be a consummation of the marriage and the man will be required (as a political refugee) to return to Jacksonville and may learn that he is going to be a father. However, due to the economic requirements of education and living expenses, many of these men are choosing to forego this cultural ritual of marriage and children, which in turn is serving to create conflict with the elders and change certain aspects of this profoundly familial culture.

Speaking "Like a Dinka Woman"

Sex and gender role expectations within the Dinka culture have existed for hundreds of years. According to Deng (1972), the Dinka have traditionally been described as a significantly patriarchal culture in which there are different and defined customs, rules, and behaviors for men and women. Deng explained that in traditional southern Sudan "The socialization of a Dinka girl differs markedly than that of a Dinka boy. While she is also expected to identify more with her father than with her mother, it is realized that she is closer to her mother than a son is. It is through her mother that she learns to be a wife and a mother. Since she will marry and leave to further the interests of another lineage, her role within her agnatic group is limited. Her main contribution is to attract bride wealth which her brothers and other male relatives will use for their own marriages. Yet, the Dinka speak of her as "a slave" to be "sold" and "a stranger" who will "leave" her own kin group for another" (Deng, p. 56).

Although the Dinka women who have resettled in Jacksonville, Florida have experienced dramatic changes in sex and gender definitions since Deng's research, there are

some distinct verbal and nonverbal cultural behaviors that have remained in place.

Perhaps the most central is the expectations of a Dinka woman as a wife and a mother. However, there is a distinction between the social rules and respect for the younger women and the older women, especially grandmothers. While the mothers are expected to give birth to several children, the grandmothers are to be the primary caregiver and this is viewed as a more valued role. The younger, married Dinka women are to focus upon serving their husbands, the other men in the community, the children, then for the elder women. The women in their twenties and thirties are to complete the main work of cooking and cleaning, particularly for celebrations, parties, funerals, and weddings. It has been understood in this culture that the women rarely say no to these duties. However, conflict has increased in the family system due to some of the Dinka women making the individual choice to live more like American women and this has resulted in an increasing divorce rate in this community.

As a wife, a good appearance is essential for a Dinka woman. The majority of the women wear dresses and in some tribes, they are more respected if they wear the full African dress. In contrast, the single, divorced, or teenage women are allowed to dress in more casual pants or American clothing, including jeans.

Given the respect for the male pastor in the Dinka culture, his wife is also held in high esteem, although more as an expectation of perfection. The pastor's wife is not 'allowed' to make mistakes or choices with negative consequences as she will be discredited by the other Dinka women. In some ways, they do not consider her 'human' and this can be very challenging and stressful.

Like the men, the Dinka women in Jacksonville also use verbal communication with each other in a ritualistic manner when they are separate from their husbands. At previously noted, the men and women sit on different sides of the room. In addition to being a cultural expectation, the women enjoy this time together for fellowship and bonding and a chance to share.

It is also vital to discuss the some of the cultural changes that have occurred among the Dinka women since

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

resettling in Jacksonville. Like the men, these changes have taken place for Dinka women during acculturation and through the incorporation of Western and individualistic values. The influence of the American lifestyle and the freedom of American women have been difficult for some of the Dinka women who seek similar independence from the expectations of their cultural norms, resulting in a complicated dichotomy. For the Dinka women who have had to work outside of the home for economic sustainability for the family, this has not necessarily increased their value or level of respect with their husbands or in their community. In addition, attempting to maintain and adhere to their social, cultural, and gender norms has created significant conflict for many for many of these women.

7. Gender Role Conflict and Dinka Women

The second major theme or pattern identified in verbal and nonverbal cultural discourse across the four social contexts is the presence of this gender role conflict for Dinka women. It has been established that while many of the Dinka women do closely follow their cultural rules, there is also the presence of an external and internal conflict between what is expected and their verbal and nonverbal behavior.

8. Tribalism and Ethnic Conflict

The third major theme or pattern identified in cultural discourse across the four social contexts is the presence of tribalism and ethnic conflict, which is often emphasized by war and militarized identities. Deng (1972) clarified the importance of the military in the lives of young Dinka men and the impact this experience has on their identity and approach to conflict:

It all begins with their militancy. Even their constructive roles have destructive implications. Their activities are usually competitive, and sooner or later this brings conflict. Perhaps the best way of showing the degree to which the activities of youth are institutionally integrated,

controlled, or esthetically sublimated- yet manifested in ways that spill into provocation and aggressiveness—is through the role of war-songs and war dances. (Deng, p. 77).

Given the substantial and long-term history of civil war between the Dinka, the Arab Muslims, and other Nilotic tribal groups, I was not surprised by this finding in the Jacksonville Sudanese community. Deng (1995) described these types of conflicts as frequently bounded by identity. He further defined identity as “a concept of how people define themselves and are defined by others on the bases of race, ethnicity, culture, language, and religion. One’s personal identification may be in sharp conflict with what one actually is by the application of established standards” (Deng, p. 387). However, while there have been significant attempts and actions by various Sudanese elders and leaders to bring unity and peace to the Sudanese community, tribal and ethnic conflict still remains and was reoccurring across the four contexts

9. Dinka and Economic Hardship

The fourth major theme or pattern identified in verbal and nonverbal cultural discourse across the four social contexts is the presence of conflict involving the Dinka and economic hardship. As previously established, with migration and arrival in the United States, the Dinka typically experience a decline in social status and an increase in economic instability (Abusharaf, 2002). Few of the Dinka have transferable employment skills and the majority lack the required educational or language abilities to obtain both short and long-term financial stability in the United States. In addition, the loss of a collectivistic family structure has created significant barriers for many of the Dinka refugees in Jacksonville, who have had to build new emotional and financial support systems in order to survive. Moreover, the presence of economic hardship and conflict within Dinka cultural verbal and nonverbal discourse was present across all four social contexts as well as in other observations during the 1 year of field work.

*Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)*

Dinka and Face Behaviors

According to Ting-Toomey and Takai (2006), while face and facework are universal phenomenon, how we “frame’ or interpret the situated meaning of face and how we enact facework differ from one cultural community to the next. The concept of face is about identity respect and other identity consideration issues within and beyond the actual encounter episode. Face is tied to the emotional significance and estimated calculations that we attach to our own social self-worth and that of other’s social self-worth. It is therefore a precious identity resource in communication because it can be threatened, enhanced, undermined, and bargained over—on both emotional reactive level and cognitive appraisal level. (p. 701).

This study further demonstrated a fifth main theme, the presence of face loss as well as face saving behaviors among the Dinka within the four different contexts. For the Dinka, face not only includes cultural identity, it also includes the sex/gender role differences as men and women, their family, the pride in their role in the SPLA, and the importance of their Nilotic languages and customs.

Specific Dinka Verbal and Nonverbal Cultural Attributes

In order to gain a comprehensive overview of Dinka verbal and nonverbal cultural discourse, it is essential to provide a guide in the form of a table which summarizes these behaviors as identified and discussed in this research. For conflict analysis and resolution professionals, the first step in evaluating the presence of conflict is understanding the various social norms and rules specific to any culture as well for the men and women in the community.

Speaking “Like A Dinka” Across Conflict Discourse and Contexts

This research effectively identified numerous aspects and variables in Dinka conflict discourse across the four specific contexts. This information not only provides insight into the variances of Dinka conflict discourse but also the

impact of the different settings on its presence and proliferation. It is therefore vital to provide a summary in table format to holistically capture these findings in order to describe the notion of “Speaking Like A Dinka” to establish a useful overview of these findings for conflict analysis and resolution professionals. This is presented in following table.

Speaking Like a Dinka Across Conflict Discourse and Contexts

Context or Setting	Dinka Verbal Conflict Discourse	Dinka Nonverbal Conflict Discourse
Home	<p>Men verbally maintain custom to have “more than one wife in order to have as many children as possible” although not possible in the U.S.</p> <p>Dinka verbal recognition of tribal differences and conflict as Dinka have “little interaction with those from the Arab and Nuer tribes.”</p> <p>English and Dinka Spoken</p>	<p>Women are expected to perform all household and childcare related duties in the home; No physical touch between men and women in the presence of others; Men do not typically physically assist with meal preparation or chores; Women expected not to be employed outside of the home</p> <p>Dinka expected to send financial support (money) to family members in the Sudan or other countries, despite economic hardships in the U.S</p> <p>Physical and material surroundings and possessions indicative of economic hardships and lower socioeconomic status</p>
Church	<p>Verbal recognition of differences between the Dinka in the two</p>	<p>Women in Arabic church more involved than women in Dinka</p>

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

<p>churches as “the men and women who attend the Arabic church have lived more with the influence of the North (Sudan) and have more education while the Dinka church relies on old (South) ways and customs...”</p> <p>English and Arabic Spoken In Arabic Church; Dinka only Spoken in Dinka church</p>	<p>church in the service through song and prayer; male pastors given the greatest nonverbal respect from congregation(s) in both church settings</p> <p>Strict behavioral and social norm expectations for women and men in Dinka church; More relaxed social norms in Arabic church</p>
---	--

Community Meetings

<p>English, Dinka, and Arabic Spoken</p> <p>Verbal recognition of the need to work together as a “Sudanese community” regardless of tribe</p>	<p>Distinct applauding in agreement with statement to welcome all Sudanese to the meeting, while some (particular men) sat silently, many with their arms crossed in disagreement of unity</p> <p>Men expected to be served their meal first, followed by the women and children; Women and children sat together, separately from the men; Women maintain childcare duties in this context</p>
---	---

Memorial Services

<p>Open and frequent verbal recognition of Dr. John Garang in the history of the civil war involving the southern Sudanese</p> <p>Verbal use of war songs and tribal identification chants</p>	<p>All the women and younger children sat together on one side of the hall and all the men and older teenage boys sat together on the other side of the hall. Women spend most of the prior evening preparing the</p>
--	---

Conflict Discourse among Sudanese Dinka Refugees: Implications for Cross-Cultural Analysis and Resolution

prevalent in this setting	traditional Sudanese food for memorial services.
Men will openly and verbally chastise women for not following social and cultural norms	Family role expectations for women continue beyond death or termination of relationship. Women expected to serve in the role of hostess at this service and wear black or traditional African dress (depending on age)
English, Dinka, and Arabic Spoken	

10. Implications for Future Research

There are many implications in this study which are applicable for future research. I have effectively identified emerging themes of gender/sex role conflict, the spread of ethnic conflict and tribalism, economic and language conflicts, and validated the impact of identity, trauma, and transnationalism on Dinka conflict discourse. However, there are additional areas that need to be explored, particularly for conflict resolution practice. One area for future research is the actual application of the appreciative inquiry model along with the three culture specific factors as discussed in this research. While it would be interesting to see future research conducted specifically with the Dinka utilizing this approach, any non-Western refugee group resettling in the United States may indeed benefit and I encourage conflict resolution practitioners to consider this technique.

Another area for future research is to examine the implications of the spread of ethnic conflict and tribalism for training, as well as social service and law enforcement organizations. In particular, this research serves to inform these areas by establishing the varying communication dynamics and potential conflicts which can exist when political refugees from a culture of violence resettle in the United States. There has been minimal research completed

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

on how these issues can impact not only how the conflict is effectively managed but also how to provide comprehensive instruction for those professionals who work directly with these populations. Moreover, law enforcement and social services agencies can begin to more deeply examine and integrate these important cultural factors into their instructional training to better prepare officers and employees to work within culturally specific boundaries.

There are also other areas in which this research can inform conflict resolution practice. For practitioners who work specifically with women's issues, especially those in the violence prevention and intervention arena, this study may assist with future research on Dinka women and their coping strengths and struggles. On a larger scale, this study demonstrates the importance of recognizing the role of power in relationships and within community hierarchies and its influence on conflict. Likewise, for refugee resettlement agencies, this study can assist in future research on identifying potential areas for economic and language assistance. As more African refugees from a wide range of countries migrate to the United States, there will not only need to be a reexamination of culturally relevant conflict analysis and resolution practices, but also continued studies of how conflict communication deeply affects how we derive sound theory in our important work.

References

- Abusharaf, R. M. (2002). *Wanderings, Sudanese migrants and exiles in North America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Argyle, M. & Henderson, M. (1985). The rules of relationships. In S. Duck & D. Perlman (Eds.), *Understanding personal relationships: An interdisciplinary approach* (pp. 63-84). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Baucom, D.H., Epstein, N., Rankin, L.A., & Burnett, C.K. (1996). Assessing relationship standards: The inventory of specific relationship standards. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 10, 72-88.
- Berger, P.L. & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Doubleday.
- Boyar, S.L., Maertz, C.P., Jr., Pearson, A. W., & Keough, S. (2003). Work-family conflict: A model of linkages between work and family domain variables and turnover intentions. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 15, 175-191.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32, 513-531.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Carbaugh, D., Berry, M., and Nurmikari-Berry, M. (2006). Coding personhood through cultural terms. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, Vol. 23(3).
- Chung, L. C. & Ting-Toomey, S. (1999). Ethnic identity and relational expectations among Asian Americans. *Communication Research Reports*, Vol. 16 (2).
- Crouter, A. C., Bumpus, M.F., Head, M.R., & McHale, S.M. (2001). Implications of overwork and overload for the quality of men's family relationships. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62, 404-416.
- Deng, F. M. (1972). *The Dinka of the Sudan*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Deng, F. M. (1995). *War of visions: Conflict of identities in the Sudan*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Elsayed-Ekhouly, S.M., & Buda, R. (1996). Organizational conflict: A comparative analysis of conflict style across cultures. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 7, 71-81.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., and Shaw, L.L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Finlay, L. (2003). The reflexive journey: mapping multiple routes. In L. Finlay and B. Gough (Eds.) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for*

Tina Jaeckle, Flagler College
Alexia Georgakopoulos, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

- Researchers in Health and Social Sciences*. Oxford: Blackwell Science.
- Florida Department of Children and Families, Refugee Services, 2006.
- Gabrielidis, C. Stephen, W.G., Ybarra, O., Dos Santos Pearson, V.M. & Villareal, L. (1997). Preferred styles of conflict resolution: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 28, 661-667.
- Gwartyne-Gibbs, P.A., & Lach, D.H. (1991). Research report: Workplace dispute resolution and gender inequality. *Negotiation Journal*, 7, 1-9.
- Hecht, J. (2005). *The journey of the lost boys*. Jacksonville, FL: Allswell Press.
- Hunter, A. (1974). *Symbolic communities: The persistence and change of Chicago's local communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics. An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kawachi, I., Kennedy, B.P., Lochner, K., & Prothrow-Stith, D. (1997). Social capital, income inequality, and mortality. *American Journal of Public Health*, 87, 1491-1498.
- Kirby, E.L., Wieland, S. M., & McBride, M. C. (2006). Work/Life conflict. In John G. Oetzel & Stella Ting-Toomey (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of conflict communication: Integrating theory, research, and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Long, N.E. (1986). The city as a political community. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14, 72-80.
- McLeroy, K.R., Bibeau, D., Seckler, A. & Glantz, K. (1988). An ecological perspective on health promotion programs. *Health Education Quarterly*, 15, 351-377.
- Oetzel, J.G., Ting-Toomey, S. Masumoto, T. Yokochi, Y. Pan, X., Takai, J. & Wilcox, R. (2001). Face and facework in conflict: A cross-cultural comparison of China, Germany, Japan, and the United States. *Communication Monographs*, 68, 235-258.
- Oetzel, J.G. Arcos, B., Mabizela, P., Weinman, A.M., Zhang, Q. (2006). Historical, political, and spiritual factors of conflict: Understanding conflict perspectives and communication in the Muslim world, China, Colombia, and South Africa. In John G. Oetzel & Stella Ting-Toomey (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of conflict communication: Integrating theory, research, and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Ohbuchi, K. & Fukushima, O., Tedeschi, J.T.(1999). Cultural values in conflict management: Goal orientation, goal attainment, and

- tactical decision. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30, 51-71.
- Parker, E., Lichtenstein, R.L., Schultz, A.J., Israel, B. A., Schork, M.A., Steinman, K.J., & James, S.A. (2001). Disentangling measures of individual perceptions of community social dynamics: Results of a community survey. *Health Education and Behavior*, 28, 462-486.
- Philipsen, G. (1997). A theory of speech codes In *Developing Communication Theories*. G. Philipsen & Terrance Albrecht (Eds). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Philipsen, G. (1992). *Speaking culturally: Explorations in social communication*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Pinkley, R.L. (1990). Dimensions of conflict frame: Disputants interpretation of conflict. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 117-126.
- Roloff, M.E. & Miller, C.W. (2006). Social cognition approaches to understanding interpersonal conflict and communication. In John G. Oetzel & Stella Ting-Toomey (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of conflict communication: Integrating theory, research, and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Rousseau, D. M. & House, R.J. (1994). Meso organizational behavior: Avoiding three fundamental biases. In C.L. Cooper & D.M. Rousseau (Eds.) *Trends in Organizational Behavior* (Vol. 1, pp. 13-30). New York: John Wiley.
- Schank, R. & Abelson, R. (1977). *Scripts, plans, goals and understanding: An inquiry into human knowledge structures*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Svihel, Sharon, World Relief. 2006. Informal interview by author, 11 January.
- Ting-Toomey, S. & Oetzel, J. (2001). *Managing intercultural conflict effectively*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ting-Toomey, S. (1985) Toward a theory of conflict and culture. In W.B. Gudykunst, L.P. Stewart, and S. Ting-Toomey (Eds.), *Communication, culture, and organizational processes* (pp. 71-86). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Ting-Toomey, S. & Takai, J. (2006). Explaining intercultural conflict: Promising approaches and directions. In John G. Oetzel & Stella Ting-Toomey (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of conflict communication: Integrating theory, research, and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Weigel, D.J., Bennett, K.K., & Ballard-Reisch, D.S. (2003). Family influences on commitment: Examining the family of origin correlates of relationship commitment attitudes. *Personal Relationships*, 10, 453-474.

Tina Jaeckle, *Flagler College*
Alexia Georgakopoulos, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

- Williams, K.J., & Alliger, G.M. (1994). Role stressors, mood spillover, and perceptions of work-family conflict in employed parents. *Academy of Management Journal*, 37, 837-868.
- Witteman, H. (1988). Interpersonal problem-solving: Problem conceptualization and communication use. *Communication Monographs*, 55, 336-35

Self-Help as a Strategy for Rural Development in Nigeria: A Bottom-Up Approach

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University
(Abraka, Nigeria)

Abstract: *This paper is aimed at examining the imbalances in the living conditions of the urban and rural dwellers and the determination of the rural poor to bridge this gap through self-help development activities. The odds against rural development in Nigeria were rather immense. The configurations of government plans were tailored strictly to facilitate the exploitation of the natural resources of the rural areas for the development of the few urban centres. Consequently, most of the initial infrastructural development in Nigeria were skewed in favour of the urban areas to the detriment of the rural areas where the majority resided and inadvertently created a dualism. Since the government was “far” from the rural areas in terms of development and with the realization that government alone cannot provide all their needs, the people had to learn to “do-it-themselves”. This alternative strategy of self-help and the communitarian philosophy of the people has not only accelerated the level of growth but has also spread the benefits of development to the rural areas in Nigeria. However, where the government is properly playing its expected role, self-help activities should complement rural development and not replacing it.*

1. Introduction

One of the major characteristics of the developing countries is the increasing disparity between the urban and rural areas. This gap according to Igboeli (1992) has its roots in the neo-classical economic theories which presumed that “development can be accelerated by concentrating investments in the cities and that rural poverty will be ameliorated by the trickle down of benefits from the urban industrial growth”. With the so-called growth-centred strategy, the developing countries have continued to witness imbalances in the living conditions between the urban and rural dwellers. Consequently, development theories over the years have been searching for alternative strategies that

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abiraka, Nigeria)

would not only accelerate growth but also spread the benefits of development to the rural areas.

The distortion of Nigeria's development pattern has been sufficiently highlighted in the relevant literature. Aboyade (1980) has specifically decried the profound dualism between the urban and rural areas and the proportionate costs and consequences of rural infrastructural lag behind urban modernism. Onimode (1982) has even gone much further to pinpoint the historical origin of the dualism in contemporary Nigeria between the rural and urban areas. According to Onimode (1982:63) some eighty percent of the population in rural areas either had no medical services or made do with rudimentary facilities scattered over wide distances.

Olatunbosun's volume, *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, is an indictment of both colonial and independent governments not only for neglecting the majority who live in the rural areas but also for "milking them dry" for the benefits of the British metropolis and the urban minority in Nigeria. Nigeria's development financing has been derived mainly from direct and indirect taxation of rural people who have benefited little or nothing from economic development activities. The author argues for a radical change in priorities and in attitudes toward the rural sector as an economic and social necessity.

Similarly, Muoghalu (1992) contended that rural development has become a national imperative in Nigeria and gave the following reasons for his position. His first argument stems from the proportion of the national population resident in the rural areas of Nigeria. That in 1963 census, 80.7% of the national population were resident in the rural areas. By 1985, this proportion has gone down to 70.13% and by 1990; it is expected to drop to 69%. It is therefore clear that despite our high level of urbanization, Nigeria remains largely rural.

Secondly, is the realization that a dangerous gap exists in the development levels of both the urban and rural areas. This seems to be threatening the political and social stability of the country. Despite having the overwhelming proportion of our national population, the rural areas are characterized by pervasive and endemic poverty, manifested by widespread

hunger, malnutrition, poor health, general lack of access to formal education, livable housing and various forms of social and political solution compared with their urban counterparts.

Thirdly, it is being recognized that the problems of our urban centers cannot be solved unless those of the rural areas are solved, or at least contained. These problems emanated from the unprecedented rural-urban migration which in turn derives from rural stagnation or underdevelopment, poverty and unemployment. With our major cities growing at annual rates ranging from 5-17.5%, they suffer from severe pressures on available resources thereby worsening already bad situations in urban employment, management, service delivery and livability. The rural areas on the other hand experience labour and capital flight to the cities. Therefore, rural development is directed at both getting the migrants back to the rural areas and preventing further streams of migrants from leaving the rural areas.

Consequently, between 1973 and 2000, the federal government of Nigeria launched successively, five national rural development programmes with more than eight supportive schemes. The low level of infrastructural and human capital development of these rural areas is clear signs of the weaknesses and ineffectiveness of these programmes and schemes. The decay and worsening rural conditions and the attendant increasing rural-urban migration are evident in the long years of neglect of these areas.

Despite the efforts made in the past to effect rural development, the conditions of the rural dwellers have not improved, rather they have further deteriorated. It is against this background that the paper examines "self-help approach" as a veritable tool for sustainable rural development in Nigeria. Since the government (federal, state and local) was "far" from the rural areas in terms of development and with the realization that government alone cannot provide all their needs, the people had to learn to "do-it-themselves". However, where government is properly playing its expected role, self-help activities should complement rural development, not replacing it.

2. Self-Help Conceptualized

Community development includes all strategies, interventions or coordinated activities at the community level aimed at bringing about social and economic development. Idiode (1989) however asserted that three major approaches to community development in Nigeria have been identified – the extension approach, the project approach and the service approach. The extension approach involves directly teaching the rural people improved methods and techniques of either farming, health care or how to read and write. The Ministries of Agriculture and Health use this approach. The project approach to community development is generally motivated by the government's desire to improve the economic conditions in the rural areas. It is, therefore, characterized by the establishment of economic ventures, such as government farms or rural industries. In the government circles in Nigeria, the project approach to community development is usually referred to as “rural development.”

The service approach to community development calls for the active participation and initiative of the local people. Used as the main strategy for community development in Nigeria. The service approach concentrates on the provision of social amenities such as postal agencies, maternity centres, pipe-borne water, dispensaries, electricity and so on, in the rural areas. These are provided at the initiative of the community itself. The service approach to community development is known as “self-help” in Nigeria. It is at this level that self-help programmes are most apparent.

Self-help development according to Udoye (1992), should be both an object (what) and a process (how). As an object, it should be an induced change for the achievement of community improvement. As a process, it should be a well articulated programme and effort to assist individuals to acquire attitudes, skills and concepts required for their democratic participation in the effective solution of as wide a range of community improvement problems as possible, in order of priority determined by their increasing level of competence. For the United Nations (1956), it is the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with

those of the governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of the communities, to integrate these communities in the life of the nation and enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

Since development is an on-going process, there is probably no community in the world that would not benefit from further development (Sautoy, 1970). The initiative for the attainment of this process-goal equation could derive from several sources; the individual, the community, socio-cultural organizations, institutions, governments or the government acting in concert with any of these bodies. Self-help should have its roots fully entrenched within the socio-cultural and economic milieu within which it is to be practiced. It is the internal dynamics of these socio-cultural and political praxis that galvanise and strengthen motivation to achieve developmental goals. An improper articulation of this perspective may ultimately weaken group cohesion and hence, the propensity to achieve development targets.

For purposes of convenience and because of relatedness, community development and self-help will be used interchangeably in this paper to describe the service approach to community development. Besides, both terms are so used in the community development literature on Nigeria. The attention given to self-help in this paper stems from the fact that it enables us to identify, as a movement, the massive local involvement which has helped to popularize the initiatives of the rural people in efforts to develop their areas. More than ever before, self-help still attracts a great deal of attention in the rural areas as it is used by the people and the government as a sort of mobilizational force to induce the people to work together for the common good of their community.

3. Evolution of Self-Help Development Activities in Nigeria

That community participation in rural project development is an important element and a sure way to the speedy development of the rural areas in Nigeria is well attested to in development literature (Udoye, 1986 and 1987; Muoghalu, 1986; Okafor, 1984). The need to develop the rural areas and to a large extent, reduce the contrasting

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraha, Nigeria)

scenario of urban opulence and rural decadence has equally received ample documentation in literature (Hansen and Schulz, 1981). The evolution of the practice of self-help development activities has the following periodic dimensions; the pre-colonial, the colonial up to 1939, the period from 1940 to the Nigerian Civil War, the civil war years and the post civil war years to the present democratic settings.

Before the onset of colonial administration, communities across Nigeria had employed communal efforts as the mechanism for mobilizing community resources to provide physical improvement and functional facilities in the social, political and economic aspects of their lives. Communal labour was employed in constructing homesteads, clearing farm lands, roads or path way, construction of bridges and for the provision of other social infrastructural facilities required by the people. Some of the relevant institutions were the age-grades and the village councils. Though some of these institutions have persisted, the difference between self-help activities undertaken in the past and those prosecuted today are not hard to find. Differences exist in the scope of the operations, equipment utilized and the extent of government involvement.

As Idode (1989) observed, in the past, self help efforts in Nigeria particularly in Bendel State now Edo and Delta States mainly related to the construction of footpaths or roads, dredging of rivers and streams, clearing of public land and market places. Later, Idode further observed, the scope of operation included the building of schools and market stalls. Projects such as pipe-borne water, road tarring, dispensaries, cottage hospitals and so on, were not usually attempted. Furthermore he continued, equipment used was simple; hoes, cutlasses, diggers and shovels were generally utilized. The construction of walls did not follow any standard measurements as the people used their imagination to plan and construct such projects. At this stage, there was little or no government involvement as the planning and execution of these self-help projects was the sole responsibility of the people. Where the government was involved at all, was for the purposes of taking over completed projects for operation or maintenance. But where neither

the state government nor the local government councils were interested in such project, the missionaries took over.

During the colonial period, community development efforts took a compulsive and coercive turn. The alien governmental apparatus with its clientele (Warrant Chief) arrangement, extorted taxes and compulsory labour from the people. Taxation by itself questioned the rationality of further labour conscription for road and other infrastructural development at the instance of the District Commissioner. The contradictions in the new development effort, therefore, did not fire the corporate imagination of the people and this was given expression by the tax debacle of 1929, popularly known as the Aba women riot. It questioned the whole essence of the tax laws as established then, the imposition of the Roads and River Ordinance and the apparent shirking of development responsibility by a government that had already extorted taxes for this purpose.

Apart from the establishment of governmental exploitative infrastructural apparatus, linking the major seats of government through forced labour, no serious self-help programmes eliciting popular participation was encouraged. Any development that occurred was a by-product of profit (Hancock, 1942). Nonetheless at very local levels, the family, interfamily and village settings, the pre-colonial trappings of mutual assistance through self-help persisted for the construction of homesteads, clearing farmlands, clearing water points and for providing other socially felt needs. Church organizations were also able to cooperate with members for the building of schools.

By the late 1940's however, an element of modern community concept in rural development was introduced in the form of mass mobilization for self-help activities. This was heralded by the abrogation in Britain of the Colonial Development Act which was replaced by the Development and Welfare Act in 1939. As rightly noted by Arndt, (1981), this gave a positive economic and social content to the philosophy of colonial trusteeship by affirming the need for minimum standards of nutrition health and education. At the local level, the earlier Native Authority Councils were replaced by the Country Council. Suffice it to say that this development led to the establishment of Community Development Division at the local level and thus became an

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraha, Nigeria)

important organ of government, charged with the responsibility of channeling and coordinating the efforts of the people towards promoting social and economic development (Onwuzuluike, 1987). The Development and Welfare Fund provided for the colonies by the British Government was thus able to permeate to the grassroots level through this third tier of government..

By the late 1940's however, an element of modern community concept in rural development was introduced in the form of mass mobilization for self-help activities. This was heralded by the abrogation in Britain of the Colonial Development Act which was replaced by the Development and Welfare Act in 1939. As rightly noted by Arndt (1981) this gave a positive economic and social content to the philosophy of colonial trusteeship by affirming the need for minimum standards of nutrition, health and education. At the local level, the earlier native authority councils were replaced by the Country Council. Suffice it to say that this development led to the establishment of Community Development Division at the local level and thus became an important organ of government, charged with the responsibility of channeling and coordinating the efforts of the people towards promoting social and economic development (Onwuzuluike, 1987). The Development and Welfare Fund provided for the colonies by the British Government was thus able to permeate to the grassroots level, through this third tier of government

By the beginning of the war in 1967, the observations of Sir James Robertson, aptly typified the state of development needs and awareness and the immense role the governments expected self-help activities to play to compliment their efforts. After the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), the need for massive reconstruction work further aroused the people a revival of the spirit of self-help which is deeply rooted in their rich traditions. Most communities realized that the only way for immediate reconstruction of the war ravaged facilities was through self-help. This period also marked the evolution of a multiplicity of social clubs with aims consonant with social insurance and self-help. Further efforts by government to motivate development at the grassroots, led to the enactment of the 1976 Local

Government Reform to create new growth centres for further spatial spread of development. In addition is the creation at the state level of local government service commission, the conferment of wider powers and functions to the Local Governments by the 1979 constitution and the enactment of the special Development Fund Law, aimed at generating more funds for community development at the local level. Thus, deliberate government support became necessary to increase the spate of development activities by the various communities.

The period between 1973 and 2007 marked a watershed in rural development efforts in Nigeria. The period witnessed deliberate government efforts at mobilizing the people for rural development. A number of task forces and bodies were set up to oversee, organize and to direct partnership with the people on self-help activities. They include: Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural infrastructure (DFRRI), Rural Electrification Schemes; Credit Schemes to small holders through various specialized institutions such as People's Bank, Agricultural and Cooperative Development Bank, Community Banks, NERFUND, SME Credit Schemes, the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP), Universal Primary Education Schemes and Low Cost Housing Schemes, Health Scheme as the Primary Health Care Programme, National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Better Life for Rural Women Programme as well as the Family Support Programme (FSP).

More recent programmes include the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) as well as the Small and Medium Industries Equity Investment Schemes (SMIEIS). The various state governments had also articulated blue-prints on rural development, adopting the Integrated Rural Development Strategy as their strategic option to carry development to the masses of the people. From the foregoing historical analysis, two principles underlying self-help activities have emerged. These are (a) the principle of individual and corporate survival and (b) the principle of societal "felt need". These two principles have variously acted as the motive force in organizing and mobilizing the people in their pursuit of self development.

4. Lessons From Experience in Delta State: Self-help Activities Among Communities in Urhoboland

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraha, Nigeria)

This study so far has made exposition of the inner dynamics of self-help programmes in Nigeria. It has also established the fact that the survival instinct and the societal felt-needs inform most self-help activities. This community-based or community-dictated development approach involves the movement of the people designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation of, and if possible on the initiative of the community concerned. According to Dunham (1970:172), community development is not concerned with anyone aspect of life such as agriculture, business, health or education: it is concerned with the total community life and needs. Ideally, it involves all the members of the community and requires their fullest participation in first making and then implementing decisions. The people work together to shape their future. As Williams (1978:16) asserted, community development entails that the people themselves exert (their own efforts along side those of government authorities to improve their economic, social and cultural conditions. Okafor (1984) however observed that if the initiative is not forthcoming from members of the community concerned, then the government can stimulate their interest through various strategies, including enlightenment campaigns, the initiation of projects and financial aid for specific projects.

Williams (1978: 17) has identified four essential elements in the complex process of community development: "(a) it encourages analysis of local problems with a view to improving the level of living and as much as possible on the initiative of those concerned; (b) it provides technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative and cooperation; (c) it considers the local community, the basic unit for planning and development; and (d) it diffuses the decision-making power by emphasizing the principle that those affected by community change should themselves select and manage such change."

The contribution of self-help development activities to rural development depends largely on the existence of committed local leaders in the rural areas concerned as well

as the extent to which government encourages local planning and participation. The wide variations in the scope and impact of self-help activities on the welfare of rural dwellers in different parts of the study areas, reflect the nature of community leadership and their inclination towards self-help programmes. This implies that in those areas where there are no effective self-help groups, community development activities have not made much impact on the social welfare of the rural population.

It is often taken for granted that people in the local communities will at one level or the other participate in the development of their communities. Little attention is therefore paid to their level of participation and the outsiders be it government, planners, companies and individuals carry on the development business as if the community is the problem and they are the solution. The result of this, as expected is that most projects designed by the government to develop these rural areas, often fail to achieve totally the set objectives.

Every community has a traditional structure to ensure the participation of inhabitants in projects and programmes that have positive effects on the life of the majority. It has been established in this study that projects identified, planned, executed and managed by the community themselves; outlive those imposed by a benefactor with little or no community participation. Sustainable development is what every community wants, and as of right deserve; anything less is not development. Our concern now, is to apply same to definite self-help activities of communities to see the impact of these dynamic forces in the attainment of projected goals.

This section is the outcome of data collected in 2006 and 2007, in which 280 people in twenty communities in Ethiope East and West local Government Areas, were interviewed (11 communities in Ethiope East and 9 communities in Ethiope West, tables 1 and 2). This was to assess the level of community participation in development in the areas, as reflected in tables 1 and 2 below. Moreover, it also provides an overview of the nature of community development efforts especially their perception of what

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraka, Nigeria)

constitute their development, identification of problems/needs to the final stage of achieving the set goals. In all, 150 and 130 respondents came from Ethiope East and West respectively (tables 1 and 2).

Table1: Respondents interviewed on Community Participation in Development (Ethiope East local Government Area).

Communities	No of respondents	Male	Female	L.G.A	Total
Umeghe	9	5	4	Ethiope East	9
Ekrejeta	20	16	4	“	20
Erho	10	6	4	“	10
Ekue	15	8	7	“	15
Igun	17	12	5	“	17
Samagidi	10	6	4	“	10
Oviorie	18	12	6	“	18
Isiokolo	15	10	5	“	15
Okpara Inland	14	9	5	“	14
Orhoakpo	12	8	4	“	12
Kokori	10	5	5	“	10
Total	150	97	53		150

Table 2: Respondents interviewed on community participation in Development (Ethiope West Local Government Area)

Communities	No of	Male	Female	L.G.A	Total
--------------------	--------------	-------------	---------------	--------------	--------------

Self-Help as a Strategy for Rural Development in Nigeria: A Bottom-Up Approach

	respondents		le		
Ovade	12	9	7	Ethiope West	12
Ugbenu	14	9	5	“	14
Oghara junction	15	10	5	“	15
Ijomi	10	7	3	“	10
Idjerhe town	15	9	6	“	15
Irhodo	12	8	4	“	12
Okueka	9	5	4	“	9
Okuodibo	10	7	3	“	10
Otumara	12	8	4	“	12
Total	130				130

Tables 3 and 4 below show self-help projects carried out by some communities in Ethiope East and West Local Government Areas respectively. These communities did not receive any support from either the local, state or federal governments in executing the projects. According to Chief Mebradu Johnson:

“The projects were executed by the communities through the money realized from fund raising for such projects, donations, fines and so on”.

“Similarly, the projects executed in our community (Urhuoka) was through the sweat and commitment of and those who were fortunate to get political appointment” (Chief Onyewoko G., personal communication, 2008).

The tables show that of the 395 projects undertaken in the 20 communities, 68 were roads and bridges projects; 48 were educational projects; non were agricultural projects; 19 were civic center projects; 21 were market and motor park project; 9 water projects; 6 were health projects, 9 were communication projects and 15 were drainage projects.

The tables also show that in the study area, development projects are dominated by projects such as water supply projects, road, education, market and motor

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraka, Nigeria)

park, civic center projects and health care. Pastor Oghenekaro, J. Moses Uge, madam Ejovwoke, R. contended that: “the projects reflected the felt needs of the people, hence the emphasis on them”. The pattern that emerges from these, is that, in terms of number, the communities preferences are reflected on the projects they embarked upon. It is vital to note that agriculture is not reflected in all the projects executed by the communities studied.

Table 3: Self-Help projects in some communities in Ethiope East Local Government Area.

Community	Roads & Bridges	Markers	Dispensary	Hospital	Postal agency	Grammar school	Primary school	Town halls	Coop fishing	Maternity	Wells & water tanks	Pipe borne water	Public latrine	Fish pool
Urhuoka	4	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	6	-	-
Oria	4	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	5	-	-
Ekue	5	2	-	1	-	2	2	1	-	4	-	4	-	-
Kokori	3	2	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	15	2	-	-
Orhoakpo	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	5	2	-	-
Okpara Inland	5	1	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
Ovu	3	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
Okpara Waterside	3	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	-	-
Okurekpo	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	-	-
Igun	2	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	-	-

Self-Help as a Strategy for Rural Development in Nigeria: A Bottom-Up Approach

Total	33	12	-	-	6	12	14	10	-	4	20	37	-	-
-------	----	----	---	---	---	----	----	----	---	---	----	----	---	---

Table 4: Self-Help projects in some communities in Ethiope West Local Government Area.

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraha, Nigeria)

Community	Roads & Bridges	Markers	Dispensary	Hospital	Postal agency	Grammar school	Primary school	Town halls	Coop fishing	Maternity	Wells & water tanks	Pipe borne water	Public latrine	Fish pool
Orhokpoko	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	5	4	-	-
Idjerhe town	4	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	15	6	-	-
Ejenesa	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	9	2	-	-
Irodo	4	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	12	4	-	-
Okuemore	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	6	4	-	-
Mosogar	4	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	8	6	-	-
Ogharefe	5	1	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	11	9	-	-
Oghareki	3	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	10	10	-	-
Ajamuonya vwe	4	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	9	8	-	-

This confirms the position of Okpala (1980) that rural communities have different perceptions from that of the government as to what constitutes their development and as such they do not share government's enthusiasm for agricultural development. The communities undertake other

types of projects that they think are more relevant to their felt needs and aspirations. *Idjerhe, Ekrejeta, Ori, Samagidi, Ovu, Eku, Igun, Kokiori, Irodo, Mosogar, okpara and Oghara* comities believe:

that development, entails a wide range of mixed activities and programmes include projects to improve health and education, to expand and improve transportation and communication and to improve the general civic infrastructures.

In fact, rural communities do not voluntarily set up agricultural projects. It is clear from respondents and personal observation that development projects will, of course, vary with the requirements and priorities of the community involved. One of the respondents (Mr. Okobia Samson) who is a student suggests "the need to make a distinction between rural development and agricultural development".

The respondents also gave reasons for the success of self-help projects embarked upon in the area. First, that the development projects were an expression of the people's preference, to which they want to spend their money and energies on. Such decisions were largely influenced by the prevailing local environment and what the people consider to be their pressing needs. Secondly, the people derived special satisfaction from projects which they plan and execute through communal labour. They see themselves as being part and parcel of the community and actively contributing to its development. They are also delighted to see the practical fruits of their collective endeavour. Thirdly, the high rate of embezzlement of public funds, which usually characterized the failure of governments in Nigeria, is avoided in self-help activities because the publicity given to the projects and the collective nature of the contributions reduce the chances of misappropriation. These views are similar to those of Idode (1989) on his reasons for the success in self-help projects in the then Bendel State.

Among the communities studied, participation in community activities can be determined in several ways. First, activities that are carried out essentially at individual

**Akpomuvie, Orioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abiraka,
Nigeria)**

and family levels, second, activities involving community participation and thirdly membership in community based organizations.

As this study has demonstrated, there are many such organizations in all communities in Urhoboland, ranging from social clubs (Elite Club at *Okpara* Waterside and *Ighene* Club at *Ekue*), to service and church organizations to mutual assistance organizations. Of the respondents interviewed in the area, (52%) belong to at least one community based organisation and many of them belong to more than one. Men and women belong to such organizations (48% are men while women have 42%). While the remaining 10% are indifferent to such organizations.

In addition to membership, interest in community matters is shown through contributions to local projects. In the 2006 survey, 40% respondents reported that they had contributed to least one project. More men than women reported such contributions. As to the type of projects, some respondents (Egbegbedia Thomas, Ukere John, Ajamo Eko and Umude Uvo). simply said "the development of the town" while others specified projects such as community secondary schools, the *ovie's* palace and others. The most commonly reported way of contributing, was to donate money. (78% made financial of those who contribution while 22% contributed their service.

Self-help projects have been successful in Urhoboland simply because, participants see them as their own, meeting and satisfying their needs. As such 100% involvement is the case from conception to execution and sustenance of the facilities.

In this study, we have seen how roads, bridges, schools, maternity centers, post offices/postal agencies and town halls have been completed through self-help by the local people through their various socio-cultural associations. However, the practice of leaving the rural areas to cater for themselves through self-help tended to improve the lots of the relatively rich communities who were able to contribute more for the execution of self-help development project. As was the case for *Mosogar*, *Oghara* and to a lesser extent, *Okpara Inland*.

This was one of the reasons that led the then Bendel State Government to appoint Nwanwene Committee to review the matching grant principle under the “development administration” system in 1975. The recommendations of the committee according to Idode (1989), were overtaken by the local government reforms of 1976 which abolished the development administration system. In any case, the unpublished report, called for a review of the matching grant principle. Since 1977, the principles of quota and equality have guided the award of grants-in-aid for self-help projects in the then Bendel State. Under the new arrangement, the estimated cost of a project may influence the amount of grant paid but the overwhelming criterion was the principle of equality.

Idode (1989) however, observed that the mere introduction of a more equitable system of grant-in-aid did not solve the problem of inequalities among rural communities. According to him, the richer communities were still able to contribute more towards self-help projects and thus widen the gap between them and the poorer communities. He further contended that the government needed to ensure that adequate grants were paid to all communities and encourage them to work harder for the development of their areas, take appropriate steps to site some viable projects in poorer communities as a means of improving the standard of living in such areas. Good roads, health centers, small scale industrial projects are some of the projects that can be contemplated.

The involvement of everyone or nearly everyone in their community and commitment to assisting it, does not mean that there are no conflicts or tensions. On a general note, Urhobo communities are not homogenous. They are rather complex with varying groups and factions. Even the smallest of the communities, has the potential for division along various structural lines; family and kinship networks, religious affiliations, occupations and what have you. However, key potential sources of tension and conflict within communities are the struggle for *Ovieship* (kingship) or chieftaincy titles and land disputes. Good examples of these cases are the *Idjerhe* and *Mosogar* on one hand and *Umiaghwa* Abraka and *Oruarivie* in Abraka Clan on the other hand. Others include differences between those who are

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraka, Nigeria)

living at home and those outside and between the wealthy elite and the ordinary “grassroots” community members. Conflicts can also result from perceptions that individuals are not fulfilling their obligations to the community. There is also the potential for conflict or disagreement over the setting of the agenda for development.

The Urhobo of Delta State have a framework of laid-down conventions or rules by which conflicts are resolved or managed. They also have a body of rules that define and quality people’s relationships with each other and the state. These rules and regulations form the law of the land. In such communities, there may not be a written constitution, the basic set of standards which individual members have been socialized from childhood to conform to and from which other standards in the culture derive, become the framework of conflict management and regulation. For example, conflicts arising within communities such as struggle for overship(kingship) or chieftaincy titles and land disputes are resolved by the “Elders’ Council” at the instance of the community development agents.

The symbolism of authoritative decisions associated with elders’ cultural trusteeship and customary practices, has sustained conflict resolution and management in Urhoboland. The constitution of the king –in- council or of village or town councils and their legitimacy of interventions in conflict situations, are well known events in various communities in the area.

The elders according to Orite and Albert (2001) may not have physical power to enforce decisions but rely on the leaders of the various age- grades or youth associations to bring about and monitor peace on the basis of the negotiated terms in particular conflicts or of the known institutionalized forms of conflict management. Kings and chiefs of various designations and statues, practice their indigenous cultures admirably in resolving, managing and transforming conflicts within and between their domains. Yet, those who disagree with the verdict of these functionaries proceed freely to settle their conflicts in the modern westernized sector, for example the courts. This was the case between Umiaghwa in Abraka and Oruarivie in Abraka clan over their struggle for oviership (Kingship).

Town councils are also agents of conflict prevention, resolution, transformation or management within and between communities. The basis for this mode of intervention is the people's surviving confidence, trust and reliance on culture as a means of rallying and mobilizing people to behave in patterned ways, a condition which can thus be used to handle conflict problems at the ethnic or inter-ethnic levels.

5. Conclusion

On the basis of the foregoing discussions, a conclusion could be reached that self-help is a relevant strategy for rural development in Nigeria. Like the cooperative movement, the self-help movement in many parts of Nigeria rest on the rich tradition of the people. We found also that local communities in Urhoboland in Delta State and other states in Nigeria, have been undertaking self-help projects from time immemorial. But the latest development in self-help activities is the partnership which the government now forms with the people.

It has been established that there is a relationship between time related events and the motive force that sustained self-help development activities in Urhoboland in Delta State. These motive forces have been idealized to relate to (a) the instinct of self and corporate survival and (b) the societal felt need. It is these two principles, which are known to vary spatially and temporally, that govern the inner dynamics of self-help activities and thus dictate the observed spatial variations in the attainment of economic well-being.

In self-help strategy, intrinsic value is accorded to participation. This is reflected in the opinions of development scholars that if development is to benefit the people, they must participate in planning and implementing their development plans. In some communities, most people are mere participants in self-help activities but do not in the actual sense play a meaningful role in initiating and controlling development projects in their own interest. Community elites do not often perceive their interests as identical with those of the community as a whole though

Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraka, Nigeria)

sometimes they contribute more than their share both in terms of financial contributions and individual efforts.

Furthermore, people's participation cannot be said to have increased when some development projects were imposed on them by outsiders who may be ignorant of the real needs of the communities. In most cases, particularly where technical assistance or matching grants are made available to the self-help groups, bureaucratic control over decision making becomes a prominent feature of self-help activities.

Lastly, the success of self-help efforts in Nigeria is sometimes hindered by the corrupt attitude of both development officials and the community elite. It is a common feature to hear of various situations where the rural elite spearhead self-help projects as an avenue for self enrichment and political gains. Community development officials in like manner, fall victim to the same offence by receiving grafts to render services which are supposed to be given free of charge.

References

- Aboyade, O. (1980), "Nigerian Public Enterprises as an Organizational Dilemma". Pp. 83-97 Colins, p(ed) Administration for Development Nigeria. Lagos: Africa Education Press.
- Akpomivie, B.O. (2009). Socio-Cultural Associations and the Development of Urhoboland, Delta State, Nigeria. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
- Arndt, H.W. (1981). Economic Development; A Semantic History. *Economic Development and Culture Change*, 29(3): 45 7-466.
- Aziz, S. (1978). *Rural Development: Learning from China*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Dunham, A (1970), *The Community Organization*. New York; Gowell.
- Hancock, W.K. (1942). Survey of the British Commonwealth Affairs. *Problems of Economic Policy*, 1918-1939, 2:267.
- Hansen, W. and Schulz, B. (1981). Imperialism, Dependency and Social Class. *Africa Today*. 29(3) 5-36.
- Idode, J.B. (1989). *Rural Development and Bureaucracy in Nigeria*. Ibadan; Longman Nigeria.
- Igboeli, M.O. (1992). "Self-help as a Strategy for Rural Development: A Critique" in Olisa, M.S.O. and Obiukwu, J.I. (eds), *Rural Development in Nigeria: Dynamics and Strategy*. Awka; Mekslink Publishers.
- Muoghalu, L.N. (1992). "Rural Development in Nigeria: A Review of Previous Initiatives" in Olisa, M.S.O. and Obiukwu, J.I. (eds) *Rural Development in Nigeria: Dynamics and strategies*: Awka; Meklinks Publishers.
- Okpala, D.C.I. (1980). Towards a Better Conceptualization of Rural Community Development; Empirical Findings from Nigeria. *Human Organisation*, 39(2): 161-167. society for Applied Anthropology.
- Okafor, F.C (1984a), "Dimensions of Community Development Projects in Bendel State, Nigeria". *Public Administration and Development*, 4:249-258.
- Okafor, F.C (1984c), " Integrated Rural Development Planning in Nigeria: A Spatial Dimension" *Cahiers d, Etudes Africaene*, 20:83-95.
- Olatubosun, D. (1975). *Nigerian Neglected Rural Majority*. Ibadan; Oxford University Press.
- Onimode, B. (1982). *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria. The Dialectics of Mass Poverty*. London: Zed Press.
- Onokerhoraye, A. G and Okafor, F.C (1994), *Rural Development and Planning for Africa*. Benin-City: University of Benin Press.
- Onwuzulike, P.N. (1987). *Community Development in Adazi-Nnukwu*. Unpublished N.C.E. Project.

***Akpomuvie, Orhioghene Benedict, Delta State University (Abraka,
Nigeria)***

- Otite, O (2001), *Aspects of Conflicts in Theory and Practice in Nigeria*” in Otite, O. and Albert, I.O (eds), *Community Conflicts in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Robertson, J. (1963). *The Challenge of Underdeveloped Territories*. *Journal of African Affairs*, 62(248): 236-244.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Dares Salam: Tanzanian Publishing House.
- Udoye, E.E. (1992). “Grassroots Involvement in Rural Development” in Olisa, M.S.O. and Obiukwu, J.I. (eds) *Rural Development in Nigeria: Dynamics and Strategies*. Awka; Mekslink Publishers.
- United Nations Organisation (1956). *Twentieth Report of the Administrative Committee on Coordination to the Economic and Social Council*, 24th Session, Anex III, Docuemtn E/2931, Oct 18.
- Waterson, A. (1965). *Development Planning: Lesson of Experience*. Baltimore; John Hopkin University Press.
- Williams, G. (1976). *Nigeria Economy and History*. London; Rex Collins
- Williams, S.K.T. (1978). *Rural Development in Nigeria*. Ife; University of Ife Press.

Dramatic Problem Solving: Transforming Community Conflict through Performance in Costa Rica

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

1. Introduction

This study is an examination of how Dramatic Problem Solving (DPS), an interactive theatre based facilitation was implemented in a community with the goal of structural conflict transformation at a community, interpersonal, and intrapersonal level. By incorporating action research in a study of a theatre based facilitation model, the study merges the fields of conflict resolution with performance studies. The study's focus is praxis, equally examining theory, process and outcomes. The field of facilitated conflict resolution has often focused on process (Frey, 2003; Broome, 2003; Schwarz, 2005). The field of performance has often focused on the external expression and final outcome (Schechner, 2003; Park-Fuller, 2005). By combining performance studies, theatre for social change, and facilitation, this study provides an example of transdisciplinary research that is the hallmark of both conflict analysis and resolution and performance studies.

The study took place in La Carpio, a neighborhood composed of mainly Nicaraguan immigrants, in San Jose, Costa Rica. Performance Studies provided key theoretical insights into the formation of the analysis of the DPS model. The concept of liminality, that space created during ritual and performance that is in between the present and the future (Yancey, 2009; Golden, 2009) and *communitas*, the spontaneous moment when the individual members of the group become focused on the larger needs of the group and new, unforeseen actions are created via that energy

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

(Schechner, 2003), were key for applying performance theory to the conflict resolution workshop model studied.

This study provides a bridge between the structured group facilitation conflict resolution models (Lederach, 2007; Broome, 2003) and the more free-flowing, interpretive nature of the performing arts (Grady, 2004; Marin, 2005; Mitchell, 2007). This was made possible by the use of a qualitative, participatory action research model that asked participants to be both informants and agents of change (Herr & Anderson, 2006). The theatre provides a space for this change to take form in a playful, safe, facilitated space. Several studies have looked at the ways theatre and theatre based exercises can be used for conflict analysis and resolution, often in the educational setting (Pecaski MacLennan, 2008; Schroeter, 2009; Snyder, 2008). This study looks at ways issues based theatre works in the community setting for conflict resolution.

Research participants were led through the DPS process, following a series of exercises and processes to identify a problem, look at the root causes of it, design a plan of actions to transform the conflict, implement the plan, and imagine and plan next steps for an ongoing process of community action. This examination of the full action research cycle with TO groups was lacking in the research. Though recently more scholars are beginning to think about TO in an academic light (Sun, 2009; Smith, 2006; Schroeter, 2009; Pecaski MacLennan, 2008), a study that involved follow up with a structured action plan within the TO framework did not exist prior to this study.

Performance Studies is focused on understanding the ways performances create and sustain meaning in a society (Taylor, 2002). Victor Turner believed in the power of performance to create liminality. The liminal, as defined by Turner, is a space or threshold that is created by ritual and performance where the norms of culture can be changed and broken by the actors. The creative, theatre based exercises and the performances within the research described here sought to provide the participants and the community a chance to examine a conflict in a "liminal phase" (1982, 27). During these times of liminality the participants can try on new identities, new behaviors and ways of dealing with

conflicts, themselves, and others. "This intermediary space ... is where symbolic realization takes place before it is transformed into everyday life" (Feldhendler, 1994, 104).

Schechner discussed the importance of liminality in performance. Schechner's group, as did Turner's original ethnodrama conception, used a workshop model (1998; 2003). This performance workshop is parallel to the conflict resolution workshop models proposed by Lederach (1997) and Schwarz (2002; 2005). In these, the facilitator works to create rapport, and a space of safety, trust, and honesty where people can be open and "discuss undiscussable issues" (2002, p. 97). Schechner argued that by getting the group to this level of confidence, in a liminal space where roles and past actions are seen as changeable, the group can work to transform conflicts. The workshop works, according to Schechner, as a way, "of re-creating, at least temporarily, some of the intimacy and security of small, autonomous cultural groups ... The aim of the workshop is to construct an environment where rational, arational, and irrational behavior exist in balance ... leading to expressive, symbolic, playful, ritualized, 'scripted' behavior. It is my opinion that workshops are more important than most people dream of" (2003, p. 110). All of the above components, clarity, goal setting, trust, creativity, liminality, and intimacy are important aspects of the DPS workshop model.

The workshop and the liminal space created can lead to what Turner called "communitas" (1982, p. 45). It is in this space, where Schechner states that there group may experience a, "leveling of all differences" (2003, p. 128). Through the ability of the workshop and the performative to create a liminal space in which communitas can happen and new, unthought-of consensus based agreements can result in a completely different set of actions taken by the participants in their lives following this experience.

Diana Taylor's contributions are important for this study because she focuses on two central aspects of the study, Latin American performance and the role of women in performing meaning (Taylor, 2002; 2004). Taylor delineates between the archive and the repertoire with the former being the written, archival theatre that is found on proscenium stages and the latter being that which is created in cultures through the performance of rituals, protests. Often, these are

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

acts taken on by members of groups with limited agency or the oppressed. This repertoire, argued Taylor, is what allows for these groups to have a voice. Her study of women, *Holy Terrors* (2004) and their wide ranging performances of gender roles and issues showed how this type of theatre could be used to question, threaten, provoke and change. The community based efforts of people trying to bring about community change through theatre is an act of performance; is part of the repertoire. The archive is reserved for the groups in power, for those with the highest levels of agency within the culture. This study, by involving immigrant women at the grass roots, seeks a better understanding of the repertoire. It asks the questions that Taylor does. Such as, what are the everyday performances of these women? What are their roles? Through an explicit performance of them there can be a challenging of the current order, a fresh look at the conflict.

One of the strengths of theatre based facilitated problem solving model is the way performance can make physical and real what is often unspoken or hidden. Cultures depend on signs being understood by everyone in the group and not questioning them. Theatre heavily utilizes signs and gestures as a way of presenting a point. Brecht spoke of the *gestus*, “the attitudes which people adopt towards one another” (2001, p. 86), stated through bodily expression. The various masks worn by people as they move through their lives can be taken off, put on others, and examined through theatre. Theatre is “transformational, creating or incarnating in a theatre what cannot take place anywhere else” (2003, p. 186).

With the Theatre of the Oppressed, the Brazilian Augusto Boal followed the line of Brecht’s Epic Theatre (Mumford, 2009), Grotowski’s Poor Theatre (Slowiak & Cuesta, 2008), and Schechner’s Performance Group (Schechner, 2003), in the desire to create a theatre that engaged and incited the public to thought and action. This work created what Sandi Diaz has called the anti-scenario. These “anti-scenarios provoke debate among audiences and question social and political structures, helping to bring about social change” (2007, p. 4). The TO, “is a system of physical exercises, aesthetic games, image techniques and

special improvisations whose goal is to safeguard, develop and reshape this human vocation, by turning the practice of theatre into an effective tool for the comprehension of social and personal problems and the search for their solutions” (Boal, 1995, p. 15). The system includes Image Theatre, Forum Theatre, Cop in the Head, Rainbow of Desire, Invisible Theatre, and Legislative Theatre (Boal, 1979; 1995; 1998, 2006; Baiocchi, 2006).

Storytelling is another aspect of performance that was part of the DPS model studied here. Storytelling is less formal and requires less traditional acting on the part of the participants. As Byrne and Senehi suggest, storytelling is low tech, a skill that is easy to attain, “everybody gets it” (2004) Zelizer found that storytelling and performance based sharing in post-war Bosnia between Bosnians and Serbs, Christians and Muslims, led to increased understanding. Performance was seen as central to coping with large scale conflict both during the war and post-war (2003). This demonstrated the power of performance to provide for the catharsis and metaxis necessary for carrying on in situations of conflict.

DPS combined the traditional facilitation models and behaviors as described by Schwarz (2002; 2005), Justice & Jamieson (1999), and Broome (2003), with the TO facilitation model known as the Joker system (Schutzman, 2006; Bentley, 2001; Boal, 1979). The Joker system originated in the Arena Theatre of Sao Paolo, Brazil. The Joker an on stage facilitator acting as narrator, commentator, a person with the power to stop the action, take the role of any other actor, and propose immediate and unexpected changes to the scene. How the performance went depended greatly on the Joker’s interventions, knowledge, energy, connection with the group, ability to ask questions and provide relevant information. He or she would frame the issues in new ways for the public to consider (Schutzman, 2006). These are all important tasks of any group facilitator.

As Boal and others developed this work into the current system of the TO, the Joker took on the role of facilitating the entrance and exit of the spectators into the scenes during Forum Theatre performances. In this new format the power of the Joker is given over to the spectators, or in Boal’s term, the spect-actors (Schutzman, 2006; Popen,

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

2006). Bentley's interviews with six of the major TO practitioners in North America revealed that they have had to adapt their practices based on the needs of the participants. The TO Joker must be flexible in the face of changing participant groups and varied social and political contexts (2001). This represented a shift from the original design to a more participant led design; an even more dialogic approach to facilitated performance.

Recent studies of TO have revealed applications of the model in varied settings. Snyder (Snyder, 2008) studied adolescents and their identities. That study focused on the specific nature of the antagonists in the lives of the participants. The participants worked to identify their personal antagonists, those that were actively working to block their progress. The study also had the participants explore their inner antagonists, the "cops in the head" from Boal's structure (Snyder, 2008, Boal, 1995). Marin (2005) worked with Latina adolescents on issues of identity. Her study was an important mirror for this study as it worked with Latinas in the US exploring their own identities through Boal's work. Her results were summed up thus, "By creating an environment for emancipatory pedagogy, the study opened up a space for the participants to critically reflect on their own perceptions of how society portrays Lateen@s as a subculture. Through praxis, a symbiotic relationship between theory and action, the young people involved in this study have awakened in themselves a critical consciousness, described by educational theorist Paulo Freire as essential for social change" (3).

Sun (2009) completed a study on the use of theatre by preschoolers to promote breast cancer education and awareness among Chinese immigrant women. The results showed that women's awareness and knowledge about the guidelines for breast cancer screening were significantly increased. This study provides insight to the present study as it demonstrates another study using theatre for breast cancer awareness. It was shown to be a highly effective tool to increase awareness of the Susan G. Komen breast health guidelines. Rollin & Gabriel (2002) applied TO in their action research project resulted in a manual for use in a sexual health education program that featured Boal's techniques,

specifically Forum Theatre. The project was used in Guinea with refugees from Sierra Leone to perform trainings for facilitators and then about sexual health for youth refugees. The study stressed the importance of the necessary health services in conjunction with the information and dialogue that comes from the play.

All of the above referenced research indicated that scholars increasingly recognize the value of theatre and performance for increased understanding and dialogue around important conflicts. Systems of oppression and structures of violence continue to be at play, especially in the squatter's community that was the setting of this study. In order for this process to be effective in the view of the participants, the issues need to be real and urgent in their lives, something in which they "have an investment, situations in which they venture their lives and their feelings, their moral and their political choices" (Boal, 1995, 16). Through connecting to issues that are of such intimate connection to the participants, and working through a dialogic relationship with the facilitator, meaningful changes can take place.

2. Research Process

The participants were residents of La Carpio, a poor, neighborhood in San Jose, Costa Rica. This burgeoning squatter's community has over 30,000 inhabitants, the majority Nicaraguan immigrants. The participants were brought together via the CRHF (Costa Rican Humanitarian Foundation, www.crhf.org). This Non-Governmental Organization has been working in La Carpio since 1997. Previous research and workshops coordinated with the CRHF using the DPS helped to enhance the level of community trust and credibility helped me gain entry and acceptance in the community.

This study employed an action research model. The researcher worked directly with the group of women in the Core Group, guiding them through the DPS model utilizing theatre techniques to analyze a group-selected issue. Together, the researcher and the participants created an interactive theatre piece to present to the community for

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

their input and ideas for transformational actions. This interactive theater production was designed to help people recognize and relate to the conflict, define and name it, and create a series of steps to act on it. From the community presentation there resulted an action plan that defined steps and actions the participants committed to completing. The researcher worked with the community to ensure that follow up on the stated actions of the action plan were attempted and/or implemented. The final step saw a follow up session with the Core Group that facilitates a dialogue around the changes that were implemented, what worked, and what did not. The Re-look Core Group then began to work on a new project utilizing the DPS process to bring more change to the community.

3. Procedures

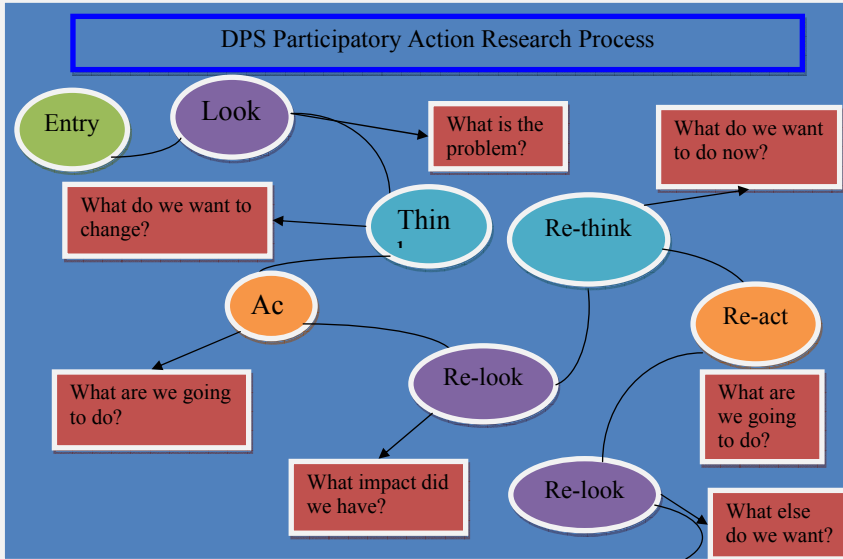
Three basic methodological foundations for the processes were employed. Those were Roger Schwarz's facilitated problems solving structure (2002), Boal's theatre of the oppressed techniques (1979; 1995, 2006), and an action research cyclical model (Stringer, 1999; Herr & Anderson, 2006).

Action research is a model of research in which the researcher directly involves the participants as researchers. The research is also always directly focused on analysis of a specific issue that directly affecting the participants. Actions that transform the problem are sought through this research methodology. The methodology is generally broken into four phases: look, think, act, rethink (Herr & Anderson, 2006; O'Connor, 2003).

In the look phase, the researcher observes what a community is like, their perceived needs and how they might be defined. This then moves into the think phase where the researcher, working directly with the participants, creates possible alternative actions that might result in positive change in the observed situation. Techniques utilized here include brainstorming, consensus building, voting, feedback gathering, and role-playing. Finally, the problem looked at and thought about is acted upon through a series of

interventions developed through the previous two phases. The participants themselves are the actors and therefore participate directly in the research while the lead researcher is there to observe, collaborate, and provide support so that there is follow through. This culminates with an analysis of the actions taken based upon the research. The method is cyclical and requires prolonged engagement with the community to see that there is continuity and a carrying out of the defined actions (Dick, 2005; Herr & Anderson, 2006).

Below is a graphic presentation of the DPS Participatory Action Research Process. The table demonstrates how the process was continually revisiting similar questions. It was cyclical but it did not necessarily come back to the same place. The overall goal was for movement and progress on an issue while still reviewing what has worked and what is now needed.



Schwarz described the use of a process for facilitated problem solving through a nine-step model. The use of this

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

set framework is important for, as he states, “A group that solves complex problems using a structured approach is likely to develop a high quality solution” (2002, 221). Therefore, the DPS model utilized a structured model derived from Schwarz’s nine-step model. The nine steps are: 1. Define the Problem, 2. Establish Criteria for evaluating solutions, 3. Identify root causes, 4. Generate alternative solutions; 5. Evaluate alternative solutions; 6. Select the best solutions, 7. Develop and action plan; 8. Implement the action plan; 9. Evaluate outcomes and the process (2002; 221).

The Schwarz model fits well within the framework of action research. The nine steps can be chunked together into three phases. Proceeding through the first three steps, define the issue; think about desired outcomes; and root cause identification, is what happens during the “look” phase of the action research process. The middle three steps, generate, evaluate, and choose alternative solutions, are the “think” phase, where the group thinks about ways it can confront the issue. Finally the last three steps are the act phase, develop, implement and review the action plan, brings the cycle back to the beginning, to looking at the situation is now and thinking about creative ways to transform the conflict.

Augusto Boal stated that the, “real goal of the arsenal of the Theatre of the Oppressed is to contribute to the preparation of the future rather than waiting for it to happen” (1995, 185). With this forward looking approach to theatre, the TO has created a set of activities and theatre performance formats that work to analyze and provide solutions to the problems confronted by people living in the world. This research utilized Boal’s methods of using games that develop muscular and sensory awareness. The participants also undertook Boal’s techniques of using images and sculpting humans to create images of what emotions, issues, and conflicts look like to various participants. This results in an image theatre that can provoke people’s emotions and sensibilities in relation to a problem (O’Connor, 2003, Linds, 2006).

Improvisational theatre techniques for scene and character development are also part of the Boalian structure

(Boal, 2006; 1995; Rohd, 1998) and were incorporated into the model. These techniques, combined with the image theatre work, were used in the creation of the dramatic presentation that the participants presented to the community group in the style of theatre called, "Forum Theatre" (Schroeter, 2009). In this style of theatre, the audience is engaged by being presented with the opportunity to change the scene through their own actions. The audience has a chance, after viewing the play once, to stop the action and enter the scene to try new actions that may change the situation. The audience member is transformed from "spectator" to "spect-actor" (Boal, 2006). The audience then evaluates these proposed solutions and discussions of which interventions are the most applicable are held. The end result hoped for in Boal's techniques is that the audience member will then take home these ideas for new behaviors and apply them in his or her life. This forum theatre has "the capacity to produce different outcomes than those a public is presented with as given, rests with the theatre itself as an occasion whereby a critical presence can gather" (Martin, 2006, 28). It is in those liminal moments of critical presence, the moments of *communitas*, that the DPS process can begin to challenge people to consider new ideas (Schechner, 2003).

All three of these methodological formats have at their core the same structure, of first defining a problem, then thinking about it through varied lenses, and finally seeking to create concrete actions to change the situation. This is the focus of the model studied here, how did the merging of these three methodologies work to promote social change in this community of La Carpio, San Jose, Costa Rica.

The Core Group went through the nine steps of Schwarz's problem solving model in order to look, think, and act on issues and conflicts of importance to them. We utilized many image theatre exercises. These allowed for a non-verbal expression of feelings and knowledge about the conflicts. The process relied heavily on story telling constructs that engaged the whole group in an exploration of the conflict.

In the first sessions the group brainstormed a list of the most pressing conflicts/problems in their community. Through interactive, theatrical exercises such as "Snowball Fight", "Duelling Images", "Unpacking the Story", and "the

**Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern
University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

Great Wind Blows” they narrowed down the issue. The group focused on the community trash problem. This was an obvious problem. La Carpio is located next door to the largest active landfill in Costa Rica (Sandoval Garcia, et.al, 2007). The company that operates the landfill provides the community with trash collection services as compensation for their presence and the daily passing of innumerable trash trucks. However, the trash service is irregular, there are no trash bins in the streets, large numbers of dogs roam the streets and tear open trash bags, strewing the rubbish everywhere. The community is located on a hill. Trash from the main road washes down on those living at the bottom of the river bank. The La Libertad community where this research took place is at the bottom of the hill.

Root causes were explored through the Boal exercise, “Two Secrets”; to uncover what was hidden. What the group found was that attitudes had as much to do with the problem as any other factor. Thus when the women named the antagonists and protagonists present in this problem, they named only themselves. Through exploration of the issue in depth and the increased self esteem built through the group building experienced, a metaxis emerged where these women could begin to look at their own behavior and be ready to change it.

A short play was created about the issue of trash in the community. The play came from the minds and experiences of the group members. They began with sculpted images and grew them into full fledged scenes. These scenes showed community members not acting in the face of the problem. Health problems and increased contamination surrounded the characters but they did nothing. The play was made, rehearsed, and ready to present to the community. This whole process, from first session to having a play ready to be presented, required 8 two-hour sessions and one extra rehearsal on the day of the performance.

The Community Group was the audience for the first play. “Theatre for a Better Future” was the title the group gave to their short play. The play was presented and was received with applause. Now the audience was asked to get out of their seats and intervene to change the problem. And they did. Three people called for a stop in the action on the

second run through. They entered with actions focused on raising awareness, taking responsibility for waking up on time, and organizing a campaign to petition the Health Department. When the intervention portion of the Forum was finished, the researcher facilitated a discussion about how people felt about the issue. They were asked to name how they felt about this problem/conflict after participating in this group performance. They listed such things as health, lack of communication, solidarity, humility, respect, love, cleaning, friendship, and an example for the community.

Based on these stated desires and the interventions seen in the forum theatre, the creation of an Action Plan for the community to deal with the trash problem was facilitated. The action plan had short, mid-range, and long term actions in it. It called for a day of cleaning, posting of signs indicating the days for trash pick up, a petition to send to the Ministry of Health was planned, and a day of education for the children of the community. The responsible people were identified and dates for implementation were agreed upon.

Over the course of the next three weeks the community completed all of the action plan steps. The petition to the Ministry of Health was signed by 106 adults. The signs announcing the trash pick ups were made and posted. A Carnival of Cleaning that included clowns, music, children's theatre, educational activities about trash, and a community clean up was held on a Sunday afternoon. Some of the older children created signs showing children cleaning up their garbage. These were laminated and posted around the center for all the children to see.

Following this success, the Core Group met again to begin the process of re-looking at the action plan and its impact. This facilitated processing session resulted in a song and a prayer about the new hopes they had for their community. One of those was for there to be more opportunity for them and their children. Another was to broaden their reach and open up the group. Gail Nystrom, director of the CRHF, had an idea to bring this group of women together with another group from the center of La Carpio, about a quarter of a mile up the hill.

The re-think phase of the action research process began. The women, inspired by Gail, were going to focus on

**Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern
University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

breast cancer awareness. Most of these women had at one time been seasonal coffee pickers. They decided to create a play to help bring education and awareness about the breast cancer to the coffee pickers in the plantations. The play would be part of a three pronged education and health promotion project that the Foundation would bring to the plantations, including educational activities for coffee pickers' children, and free health screenings.

The process of creating a play about breast cancer began. Image Theatre and Storytelling exercises provided the foundational material. Stories about lack of education, opportunity and understanding were told. Images of children in the fields, of angry supervisors, of depression, were created. After several sessions the women asked me to write them a formal script. This was a variation from the first play, which had been rehearsed improvisation. They felt that if they were going to travel and present it that it should be a real play with a real script.

A script was written based on the stories and images. Rehearsals were carried out over the course of a month. The bulk of the directing and rehearsing was done by the women of the group. The researcher facilitated sessions only twice, once at the beginning of the month and once at the end. A date was set and the women were ready to take it on the road. The performances were also interactive, inviting the audience members to enter the scenes and change the choices made by the protagonist, creating a new outcome. Education about how to conduct self-breast examinations and breast cancer detection was shared. The children participated in the educational activities. The volunteer doctors and medical students saw many patients.

The play, *The Coffee Dance*, has now been performed many times all across Costa Rica. A grant for the project was attained from the Susan G. Komen Foundation. A documentary film was made about the process. These successes have emboldened the women to propose adapting the play to present it to other mainly Nicaraguan immigrant communities such as banana and pineapple plantation workers. They also began a new cycle of re-looking at their lives through performance. They decided to work on internal issues again. They defined the conflict to be addressed via

theatre as a lack of a name or story behind their face that was seen by the numerous volunteers that were brought briefly into their lives in La Carpio through the CRHF. They wanted to show that although they were poor women, they had a great deal of dignity. They began a new DPS process of storytelling and image theatre to create a play entitled, "The Dignity of Poverty." As of this writing the play is still not complete. However, the women of the group are committed to continuing the participatory exploration of their lives and their community's needs through performance.

4. Discussion

Three central areas of importance that emerged in the study are examined here: *communitas*, play, and action. The following is an analysis of this research in terms of each of these facets of performance as brought to light by this process and in terms of the existing literature and the contributions of the study.

Communitas

The DPS process was not searching for revolution as a goal or as an answer to a research question. However, the importance of abandoning fighting and seeking a single mind to be successful in the attainment of a goal was something that emerged in the data. The women reported anecdotally that one of the main accomplishments of the process was the lessening and even the elimination of infighting and gossiping within the group. The ritual space in the facilitation created a moment of *communitas* where they could come together and be of one mind about the success of the process.

This was especially true during the Re-Look Core Group phase. The group wanted to take on the breast cancer issue and take it outside of La Carpio. This was a great challenge to them. It challenged their existing roles and societal rules for someone in their place. It required a great deal of group focus, mutual support and recognition. Through storytelling and image theatre exercises this mutual recognition and group focus was fostered. *Communitas* was,

**Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern
University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

however, not achieved until after the stories and images had been transferred into the script of *The Coffee Dance*. When each woman had their own part, lines and cues; then they began to see their mutual needs for support.

However, the presence of an outsider/researcher did not allow for *communitas*. To fully use the empowering nature of the liminal space created by the DPS process and theatre, they needed to be more autonomus. Due to cultural limitations they were restricted as to how much they could question the researcher's authority as the director and playwright. Therefore, a decision was made to leave the group alone to carry out the ritual of rehearsal on their own. From this emerged two things, an in-group leader in the form of Francella, one of the Re-look Core Group members, and a sense of *communitas*. The sense of being one supportive group, capable of completing this challenge, emerged. They set aside their personal differences, their disbelief in the capabilities of both themselves and their fellow participants. They recognized that this was a challenge that could only be completed through the concerted, directed effort of the entire group.

The emergence of *communitas* in this fashion is significant in that it demonstrated that the model did actually create *communitas*. However, the model can not forcefully create a spontaneous *communitas*. Elements that engender a sense of safety, unity, and a desire for change were present. But the emergence of a true spontaneous *communitas* could not nor can not be expected or predicted by the implementation of this model. It can be hoped for and its power as a vehicle for change recognized, but the DPS model does not automatically create a true *communitas*.

The core group that created the trash play, developed the action plan, and carried out the steps of the plan with enthusiasm could not be categorized as a group working from a place of *communitas*. The workshop model of conflict transformation utilized created a safe space. It led to a desire for change, a vision of a better future. It did not, however, create what emerged in the re-look core group's experience of the *Coffee Dance*.

Play

“Games for Actors and Non-Actors” (Boal, 2002) was first published in South America in the 1970s. Its title in Spanish was more extensive, “Games for Actors and Non-Actors with a Desire to Say Something Through Theatre” (Boal, 1975). Calling exercises which are designed to elicit emotions and create theatre that challenge existing power structures games speaks to the importance of play in the process. That a work of theatre is called a play in English is another reflection of this importance. Victor Turner subtitled his seminal 1979 work on ritual and theatre, “the Human Seriousness of Play” (Turner, 1979).

The Alternative to Violence Project has been using experiential games with prison inmates as the vehicle for personal development and conflict resolution since the early 1970s (www.avpinternational.org, 2009). The play creates a space, a liminal space, where you can behave differently, more like a child, and try new or old things. Break habits and create new ones in a safe space. Boal’s games work to “de-specialize the body” (1998, 49). These categories are designed to integrate different senses, touch, hearing, sight, through movement, memory, and images.

How did this playing of games translate into significant findings in this study? Is play a tool for empowerment and community change? The research would suggest this. Research field notes continually reference the laughter created by the exercises among group members. The games are fun. While having fun, the participants discovered, rediscovered, or integrated senses rarely used. The participants moved their bodies in new ways, listened attentively, limited and enhanced sight, recalled stories, shared memories, and expressed this all in images. This dynamic structure moved people out of their chairs and the limitations of verbal expression.

By doing this, the process had more democratic validity. The discussion was never dominated by one or two speakers. Everyone played the games. Everyone’s image was seen by everyone else. While laughing and playing the participants were being given a voice. The democratic nature of play translated into a more inclusive facilitation process. Women who at the outset of the process were very reticent

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

and shy to speak were, by the second or third session, opening up and sharing their thoughts and opinions on the conflicts researched.

Whether or not the group would have acted as democratically, would have completed their goals, or given everyone an equal voice without play is not possible to say because play was built into the model. However, in this facilitation process, these goals of facilitation were met in an environment where play and fun were stressed.

Action

As Herr and Anderson pointed out, creating concrete action is the missing part of much action research (2006). The DPS process was created with the goal of bringing direct action to TO, which was also missing this action portion. Analysis of problems and proposed solutions without actual follow through was often encountered in both academics and TO. A pilot study of the DPS process had ended with frustration over not successfully completing the action plan. Why was direct action so difficult? Are people simply complacent? Was the facilitator solely responsible for the completion of direct actions? How does a performance-based model influence the possibility to complete direct action?

As Schwarz stated, “developing an action plan increases the likelihood of the group implementing a solution effectively and on time” (Schwarz, 2002, p. 230). The design of the model took this into account. The central focus of the community group performance was the creation of an action plan. The idea being that the direct actions proposed would have been fresh and important to the group, having just been performed and analyzed. This would be the time for the group to decide on which actions to implement. The action plan was created and it was successfully implemented.

During the second phase, an action plan was created and completed. But the action plan had more to do with creating and performing an interactive theatre piece. Following those performances there was no action plan. There was an interactive portion but no actions. This was because there was not a structure for follow up because the audience was not from the same community as the

performers. This would suggest that the model is effective in creating actions when the group is from the same community and are focused on an internal problem. The process does use the performative nature of the forum theatre to generate a call to action. The successful completion of that action requires that those that performed it and named it be able to carry it out.

In conclusion, the research demonstrated that through performance, group processes could lead to direct actions that changed participants' lives, empowering them to think in new and creative ways. The process left behind a group of people who have a framework for facilitating issues that arise in their lives. The significance of the study is that the process may be transferred to other settings, similar and dissimilar to the one presented here, so that community issues may be confronted in creative, dynamic ways.

References

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

AVP International, "What is AVP?" <http://avpinternational.org/whatisavp.html>, (July 15, 2008).

Boal, Augusto (1979). *Theatre of the Oppressed*. NY: Theatre Communications Group.

Boal, Augusto (1995). *The Rainbow of Desire*. London: Routledge.

Boal, Augusto (1998). *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*. London: Routledge.

Boal, Augusto (1998). *Legislative Theatre*. New York: Routledge.

Boal, Augusto (2006). *The Aesthetics of the Oppressed*. New York: Routledge.

Bonson Baquero, M. C. (2009). *The Creative Path to Understanding: Organizations Building Community Through Performing Arts*. Dissertation, The American University.

Brecht Berthold. (2001) "*The Street Scene*" in Counsell Colin and Wolf, Laurie (Eds), *Performance Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Broome Benjamin. (1998). "Overview of Conflict Resolution Activities in Cyprus: Their Contribution to the Peace Process." *The Cyprus Review*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 47-66.

Broome Benjamin (2002/2003). "Responding to the Challenges of Third Party Facilitation: Reflections of a Scholar-Practitioner in the Cyprus Conflict." *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*, vol. 29, no 4, pp. 24-43.

Burns, D (2007). *Systemic Action Research: A Strategy for Whole System Change*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Dick, B. "You want to do an action research thesis? -- How to conduct and report action research." www.arlist.scu.edu.au. (October, 15, 2005).

Feldhendler Daniel (1994). "Augusto Boal and Jacob L. Moreno: Theatre and therapy" in Schutzman Mady and Cohen Cruz Jan, (eds), *Playing Boal: Theatre, Therapy, Activism*. London: Routledge.

Dramatic Problem Solving: Transforming Community Conflict through Performance in Costa Rica

- Freed, D. and Davis, M. (2009). *Exploring "The Prodigal Son" through Augusto Boal's Forum Theatre with Seventh-day Adventist Academy Drama Students*. PhD Dissertation, Arizona State University.
- Freire Paolo. (2003). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Frey Lawrence. (Ed.) (1995). *Innovations in Group Facilitation: Applications in Natural Settings*. Hampton Press.
- Golden, Isis (2009). *Performing Cultural Empowerment: Native American Activism on Alcatraz Island*. Davis: University of California.
- Grady, S. (2004). "Go Theatre Motivational Performance Team: Six Hour Facilitation Training Manual." Austin: University of Texas at Austin.
- Haedeicke, S. and Nellhaus, T (2001). *Performing Democracy: International Perspectives on Urban Community-Based Performance*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press
- Herr, K. and Anderson, G (2005). *The Action Research Dissertation: A Guide for Students and Faculty*. London: Sage.
- Justice, T. and Jamieson, D. W (1999). *The Facilitator's Fieldbook*. New York: Amacom
- Lederach, John Paul (1995). *Preparing for Peace*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Linds Warren (2006). "Metaxis: Dancing (in) the In-between" in Cohen-Cruz, Jan and Schutzman, Mady (eds), *A Boal Companion: Dialogues on Theatre and Cultural Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Marin, C (2005). *Breaking Down Barriers, Building Dreams: Using Theatre for Social Change to Explore the Concept of Identity with Latina Adolescents*. PhD Dissertation, Arizona State University.
- Martin, Randy (2006). "Staging the Political: Boal and the Horizons of Theatrical Commitment" in Cohen-Cruz, Jan and Schutzman, Mady (eds), *A Boal Companion: Dialogues on Theatre and Cultural Politics*. London: Routledge.

Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Mitchell, M. M. (2007). *Theatre of the Oppressed in United States Prisons: Eight Years of Working with Adult and Youth Prisoners Examined*. PhD Dissertation, Cornell University.

Mumford, M. (2009). *Berthold Brecht*. New York: Routledge.

O'Connor, P. (2003). *Reflection and Refraction: The Dimpled Mirror of Process Drama: How Process Drama Assist People Reflect on Their Attitudes and Behaviours Associated with Mental Illness*. PhD Dissertation, Auckland: Griffith.

Park-Fuller, L. (2008). "Beyond Role Play: Playback Theatre and Conflict Transformation." www.playbackcentre.org, (August 15, 2008).

Pecaski McLennan, D. M. (2008). *Kinder/caring: Exploring the Use and Effects of Sociodrama in a Kindergarten Classroom*. PhD Dissertation, University of Windsor (Canada).

Rohd, Michael. (1998). *Theatre for Community, Conflict, and Dialogue: The Hope is Vital Training Manual*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Rollin, J. and Gabriel A. (2002). *Manos a la Obra: Un Manual para el Trabajo con el Juventud en Salud Sexual y Reproducción*. Sociedad Alemana de Cooperación Técnica: Eschborn, Germany.

Sandi-Diaz, G. (2007). *Latin American Theater for Social Change: The Case of Augusto Boal and Enrique Buenaventura*. University of Kansas, UMI Microform

Sandoval Garcia, Carlos. (2004). *Threatening Others: Nicaraguans and the Formation of National Identities in Costa Rica*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Brenes Montoya, M., Masis Fernandez, K., Paniagua Arguedas, L., Sanchez Solano, E. (eds), (2007). *Nuestras Vidas en Carpio: Aportes para una Historia Popular*. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Universidad de Costa Rica.

Schroeter, S. (2009) *Theatre in My Toolbox: Using Forum Theatre to Explore Notions of Identity, Belonging and Culture with Francophone Secondary Students in a Context of Diversity*. PhD Dissertation, York University (Canada).

Dramatic Problem Solving: Transforming Community Conflict through Performance in Costa Rica

- Schutzman Mady and Cohen Cruz, Jan. (eds) (1994.). *Playing Boal: Theatre, Therapy, and Activism*. New York: Routledge.
- Schutzman Mady. (2006). "Social Healing and Liberatory Politics: A Round Table Discussion" in Cohen Cruz, J. and Schutzman, M., (eds), *A Boal Companion: Dialogues on Theatre and Cultural Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Schechner Richard. (2003). *Performance Theory, 2nd Edition*. London: Routledge.
- Schwarz Roger. (2002). *The Skilled Facilitator*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schwarz Roger. (2005). *The Skilled Facilitator Fieldbook*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Senehi Jessica and Byrne Sean (2004). "From Violence Towards Peace: The Role of Storytelling for Youth Healing and Political Empowerment after Social Conflict." University of Manitoba, Canada. 2004.
- Slowiak, J. and Cuesta, J. (2007). *Jerzy Grotowski*. New York, Routledge.
- Smith, R E (2006). *Theatre of the Oppressed and Magical Realism in Taiwanese and Hakka Theatre: Rectifying Unbalanced Realities with Assignment Theatre*. PhD Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Snyder, D. (2008) *The Rules that Rule Their Worlds: Urban Youth Deconstruct Their Antagonists Through Theatre of the Oppressed*. PhD Dissertation, New York University.
- Spence-Campbell, M. S (2008). *Pedagogical Change: Using Drama to Develop the Critical Imagination*. PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta (Canada).
- Stringer Ernest (1999). *Action Research*. London: Sage.
- Sun, A. (2009). *Promoting Breast Cancer Screening Among Chinese American Women through Young Children's Theatrical Performance*. PhD Dissertation, Walden University.
- Taylor Diana(2002). *The Archive and the Repertoire*. Durham, NC: Duke.

**Steven T. Hawkins and Alexia Georgakopolous, Nova Southeastern
University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

- Taylor Diana and Constantino, R. (eds) (2003). *Holy Terrors: Latin American Women Perform*. Durham, NC: Duke.
- Turner, Victor. *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: PAJ Publications. 1982. Text.
- Yancey Jason (2009). *Dark Laughter: Liminal Sins in Quevedo's Entremeses*. PhD Dissertation, The University of Arizona,
- Zelizer Craig (2003). "The Role of Artistic Processes in Peacebuilding in Bosnia-Herzegovina" *Peace and Conflict Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, Fall pp. 62-75.

African Traditional Education: A Viable Alternative for Peace Building Process in Modern Africa

Okoro Kingsley, N, Ebonyi State University (Abakaliki, Nigeria)

Abstract: *Violent conflicts and war have taken its toll in the world with Africa being the worst hit. This has created in the modern minds a mentality construct to accepting that war/conflict is an indispensable social phenomenon. Therefore, peace is considered as inseparably intertwined with war. Hence peace is delineated into two realms-negative and positive peaces. Interestingly, positive peace which emphasizes 'peace building' has attracted the attention of modern scholarship as being a viable option for peace initiative in modern Africa. However, this paper underscores the fact that human greed and structural ineptitude in addressing human needs have contributed immensely in the exacerbation of conflict in modern Africa. The argument is that conflict is built into a particular society through the way it is organized. Thus this paper notes that social conflict is tied to the socio-political and economic arrangements within a particular society. Hence traditional African society was susceptible to violent conflict. However it has an inbuilt mechanism to controlling it. This instrument was education. Notably, African education aimed at developing the total man and making him or her responsible member of the community. The curricular includes physical, mental, spiritual and moral development of the citizens. The thrust of the moral education was solidarity. This concept is defined in many African societies by different terms. Some of these terms are **Ibuanyi danda,** **Ubuntu**'' **Ujamaa**, our survey of most African society reveals the fact that socio-political philosophy of traditional African society hinge on the concept of 'social solidarity and belongingness', and such was ingrained in every citizen from cradle. Regrettably, this social philosophy has been neglected in the modern Africa. Therefore this paper submits that if peace must return to Africa, she must re-introduce or incorporate her moral values into her educational system, with certain modifications to meet the contemporary demands.*

1. Introduction

Conflicts of all sorts have ravaged the modern African society and consequently created in the modern minds a mentality construct that war/conflict is an indispensable social phenomenon. Thus, conflict is considered as universal, timeless and eternal. This assumption gave birth to Heraclites submission thus, 'our very experiences presupposes conflict in its generation, our knowledge, apart from its apriori categories is based on such conflict, our learning about ourselves, others and reality, our growth and our development and our increasing ability to create our heaven or hell, comes through conflict (Wallerstein 1974:28). Collorray to the foregoing, peace is considered in most modern literatures as an utopia or at best as an inseparable social variable with war or conflict (Okoro, 2009:75). Peace therefore is regarded as converse of war; hence we read in modern literatures that war and peace are two sides of the same coin (Ibeanu, 2007:3). Against this backdrop, peace is generally defined as the absence of war and as such world peace is conceived in relation to war (Okoro, 2008:8). Notably, ones epistemic background affects ones definition, dispositions and considerations in any social discourse. Thus our background understanding of peace as a converse of war has affected adversely our approach, interest and method of peace making and peace building in the modern society.

However, our attitude, definition and approach in the achievement of peace notwithstanding, peace remain one of the deepest, most sublime and most universal aspirations of man in whatever era of human history (Mary and Christopher, 2006:35). This human aspiration to live in a world devoid of conflicts and war has continued to whet, define and redefine the concept of peace to bringing it to terms with this sublime aspiration. Thus, in technical peace studies, peace has been delineated in to two as '**negative**' and '**positive**' peace

Positive peace is seen in the light of efforts towards building of peace and non-exploitative social structure, with a substantial component of justice and human right (Mary and Christopher, 2006:35). In this notion, peace stands in

opposition to the old definition of peace as the absence of war. Positive peace according to Gultang Johan, a professor of peace studies, 'is a social condition in which exploitation has been eliminated and overt violence has ceased, including structural violence (Mary and Christopher, 2006:36). This definition substantiates the understanding of peace in the ancient cultures of Hebrew and Greek. In the Hebrew culture peace is considered as holistic as it embraces all facets of human existences (Gerhard 1958:10). Peace in this culture connotes security and as such the word shalom becomes a demeanor of impregnable fortress (Okoro, 2008:295).

In the Greek culture, Irene, which connotes human linkage assumes a defining paradigm of peace. Hence, peace was understood in this culture as a state of order and coherence and not merely the absence of war (Bainton 1982:17). In this culture peace symbolizes but not limited to prosperity. Bainton (1982) represents the relationship between peace and prosperity aptly thus, '...if peace were not identical with prosperity, at any rate peace begat prosperity and was commonly accompanied in artistic representation in vivid terms as the cornucopia (17). Mary and Christopher (2006), sustain this Greek definition of positive peace as they write, 'The Greek Irenic or Irene, which connotes harmony and justice, the Arabic salam and the Hebrew, shalom have more complex meaning, connoting well-being, wholeness and harmony. The Sanskrit equivalence suggests spiritual tranquility (36-37). These cultures present the idea of positive peace, which does not contain itself with the absence of war ideology but includes social security, well-being of individuals and community, solidarity, order and cohesion in any given society.

Despite the human definitions and aspirations for peace and peaceful environment, it still beats human imaginations that wars and conflicts still dot the contemporary socio-political history, especially Africa. This work therefore made a striking discovery that our modern understanding of peace as the absence of war, human greed and structural ineptitude are all contributory factors in the contemporary upsurge of violent conflicts in Africa. Thus the argument is that conflict is built into a particular society through the way it is structured or organized (Ademola

2007:36). Against the backdrop of this assumption, this paper notes that social conflict is tied to the socio-political and economic arrangements within a particular society. Thus injustice, poverty, disease, exploitations inequality etc, breed social conflicts. Therefore, Ross (1993) submits that in a situation of economic and political discriminations and weak kinship, social conflict are likely to be higher than in a situation where social conditions are the exact opposite (72). This assumption is based on the fact that whenever social , political, economic and cultural processes are monopolized by a group, it creates the conditions that make people to adopt adversarial approach to conflict (Ross, 1993:73). The same assumption is advanced by Khotari (1979), when he says that resources is the major cause of conflict between individual and group within a socio-political system and between nations. He states further, ‘...control and use of (natural) resources lies at the heart of deepening crisis in the world today (Khotari, 1979:6, Ademola, 2007:43). Khotari enunciates that the contemporary crisis is all about separating the world axes of material comfort and of deficiency with a concentration of poverty, scarcity, unemployment and deprivation in one large sector of mankind and over abundance and over production in another such smaller section (7). Therefore, the interpretation of the various conflicts in the world in general and in Africa in particular is that the nations have compromised economic stability, halt human progress and retard infrastructural improvement. They have also trivialized human life and render persons expendable. The situation never gives opportunity to addressing the human dislocation caused by crimes, unemployment and fatal communicable diseases. The system cripples human spirit, consumes irreplaceable natural and environmental resources. Therefore, the future seems to be disappearing as cultures and social organizations are destroyed, these consequently stifle civilization (Mary and Sall, 2007:9-10).

However, peace having been perceived as a precondition for human development and the fear of humanity heading heedlessly into destruction has led to the introduction of several methods of handling peace in the modern world, especially Africa. Some of these methods include but not limited to the following:

- Conflict Resolution
- Conflict Management
- Conflict Transformation
- Peace Enforcement
- Peace Making
- Peace Keeping
- Peace Building

This paper is dedicated to peace building. The peace building process is quite complex and diverse. However, it can be broadly divided into two major realms of discussion, namely, formal and informal methods. These two domains of peace building process are found in African traditional model, however, in keeping with the set goal, this paper shall concentrate on the informal method through traditional education in African. This survey is with a view to seeing how such model can be a viable option to realizing the pristine and sublime aspiration of humanity to achieving peace, especially in Africa that has turned a conflict zone in contemporary history.

2. General Concept of Peace Building

The philosopher, Johan Galtung (1976) was the first to distinguish between 'peace building' from 'peace keeping' and 'peace making'. Consequently, peace building was put into operation by the United Nations in Namibia in 1978 (Erim, 2007:58). Though the concept has been belaboured with conceptual controversies and ambiguity, however, majority of scholars within the field of peace studies, acknowledge that peace building is akin to the realization of positive peace. According to them, peace building leads to the institutionalization of positive justice and freedom. Peace building addresses the root cause of conflict to stave off a notion of war (Erim, 2007:60). In another circle of scholarship, peace building is described as a means of preventing the outbreak, reoccurrence or continuation of armed conflict as well as emergencies in the wide range of political, developmental, humanitarian and human rights

mechanism (Karamé 2004:12). Thus, the process of peace building encompasses all stages of conflict, from the pre-conflict stage to the post-conflict phases, with the aim of laying the basis for sustainable peace in conflict torn societies (Okoro 2009: 78). Peace building projects take into consideration the social, economic and psychological universe of the ordinary people at the grass root as they are variously affected by conflict (Karamé 2004:12). Notably, actors in the formal peace building process are recruited from all levels of the society. Thus a viable peace mission is aimed at being a meeting place where people- men, and women- from various works of life and socio-cultural and economic background come together and function as a team to fulfilling the mandate of maintaining sustainable peace agenda of the community (Report 2002:53). It is in this respect that a distinction was made between formal and informal methods of peace building in the modern society (Report 2002 '58). The report sustains the fact that the following strategy of peace building is all part of the formal peace building methodology. These included but not limited to following:

- Preventative Diplomacy
- Conflict Prevention
- Peace Making and Global disarmament
- Conflict Resolution
- Peace Negotiation
- Reconciliation
- Reconstruction of Infrastructure
- Provision of Humanitarian Aids

The formal peace building process seems to be the reserve of professional peace experts, political leaders, military and International organizations, as well as governmental and non-governmental and humanitarian organizations (Karamé 2004:12-15)

On the other hand, the informal peace building process included also the following activities:

- Peace march and protest
- Internal group dialogue
- Promotion of inter-cultural tolerance and understanding

- The empowerment of ordinary citizens in economic cultural and political spheres to broker peace
- Peace education (Olivia, Bexley and Warknock 1995: 65-70)

At the level of informal peace building, actors may come from various organizations-International, regional national, cultural and grass-root organizations. The contributions of peace actors at the informal realms provide an avenue for non experts in peace studies to broker peace at various levels of the society (Okoro 2009:78). The informal peace building process provide the leeway for men and women, religious group, cultural groups and other concerned individuals to participate in the peace building process of the community.

Generally, a notable interest among scholars and policy makers, which have affected the practice and properly articulated programmes in the area of peace building and development, have arisen in response to the compelling recognition that conflict and development are at the opposite poles and diametrically affect each other. Erim (2007), therefore underscores the fact that within the 1990's that the hallmark of conflict and peace scholarship was centered on ethnicity and identity conflict (62). However, he remarks further that there are shift in both epistemology and the paradigm in the contemporary peace scholarship and this shift is directed towards the role of economy in social conflict. The new approach advocated in the peace building studies-whether in the formal or in the informal methods, seeks to address the root cause of conflict. (63). Consequently, attention is directed towards the attitudes and socio-economic circumstances of the people, who are affected by war and who will build the peace. The approach is appraised for its strength to addressing the contemporary conflict and its likelihood to assist in sustaining peace even in a war torn Africa (McCandles and Schwobel 2002:23; Blomfield and Lincoln 1997:35-37). It is against this background that this paper seeks to explore the informal method of peace building in traditional Africa, as couched in her traditional system as a viable alternative to the peace building initiatives in modern Africa.

3. African Traditional Education in Perspective

Education is a means of transmitting ones culture from one generation to another. It is a process of bringing about a relatively permanent change in human behaviours (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002:1-2). As one of the oldest industries in human history, education is therefore the main instrument employed by the society to preserve, maintain and grapple with its social equilibrium; hence a society's future depends largely on the quality of its citizens education.

It could be therefore asserted that educational system existed in African society prior to the European invasion of the continent. Therefore, Mara (2006), opines that African traditional education aimed at inducting the members of the society into activities and mode of thought that conduced to norms and values of the society. Mara, further maintains that African societies were noted for her cultural heritage which was preserved and transmitted from generation to generation through a system of traditional education (1-2). Accordingly, the process of education in African traditional society was intimately ingrained in the social, cultural, artistic, religious and recreational life of the community.

Notably, the ideas of schooling and education were integrated in the traditional system. The traditional system of education incorporated the ideas of learning skill, social and cultural values and norms into its purpose and method. Hence in African traditional society, the education of her progenies started at birth and continued to adulthood (Murray 1967:14). Watkin (1943:666-675) and Ociti (1973:72-75) have described the African tradition system of education as education that prepared one for ones responsibilities as an adult in his home, village or tribe.

African traditional education has been variously described as indigenous, pre-colonial and informal or community based education. The descriptions were predicated on the fact that there were no schools of the modern type and no professional teachers as found in the modern system. However, there were certain centers of initiation and the adult members of the community served as

teachers. Though, the traditional system lacked the modern classroom setting under the guidance of a teacher, though it is characterized by the absence of student/pupils with uniform, regimentation and permanent teachers, however it served its purpose at the time. This is because it was essentially practical training designed to enable the individual to play useful roles in the community (Scalon 1964:72).

Notably, African philosophy of traditional education was quite pragmatic and aimed at providing a gate way to the life of the community. It was based on the philosophy of productivity and functionalism. Therefore Mara (1998), further avers that though there were few theoretical abstractions, but the main objective of traditional education was to inculcate a sense of social responsibility of the community to the individual members, who were becoming contributing members of the society. Hence one of the major features of traditional education was apprenticeship model of learning, whereby people learned under masters (72). The traditional education is therefore a process by which every society attempts to preserve and upgrade the accumulated knowledge, skills and attitude in its cultural setting and heritage to foster continually the well being of mankind. The content of the curriculum was quite comprehensive and based on the philosophy underlying the various job responsibilities in the society. However, the curriculum could be broadly classified into two realms, namely, physical and moral educations. Nevertheless, both realms of education are inseparably intertwined.

The African traditional education curriculum, though not documented, was quite elaborate, embracing all aspects of human development. The content of curriculum include: mental broadening, physical fitness, moral uprightness, religious deference, good social adjustment and interaction. Basil (1969) and Mara (2006), maintain that both children and adolescents took part in such activities as wrestling, dancing, drumming and acrobatic display (15-17). In traditional African societies, the main emphasis of education was on 'mastery-learning' (Ociti, 1973:16). In this direction, individual training incorporated of various social values as honesty, respect for other people property and right and the dignity of labour. Hard work and productivity, self reliance

Okoro Kingsley, Ebonyi State University (Abakaliki, Nigeria)

and collective orientation towards the maintenance of social values and social order, were however at the epi-centre of African traditional education.

In respect to vocation, children were taught farming, fishing, weaving, cooking, hunting, knitting, building of houses, mat making and forging of local farm implements. The main focus of African vocational education was the preparation of African child for his/her responsibilities in the community (Scanlon 1964:3). In his own contribution, Warkins (1945), describes the African educational institute as 'the bush school' (666-675). The reason for the description was that before initiation into the adult life, most African communities take the neophytes outside their community of social comfort to a seclusion, often in the bush areas of the community. Commenting on this special institution, Block (1973), writes:

The training given to the youths prepared them for military, family, agricultural and cultural progress...the length of training of the boys differ from those of the girls, but usually takes several years before a boy is passed from adolescence into adulthood...and failure was virtually nonexistent, every effort was made, encouragement given, incentive provided to make sure that even the most coward goes through, say the circumcision process (30-36)

Basil (1969), provides another dimension to understanding the African traditional educational institution, as he writes, 'one of the major avenues through which African youth received his or her education was and still today is in some quarters, during several grades or initiation ceremonies (81-85). He gives an apt description of the rite among the Tiriki community in Kenya, East Africa thus:

Until you are ten or so, you are counted as a small boy with minimal social duties, such as herding cattle. Then you will expect with some trepidation to undergo initiation to manhood by a process of schooling, which lasts about

six months and punctuated by ritual examinations. Selected group of boys are entered for this schooling once every four or five years...All the initiates of a hut eat, sleep, sing dance bathe, do some handicraft etc...but only when commanded to do so by their counselor, who will be a man under twenty five...circumcision gives it s ritual embodiment within the first month or so, after which social training continues as before until schooling period was completed, then comes ceremonies at which elders teach and exhort, the accent now being on obedience to rules which have been learned. The Tiriki social charter is thus explained and then enshrined at the centre of man's life (81-85).

Among the Igbo people of Eastern Nigeria, (Okoro Culture...2009), reports of the same process of initiation for youths, who have attained the stipulated age, as he noted that the attainment of adulthood is prepared for and celebrated in Igbo culture (22-34). In this culture, their induction into the adult world, the young adult was expected to embark on a life of personal industry, achievement and responsibility. It is this spirit of self reliance, self achievement and personal industry that frequently drive the Igbo person to embark on legitimate sojourn and adventure in the quest for community recognition. This spirit of adventure is inculcated in the Igbo person during the long period of training and education.

4. Hermeneutical Discussion on the Content of Some Moral Values in African Traditional Education in Selected African communities

Education in African traditional society was of prime importance; hence children's education took place within family through various 'schools' and by means of stories and proverbs as occasion presented itself. In this arrangement,

children were taught the virtues of living together peaceful under one roof. These principle of community living were centered around the themes of moderation, solidarity, respect for truth and willingness to work and strive for self and community advancement, respect for authority, sense of honesty, modesty, tolerance, sense of goodness and kindness, love of ones neighbour, respect for life and so on (Ntahobari and Ndayiziga 2005:15). In his on contribution, Mara (2006) notes that ‘through out Africa, initiation rites and the various rituals in the passage from childhood to adulthood were cultural devices to inculcate a spirit of community in the youth, sense of respect for the elders, of brotherhood among members of the age set in question and a sense of commitment to the moral values of the community (15-24). Major contents of African moral/community education are couched in some of these concepts, namely,

- Ibuanyi Danda/ Umunna bu ike
- Ubuntu
- Ujamma

• ***Ibuanyi Danda/Umunna bu ike*** (Social Solidarity).

Among the Igbo people of Eastern Nigeria, the sense of Ibuanyi Danda also calls the sense of ‘Umunna bu ike ‘solidarity’ is highly prized in the traditional society. Iwe (1991) highlighted on this virtue in the Igbo traditional society as he writes, ‘the kinship system is based on respect for elders; reverence for ancestors and on the extended family cultures. The sense of ‘Umunna bu ike’ solidarity is experienced at the major levels of social intercourse-domestic, village, clan and age-group (144). Notably, each level of solidarity is a veritable instrument of social harmony, social security and the protection of individual right through the duty of mutual co-operation and mobilization of resources and loyalty it enjoins. Against this backdrop, Ifemesia (1979) citing Equinos notes thus, ‘...everyone contributes to the common stock...and we are unacquainted with idleness, we have no beggars’ (3).

Iwe (1991) enunciates further that the practical spirit of solidarity is evident in the custom of common sharing of meals, collective maintenance of public roads and market, collective assistance to members, who are in difficult or who

embark on construction of houses, collective discharge of burial rites of members, celebration of social occasions of happiness and local festivals (144). The basic philosophy upon which the 'Ibuanyi Danda' social ideology was founded was underscored by Pantalon Iroegbu in his concept of 'uwa'. Iroegbu defines the concept as the enfolding ideology which defines thought and ontology of the Igbo people of Nigeria as comprehensive, totality and wholeness of reality itself. This understanding of reality according to him is in consonance with the central moral education of the Igbo people of Nigeria, which emphasizes complementarity as the philosophy of social living (Azouzu 2007:204). Azouzu (2007) further opines that 'uwa' ontology evokes the feelings of complementary character of all reality and mutual inter-relatedness of all existent realities within the frame work of the whole (2007). He thus equated 'uwa' ontology with the concept of 'umunna' (kinsmen), which he maintains is an inroad to understanding the worldview of the Igbo people expounded around the idea of communalism.

The central idea of both 'uwa; ontology and 'umunna' is the sense of belongingness. Iroegbu and Azouzu hold that 'belongingness' is the defining paradigm of Igbo social philosophy, because this concept makes vivid that a thing exists because it belongs to a community in relation to other things. (Azouzu 2007:374). Therefore to belong means to belong to a community after the Igbo traditional model of 'umunna'. Thus it is in this solidarity of relationship that the Igbo traditional society is sustained. In Iroegbu's own words, 'In Igbo we live the basic community called 'umunna' interpreted, 'kindred' (Iroegbu 1995:349).

It is this sense, Ibuanyi Danda 'social solidarity' that gave birth to the Igbo sense of democracy. The democratic principle of the Igbo people is predicated on the belief that what concerns all; all should be duly consulted and participated. This traditional value affords every Igbo person in the traditional society an intrinsic worth, which should not be taken for granted. Consequently, the Igbo traditional society could be described as highly egalitarian, relatively classless, democratic and based on decision making through the openly arrived consensus of group of persons (Ifemesia 1979:55). The Igbo traditional leadership is organized around the eldership forum, which pre-occupied itself with the

maintenance and protection of civic virtues or public virtues, by which the citizen were animated common concern for public good (Uwalaka, 2003:32).

The willingness of the citizens to participate directly in the civic affairs, identify their good with the common good and to crave for and sacrifice for public weal was at the epicentre of the Igbo republican spirit. The republican virtues in the traditional society were the moral sense in the citizens that enables them to pursue the common good. The republican spirit generates a sense of public affection and mobilizes solidarity and community consideration in feeling and behaviours (Okoro culture 2009:29). This republican spirit defines the Igbo traditional society as a 'humanistic society' and helps to organize itself in such a way that it ensures that values are harmonized and at the same time ensures the autonomy of individual members of the republic. Notably, the traditional Igbo republicanism combines personal enterprise, strive and independent mindedness with the moral commitment to solidarity (Umunna bu ike) and devotion to common good of all This ideology forms the core of Igbo traditional/moral educational curriculum.

- **Ubuntu** 'Ibuanyi Danda'/ 'umunna bu ike' social philosophy of the Igbo tradition society also finds its equivalence in the Ubuntu concept. The Bantu people of lower Congo conceived the basis of their socio-political and moral philosophy in 'Ubuntu', presents to us the idea of a 'vital force'. Idea of 'vital force' as the core of social harmony and solidarity is described by Osuagwu (1999) thus, 'Bantu philosophy is an ontology organized around the basic concept which temple designates 'vital force' (139).

Accordingly, this basic ontology expresses the highest form of being, of aspiration and of action of the Bantu people about life in all its ramification, covering the divine, spiritual, human and other cosmic realities (Nkemakolam 1999:139). Overtly, life is the supreme focus, motive and aspiration of the Bantu being, thought and action. Hence Bantu greatest pre-occupation concerns essentially the preservation and conservations of life. Against this backdrop, Man 'Umuntu' is an important member of the universal set created by God. Bantu ontology centers around man and his wellbeing in the community. The Bantu worldview is thus described as purely anthropological. Maduakolan (1999), in

this direction states, 'In fact Bantu ontological worldview is remarkably and dominantly anthropological (141).

However, it was Kagame, who first described the philosophy of the Rwandan people of Congo as Ubuntu. According to him, Ubuntu in relation to African sociology means one-ness and wholeness of ontology and epistemology (Ramosel 2007:47). Ubu- is the generalized understanding of be-ing, may be said to be distinctively ontological, whereas – Ntu- as the modal point at which be-ing assumes concrete form or modal living is the process of continual enfoldment may be said to be distinctively epistemological (Ramosel 2007:47). Against this background, Azouzu defines 'Ubuntu' as being human (humanness) humane, respectful and polite attitude towards others (208). Ubuntu denotes a sense of collective responsibility among human beings to distribute the life force for common benefit (Mary and Muller 2006:34). Ubuntu is equivalent to personhood and as such symbolizes human existence, community living and solidarity. This Nguini proverb brings out clearly the meaning of ubuntu in its traditional setting, 'Umuntu ngu-umuntu ngobanta' meaning 'I am because we are'. This therefore expresses the true meaning of African social existence.

Ubuntu as a major concept of African social existence maintains that the true nature of man can only be realized through social relationship with others (Okoro, Peace...2009:72) Yonah explicating more on this socio-political concept maintains that the spirit of ubuntu is based implicitly on the union of the opposites, hence while maintaining their inherent contradictions are not exclusive. It crates a unified and interconnected conception of human existence. The sense of collective solidarity characterized ubuntu through love, caring, tolerance respect empathy accountability and responsibility (37). Ubuntu is the celebration of being in it trinity of its manifestation- the human, natural and spiritual. Ubuntu is a life force that helps to maintain equilibrium of forces, natural, spiritual and human in community of other persons in ones existence and as such discrimination on the basis of race, gender ability or handicapped were diminished in the traditional African societies. Ubuntu accepts all persons as belonging to the community of the living (Yonah, 2006:37).

• **Ujamaa.** In Tanganyikan (Tanzania) traditional society, the concept of 'Ujamaa, though made public by Julius Nyerere, was the defining paradigm of the social existence. Ujamaa was rooted in traditional African values and it core emphases on the African familyhood system and communalism of traditional African societies (Ibhawoh and Dubia 2003:59-72). In fact Ujamaa is a socializing philosophy based on three major social existentialities namely, freedom, equality and unity. Thus there must be equality if people must work together cooperatively, there must be freedom because individuals are not served by the society, unless it is theirs and there must be unity, because only when society is united can its members live and work in peace, security and well being (Ibhawoh and Dubia 2003:59-72). Accordingly Osabu (2000) observes that Ujamaa is a socio-political philosophy that underlies the Tanzanian's communal living. It is the fabrics of its moral values, which advocates mutual respect, common property, and common labour (171). Notably, the foundation and the objectives of African socialism is the extended family relationship, which Ujamaa projects (Ibhawoh and Dubia 2003:59-72). The internalization of these moral values among members of African traditional communities resulted into African people in the traditional setting to consider every body as one and each others brother and no body as his natural enemy within the community.

Consequently, true Africans in the traditional setting do not form an alliance with 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'non-brethren'. The African regards all men as his brethren –as members of his ever extending family Thus the unwritten African creed is ' I believe in human brotherhood and unity of all men' Ujamaa -familyhood – then describes the African socialism as opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of exploitation of man by man. Ujamaa is equally opposed to doctrinaire of socialism, which seeks to build a happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between the man and man. Thus, ujamaa, is the socio-political philosophy that emphasizes the recognition and respect of the society as an extension of the basic family unit.

5. The Implications of Neglecting African Traditional Education to the Modern African Society

The traditional African system of education –with its curricular content –were and still very effective, that a total rejection of African heritage will leave African societies in a vacuum that can only be filled with confusion, lose of identity and a total break in integrational communication (Mara 2006;15-24) The assumption of Mara (2006), is underscored by the fact that human beings are by nature social creatures, whose basic drive and instinct lead them to create moral values that bind themselves together into communities. They are also rational and their rationality allows them to create ways of cooperating with one another spontaneously. Religion has often helped in this process(Fukuyama, 1999:6) therefore the natural state of man is not the war of everyone against everyone but rather a civic society made orderly by the presence of host of moral rules.

It was Fukuyaa (1999) that describes these moral rules/values as social capital (27). He consequently, maintains the inseparable relationship between social capital and crime in the modern world. According to him, social capital is a cooperative norms that has become embedded in relationship among a group of people, while crime represents the violation of community norms. Thus, social capital warrants the members of a group to expect others in a group within the social order to behave reliably and honestly and this in turn brings trust within the social existence (Okoro, women...2009:74-87).

However, Okoro (Women...2009) laments the untold consequences of neglecting or rather abandoning of the traditional socializing philosophy of Africa on the modern African societies as he observes the followings”

- **Unemployment:** African(Igbo People) noted for enterprising sprit and personal industry have been reduced to mere job seekers, instead of job creators, which they were before the imperial period. This situation has created with the Igbo state social disequilibrium, which has resulted to restiveness and crisis at every sector of the socio-political and economic life of African societies.

- ***The neglect of moral values:*** Due to the fact that the contemporary market economy does not support morality or value personal industry, Africans have joined the rest of the world, especially the west to adopt wholesomely the unethical means to sustaining their existence, since it is against logic to obey any law in a lawless society. This ethical position has resulted in a large scale crimes in the form of prostitution, embezzlement, armed robbery, fraud-including cyber fraud, kidnapping, youth restiveness, violent destruction of life and property of individual and the public at large. These constitute a major breach of peace in modern Africa. (Okoro Culture...2009:22-33)

It could therefore be noted that with the neglect of African traditional education in modern Africa, the values of social solidarity has become ousted. Hence Uwalaka (2003) avers in relation to Igbo community thus:

The celebrated Igbo solidarity has drastically waned and continued to vanish...today this excessive individualism is now on the Igbo throne, geocentricism and selfishness have become driving force, personal interest and subdued common interest, personal agenda over group, nothing is sacrificed in the higher interest of the group. Internal destruction, competition has taken over cooperation and collaboration (30).

Overly, some of the situations enumerated have great implications for peace initiatives in modern Africa. Thus the modern African society has become utilitarian in outlook and organization. It has also adopted individualism as her epistemological vision for organizing the society. The spirit of individualism has been given an apt description by Uwalaka (2003), as he writes, 'this individualism is calm and considered feeling, which disposes each citizen to locate himself from the mass of his fellows and withdraws into the circle of families and friends, with this little society formed to his taste, he gradually leaves the society to look after itself

(33). Unfortunately, this type of individualism have made African people (The Igbo example) become a people, who listen to no one, agrees on nothing and can not pursue any common good (Okoro, Culture...2009:22-33). This situation can account for most violent conflicts and wars in Africa

On the whole, the advent of the colonial model of education in modern Africa withdraws the children from the society and inculcates them with values and knowledge that make it difficult for them to return to their society. Thus, African have become rootless and a people without a historical past in the modern world. Therefore, the result is confusion, oppression, marginalization, militarization, violent conflicts and ultimately war in most African societies.

6. Conclusion

This paper has taken a critical survey of the socio-political history of African society. It discovers that peace was the core value that held the traditional society together. Therefore the main instrument of building peace in the society was their educational system, which was designed to ingrain peace tradition in the hearts and minds of their progenies. The paper notes that peace education started from birth to adulthood, through various institutions and methods. Peace tradition is acquired through various and diverse socializing processes in place in the traditional society. The curricular content of traditional education is anchored on social norms and moral values that held the community together.

This paper also notes that the modern African experience of wars and violent conflicts is predicated on the total neglect and rejection of the traditional education and the wholesome acceptance of the colonial education and culture, which does not emphasizes character but intellect and excessive individualism rather than community and solidarity living. The colonial education is also known for its promotion of social competition, personal interest, secularism and private ownership of means of production, which generate class system, greed, corruption and oppression, war and violent conflicts within the social system. However, if Africa must know peace, she must

Okoro Kingsley, Ebonyi State University (Abakaliki, Nigeria)

incorporate her traditional moral values with certain modifications into the contemporary educational system.

References

- Ademola, Faleti S, (2007) 'Theories of Conflict' In *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Shedrack Guya Best (ed). Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- Asouzu, Innocent, (2007). *Ibuanyidanda: New Complementary Ontology, beyond World Immanentis, Ethnocentric Reduction and Imposition Vol 2*. London: Transaction Publishers.
- Bainton, R.H. (1982). *Christian Attitudes towards War and Peace: a Historical Survey and Critical Evaluation*. Nashville: Abingon .
- Basil, Davison, (1969). *The African Geniuses: An Introduction to African Social and Cultural History*. Atlanta: Atlanta Monthly Press
- Block, William .W (1973) 'Tendencies in African education' In *Today's Education Journal* Vol. 11-12 (30-36).
- Bloomfield, Lincoln (1997). *Managing International Conflict: From Theory to Practice*. New York: St Martins Press.
- Erim, McCandless (2007). 'The Emergence of Peace-Building and Development' in *Peace research for Africa: A Critical Essay on Methodology*. Erim McCandles, Abdul Karim. B Mary King, Sall Ebruma (eds) Addis Ababa: University of Peace.
- Erim McCandless and Mary Schwoeber H (2003). 'Towards a Theory, Method and Practice of Appreciative Inquiry for Use in Complex Peace Building and Development Context' In *Positive approaches to Peace Building: A Resources for Innovators*. Cynthia, Sampson (ed). Washington DC: Pact Publishers
- Fukymaya, Francis (1999). *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstruction of Social Order* London; Profile Books.
- Gerhard, Kettel (1955). *The Concept of Peace in the Old Testament* Nashville: Norton Press.
- Ibeanu, Oke (2007). 'Conceptualizing Peace' In *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Shedrack Gaya Best (ed). Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Okoro Kingsley, Ebonyi State University (Abakaliki, Nigeria)

- Ibhawoh, Bonny and Dibua JI. (2003). 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for social and Economic Development in Africa.' *African Journal of Politics and Society* Vol. 8 No.1 (59-72).
- Ifemesia, Chieka (1979). *The Traditional Humane Living Among The Igbo: a Historical Perspective*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension.
- Iroegbu, Pantalon (1995). *Metaphysics: The Kpim of Philosophy*. Owerri: International Universities Press.
- Iwe, NSS (1999). *Socio Ethical Issues in Nigeria* Obosi: Pacific Publishers.
- Karame, Kari. (2004). *Gender and Peace Building in Africa*. Norway: Norsk
- Khotari, Rajim (1979). 'The North and South Issues' *Magzingira* Vol10.1979.
- Mara, John. K (2006). 'The Virtues and Challenges of Traditional African Education' in *Journal of Pan African studies*. Vol. 1, No4 June 2006 (15-24).
- ...(1969). *Pan African Education: The Last Stage of Educational Development in Africa*. New York: Edwin Mellen
- Mary, King E, and Christopher, Miller (2006). *A Teaching Model: Non Violent Transformation of Conflict*. Switzerland: University of Peace.
- Mary King E and Sall Ebrima (2007). Introduction: Research and Education Fundamental to Peace and Security' In *Peace and Research for Africa: A Critical Essay on Methodology*. Eri McCandless, Bungura, Abdul Karim, Mary King and Sall Ebrima (eds). Addis Ababa: University of Peace.
- Murray, Victor. A. (1967). *The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa*. London: Frankcass.
- Ntahobari Josephine and Ndayiziga M (2003). *The Role of Burundi Women in Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts*, Paris: UNESCO.

African Traditional Education: A Viable Alternative for Peace Building Process in Modern Africa

- Ociti, J.P. (1973). *African Indigenous Education*. Nairobi: Kenya East African Literature Bureau.
- Olivia, B. Bexley. J. and Warmark K. (eds) (1995). *Arm to Fight, Arm to Protect, Women Speaks Out About Conflict*. London” Panos.
- Okoro, Kingsley N, (2009). ‘Cultural Globalization, the Last Onslaught on African Personality: The Igbo Example’ *A Paper Presented at the International conference on Sustainable development between 15-18 September, 2009* at the Main Hall Of University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus- Nigeria. Book of Proceeding Vol. 5. No.3 2009 (22-33).
- Okoro, Kingsley N, (2009, ‘Women and Peace Initiative in Igbo Traditional Society: a Viable Option for Peace Building Process in Nigeria’ *A Paper Presented at the International conference on Research and Development*. Held at Universite Nationale Du Benin, Cotonou, Republic of Benin Book of Proceeding Vol. 2. No.17 November, 2009 (74-87).
- Okoro, Kingsley N, (2010) ‘Religion: a Vital Instrument for Global Peace’ *In Contemporary Issues in Philosophical and Religious Discourse Second Edition*. Uka, E.M., Okoro Kingsley and Kanu Macaulay (eds) Awka: Optimum Publishers.
- Osugwu, Maduakolam I (1999). *A Contemporary History of African Philosophy: Amamihe Lectures Vol. IV*. Owerri: Amamihe Publications
- Osabu, Timothy U (2000). *Comparative Cultural Democracy: The Key to Development in Africa*. Ontario: Mary Knoll.
- Ramose, Mggobe B. (2002). *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*. Zimbabwe: Mond Books.
- Report (2002). Women, Peace and Security. Submitted by the UN secretary General in Pursuant to State Council Resolution 1325 (2000).
- Ross, Mare, (1993). *The Management of Conflict” Interpretations and Interests in Comparative Perspective*. New Have: yale University Press.

Okoro Kingsley, Ebonyi State University (Abakaliki, Nigeria)

- Scanlon, David. (1964). *Traditional Education in Africa*. New York: Columbia University.
- Uwalaka, Jude (2003). *The Struggle for Inclusive Nigeria: Igbo's to Be or Not to Be? A Treatise on Igbo Political Personality and survival in Nigeria.: To Nwa Igbo*: Owerri Snaap.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel U. (1974). *State and Social Revolutions: a Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Yonah, Seleti (2006). 'The Field of Peace and Conflict Studies' In *Teaching Model: Nonviolent Conflict Transformation of Conflict*: Mary King E, and Christopher Miller (eds). Switzerland: University of Peace.

Patriarchy: Perpetuating the Practice of Female Genital Mutilation

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

***Abstract:** Female genital mutilation is a common practice in certain regions of Africa and Asia. This often times performed by women on other women and young girls. Men are far removed from the act itself. Proponents argue that it decreases the rate of HIV/AIDS. Therefore it is beneficial to the larger society. However, female genital mutilation, much the same as foot-binding and breast ironing and corsetry are part of a continuum of female body and sexuality control. These practices like female genital mutilation are carried out by women for the benefit of men. This paper attempts to show that these practices are not isolated occurrences or cultural phenomena but rather the invisible hand of patriarchy. The privileging of male that accompanies patriarchal systems make female genital mutilation a requirement for women's survival not a choice.*

1. Introduction

The most commonly accepted definition of patriarchy is the social structure of society based on the father having primary responsibility for the welfare of and authority over their families. However the true reach of patriarchy extends far beyond the privacy of the familial realm. Allan G. Johnson, Professor at Hartford College for Women and sociologist states in *The Gender Knot* that patriarchy does not mean that all men are powerful and all women are powerless. It does indicate that the most powerful roles are held by men, that men are in positions of authority because of their ability to exert control through violence or threat of violence, and that personal attributes and social activities closely tied to men are more highly regarded in society (Johnson, 2005).

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

It is difficult to discuss the practice of female genital mutilation without exciting passions from both challengers and supporters of the practice. However, the larger issues of dignity, value, and worth of life are greater than this one particular act. Although female genital mutilation is often carried out by female practitioners, the intent is to control the female body and sexuality for man's benefit. The practice of female genital mutilation has been marginalized as a cultural issue. This assumption is discussed in isolation of patriarchy's impact on the basic human rights of women. The objective of this work is to link patriarchal control and dominance to the practice of female genital mutilation. The attempt is to refute the notion of female genital mutilation as simply a cultural phenomenon citing the long history in which the dominance and control over the female body and feminine sexuality has crossed geographical boundaries.

2. Patriarchy

Carole Pateman argues in the *Sexual Contract* that "Modern civil society is not structured by kinship and the power of fathers; in the modern world, women are subordinated to men as *men*, or to men as a fraternity (Pateman, 1997)." In patriarchal systems, as a collective group, women are systemically unrepresented or underrepresented in the economic, political, military, criminal justice, legislative and educational arenas. Men serve in the highest levels in all areas of society. This is particularly important when examining women's rights of equality and freedom from violence. Men ultimately decide freedom and the extent to which it is afforded to others. Woman only has the freedom that man has willingly given to them.

In traditional patriarchal societies, the role of the man is to provide financially. He is also responsible for the security and protection of the women and children. Man participates in the public realm through education, business, politics and religious activities. The women's role has always been consigned to childrearing and sex. In *The*

Second Sex, Simone De Beauvoir maintains that man is the norm and standard as expressed in language by the designation "man" being used to refer to all human beings. She goes on to state that "For him she is sex-absolute sex, no less (S. D. Beauvoir)." Woman is defined in terms of her differences from man. Man's body is normal and woman's body is abnormal. Man's way of knowing is the standard and a woman's way of knowing is perceived as emotional and unsuitable for the public arena. In order for woman to gain footholds in the public realm she must set aside all that is particular to her and take up characteristics of the male norm.

Addressing issues of patriarchy produce strong emotions because it speaks to issues of identity and culturalism. Both men and women alike are so strongly attached to the gender roles assigned by society. Those gender roles define every aspect of life including dress, language and sexual expression. Socialization determines that men wear pants and women are better suited in dress. Even in modern times, women are severely punished in some societies for wearing pants. Female inferiority is expressed in her speech and language. In *Femininity and Domination*, Sandra Lee Bartky suggests that "women's language... is marked with hesitations and false starts; they tended to introduce their comments with self-denigrating expression...they often used a questioning intonation which in effect turned a simple declarative sentence into a request for help or affirmation from without... and excessive qualifiers (Bartky)." Sexually, men and women are on the extremes of the continuum. If women have multiple sexual partners they are publicly branded as being promiscuous. However, if men go off with such unbridled regard they have no fear of stigmatization like women do and are often time revered for their conquest.

Patriarchy is even more difficult to contest when it is couched in terms of being religiously ordained or the natural biological order. Sandra Lipsitz Bem, Professor of Psychology and Women's Studies at Cornell University characterizes androcentrism (male-centeredness) as "the privileging of males, male experience, and the male perspective, which leads to defining woman as the other (Bem, 1993)." She goes on to state that woman is defined by

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

her difference from and inferiority to man. She asserts that woman is primarily responsible for the household in which man is deemed as the head. Woman is also defined in terms of her reproductive capabilities. The female body is most venerated and generally accepted only during the childbearing years. However, women spend the majority of their lifetime outside of this range. Although the ability to sexually satisfy man is of utmost importance, a premium is placed on “virginal modesty and patriarchal innocence (Mernissi)” at the time of marriage. In the context of religious teaching, virginity and sexual modesty is central in defining a righteous and honorable woman. This is a responsibility solely placed on woman with man being the beneficiary by upholding his status in the community and increasing the disparity of equality between the sexes by depriving woman of her self-determination.

To better understand patriarchy, the historical roots must be examined. The genesis of patriarchy is based in religion and science. Even the mere discussion of religion as the possible source of patriarchy is deemed to be treacherous for a person of faith. Many modern Christian families have households that are complementarian in their operation, meaning that men and women are created equal but have different yet equally important roles. Egalitarian households are operated in a manner that there is equality in the household and no gender assigned roles. However, most families still ascribe to the male hierarchical structure. To reject patriarchy in a religious household is to reject God's word. Denunciation is viewed as an attack against the biblical model of the family with that provides clear distinctions between man, woman, and child. To be considered a person of faith, one must accept all tenants of their faith's cannon incontrovertibly.

Bem provides a biblical insight for the concept of patriarchy and androcentrism. The creation story of Adam and Eve is used as the establishment of man's God-ordained right as the standard and norm of humanity and superiority of all creation, including woman. Not only does man authority derived from God but a mandate to provide leadership and correction to his wife and children in order to progress toward redemption. The importance of man's

dominion in the home is seen as a reflection of his ability to lead in public realm (The Tenets of Biblical Patriarchy).

Adam was said to be made in God's own image whereas Eve's creation was an inferior creation of God by way of man. Eve was not said to be made in the image of God but rather from Adam's rib. Simone De Beauvoir states that "He thinks of his body as a direct and normal connection with the world, which he believes he apprehends objectively, whereas he regards the body of woman as a hindrance, a prison, weighed down by everything peculiar to it...This is symbolized in Genesis where Eve is depicted as made from what Bosseut called 'a supernumerary bone' of Adam (Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*)."

Adam was given direct authority from God to name, therefore define, all living creatures in its relevant difference from man. Modern woman is still defined as someone's daughter, wife or mother, never as a separate human being. This directive from God to Adam destined Adam's dominance over all things. The creation story exemplifies woman as a lesser being, created for the sole purpose of helping man. She had no power or authority of her own. Her full identity was in every respect joined to Adam.

The story of mankind's fall from grace demonstrates that woman was not only seen as the weaker of the two sexes, as illustrated by the serpent's approach of Eve instead of Adam. It also confirms woman as a sexual being; having been seduced by the serpent and then seducing Adam into disobeying God. Thus a woman's sexuality presents the dichotomy of being enticing and yet so powerfully destructive that it needs to be controlled. Eve's punishment for eating the forbidden fruit defines woman in terms of her reproductive nature. God's punishment for Eve's insubordination was painful childbirth and subjugation to her husband.

In contemporary society, women are still seen as being inferior and a departure from the male norm. A woman's sexuality is seen as perilous with the potential to devastate the lives of great men. This narrative is repeated time and time again when the story of the other woman seducing the powerful man and destroying his career and family; abdicating him of any responsibility for his own actions.

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Thus the control of woman and feminine sexuality is for her own good and for the protection and benefit of all mankind.

Modern man has struggled with the changing dynamics of the socialization roles with women now having more opportunities outside the home in the workplace and business world. In recent decades in the United States, neoconservative men's movements, such as the Promise Keepers, have attracted large numbers of members advocating responsible parenting. This is a call for fathers to be more nurturing, more involved and better listeners within their families. These changes would seem on the surface to benefit women as there should be a lessening of the hierarchical structure to reflect the increasing financial role women are taking and the more nurturing role of men. However, these movements pose a concern for feminist, in that men have relinquished their roles as sole financial provider yet they are assured that they are still the ordained head of the household. The study "Do Promise Keepers Dream of Feminist Sheep?" conducted by Louise Silverstein, Carl F. Auerbach, Loretta Grieco, and Faith Dunkel found the Promise Keepers members were taught that they should listen to their wives, share household tasks and participate in childcare. They are also taught "Christ is the head of the Church, but he was willing to sacrifice His life for eternity. In the same way, the husband is head of the family (Louise B. Silverstein)."

The implications of this mindset are that women may be able to object to their husbands as the head but how does she make an argument against Christ as the head. Rejection of patriarchy then becomes an issue of her personal faith and disobedience to God not just an objection to her husband's authority. According to Promise Keepers members, their role is not patriarchal but one of a spiritual leader and that their position as leader is both religiously and biologically sanctioned. "By redefining the father as spiritual leader, rather than patriarch, the father maintains power and status (Louise B. Silverstein, 1999)." One respondent to the Silverstein et al. study declared "My wife is meek, she's very submissive. Now I allow her to take two steps forward, and I take two steps back." This statement demonstrates the

problem with patriarchy, being that freedom is *allowed* by men not *afforded* to all women as a basic human right.

If the first branch of patriarchy is religion, the second would be science, specifically biology. Biological essentialism focuses on sexual differences to justify inequality and the safeguarding of male supremacy. Science has been utilized in biological politics to justify everything from slavery to genocide. One such area of science was polygenesis, which gave credence to Black Africans as inherently inferior. They were said to have smaller brain sizes and larger, sturdier bodies suitable for slavery. Other sciences such as eugenics were employed to justify sterilization to create a pure race and regulate immigration by arguing that people of certain ethnicities were intellectually inferior. Using this form of science, the United States justified the use of sterilization of mental health patients from the early twentieth century until the mid 1970's.

Many of these biological sciences closely coincided with the women's movement of the late 1800's. During this time there was an influx of women entering into higher education. These affluent and educated women were also having fewer babies. Scientist came up with the vital force theory to guard against the educational aspect of the women's movement. Vital force theory asserts that energy cannot be created nor destroyed and that there are finite amounts of energy. Therefore the energy must be conserved and geared toward specific tasks. As such, women (especially menstruating women) should not waste or divert energy on education and away from her reproductive development (Bem).

The Social Darwinism theory declares biology dictates gender roles. Men are more aggressive and women are more nurturing. Men are more highly developed and evolved because they have undergone a more stringent selection process or "survival of the fittest" by protecting and providing subsistence for the female and offspring of their species. To combat women's suffrage, this theory falsely puts forth that the nurturing temperament of women would make them more predisposed to voting for welfare and aid to those unable to sustain themselves thus jeopardizing societal progress (Bem, 1993).

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Sociobiologists have attempted to assess sexual differences and inequality at the onset of the second women's movement of the 1960's. Some feminist have argued that the theory is used to rationalize the egregious male behaviors. This theory proffers that men are sexually promiscuous, inclined to rape, predisposed to abandonment, aggression, intolerant of infidelity, apt to sequester females, capable of killing step-children and prone to male dominance in an attempt maximize the number of offspring to reproduce their own genes. Whereas women have to be more selective in mating because of their limited reproductive resources, time finding the most suitable mate, and producing the best offspring. Women are mindful of the time and energy allocated to pregnancy and childcare. Unlike men, that can produce several children at once, women are limited to producing approximately twenty children in their lifetime. Women may engage in deceit if necessary to withhold paternity to ensure assistance with reproduction and parental care. Sociobiologists have argued that promiscuous males over time have created more of themselves and nurturing females have created more of themselves. For that reason, genetic differences between men and women continue to exist and produce more of the same survivalist behaviors (Bem, 1993).

Female genital mutilation, footbinding, breast ironing, corseting are different practices than span dissimilar periods in time and geography. The common link is that of patriarchy's invisible hand in the harm inflicted upon women and girls often times by other women. Women do not engage in these practices for their own benefit but rather for the benefit of man. Although these and many other harmful and violent acts committed against women and girls are illegal they continue to be socially accepted and maintain legitimacy in the male dominant sphere of the legal and political systems that should provide protection for all human beings.

3. Female Genital Mutilation

A joint statement on February 2008 by ten United Nations Agencies points out "... that female genital mutilation is a manifestation of unequal relations between women and men with roots in deeply entrenched social, economic and political conventions." The World Health Organization describes female genital mutilation as procedures that intentionally alter or injure female genital organs for non-medical reasons. Initially the procedure was termed female circumcision but there were outcries from advocates that argued this termed minimized the torture of the event. It is unlike male circumcision in which the male organ remains intact. The procedure was later termed female genital cutting, however, the World Health Organization wanted to heighten global awareness of the severity and brutality of this procedure by calling it mutilation ("Female genital mutilation", 2008).

There are several forms of female genital mutilation. Type I is clitoridectomy, in which all or part of the clitoris is removed. Type II, excision is when all or part of the clitoris and labia are removed. Type I and II are the most common forms of female genital mutilation. These procedures are supposedly used to ensure virginity until marriage but primarily to take away all sexual desires and any sexual gratification including masturbation. Type III is called infibulation with excision. During this procedure the vagina is surgically closed leaving only a small opening for urination and menstruation. This is considered the most brutal of the three primary forms of female genital mutilation. The purpose is to ensure virginity until marriage. Older female relatives, midwives or tribal leaders normally perform these acts of mutilation; however for the Type III procedure trained medical professionals usually complete this task. After being cut with a blade and the vagina is stitched closed, the girls' legs are tied together for approximately two weeks until the wound has healed. There are sometimes martial ceremonies where the husband will cut the womb open or the wound is forcefully penetrated. Type IV female genital mutilation is any other harm done such as blood piercing, scarring or burning ("Female genital mutilation", 2008).

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Societies that are considered more inclined toward patriarchy are usually lacking in substantial women's rights. African and Asian countries as well as parts of the Middle East have higher instances of FGM. For example, Egypt, Djibouti, and Guinea have over a 90% FGM rate ("Female genital mutilation", 2008). These procedures are normally carried out by older female tribal leaders and midwives. How then do we come to terms with women inflicting harm upon other women and girls? Women, because of their nurturing role in society, are expected to protect their children from all harm and are ultimately responsible for their well-being. In many of these societies, men dictate what is considered the virtuous and acceptable female image. Control over every aspect of the woman is accepted and women gladly acquiesce in an attempt to gain higher societal status and to be deemed more acceptable for marriage.

As women are solely dependent on men; their fathers and husbands, for safety and economic support in these societies, compliance with this rite of passage from girl to womanhood is deemed necessary. As a father from the Ivory Coast told the *New York Times*, "If your daughter has not been excised. . . . No man in the village will marry her. It is an obligation. We have done it, we do it, and we will continue to do it. . . . She has no choice. I decide. Her viewpoint is not important (Poggioli, French Activists Fight Female Genital Mutilation, 2009). Even if a girl's parents object, the father's family has the definitive authority and final decision.

Ayaan Jirsi Ali describes her experience as woman in a patriarchal society as "I was a Somali woman, and therefore my sexuality belonged to the owner of my family: my father or my uncles. It was obvious that I absolutely had to be a virgin at marriage; because to do otherwise would damage the honor of my father and his whole clan-uncles, brothers, male cousins-forever and irretrievably. The place between my legs was sewn up to prevent it. It would be broken only by my husband (Ali, 2007)." Unfortunately her story is not uncommon. The World Health Organization estimates that 100 to 140 million girls and women worldwide have been the victim of FGM. In recent decades Type III female genital mutilation has been performed more often by trained medical professionals. They have used sterile, surgical

instruments instead of shards of glass or single use blades being used on multiple women. Proponents argue that with the new medical procedures in place, the practice is now safer than ever and should not be outlawed. The concern by the United Nations is that the procedure is becoming medicalized in that a less “intrusive” procedure is being conducted by medical professions. This does not detract from the fact that it has no medical purpose and causes short term and long term physical and psychological harm to women (UN agencies unite against female genital mutilation, 2008).

The World Health Organization list cultural, religious, and social factors as causes for female genital mutilation. They state that pressure to conform to the social order and being prepared for marriage is a strong factor in perpetuating this practice. This aligns with Bem's statement that “...during enculturation, the individual gradually internalizes the cultural lenses and thereby becomes motivated to construct an identity that is consistent with them (Bem, 1993).” This idea also supports the fact the female genital mutilation is often times performed by females that have been enculturated to believe this is the right thing to do morally for the sake of their future husbands and also to chasten young girls.

Advocates of female genital mutilation, or as they refer to it as female circumcision, is a rite of passage from girl to womanhood. Many believe this is deeply rooted in religious obligations and ethnic or cultural identity. Some proponents also argue that it will reduce the rate of HIV and AIDS in nations that have been greatly ravaged by these diseases. They state that by having this procedure done, it reduces sexual desire; therefore women will have fewer sexual partners and less likelihood to contract these diseases. Grace Kemunto, a traditional circumciser said, "When you are cut as a woman, you do not become promiscuous and it means you cannot get infected by HIV (Global Challenges: Proponents of Female Genital Cutting in Kenya Promoting It as HIV Prevention Method). Supporters put forth that similar to male circumcision, female genital mutilation maintains cleanliness. Portions of the female genitalia that secrete fluids are removed or stitched almost closed. They state that hygiene for both males and females is the

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

predominant justification for “circumcision.” The notion that the best means of combating HIV/AIDS by means of female genital mutilation is unreasonable. The eradication of these deadly diseases will not happen by merely mutilating the genitalia of girls and women. HIV/AIDS cannot be contested without early education, prevention, and proper treatment. The elimination of these diseases cannot be placed solely between the legs of mutilated women as an alternative to personal responsibility of both sexes.

Despite the serious health risk of female genital mutilation including death during the procedure from hemorrhaging or unsterilized instruments, painful sexual experiences, menstrual problems, urination problems, risks during pregnancy for the mother and during labor for the mother and baby, little has been done legally to stop this harmful and unnecessary practice. Notwithstanding the widespread nature of this problem, there has been little research performed on the psychological trauma associated with this practice. Many have associated the emotional torment of female genital mutilation with that of post traumatic stress disorder. There has also been very little in the way of awareness, education and training for Western physicians to deal with the immigrant populations that have been subjected to this practice.

In the Bartly article *Femininity and Domination*, she discusses the issue of shame. She states that men and women both experience shame but shame for women is a state of inferiority and recognition of otherness. She states that “Shame, then, involves the distressed apprehension of oneself as a lesser creature (Bartly).” Shame of a patriarchal family is placed solely on women through their fathers and husbands inability to control woman’s sexuality. Feminine sexuality can bring shame and dishonor unto a family unlike anything a son or other male relative could do. Fathers that refuse to allow their daughters to undergo female genital mutilation are outcast in their societies, their daughters bring dishonor on the entire household.

4. Other Forms of Physical Repression of the Female Body

Imperial China brought about the custom of footbinding which was practiced from the tenth century until the mid 1940's. Foot binding is practice in which girls ages 2 to 10 years old would have their feet broken and then tightly bound as to look smaller and more feminine in which the bound feet were referred to as "three-inch lilies." This practice left many women permanently deformed and disabled even after the feet were unbound. Many died because of the excruciating pain suffered and infections from the rotting flesh unable to heal.

The women of this time were subordinate to their fathers, husbands and even their sons. These women were never fully integrated into their husband's family but they were subservient to them. Women were considered dishonorable if they were barren or did not produce a male child. They were to remain unmarried even after their husband's death to honor his family. Women had no economic independence thus totally reliant upon the support of a man.

The small, bound feet and hobbling movements by the women was an erotic sexual fetish to the men of the country. Women that did not engage in this practice risked social scorn and limited marital prospects. This practice not only limited the movement and freedom of women physical and kept them out of the public realm it also impeded them mentally and spiritually. Brent Whitefield quoting Fan Hong states "the intense physical sufferings brought about by the process of breaking and binding the feet in early childhood produced a passivity, stoicism and fatalism that effectively 'bound' not only the feet but also the mind and the emotions. (Whitefield)."

Much like the circumstances of women subjected to female genital mutilation, footbinding was a necessity in a society that devalued the life of women from the outset. A woman's only hope for survival in a society where she had no economic resources of her own was to be married. Mothers often time performed the painful and sometime deadly procedure on their own daughters as a sign of love and care for their daughter's future well-being and also to maintain

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

her own status within the family and society. Women that did not bind their daughter's feet were subjected to social opprobrium and out casting. Footbinding came to represent self-discipline, cultural conformity, and absolute obedience (Candib).

Breast ironing is a modern practice carried out in parts of Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau, West and Central Africa, including Chad, Togo, Benin, Guinea-Conakry. The breasts of pubescent girls are pressed flat with a heated object repeatedly to stunt their development. One in four girls has been the victim of this practice and approximately four million women have undergone breast ironing. Roughly four million teenage girls are at risk of breast ironing. The purpose is stated to discourage young girls from pursuing and seducing men and dampen premarital sex which would reduce teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (Breast ironing in Cameroon: breaking the silence).

This like many other forms of female body mutilation and sexual control is carried out by mothers and other female relatives. Many mothers believe that the flatten breast will be unappealing to men thus protecting their daughters from rape. They also believe that by supposedly dampening their daughter's sexual interest, they will focus more on their education. However well intentioned these mothers may be the consequences of this painful and psychologically traumatizing practice do not outweigh the benefits. It is a painful and debilitating experience. It robs young girls of their physical integrity and self-determination. It has numerous adverse health implications including: abscesses, itching, discharge of milk, infection, dissymmetry of the breasts, cysts, breast infections, severe fever, tissue damage, cancer and even the complete disappearance of one or both breasts. There is also no evidence that it deterring sexual activities (PL - Break Ironing Fact Sheet).

Corsetry was practiced in parts of Europe, specifically France and North America. The corset of the Victorian period was constricting and presented an unrealistic image of the female body with the waist severely cinched in and the breast exaggeratedly high. The corset was restrictive and kept women in their place in that it

physically restricted woman's movement. Katherine Marie Klingerman quoting David Kunzle states "The corset represented both the sensual female body, and the chaste virgin; the female control over male desires, and the male's control over the female body (Klingerman)."

Much in the same vain as footbinding, breast ironing and female genital mutilation the practice of corsetry not only physical left women incapacitated and mental bound it is the cause of adverse medical conditions. Corseting has been held responsible for causing uterine and breast cancer, tuberculosis, fainting, anemia, and some deaths.

Female genital mutilation, along with the examples provide, show how extreme physical repression of the feminine body and sexuality can be and the lengths that women will go to in order to conform to patriarchal standards of femininity. To argue that women are responsible and active participants in inflicting these harms upon girls and other women is to overlook the importance of their very survival in societies where they have no or very little access to finances and education which would provide the equality necessary to have real decision making power. Acceptance of these practices comes with societal acceptance, economic support, and physical security. The importance of marriageability should not be overlooked particularly in cultures were it is virtually impossible for women existence outside of this union. Man does not have a direct role in these practices being carried out; however, they set the standard and define exactly how a woman is suitable for marriage. Therefore man's power and privileging in the world is the causation for the perpetration of these practices.

5. Legal Response

In 1993 the United Nations created the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. According to Dr. Marcia Sweedler, Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University, this was a declaration and not a binding treaty because it proposed the end of all forms of violence against women (Sweedler, 2005). The UN was not sure that they would receive enough backing from the male dominant heads of state to make it a treaty.

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Eventually they went for having it be a non-binding, unenforceable declaration, which is little more than a strong suggestion.

“Almost nowhere is her legal status the same as man’s, and frequently it is much to her disadvantage. Even when her rights are legally recognized in the abstract, long standing custom prevents their full expression in the mores (Beauvoir, 1997).” Although there are international legal status as well as national laws that protects women and girls from female genital mutilation, it continues to exist, with over three million girls annually at risk of having this procedure forced on them. Laws have been on record for decades but without enforcement and changes in cultural beliefs these laws are meaningless. With all of the national and international laws banning female genital mutilation there are very few charges worldwide in comparison to the millions of women impacted annually.

The reason why there are “soft laws” regarding female genital mutilation is because of the discrepancy between the public and private realm. Women have found their place historically to be in the private realm. Most laws, whether local, national or international that have been strictly enforced have been those pertaining to the male dominated public realm, which acts to exclude and constrain women. Protecting the privacy of the family realm is important but it leaves women vulnerable and defenseless from harm and violence. Elizabeth M. Schneider, law professor at Brooklyn Law School, states (Schneider):

Tort law, which is generally concerned with injuries inflicted on individuals, has traditionally been held inapplicable to injuries inflicted by one family member on another. Under the doctrines of interspousal and parent-child immunity, courts have consistently refused to allow recoveries for injuries that would be compensable but for the fact that they occurred in the private realm. In the same way, criminal law fails to punish intentional injuries to family members. Common law and statutory definitions of

rape in most states continue to carve out a special exception for a husband's forced intercourse with his wife. Wife beating was initially omitted from the definition of criminal assault on the ground that a husband had the right to chastise his wife. Even today, after courts have explicitly rejected the definitional exception and its rationale, judges, prosecutors, and police officers decline to enforce assault laws in the family context.

Besides the human rights violation that female genital mutilation presents within the countries that it is practiced, it is an international problem in that migrating families are continuing the practice in their new homelands. Linda Weil Curiel is an attorney and human rights activist in France. She states "The aim of the mutilation is to deprive the woman of her own sexuality. She is only left to be a baby-maker" (Simons). France is in the forefront internationally in tracking and prosecuting practitioners as well as consenting parents of female genital mutilation victims. Although this practice has been eradicated in France, the difficulty has been in protecting young girls that are sent away to their native lands by their parents to have the procedure done. France has stricter laws that require doctors to report such incidents. Now parents are held accountable and prosecuted even if the procedure was done outside of the country or even if the girl is not a citizen of France.

Not only does female genital mutilation harm those women that are directly impacted, it negatively impacts women everywhere as it reinforces male dominance. Lisa Wade (Wade, 2009) argues that by emphasizing the horrors of female genital mutilation, critics of the feminist movement are able to trivialize the oppression faced by Western women (Defining gender oppression in US newspapers: the strategic value of female genital mutilation). Female genital mutilation should not be addressed in terms of being a single act isolated to certain parts of the world but as a global issue of human rights, freedom from violence, and economic equality.

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

6. Conclusion

The practices discussed transcend geography and culture. Female genital mutilation, footbinding, breast ironing, and corsetry are patriarchal sanctioned practices. All of these customs are cruel, inhumane, and contrary to nature. It is unbelievable that the God of any religion would desire harm and violence to be inflicted upon their creation. All of these practices physically and emotionally impair woman's mobility and full participation in society.

Practices such as female genital mutilation, footbinding, breast ironing and corseting "appears to be a women's matter, yet us is a process *required* by the patriarchy (Candib)." In all of these instances women are inflicting these harms upon their daughters or other young girls in order to ensure their future survival within their respective societies. These practices were not and are not optional. These gratuitous customs survived for generations because of woman's own acceptance of her inferiority and unworthiness outside of her sexuality and childbearing capabilities as reinforced by the patriarchy. Woman, over time, has internalized her "otherness" and accepted the devaluation of woman as her lot in life. Woman lacks the power and economic independence of her own to reject patriarchal practices that inflict harm upon her or her daughters.

Simone De Beauvoir maintains that woman is not able to free herself from the patriarchy because woman has no past, history or religion separate and distinct from man as other oppressed groups do from their oppressor. She argues that there is no historical event that subjugated women to men and required woman's absolute dependence upon man. She puts forth that since there was no condition that brought about the present circumstances but rather a natural state, that change is impossible (Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*).

Change is possible if all human beings react with moral outrage against issues of inequality, violence, and harm being executed against any group. There must first be an acknowledgement that patriarchy and male dominance does exist. Acceptance that the devaluation of the life of

“others” is not the essence of humanity but rather cruelty that stems from a desire to provide meaning in our lives by subjugating others (Keen). Patriarchy is a self defeating model and operates to its own detriment in that it handicaps and severely limits the participation of an integral part of that society, that being woman. It stands to reason that in order for any society to reach its full potential it has to facilitate full participation, autonomy, and freedom from violence and harm of all its people.

References

**Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, Nova Southeastern University
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

- Ali, Ayaan Hirsi. (2007). *Infidel*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.
- American Medical Association Council on Scientific Affairs. (1995). "Female Genital Mutilation." *Journal of American Medical Association*, pp. 1714-1716.
- Bartly, Sandra Lee. (1997). "Femininity and Domination", in Gould, Carol C (ed.), *Gender. Atlantic Highlands*: Humanities Press, pp. 103-111.
- Beauvoir, Simone De. (1997). "The Second Sex." in Gould, Carol C (ed.), *Gender. Atlantic Highlands*: Humanities Press, pp. 3-14.
- Bem, Sandra Lipsitz (1993). *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- "Breast Ironing in Cameroon: Breaking the Silence." *Reproductive Health Matters*. November 2006.
- Candib, Lucy M. (1999). "Incest and Other Harms to Daughters Across Culture: Maternal Complicity and Patriarchal Power." *Women's Studies International Forum*, pp. 185-201.
- "Female genital mutilation". February 2008. 15 June 2009
<http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs241/en/>
- "Global Challenges: Proponents of Female Genital Cutting in Kenya Promoting It as HIV Prevention Method." 30 January 2009. *Kaiser Daily HIV/AIDS Report*. 20 May 2009
http://www.kaisernetwork.org/daily_reports/rep_index.cfm?DR_ID=56703
- Johnson, Allan G. (2005). *Gender Knot Revised Ed: Unraveling Our Patriarchal Legacy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Keen, Sam. (1991). *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man*. New York, Toronto, London: Sydney, Auckland: Bantam Books..
- Klingerman, Katherine Marie. (2006). "Binding Feminity: An Examination of the effects of Tightlacing on the Female Pelvis."

Patriarchy: Perpetuating the Practice of Female Genital Mutilation

Louise B. Silverstein, Carl F. Auerbach, Loretta Grieco, Faith Dunkel. (1999). "Do Promise Keepers Dream of Feminist Sheep? ." *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 665.

Mernissi, Fatima (1982). "Virginity and Patriarchy." *Women's Studies International Forum*, pp. 183-191.

Pateman, Carole. (1997). "Sexual Contract", in Gould, Carol C. (ed.), *Gender*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, pp. 317-324.

PL - Break Ironing Fact Sheet. 1 September 2009
www.unfpa.org/16days/documents/pl_breakironing_factsheet.doc

Poggioli, Sylvia. *French Activists Fight Female Genital Mutilation*, 26 January 2009 . 3 June 2009 www.npr.org

—. "French Activists Fight Female Genital Mutilation." 2009.

Robinson, Doug. (1994). *No Less a Man: Masculist Art in a Feminist Age*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.

Rosenberg, Jared. (2009). "Female Genital Mutilation Linked to Sexual Dysfunction (Updated) (Report)." *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* .

Schneider, Elizabeth M. (1994). "Society's Belief in Family Privacy Contributes to Domestic Violence", in Leone Bruno (ed.), *Violence Against Women*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., pp. 26-32.

Simons Marlise. "Mutilation of Girls' Genitals: Ethnic Gulf in French Court." 23 November 1993. *New York Times*. 20 May 2009
<http://www.nytimes.com/1993/11/23/world/mutilation-of-girls-genitals-ethnic-gulf-in-french-court.html>

Sweedler Marcia. "Human Rights, Women and War." Ft. Lauderdale, 2005. *The Tenets of Biblical Patriarchy*. 1 September 2009
http://www.visionforumministries.org/home/about/biblical_patriarchy.aspx

UN agencies unite against female genital mutilation. February 2008 . 3 June 2009 http://www.unicef.org/media/media_42998.html

Sharmon Lynnette Monagan, *Nova Southeastern University*
(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Wade Lisa (2009).. "Defining gender oppression in US newspapers: the strategic value of female genital mutilation." *Gender & Society*.

Whitefield Brent (2008).. "The Tian Zu Hui (Natural Foot Society): Christian women in China and the fight against footbinding (Essay)." *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, pp. 203-213.

Art and Spirituality on Second Life: A Participant Observation and Digital Quest for Meaning

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

Abstract: *This participant observation study is a search for the holistic essence of the spiritual or inspirational in the artwork on Second Life, a digital metaverse. I focused on one island—Spirit Mountain. After negative first impressions, I surveyed its offerings, tracked my wanderings, interviewed two of its artists, documented the evolution of one artist's work and her inspiration, and attended one of the Immersive Events. Then I analyzed and compared these artists' work in search for its holistic essence. In my digital quest, I learned about the repeated spiritual importance of the color blue, natural forms, water, and light. Deeper questioning revealed how SL is an artful place that can heal sadness and loss, achieve good—help suicide survivors, find stress release. Finally SL helps connect people and groups on international scope, whereby they become teachers.*

Keywords: Second Life, Holistic Education, Meaning, Art, Spirituality, Beauty, Water, and Light.

1. Introduction

Second Life (SL) is a virtual world or digital metaverse, entirely constructed by participants. After a year of wanderings and doing research here, I was in great need of spiritual inspiration, so I accepted the challenge of writing about this quest. I searched the terms "art and spirituality" on SL and came across eleven notices, and found the **Spiritual Art Group** with 390 members. The group proposed, "Art is a way to expand and to share beauty, love, light and wisdom." It also promoted peace and enlightenment, a search for meaning.

SL functions as holistic education in that it provides free online resources for developing natural health

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

knowledge, offers international networking of artists with similar interests, and inspires artworks beyond self-expression to cultivate mind body, and spirit. A holistic way of thinking seeks to encompass and integrate multiple layers of meaning and experience rather than defining human possibilities narrowly (Miller, 2009). Educators who adopt a holistic approach, in all disciplines, promote a sense of concern and caring for teachers' and students' relationships with each other, the community and the natural environment (Gallegos-Nava, 2001). These goals are based on the holistic philosophy that everything in the universe is interconnected to everything else (Miller, 1993). Furthermore, holistic art education connects learning and encourages reflection that stimulates human awareness, including emotional, physical, ecological, cognitive, aesthetic, social, cultural, and spiritual aspects of life. "Because alienation and personal fragmentation are thought to be two of the causes of many of the current national, global, ecological, and spiritual crises, a holistic approach is urgently needed" (Seymour, 2004). Such holistic education is based on the premise that each person finds identity, meaning, and purpose in life through connections to the community, to the natural world, and to spiritual values such as compassion and peace. Holistic education evokes an intrinsic reverence for life and a passionate love of learning accomplished in different ways (Campbell, 2009).

London (2007) referred to holistic centers that promote expression of well-being and our high and deep encounters with life. SL similarly offers holistic resources for artists seeking a home, an office, a gallery, and/or sustaining a preserve for spiritual contemplation or inspiration. Thus, I choose to explore Art & Spirituality on SL.

2. Methodology

I decided to do a **participant observation** (PO) study of one location, **Spirit Mountain**. PO evolves in three stages: Data collection, content analysis, and comparative analysis (Stokrocki, 1997). I collected data by surveying its sites and offerings and interviewing some of its prominent artists,

using text, e-mail, and voice mail (Chen, Peter, & Hinton, S.M. (1999).

I also participated in some of their workshops, in trying to understand why this place appeals to them as a spiritual inspiration for artmaking and appreciating. I analyzed documents linked to the Spirit World Website (www.SpiritWorld.com) and the results of the interviews for recurring patterns of meaning, did a visual analysis of my many photographs taken on this site to find their essence, and consulted two meditating outside art educators as key informants. My initial study consisted of two summer months of daily explorations. Comparison with the outside literature is ongoing. Such qualitative research emphasizes understanding and explanation rather than rigor (Labuschagne, 2003). My major research and interview questions were what is Art? What is Spirituality? Show me one of your artworks and why you value it? Where do you find your inspiration?

3. Context, Survey of Places, Negative First Impressions

Spirit Mountain on SL is composed of a Welcome Center-Lounge (upstairs), Spiritual Art Gallery, Into This Moment Healing Center (educational), Indigo Room Radio Studio, and Atlantean Builders (public sandbox). Other places included Readers/Healers, Stitching Ex6, Reiki Place, Brahma Yoga Meditation Ashram (Kiirtan worship), ITM Healing, and Spirit Forest. At the Atlantis Shop on Airtol Hill, a visitor can purchase star-like Angel Sculptures (\$50L—Linden dollars) or buy a Relaxing Leaves Chair in natural green or multicolored, with a color changer and animation (for different meditation movements). The Healing Dove shop seemed relaxing. One can buy paintings, hanging fantasy lamp, healing circles, and an All Seeing Eye. I also spotted dispensing machines for such goods as Sun Tanning Oil. Inside Heart of Brightness Temple of the Buddha of Light and Freedom, I spied a bowling alley (Mirandirge 173, 159, 44)? You can buy sexy skins here too. What does these things have to do with spirituality? Unfortunately, this all

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

seemed like cosmic kitsch at first! My first impressions were not positive.

4. Spiritual Groups and Avatar Meetings

Then I overviewed the groups related to Art and Spirituality on SL and found only two. Later, I discovered the “**Spiritual Art Group**” with 394 members. Its charter said:

In our times, art is more important than ever. Art is a way to expand and share Beauty, Love, Light, and Wisdom. Art promotes Peace and Enlightenment. Art and Spirituality are always linked. Please participate in our debates and conferences and promote Art as a Spiritual Path. (Founder: Hermes Kondor).

Later, I learned about the good that members of the **Spiritual Art Group** do. I teleported to International Solidarity Center (Airtol Hill (5, 174, 46) and found quotes by Dalai Lama (Never Give Up!), Gandhi, and the Prayer of St. Frances of Assisi (Lord, Make me an instrument of your peace). UNICEF’S Declaration of the Rights of the Child, UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The Ex6 Foundation (pronounced excess), for example, helps suicidal people (with a Help Phone, an interactive website, forum and chat). The Spiritual Art Group publishes, a magazine, *The Healing Pool*, and solicits stories from SL friends. I left a note for the owner—Hermes Kondor that I would like to join and interview him. I teleported to his Spiritual Art Gallery and noticed his unusual artwork at the door. I later learned that Spirit Mountain is only two years old and still evolving.

I teleported to the **Spiritual Art Gallery** at the center of Spirit Mountain. At the entrance, an angel sculpture greeted me and inside there were over 30 large paintings. Paintings consisted of *The Traveler Series* (metaphysical), *Elemental Angels* (e. g, Fire), and *Lovers Series* by Hermes Kondor. In the rear conference room, I met Cre8tivefemme Chemistry, who was working on an installation sculpture. She showed me her sculpture and invited me to her workshops. I thus interviewed these two avatars for this study.

5. Interviews

Hermes Kondor is the group leader of the Spiritual Art Gallery and he called himself a Spiritual Knight. During our interview, Hermes told me that he lives in Portugal and is a photojournalist in Real Life (RL). He calls himself a Spiritual Knight because he is fond of the Knights Templar (joking). He became involved in SL when he went to a conference in Lisbon and heard the speaker talk about the possibilities of SL. He had to purchase a new computer to do the things that he wanted to on SL, like exhibit his work here. People buy his works but he mostly likes to share them.

On another occasion, I found him in the Spiritual Galley. He later informed me that he made these colored photos in RL by taking pictures of sculptural crystals with angels inside made by a friend. This exhibition is called "The Traveler Series" and he is fond of the painting at the entrance because "light" was the major ingredient. He talked about the meaning of spiritual as "different dimensions and we touch others at times. These dimensions overlap." He told me that Indigo blue is a spiritual color (Carroll & Tober, 1999).

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)



Figure __ Traveler 12

We walked to the back of the gallery where he put up a screen for his slide show beginning with his “Elemental Angel Series” that represents the elements of fire, air, earth, and water.

Then he invited me to Voice Chat in RL with our built in computer microphones. This was my first time to do a RL conversation in SL. He showed his black and white water series. He explained how he captures the flow of fountain water at 4000m a second. See Waterdrops Figure__. He explained, “This reality, you can only see with a camera.” He speculated that his attraction to water might be because he was born on the verge of Pisces and Aquarius. He explained “This is a challenge of the act of seeing . . . It shows the importance of the light as the raw material of the photographer.”



He rents four galleries in SL. Here in Spiritual Art Gallery are his uploaded RL photos. He owns another gallery for his Black and White Work, and a third gallery is his work studio at Paris Art (Reseau Art'ichoo, 193, 235, 24). Here I saw his black and white "Abstractions" sculptures and Water photographs. For example, one postcard featured oval forms that overlapped each other in a cycle, in the middle was his RL *Water_02* Photograph, and to the right is his perpetual twisting, Sculpture No12, zebra glass, that I purchased, He also has a fashion photo studio (Kondor Art Gallery, Couture BOSL--The Best of SL Boulevard, 152, 212, 26).

A week later I received the group announcement about his opening at Alba's Art Gallery (175, 31, 55) at 1pm on Sunday, June 14 at GMT. The first floor was a collection of RL Black & White photography, and, at the base floor, a large collection of "Abstractions." He exhibited these works for the first time in SL, and some of them were made especially for the occasion. These organic and kinetic

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

sculptural forms twirled in space. I purchased his *Perceptual Motion* piece that reminded me of smoke. Then I was knocked off SL so that ended my experience that day.

Hermes confessed that he isn't proficient at marketing his works. In RL, Hermes is a Reiki master. He felt that he is "not a master photographer yet because he is always learning.... the master looks into another universe." He also teaches photography by giving students professional jobs to do. Then I asked him about the meaning of his SL name choice. He said that Hermes is a messenger "above and beyond" and that Kondor means "freedom." He translated the term spiritual to mean "Love, and I am a lover not a fighter. I love life the most."

When I first met **Cre8tivefemme** on SL, I inquired about her name—chemistry. She speculated, "I would have just used Cree... but you needed a last name. I liked what it evolved into cre8tivefemme." In checking her profile, I learned that she lives by Lake Simcoe near downtown Toronto, Canada. She elaborated by e-mail, "A very quiet place, even quieter since her life partner died 3 years ago in September." She was a community educator and organizer most of her professional life. Through such arts as photography, stained glass, jewelry and clay mask making, art has helped her recover. In addition, SL has been a place for her to find her voice again in an artistic manner. She explained, "The simple joy of taking prim [basic shapes], texture and perhaps a script and creating something are like magic... a way healing."

The next week, I returned to the Galley and there I spied one of her fascinating sculptures with sparks flying from it (June 27, 2009, 1:00-2:00).

Art and Spirituality on Second Life: A Participant Observation and Digital Quest for Meaning



I wanted to hear more about this piece, so I interviewed her. Cree replied, “This [sculpture] *Midnight Desire* has a soft spot for me.” I asked her, how she made it. Here is part of the transcript:

[2009/06/27 13:30] cre8tivefemme Chemistry [typed] “SMILES.”

[2009/06/27 13:32] cre8tivefemme Chemistry: I learned to link (parts) last august and spent a lot of time in sandbox futzing [Yiddish term] to see what i could do with one and the picture being clearer inside is the remembering . . . no longer visceral, but inside [my head].

[2009/06/27 13:32] cre8tivefemme Chemistry: I liked the shape . . . the way it moved. A surprise. And it just felt right when it was done

[2009/06/27 13:33] cre8tivefemme Chemistry: that is one prim. The other prim is the particles, as I had no idea how to make them

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

[2009/06/27 13:33] cre8tivefemme Chemistry: I have worked with clay in RL . . . not professionally. But it does make me happy

[2009/06/27 13:36] cre8tivefemme Chemistry: this purple one here

[2009/06/27 13:36] cre8tivefemme Chemistry: if you move in on it it changes from the simple form

[2009/06/27 13:36] cre8tivefemme Chemistry: I liked the imagery . . . [It] was how I was feeling at the time.

Then I inquired, "Why the color blue?" Cree, reminisced, "Hmm blue ... I was blue, pure love has a blue scent to it ... blue is soothing ... just felt blue." Later, she added, "White means a few things, it's joy in one culture and the colour of death or grieving in another."

Later, I e-mailed her the interview and she added, "I was in a place of mourning ... of remembering my love . . . and felt this happen." She explained, "I liked the shape-- the way it moved. A surprise. And it just felt right when it was done." Later she said, "That is one prim (the form) . . . the other prim is the particles as I had no idea how to make them."

She told me how she makes these pieces in the public SL sandbox in front of the Gallery, where she starts with one prim (basic shape) and attaches others." I asked her about how she created this special effect—"Looks like white lights emanating from the sculpture?" She clarified, "[This is called] poofing (purchased animation script to make moving lights) . . . beautiful . . . and the memory is pleasing." She elaborated, "I liked the shape -- the way it moves. A surprise. And it just felt right when it was done. If you move in on it, it changes its simple form."

She explained further, "You make a prim. Set texture to blank. Put script in prim. Add first picture to prim, a cube is best and you can reset the size. You must reset the script every time you add a picture." Then she surprisingly sent me a copy of the sculpture.

I met her again at another event and. I asked, "How is your art spiritual?" She answered, "It feeds your mind and creative soul. I often work from the inside out. I'd consider it spiritual; then again I think all voices expressed in art are spiritual. "What is art-sculpture to you?" I asked. She responded. "A voice. ... My mind/ spirit requires it.

The following week, I noticed that Cree was online and asked to meet her. She teleported me to Chakryn Forest, her inspirational place. She said, "This is one of my favorite spots to think and work on an art program or take pictures."

She revealed, "I find education and this new technological age amazing. I'm so glad to see teachers finding new ways to use it. Sorta, meeting them where they are. It also has such potential to address the different ways that people learn."

This amazing forest featured an array of green trees and rushing water. Here Cree sat on a rock in a tan dress sprouting peacock feather wings. She told me that her uncle had a peacock farm. A peacock feather is a sign of great beauty. We listened to the rushing water and I could see why the color "blue" inspired her. Cree clarified, "I was thinking about the spiritual side of art. I often create after i meditate. There is this place i go to where the creation just flows." Then she took me to visit her favorite meditation site—a serene Japanese Fishing Village (Gwampa Tropics). When I arrived, she was meditating on a cushion on a float in the middle of the water. I sat down and immediately began to meditate (the "sit" command, immediately started the meditation animation). She told me to adjust my sound and the meditation sound began, "Water is clean and clear-- like our journey through this world. See the light dance on the water, before it dances in you. Breathe.... now drink and taste the sweet waters...." (7/7/09). After Cree left, I felt more relaxed to stay and pray.

At another time, I received this Group Invitation to a Piano Concert at the Spiritual Art Gallery, "These workshops are to feed your mind and creative soul. I have been lucky to meet many creative people who have inspired and taught me along my travels in SL. I am pleased to announce the first in our series of Immersive Arts Workshops" (creativefemme Chemistry; Wednesday, 17 Jun 2009 16:08:34 GMT). While the pianist performs the artist will make sculptures in concert -- at the same time in the public sandbox. Later, Cree e-mailed me, "I've heard there is now scientific research that suggests there is much holistic inspiration in music. I've always orchestrated (sic) my life (and now art) with music." These workshops inspire the soul to create, as a musician performs. If we can't find this inspiration in RL, perhaps SL

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

can offer it for people patient enough to listen.

In summary, these artists presented their work in transformation. London (2007) asked art educators what they lose by failing to address the spiritual dimension in their work and teaching. Gablik (1988) also stated that the artist who is "... able to bring art back in touch with its sacred sources; through his [her] own personal transformation . . . develops not only new forms of art, but new forms of living (p. 126). SL can offer this new "connected aesthetics" with purpose of promoting the common good, See Figure ___



Figure __. InterSolidarity on Spiritual Mountain, run by Hermes Kondor, connects spiritual arts to greater causes.

6. Conclusions

My first impression of Spirit Mountain was disappointing in meeting no avatars. The place seemed to be inundated with buying and selling as evidenced in the many shops for purchasing spiritual products for commercial profit making. RL economy also demands such practice. This paradox exists in the art world too. Art is not “pure” spirit but perhaps the pursuit of it.

Participant observation research on SL, however, revealed evidence of holistic education—new paths for art and spiritual issues. Interviewing these two friendly artists/avatars changed my opinions and captured the richness of the creative experience in their own terms. The wealth of ideas from these interviews enriched my soul, as they became my teacher as well. In this case, I learned the importance of the color blue, natural forms, water, and light in this place. Research shows that blue is a favorite color of many people, represents spiritualism, and is often associated with water and sky. In art education, Smith Siegel (2008) wrote about spiritual color, “Achieving higher planes of introspective understanding, appreciation, and personal connection enables out work to rise to a more sophisticated communication level.” Furthermore, beyond its worldwide importance for sustaining life and endangered state, water too has its history of healing properties (Ellyard, 2007). Then to, without light, there would be no life and no art. Wrote, All this adds up to a major challenge for us . . . as arts educators . . . to express human emotion, to shed light on the soul, and the spirit, and to begin to search for artistic and cultural truth” (Tupman, 2009).

Deeper questioning revealed how Spiritual Mountain on SL is an artful place and can heal sadness and loss, help suicide survivors, find stress release or a restful place, and connect with people from different countries as this experience has shown, whereby participants teach each other. Gradle (2007) argued for “A participatory mode of art making, in which the meaning in an art form is constructed from interaction and no longer resides solely in the artist or the viewer or even in the piece itself, involves a paradigmatic shift to viewing creativity as actions that sustain and renew the spirit through connections” (p. 1509). Thus, holistic

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

education also can be conceived as spiritual pursuit and connection sustained by a different form of participatory cyber learning—the metaverse of *Second Life*.

Postscript: One of the dominant words repeated was 'light.' I noted a paradox of heavy forms and capturing light. The word "avatar" means the incarnation of the divine, and Second Life is a place with our spirits can run somewhat free. My name is Marylou in RL and Mary Lou Goldrosen in SL a version of Lucy or *lux*—light.

References

- Campbell, L. (2009). Spirituality in holistic art education: Preventing violence among youth in the United States. *Journal of Cultural Research in Art Education*, 27, 122-131.
- Carroll, L., & Tober, J. (1999). *The indigo children*. Carlsbad, CA: Hay House. [These children, born with indigo auras, are believed to be more creative and empathetic, but hyperactive]
- Chen, P., & Hinton, S.M. (1999). "Realtime interviewing using the World Wide Web." *Sociological Research Online*, 4(3). Retrieved August 5, 2009, from <http://ideas.repec.org/a/sro/srosro/1999-57-3.html>
- Ellyard, L. (2007). *The spirit of water: The hidden message for all*. O Books; Retrieved August 6, 2009 from <http://www.thespiritofwater.com/Links.htm>
- Gablik, S. (1988). *Has modernism failed?* New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Gallegos-Nava, R. (2001). *Holistic education: Pedagogy of universal love*. (M. N. Ríos & G. S. Miller, Trans.). Brandon, VT: Foundation for Educational Renewal.
- Gradle, S. (2007). Spiritual ecology in art education: A re-vision of meaning. In L. Bresler (Ed.). *International Handbook for Research in the Arts*, Part II (pp. 1501-1516). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
- Klein, S. (2000). Spirituality and art education: Looking to place. *Journal of Multicultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education*, 18, 56-67. (FIND a connection.
- Labuschagne, A. (2003). Qualitative research – airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report*, 8(1), pp. 1-4. Retrieved August 5, 2009, from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-1/labuschagne.html>
- London, P. (2007). Concerning the spiritual in art education. In L. Bresler (Ed.). *International Handbook for Research in the Arts*, Part II (pp. 1479-1492). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
- Miller, R. (2009). *A brief introduction to holistic education*. Retrieved August 2, 2009, from <http://www.infed.org/biblio/holisticeducation.htm> See Caring for New Life: Essays on Holistic Education (2000)
- Smith Siegel, C. (2008). *Spirit of color*. Watson-Guptil. "Achieving higher planes of introspective understanding, appreciation, and personal connection enables out work to rise to a more sophisticated. Accomplished and effective communication level" (Gail Else, book review, NAEA News, page).

Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University (USA)

- Seymour, M. (Ed.). *Educating for humanity: Rethinking the purposes of education*. Boulder, CO, Paradigm.
- Stokrocki, M. (1997). "Qualitative forms of research methods." In S. LaPierre & E. Zimmerman (Eds.). *Research methods and methodologies for art education* (pp. 33-55). Reston, VA: National Art Education Association.
- Tupman, (2009). *Recapturing Soul and Spirit: Towards a Vision For Arts Education in Canada*. Retrieved August 6, 2009 from <http://www.google.com/search?q=spirit+and+light+and+art+education>

The Cameroon and Nigeria Negotiation Process over the Contested Oil rich Bakassi Peninsula

Nicholas, K. Tarlebba and Sam Baroni, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

1. Introduction

This paper is aimed at exploring the negotiation process between Cameroon and Nigeria over the resource-rich Bakassi Peninsula located along the gulf of Guinea. Although relations between neighboring Cameroon and Nigeria have been strained over issues relating to their 1,600-kilometer land boundary, extending from the Lake Chad Basin to the Bakassi peninsula and going as far as the maritime boundary in the Gulf of Guinea, Negotiation has helped create a workable solution for both countries. Among the issues involved are rights over the oil-rich land and sea reserves as well as the fate of the local populace of the region.

The contested Bakassi peninsula is an area of some 1,000km of mangrove swamp and half submerged islands mostly occupied by fishermen settlers (Anene, 1970:56). The discovery of potential oil reserves in the waters surrounding the Peninsula has only helped heighten tensions between the two countries. Since 1993, the peninsula, which apart from oil wealth also boasts of heavy fish deposit, has been a subject of serious dispute, between Cameroon and Nigeria with score of lives lost from military aggressions and tribal squabbles (Olumide, 2002:4).

As tension continued to mount and many more lives were lost as a result of the conflict, the Cameroonian government got tired and took legal action on march 24, 1994 by filing a law suit against Nigeria at the International Court of Justice, at the Hague, seeking an injunction for the expulsion of Nigerian force, which they said were occupying

*Nicholas, K. Tarlebba and Sam Baroni, Ph.D, Nova Southeastern
University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)*

the territory and to restrain Nigeria from laying claim to sovereignty over the peninsula. Cameroon was confident about this law suit because they knew that the 1913 Anglo-German agreement shifted the peninsula from its original position in Nigeria in favor of Cameroon and also because of the 1975 “Maroun Declaration” between the Heads of state, General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria and Ahmadu Ahidjo of Cameroon in which Gowon allegedly gave out the territory to Cameroon (Olumide 2002:4). Being the minority with only one-tenth of the Bakassi population, Cameroon felt justified that the courts will sympathize with her since Nigeria was only using its population advantage as an occupational tactic to claim ownership of the peninsula (1995, Vol. 1, p 8). Our decision to explore this conflict is not only because of the lost of lives and the interest it has ignited on both countries and the international community, but also because of the significance of its negotiated resolution to world peace and diplomacy.

In a bid to have an in depth investigation of the situation, our, paper has been divided into sections. After the introduction, a historical background of the conflict would be investigated, followed by the factors that contributed to the conflict, then the actual conflict itself, the negotiation process, proposed solutions/ICJ ruling and the implication of the judgment on both sides and the conclusion.

2. Historical Background of the Conflict

Disputes along the Cameroon-Nigeria boarder has been a matter of historic proportions especially along the Cross River to the Sea section where in lies the Bakassi peninsula. The dispute over the Bakassi peninsula is not only the product of redefinition of boundary by the colonial powers but more so a product of resource allocation and clash of tradition and modernity in which the pre-colonial history of the ancient kingdom of Calabar haunted the post-colonial reality of contemporary Nigeria and Cameroon.

The Cameroon and Nigeria Negotiation Process over the Contested Oil rich Bakassi Peninsula

In pre-colonial times, the now disputed Bakassi peninsula was under the ancient kingdom of Calabar which became part of Nigeria in 1914 under British rule. However, through a series of bilateral treaties and other legal instruments, the British ceded the territory, first to Germany, and then passed it under the mandate of the League of Nations and trusteeship of the United Nations. Meanwhile the British protectorates in Nigeria, including the Kingdom of Calabar were merged with its colonies in the area, as one integrated British colony. Later, largely due to the political errors and indifference of Nigeria politicians, the Republic of Cameroon obtained the Bakassi Peninsula in the process of a plebiscite conducted by the United Nations in 1959 and 1961. By the same process, Nigeria also obtained some territories which formerly belonged to Cameroon.

The most important documents that concerns the demarcation of the boarder between the Cameroons and Nigeria are the following: The Anglo-German Treaty; The Anglo German Protocol signed in Obokun, on April 12, 1913; The exchange of letters between British and German governments on July 6th 1914; the endorsement, in 1961, by both the United Nations General Assembly and the International Court of Justice of the results of the plebiscite conducted in Northern and Southern Cameroon. February 11th and 12th, 1961; and the diplomatic note, accompanied by a map, dispatched to the government of Cameroon by Nigeria, in 1962 accepting the results of the plebiscite ([http:// www.postwatchmagazine.com](http://www.postwatchmagazine.com))

As can be testified from the above material, Germany played a very important role in defining boundaries in West Africa especially along the gulf of Guinea. The early arrival Germany in the region and their success in signing treaties with Cameroonian Kings of Akwa and Bell of Douala on July 14th 1884 set the tone for most of what obtains as acceptable boundaries in the region. These treaties in effect, proclaimed the German Protectorate extending from Rio Del Rey area to Gabon. This angered the British console Hewett who could not participate due to late coming (Weladji, 1975).

Nicholas, K. Tarlebba and Sam Baroni, Ph.D, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

3. Factors that Contributed to the Conflict

Among the many factors that contributed to the above conflict was the legacy of both the imperialist colonial rule and the neo-colonial regimes in African at the time. The imperialist capitalist and the colonial masters like Portugal, German, France and Britain and their shrewd and selfish economic, political and strategic calculations of the 19th century acted as nursery for future African conflict. The ground work for such future conflicts in the region were laid through things like the divide and rule system of administration and the partitioning of African States and its people irrespective of the damage it caused to the peoples language, socio-political life and cultural affiliations and ancestral lineage. This selfish behavior divided ethnics groups into territories controlled by the colonial lords and then stifled the reign of peace in the region as divided families opposed the system and fought for the unity of their families and friends. This response became rampant across the board in Africa as people objected the cruel and selfish destruction of their culture caused by the colonial masters. This selfish, mean and sneaky behavior ignited many African conflicts especially the Bakassi peninsula case study http://socialistworld.net/eng/2002.11/12_nigeria.htm.

In Africa, the communal dimension of man cannot be overemphasized for communal life permeates the whole of life. According to John S. Mbiti, African traditional life is anthropocentric since man is at the center of existence. Man here comprises of a sum total of the unborn, the living and the living dead. In the African worldview, man is not viewed as an individual but essentially as a member of a community. In traditional African life then, there is not split compartment called culture for culture lies at the core of an Africans life. An attempt then to separate an African from his or her own culture leads to identity issues which in effect ignite conflict (1969, p. 92).

Africans are fundamentally cultural beings and this culture defines their identity and shapes their personality. Redefining boundaries and un-willfully separating indigenous populations by colonial masters deeply violated African culture and unquestionably lead to conflict. Individual families in Africa collaborate with each other and gradually grow in numbers to form a tribe. Thus Mbiti contends, "I am because we are and since we are therefore I am" (1969, p. 108).

The African family is extended and covers a sum total of brothers and sisters of parents, with their families as well as grandparents. Relationships between uncles and nephews can be just as close as and even closer than between actual parents and their children. Children tend to be closer to their grandparents than their own parents because grandparents care for the children throughout the day while the parents are away working. A person then has many people who could be considered their fathers and mothers as well as a gamut of brothers and sisters. This deep sense of community living does not end at the level of the extended family but continues to the larger community of the tribe and even the clan which is not only limited to those living but extends backward to the ancestral spirits who constitute a vital part of the community. To Mbiti then existence in relationships sums up the pattern of the African way of life (1969, p. 102). From the above worldview, it is certain that redefining boundaries and separating people under the pretext of colonization was deeply offensive to Africans values, thus conflict.

It is a paradox to realize that the United Nations decision to end colonialism and grant autonomy to African states which was meant to be source of empowerment turned out to be a curse instead. When news went out from the UN that African States be granted their independence, the colonial masters used the most careless exit strategy ever. They hurriedly packed their things and left, without preparing these states for leadership in systems planned and build using foreign ideology and still disguisedly run from abroad. If suspicion were anything to go by, then one would be right to say that this option was taken because the colonial masters did not really want to provide a framework through which Africans could truly be free from colonial

**Nicholas, K. Tarlebba and Sam Baroni, Ph.D, Nova Southeastern
University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)**

exploitation. The reality then was not only chaos throughout the African territory but an outburst of civil wars and tribal conflicts as a result of boundary issues exemplified by the Bakassi conflict. The question that remains now is: Are African states truly independent considering that they are an arbitrary creation of colonial creed? Is conflict not perpetual visitor among African states? Who can say?

The manner, in which the colonial masters invaded the African continent during the concluding years of the nineteenth century in their scramble for territories, was bound to leave a legacy of unnaturally controlled borderlines, which now define the emergent African states. It is then for this reason that the International Court of Justice ruling on the Bakassi peninsula conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon was critically examined. It is absolutely unfortunate that international agreements held during the era of the scramble for Africa generated conflict among African states themselves due to their devious motives thus creating an unhappy legacy for colonialism.

The primary cause of conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria was the discovery of natural crude oil in the region. It is interesting to say that long before the discovery of oil in Bakassi, Cameroonians and Nigerians in the region lived in harmony although few squabbles were registered here and there. The reason both countries did not pay attention to Bakassi is in part because it was a remote area inhabited by people considered to be non-consequential. Notwithstanding, when oil and other natural resource and minerals were discovered in the peninsula, attention from both countries and also from their colonial connections was ignited thus creating tension, argument and in some cases death. This is sad and really hypocritical because if oil was never discovered in this region, both regimes would have cared less about the region with its poor, remote, marshy and non-consequential inhabitants.
<http://socialistworld.net/eng/2002/11/12nigeira.html>.

This newly developed interest to the peninsula after oil had been discovered was viewed with suspicion by the indigenes since they suspected that such interest could only be superficial and geared towards personal gain and nothing

else. The Nigerian and the Cameroonian regime at the time could say that conflict started as a result of the scramble for oil but for the indigenes of Bakassi, conflict was as a result of a much more complex reality although the discovery of oil was one of them. Much more serious to the indigenes was the sometimes separation of families and tribes from their ancestral ties, burial grounds and religious sites due to displacement not only generated by the effects of the scramble of Africa but because of the internal conflict experienced over the newly discovered treasure. Although oil played a fundamental part in the conflict, deeper issues related to fighting, destruction and displacement were equally played key roles in the whole saga.

As has already been stated, colonial activity along the Cameroon Nigeria border caused more harm than good because of the cultural genocide which was consciously or unconsciously ignited by separation of people through redefinition of boundary. This did not only leave people homeless but destroyed cultures. Culture shapes peoples identity and directs their thinking, feeling and reaction as it is obtained and spread through songs and symbols which represent the distinctive achievements of human groups (Clyde Kluckhohn 1951). Although culture is acquired over time and shaped by the contingencies of social living in a particular location, it truly becomes an inherent part of a people's life and defines their uniqueness to the extent that one is left with no substance and essence when detached from his or her culture (Avruch 1998, p. 5). For this reason, any conscious or unconscious act that alienates people from their culture greatly violates people's values and ignites conflict. The Bakassi conflict is no exception.

4. The Conflict

Although the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria in the Bakassi peninsula is generated by the discovery of oil and natural resources, it is equally a problem of land allocation, underdevelopment and more so the effects that governance has on national identity. The conflict itself lies in the fact that the people of Bakassi live in an area disputed by Cameroon to be theirs but claimed by Nigeria for decades.

Nicholas, K. Tarlebba and Sam Baroni, Ph.D, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Whatever the case, the oil-rich peninsula is highly valuable to each country to the extent that both countries have come to the brink of war several times over its ownership.

On May 15th 1981, it was broadcasted over Cameroon radio news that a Nigerian military patrol army violated the Cameroon's national territory by infiltrating the Peninsula and opened fired on the Cameroon army. When this happened, the Cameroonian army fired back and killed 5 Nigerians soldiers. These pockets of fights continued and in 1992-1993, reports have it that Cameroonian gendarmes openly killed some Nigerian civilians in Cameroon.

In 1992-1993, the Cameroon government continued with aggression against Nigerians by openly killing some Nigerian civilians in Cameroon during the time when Anglophones demanded their autonomy from the Francophone's. At this time, some Nigerians were even ousted from Cameroon as the harassing tax-drives went on.

From January of 1994 to May of 1996, border clashes between Cameroon military personal and the Nigeria military continued to occur, this time on a more serious manner. By the 6th of May 1996, diplomatic representations reported that over fifty Nigerian soldiers had been killed and some taken to prisons in Cameroon. Although Nigeria is much bigger in population and military size, it is said that Cameroon did not have any casualties in the battle. (NY Time, May 7th 1996, p. 5)

On the 3rd of February 1996 tension escalated within the national territory in Cameroon and spread to the peninsula. The reason for this conflict was because Southern Cameroonians got tired of French Cameroonian domination and started requesting for a return to the federal system of government or sovereignty if federation failed. This request was made because Southern Cameroonians realized that the terms of the plebiscite were not respected by the French majority. As Southern Cameroonians tabled demands for autonomy and a respect of the federal constitution, conflict of interest over Bakassi was building between French Cameroon and English Cameroon as English Cameroon viewed Bakassi as it own due to its geographic location (Mbuh Muluh 2004).

It should be mention that from 1919-1958, Southern Cameroon was jointly administered with Nigeria and Bakassi was located in the Southern Cameroonian region. For this reason, Nigeria rejected any calls from French Cameroon that she should leave the peninsula thus leading to conflict between Nigeria and French Cameroon as French Cameroon protected Bakassi as part of the federation.

It is even registered that as recent as June 21st 2005, tension continued to mount in Bakassi and this time Nigerian troops fired rocket-propelled grenades at a Cameroon security posts, killing one Cameroonian soldier. (UN report, June 23 2005)

5. The Negotiation Process and the ICJ Ruling

As tension continued to mount along the Cameroon and Nigeria border and particularly in the peninsula, the Cameroonian government got really tired of trying to handle this situation by themselves and decided to forward the case to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1994. When Cameroon took this move, the ICJ under the supervision of the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan invited representatives from both countries for the negotiation process. It is interesting to say that what seemed easy took 8 years of intensive negotiation to settle. Representatives from both countries worked hard to support their thesis and the ICJ listened carefully and also reviewed historical documents in a bid to arrive at a just settlement. Among the points presented by Cameroon to justify their claim, was the famous Anglo-German agreement of March 1913 in which the boundary was defined and signed. Nigeria on its own part among other things claimed that the most democratic way to decide Bakassi's sovereignty was to hold a referendum since the 300.000 people living on the Peninsula did not want to be Cameroonians. (Eboh, Camillius, 2005). Nigeria also argued that the sovereignty of Bakassi was not a matter of oil or natural resources on land or in coastal waters, but a matter of the welfare and wellbeing of the settlers who were Nigerians. (Nov 7th 2002)

On Thursday 10th October 2002, the International Court of Justice located at Hague Netherlands delivered

Nicholas, K. Tarlebba and Sam Baroni, Ph.D, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

judgment on the disputed oil-rich Bakassi peninsula conflict in favor of Cameroon. The court's decision was based on old colonial documents. The boundaries in the Lake Chad region were determined by the Thomson-Marchand Declaration of 1929-1930 and the boundary in Bakassi determined by the Anglo-German agreement of 11 March 1913. With this settlement, Nigeria was supposed to quickly and unconditionally withdraw its administration; police and military from the area of Lake Chad under Cameroonian sovereignty and from the Bakassi Peninsula. Cameroon on its part was supposed to remove its citizens from anywhere on the new border between the two countries and the land boundary from Lake Chad in the north to Bakassi in the South was demarcated and signed by both countries. (Bekker, Pieter 2003, p 387-398)

Weeks before the ICJ ruling, Kofi Annan the then Secretary General of the UN invited Presidents Paul Biya of Cameroon and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria to meet with him on 5th September 2002 in Paris. During the meeting, the ICJ verdict was released to the two presidents and they agreed to respect the anticipated decision, and also to establish an implementation mechanism. After the ICJ judgment, the Secretary General facilitated the formation of the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission which was to enable a smooth handing over ceremony. The Mixed Commission did their home work on the handing over logistics and a few years later on 12 June 2006, the two parties concluded the "Green Tree Agreement" and the handing over ceremony was done in front of UN officials and diplomats from numerous countries.

The Implications of the Judgment

From the Cameroonian perspective, this judgment was not only a boost to the Biya regime but it assured the general population of the important of the United Nations as an organization that handles international issues. The only problem left now if for the Cameroonian government to integrate the people of Bakassi into the system and work hard to bring development in the region so that they do not feel isolated. It will also be the wish of the general population that the government should start the exploitation of oil from

The Cameroon and Nigeria Negotiation Process over the Contested Oil rich Bakassi Peninsula

Bakassi so as to rescue the country from economic crisis and the impoverishment that has come to slow growth and in some cases bring death to many.

From the Nigerian perspective, this declaration meant many things. Firstly, the social implication is that Nigerians, who have lived in Bakassi all their lives, would have to face the sad reality of having to evacuate a region that is part and parcel of them, thus losing not only their cultural connection but also their source of livelihood and resources. Politically, the decision made the Nigerian government seem weak and unable to solve the problems of the citizens. Economically, the decision could mean that oil companies had to leave the area and relinquish the oil wells to the Cameroonians, thus crumbling the Nigerian economy. Although negative implications could easily be seen from the Nigerian perspective, cooperating with the decision could bring Nigeria respect in National politics as a promoter of world peace and it could also be a diplomatic strategy to lobby Nigerians acceptance as a member of the UN's security council.

To conclude, the Bakassi peninsula, ruling was a great lesson to the world that peace could still be attained through diplomatic negotiation and a sign that the UN could still be looked upon as a world unifier and promoter of peace among nations.

Nicholas, K. Tarlebba and Sam Baroni, Ph.D, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

References

Anene, J.C. (1970). *The International Boundaries of Nigeria, The Framework of an Emergent African Nation*. London: Longman

Olumide, I. (October. 12, 2002). "Letter from Attorney General of the Federation to the Ministry of External Affairs." *Punch* P. 7

Paragraph 1.67 of Cameroons memorial of 16th March 1995, See also preliminary objectives (PON) of the Republic of Nigeria, Dec. 1995, Vol, I, p. 8

Weladji, C. (1995) "The Cameroon-Nigeria Border (2) Cross River to the Sea, "In *Abbia*, 29/30, p. 165. Note should be taken of the fact that even though the Germans had signed a treaty with the king of Bimbia on 11th July, 1884, the British were still able to obtain get another treaty on the 19th of July 1884 with the same king. Consequently, both the Douala and Bimbia area went to the Germans.
<http://socialistworld.net/eng/2002/11/12nigeira.html>

Kluckhohn, Clyde. (1951). "Values and value-orientations in the theory of action: An exploration in definition and classification" in *Toward a General Theory of Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Avruch, K (1998). *Culture and Conflict Resolution*. Washington, D.C.: Press

New York Times. "Nigeria and Cameroon Clash Over Peninsula on the Border". *Foreign Desk... Late Edition. Final, Section A, Page 5, Column 3.* May 7 1996.
<http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=G30F11F3G5FzpV74DE494D81&n=Top%2fNews%2finternational%2fCountries%20and%20Territories%2fCameroon>

Mbuh, Justice Muluh. "The Bakassi Peninsula Dispute". *International Law and Conflicts: Resolving Border and Sovereignty Disputes in Africa*. University, Inc. 2004.
http://www.postmatchmagazine.com/files/bakassi_notes.pdf.

The Cameroon and Nigeria Negotiation Process over the Contested Oil rich Bakassi Peninsula

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. "Cameroon-Nigeria: Cameroon Soldiers Killed on Disputed Bakassi Peninsula". June 23, 2005. (IRIN). http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=47731&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCounty-CAMEROON-NIGERIA.

Bekker, Pieter H.F. "Land and Maritime Boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria (Cameroon v. Nigeria: Equatorial Guinea Intervening). The American Journal of International Law. Vol. 97, No. 2 (Apr 2003),

Eboh, Camillius. "Nigeria-Cameroon Fail To Set New Bakassi Pullout Date". Washington Post Online. October 15, 2005. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2005/10/15/AR2005101500498.html>.

"Nigeria's Reaction to the Judgment of the International Court of Justice at the Hague (Nigeria, Cameroon with Equatorial Guinea Intervening)" (November 7, 2002). <http://www.un.org/events/tenstories/story.asp?storyID=900>.

Exclusion of Private Sector from Freedom of Information Laws: Implications from a Human Rights Perspective

Mazhar Siraj, Institute of Social and Policy Sciences (Islamabad, Pakistan)

***Abstract:** Most freedom of information laws exclude the private sector from their jurisdictional purview, and apply only to information and records held by the state, subject to exemptions. A main reason for the exclusion is that the laws have evolved in the conventional human rights framework, which has long imposed obligations for human rights on the state only. A departure from this convention is now taking place with sharing of human rights responsibilities with the private sector as well. In this scenario, exclusion of the private sector from the laws has deleterious effects on transparency and integrity in public policy as well as on capability of the citizens to exercise their human rights. Because the private sector is now performing many public functions that were conventionally performed by the state, substantial amount of information held by the former is now placed out of the scope of legal regime for access to information. Therefore, extension of the regime to the private sector has become vital for advancement of the human rights agenda.*

1. Introduction

Freedom of information, defined as the freedom to “seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers” in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948)¹, has received a spectacular legislative response in the recent years. According to a global survey, nearly 70 countries had adopted comprehensive Freedom of Information Acts till June 2006 (Banisar, 2006: 6). Of these, the Acts of 19 countries apply to information held by government as well as private bodies, whereas the others

¹ For an account of historical evolution of freedom of information, see Tomasevski (1987) and Burkart and Holzner (2006).

apply to government information only.¹ This means that in the large number of countries where the private sector has been excluded from jurisdiction of the freedom of information laws, individuals can access information from government, subject to certain exemptions, but cannot access information from private bodies as a legal right.

In this context, this article looks at the consequences of this exclusion, conceptually and empirically, from the standpoint of human rights. It begins by placing the private sector in a human rights context for understanding the reasons for exclusion of the private sector from most freedom of information laws. This part of the discussion will also provide insights into the debate on relationship between the private sector and human rights. Then, it briefly describes the disclosure regimes to illustrate how they have increasingly failed to reduce the adverse effects of confidentiality in the private sector on legal rights of individuals. Then, based on this analysis, the article makes a case for extending the freedom of information laws to the private sector and outlines the key challenges that have to be taken into account in this regard.

Before proceeding further, let us consider four important parameters of the analysis: First, the term 'private sector' is used for the statutory bodies that are not owned by the state, and are operating mainly for profits such as businesses, companies, corporations, firms, banks, etc. They may or may not be performing public functions. This definition excludes the voluntary organizations, inter-governmental organization and international financial institutions due to the unique orientation of these bodies towards human rights, which requires different parameters of analysis. Secondly, 'freedom of information' and 'disclosure' are considered two distinct categories. The former is understood as the 'right to know', and is generally exercised by individuals through information requests under freedom of information laws. The latter applies when an entity discloses information voluntarily or mandatorily for government or public consumption under specific laws. Thirdly, the term "human rights" is used in its broadest

¹ The author has worked out this number from the information presented in the global survey conducted by Banisar (2006). The law that cover the private sector are discussed in Section 4.

sense to include all the legal rights – civil, political, economic, social and cultural. Fourthly, the topic of our discussion is concerned with exclusion of the private sector from most freedom of information laws only, and therefore, I do not focus on all the deficiencies in legal provisions and implementation of the freedom of information laws.

2. Exclusion of the Private Sector: A Human Rights Perspective

Traditionally, freedom of information has been regarded as “the touchstone of all the freedoms” (Tomasevski, 1987: 1), and this belief, *prima facie*, appears to be the main driving force behind the exceptional recognition that it has received in the human rights framework. Banisar (2006) noted that in addition to the nearly 70 countries that have adopted Comprehensive Freedom of Information Acts, legislative efforts were pending in other 50 countries. He further observed that nearly half of the existing Acts were adopted in just the last ten years.

Recent works have traced the causes of this trend in the mounting realization about its enabling role for other human rights, its value as a discrete human right notwithstanding. This realization is predicated upon the understanding that access to information is a pre-requisite for transparency and accountability in governments and markets (Burkart and Holzner, 2006: 3), facilitation for consumers to make informed choices (Consumer Rights Commission of Pakistan [CRCP], 2005: 1), and provision of safeguards to the citizens against abuses, mismanagement and corruption (Banisar, 2006: 6). One may argue that the realization about its enabling role should have led the countries to apply their freedom of information laws to all the main sources of information (including the private sector) that could have any effects on the freedoms and human rights, but this has not happened.

In this context, our discussion in this section is concerned with a fundamental question: why have most freedom of information laws failed to provide a legal right of access to information held by the private sector? We attempt

to answer this question by placing the private sector in a human rights context. We begin by formulating a proposition, i.e. the individuals have certain legal rights whose corresponding obligations are placed on the private sector, and/or information held by the private sector has an impact on these legal rights. Therefore, the individuals should be entitled to access information from the private sector as a legal right in the same manner as from the government. This assumption is important because if there are no corresponding obligations on the private sector, and/or the information held by it has little or no impact on the rights, then the precepts of our topic of discussion will have to be re-examined.

The conventional human rights framework considers the state as the principal, if not the sole duty holder, for the protection of human rights (Dine, 2005: 168-169). At a theoretical level, this worldview has created two domains in the society: the state and the citizen; the citizen has certain claims or rights whose corresponding obligations are placed on the state (Dunne and Wheeler, 1999: 3). As a result, the notion of accountability in respect of human rights has always been associated with the state in the national as well as international contexts. "Human rights, although held equally by all human beings, are held with respect to, and exercised against, the sovereign territorial state... international human rights treaties establish rights for all individuals. The obligations they create, however, are only for states" (Donnelly in Dunne and Wheeler, 1999: 85). Most academic works on the private sector have overlooked the role that it can play in promoting or violating human rights. For this reason, the matter of placing direct human rights obligations on the private sector has been out of question for a long time. The conservative viewpoint that direct obligations cannot be placed on the private sector due to primacy of the nation states, has long dominated the international human rights law. According to this viewpoint, the private sector should be held accountable for its role in human rights *through* the state (Dine, 2005).¹

¹ For a detailed account of the debate on placing direct human rights obligations on the private sector, particularly on the companies, see Dine (2005), Chapter 4.

In recent years, however, a departure from this conventional theoretical design has begun to take place due to the increasing role of the private sector in economy and public functions. The governments are increasingly shifting the focus of service delivery towards privatization and contracting out that has created what Lewis (2001: 111) labels as “the private world of government”. Dine (2005: 168) describes this shift in the following words: “...international human rights structures normally focus solely on accountability of nation states, mostly their citizens. The view that private bodies may be bound by responsibilities imposed by international or human rights law is a recent departure from that original framework”.

The debate on holding the private sector accountable for its impact on human rights is slowly creeping into the human rights framework. It is being realized that, “The state-centred model of accountability must be extended to the obligations of non-state actors...” (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2000: 9). Although similar demands have been forcefully made in a large body of research, the international community has not yet been able to reach a consensus on placing direct human rights obligations on the private sector (Fryans and Pegg 2003; International Council of Human Rights [ICHR], 2002; Dunne and Wheeler, 1999; Dine 1995). This state of ambivalence provides a part of the answer to our question posed in the beginning of this section. Because freedom of information laws have evolved in the conventional human rights framework, which imposes obligations for human rights primarily on the state, most countries have applied the freedom of information laws to government information only because it represents the state.

The second part of the answer to our question can be found by looking at the nature of the rights that are actually affected by the private sector. Most literature on this subject has tackled this aspect in respect of companies only, instead of broader category of private sector. ICHR (2002), for example, lists nine rights that are likely to be directly violated by companies, namely non-discrimination, women’s rights, life, liberty and physical integrity of the person, employees’ rights, child labour, slavery, forced and bonded labour, right to food, health, education and housing,

environmental rights, and civic freedoms. Because it is not possible to discuss all these rights here, we consider only two broad categories of rights that originate largely in the marketplace, namely “consumer rights” and “investor rights”.

Individuals are entitled to consumer rights in relation to their consumption of goods, products, and services produced and delivered by the government or the private sector.¹ The need for information for protection of these rights was formally recognized in 1983 when the Commission on Transnational Corporations wrote in its Code, “Transnational corporations shall/should disclose to the public in the countries in which they operate all appropriate information on the contents and the to the extent known on possible hazardous effects of the products they produce or market in the countries concerned by means of proper labeling, information and accurate advertising or other appropriate methods”.² Later, the Guidelines for Consumer Protection embodied access to information as a basic consumer right because it helps the consumers to make informed choices in the market. Since then, the international human rights law has emphasized the need for “preventive disclosure”, i.e. disclosure of information which poses a threat to human lives, health and safety (Tomasevaki, 1987). With the increasing involvement of private sector in the production and delivery of goods and services, information in the possession of private sector is becoming more relevant for the protection of consumer rights.

Investor rights originate when the individuals invest in the market for the purpose of profit (e.g. purchase of securities). Access to information is among the important rights of investors because it facilitates investment decision-making. Secrecy, on the other hand, tends to place the price-sensitive information in the hands of a few executives and their associates prompting them to engage in insider trading and manipulation of disclosure for keeping the stock prices high. This creates asymmetric information and breeds the ground for corporate scandals. This

¹ The United Nations Guidelines for Consumer Protection stipulate eight rights of consumers including access to information. For details, see United Nations (2003).

² For a fuller analysis, see General Assembly resolution 37/137 of 3 March 1983, Para. 2 in Tomasevaki (1987: 16).

realization led the Britain to legislate for protecting investors through disclosure in the early twentieth century; this idea then spread to North America and other countries (Rider and Ffrench, 1979: 9).

These two categories of rights are perhaps most important in terms of the impact of the private sector. In addition, involvement of the transnational corporations in abuse of civil and political rights has also been documented. Frynas and Pegg (2003) have collected case studies, which illustrate the involvement of companies in the provision of assistance to repressive states in Burma, Colombia, Nigeria and Sudan. Another case in point is the transportation of military troops by companies in their helicopters and boats in Burma, Indonesia, and Nigeria (Pegg in Frynas and Pegg, 2003: 14). It is widely recognized, however, that not all corporations are involved in violation of human rights.

Based on the above analysis, we make a point that the interaction between the private sector and the individuals mostly takes place in the marketplace in relation to consumption and investment, and therefore, the rights that originate from this interaction largely fall in the economic category. This point leads us to second part of the answer to our question. That is, economic, social and cultural rights have been treated traditionally as the “junior branch” of human rights law (Dine, 2003: 170). This dichotomy has created different tolerance levels of the states and international community against violations of these rights. Steiner *et. al* (2008: 264) noted that the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in its statements to the Vienna World Conference of 1993 observed that the breaches of economic, social and cultural rights were not considered as serious as those of civil and political rights, which was a shocking reality. Because the rights affected by the private sector are mostly economic, their violation has not been considered as serious as that of civil and political rights. Therefore, most countries applied the freedom of information laws to government information because it was important for civil and political rights; they ignored the private sector because information held by it was largely relevant to economic rights, which have been considered relatively inferior by the states, as compared to the civil and political rights.

3. Disclosure Regimes for the Private Sector: A Story of Failures?

So far, we have attempted to frame a human rights argument for explaining exclusion of the private sector. One may offer an alternative explanation that most countries did not feel the need to cover the private sector in freedom of information laws because a plethora of disclosure laws was already in place. An argument can possibly be made that, because the private entities are bound to disclose information to the regulatory agencies of the government under the disclosure laws, individuals can access information belonging to the private sector *through* the government, and therefore, there is no need to cover the private sector in the freedom of information laws. In this section, we examine this alternative explanation.

Historically, the mandatory obligations for the private sector to disclose information have been enforced mainly through two types of regimes, which have emerged concurrently: comprehensive disclosure and targeted transparency. It is not possible here to give a comprehensive account of the historical evolution of these regimes; therefore, we shall confine our analysis, for the most part of it, to selective evidence from the disclosure regimes in securities market in the United States, and the banking sector in Pakistan.

3.1 Comprehensive Disclosure Laws

The concepts of transparency and disclosure in the private sector gained much attention in the nineteenth century. Burkart and Holzner (2006: 13) have argued that a powerful idea in this regard came from a writing of Louis D. Brandeis in 1913 who advocated, “sunlight is ... the best of disinfectants”. He recommended that new laws should be enacted to require the public companies to disclose their profits and losses in order to stop insider deals that decided investors. Although the first securities law in the United States was already enacted as early as 1911 (Benston, 1976:

18), Brandeis' idea inspired the United States' President Franklin D. Roosevelt for new corporate financial disclosure rules after millions of Americans had lost their savings in the stock market crash of 1929, write Burkart and Holzner (2006). The years following this episode were crucial in the establishment of a state-mandated disclosure regime in the United States. The Congress enacted Securities and Exchange Acts in 1933 and 1934, which required the publicly traded companies to disclose assets and liabilities at regular intervals and in a standardized format (Fung et al., 2007: 7)

The issue of disclosure in the securities market became the subject of voluminous literature in the 1970s.¹ A convincing account came from Kripke (1979) who argued that the U.S. disclosure regime had remained largely unhelpful in forcing the companies to disclose information that was needed for sophisticated investment decision-making. He argued that the SEC was overzealously involved in the enforcement of the regulation contrary to the investor's needs. He made a compelling case for redesigning the disclosure regime by arguing that most information required to be disclosed under the SEC regime was about the past, and therefore, was not helpful for reducing the risks in investment decisions.

The limitations of the disclosure regime became clearer with the onset of a trail of corporate frauds and scandals at the beginning of the twenty-first century.² Armour and McCahery (2006) observed that almost all scandals, which left many people affected, had an element of secrecy and manipulation of information. In their account of the failure of Enron's collapse in 2001, they argue that attractive incentives were attached with the company's share price, which prompted the top executives and auditors of the company to manipulate accounting information for keeping the company's stock price high. Burkart and Holzner (2006: 217) posit that the executives of the firm had been overstating its profits for consecutive three years without accounting for its cash. This failure cost thousands of workers their pension savings and millions of stockholders

¹ See, for example, Benston (1976), Kripke (1979), and Rider and Ffrench (1979).

² For a history of major corporate scandals, see Armour (2006).

their investment funds (Fung et. al, 2007: xii). This has led Armour and McCahery (2006: 5) to attribute the Enron failure to “the manipulation of disclosure”.

Soon after the Enron’s spectacular tumbling, similar scandals became known in some leading companies including Worldcom, Tyco, Adelphia and Global Crossing. These failures prompted the U.S. Congress to enact the ‘Sarbanes-Oxley’ Act in 2002, which imposed new obligations on companies for improving disclosure. The Act has received a gale of criticisms on various grounds. It is argued, for example, that it was adopted hurriedly as a ‘knee-jerk’ response to populist pressure (Armour and McCahery, 2006: 8).

Apart from these indicative examples of the effects of secrecy on investor rights, there is mounting evidence available on devastating effects of private sector’s failure to disclose information on consumer rights. The Firestone scandal is a case in point. Fung *et. al* (2007), while explaining this case, have noted that a series of auto accidents occurred in the United States in which tires blew out causing the vehicles - many of them Ford Explorer SUVs - to roll over. Before the executives of the companies acknowledged this problem, 271 people had been killed in accidents involving the defective SUV design and tires. Investigations revealed that the Firestone/Bridgestone and Ford had been aware of fatal accidents due to a combination of tire tread separation and top-heavy SUVs, but they did not inform the public about its deadly risk. It was only due to media reporting of the lawsuits against the companies that people came to know about this problem.

These types of secretive practices are in vogue in the private sector in the developing countries as well. An illustrative example is found in a recent work on the banking sector in Pakistan. CRCP (2008), a non-governmental organization, noted in its study that the banks in Pakistan were operating in a highly secretive environment. As a part of its research, the Commission requested the State Bank of Pakistan – the regulatory authority for all banks – to provide data about the number of consumer loans advanced by a selected group of banks. The Bank replied that this information was not available with it, and therefore, the banks should be approached directly. This response is a

telling example of the limitations of the regulatory authorities, which very often fail to facilitate the individuals or public interest groups in accessing even ordinary information.

3.2 Targeted Transparency Regimes

The term “targeted transparency” has been used by Fung et al (2007) to refer to those laws or certain provisions of the laws that require disclosure in specific sectors. The aim of the targeted transparency is to “reduce specific risks or performance problems through selective disclosure by corporations and other organizations” (Fung et. al 2007: 5). Probably, the most important law in this regard was the Pure Food and Drugs Act 1906, which required the listing of ingredients on inter-state shipment of foods in the United States. To give another example, the deadly chemical accident in Bhopal, which led to over 7000 deaths and 65,000 injuries in 1986 (Frynas and Pegg, 2003: 35) prompted the United States Congress to require all manufactures to inform the public about the toxic pollutants they released. In 1990, it required the food companies to inform the public about the levels of fat, sugar and other nutrients in each can of soup and box of cereal to reduce deaths from heart disease and cancer.

Similar targeted transparency regimes have been put in place in many countries for selective disclosure of information on hazardous products, environmental pollution, etc. One problem with the targeted transparency regime is that it is response-oriented; states act after the harm has been done. Moreover, these laws are generally criticized for poor enforcement.

4. The Case for Extending Freedom of Information Laws to the Private Sector

In this section, we make a case for providing the individuals a legal right of access to information held by the private sector, subject to certain exemptions that have to be defined narrowly. We build the rationale for this case around

the conceptual and empirical debate outlined in the preceding sections, and the precedents set by some countries that have applied their freedom of information laws to the private sector, although selectively. There are three main premises of the case:

First, the private sector is now performing many public functions that were conventionally performed by the government. This change has occurred due to rapid privatization, de-regulation, and economic globalization, especially in the post-Washington Consensus period. As a result, a substantial amount of information about public functions, which was previously in the possession of governments, now belongs to the private sector. Information related to private banks, telecommunication companies, hospitals, and universities is an example. Thus, exclusion of the private sector from the freedom of information laws effectively means that individuals can no longer access this substantial amount of information, except some personal information which may be accessible under Data Protection Acts. This argument is being advanced in the United Kingdom to bring in more private bodies in the jurisdiction of its freedom of information law. Paterson (2008) writes in an article that the public demand for extending freedom of information law to private sector is increasing because, according to the Scotland's Information Commissioner, "a shift towards private sector provision of services has put much information outside the scope of the law introduced in 2005". Therefore, a need is being felt to bring in more private organizations under the purview of the freedom of information law, particularly those involved in building and maintaining hospitals, schools, leisure and sports trusts.

Secondly, a growing body of literature suggests that despite the existence of voluntary codes as well as mandatory disclosure regimes, private sector continues to operate in a highly confidential environment (Fung *et al.* 2007; Lewis 2001; CRCP 2008). This suggests that the disclosure regimes alone cannot ensure access to all information, which the individuals need for making informed choices. That is why, recent works have emphasized the need for greater transparency in the private sector (Burkart and Holzner 2006; Lewis 2001). Barkart and Holzner (2006) emphasize on access to information held and disclosed by

“centers of authority”, which lie not only in the governments, but also in corporations, professions and influential agencies. Markets do not automatically produce all the information people need to make informed choices among goods and services, therefore, we can make an argument that disclosure cannot serve as a substitute for public access to information. Moreover, disclosure regimes have increasingly failed to prevent the violation of rights of consumers and investors by the private sector. Extension of freedom of information laws to the private sector is necessary to supplement the disclosure regimes for improving their effectiveness.

Thirdly¹, the precedent of extending the freedom of information laws to the private sector has already been set in the freedom of information laws of 19 countries. These countries include Antigua and Barbuda, Angola, Armenia, Colombia, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Panama, Poland, Peru, South Africa, Turkey, Trinidad and Tobago, Slovakia, and the United Kingdom. The freedom of information laws of these countries, however, cover the private sector only partly. For example, Liechtenstein law extends the right of access to information from only *private individuals* who perform public tasks. Angolan, Armenia and Peru laws allow access to records of only those private companies, which are performing *public functions*. Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Finland, Trinidad and Tobago, Slovakia, Poland, and Iceland limit this right only to those private organizations that receive public funds. Estonia, France and the UK have adopted a programmatic approach by including private bodies in selected sectors.

From the standpoint of human rights, the benefits of covering the private sector have already begun to appear. Banisar (2006:7) has documented examples from South Africa where some individuals have used the private access provisions of the Promotion of Access to Information Act to know why their applications for loans were denied. Similarly, minority shareholders were able to obtain records of private companies and environmental groups have applied these

¹ The information in this paragraph has been culled out from the global survey conducted by Banisar (2006).

provisions to know about possible environmental dangers of projects.

We need to bear in mind; however, that extension of the freedom of information laws to the private sector involves many complex issues.¹ First, balancing the right to know and commercial confidentiality is more relevant for private sector information, as compared to the government due to high sensitivity of information. This will require defining the exceptions rather narrowly, which can be an uphill task. Secondly, if the information accessed from a private body reveals a wrongdoing, it means that we are openly imposing an obligation on the private body to fix it. For this reason, the private sector may resist transparency beyond a certain point to preserve its reputation in the market. Thirdly, extension of the freedom of information laws can increase the costs of collection and provision of information. This is one important criticism leveled against the 'Sarbanes-Oxley' Act that the compliance costs, which this Act has imposed on public companies are far greater than any countervailing benefits (Jain and Rezaee in Armour and McCahery, 2005). Moreover, mechanism will have to be evolved to ensure that the information provided is free from "spin", and is presented in a way that the public is able to comprehend it. These challenges, however, may need not to deter the countries to extend their freedom of information laws, as the precedent has already been set, which provides a guiding principle to make a beginning in this direction.

¹ These issues require greater details, but keeping in view the topic of our discussion, we have devoted much space to the human rights aspect.

References

- Armour, John and Joseph A McCahery (Eds.). (2006). *After Enron: Improving Corporate Law and Modernizing Securities Regulation in Europe and the US*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Banisar, David (2006). *Freedom of Information around the World 2006: A Global Survey of Access to Government Information Laws*. Retrieved 20th of January, 2006 from www.privacyinternational.org/foisurvey
- Benston, J. George (1976). *Corporate Financial Disclosure in the UK and the USA*. England: Saxon House.
- Burkart, Holzner and Leslie Holzner (2006). *Transparency in Global Change: The Vanguard of the Open Society*. Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Consumer Rights Commission of Pakistan (2005). *How to Access Information under Freedom of Information Ordinance, 2002*. Islamabad.
- Consumer Rights Commission of Pakistan (2008). *Consumer Financing in Pakistan: Issues, Challenges and Way Forward*. Islamabad.
- Dine, Janet (2005). *Companies, International Trade and Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donnelly, Jack (1999). The Social Construction of International Human Rights. In Dunne and Wheeler (1999).
- Dunne, Tim and Nicholas J. Wheeler (Eds.) (1999). *Human Rights in Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frynas, Jędrzej George and Scott Pegg (Eds.) (2003). *Transnational Corporations and Human Rights*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fung, Archon, Mary Graham, and David Weil (2007). *Full Disclosure: The Perils and Promise of Transparency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- International Council of Human Rights (2002). Beyond Voluntarism: Human rights and the developing international legal obligations of companies. Retrieved 2nd of February, 2009 from http://www.ichrp.org/files/summaries/7/107_summary_en.pdf
- Kripke, Homer (1979). *The SEC and Corporate Disclosure: regulation in search of a purpose*. New York: Law and Business Publishers.
- Lewis, N. Douglas (2001). *Law and Governance*. London: Cavendish Publishing Limited.
- Paterson, Stewart (December 10, 2008). 'Call to extend freedom of information law'. *The Herald*.
- Rider, Barry Alexander K. and H. Leigh French (1979). *The Regulation of Insider Trading*. London: The Macmillan Press.

Exclusion of Private Sector from Freedom of Information Laws

- Steiner, Henry J., Philip Alston, and Ryan Goodman (2008). *International Human Rights in Context: Law, Politics, Morals: Text and Materials*. U.S.: Oxford University Press.
- Tomasevaki, Katarina (1987). Freedom of information: a history of failure(s). Retrieved 18th of February, 2009 from http://repository.forcedmigration.org/show_metadata.jsp?pid=fmo:349
- United Nations Development Program (2002). *Human Development Report 2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- United Nations (1948). Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved 10th of January from <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.
- United Nations (2003). United Nations Guidelines for Consumer Protection. New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Retrieved 14th of February 2009 from http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/publications/consumption_en.pdf

Meaning of Life and Death in the Poetry of John Paul II

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

1. Introduction

John Paul II will ever be remembered in the pages of history as a Poet who admitted the 'dark pages' in the Church's history with the same courage with which he had vindicated the rights of the Church. He asked forgiveness for violence used during the Inquisition, the cooperation of Christians with dictatorships, and the anti-Semitic prejudice that prevented from taking stand against the Nazi slaughter of the Jews (Accattoli, 2001, p. 12). Karol Józef Wojtyła, known as John Paul II since his election to the papacy in October 1978, was born in Wadowice, Poland, on May 18, 1920. During the Nazi occupation of Poland, he became member of a Christian democratic underground group that helped Jews escape the Nazis. Later he decided to become a priest and was ordained in 1946. He spent eight years as professor of ethics at Catholic University in Lublin before being named archbishop of Krakow in 1964. Pope Paul VI elevated him to cardinal in 1967. On Oct. 16, 1978, Karol Joseph Wojtyła became Pope John Paul II the first ever Polish Pope (<http://www.vatican.va/news>). He has been a globe trotter. He came heavily on the communist regimes in East Germany, the Soviet Union and his homeland. He defended human rights and condemned dictatorships of the Third World and spoke against capitalism and communism (Accattoli, 2001, p.12). An assassination attempt in 1981 was made on his life by a Turkish gunman whom he forgave while visiting him in prison (Ibidem, pp. 115-118). The pope has denounced abortion, capital punishment, homosexuality and the ordination of women. He stood by the poor, the disinherited, the oppressed, the marginalized and the defenceless (Ibidem, p. 223). He has written extensively on social, moral, ethical and theological issues in the form encyclicals, apostolic exhortations, apostolic constitutions and apostolic letters. Suffering from Parkinson's disease and

other ailments, he went to his eternal reward on 2 April 2005. The Pope constantly warned people and nations of materialism, selfishness and secularism and called for sharing their wealth with the Third World. He stood alone opposing wars all over the world. His vigorous opposition to Gulf War stemmed from his personal conviction that the moment had come for Christians to object strenuously to war to banish it from the international scene (Ibidem, 230). He has written extensively on social, moral, ethical and theological issues. As a private Doctor he also published five books of his own: "Crossing the Threshold of Hope" (October 1994), "Gift and Mystery, on the fiftieth anniversary of my ordination as priest" (November 1996), "Roman Triptych" poetic meditations (March 2003), "Arise, Let us Be Going" (May 2004) and "Memory and Identity" (February 2005). (<http://www.vatican.va/news>).

This paper attempts a reading of his Poems entitled *The Poetry of John Paul II: Roman Triptych- Meditations*, consisting of his reflection of the meaning of life and death in three poems: "The Stream," "Meditation on the Book of Genesis at the threshold of the Sistine Chapel," and "A Hill in the Land of Moriah".

2. The Stream

The first poem "The Stream" is a meditation on the wonder of creation and nature's bountiful gifts which is reflected in a mountain stream. The poet traces the mystery of life through his meditation on the mountain stream that leads him to the divine source of life. John Paul is said to have had a personal discussion with a physicist on the wonder of creation. Finally the scientist declared, "from the point of view of science and its method I 'm an atheist... Every time I find myself before the mystery of nature, of the mountains, I feel that He exists." (RTM, p.36). The poem is addressed to an unknown God and begins with a line of dedication to "Ruah," the Spirit of God: 'The Spirit of God hovered above the waters.'

Part I of the poem begins with a refrain:

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

The undulating wood slopes down
to the rhythm of mountain streams.
To me the rhythm is revealing you,
The Eternal Word (Ibidem, p.7).

The poet tunes his ears to the song of nature reflected in a rhythmic flow of the stream which is a symbol of life and newness. D.H. Lawrence in "River Roses" refers to the music of the river:

While river met with river, and the ringing
Of their pale-green glacier water filled the evening
(Lines 6-7).

Wordsworth in his *Prelude* Book II expresses his encounter with the divine power in the experience of nature through its rocks and streams.

... Oh, ye rocks and streams,
And that still spirit spread from evening air!
Even in this joyous time I sometimes felt
Your presence... (Lines 131-4).

For John Paul there is silent presence of God everywhere and in everything. The whole of creation is present in miniature in the 'undulating wood' and all that is carried along 'by the stream's silver cascade, / rhythmically falling from the mountain, / carried by its current...' He asks the existential question 'carried where?' which remains unanswered. Hence the poet enters into a dialogue with the mountain stream. The quest leads him nowhere except plunging him into a world of wonder – 'the threshold of pure wonder,' which only man can experience.

The rushing stream cannot wonder.
...but man can wonder' (RTM, p. 8).

The man who experienced wonder first is given the name Adam, the culmination of God's creation. But Adam was placed as the master of creation among creatures that were not able to experience wonder. He was alone 'in his wonderment, / among creatures incapable of wonder.' While the creatures merely existed without the grace of wonder, it

was only man who could continue being 'carried along by wonder.' Man became the centre of all creation and all creatures rallied around him. He in turn directed all things to the Eternal Word saying:

Stop! – in me you find your haven,
in me you find the place of your encounter
with the eternal Word (Ibidem).

Part two of the poem entitled 'The Source' begins with the refrain as in the first part after which the poet goes on to reflect on the process of finding the source of his wonder. This is an arduous task.

If you want to find the source,
you have to go against the current.
Break through, search, don't yield,
You know it must be here somewhere.
Where are you?... Source where are you?! (Ibidem,
p.9).

The mystery of the source puzzles the poet and he has the intuition that breaking through its flow and going against the current will give a touch of its power derived from the very source of its origin. Power of nature itself, the poet feels, will answer his quest. Robert Frost has a similar query in his "West Running Brook."

...Speaking of contraries, see how the brook
In that white wave runs counter to itself.
It is from that in water we were from
Long, long before we were from any creature.
Here we, in our impatience of the steps,
Get back to the beginning of beginnings,
The stream of everything that runs away.
....
It seriously, sadly, runs away
To fill the abyss's void with emptiness.
It flows beside us in this water brook,
But it flows over us. It flows between us
To separate us for a panic moment.
....

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

The universal cataract of death (Lines 43-61).

Frost's "West Running Brook" probes into the mystery of love between the husband and the wife. Philosophically, the backward movement of the waves in the mainstream is due to resistance of water on the rocks. This backward flow of waves is symbol of life. The river moves on to the ocean, so too life towards death. The pressure of the rock is representative of the forces of life that gives shape and permanence to the flux. When looking at the backward flow of waves intuitively and mystically one finds in it a divine proclamation or revelation. These two contraries work together to create harmony. To make a marriage successful there is the need for the interaction of the couples. Counter current is part and parcel of the law of nature.

Similarly the Pope continues his quest for the source of the stream and feels that it keeps the mystery hidden to itself.

Stream woodland stream,
tell me the secret
Of your origin! (*RTM*, p.9).

Finally he realizes that it is the experience of the stream itself that gives fulfillment to his quest.

Let me wet my lips
in spring water,
to feel its freshness,
its life-giving freshness (*Ibidem*).

The mystery is unfolded in the experience of wetting his lips in the life-giving freshness of the spring water. This may have allusion to Psalm 36: 8-9. 'You let us drink from the river of your goodness. You are the source of life.' The mystery of nature can be unveiled only by an experience of freshness in nature. His quest for the source of the brook takes him finally to a practical experience of the brook itself. He wants to feel its freshness in his lips. Such an experience of nature turns him to the source of creation. It is from 'wonderment' that one can reach the 'source'. Man being

rational, through wonderment, intuition and reasoning, can reach the centre and source of all – his Creator.

3. Meditation on the Book of Genesis at the Threshold of the Sistine Chapel

The second poem of His Holiness entitled “Meditation on the Book of Genesis at the threshold of the Sistine Chapel,” takes us to the Sistine Chapel, the “Holy of Holies” of the Popes in the Vatican. It is covered with frescoes painted by Michelangelo, the greatest artists of the 15th century. The masterpiece has drawn so much admiration that Goethe after visiting the Sistine Chapel wrote that only those who see it can understand what one man alone is capable of doing. It was Pope Julius II who commissioned Michelangelo in 1508 to repaint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel frescoed earlier by Piero Matteo d’Amelia. He completed the work between 1508 and 1512. The Last Judgement was painted over the altar between 1535 and 1541 commissioned by Pope Paul III. This majestic fresco covers the entire end wall of the chapel (www.christusrex.org)

Michelangelo’s paintings present the biblical story of Genesis, beginning with God separating light and dark, the story of Adam and Eve, and conclude with the story of Noah. These central Biblical stories are surrounded by images of prophets and sibyls besides the other biblical subjects. These include paintings from the stories of David, Judith, Esther, and Moses as well as those of the prophets, sibyls and the ancestors of Christ (www.sun.science.wayne.edu) The frescoes are his interpretation of the biblical book of Genesis in the story of the creation of the world. In the central scene God appears in human form as he gives the breath of life to Adam, the first human being. Then there is the scene of the first woman, Eve, as she emerges from Adam’s rib (www.christusrex.org).

The Creation of Adam is considered his finest fusion of form and meaning. Adam’s reclining on the ground is indicative of the earth from where he was formed. God the Father reaching out to him in the creative act renders

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

perfectly the concept of the first man made from the earth in the likeness of God. (Wane 2004).The frescoes on the ceiling can be divided into eleven transversal sections: nine bays as well as the spandrels and pendentives over the entry door and the altar. The history panels include the story of creation and other stories from the Book of genesis such as: The Separation of Light and Dark, The Creation of the Plants, Sun, and Moon, The Creation of the Creatures of the Sea, The Creation of Adam, The Creation of Eve, The Temptation and Expulsion from Eden, The Sacrifice of Noah, The Flood and The Drunkenness of Noah. The other panels include Prophets and Sibyls such as The Prophet Zechariah, The Prophet Joel, The Prophet Ezekiel, The Prophet Jonah, The Delphic Sibyl, The Cumaean Sibyl and The Libyan Sibyl www.sun.science.wayne.edu

According to the Judeo-Christian creation story the universe was created by God's command. Finally God created the human race "in his own image," in Adam and Eve, our first parents. "And God said; Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them" (Genesis 1:26-27).

The poem entitled "Meditation on the Book of Genesis at the threshold of the Sistine Chapel," is John Paul's reflections based on these Biblical stories. It takes the readers to his meditation on how Michelangelo discerned the vision of God. It is this vision of God that he reproduced on the fresco. Adam and Eve had the vision of God and everyone is called to 'recover that gaze.' The Sistine chapel becomes the backdrop for the poet's reflection on mortality and his own final bidding to life. He goes on an imaginative journey into what will happen after his death when the Conclave of Cardinals would meet in the Sistine chapel to elect his successor. The poem is divided into four sections with an epilogue.

Through the reflection on the fresco, he is further drawn to the way Michelangelo discerned the vision of God. He saw with the creative gaze of God and reproduced on the wall his

vision of God and the world. There are the figures of Adam and Eve representing the whole of humanity.

The opening lines contain the central ideas.

In Him we live and move and have our being.

...He is the Creator:

He embraces all, summoning to existence from nothing,

...

Everything endures, is constantly becoming –

“In the beginning was the Word, and through Him

All things were made” (*RTM*, p. 13).

All exist in Him the author of life and His ‘eternal vision and eternal utterance’ revealed the Word who is Christ His Son. In *The Bible* we read, “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.” (Genesis 1:1-2). God’s concept of the Creative Word resurfaces in the opening of John’s Gospel: “Before the world was created, the Word already existed; he was with God, and he was the same as God. In the beginning the Word was with God, and the Word was God; all things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made.” (John 1:1-3). The poet continues his analysis of Creation and says:

He who created, saw – He saw “That it was good,”

He saw with a vision unlike our own.

He – the First to see –

Saw, and found in everything a trace of his Being,

Of his own fullness (*Ibidem*).

In creating the world God found satisfaction in his deed of love and delighted in his creative goodness and ‘All is laid bare and revealed before his eyes.’ (Hebrews 4:13). John Paul continues to speak of God finding in everything ‘fullness of his being’ and it is:

‘laid bare and transparent-

true and good and beautiful-

He saw with a vision quite different from our own

Eternal vision and eternal utterance:

“In the beginning was the Word, and through Him

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

all things were made” (Ibidem, pp. 13-14).

Once again reference is made to the ‘Word’ of God, the wondrous and eternal Word in Christ the incarnate Word. The concept sums up the entire Biblical theology of Incarnation and Redemption and propounds the Christological doctrines of Christianity. From theologising the poet enters into the world of art that has depicted the vision of God by Michelangelo in the fresco. The Book of Genesis finds powerful expression in creative art.

But the Book awaits its illustration – And rightly.
It awaited its Michelangelo
The one who created “saw” – He saw it was “good.”

...

I am calling you, all “who see” down the ages.
I am calling you, Michelangelo! (Ibidem, pp. 14-15).

It is a clarion call to everyone to behold the vision of the Word. This vision has been captured and expressed in art by the genius of the artist. God’s Creative vision becomes Michelangelo’s vision in art which is a portrayal of reality through the faculty of Imagination.

We are standing at the threshold of a Book.
It is the Book of Beginnings – Genesis
Here, in this chapel, Michelangelo penned it,
Not with words, but with the richness
Of a riot of colors.
We enter in order to read it,
Passing from wonder to wonder (Ibidem, p. 15).

The Holy Father further reflects on the end of things and the Last Judgment as he sees in the painting scenes of the beginning of things from nothingness. Genesis leads to the Last Judgment as well. Life and death commingle. Eternity and mortality are two things to be reckoned with.

The judgement, the Last judgement,
This is the road that all of us walk-
Each one of us (Ibidem).

Part two of the poem entitled "Image and likeness" has several sub-headings: "Him," "Man (Me)," "Michelangelo," and "Them." The Poem opens once again with the Genesis story of creation. "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them." (Genesis 1:28). "...And the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed." (Genesis 2:25). The poet, seeing the picture of Adam and Eve, before and after the fall, raises the question:

Could it be?
...but ask Michelangelo.
...Ask the Sistine Chapel.
How much is spoken here, on these walls.
The beginning is invisible. Everything here points to it.
... The End too is invisible,
Even if here, passer-by, your eyes are drawn
By the vision of the Last Judgement.
How can it be made visible,
How can we break beyond the bounds of good and evil?
The Beginning and the End, invisible,
Break upon us from these walls (Ibidem, p. 16).

The consequence of Original Sin brings in the realization of their nakedness. John Milton brings out powerfully the sense of shame and loss of honour in *Paradise Lost Book IX*:

False in our promised rising; since our eyes
Opened we find indeed, and find we know
Both good and evil, good lost and evil got,
Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know,
Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
Of innocence, of faith, of purity (Lines 1070-5).

Realizing their nakedness after the fall, they covered their loins with fig leaves, but were never 'at ease of mind.' "Their eyes were opened and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons." (Genesis 2:7). John Paul makes the contrasting situation of the first parents before and after the fall. The

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

consequence of Original Sin is the realization of their nakedness. The poet says that the fall of Adam and Eve reminds us that we are frail and, 'This is the road that all of us walk – each one of us.' Adam and Eve represent every human being and their vision of the Last judgment is passed on from generation to generation. We live it daily and need to encounter it in our lives and become 'sharers of that gaze.' Every one has to recapture and 'recover that gaze.' George Herbert in "Easter Wings" sums up the fallen nature in similar manner:

Lord, who createdst man in wealth and store,
Though foolishly he lost the same,
Decaying more and more,
Till he became
Most poor: (Lines 1-5).

The poet wonders how 'the vision of the Last judgment' can be made visible to man. He wants the spiritual experience of the Last judgment to 'break beyond the bounds of good and evil, revealing the beginning and the End' which the walls of the Sistine Chapel remind us of. He wants to interiorise the experience in art and 'break upon us from these walls.'

John Paul's vision of everything is reflected on the painting and he calls the attention of the 'passer-by' to make their existential decision for God, making visible the 'vision of the Last Judgment.' The question remains:

How can it be made visible,
How can we break beyond the bounds of good and evil?
(RTM, p. 16).

"Him" traces the mystery of the 'Eternal Word' made flesh in the incarnation of Christ. The poet dwells on the mystery of Christian redemption. 'In Him we live and move and have our being' recalls the creative work of God.

He embraces all things, creating them and
Sustaining them in being (Ibidem, p. 17).

The message of St. Paul who preached on the Areopagus on the unknown God becomes central to John Paul's verse:

For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription, 'To an unknown god.' What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you. The God who made the world and everything in it, being the Lord of heaven and earth... In him we live and move and have our being; ...but now he commands all men everywhere to repent, because he has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed, and of this he has given assurance to all men by raising him from the dead (Acts of the Apostles 17:23-31).

The creative goodness of God, thwarted by Original Sin, is redeemed by 'the Eternal Word.' This is the mystery of salvation and redemption the Holy Father analyses in this section.

In the "Man (Me)" section there is personalisation of the redemption of mankind. Every human being is created in the 'image and likeness' of God. It is this mystery of the love of God for man that Michelangelo portrays in his work of art. For him it was a life of meditation and prayer through art while he cloistered himself in the Sistine Chapel. The fruit of his labour is the fresco depicting the mystery of creation as recounted in the Book of Genesis.

"Them" is a section that supplements the story of the first parents who were mystified in the all embracing love of God.

It is he who allows them to share in the beauty
Which He himself had breathed into them!
It is He who opens their eyes (*RTM*, p. 19).

In God they found their meaning of existence. They always wanted to remain in his life walking in his Grace. Their transparency was reflected in their familiarity and openness before God which was 'a hymn of thanks, a Magnificat from deep within their humanity.' The Magnificat recall the hymn of

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

praise The Blessed Virgin Mary sang in the Gospel of Luke, 1:46-55.

My soul magnifies the Lord,
and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour,
for he has regarded the low estate of his handmaiden.
.....
For he who is mighty has done great things for me,
An holy is his name.

When Michelangelo completed his work of creation in the fresco it was a polychromy. It became a 'pre-sacrament' through which the 'invisible becomes visible.' The poet examines "Pre-sacrament" in the third section which takes the readers to the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

Who is He? The Ineffable. Self-existent Being.
One. Creator of all things.
And yet, a Communion of Persons (RTM, p. 20).

It was Christ himself who spoke of the Triune Godhead in whose image man was created. This is depicted in the fresco. For the poet this is a 'Pre-sacrament' which is an external sign of eternal love.

The "Fulfilment – Apocalypse" section takes the readers to thoughts of parousia, the second coming of Christ and the last things. It reflects on the beginning of all things in the eternal Word and fulfilment in the same Word made flesh in Christ. All things return to Him – the alpha and the omega (the beginning and the end).

The End is invisible as the Beginning.
The universe came forth from the Word,
And returns to the Word (Ibidem, p. 22).

Michelangelo carefully depicted this in the fresco 'in the visible drama of the Judgment.' Man will be judged by his response to the Word in Christ. Man came from nothingness by God's creative love and will return to dust and decay. But his indestructible soul will continue to exist. The Poet

recollects the story of the final judgment as narrated in Matthew's Gospel Ch. 25:31-46, and sums it up:

Come you blessed... depart from me, you accursed.
And so the generations pass –
Naked they come into the world and naked they return
To the earth from which they were formed.
...
What was alive is now dead.
What was beautiful is now the ugliness of decay.
And yet I do not altogether die,
What is indestructible in me remains! (Ibidem).

The fourth part "Judgment" is a journey back to the Sistine Chapel where Michelangelo has his classical work on the Last Judgment. It is a mighty composition, around the dominant figure of Christ uttering verdict of the Last Judgement (Matthew 25:31-46). His calm imperious gesture seems to both command attention and placate the surrounding agitation. It starts a wide slow rotary movement in which all the figures are involved. Excluded are the two upper lunettes with groups of angels bearing in flight the symbols of the Passion (on the left the Cross, the nails and the crown of thorns; on the right the column of the scourging, the stairs and the spear with the sponge soaked in vinegar). Next to Christ is the Virgin, who turns her head in a gesture of resignation: in fact she can no longer intervene in the decision, but only await the result of the Judgement. The Saints and the Elect, arranged around Christ and the Virgin, also anxiously await the verdict. Some of them can be easily recognized: St Peter with the two keys, St Laurence with the gridiron, St Bartholomew with his own skin which is usually recognized as being a self-portrait of Michelangelo, St Catherine of Alexandria with the cogwheel and St Sebastian kneeling holding the arrows. In the centre of the lower section are the angels of the Apocalypse who are wakening the dead to the sound of long trumpets. The Last Judgement also caused violent reactions among the contemporaries for the many nude figures in it. In 1564 some of the figures of the Judgement that were considered "obscene" were covered. (www.VaticanArt.com)

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

Here, the invisible End becomes impressively visible.
This End is also the height of transparency –
Such is the path that all generations must tread (*RTM*,
p. 23).

The Last Judgment brings us face to face with the reality of the ‘imperishable’ in man as the poet quotes Horace ‘Non omnis moriar’ (I shall not altogether die). It is the final reckoning which makes one stand ‘face to face before Him Who Is!’ Recalling the story of Original Sin the poet reflects on its impact as a legacy to humanity.

All those who fill the main wall of the Sistine painting
Bear in themselves the legacy of the reply of yours!
The question asked of you and your response!
Such is the End of the path you trod (*Ibidem*, p. 24).

The Pope’s thoughts are evocative of the final message of the author of *Everyman*:

God will say: *ite maledicti in ignem aeternum*
And he that hath his account whole and sound,
High in heaven he shall be crowned; (Lines 915-17).

In the “Epilogue” to “The Meditations on the Book of Genesis at the threshold of the Sistine Chapel,” the poet speaks of the ‘legacy of the keys of the Kingdom’ which refers to the Conclave of the collage of Cardinals. Keys of the Kingdom is taken from Matthew’s Gospel Ch. 16:18-19, where Peter is told, “You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven...”

Conclave is derived from Latin ‘cum clavis,’ meaning ‘with key.’ It is the private meeting of cardinals who gather in prayer at the Sistine Chapel after the death of the reigning Pontiff to elect his successor.

It is here, beneath this wondrous Sistine profusion of color
That the Cardinals assemble –

The community responsible for the legacy of the keys of the Kingdom.

...

And once more Michelangelo wraps them in his vision (RTM, p. 24).

The College of Cardinals assumes supreme ecclesiastical authority at the death of the Pope. The whole area surrounding the Sistine Chapel is closed and kept under guard so that there is no external influence on the secret ballots held several times a day until one gets two thirds majority to be declared the future Pope. White smoke is sent out of a chimney to signal the success of the election, until which black smoke keep puffing after each secret ballot. The dean of the cardinals asks the consent of the pope-elect and formally announces the election result at the St. Peter's Basilica proclaiming 'Habemus Papam' (We have a Pope). John Paul II attended two such Conclaves as a Cardinal – one in August 1978 – the other two months later at the sudden demise Pope John Paul I in October 1978, when he himself was elected to lead the church as Pope John Paul II.

“Con-clave”: a shared concern for the legacy of the keys, the keys of the Kingdom.

Lo, they see themselves in the midst of the

Beginning and the End,

Between the Day of Creation and the day of Judgment...

(Ibidem, p. 25).

The election takes place in a prayerful atmosphere under the guidance of the Holy Spirit who they believe will lead them through the exercise to point out the one to lead the Church from the chair of St. Peter. For the poet, Michelangelo's vision of truth will teach them the truth.

During the conclave Michelangelo must teach them –

...

You who see all, point to him!

He will point him out... (Ibidem).

4. A Hill in the Land of Moriah

This third poem “A Hill in the Land of Moriah” is a reflection on Mount Moriah where Abraham was asked to sacrifice his only son Isaac. The poem dwells on the concept of ‘sacrifice’ which is central to the Christian concept of the redemptive sacrifice of Christ on Calvary.

Abraham or Abram is the biblical patriarch of the Hebrews according to the Book of Genesis. He probably lived in the period between 2000 and 1500 BC. Muslims call him Ibrahim and consider him ancestor of the Arabs through Ishmael. Abram was the son of Terah, born in the city of Ur of the Chaldees. He married his half sister Sarai, or Sarah. Prompted by some divine inspiration he left Ur with Lot and family to the Promised Land. God promised Abram a son by his wife Sarai. God made a covenant with him and later renewed it and the rite of circumcision was established. His name was changed from Abram to Abraham. He was promised a son by Sarah through visiting angels.

Mount Moriah occurs twice in the Bible. In Gen 22:2 Abraham was commanded to go to the land of Moriah and offer his son as a burnt offering. The only note of location in the text is that the place was three days distance from Beersheba. The other Biblical reference is 2 Chronicles 3:1, which names the site of the building of Solomon's temple as Mount Moriah (Chapman, 1983, p. 320). Abram and Isaac depart from their land of Ur and climb the Mount Moriah. Their dialogue reflects their fears and hopes.

The first part “Ur in the land of the Chaldeans” narrates the story of the Chaldeans who were a wandering herds-people. Abram left the Chaldeans and abandoned the land of Ur in response to a voice he heard calling him for a particular mission.

... All that we know is that he heard a Voice,
which told him: Go!
Abram chose to follow the Voice.
The Voice said: You will be the father of many nations.

Your offspring will be numerous as the sand on the seashore (*RTM*, p. 29).

Abram was puzzled with the voice as he had no son of his own. But the voice re-assured him saying that he would become a father:

You will become the father of many nations.
Your offspring will be numerous as the
Sand on the seashore (*Ibidem*, p. 30).

In the second part entitled in Latin “*Tres vidit et unum adoravit*,” meaning “He saw three, yet worshipped one,” brings to our minds the story of the three visitors in Genesis 18: 2ff. “He lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, three men stood in front of him. When he saw them, he ran from the tent door to meet them, and bowed himself to the earth, and said, “My lord, if I have found favour in your sight do not pass by your servant.... The Lord said, “I will surely return to you in spring, and Sarah your wife shall have a son.”

This passage is attributed to the Trinitarian mystery of God who visited Abram and made the promise. Abram listened to the unknown voice of the “Nameless One.” It is this same “Nameless One” that came to visit him in the three travellers. Abram is promised a son in his old age and he would become father of a multitude of nations. The miraculous promise made is affirmed by God changing his name into “Abraham” which means “he who believed against all hope.”

He, Abraham, put his faith in the One Who Is,
With Whom he spoke, when he followed the
Voice,
To Whom he opened the entrance to his tent,
Whom he invited as a guest,
With Whom he dwelt.
Today, then, we go back to these places,
Because God passed by here, when he came to
Abraham (*RTM*, p. 32).

The Pope is evidently pained and worried by the state of affairs in the world, ravaged by war in Iraq and the violence

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

in the Middle-east (Accattoli, 2001, p.229). Ur is said to be in the present-day Iraq and some writers have interpreted the Pope's mention of it with reference to the painful happenings there. It may be recalled that the Pope was strongly opposed to the war in Iraq and he told the leaders that in conscience they would be answerable to God for waging it.

The third part "A Conversation between a father and son in the land of Moriah," narrates the story of Abraham climbing mount Moriah with his son Isaac for the sacrifice. "After these things God tested Abraham, and said to him, "Abraham!" And he said, "Here I am." He said, "Take your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there as burnt offering..." (Genesis 22:1-3). The poet dwells at length on Abraham's confused frame of mind as he climbs the mountain with his son for the sacrifice. It has overtones of the sacrifice of Christ on Calvary.

With this silence he sank once more into a hollow
abyss.

He had heard the Voice which was leading him.
Now the Voice was silent.

...

In a moment he will build a sacrificial pile,
Light the fire; bind the hands of Isaac- and then -
what?

The pyre will burst into flame... (Ibidem, p. 33).

The flame will consume his only son God had given in
promise. This is a limit to his fatherhood. But it is symbolic
of the sacrifice God will make in the death of his Son to
redeem the world from sin.

Here another Father will accept the sacrifice of his
Son.

Do not be afraid, Abraham, go ahead,
Do what you have to do.

...

He himself will hold back your hand,
As it is ready to strike that sacrificial blow... (Ibidem,
p.34).

The poem ends with the fourth part “The God of the Covenant.” God was pleased with the obedience of Abraham to his will and spared his son and send a lamb for the sacrifice instead. But in the redemptive sacrifice, God did not spare his Son from death on Calvary. The poet invites everyone to make a journey back to history and reflect on the mystery of redemption.

Abraham – God so loved the world
That he gave his only Son, that all who believe in Him
Should have eternal life (Ibidem, p. 35).

5. Conclusion

Pope John Paul’s *Roman Triptych: Meditations*, is unique for its theme of life and death – as he reflects on his own final farewell to this world. The three poems “The Stream,” “Meditation on the Book of Genesis at the threshold of the Sistine Chapel,” and “A Hill in the Land of Moriah” blend very well celebrating life and death in God. His profound thoughts remind me of what Rabndranath Tagore wrote in the opening lines of *Gitanjali*: “Thou hast made me endless, such is thy pleasure. This frail vessel thou emptiest again and again, and fillest it ever with fresh life” (Tagore, 2002, p.1).

Though I do not know Polish to read the original text, I find the translation somewhat bizarre and lifeless. There is a great deal of over-punctuations throughout. Many lines in the *Roman Triptych* are rendered in prose. Obscurity in several line can be understood only by one well versed in Biblical Theology and Catholic Doctrines. But no doubt the intellectual pursuit coupled with a life of holiness through intense love and prayer is evident in the poems. The poem is a thought provoking reflection on sacrifice and the wonder of God’s love for mankind.

The Pope’s meditation ultimately leads to the ‘visible drama of the judgment’ and ‘The End is as invisible as the Beginning’ (RTP, 22). Philosophically speaking, human angst (*dread*) is innate to human predicament (Kierkegaard, 1980, pp. 41- 5). But, John Paul is undaunted by *angst* of life as

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

his life is built on the Christians hope in the second coming of Christ (Slater, 1987, pp.59-61). The chief motive and foundation of Christian hope is God, God alone...which is repeated throughout the Old and New Testaments.” (Ramirez 1967:136). The object of hope is most frequently eschatological with hope of glory in Christ (Colossians 1:27) and it is made real through faith (Hebrews 11:1) (McKenzie, 1984, pp. 368-9).

“The Stream” constantly reminds him that ‘The End is as visible as the Beginning.’ The world still groans in pain, though at its creation, ‘God saw all that he had made and found it very good?’ Is this not denied by history?’ Finally his yearning for divine leads him to thoughts of sacrifice and total self giving in Christ. He believes that death would lead him through the mystical vision of Genesis and its fulfilment. He could sing with the poet : “Like a flock of homesick cranes flying night and day back to their mountain nests let all my life take its voyage to its eternal home in one salutation to thee” (Tagore, 2002, p.108) of homesick The Pope’s use of the imagery of a mountain stream, the Sistine chapel and the story of Abraham and Isaac hinges on the idea of God as the alpha and the omega of creation – the fulcrum of life and death.

References

Accattoli, Luigi. (2001). *John Paul II: Man of the Millennium*. Trans. Jordan Aumann, OP. Mumbai: St. Paul's.

Chapman, Benjamin. (1983). "Mount Moriah", *The New International Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology*, Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan. Christensen.

Choudhury, Bibhash. Ed. (2004). *Everyman*. Guwahati: KB Publications.

Holy Bible, The. (1966). Revised Standard Version. London: Catholic Trust Society. (All Biblical references taken from this edition).

John Paul II. (2003). *The Poetry of John Paul II: Roman Triptych – Meditations*. Trans. Jerzy Peterkiewicz. Washington D.C: USCCB Publishing. Abbreviated RTM.

Kermode, Frank & John Hollander (eds). (1973). *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature Vol. I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----- (1973). *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature Vol. II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kierkegaard, Soren. (1980). *Anxiety as the Presupposition of Hereditary Sin*. Trans. Reidar Thomte. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

McKenzie, John, L. (1984). *Dictionary of the Bible*. Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation.

Oliver, Egbert S. (1998). *American Literature 1890-1965: An Anthology*. Reprint. New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House.

Slater, Peter. (1987). "Hope." *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*. Ed. Mircea Eliade. Vol.6. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company.

Tagore, Rabindranath. (2002). *Gitanjali*. New Delhi: Indialog Publications.

Wordsworth Poetry Library. (1994). *The Works of George Herbert*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.

Sebastian, A. J., Nagaland University (Kohima, India)

Internet Sources

<http://www.vaticanart.com> /Vatican Museum Online. Jan. 17, 2009.

<http://www.wikology.com/index.php/Company:VaticanArt.com>".
Downloaded on Jan. 17, 2009.

<http://www.christusrex.org/www1/sistine/0-Ceiling.html>. Jan. 17, 2009.

http://www.vatican.va/news_services/press/documentazione/documents/santopadre_biografie/giovanni_paolo_ii_biografia_breve_en.html. Downloaded on January 17, 2009.

www.sun.science.wayne.edu/~mcogan/Humanities/Sistine/ Downloaded on July 20, 2004.

The Participation Motive in the Paralympics

M. S. Omar-Fauzee, Sports Academy, Universiti Putra Malaysia
Manisah Mohd-Ali, Education Faculty, Malaysia National University
Soh Kim Geok, Faculty of Educational Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia
Norazillah Ibrahim, Ministry of Education Malaysia

Abstract: *The purpose of this case study is to examine the factors that influenced the participation of individuals with disability in sports. An interview was carried out on ten athletes with disability (female=3; male=7) who participated in the Malaysian Paralympics Sports Competition. All of the respondents have signed an inform consent letter to be tape recorded. Output of the interview was transcribed verbatim and content analysis was carried out to identify the common themes. The findings of the study found five factors that influence participation of individuals with disability in sports; fun, support, fitness, reward, and reduce stress. The finding also showed that despite the disability that they have, the motives of involving in sports were similar to those who have no known disability.*

1. Introduction

Sport comes from a French word, *desporte*, which means leisure. It denotes activities involving the physical strength of every participants as the dominant factor in deciding the result; either win or lose. Nevertheless, the word has also been employed to connote activities such as mind sport and motor sport; which centers on one's intellect and the equipment quality. According to Gapor (2007), sport is an activity that competitively institutionalized one's strength and complex physical skills. Such activity is influenced by inner satisfaction and outer rewards achieved through the sport. Activities that has been categorised as sport must be synchronized. Hence, laws or rules and regulations need to be internationally agreed.

2. State of the Art

Paralympics is a division of sport specifically for the disabled person. It is an international competition with its own set of rules and regulations which has been agreed by the International Paralympic Committee (IPC). Since Paralympics had been introduced in Toronto, Canada in 1976, it has become a boost to the betterment of the disabled individuals. This is proven by the involvement of the disabled individuals in sport through research done by Zurn, Lopiano, and Snyder, (2006). They reported during the United States of America paralympics that attracted the participation of 39 countries, the involvement of paralympics atlet is 99 women (20.9%). Meanwhile, the 375 men made up 79.1% of the total participants. Implication of the sport give these individuals the unlimited golden chance to introduce a positive image of the disabled individuals and a chance to increase health.

Referring to Weinberg and Gould (2007), among the dominant motives for involvement in sports are physical fitness, fun and friendship. The athletes who are involved directly or indirectly in the sports could achieve inner satisfaction and fun while competing among each other (Omar-Fauzee, Yusof & Zizzi, 2009). Although it is inner satisfaction, it is caused by external factors. The existence of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is pertinent in sport because it could be a cause to improve one's performance (Jarvis,2006). In this context, sport acts as a mould of one's health, emotion, physical and attitude. They have the inner strength to grasp the attributes that are needed for an excellent athlete, in terms of mental and physical.

2.1 Literature Review

Dorothee, Martin dan Sabine (2006) found out that athletes with task orientation in physical activity is related to the motives of increasing skills and competence, competitiveness and building a positive attitude. The scenario is also pertinent in paralympics athletes. They have strong competitive psychological and physical desire in order to achieve excellency in individual or group sport. Sport and

physical activities are therapy for the paralympics athletes (Malanga, 2006).

In addition, Ryan (2006) stated that psychological researchers believe factors such as interpersonal relationship with coaches, family, friends and etcetera are motivation for athletes to become involved in sports activity. Roberts, Treasure, and Conroy (2007) also suggested that motivation takes the form of other motivation management. Nevertheless, the important individuals are parents, teachers or coaches, and motivational manager. Support is important for an athlete to continue their involvement in sports especially the disabled individuals who need the support more than able individuals.

Meanwhile, sports orientation is also a contributor of the paralympics involvement in sports. Physical activity could contribute in the increment of health and sport. Referring to Nets (2007), physical attribution is a product of physical activity and training. It also refers to the softness, strength, coordination and balance. Nonetheless, researches that have been carried out focus more on the relationship between physical strength and psychological aspect such as emphasizing cardiovascular component.

Usually, the disabled individuals have low-self esteem. Therefore, they prefer to keep to themselves than participating in a group activity. Their physical lacking, which has been seen as defective, inheritance problem due to diseases, trauma, other health related issues or other non-normal differences. Their defect is deemed as a load of burden which brings low quality of life for the disabled individuals and their families. This would later leads to worries and rejection.

3. Purpose of the Study

In sports activity, the disabled individuals are given the chances to be involved in group activity. Nonetheless, there are lack of exposure and importance of being involved in such activity. Relating to this issue, the research paper would discuss the outcome of a research focusing the involvement of the disabled individuals in sports.

Specifically, the paper attempts to seek the answers of these questions:

- a. What is the main motive for the disabled individuals to be involved in sport?
- b. What is the factor that attracted the disabled individuals to join sport?

4. Methodology

The methodology of reseach is done through interviews to obtain information from research samples. Then, the information is analysed qualitatively focusing on the existed themes. The method has been chosen because it is descriptive and inductive. It could focus on the underlying meaning of the research samples motives. The population of the research consists of athletes that has been involved in Malaysia paralympics sport 2007. There are 10 research samples (3 women and 7 men) whose age range from 22 to 30 years old (min 24.4 and sd 2.75). They are chosen based on their involvement in certain sports and from various achievement and experience in sport. The collected data is based on interview protocol regarding the samples involvement in paralympic sport. Before the data is collected, agreement from Malaysia Welfare Department has been established and the samples have agreed to be interviewed by signing agreement letters. Before the interview session is carried out, the samples have been given talks so that they understand the real meaning of the research and honest in giving their answers and needed information. To ensure the samples understand the given questions, they have been given time to go through the question before shooting begins. Shooting is done only after the samples have given the permission to be ready for the interview. All of the shooting have been transcribed and analysed in order to obtain main data and the creation of research theme.

5. Results and Discussions

Demographic data of the research samples is listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographic Data of Research Samples

	N	Percentage (%)	Min	Sd
Age			24.4	2.75
22	3	43		
24	2	29		
27	1	14		
30	1	14		
Gender	10		1.30	1.48
Men	7	70		
Women	3	30		
Sport			3.30	1.70
Weightlifting	2	20		
Wheelchair	1	10		
Race				
Track	3	30		
Yatch	1	10		
Ping Pong	2	20		
Tenpin	1	10		
Bowling				

Referring to the analysis of the interview content, the main theme was related to motive and important factors that triggered the athletes' involvement in sports. The data analysis was conducted by identifying raw data according to specifics, which are (1) the theme of the raw data, (2) secondary data theme, and (3) the main theme. The findings resulted in 110 raw themes. It was categorised to 23 secondary themes and 5 main themes. The five main themes of the motivational factors (Table 2) that influenced their

involvement in sports are fun consisting of 40 raw data themes (36.36%), and support theme where the raw data is 31 or 28.18%. Next, the third theme is fitness theme of 14 (12.73%) and reward as much as 13 raw themes which is 11.82%. Meanwhile, the last theme is to curb stress which consists of 12 raw themes which are 10.91%. The main theme could be referred in Appendix A.

Table 2: Factors Influencing The Disabled Individuals'

Involvement in Paralympics	
Main Theme	Total of Raw Data
Percentage (%)	
Fun	40
36.36	
Support	31
28.18	
Fitness	14
12.73	
Rewards	13
11.82	
Stress relieved	12
10.91	

N (110)

1. FUN THEME

The first motivational factor that has been identified as the primary theme that drives the athletes' involvement in sport is due to fun which is 36.36%. The outcome suggests the paralympics athletes enjoy their involvement in sports. The enjoyment gives an inner motivation to them to continue participating in the sports. According to Amiot, Gaudreu, and Blanchard (2004), self-achieved motivation encouraged

more involvement in sports and to handle problems. Training sessions to become athletes is a motivation for the disabled individuals to show their skills, exchange of experiences, opportunities, sports attribution, show potentials, diverse events, enlightenment and media. Table 3 consists of a detailed division of main theme in enjoyment factor.

Table 3: Enjoyment Theme as a Factor to Become Athletes

Main Theme	Total of Raw Data
Percentage (%)	
Showing skills	8
20.0	
Expertise sharing	7
17.5	
Self-enlightenment	7
17.5	
Sport Attribution	5
12.5	
Showing talent	4
10.0	
Opportunity	4
10.0	
Showing mastery	2
5.0	
Diverse events	2
5.0	
Media	1
2.5	
	N (40)

Based on Table 3, discussion focuses on main theme that could be found such as :

Showing Skills

The disabled individuals believe that showing skills to compete with the able individuals could give them satisfaction. One of the sample stated,

“...I join sport as it contributes and gives chances for the disabled athletes to show their skills in sport...”

This shows the disabled individuals have attitudes to show their skills even though they still have their weaknesses. Based on the research findings, 20% of the sample stated that they were involved in sports to show their skills.

Mohd. Salleh (2005) stresses that high intellectual individuals could achieve physical achievement to control their environments. This is appropriate with paralympics athletes that have disabilities but are competitive to choose their skills, controlling the environment, never gives up, and always find a way (positive thinking) to achieve self and group success. To illustrate, wheelchair basketball boosts the spirit of group and individuals to fight in sport even though they are faced with obstacles and injuries. Therefore, they attempt their best to show their skills in the paralympics activities that they have been involved and appropriate with their disabilities.

Sharing Experience

Motive to gain experience could also be a driving force for the involvement of paralympics athletes in sport. The motive is related with the differences in the athletes' achievement level based on their success and experience from the beginning of the sport to the highest level. Below are the outcome of a sample's interview.

“...I love to go out from here to compete and gain diverse experience and know their places and how they play...”

This statement shows that success through experience and the chance to be in action, especially with overseas athletes, have given more benefits in terms of knowledge and new skills. Besides, the sample stated that he could make a comparison and analyse the game from diverse perspectives such as evaluating the opponents' strength formula. Hence, the paralympics athletes will always work to increase exercise and show commitment to display quality games despite their deformities.

Now, it is clear that the disabled individuals' involvement in paralympics sports through shared experience will help that in increasing their achievement in sport and self-faith in dealing with the trials and tribulations of lives. Athletes that has done a lot of exercise are assumed as having more experience in physical activity and realize how to master the skills in each sport (Ryan, 2006).

Self-realization

One of the motivational factor for paralympics athletes is to possess self-realization. It means the athletes know and understand the importance of the sport to their health. Although they have deformities, the realization of the health benefit make them involved in sports.

Even though the disabled individuals have physical deformities but they have amazing abilities that are difficult for the normal individuals to perform. Nonetheless, it is this speciality that give them the boost to continue to be involved in sport. This is stressed by Blauwet (2007) by giving the individuals with disabilities the title of athletes will lift their spirit to achieve physical fitness and great mental. The statement is supported by a sample who said :

"...even though i am disabled, I am able to involve myself in appropriate sport with my health. For example, I have spinal disability yet I am still involved in ping-pong. Therefore, I am fit..."

Sports Attributes

During the time the sample is involved in sport, it has enriched them with mountainous knowledge and experience that drive them to continue their involvement in sport. The sports attribute factor has been explained by few of the samples. One of the comments is:

“...I am involved in wheelchair sport curling because it is adventurous...”

Based on Zurn, Lopiano, and Snyder (2006), the paralympics athletes involvement in 2006 in United States of America are in events such as ice hockey, skidornic, and events for wheelchair. Similar types of events have been competed in 2002. The events are the athletes favourite to be involved in. The appropriate sport activity and types of deformities with appropriate physical for the sport activity make specific sports as the athletes' choices.

To Broadcast Talent and Show Skills

The paralympics athletes' involvement in sports is due to their desire to portray their talent and skills that they possess and to increase their achievement although they are in lacking environment. One of the samples stated that the talent factor drives the paralympics to join sport which is :

“...initially i was involved in sport for fun. But, when I realized my talent was noticed, I continue increasing my exercises for my own performances...”

Mohd Salleh (2005) stated that individuals with high talent could employ their physical achievement to control the environment. It is undeniable that the athletes' natural talent is a gift. The talent factor also plays an important role to give intrinsic motivation to the athletes because they are confident in themselves and interested to explore complex skills. When they are confident with their talent, they would not miss the opportunities. The chance factor is also a drive to the athletes to be involved in sports.

Media

The findings of the research proves the media is also a source of the athletes' motivation to be involved in sport. One of the findings is :

"...the commercial factor such as in Malaysia that had hel The Commonwealth Games. There, I become acquainted with my own event, I met the coaches at schools and incereased passion to try in tracks..."

Based on the three motivational factors that have been stated, the factor of interest in the sport is the foundation of realization about one's ability and talent. Besides, media could act as an informational medium to give idea and attract the athletes' interest to become acquainted in the sport. Omardin (1998) believes the media contributes to increased sport development.

2. SUPPORT THEME

Support theme (Table 4) is the second motivational need (28.18%) that drives the athletes' involmenment in sport. The motivation to be involved in sport is due to the relationship and support of colleagues, families, coaches, and inner motivation.

Table 4 : The Support Theme To Be Involved In Sport

Main theme	Total of Raw Data
Percentage (%)	
Family	10
32.26	
Friends	8
25.81	
Staffs and Sponsors	6
19.35	
Self Motivation	4
12.90	
Coaches	3
9.68	N (31)

Based on Table 4, the pertinent support factors are as follows:

Family support

The need for the relationship is to boost the athletes' spirits and drive to shine in the sport industry. Dorothee, Martin and Sabine (2006) said that social support is acknowledged as a source to increased skills. One of the samples stated:

"...I love group activity because I enjoy it very much. I need to adapt to my friends and I gathered lots of input from them. Sport strengthen my family bond..."

Family support becomes an important matter because parents and families are the closest force of their children's involvement in sport. They are the main factor in increasing ones' motivation and mould ones' success in the future. The physical condition of the disabled individuals always need support in every activity; from the beginning till the time

freedom is achieved when they do not have to depend on their parents. This condition has created a deep love bond between the family support especially parents. This is a psychological benefit when one has family support.

Friends

Other samples explained that family support plays an important role in helping to motivate them in sport. One of them stated that :

“...friends give support. For example, when I missed my training, they would ask about my whereabouts and encourage me to undergo my training...”

Apart from family, relatives and parents, friends are the closest to the disabled individuals. This presents a psychological benefit such as confidence, love and closeness with those that we know. Based on the above response, it is crystal clear that athletes need strong supports from the closest people. These people need to understand the need of the athletes to win in the sports.

Self Motivation

Individual who has high-esteem motivation will maintain their involvement in activities. A statement from one of the sample is :

“...I want to continue participating in paralympics...”

According to Perreault (2007), motivation through *coping skill* could increase students' involvement in sport activity. This could be proven by research conducted on wheelchair basketball athletes. They are accustomed to face problems due to their physical disabilities. The disabled individuals have strong will to support the paralympic athletes.

Coaches

Dorothee, Martin and Sabine (2006) stressed the orientation of a personal coach could give effects to athletes' behaviour. One of them said,

"...coach is the closest person to me.therefore, he always support me to be involved in sport..."

In addition, Malletts (2002) stated that coaches are important in an athlete's sport progress. They have to prepare the athletes with skills and knowledge that is needed to advance, progress and succeed in their respective sport (Nazaruddin, Omar-fauzee, Geok, Jamalis & Din, 2009). Coaches also have big influence to make an enjoyable involvement in the sport. Based on the above statement and the research findings, they show that methodologies and coaches' support are the mainframe that generated the athletes' success in sport.

3. FITNESS THEME

Fitness theme influenced the paralympics motivation to be involved in sport which is 12.73%. Fitness is a high and consistent organ system due to constant training. Fitness theme (Table 5) consists of body health and ones' deformities. Fitness could be seen from psyhiological, psychological, motor abilities and body structure. The health benefit from the physical activity depends on the types of activity, the period of each activities, endurance level, and participation frequency.

Table 5 : Fitness Theme To Become An Athlete

Main Theme	Total of Raw Data
Percentage (%)	
Health Condition	10
71.43	
Hiding Disabilities	4
28.57	
	N (14)

The details of Table 5 are as follows:

Health Benefit

Sport activity has health benefits (Omar-fauzee, et. al., 2009). Scientific research proves that sport activity could give positive response to human's psychological such as maintaining one's temperature and control blood in the body. Optimum health exists if paralympics athletes know the importance of quality health. One of the sample stated that :

"...I feel healthy and fit as compared to before since I have followed this sport and I felt I have no skills deformities, I am the same as normal individuals..."

Malanga (2006) stated that sports benefits for the disabled individuals are they could increase their endurance, cardiovascular effectiveness, increase balance and motor skills that are better than the other disabled individuals who are not involved in sport. For example, athletes that have spine injuries have better chances to increase their health and undergo faster recovery process. With physical trainings, opportunity to increase the capacity of the bone is higher than the injuries. The research proves that paralympics athletes could hide if they are consistently involved in sport.

4. REWARD THEME

The findings of the interview show facility theme ranked third (11.82%) in motivating the athletes to be involved in sports. Examples of the facility theme are athletes' desire to visit other states, future guarantee and gratitude (Table 6).

Table 6 : Reward Factor to Become An Athlete

Main Theme	Total of Raw Data
Percentage (%)	
Visiting other countries 46.15	6
Guaranteed Future 23.07	3
Incentive 15.38	2
Appreciation 15.38	2

N (13)

Based on Table 6, the detailed discussion is as followed :

Visiting Other Countries

Based on the reward factor, visiting other countries consist of 46.15%; the highest factor that lead to the involvement of the athletes' in sport. When the paralympics tournament was held in other sountries, the athletes are anxious to tour the countries. One of them stated :

"...I enjoy participating in the sport because I could see the other countries and tour as I enrolled in the paralympics sport..."

The findings clearly stated that as paralympics athletes could feel the fun in touring as a motivation to continue their involvement in sport. Therefore, the paralympics athletes could feel satisfied and grstitude when they could achieve a high performance compared to individuals who have no such opportunities (Ryan, 2005).

Incentive

There are some of the samples that stated financial factor is a motivation and a cause to be involved such as the below response:

"...financial factor, when I win in sport, I would get allowance, incentives and rewards, to increase the economy..."

The factor is definitely a motivational drive to the disabled individuals because rewards and facilities, either through financial help or rewards, could ease their financial burden. The paralympics athletes that come from less fortunate families, in terms of economy, would really appreciate the help. In addition, the disabled individuals would have to undergo consistent and repeated health therapy to curb their deformities.

Appreciation

The spirit to achieve gratitude could influence the athletes' performance in sport. This is what one of the sample has said :

"...it feels like there are more benefits than none athletes because I have the chance to be in other countries. Feel appreciated..."

When one of them receive rewards for their performance as "the most appreciated players", this gives them the drive to increase their intrinsic motivation. The reality is athletes who feel appreciated would display better performance

5. REDUCING STRESS THEME

The last main theme is reducing stress (8.29%). The three items that drives the athletes' motivation to be involved

Omar-Fauzee M.S, Manisah Mohd-Ali, Soh Kim Geok and Norazillah Ibrahim

in sport are mental endurance, satisfaction and avoiding time wasting.

Physical activity could give a positive benefit to mental health. This is stated by academic meeting tht was held by Somerset Health Authority in January 1999. They agree to the fact that physical activity is beneficial for mental health. Table 7 shows items that are consisted in reducing stress theme.

Table 7 : Reducing Strees Theme As a Factor To Become An Athlete

Main Theme	Total of Raw Data
Percentage (%)	
Mental Endurance	6
50	
Satisfaction and Appreciation	3
25	
Avoiding Wasting Time	3
25	
	N (12)
100%	

In detail, the discussion of Table 7 is as follows:

Mental Endurance

Referring to Table 7, the factor of moulding good moral values have the highest percentage which is 5.45%. The factor proves that the key to become an incredible athlete is basef on positive and great moral values that come from sincerity, spiritual and mental strength, dicipline and ectera. This is very important as it drives the athletes to achieve greatness. This theme has been stated by few samples such as :

“..in a competition, I need mental strengh because I have to face my opponents and their supporters....”

The mind helps to assume and to guess behaoviuor. Accurate guess will become a motivation to take the next big step. This is aligned with Weinberg and Gould (2006), where

visualisation, rehearsal mental, imagery and mental training refer to creation of experience in the mind.

Satisfaction and Enjoyment

In the research, satisfaction and enjoyment that are product of sport activity are identified as factor that had the most raw data(10) and percentage (5.5%). To prove, below are responses from samples.

...satisfaction factor, when one could perform greatly, is extremely satisfying...

The sample's opinion stresses that disabled athletes want to achieve satisfaction and enjoyment to achieve their goals. Therefore, athletes would feel the success and satisfaction when they have perform greatly as compared to individuals that have no opportunities (Ryan, 2005)

6. Summary and Conclusion

Overall, there are six factors that have become the motivation for the paralympics to join sport. The main motivational factor of athletes' involvement in sport is enjoyment, followed by support, fitness, reward and curbing stress theme. The research findings proves the main motivational factor of enjoyment is an important asset in driving the paralympics athletes' involvement in sport. This factor is aligned with Weinberg and Gould (2007) who stated the main motive in sport is physical fitness, enjoyment and friendship. Paralympics athletes, either they are involved directly and indirectly in sport, achieve enjoyment when they are able to compete with each other.

Friends, family and coaches' support are motivating the paralympics athletes. Ryan (2006) stated the psychological researches such as interpersonal factor with the coaches, family, friends and ectera are motivational factor of athletes' involvement in sport.

Fitness factor that consists of health and hiding deforminities are contributors of paralympics athletes to

continue their sport involvement. Malanga (2006) supports the beneficial of the disabled sport are endurance increment, muscle strength, cardiovascular effectiveness, balance increment and motor skills as compare to other disabled individuals who are not involved in sport.

In addition, their motives to be involved in sport is to gain rewards and curb stress. The motives help them to become active in sport (Omar-fauzee, et al., 2009). The reward, regardless it was received intrinsically or extrinsically, are motivation to the disabled individuals. According to Jarvis (2006), intrinsic and extrinsic motivation could increase one's achievement in sport. Indeed, satisfaction is the athletes' inner intrinsic.

The disabled individuals' involvement in paralympics has identified extrinsic factor is important in planning diverse involvement in a sport competition (Perreault, 2007). Therefore, suggestion have been made to the responsible authorities of the athletes' welfare to raise the sport allowances according to local or international achievement. Support and incentives such as in the form of rewards motivate them to continue their training in order to excel in sport. Besides, participation in sport help to finance the athletes' training especially in buying equipment and extra food.

In conclusion, the research findings denotes trust in motivational factors that influence the athletes' involvement in sport. Considering the roles of diverse authorities, responses that are related to the factors could be informed in sport training, coaches training, campaigns in increasing awareness and the different medium to uphold the disabled individuals' involvement in sport. A structured environment that includes the roles of the factors and themes of the research could be considered by the related authorities in order to attract the whole disabled individuals community.

References

- Amiot, C.E., Gaudreau, P., & Blanchard, C.M. (2004). Self-determination, coping, and goal attainment in the context of a sport competition. *Journal of sport & exercise psychology*, 26, 396-411.
- Dorothee, A., Martin, J.L., & Sabine, W. (2006). Perceived leadership behaviour and motivational climate antecedents of adolescent athletes' skill development. *Journal of sport psychology*, 7, 269-286.
- Gapor, A. (2007). *Kejurulatihan dan sains sukan. [Coaching and sport science]*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn. Bhd.
- Jarvis, M. (2006). *Sport Psychology: Motivation and Sport*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis.
- Malanga (2006). *Athletes With Disabilities*. WebMD Health's professional portals, including Medscape.com, the heart.org and Medsite.com.
- Mohd. Salleh, A.(2005). *Sukan dalam masyarakat Malaysia.[Sports in Malaysian society]* Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya.
- Nazarudin, M.N.H., Omar-Fauzee, M.S., Jamal, M., Geok, S.K., & Din, A. (2009). Coaches leadership styles athlete satisfactions among Malaysian university basketball team. *Research Journal of International Studies*, 9, 4-11.
- Omarudin (1998), *Pengurusan sukan [Sports management]*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn. Bhd.
- Omar-fauzee, M.S, Daud, N., Kamaruddin, K., Yusof, A., Geok, S. K., Nazaruddin, M. N., Aman, S., & Slikon, R. H. (2009). What's make university students participate in sports? *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 8, 449-459.
- Omar-Fauzee, M. S., Yusof, A., & Zizzi, S. (2009). College students' attitude towards the utilization of the sport recreation center (SRC). *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 7, 27-41.
- Perreault, S. (2007). A test of self-determination theory with wheelchair basketball players with and without disability. *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly*, 24, 305-316.
- Roberts, K., Treasure, J. & Conroy, M. (2007). Understanding the Dynamics of Motivation in Sport and Physical Activity. *Handbook Of Sport Psychology-3rd*. London: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Ryan, E. R. (2006). Disentangling motivation, intention and planning in the physical activity domain. *Journal of sport psychology & exercise*, 7, 15-27.

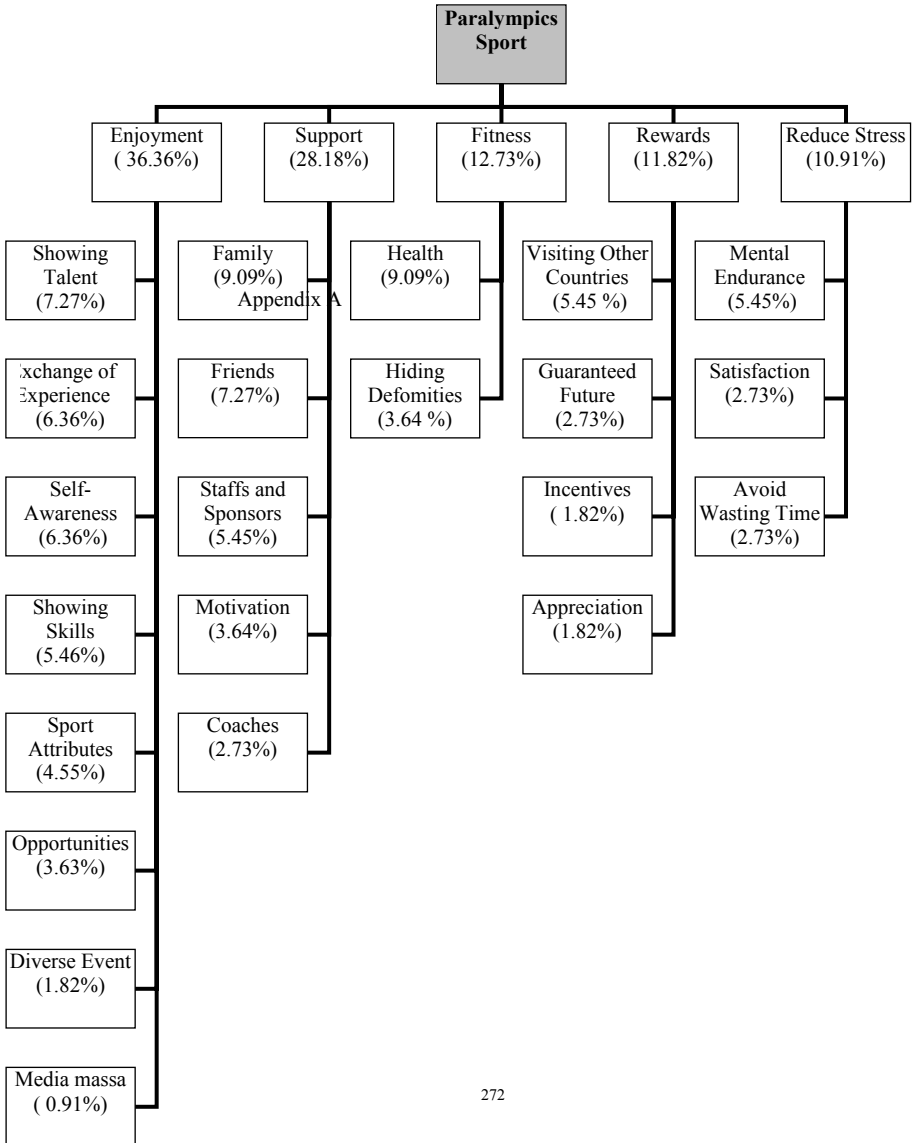
Omar-Fauzee M.S, Manisah Mohd-Ali, Soh Kim Geok and Norazillah Ibrahim

Shaharuddin, A. A. (2006). *Mengaplikasikan teori psikologi dalam sukan [Applying psychology theories in sports]*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publication & Distributors.

Yael, N. (2007), Physical Activity and Three Dimensions Of Psychological Functioning in Advanced Age. *Handbook Of Sport Psychology-3rd*. London: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Zurn, L., Lopiano, D., & Snyder, M. (2006). *Women in the 2006 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: An Analysis of Participation, Leadership and Media Coverage*. East Meadow, NY: Women's Sports Foundation.

The Participation Motive in the Paralympics



The Psychological Preconditions for Collective Violence: Several Case Studies

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

Abstract: When a community enters a period of collective violence, many factors can be causal, particularly a certain type of leadership which can be called pathological. Such leaders need certain pre-existing psychological preconditions to work upon as they manipulate a community. This they do through its collective mental state where there is psychic numbing (Lifton) and extensive negative psychic capital (Boulding). Their leadership can take the form of radically modifying a sense of coherence (Antonovsky), and claims of healing a wounded identity. The collective mental state can be heavily under the influence of fear (Lake and Rothchild). The psychological preconditions of collective violence are thus the raw materials of pathological leadership, specifically mental state, particularly fear, perceived wounded identity, negative psychic capital, occurring in a condition of numbed psyche. Some case studies showing the effects of the interaction of these components will be presented.

1. Introduction

Explanations of episodes of collective violence normally focus on the coming together of many factors including the breakdown of constitutional and legal safeguards, the failure of power sharing democracy, the absence of intervention by bystanders, and a certain type of leadership, (which could be individual or group). But this type of leadership cannot operate without the presence of certain psychological raw materials which are preconditional. Together these psychological preconditions form a collective mental state with which the leader will interact. This type of interaction was well expressed by Langer when he wrote "...(i)t was not only Hitler, the madman, who created German madness, but German madness that created Hitler. "(Langer, 1972: 138).

2. Leadership: Evil or Pathological?

The study of the psychology of individual leaders is rightly placed at the center of many disciplines such as government and history. To *lead* is to direct by going forward, a process which is the subject of an important discipline itself. There are many theories of leadership, and the majority of these are understandably concerned with rational policy, strategy and decision. However there is also a need to be concerned with collective emotions such as identification, fear, hysteria, and other manifestations of the unconscious. Leaders do not operate in vacuums; rather they need a certain mixture of raw materials in order to produce an outcome. These raw materials or psychological preconditions when leading to large-scale violence are the focus of this paper.

When large scale suffering has occurred, it may be valid to blame leadership, particularly where the leader is a despot. However, there is a philosophical problem when the leadership in question is a result of evil intention or mental disorder or psychopathology which is (“...a persistent personality disorder characterized by antisocial behavior.”)(Oxford Handbook 1991:364). This dichotomy has been described as the mad/bad problem: is the offender mad and therefore in need of treatment, or bad and therefore in need of punishment? (Puri, Laking and Tresaden, 1996: 359). Many writers have identified the category of *evil leadership*, defined in terms of the destruction of human beings, even where the original intention may not have been to cause evil (Staub, 1992: 25). Another approach is to identify a leader as *toxic*, producing extreme levels of dysfunctional leadership characterized by organizational contamination (Goldman, 2006). Yet another term is *pathological leadership*, or leadership that “...leads to consequences that most people in moments of reasonableness would regard as disastrous.” (Cox, 1974: 142). This definition of pathological leadership or leadership which leads to disastrous consequences is adopted in this discussion, as it has the advantage of leaving separate the question of an evaluation of the motives and the mental condition of the pathological leader.

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

Here we shall consider three communities for which their leaders have been a disaster: Germany in the 1930s, the People's Temple, and the Tamils of Sri Lanka. These three leaders--(Hitler, Jim Jones, and Velupillai Prabhakaran-- differed greatly in origin, method, style, and objective, but in each case producing a similarity of outcome: suffering and violent death on a disastrous scale, for the followers who brought them to power, (and in the case of the first one, many millions of others). However, in each case, the collective psychological condition of their followers bears striking similarity.

It is possible therefore is to identify a checklist of conditions or symptoms that together create a collective mental state that is conducive to a disastrous level of collective violence, and to seek confirmation by exploring whether these symptoms were present in the several cases mentioned.

3. The Mental State of a Community

The life of a community takes place at many levels: the physical, the social, the economic, the political but also a psychological level. This was recognised by Hilberg when he wrote "(t)he Jewish Ghetto...is a state of mind" (Hilberg, 1980: 110), and this statement could apply to every community. The condition of the prevailing state of mind in any community at any time can therefore be called a *collective mental state*. Psychiatry uses the term *mental state examination* to refer to an extremely important tool in the determining of pathology, but one which is not seen as an end in itself. The examination will assess overall psychiatric condition through history, mood, memory, and abnormality of belief, thought and cognitive state. In psychiatry, the mental state is thus an assessment made in terms of the symptomatology of disorder or disease (Puri, Laking and Treasaden, 1996: 60--72). In plain language, mental *state* can refer to the general condition of someone's mind, including thought processes, mood and mental energy level. More permanent intellectual or moral characteristics of the personality are not normally part of the description of mental state. is a much more general description based on whatever

analysis (such as *insight*) for whatever purpose the user of the term has chosen. Collective mental state is a quality of a group, and groups can emerge with seemingly a life of their own, and, can it be said, a mind of their own?

The question of group mind was answered in the affirmative by Le Bon (1841–1931), for whom a crowd is to be distinguished from an agglomeration of people; it is a new phenomenon with a collective mind, which can also be called a *psychological crowd*, with definite characteristics such that individual personalities vanish. In this way, Le Bon observed that some inoffensive and highly peaceable individuals, who might have been accountants or magistrates in normal times, became savage members of the French Revolution (Le Bon, 1960: 4-5). Le Bon thus presented a theory of collective mental functioning, based on collective memories, linked with thoughts and emotions by the mechanism of contagion, leading to group action as a community functions

Durkheim (1858-1917) noted the existence of a different order of phenomena in society to that of the individual. These phenomena, which he called *social facts*, are shared by individuals but function independently of them. Although external to individuals, they are empowered with great coercive force. (Durkheim, 1964: 2).

Social facts are not just a matter of social organization. There are also *social currents*, which have the same objectivity and power over the individual. These currents can be emotional states of enthusiasm, indignation, pity or cruelty, and led Durkheim to state, "...a group of individuals, most of whom are perfectly inoffensive, may, when gathered in a crowd, be drawn into acts of atrocity." (Durkheim, 1964: 5). The currents of opinion within society, which are highly variable in intensity, impel large numbers of people towards higher or lower rates of marriage, birth or suicide, so that the resulting statistics express the state of the group (*l'âme collective*), which has been translated into English as *a certain state of the group mind* (Durkheim, 1964: 8) but which could also be translated as a *collective mental state*.

While a collective sentiment is extremely powerful because of the "...special energy resident in its collective origin" (Durkheim, 1964: 9), there is a *social culture* passed to individual members of society by socialisation with collective and ancient beliefs and practices, or in other

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

words, *collective memory*, although Durkheim does not himself use this term.

Freud (1856-1939) was deeply impressed with Le Bon, describing his work as a "...brilliantly executed picture of the group mind." (Freud, 1955: 81). Freud also asserted the concept of the *collective mind*, which he saw as operating through mental processes just as it does in the mind of an individual (Freud, 1950: 157). Taking Le Bon's concept of the psychological group, Freud noted that a *racial unconscious* emerges, describing it as an *archaic heritage* of the human mind, which is unconscious, similar to Le Bon's description, to which must be added a *repressed unconscious* (Freud, 1955: 75). The group mind is impulsive, changeable and irritable, and it is led almost exclusively by the unconscious (Freud, 1955: 81).

The interaction between mental state and human act at collective level is very complex. The organizational theorist Etzioni recognized society as an *emergent*, or new order of unit greater than its component parts (Etzioni, 1968: 45-47). Etzioni accepted the concept of a *societal consciousness* which is 'self-reviewing and self-correcting' but felt it necessary to stop short of a 'group mind' because of its metaphysical assumption about the latter being able to 'hover above' and forcibly control individual minds (Etzioni, 1968: 225-228). This process can be described as a *collective mental process* in which actions and events interact with collective memory with outcomes that are ordered and peaceful.

4. The Community's Need for a Leader

In Freud's view the group mind demands leadership, from which it seeks strength and violence (Freud, 1955: 77). The attraction of the group for the individual emanates from the fear of being alone and here Freud noted that opposition to the herd is essentially separation from it. Thus Freud sees the herd instinct as something primary and indivisible. The fear among small children of being alone is therefore the foundation of the herd instinct. However, it needs qualification in that the child will fear separation from its mother and be very mistrustful of members of the herd who are strangers. Among children a herd instinct or group or

community feeling develops later and this group will make, as its first demand, the demand for justice or equal treatment of all. The feeling of equality allows identification of one with another but also recognizes a single person as superior to all, that is, the leader. Each of the many groups that exist will have a group mind, so that each individual will have a share in numerous group minds, be they race, class, religion, nationality or any other. Where memberships are in conflict, mental instability results, leading ultimately to breakdown. Freud saw human libido as a powerful motivating force, not only in individual functioning as either sexual impulsion or hypnosis but also in group functioning (Freud, *Group Psychology*, 1955: 118-129).

Jung (1875-1961) believed that the personal unconscious, as proposed by Freud, was underlain by a deeper level of the *collective unconscious* "(j)ust as the human body is a museum, so to speak, of its phylogenetic history, so too is the psyche" (Jung, 1959: 287). The collective unconscious provides a second psychic stream, "... a system of a collective, universal, and impersonal nature which is identical in all individuals" (Jung, 1959: 43). This consisted of pre-existent thought forms, patterns or motifs, which Jung called *archetypes*. The archetype concept is similar to Plato's concept of the *Idea*, a primordial disposition that shapes thought. Archetypes create a drive for completion, similar to an instinctual drive, and failure to achieve completion can result in neurosis. Though he does not use the specific term *collective neurosis*, Jung did refer to a *state of lunacy* among a people. It is therefore reasonable to infer that a community will need a leader, and the leader will work upon the collective unconscious, but in so doing, may drive a community to a state of lunacy.

5. Collective Memory

Halbwachs (1877-1945) presented a detailed analysis of the relationship between individual memory and social or collective aspect which he called *collective memory*. Collective memory is of fundamental importance to continued social life, but it is a highly manufactured phenomenon subject to manipulation. It always works through individuals, but

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

individuals are subject to the influence of more than one collective memory. Even extinct groups will leave a trace of memory in the collective memory of later groups, though Halbwachs did not elaborate the concept of the unconscious memory. His position is contained in the following

In reality, the thoughts and events of individual consciousness can be compared and relocated within a common time because inner duration dissolves into various currents whose source is the group. The individual consciousness is only a passageway for these currents, a point of intersection for collective times. (Halbwachs, 1980: 125).

The concept of a *collective mind*, as proposed by Le Bon, developed by Freud, adapted by Durkheim as *collective consciousness*, added to by Jung as the *collective unconsciousness*, thus operates with Halbwach's *collective memory* at its basis. Collective memory shapes and is shaped by present identity, whereby certain remembrances are selected as an acceptable representation of the past. Collective memory involves a homogenization of representations of the past and it can be an effect of the present or an effect of the past. It can also be beyond volitional control, an example of this being the emergence of the concept of the *Vichy syndrome* (Lavarbre, 2001).

The concept of the *collective memory* has particular value here: by being in part unconscious, it can be accepted as powerfully affecting human thought and behaviour, providing the raw material of negative psychic capital from which the leader can fashion the instruments necessary to develop a powerful lock-grip over a community.

6. Psychological Preconditions for Pathological Leadership

Psychic Numbing and Doubling

From time to time, human societies undergo human catastrophe and then enter periods of extreme collective mental disorder that can quickly lead to large-scale

organised violence. Despite the ever-present possibility of risk, a well-adjusted collective mental state has some immunity from the extreme form of behaviour that involves violence. But when a collective mental state is severely disordered, it is possible for some individuals to offer themselves as saviours then consolidate power and translate their intentions into actions, particularly through fear and panic. The disturbances may already be present in large measure or be augmented from small beginnings. The disturbances may trigger traces of collective memory which may be ones of insecurity, crystallised as fears, or conversely of extreme security in the form of complacency leading to vulnerability, extremes of elation or depression (not unlike the bipolar disorder in individuals), extremes of hyper-realism or cynicism or delusion, extremes of exclusion or inclusion which can quickly become exclusion, or of extreme habituation to violence or a very sheltered non-habituation to violence which can suddenly turn to violence through shock. These patterns seem to be a common feature in the early stages of the Third Reich, the Cambodian and the Rwandan genocides and the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, to name just a few examples.

In his book *The Nazi Doctors*, Lifton asked the question of what were the mechanisms that allowed highly educated, humanistic medical practitioners to carry out the horrors of the concentration camps? The answer to this question is multi layered but must start with an important concept of *psychic numbing*, or a "general category of diminished capacity or inclination to feel." (Lifton 1986, 442). As applied to Nazi doctors working in concentration camps, it was put forward as a description of the mental state necessary for the continued performance of functions in the basic activity of those places.

There is also the concept of *doubling*, first introduced by the psychoanalysis Otto Rank (1884--1939), and revived by Lifton (1986). Doubling is the division of the personality into two functioning wholes that can operate independently, often serving the need for survival, but also allowing a granting of license to commit evil, as it did for the Nazi doctors. Moreover, *doubling* can be a collective phenomenon, and here Lifton identifies a "German vulnerability to

William Walter Bostock, *University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)*

doubling...intensified by the historical dislocations and fragmentations of cultural symbols following the First World War." (Lifton 1986, 429).

Thus psychic numbing on a large scale following human catastrophe can be an important precondition for the often fatal decision to turn to a leader who may offer a radical solution perhaps disguised as hard measures. A community may be forced to turn to the use of doubling as it deals with the moral problems created as the true nature of the hard measures becomes apparent.

Depleted Psychic Capital

Another aspect in the life of communities, particularly those which have undergone under extreme crisis, is the presence of psychic capital. *Psychic capital* is a term first used by Kenneth E. Boulding (1910-1993) (Boulding, 1950). Capital is an accumulation of wealth, and with psychic capital, the accumulation is one of desirable mental states. The mental states could be memories of pleasure, success, achievement, recognition and tradition, and the desire to add to psychic capital is likely to be a powerful motivating force. Exchanges involving increases or decreases of psychic capital are likely to occur at any time, either through decision or through the turn of events.

However, fear, insecurity and terror, through memories of failures, disasters, atrocities, or perceived injustices and indignities (as either recipient or perpetrator) can lead to a depletion of psychic capital, while what is left could be called negative psychic capital. Negative psychic capital and the fear of adding to it can also be a powerful motivating factor.

Boulding linked psychic capital with a sense of identity as one of the determinants of the "morale, legitimacy and the 'nerve' of society" (Boulding, 1966: 5), which is vital to the adaptation of society and to the keeping of it from falling apart.

A similar and related concept is that of *identity capital*, as proposed by Côté, which is to be distinguished from Becker's *human capital* and Bourdieu's *cultural capital*. Côté concluded that identity capital gave an individual, particularly one possessing a "diversified portfolio", a store of

resources enabling the handling of life's vagaries (Côté, 1996: 424). Psychic capital is thus essentially the same concept as identity capital but at the collective level.

In addition, there is suggestive evidence that when psychic capital is severely depleted, pervasive and persistent despair develops and this can be extremely harmful to individuals through a complex psychic and hormonal process which exhausts the cortex of the adrenal glands and probably the ability to adapt to stress (Chatan, 1976:116). Thus it can be hypothesised that the stress following the depletion of psychic capital can set the stage for a willingness to turn to a leader offering a solution.

Distorted Sense of Coherence

Antonovsky proposed that the key casual factor in whether health is maintained is a *sense of coherence*. This is, a

... global orientation that expresses the extent to which one has a pervasive, enduring though dynamic feeling of confidence that one's internal and external environments are predictable and that there is a high probability that things will work out as well as can be reasonably expected. (Antonovsky, 1980:123).

The *sense of coherence* concept is also valid at the group level (Antonovsky, 1987: 171), with the proviso that there must first be a sense of group consciousness or subjectively identifiable collectivity (Antonovsky, 1987: 175). An individual or group with a highly developed sense of coherence will have a high level of generalised resistance resources which are identified as rationality, flexibility and farsightedness (Antonovsky, 1979:112-113). Where the sense of coherence is disrupted or distorted, the wellbeing of a community can be compromised. Moreover, the sense of coherence can be deliberately distorted by suggestion, manipulation and ideology. Some writers have described this distortion as *collective paranoia*. What is paranoia in an individual? It has been defined as

...a delusional state or system of delusions, usually involving the conviction of persecution, in which intelligence and

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

reasoning capacity, within the context of the delusional system, are unimpaired. (Youngson, 1992: 459).

Where there is a history of real persecution, it is very easy to take a community into a distorted sense of current coherence. Writing on the subject of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the novelist Danilo Kis identified the causal factor as nationalism, which he defined as a state of collective and individual paranoia. *Collective paranoia* in Kis's view, is a combination of many individual paranoias brought to paroxysm in a group whose goal is "...to solve problems of monumental importance: a survival and prestige of that group's nation." (Kis, 1996: 1).

It is thus possible to state therefore that a collective mental state is either maintaining or losing its sense of coherence, as either *well-adjusted* or *disordered*, on the same criterion as individual personality disorder. The occurrence of human-produced cataclysmic events can lead to disturbances to collective mental states, and has been described by a variety of terms such as *collective paranoia*, *collective madness* or *genocidal mania*. This could be called a problem of collective mental illness but rather, to avoid a philosophical debate, could be described as a disorder of the collective mental state. Here collective memory plays a role, as traces of extremely traumatic events are embedded and then remembered and interpreted as extreme suffering. However, collective memory, as the basis of psychic capital, can also help survival in conditions of extreme adversity.

Wounded Identity

Nationalism, the political expression of collective identity, is often based on real or imaginary wounds for which there must be retribution, in a process that has been described as a "ceaseless reenactment" (Brown, 1993: 403).

The collective memory of real or imaginary wounds serves a psychological function of creating and maintaining a sense of identity. As Searle-White has stated
Being a victim confers upon us a kind of moral authority—a sense that we deserve to be treated specifically. In fact being a victim is so powerful that we would expect people to

assume victim status if they can. ...Being a victim gives us the right to take action against our enemies while blaming them for the violence at the same time. (Searle-White, 2001: 92).

Psychologists have long been concerned to explain aggression or hostility, the forerunners of violence, and many theories have been put forward. However, the motive of revenge, settling of a score or the paying back for an injury through violence, must rank high. Freud recognised a destructively powerful death instinct, and Lorenz (1966) took the view that aggression was a survival-enhancing instinct which is present in human beings as well as other animals, and which can be collective as well as individual. Another approach is the 'frustration-aggression theory' first proposed by Dollard (1939). Here aggression is seen as a response to frustration caused by interference in the pursuit of goals or any other disturbance to the collective mental state. The aggressive response to frustration is seen as a biologically inherent tendency in humans and other animals, and is not incompatible with other approaches. For example, Gurr takes the view that "...the primary source of human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration-aggression mechanism..." (1970, 36), but he goes on to include among the sources of frustration the sense of relative deprivation, which can be infinitely diverse in origin, nature and response. Where a large number of people collectively feel the pain of an injury, supposed healing through aggressive and violent leadership could seem to offer a solution.

Contagious Fear

The state of desire for aggressive and violent solutions can be engineered by the controlled supply of information and interpretation, which is used to generate collective anxiety. Lake and Rothchild expanded on this theme when they wrote

As groups begin to fear for their safety, dangerous and difficult-to-resolve strategic dilemmas arise that contain within them the potential for tremendous violence....Ethnic

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

activists and political entrepreneurs, operating within groups, build upon these fears of insecurity and polarise society (Lake and Rothchild, 1996: 41).

Most studies of organised violence do not attribute all causality to leadership, as there must be a facilitating followship or at least acquiescent bystanders (Staub, 1989: 23), and very likely a situation where the 'raw material' of collective grievances are present. Kiev hypothesised a *collective anxiety neurosis* (Kiev, 1973) and *collective fear* has been isolated as a causal factor in extreme political behaviour (Lake and Rothchild, 1996). The process of contagion can take the collective mental state (the product) in a certain direction, for example that of *cumulative radicalisation* (Heineman, 2002:51).

Franz Borkenau, himself a target of both Nazi and Stalinist regimes, related the mental state of fear and insecurity to the effect of severe changes to the social and political milieu

Once the carapace of custom is disrupted, the process acquires the characteristics of a chain reaction. Every rift opened by the devaluation of rules widens automatically and produces new rifts in other places....conduct becomes more and more irrational, the area of moral uncertainty is constantly widening, until the typical situation of the "dark ages," a situation of total insecurity and universal crime, is reached. (Borkenau, 1981: 385).

In the light of this discussion, it is possible to hypothesise that the impulse to aggressive behaviours, culminating in homicidal and suicidal acts (the two often being related), is a product of a collective mental state disturbed by generalized fear. Sometimes killing is seen as healing, as in suicide, but killing others can also be seen as an act of healing, as in supposedly benevolently motivated euthanasia

Integrating the Concepts

However, a collective mental state can be profoundly influenced by national trauma, as in a shock felt by a very high percentage of a population. The causes of collective trauma could include political assassination, unprovoked

acts of terrorism or war, economic depression, and technological disaster (Neal, 1996); or specific events such as the 9/11 attack (Mandel, 2002). Any of these events can trigger a dramatic change in collective mental state, either in a direct way, or by a more gradual process of incremental accretion that can be transmitted by contagion (Vigil, 1996). Where there is a sufficient quantum of psychic capital, a strong sense of coherence, a healthy sense of identity free of real or perceived wounds, and no history of psychic numbing, there will be ample immunity against contagion by fear, and no desire to turn to leaders offering violence in the name of healing by attacking assigned enemies. In other words, the psychological preconditions which irresistibly attract a community to a leader who may well turn out to be pathological, and the deliverer of disaster and not salvation through healing, will be averted.

7. Case Studies

Germany in the 1930s

As already noted, Langer saw a correlation between Hitler's madness ("Hitler has many characteristics that border on the schizophrenic.") (Langer, 19773: 21) and Germany's madness. While it was not Langer's brief to explore the latter side of the equation, it is possible to suggest a set of factors which, when consolidated, give Hitler's rise to power and the subsequent catastrophe a degree of inevitability. The humiliation of defeat in World War 1 and the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles which followed it, especially the loss of colonies, meant not only a depletion of physical and financial capital but psychic capital as well. The Great Depression of 1929 hit Germany in an already very bad state. The sense of coherence was distorted by the belief that the defeat was caused by a "stab in the back" by internal enemies: Communists, republicans, and Jews (Staub, 1992: 92).

In the view of Langer, Hitler himself refused to accept or adjust to Germany's defeat, which he referred to in his speeches as rape

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

...by what wiles the soul of the German nation has been raped...our German pacifists will pass over in silence the most bloody rape of the nation. (Langer, 1973: 156-157).

Hitler's approach to power was to restore depleted psychic capital and heal a wounded identity through a new formulation of a sense of coherence by targeting carefully selected individuals, groups, nations (and later the German nation itself), and ultimately to wreak "...the greatest vengeance on a world he despises". (Langer, 1973: 213). To achieve these aims, Hitler presented himself at first as extremely human, with deep feelings for the problems of ordinary people (Langer, 1973: 50).

As a new sense of coherence became accepted, the process of psychic numbing came into operation, facilitating the program of euthanasia, where two concepts were asserted: "killing as healing", and the notion of a "life unworthy of life" (Staub, 1992:121). Soon after, the widespread existence of psychic numbing supported the program of genocide.

Contagion with fear of economic destitution, homelessness and humiliation existed after the defeat of 1918 and undoubtedly contributed to the rise of Hitler as a solution through the mechanism of transference. As Kets de Vries described it

Followers may endow their leaders with the same magical powers and omniscience that as children they probably attributed to their parents and other important persons. (Kets de Vries, 1990: 427).

After achieving power, Hitler consolidated it by using the technique of ever-tightening the grip of terror. The implementation of the policy of genocide required extensive psychic doubling that continued until the final collapse of the regime, ending an episode of the greatest violence the world has ever seen

The People's Temple

The People's Temple was a community created by the Reverend Jim Jones (1931-1978), which was destroyed in a disaster of mass suicide and murder of over 900 of its members (including Jones) and Congressman Leo Ryan and four members of his investigating group at Jonestown, Guyana, in November 1978.

Most witnesses and commentators seem to agree that in the final stages of his rule, Jones was suffering severe drug-induced mental illness of a paranoid type (Ulman and Abse, 1983: 653) (Cain, 1988: 22). Ulman and Abse also refer to the "collective madness" of the community (Ulman and Abse, 1983: 658), and here it is relevant to note that Jung's *state of lunacy* among a people is an appropriate description of Jonestown, 1978. Although it is unlikely that anyone would have accurately predicted the tragic end to Jonestown, many were deeply troubled during the immediately preceding period, leading to the investigatory mission of Congressman Leo Ryan. Among the disturbing indications were the enacting of "white nights" or exercises in simulated mass suicide. (Some accounts give two or three of these simulations, but Nelson only refers to one) (Nelson, 2006).

The members of his church were drawn from disadvantaged groups in American society whom he manipulated through language at the level of emotion, as can be clearly seen in the film *Jonestown, The Life and Death of People's Temple* (Nelson, 2006). Invoking depleted psychic capital through collective memory of the humiliation and suffering of his mostly African-American parishioners, and referring on a number of occasions to the Bible as "the black book used to repress black people", Jones operated a system of suggestion and control to carry out large-scale social engineering in his church. This took the form of a highly distorted sense of coherence backed up with the threat of severe punishment, both psychic and physical, including beatings and non-consensual sex (Harray, 1992: 2).

The contagion with fear was thus a characteristic of life in the People's Temple. Jones accurately diagnosed a state of wounded identity, from which he offered the healing experience of a new life in Jonestown. In this way, Jonestown became an example of a human society that entered a period of extreme collective mental disorder,

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

undergoing large-scale organised violence which quickly led to major human catastrophe. Given that Jones had become a pathological leader, the previously moderately well adjusted collective mental state of the People's Temple lost its immunity from the extreme forms of behaviour that involved violence.

Jones was able to seize absolute power and translate his intentions into actions, particularly through fear and panic. These patterns of behaviour were also a common feature in the early and later stages of the Third Reich, and the Cambodian and Rwandan genocides, though in the case of Jonestown, the action was probably more mass suicide than mass murder. However, the relative proportions of murder to suicide will never be known because of the failure of the Guyana Government to carry out autopsies on all but a handful of victims.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has a population of 20 million of whom about 75 percent are Sinhala-speaking Buddhist-practicing Sinhalese and 12 percent Tamil-speaking Hindu practicing Tamils, with the rest of the population being Muslim or Christian identifying with either language group. While both great religious traditions of Buddhism and Hinduism preach non-violence, Sri Lanka has for over 25 years suffered a civil war in which some 70,000 have died.

Settled originally by people from Northern India (the ancestors of the present-day Sinhalese) parts of the island were colonised by the Portuguese and later the Dutch. From 1802 to 1948 the whole island was a British Colony during which time English was introduced and became the official and dominant language. Following various expeditions from Southern India, Tamil communities established themselves and became dominant in the northeast over a period of 1,000 years.

In the post-independence period, Sri Lankan Tamil psychic capital has been depleted by a series of events. Sinhalese majority agitation led to a 1956 declaration of Sinhala as the sole official language of the nation. In 1972 in response to protests from Tamils, the Sinhalese-dominated

government changed the constitution. Not only did it reaffirm the dominant position of Sinhala but also gave state blessing to Buddhism. (Edwards, 1985:179)

In 1958 serious riots erupted between Sinhalese and Tamils over the issue of language rights: the Tamils seeking recognition of their language and a Tamil state under a federal system. After considerable agitation Tamil was given official status in 1977 (as was English in 1983). Economic disparities along community lines continued to widen and major bloodshed occurred. In 1981 a State of Emergency was declared and in 1983 a Civil War began between the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Elam (LTTE) and the Sri Lanka State, with various atrocities on both sides. In 1987 an Indo-Lanka Peace Accord was signed under which India would cease to supply the LTTE, in exchange for concessions by the Sri Lankan Government to the Tamils of the North East.

In addition to the depletion of psychic capital, it is possible to interpret the view felt by many Sri Lankan Tamils that the position of the Tamil language and culture there was a wound to identity.

Into this situation came Velupillai Prabhakaran (1954-2009), the founder and leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in 1976. Prabhakaran shunned personal publicity but did seem to have the support of the Tamil community. However, his policies have brought disaster to his community, with total military defeat and the death of 20,000 civilians in the last stages of the civil war, and his own death and that of his wife and children (The Australian, May 30-31, 2009: 23-24).

Under Prabhakaran's leadership, the LTTE adopted a strategy of armed conflict, specialising in the deployment of child combatants, suicide bombers, and targeted political assassination, including that of the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Ghandi, in 1991, thereby forfeiting Indian sympathy). It also involved the bombing of an Air Ceylon aircraft in 1978 and nearly 200 attacks throughout Sri Lanka and India (Van de Voorde, 2005: 187).

Prabhakaran justified the use of terror by stating the "(t)he LTTE is to Tamil civilians what The Resistance was to European civilians under Nazi occupation. " (LTTE, n.d.: 16). Undoubtedly he was responding to a very brutal regime of state terror (Van de Voorde, 2005: 190), but this response

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

was a mistake, especially in the new world political climate of the “War on Terror” that followed the September 11 attacks of 2001. Prabhakaran compared the situation of the Sri Lankan Tamils to that of European Jews in World War 2, crystallising specifically as a fear of “...expulsion of the Tamil population from the island of Ceylon.” (LTTE, N.D.: 21), and this statement demonstrates the use of generalised fear.

The abandonment of the 2002 ceasefire in 2005 led to the recommencement of the civil war in 2006 and a major defection of some LTTE members. Moreover, the use of terror tactics, child combatants and ethnic cleansing, resulted in the LTTE being declared a proscribed terrorist organisation by the United States, the United Kingdom and 24 other countries, thus impeding support from members of the worldwide Tamil Diaspora, and damaging Prabhakaran's attempt to win international support for his struggle. Insofar as his leadership has proved disastrous for the cause of the Sri Lankan Tamil community, for the time being anyway, his leadership can only be described as pathological.

8. Conclusion

While pathological leadership generally results in sustained collective violence, participation by followers, which begins at a psychological level, is also necessary. On examining the several episodes presented here, it is clear that while some communities will eschew the appeal of pathological leadership, others will embrace it, with disastrous results, for themselves and possibly many others. There are some preconditions that pathological leadership will exploit, and the three cases presented here give confirmation of these.

The Psychological Preconditions for Collective Violence: Several Case Studies

	1930s Germany	People's Temple	Sri Lankan Tamils
Psychic Numbing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Depleted Psychic Capital	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Distorted Sense of Coherence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wounded Identity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contagious Fear	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

William Walter Bostock, University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)

--	--	--	--

To summarise, the preconditions are: depleted psychic capital and a sense of wounded identity, which the leader will “heal” with a new but distorted sense of coherence, producing policies and actions that are implemented with contagious fear during conditions of numbed psyche. The promise of healing may well turn out to be a reality of killing, and being killed, during collective violence on a large scale. Therefore, communities presenting evidence of the presence of these preconditions should be recognised as being in a state of extreme vulnerability.

References

- Antonovsky, Aaron, 1980, *Health Stress and Coping*. San Fransisco, London, Jossey-Bass.
- Antonovsky, Aaron, 1987, *Unravelling the Mystery of Health. How People Manage Stress and Stay Well*. San and London, Jossey-Bass.
- Borkenau, Franz, 1981. *End and Beginning, On the Generations of Cultures and the Origins of the West*. (Ed. and intro. by Richard Lowenthal). New York, Columbia University Press.
- Boulding, Kenneth E., 1950. *A Reconstruction of Economics*. New York: Wiley and London: Chapman and Hall.
- Boulding, Kenneth E. 1966. *The Economics Of The Coming Spaceship Earth*. <http://dieoff.org/page160.htm> (Retrieved December 13, 2006),
- Brown, Wendy, 1993. “Wounded Attachments”, *Political Theory*, 21,3, (August), 390-410.
- Cain, Michael Scott, 1988. “The Charismatic Leader”, *The Humanist*, 48, 6, (November), 19-23,36.

Côté, J.E. (1996) 'Sociological Perspectives on Identity Formation: the Culture- Identity Link and Identity Capital', *Journal of Adolescence*, 19: 417-28.

Cox, Robert W., 1974. "Leadership in Perspective: A Comment", *International Organization*, 28, 1, (Winter), 141-144.

Dollard, John, 1939. *Frustrations and Aggressions*. With Neal E. Miller, Leonard W. Doob, O.H. Mowrer and Robert R. Sears, in collaboration with Clellan S. Ford, Carl Iver Hovland, Richard T. Sollenberger. New Haven, Pub. for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press.

Durkheim, Emile, 1964. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. New York: Free Press and London: Collier-Macmillan.

Edwards, John, 1985. Language Society and Identity. Oxford, Blackwall in association with Andrea Deutsch.

Etzioni, Amitai, 1968. *The Active Society, A Theory of Societal and Political Processes*. London: Collier-Macmillan and New York: Free Press.

Evans, Michael and Philp, Catherine, 2009. "20,000 Tamils Killed in Final Days". *The Australian* (Newspaper), May 30-31, 12-13.

Freud, Sigmund, 1950. *Totem and Taboo, Some Points of Agreement between the mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Freud, Sigmund, 1955. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and Other Works*. In Standard Edition, XVIII (1920-1922). London: Hogarth.

Goldman, Alan, 2006. "High toxicity leadership: Borderline personality disorder and the dysfunctional organization", *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 21, 8, 733 - 746

Halbwachs, Maurice, 1980, *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper Row.

William Walter Bostock, *University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)*

Harray, Keith, 1992. "The Truth About Jonestown," *Psychology Today*, 25,2, (March), 62-70.

Heineman, Elizabeth, 2002. "Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?" *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1/2, 22-50.

Hilberg, Raul, 1980. "The Ghetto as a Form of Government." *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 450, July.

Jung, C. G., 1959. *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung. (17 Volumes)*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Kets de Vries, Manfred, 1980. *Organizational Paradoxes, clinical approaches to management*. London and New York: Tavistock.

Kets de Vries, M. F. R., 1990. "Leaders on the Couch." *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 26. 4, 423-431.

Kiev, Ari 1973. "Psychiatric Disorders in Minority Groups." In Peter Watson (ed.), *Psychology and Race*. Chicago, Aldine, 416-431.

Kis, Danilo, 1996. "On Nationalism." *Performing Arts Journal*, 53(18.2), 13-16. http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/performing_arts_journal/18.2kis.html. (Sighted July 14, 1999).

Lake, David A & Rothchild, Donald, 1996. "Containing Fear: The Management of Transnational Ethnic Conflict." *International Security*, 21(2): 41-75.

Langer, Walter C., 1973. *The Mind of Adolf Hitler*. London: Secker and Warburg.

Lavarbre, Marie-Claire, 2001. "For a Sociology of Collective Memory." <http://www.cnrs.fr/cw/en/pres/compress/memoire/lavarbre.htm> (Retrieved December 12, 2001).

The Psychological Preconditions for Collective Violence: Several Case Studies

Le Bon, G., 1960. (First Published 1895). *The Mind of the Crowd*. New York: Viking.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), n.d. Why Tamil Eelam? Tamil Eelam (Booklet, 57 pages, circa 2007).

Lifton, Robert Jay, 1986. *The Nazi Doctors: medical killing and the psychology of genocide*. New York: Basic Books.

Lorenz, Konrad, 1966. *On Aggression*. New York, Harcourt Brace and World.

Mandel, Naomi, 2002. 'To Claim the Mundane.' *Journal of Mundane Behavior*, 3.3. <http://www.mundanebehavior.org/issues/v3n3/mandel3-3.htm> (Retrieved September 30, 2003).

Neal, A.G., 1998. *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Major Events in the American Century*. <http://www.mesharpe.com/65602865.htm> (Retrieved September 4, 2000).

Nelson, Stanley, 2006. *Jonestown: The Life and Death of Peoples Temple*. Oakland, CA: Firelight Media. (Visual document).

Puri, B.K., Laking, P.J. and Teasaden, I.H., 1996. *Textbook of Psychiatry*. Edinburgh, London, New York, Philadelphia, Sydney, St Louis, Toronto: Churchill Livingstone.

Searle-White, Joshua, 2001. *The Psychology of Nationalism*. New York, Houndmills: Palgrave.

Shatan, Chaim F., 1976. "Genocide and Bereavement." In Richard Arens (Ed., with epilog by Elie Wiesel), *Genocide in Paraguay*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. (pp.102-131).

Staub, Ervin, 1992. *The Roots of Evil, The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ulman, Richard Barrett and Abse, D. Wilfred, 1983. "The Group Psychology of Mass Madness: Jonestown", *Political Psychology*, 4, 4, (December), 637-661.

Van de Voorde, Cecile, 2005. "Sri Lankan Terrorism: Assessing and Responding to the Threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

William Walter Bostock, *University of Tasmania (Hobart, Australia)*

(LTTE),” *Police Practice and Research*, 6, 2, (May), 181-199.

Vigil, J.M., 1996. 'The Present State of Latin America's Psychological Well-Being'. *Tlahui-Politic*, 2/11, (2).
<http://www.Glahui.com/horapsi.htm> (Retrieved 30 August, 2000).

Youngson, Robert M., 1992. *Collins Dictionary of Medicine*. Glasgow: Harper Collins.

The Power of Social Media Image

Beatriz Peña Acuña, San Antonio University, Spain

Abstract: *This article is about the power of the Media nowadays when they enjoy authority and prestige, and therefore, its image attracts and influence in social change and the acquisition of new lifestyles and values. This case of the Cinema is described more carefully in the aspects that make it effective for the transmission of values. Some sociologists emphasize, finally, the Media ability of socialization.*

1. Introduction

Media currently owned by large companies or economic groups can be targeted according to some economic interest or wilful ideological because, through the Media are raised consumer needs, and a new state of mind, an "apparent" consensus. This also facilitates social, lifestyle, and shortly thereafter, the necessary legislative changes are imposed. The film contributes to the model or style of life along with other media. Messages can be repeated for years, such as the fashion of New Age pantheism or environmentalism. Another example is the model for modern women, which exerts an outward profession and is a housewife at the same time, able to combine both activities. As an example it is the lifestyle that characterize the youth, with certain notes, because they assume having purchasing power to consume music, fashion, entertainment, etc. It is not necessary in this last example to find out what commercial interest is disguised through the Media. One could suspect that the Mass Media and the Cinema with the authority they have gained, they seek to hand over a particular opinion insistently to a widespread or consensual one. Public opinion can manifest a plural voices struggle, but it would be interesting to see which voice unfolds more media voice, and it becomes the dominant. If this is the case, that one prevails, it is considered to cause changes in both Public Opinion, and the legislative and educational field. The greater the power, legitimacy and consensus that has its

opinion (and the values that are involved), more projects would and media, as usual. It is estimated, then, with this factor socializing and popular, it can get further the fact of legitimating the spread value.

2. Content

Nobody doubts that the acquisition of Media Monopoly is a modern form of political, economic, ideological and cultural level, etc. That is why we can hear about a "fourth power". Today's culture is increasingly audio visual. The reach of the Media is powerful, with an effect of globalization and cultural homogenization over of non-dominant cultures, and with great capacity of ethical and social consciousness about an issue for its potential for dissemination and repetition. Sometimes the dominant Western culture, which is broadcast on other products over others, is also partial or stereotyped over others. There are many common values shared by cultures, and especially anthropological or vital issues.

Another factor of Media is the ability to preserve the memory of the previous culture, showing a social statement and a revisionist assessment, and in turn, are creators of the new. As for cinema is presented as factor of social change for its ability to sensitize the public opinion for a long time, for as a product is not affected, the story is interpreted by an image. It also allows understanding the reasons of social change because it easily produces situations.

We discover the advantages of the theory of interaction of H. microsociological Blumer and G. H. Mead to analyse the communication process from this approach. In this theory is defensible the individual freedom as the base and spring of first choice and interpretation, with the influence of social interaction especially with the people they observe a stronger bond, or that the ones are receiving educational instruction or advice. It is also valuable taking into account the degree of cinematic language instruction or background of the actor (or agent). Second, this theory valued social groups among which the actor moves, or social context. And

thirdly, it weighs the cultural context that affects the agent, which include the Media who hold at this time of great authority, so that sometimes it is a curate to the first influence, specially if a theme is instructive vacuum of parents, teachers, etc.

Although this theory was based on microsociological studies is estimated to have a greater structural projection, since it provides a realistic knowledge of social organization, and secondly, the social effects that get the media, if not immediately direct, but on a long term when they enjoy social prestige and authority. The media plays a role when it is rewritten after the interaction and assumed as ownership, or not by the receiver. This research considers that the meaning of "model" has changed the consideration of "authority" and the acquisition of status has changed.

The term "authority" defined by Spanish Academy Dictionary of Language establishes it first as "ruling power or exercise command of fact or law," second as "power, authority, legitimacy," and the third meaning as "credit standing and recognizing a person or institution for their legitimacy or their quality and competence in any matter" and the fourth meaning as "person who exercises or has any kind of authority." This study will refer to the third meaning: the prestige conferred on the Media for their quality and competence in their products.

The concept of "authority" in our society today has expanded to others Westernized society, and in this transmission has greatly influenced Media. As for the social model it does not seek a model of virtuous or very virtuous person, but to have social success, whether because thanks to his ability to reach a privileged position professionally, and that owes a certain status or has been economically successful or famous.

Alejandro Pardo introduces us to the complexity of factors that must be taken into account to see the influence of films: "Through film transmitting ideas are values, attitudes and psychological modes in which this happens depends on a variety of factors, from the social environment to the theatre conditions and even the kind of history" (Pardo, 1999, 121). Pardo confirms the potential contribution in certain patterns of behaviour: "No wonder that from an early date, various experts from social science

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

sociologists and psychologists in majority turned their attention to the study of the film experience, trying to show empirical reason that movies influence wielded in shaping attitudes and individual and collective attitudes." These investigations have been as abundant as different and even in opposite conclusions. The nuclear issue is whether or not it can establish a causal relationship between film and determining certain social and individual behaviours. After nearly a century of study, it can be concluded, (...) that behavior patterns reflected in the films are not a direct and sole cause of social reality, but help shape certain patterns of behaviour" (Pardo, 1999, 118).

Ian Jarvie concludes that only a prolonged and constant film single message could be seriously considered capable of producing a propaganda-style effect. This research considers the use of propaganda in the film is already proven by historical practice by the political use made by statesmen like Hitler, Stalin or Eisenhower. In practice it is sufficient that for a period of seven years, to insist on the same value by passing several films that are cyclically seen first on the screen and then on television. I. Jarvie recognizes that there is a repetition of messages and stereotypes. (Jarvie, 1978, 339) Educators as Saturnino de la Torre (de la Torre, 1996), recognize by the educational practice the effectiveness transmission of values through film and have created a platform for teacher training in this medium for developing values in students. Another sociologist, J. Paul Pons has made a study on "Cinema and Education" (Pons, 1986).

The French sociologist, Ian Jarvie emphasizes the warmth of the media of films to analyze not only the message of the media, but the message that the manipulators of the medium can produce through it. Notes: "The greater influence of film on fashion, how to talk, sense of humour, attitudes in general has penetrated everywhere (...). You can see people behaving in Hong Kong, for example, as lovers of American movies. "He thinks that the portrait of America as it is reflected and shaped by their films is greater than the television (Jarvie, 1978, 339). Pablo Garcia-Ruiz, a sociologist, in this sense confirms that the values take on a greater cultural influence is the North Americans: "So

typically American values spread through Europe and the world through cultural diffusion through film, series of television, large companies with their style of work organization, etc. "(Garcia-Ruiz, 1999, 86).

It is also important to add another factor: go to the movies has become an affordable social habit, especially on weekends, in leisure activities of any citizen.

Another aspect that we consider is that the transmission of values is characteristic of language, and is especially favoured by the ability to reproduce time-space narrative to place the stories as it happens in ordinary life. In this sense, Armando Fumagalli argues that the axiological dimension is always present in a story (or history) (Bettetini and Fumagalli, 1998, 76-106). Ricardo Yepes, philosopher, points to the narrative as the way by the Media, *par excellence*, to convey the lifestyles and behaviour patterns: "The models are known by way of narrative and narrative knowledge, as it is, types of life and conduct "(Yepes Stork, 1997, 140). Among the knowledge narrative lists: the novel, epic poetry, drama, film, and in many cases television (soap operas, interviews with characters), also the media (newspapers, magazines, etc.) Yepes believes that they contain many narratives, and thus expose implicit or explicit models.

There are other contemporary composers, as F. Jameson, H. M. Ensberg, Richard Dyer and Jane Feuer, who believe that the attraction of the public to a means must be sought not only in the ideological effect, but the one core of utopian fantasy that is beyond these relations, whereby the media constitutes as reality completion of what you want, and is absent from the status quo. "This research agrees with the cultural criticism that there is an ideological presentation in the Media, and considered very intuitive when pointing on the possibilities of projection that gives fantasy. Furthermore, this research agrees that there is a styling and an idealization. Richard Dyer argues that the musical does not mean an abolition of the oppressive structures of everyday life, but its styling (Stam, 2001, 2-3). In action films are certain types of habitual behaviour that are embodied in the actors who exemplify a lifestyle and values to them.

This study estimates that is very effective that the film

provokes a mimesis (imitation) on the presentation of live models, representing people and are more credible and close. Ricardo Yepes Stork point: "The values are conveyed by cold theoretical discourses through and through alive and real models that are presented, learned and imitated: We do what others have done, incarnating in us. There is no value without its corresponding model "(Yepes Stork, 1997, 139). In the stories are characters presented which embody or symbolize values. They home more strength of conviction and more influence when they are made, also, artistically, and is an added factor that gives warmth into the literary or film. Narrative Art contains an enormous influence on human life because beauty in itself is attractive: when it displays artistic quality, the impact can be great because these stories arouse feelings of attachment, and emotions to archetypal human specimens.

Friedrich Schiller confirms that "(it) exceeds the morality of pure duty from the aesthetically sensitive: the beauty predisposes to and voluntary compliance non-coercive of moral law (...) recognizing in it the possibility given to man to attain full consciousness, as integration and feeling of freedom and existence." (Schiller, 1991, 176) The educational influence of narrative knowledge can hardly be exaggerated. All peoples, from the earliest origins of mankind, have been educated through narratives. In fact there is an oral literary tradition and ancient narrative written in the West, such as Homer, in which we know to be broadcast in the deeds, and legends, Greek civic values. According to Carmen Urpi, educator: "The heroes are men or women who achieved a more perfect humanity than other contemporaries. (...) Choosing a good hero as a model means a high altitude of virtue, of human wealth and happiness "(Duran and Urpi Naval Guercia, 2001, 139).

Carmen Urpi supports the cathartic dimension, of ethics and morality of the Cinema with a sensitive, emotional and practical grasp: "the movies now means the same as the stories told by oral tradition meant in his time: the most direct and effective way to transmit moral values human action "(Duran and Urpi Naval Guercia, 2001, 193). Appreciate a value in a film is a situational learning. As we

face the acts with perception of time and space, events, are reproduced as happen to every man; it is a representative learning, and which is inherent especially attractive because it is experimental or wisdom. Today, therefore, this study argues that one knowledge narrative that educates society is the cinema.

On this belief and practice in the worth of representative learning, you can see a reflection in the film *The Emperor's Club* (2004). Director Michael Hoffman developed the following idea: learning, which guides the teacher, facilitates a meeting of the students with the ideals of virtue, the forging of character and personality into the common good through the ideals that present political and cultural figures of the Greco-Roman classical period. It is not an informative learning, but modeling of the person, of their personality to give his best, in favor of the others. The approach that seeks in his classes to the Greco-Roman philosophers and classical scholars, students are to meet with them makes the best models exemplifying the art of government, with civic virtues, and so on. It is through this contact with the classics, when the students decide what path to take, whether or not they want to imitate them, and so decide what kind of person they want to be.

The business sense that abuses of the hook that involves submitting the instinctive to man may ignore or undermine values. This Professor of Communication, Alejandro Pardo alerts: "if we fail in the creative and responsible use of these means, if banaly we treat them as industrial consumption more than a complex cultural phenomena, it is very likely that we are irreversibly damaging health and vitality of our society "(Pardo, 1999, 141).

The phenomenon of globalization of the media may have its downside, and having collaborated with a loss of traditional and cultural values that are the sum of wisdom and memory of our ancestors, in favor of other values that seem more urgent, but cases may be less profound and even more incidental to the person, and even be a counter value as is individualism. Yepes Stork explains: "the sense of belonging to a particular tradition (...) with its heroes, values, deeds and models (...) has become less important than the economy, the problems of the city, the media

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

communication, professional work, love, family values, disease and moral and religious commitments of the individual person "(Yepes Stork, 1997, 347).

There is certain criterion in the production of the Media, among these, for example, the control of the violence that is transmitted to children. This is a benchmark estimate other disciplines such as pedagogy because they experiment children's credibility. Another book that studies this aspect is O. Monguin entitled "Violence and contemporary cinema" (Monguin, 1999).

On the other hand sometimes has been a provision in professional college preparation. In the programs themselves before the Bologna convergence of communication and, in particular audiovisual communication college students enrolled at least three subjects of Sociology: Sociology of Communication, Social Environment, Effects of Media (empirical methodology to calculate and assess effects) and Professional Ethics (ethics). These materials were designed for the student to acquire awareness of social responsibility into their future profession.

Another factor, which confirms the strength of authority of the Media, is that the Cinema can promote socialization, ie introduce social change, or that incorporate elements in society. It is considered in this study the possibility of the social portrait is drawn as a theme, as a subplot or is reflected in the dramatic situation, although it is not the main theme.

The ability to socialize is commented on by four scholars in some of their writings. The first academic is Arthur Warwick when he says that films should be considered "not simply as evidence of social change, but as a genuine element of social change." (Sorlin, 1996, 220) also the second professor, Alex Pardo, agrees and refers to the ability of the cinema and the social habit that involves both the universal action and multiplicity of dramatic content, which creates stereotypes, such as the homogenization of a heterogeneous audience itself bound by the same experience and reaction to the movie phenomenon (Pardo, 1999, 123).

The third professor, P. Sorlin, gives prominence to the filmmaker in the approach to social change. This teacher

believes films follow life or is a mirror of reality, and in other cases the filmmaker proposes, in this case, as soon as images become familiar, we tend to accept them as true reality (Sorlin, 1996, 202). P. Sorlin says just as the capacity of film to reflect elements of society. Sorlin lectures: "As the images become familiar to us we are inclined to accept them as realities in themselves" (Sorlin, 1996). The teacher gives as an example the fact that before World War II the fear of war is discovered by other means (in newspapers, radio broadcasts, recordings and literature), however, but in the cinema it was not reflected because neither scholars, and filmmakers were concerned about the issue. Another example is the appearance of cars in films that brings as common transport, and was not really in common use in Europe and U.S. This character display in film, the car was an unquestionable image (Sorlin, 1996, 199).

The fourth academic is Ian Jarvie who considers a quality of American Cinema theme that proposes an issue as a portrait of their society, "you could think of *Forrest Gump* (Robert Zemeckis, 1994), for example and some Nipponese authors also address the same subject, most notably Y. Ozu, A. Kurosawa, K. Mizoguchi, M. Kobayashi and H. Ichiwaka (Jarvie, 1978, 219-220). Jarvie emphasizes the warmth of the film medium to analyze not only the message of the medium, but the message that the manipulators of the medium can occur through it. He points: "The immense influence of film on fashion, how to talk, sense of humor, attitudes in general has penetrated everywhere (...). You can see people behaving in Hong Kong, for example, as lovers of American movies" (Jarvie, 1978, 339). The sociologist thinks that the portrait of America as it is reflected and shaped by his films is bigger than in television.

3. Conclusion

In short, viewing films is considered a leisure activity, as it hosts the quality of delight, entertain, but we must not lose sight that educates at the same time. Cinema helps to create a cultural context, and has an educational role and socializing one. The cinematic image allows for greater reflection and a reflection of social change than other Media.

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

The educational power of Cinema should be reconsidered in a social context where traditional authority established the family and school, have lost weight, and has expanded the meaning of authority to other persons where the social image of the Media has taxed and holds a prominent place.

References

AAVV, Spanish Academy Dictionary of Language. Retrieved 16th of march (2009). Retrieved from http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=autorid_ad

Bettetini, G. & Fumagalli, A., (1998). *Chel che resta dei media*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

García Ruiz, P. (1999). *El laberinto social.*, Pamplona: Eunsa.

De la Torre, S. (1996). *Cine formativo*. Barcelona: Octaedro.

De Pablo Pons, J., (1986). *Cine y enseñanza*, Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia.

Naval Duran & C. Urpi Guercia C., (2001), *Una voz diferente en la Educación Moral*, Pamplona: Eunsa.

Jarvie, I., (1974). *Sociología del cine. Estudio comparativo sobre la estructura y funcionamiento de una de las principales industrias del entretenimiento*. Madrid: Guadarrama.

Mongin, O. (1999). *Violencia y cine contemporáneo*, Barcelona: Paidós.

Pardo, A. (1999). “El cine como medio de comunicación y la responsabilidad social del cineasta” en Codina M., (ed), *De la ética desprotegida*, Pamplona: Eunsa.

Schiller, F. (1991). *Escritos sobre estética*, Madrid, Tecnos, en Naval Duran y C. Urpi Guercia C. *Una voz diferente en la Educación Moral*, (2001) Pamplona: Eunsa.

Warwick, A. (1996). "Social change in 60's Europe: four feature film", p. 220 en Sorlin, P., *Cines europeos, sociedades europeas 1939-1990*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Sorlin, P. (1996). *Cines europeos, sociedades europeas 1939-1990*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Stam, R. (2001). *Teorías del Cine*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Yepes Stork, R. (1997). *Fundamentos de Antropología*. Pamplona: Eunsa.

Impact of Globalization on Traditional African Religion and Cultural Conflict

Alphonse Kasongo, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

1. Introduction

This paper aims to discuss the impact of the paradigm of global culture on African tradition particularly on the role of African traditional women in conflict prevention and resolution. Global culture, a part of globalization, has not only transported the good side of the economic and social development across the globe but has also changed in the culture of host communities. Some changes include the mode of production and the way things are done, while others include the symbolic interaction or the appreciation of how social facts are to be seen and appreciated. For example, the change from collectivism social structure that characterizes African society to individualism structure that characterizes the market-oriented culture of western society. This change is without doubt that “Globalization is one of the most important and developed theories of the twentieth century” (Ritzer, 2008: 230). However, one aspect that justifies the importance of this development is the culture (termed civilization in other areas) that the application of this concept transports from one location to another. This cultural aspect may be economic, marketing oriented, or just a change in rationale behavior of consumption and production. Nevertheless, this change questions the static existence of rapport, the role that traditional culture plays in the life of African communities, and the impact traditional religions still have on the essence of African culture. These questions are raised as we discuss globalization as an economic culture and a source of conflict due to the imperative change in methods of production and consumption. This paper will also discuss the negative

impact of the incoming culture of globalization on traditional religion as well as the traditional role of women in African culture.

2. What is Globalization?

Globalization, “an economic culture?”

Globalization is defined as an “increasing integration of the world’s economies, including the movement toward trade” (Mankiw, 2007: 192). In this definition, the concept “trade” is a comparison of domestic price without trade to world price. This concept recalls the theory of comparative advantage of David Ricardo¹. Based on his theory, the principle of comparative advantage shows that trade can make everyone better off by reducing the opportunity cost of producing a specific good². For most of social theorists, “Globalization is the spread of worldwide practices, relations, consciousness, and organization of social life... that transforms people around the world with some transformation being dramatic” (Ritzer, 2008: 573). This is a cultural transformation that also affects cultural identity of people that are being transformed.

The increase of the cultural value consciousness was also analyzed by Fuller (1995) as a source of the dynamic of culture conflict. Fuller (1995: 152) concluded that:

Systems of international marketing and communications create freeways for the mass import of foreign cultural materials--food, drugs, clothing, music, films, books, and television programs, even values--with the concomitant loss of control over societies, symbols and myths. Such cultural anxieties are welcome fuel to more radical political groups that call for cultural authenticity, preservation of

¹ David Ricardo (1772-1823), a British economist follower of Adam Smith (the father of modern economic theory). He developed the theory of comparative advantage, in attempt to put on a sound theoretical basis the study of international commerce, and, in particular, to demonstrate the advantage of international trade between countries. This theory will become the fundamental justification of the essence of free trade and globalization on one hand with its cultural domination on the other hand.

² For further interest in the theory of comparative advantage, read Maneschi, A. (1998). *Comparative Advantage in International Trade: A Historical Perspective*, Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar.

Alphonse Kasongo, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

traditional and religious values, and rejection of the alien cultural antigens. Big Macs become in-your-face symbols of American power--political, economic, and military--over weak or hesitant societies and states.

The idea of global culture would not be evenly applied in all African countries where the concepts of State and Nation mean different realities. In most of African countries and even in some western countries like Belgium, the concept of nation translates ethnic group. Each ethnic group has its own cultural specificity that defines the membership to that community.

Globalization, “a socio-economic necessity?”

Theories of globalization can be “categorized under three main headings: economic, political, and cultural theories” (Ritzer, 2008: 230). Although in this discussion I am more interested in the cultural impact of globalization on social values of local societies, let me reiterate that at the first glance, globalization is mainly viewed as the “increasing integration of the world’s economies, including the movement toward free trade” (Mankiw, 2007: 193). In the light of the theory of exchanges, free trade has its own intentional advantage: the comparative advantage described by David Ricardo (cited by Mankiw, 2007: 55). “The conclusions of Adam Smith and David Ricardo on gains from trade have held up well over time. Even though economists often disagree on question of trade policy; they are, however, united in support of free trade” (Mankiw, 2007: 35). In my opinion, this policy related to organization of free trade alienates cultures and creates conflicts. Conflicts that surface because of the fact that “globalization as an expansion of linkages around the world tends to break down national borders (remove the boundaries of relative cultural considerations) and bring people (with different cultural values) into closer contact with other people, product and information” (Hird et al, 2007: 87, emphasize was made). This closeness creates an object of conflict. For example, conflict in socialization systems and the difference in symbolic interaction between these different people, conflict

in appreciation of relative value or imposition and practice of a global culture.

In his essay on “*The World Revolution of Westernization*”, Theodore H. Von Laue (1987, cited by Davidheiser, lecture notes, fall 2009, week 5) makes similar argument in relation with the adverse effects of westernization of global culture when he argues that:

The world revolution of westernization has covered the world and all its diversity with a thick layer of separate but interrelated uniformities. The first and outermost layer is the hardest, concerned with power and statehood. It stems from the universal urge of individual and collective life to prevail through the arts of peace or war, to impose change on others rather than be changed by them. In the absence of a universal culture, conflict is bound to be the form of violence as the ultimate of communication (pp. 334, 335, cited by Davidheiser, lecture notes, fall 2009, week 5).

This consideration led Davidheiser to infer: “While the state power became the dominant feature in global system during the 20th century, so was also the wide spread conflict within the modern state system” (Davidheiser, lecture note week 5, fall 2009).

Globalization is an intensification of global social relations that links distant markets or location. Robertson (1992: 8) refers to globalization as both “the compression of the world and intensification of consciousness of the world as whole”. Although globalization is “a quantitative shift toward a global economic system that is based on a consolidated global marketplace for production and consumption” (Holm and Sorensen, 1995: 5), its application creates more gaps between cheaper-labor countries and capital oriented countries. Labor-economy oriented countries are rewarded base on low costs in production effort and high costs in buying this same product. In different situations, it is believed that it is not lower wages paid to export workers’ work that make labor-oriented economies poor; rather, it is the market requirements of globalization that drive these countries into poverty so that any work conditions is much better than the alternative.

Alphonse Kasongo, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

3. Globalization and Conflict Creation

Robinson (cited by Ritzer, 2008: 573) argues that globalization “emerged as a result of a series of developments internal to social theory, notably the reaction against earlier perspectives such as modernization theory”. Ritzer (2008: 231) emphasizes, “Although economic and political issues are of great importance, it is cultural issues and cultural theories that attract the most attention in sociology”. The change in the mode or system of production creates conflict in most of labor oriented African society. In these societies, the introduction of heavy technology for mass production increases unemployment. This increase in unemployment has many social crises, which are the basis for social conflict.

The above discussion is suggestive of a positive correlation that exists between globalization and conflicts. These conflicts can be identity conflict, cultural conflict or economic conflict.

While an economic conflict may be clearly identifiable and easily resolved, a perception of cultural deprivation or identity domination may create more profound problems that are not easy to resolve. Lerche (1998) suggests that if the human needs and rights issues involved are not adequately addressed, the increase and intensity of social conflict associated with globalization are likely to increase in the future. In this landscape and under the conditions of a subject-oriented Western civilization, the negative perception of socioeconomic globalization is seen in African culture as the latest and most intense consequence of man’s collective “drive for power” because of negative social outcome and frustration caused by globalization on cultural beliefs of local society. As an ideological tool, globalization is considered to be “rather crude tool in the hands of the power centers of the industrialized world to gradually impose (under the disguise of economic liberalism) global hegemony and a neocolonial order upon the rest of the world” (Köchler, 1986). This is the consideration that most of African nations have when it becomes to globalization. Therefore, instead of welcoming what may be the positive side of the practice of globalization, the social result and economic disasters that globalization

creates, makes African nations questions the goodwill of its practitioners.

4. Globalization on African Religion and the Role of Woman in Conflict Resolution

4.1 Religion and Cultural Structure of Traditional African Society

In recent reflection about the role of women in African traditional religion, the core discussion was the conversion of African women's role from their traditional management and policy maker task to housekeeping role as it was translated in intrinsic value of modernism. This change was posed as a conflict between implementation of the new civilization with its religious practice and retention of African tradition practices and religious values.

When Karl Marx (cited by Ritzer, 2008: 70) theorized religion as an ideology by referring to it as "the opiate of the people", in my view, he was also referring to the unrevealed side of the rationale of civilization (through the imported and imposed western religious practice) or modernity. Modernity/civilization in which people's actions are directed by the motivation of their selfish-satisfaction of their egotistical needs. For Marx: "religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless condition" (cited by Ritzer, op cit). Thus, in his theory of class and by focusing on the "forces of production, Marx was able to predict historical trends that allowed him to identify where political action could be effective" (Ritzer, 2008: 73). This conception is also found in the principle of economics that says: rational people think at the margin. Means "people do systematically and purposefully their best to achieve their objectives" (Mankiw, 2007: 6). This also means that people would take a specific action only if the outcome of this action is of interest to them. One could infer that when exported to African countries, the hidden side of modernism was materialist interests and not only human or social development. Civilization was just another concept of domination; imposition of incoming new culture over traditional culture values. In the society studied by Marx, religion was used as an ideology of domination. Also, in the same framework,

Alphonse Kasongo, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)*

Ritzer (2008: 78) indicates that “Durkheim studies were driven by his concern about the moral health of modern society”. However, in African tradition, religion was used as a vehicle of moral and spiritual values. From earlier age, children learn moral and other societal values by the way of traditional religion and other socialization paradigm. Myths and rituals were used in teaching children what gods accept or forbid. (The word “gods” is used here as a concept, a social force/tool for socialization; an abstract presence of an invisible most powerful master who looks over everything. Because these “gods” represent the will of the society, they are not to be used by individuals for materialistic purpose). Society knows that these gods are able to positively or negatively punish and answer prayers. For example, while modern laws determine who is right or wrong in a dispute within a social group, the gods’ law is an individualized law. Since it is between an individual and a specific god, there is no conflict between group members based on what they had done wrong.

The theory of socialization and social interaction teach that humans are transformed in their social group through a process of acquiring culture and other gestures from parents and other social group members and social facts that happen in the environment in which the person lives (Ritzer, 2008). In African tradition, collective socialization is important in the process of personality formation. In fact, while much of our personality is the direct result of our interaction with our parents (enculturation), the group socialization process (rituals and traditional religion in this case) can shape it in particular directions by enforcing specific beliefs and attitudes as well as selectively providing experiences. That (is) how African traditional society was organized in developing the collective consciousness of the society. This was the traditional African education system that needs to be incorporated in new education system if the latter is to succeed.

In fact, when a formal education system incorporates local cultural values, it creates a successful socialization that results in uniformity within a society. Group members will develop same social consciousness and adopt an acceptable uniform social behavior. However, when an incoming culture (in this case civilization/modernism) seeks

to totally replace the existing cultural value, it causes social frustration and generates maladjustment of group members to this new system which leads to the “demise” of the traditional society. New behaviors that meet the new cultural values are persuasively created as they collision with the existing values. Like volcano, this confrontational situation steers and spirals social conflicts. If the African’s system of modernity does not include its traditional system of socialization, civilization as we know will always be a failure.

4.2 Women in Traditional African Culture

“Tradition” to a concept that is used (in this context and environment) in comparison to the concept “civilization” which is in turn related to the presence/arrival of Western population in local African societies, “Traditional or traditionalism” would then take a negative connotation as it is opposed to modern or modernism. This self-evaluation of the west surfaced many frustrations in African societies. These frustrations may be from the economic; political; religious and even social standpoint. For example, Williams Ene (2008), “The colonialists came with the belief that women were to remain creatures of the private domain. Women were to preoccupy themselves with domestic issues and leave the ‘real work’ of ruling and running the nation in terms of politics and economics in particular to the men. The role and position of the pre-colonial African women did not conform to this concept of women. Hence, the implementation of policies seated in this myopic perception of women led to the erosion of women’s position in society”. This was the socialization that African society had to adopt.

However, while in the West, the presence of women in the group of work force is most of the time related to the Industrial Revolution and the War World I epoch. In this era, women in most of African societies (Ghana, Rwanda, Egypt, and others), were in position of Queen Mother, giving women a visible political authority. Women were Queens even when they were married to African Kings; they had a major role in royal decision and public policy. African traditional story indicates that colonists separated men from women in this way, so that men would be positioned to (the) type of work

Alphonse Kasongo, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

that women were not selected to do. Their “house-hold” role made them closer to the “master” in implementation of the African proverb that says: “educating a woman is educating the whole society”. Women were to translate into their society the new culture of civilization that they were supposed to be learning by working in the “master’s house”.

The traditional African women would then add to their traditional role of socialization and education and circulate the new culture through the format of storytelling.

In the traditional African society, the absence of Western-type of library justified the development of storytelling techniques that circulate the large number of myths that characterizes the process of education and social socialization. Every African people (tribe) has its own body of myths, stories, legends and oral history that most of the time are used as public policy or rule of wisdom in resolving social conflicts.

In his studies, Mbiti (1988) demonstrated the position of women in African traditional society through the role “of myths in dealing with the origin of human beings and the role of women in African society, since women are featured very prominently in these myths”. According to Mbiti (1988), some of these myths, especially the one related to man’s origin in traditional African religion shows that “woman is always or nearly always mentioned. In many of these cases, even the name of the first woman is given in the myths, and some myths mention only the name of the woman and not of the man. In many of these myths, it is said that the first human pair was lowered by God from the sky to the ground (earth). Example, the myths of the Akamba, Turkana, Luo, Luhya and others in Kenya; these of the Baganda and Banyoro in Uganda; these of the Tutsi in Rwanda; of the Bomba and Ila in Zambia; these of the Yoruba and Ibo in Nigeria, and many others”. In order to comprehend most of these myths, one must situate himself in the society in which the myth is applicable. When dealing with custody battle in the West, for example, the first consideration is always to let the child live with the mother. In African culture, this kind of myth translates a policy that in fact shows the importance of mother in the life of the society. Religion was and still is intensively practiced in African

societies. This is what Karl Marx calls “opium of people” that most of traditional laws are infused in African societies.

These laws are carried out through the process of socialization, Symbolic and Social interaction. This process largely discussed by Blumer (cited by Schellenberg, 1996: 68) when he laid down basic premises of symbolic interactionism that: “(1) human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them; (2) the meaning of such things is derived from, or rises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows.....”. In other words, this means that things, just like social roles, are given meanings in society in which they are used and accepted.

Mbiti (1988) also indicates that although blames of misfortune have been placed in women, “through the myths of origin, we get a picture of the woman as someone placed by God in a special position. She shares with Him the creative process of life. In some ways her position and her role in these myths eclipses the position of the husband (male). She is in a real sense the mother of human beings, the dispenser of life, howbeit as an agent of God.” In most of African societies, women were/are viewed as “life giver.” Because of this role, they were not sent to war or exercise a warrior role as this role contradicts the first one. Additionally, women participated in all royal court deliberations that the death sentence of a minor (less than 21 years old boy) would be considered. Mbiti (1988) justifies this by saying that “women are extremely valuable in the sight of society. Not only do they bear life, but they nurse, they cherish, they give warmth, they care for life since all human life passes through their own bodies”. Thus, through their role in religion, in African societies, women are more ready and have more abilities to mediate, resolve social conflicts than men, whose role is just to create them.

5. Conclusion

Davidheiser indicates in his lecture notes (Culture and Conflict, fall trimester 2009, week 1) that “Post-modernism or post-structuralism are the contemporary expressions of the particularistic view. Like its predecessors, post-

Alphonse Kasongo, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

structuralism privileges context and questions approaches that seek to identify stable structures or units". This excerpt translates an excellent function of a culture. A culture that denotes individual identity as it refers to a specific psychological environment (ethnic is a western way to identify geographic location). In this way, the process of socialization is unique and fits a group of persons that accept a well-defined process of interactionism: gesture, jokes and language. The essentially western definition of culture identifies a culture transformation that is generated by the clash of culture. The process of globalization for example allows two different cultures to either coexist or create a dynamic or transformation to a new and third type of culture, one to be absorbed by the other. If the new incoming culture dominates local culture to absorb it, it sources a conflict between the two cultures. In its static state, culture describes the identity of a defined social group. The dynamicity state of culture simply indicates a cohabitation/coexistence of two different cultures. This coexistence does not translate either identity in this case. It is an acculturation of identity. Consideration not shared by Bayart (2005) who argues that culture is static and not dynamic. People would keep or do not change their identity. With this consideration, Bayart supports the idea of monoculture. Although the fact that the identification is a product of cultures, the culture of human being, which is not to confuse with personal identity that defines each individual as unique.

However, the idea of a monoculture or a global society would not help the resolution of social conflicts. "It is not surprising therefore that theories of international relations and conflict that focus on material concern or scarcity, which would denote a unique rationale in mediation process, will be less sympathetic to the uses of culture than will cognitivist theories of international relations or conflict" (Avruch, 1998: 35. emphasize was made). In my view, the African cultural conflict has to be resolved from African cultural perspective and not from the imposition of global culture of globalization. An etic cultural approach of westernization would be more concerned with the rationale of scarcity while an emic approach of cultural relativism would reflect on "individual experience from which culture is

a derivative” of disputing/ conflicting perceptions. It is at this point that the positivism and idealism of economic globalization theory would less define the cultural globalization unless it translates the idea of imposition and colonization like in the North-South debate. In this debate, the North is supposedly in possession of all solutions pertaining to all social conflicts that arise in the Southern hemisphere (the debate between modernism and traditionalism, which results in westernization of traditional culture). The concept of modernity is an obvious example used to discount any cultural meaning attached to African system of production. Modernity in this case is same as “an evolutionist consideration that stressed the universal character of a single Culture, which different societies arrayed from savage to civilized” (Avruch, 1998: 7). To the contrary, however, I know a social group in Congo where a husband of a wife that is the most solicited by other men is proud of the choice he made on his wife since these solicitations are indications of his wife’s beauty. With the arrival of missionary, these solicitations were classified as sins and therefore become social offenses and bear not only a moral condemnation but also a court sentence. What the “civilization mission” did not understand was the inside satisfaction that both spouses get from the practice that it just emptied. The culture value of the practice was a positive factor of the marriage stability that should have been a crucial element of cultural consideration of this social group by the missionary. Nowadays, the missionary (with the western religion) is considered as the source of marital dissatisfaction in this social group.

Alphonse Kasongo, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

References

- Agatha Chinwe Nwoye, Miriam: Role of women in peace building and conflict resolution in African traditional societies: a selected review.
- <http://www.afrikaworld.net/afrel/chinwenwoye.htm> (Downloaded on September 30, 2009).
- Avruch, K. (1998). *Culture & Conflict resolution*.
- Augsburger, D. W. (1992). *Conflict mediation across culture. pathways & Patterns*. Louisville, KY: westminster/John Knox Press.
- Bayart, J-F (2005). *The illusion of cultural identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Burton, W. John: Civilization in crisis: from adversarial to problem solving process, in *The International Journal of Peace Studies*. Volume 1, number 1, January 1996. ISSN 1085-7494
- Davidheiser, M. (Fall 2009). Lecture notes from the course: *Culture and Conflict: Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Disputing and Peacemaking*.
- Hird, J. A., Reese, M., Shilvock, M. (2004). *Controversies in American Public Policy*. 3d edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations ?." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, Summer, pp. 22-49.
- Jeong, Ho-Won (2000). *Peace and Conflict studies. An introduction*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate
- Köchler, H (1986). The relation of man and world. Existential and phenomenological perspectives. In H. Köchler. *Phenomenological realism*. Selected essays, 45-58. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Peter Lang
- Lerche III, C. O. (1998). "The conflicts of globalization". In *The International Journal of Peace Studies*. January 1998, volume 3, number 1. ISSN 1085-7494. George Madison University.
- Mankiw, G. N. (2007). *Principles of Macroeconomics*. 4th edition. Mason, OH: Thomson
- Mathey, M.J., Dejan, T., Deballe, M., Sopio, R., Koulaninga, A., & Moga, J. (2003). The Role Played by Women of the Central African Republic in the Prevention and Resolutions of Conflicts. In *UNESCO, Women and Peace in Africa* (pp. 35-46). Paris: UNESCO Workshop.
- Mayer, B. (2004). *Beyond neutrality: Confronting the crisis in conflict resolution*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Impact of Globalization on Traditional African Religion and Cultural Conflict

- Mbiti, John (1988): "The role of Women in African Traditional Religion". Article Published in *Cahiers des Religions Africaines*, numéro 22 (1988), pages 69-82. Centre d'études des religions africaines. Université Louvain de Kinshasa: Kinshasa, Congo.
- Ritzer, G. (2008). *Sociological Theory*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill
- Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.
- Schellenberg, J. A. (1974). *Conflict Resolution, Theory, Research, and Practice*. New York, NY: PUN
- Sijuwade, P.O. (2006). Globalization and Cultural conflict in developing countries: The South Africa Example. In *Anthropologist* 8 (2) Kamla-Raj: pp 125-137.
- Williams Ene, About African Women, Culture and Who they are in The Society. In: *African Culture and Women*, May 2008.
- Winslade, J. and Monk, G (2001). *Narrative Mediation. A new approach to conflict resolution*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the Destruction of Nigeria's Niger-Delta

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

Abstract: *This article explores the volatile security situation in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria as it relates to what Watts (2001) conceptualizes as 'petro-violence' vis-à-vis Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation within the context of the country's Fourth Republic (May 1999—). The prevailing precarious situation is examined to ascertain the potency of democracy and its influence in ameliorating the conflict trajectory in this resource rich region. Specifically, the paper addresses the following questions; what are the socio-economic and political factors that account for arms proliferation in Nigeria's Niger Delta? Are there effects, either positive or negative, of arms proliferation on local conditions and the oil-bearing communities? How can the situation be improved? What are the civilian government's policy prescriptions to improve the dangerous politico-military situations in the oil delta? Thus, the central argument of this paper is that it is the failure of the social contract (in general and of arms in particular) on the part of the Nigerian government that leads to the challenge, by the people of Niger Delta, of the state's legitimacy and its monopoly of the instruments of violence. The paper concludes by stating that since violence and arms proliferation in the Niger Delta are consequences of the breakdown of the social contract, then the solutions lie in reconstituting the social contract by addressing the root causes of the grievances of the oil-bearing communities.*

Keywords: Oil Violence. Arms Proliferation. Niger Delta. Ethnic Nationalism. Marginalization

1. Introduction: Scope of the Problem

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation has become one of the most endemic problems of our time and generally accounts for a greater proportion of human mortality in the world. Armed conflicts have led to the loss of lives of tens of thousands of innocent civilian population each year, while the number of wounded and disabled people resulted from the consequences of SALW proliferation and misuse is 13 times greater than those killed (Small Arms Survey, 2003: 57)¹. In addition to fatalities from war, there are countless cases of indirect deaths and injuries occurring from increased pervasive security situations, increased disease morbidity, reduced easy access to health services and malnutrition. In 2003 for example, it is estimated that more than 639 million of SALW were proliferating in the world out of which 60% of this arsenal was in the possession of the civilian population (Small Arms Survey, 2003: 13), while a further estimate of, between seven and eight million, new weapons are added to the world stockpile every year. Estimate of illicit SALW in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is put at one out of every five in the world. In this context, Bah (2004: 33) contends that “of the approximately 500 million illicit weapons in circulation worldwide, it is estimated that 100 million of these are in SSA with eight to ten million concentration in the West African sub-region alone.”

The situation in Africa is frightening because the region is the most backward in term of development and most vulnerable as far as peace, security and stability are concerned. One of the world's highest concentrations of SALW is in Africa. This is a paradox. Why does a poor continent have such a magnitude of stockpiled small arms? What is the bone of contention that leads to conflicts in Africa? Perhaps, what explains this contradictory situation between economic underdevelopment (poverty) on the one hand and gun proliferation and armed conflicts on the other is the “strongest expression of the injustice in the paradox of wealth that characterizes situations of conflicts in Africa—the fact that those who produce wealth are the poorest and those who are wealthy take the wealth by force” (Ibeanu,

¹ See also Small Arms Survey, 2004, 2005.

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

2005: 37). This implies that the main reason for people to arm themselves is not only located in their appalling socio-economic conditions but also exclusion, injustice and exploitation that they are subjected to and clearly, SALW (guns in particular) perform two functions, viz, they abet in sustaining injustices and also offer hopes for redressing injustices, thereby confirming Naylor's assertion that the demand for SALW is a "surrogate for demand for social justice, and the firearm is the capital good intended to bring that objective" (cited in Dominick and Olonisakin, 2001; see also Naylor, 1995; Badmus, 2009a&b).

Nigeria is one of the Third World countries where the proliferation of this arsenal is manifested in crisis proportions and its society has become fully militarized and enmeshed in the culture of the gun. Perhaps, more than any other areas of the country, the Niger Delta region exhibits this tendency with a high degree of intensity where different oil-bearing ethnic minority groups, through their various social movements, are constantly contesting exploitation and as a result, *oiling their guns as well as gunning for oil in the region*, and fighting for the soul of the country's treasury of natural resources. Nigeria's oil delta has been a site of constant struggles over access to power, authority, and resources (oil wealth) among the recognized/identifiable forces, viz, the Nigerian state (represented by the Federal Government-FGN), the global capitalist forces (represented by the various multinational oil companies—MNOCs), and the ethnic minority nationalities (represented by local leaders and organizations). The Niger Delta region is the source of the country's oil and over the last four decades, it has been able to produce the bulk of national wealth as oil fuels for the nation's economy and its survival. With the availability of this gift of nature, one would expect Nigeria in general and the Niger Delta in particular to be economically developed and industrialized. Paradoxically, oil has encouraged corruption, rent-seeking, conflicts, with all their fissiparous tendencies for the Nigerian post-colony. Dishearteningly, in lieu of development, environmental apocalypse, ecological destruction and poverty are now synonymous with the region in question. This scenario has made the oil basin restive with pockets of insurrection and armed rebellion where such

ethnic minority groups as the Ijaw and Ogoni are challenging the central state and its business partners (MNOCs). Consequently, the Nigerian state has now institutionalized a regime of social repression and corporate violence to silence dissenting voices in order to protect oil exploration and its revenues. Today, the Niger Delta is confronted with social inequality, arms proliferation and pervaded by protracted violence championed by state security forces, ethnic militia movements, disgruntled youth, armed gangs, pirates, cultists, and robbers.

Following from the preceding analysis, this study examines the volatile security situation in the Niger Delta as it relates to what Watts (2001) conceptualizes as 'petro-violence' vis-à-vis SALW proliferation within the context of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic (May 1999--). I examine the prevailing precarious situation to ascertain the potency of democracy and its influence in ameliorating the conflict trajectory in this resource rich region. Specifically, the paper addresses the following research questions; what are the socio-economic and political factors that account for SALW proliferation in Nigeria's Niger Delta? Are there effects, either positive or negative, of SALW proliferation on local conditions and the oil-bearing communities? How can the situation be improved? What are the civilian government's policy prescriptions to improve the dangerous politico-military situations in the oil delta? Thus, my thesis is that, it is the failure of the social contract (in general and of arms in particular) on the part of the Nigerian government that leads to the challenge, by the people of Niger Delta, of the state's legitimacy and its monopoly of the instruments of violence.

2. Conceptual and Theoretical Statements

I have argued earlier that it is the failure of the Nigerian state (especially under military rule) to meet the basic needs of the people (i.e. human security) that led to the collapse of the social contract, which eventually puts the state and society at loggerheads. Then to really fathom this collapse and the emergence of what is generally referred to as the "Hobbesian Niger Delta", one need to search for its etiology within the context of both the endogenous and

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

exogenous factors. This is because the international socio-political and economic contexts have overbearing effects on the local conditions especially in Nigeria's oil basin.

During the Cold War, especially in the immediate post-independence years, African states were economically buoyant and this empowered them to provide adequate social services to the populace. Also, African states received huge financial assistance from the international financial institutions (IFIs), while the super powers did not relent in their pursuit of hegemonic interests and ideological supremacy, which saw the continent in a vantage position for financial and military aid from Moscow and Washington. To be sure, these sources of assistance, coupled with the 'relative' economic boom of the early independence years, enabled African governments to maintain peace as a result of the state-driven expansionism in the socio-economic sector. The economic prosperity of the late 1960s and early 1970s, started to show signs of wear and tear by the late 1970s/early 1980s due to a plethora of negative socio-economic factors. Thus, Africa's economic downturn sooner or later ballooned into a full-blown economic crisis; thanks to the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 that made oil price rise and fluctuate. The effects of the economic crisis were such that the capabilities of African governments to guarantee citizens' welfare were completely weakened and eroded their legitimacies. In order to rescue the situation, African states responded by borrowing from the Bretton Wood Institutions with the acceptance of the neo-liberal, anti-statist, anti-developmental Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) for the stabilization and recovery of their economies. SAP as policies work against the state; they are anti-state in that they call for the privatization of public enterprises, removal of subsidies and welfare support from social services, etc (i.e. its insistence on 'Rolling Back the State'), and they also call for neo-liberal market reform based on the belief that the state was blocking economic growth and development by spending too much on welfare benefits in health, education and other subsidies (Vasudevan, 1999: 11-28).

The implementation of SAP became counterproductive as it further weakened the state's legitimacy by aggravating the pre-SAP social crisis. Furthermore, the gap between the

rich and the poor became widened, thereby reinforcing uneven development, which matches up to clear regional and ethnic divisions in a manner amplifying political tensions. Poverty in the rural areas led to ever increasing teeming populations of urban poor caused by rural to urban drift of people in search of employment and better life circumstances to support their families. Worse still is the social instability fuelled by a teeming population of disenchanting, marginalized and extremely pauperized people who can only become a ready pool of recruitment for ethnic zealots who fed on the dissatisfaction and insecurity (in terms of Human Security) of the majority of the citizenry (Badmus, 2006). The loss of control of the economies by the African governments and the state's inability to rescue its sapping population, apparently fractured the basis of national unity, put the state and the society at dagger-drawn opposition to each other, and above all, compelled the masses to look for alternative structures (constructed around ethnicity and religion), to re-strategize their options, and saw these new structures as workable mechanisms for coping with the worsening economic crisis, of which privatization of security (i.e. acquisition of SALW for their own protection and as instruments of negotiation) is fundamental (Jega, 2000). Thus, African states (Nigeria inclusive) lost their power, legitimacy, and national cohesion since they failed to fulfill their own promises of the social contract. The social contract theory of arms postulates that citizens transfer the *possession* of weapons to a constituted authority (i.e. the sovereign and the state) with the agreement that the state will provide and guarantee people's security (in all its connotations) while the *ownership* of such weapons is in the hands of the people which gives them (i.e. citizens) the opportunity to withdraw and reclaim self-defense when states fail to honour their own obligations of the contract. In this context, *ownership* of arms is exercised¹

¹ Once again, Ibeanu expatiates further on the similarities and differences between 'ownership' and 'possession' with respect to social contract theory of arms. According to Ibeanu (2005): "ownership and possession are related but distinct. The former refers to the right in the last analysis to decide the ends to which society's instruments of violence are to be put legitimately. Possession on the other hand, refers to the capacity to

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

as ‘the General will’ and not as ‘the Will of All’, which refers to the combination of sectional will that makes up the society. Since violence and arms proliferation in the Niger Delta are the result of the breakdown/collapse of the social contract (and of arms in particular), then the task is to “reconcile differences in the *possession* of these instruments of violence between the state and the populace until the social contract is reconstituted or resumes proper functioning. In so far as the legitimacy of the state at the local, state, and federal levels remain contested by a vast majority of people in the Niger Delta, they will continue to contest the right of the state and its agencies to monopolize society’s instruments of violence” (Ibeanu, 2005: 53),

In addition to the collapse of the social contract, the proliferation of arms and the intensity of the violent conflicts in Nigeria’s oil delta are attributed to the aftermaths of the twin forces of the end of the Cold War and the effects of globalization. The end of the hyper-militarization of the Cold War years, the collapse of the Soviet behemoth and its snowballing effects on the states of the former Eastern bloc, their state structures became dysfunctional which, inevitably, forced the former East European countries to reform their security sectors and downsize their military postures. These compelling realities provided one of the social contexts for weapon proliferation to the Third World countries of which Nigeria is no exception. These weapons were given free to many African states, especially conflict-prone societies. The glut of SALW led to their misuse, privatization of security as well as the consequential weapons proliferation and criminalization of the society (Lock, 1999). The recent developments in the Niger Delta have shown that SALW proliferation has increased the intensity of armed struggles and as a result leads to further arms proliferation with telling effects on the security situation of the region. SALW are cheap, rugged, and easy to

actually put those instruments of violence to use. It is possession that government exercises through its coercive apparatuses. However, it is the citizens that are the owners of society’s instrument of violence, who confer possession on governments. Once citizens confer possession on government, it is sustained in so far as government incarnates.”

operate, transport and conceal. These features encourage their presence in the Niger Delta. The illegal trade in arms on the black market by local militant groups also encourages proliferation. Compounding the issue of SALW proliferation in the Niger Delta is the fact that it becomes more difficult to distinguish between licit and illicit trade in arms because weapons once officially sold to state statutory security forces are often stolen by military personnel only to re-appear on the black market as illegal weapons, thereby affecting the intensity and duration of conflicts in the Niger Delta.

3. Oil and the Nigerian State

Oil is important to the Nigerian economy and its survival¹. Nigeria is the world's seventh largest oil producer and is among the lowest-cost sites of oil exploration in the world (Ikelegbe, 2005: 1). Oil accounts for about 40% of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and between 70-80% of Federal Government revenues. In 2003, about 80.6% of total Federal Government revenues came from oil and gas (Lawal, 2004). The Nigerian state has enacted various laws that empower it to control the oil sector while the government petroleum corporation holds majority of the shares in both onshore and offshore ventures. The operation of the oil sector of the economy is being run by the various MNOCs of which Shell is the primary player under the state military umbrella. MNOCs operate in joint ventures with the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). In the 1970s, the Obasanjo military government embarked on indigenization policy that allowed the state to acquire 80% equity in Shell BP and 60% equity in other major MNOCs. The effects of the indigenization policy, unfavourable to foreign business interests, led to the cessation of operations by some oil companies; a sorry situation that led to downward trends in foreign investments in the country. In

¹ On the significance of oil to Nigeria, literature is rich, see among others: Forrest, 1995; Turner and Peter, 1980; Watts, 2001; Watts, 2004 a&b; Watts, Okonta and von Kemedi, 2004. Oyefusi, 2001; International Crisis Group, 2006a&b; Human Rights Watch, 1999, 2002, 2003 and 2007; Ogunmola and Badmus, 2010.

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

1988, having realized the negative effects of the indigenization policy on the economy, the military government of General Ibrahim Babangida moved towards partial deregulation as well as commercialization of the oil sector with the creation of 11 subsidiaries. The Nigerian government has now deregulated the oil industry. This arrangement has, writes Zalik (2004: 404): “meant that individual government agents can profit immensely through ‘rent’ or bribes accruing from oil contract kickbacks while in terms of productive capital and as an agent of development and security, the Nigerian state has remained largely incapacitated and often a force to be feared.”

Furthermore, oil revenue distribution to the federating states through a derivation-based allocation (known in Nigeria as the ‘derivation formula’) has been continuously declining. The Federal Government has, to the detriment of the ethnic minority nationalities, distorted the derivation formula. This is because during the 1950s when agriculture was the mainstay of the Nigerian economy; the constitution recognized 100% derivation as the basis for revenue allocation. The situation became different in the 1960s when derivation was reduced to 50%. It declined further to 45% in 1970; 20% in 1975; 1.5% in 1982, and 3% in 1992 respectively (see Table 1 and National Concord, 11 December 1992). Under the 1999 constitution, there appears to be an appreciable development when derivation was increased to 13% consequent on the agitations of the oil-bearing ethnic nationalities. Sadly, the derivation formula is, apparently, disenfranchising the people of the oil-delta since the region is home to Nigeria’s oil resources.

Table 1: State and Federal Shares of Petroleum Proceeds, 1953-present

	Producing State (percent)	Federal Account including DPA (percent)
1953-1960	100	---
1960-1969	50	50
1969-1971	45	55
1971-1975	45 minus offshore proceeds	55 plus offshore proceeds
1975-1979	20 minus offshore proceeds	80 plus offshore proceeds
1979-1981	---	100
1982-1992	1.5	98.5
1992-1999	3	97
1999--	13	87

Source: UNDP 2006

The perceived marginalization by the people of Niger Delta has further intensified efforts for the increase in derivation to 50%, which became a hot issue during the 2005 National Constitution Conference. In addition to the downward trends in the derivation formula to the detriment of the ethnic minority nationalities in the oil basin, derivation budget monitoring is unsystematic and chaotic. It was reported in 2002 that only 7.8% of the accrued revenues from oil resources was paid to the Niger Delta states¹ by the federal government (A 2002 Report to the Federal Government cited in Manby, 2002). This state-of-affairs makes government statistics/figures on oil production and

¹ Nigeria is made up of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The Niger Delta's geopolitics concerns 9 states and they are regarded as oil producing states.

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

sales dubious. This perceived marginalization and lopsided state policy in the distribution of oil revenues have increased the anger and fanned the fire of hatred of the people of the region towards the Nigerian state and its ruling elite. Ironically, people outside the region are the ones benefiting from lucrative employment in the oil sector (Zalik, 2004). The rage towards the Nigerian state has created a situation of insecurity in the region, to which the Federal Government responded through the use of force (Omeje, 2004). The state's security operatives have mercilessly handled the situation with negative consequences of human rights violations (Frynas, 2000; Manby, 2002). However, as the Nigerian state relies on the primitive accumulation from oil to reinforce its dominant position, the government becomes unpopular in the eyes of the marginalized ethnic minority groups (Watts, 2001).

4. Understanding the Conflict in the Niger Delta

The Niger Delta region is an area of about 70,000 sq. km of which 50% is wetland. It extends "from Forcados in the West to the Bonny River in the East, a distance of about 350 km and from the apex of the delta at Abo to the coastline which is about 150km; the delta has also a narrow coastal strip varying in width from a few metres to about 5km. Most of the 10,000 sq. km. of the delta is made up of swamps, with a few island of solid red earth, treading North-South, which forms the only firm dry land; the mean elevation of these islands is c.20 m" (Akintola, 1982: 8). The Niger Delta's geopolitics concerns 9 states viz, Rivers, Cross River, Ondo, Abia, Edo, Imo, Akwa Ibom, Delta, and Bayelsa, while such ethnic minority groups as Ijaw, Kalabari, Urhobo, Itsekiri, Isoko, Nembe, Ibibio, Ndom, Efik, etc peopling the area. Since 1956 when oil was first discovered in Oloibiri village by the Anglo-Dutch group, Shell d'Archy, the region has continued being the heart of Nigeria's oil industry as the country is now a major oil exporter and constitutes the fiscal base of the Nigerian state. From earnings as meager as \$250 million in 1970, oil production revenues soared to \$11.2 billion in 1974 (International Crisis Group, 2006a). The

phenomenal growth of the oil sector and its displacement of other sectors of the economy are revealed by the fact that the country generated about \$300 billion between 1970 and 2002 (Omotola, 2006: 10). Since the late 1970s, oil has displaced agriculture as the backbone of the economy. Omotola (2006: 8) argues that, “from less than 1% in 1960, the contribution of oil to GDP rose to 14.6, 21.9 and 26-29% in 1970, 1975, and 1979 respectively. By 1992, it had risen to 46.8%. Oil contribution to export earnings has been much higher. From 58.1% in 1970, it rose to 95.6% in 1979. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, it remained very high, accounting for ₦210 billion or 96.1% of total export earnings in 1996.” The importance of oil to Nigeria is vividly shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Crude Oil and Non-oil Export Earning in Nigeria, 1988-1996

Year	Export of Goods and Services	Oil (%)	Non-oil (%) including invisible	Non-oil (%) excluding invisible
1988	31.7	89.5	10.5	8.8
1989	63.2	87.0	13.0	4.7
1990	120.1	88.8	11.2	2.3
1991	132.4	88.3	11.7	3.5
1992	226.9	88.3	11.2	1.9
1993	245.7	87.0	13.0	2.0
1994	215.5	93.2	6.8	2.5
1995	875.5	92.0	8.0	2.3
1996	1186.1	93.2	6.5	1.7

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, 1997

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

Despite the position of oil in the economy and huge revenues accruing to the central state from its sales, oil production has made the oil-bearing communities experiencing the so-called *paradoxes of the plenty*; they are implying that they are dwelling in an environment rich in mineral resources but suffer socio-economic injustices and deprivations, which should not be the case seeing that the oil is derived from their traditional homelands. Thus, oil exploration has brought sufferings and mishaps to the oil-bearing ethnic nationalities in many ways.

Oil extraction has adversely affected the delicate balance between land, water, and life (Rowell, 1994) as the socio-economic and environmental costs of oil production to the Niger Delta's oil-bearing communities are enormous. Oil production in the region has led to the destruction of flora and fauna resources, the aquatic ecosystem, biodiversity, and farmlands. Water and air pollution are prevalent in the region with serious health hazards suffered by the hapless population. More often than not, the level of pollutions caused by gas flaring, oil pipeline leakages and oil waste dumping are worrisome going by the level of ecological and physical damages experienced in the Niger Delta and their negative consequences on the socio-economic well being of the local population. It is estimated that 75% of gas produced in the oil delta are flared annually (World Bank, 2005). The environmental degradation and the destruction of the region can be attributed to bad oil production practices by the MNOCs. Gas and oil pipelines are badly laid above ground all over the Niger Delta's villages without constant maintenance by the oil companies. Most of the time, these pipelines explode while oil leaks into the soil and water interfering with local subsistence economies, sustainable livelihoods and causing environmental degradation as well as ecosystem decline. For example, between 1976 and 1990, Agbu (2003) asserts that "about 3,000 oil spill incidents were reported by the oil companies operating in Nigeria. Indeed, within this period over 2 million barrels of oil spilled into the country's terrestrial, coastal and offshore marine environment." The effects of oil spillages are negative as the drinking water in most places is heavily contaminated. The ground water of the costal environment of the Niger Delta is

*Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the
Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta*

polluted to the extent that there is increase in the maximum permissible concentration (MPC) of crude oil found in the ground water. It is reported that, according to Agbu (2003), in 1987, the MPC in Port Harcourt groundwater is estimated to be 1.8 milligrams per litre far above the 0.1 milligrams per litre recommended by the World Health Organisation.

Furthermore, the oil companies have been accused of being responsible for the oil spills since they are insensitive to the environmental concerns of the local population as there is a lack of consultation between the MNOCs and the oil-bearing communities before the commencement of oil exploration. The consequences oil production become more frustrating going by this shocking revelation:

According to an independent record of Shell's spills from 1982 to 1992, 1,626,000 gallons were spilt from the company's operation in 27 separate incidents. Shell indeed admits that there are at least 200 spillages of different sizes in a year in recent times. Of the number of spills recorded from Shell—a company, which operates in more than 100 countries—40% were in Nigeria. According to Shell, though they are committed to containing and cleaning up spills, it is almost impossible to take effective measures short of burning off the oil altogether, thereby annihilating a large part of the surrounding forest (cited in Agbu, 2003).

Thus, this environmental degradation and its negative physical and socio-economic consequences have been the sources of constant struggles by the people of the region that eventually put them at loggerheads with the central state and MNOCs. The objectives of the two forces are diametrically opposed as the local populations are yearning towards the environmental protection of the region as well as securing their socio-economic and human development. The state and its business partners on the other hand aim at undisrupted oil production and maximize profit there-from. (See Boxes 1&2 for analysis on the effects of oil spills and gas faring in the region).

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

Box 1: Oil Spills in the Niger Delta

Between 1976 and 2001, a total of 6,817 oil spills have been recorded in the Niger Delta with only 70% of the oil spills being recovered (UNDP, 2006). This has had a huge impact on marine life with negative consequences for local livelihoods dependent on fishing and for human health consuming contaminated seafood (EIA, 2003). Decades of inadequate or non-existent environmental regulation have allowed oil companies to operate their facilities without incorporating the costs of environmental damage into their decision-making. Spills can occur for a number of different reasons. Shell measures the number of oil spills annually at its facilities along specific criteria: whether the spills were the result of corrosion, operational failure (machinery or human error), or sabotage. In recent years there appears to have been an increase in the number of oil spills caused by deliberate attempts to damage oil facilities. According to Shell, 69% of the 241 total oil spill incidents recorded in 2006 occurred as a result of sabotage (Shell, 2006).

Source: Francis and Sardesai, 2008

Box 2: Second Largest Gas Flaring Operation in the World

Gas flaring is a process whereby the associated gas from oil production is burned so as to dispose of it. The second largest gas flaring operations in the world, after Russia, occur in the Niger Delta; they are a significant source of greenhouse gas and particulate matter emissions, exposing communities to a number of harmful pollutants including sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide, and carcinogenic substances. A thorough study of the region has not yet been carried out, however, it is widely accepted that these pollutants are linked to a series of significant health problems (ERA, 2005).

The exact percentage of associated gas that is flared is disputed. According to the NNPC, Nigeria flares 40% of its annual natural gas production (EIA, 2007). The World Bank estimates that the figure is closer to 75% (World Bank, 2005). Shell and other energy companies operating in the region attribute the extent of flaring in the Niger Delta to the lack of local and regional markets for gas, as well as to the lack of adequate gas infrastructure. Gas export is identified as the main solution to the problem and has become a central part of Shell's efforts to decrease its flaring operation (Shell, 2006).

In 1996, the Nigerian government agreed to end gas flaring in the Niger Delta by 2008. However, the penalties imposed for flaring have been too modest to achieve this goal (ICG, 2006b). In its most recent annual report, Shell Nigeria has set a deadline. By this time the company states that it will have either found ways to gather associated gas, or it will shut in production from the fields where associated gas cannot be gathered (Shell 2006). Chevron Nigeria is also working towards eliminating gas flaring from its operations but does not set itself a firm deadline. All new Chevron developments in the Niger Delta, however, are being designed as

*Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the
Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta*

"zero flare" projects (Chevron Nigeria, 2007). The World Bank/UNDP 2004 Strategic Gas Plan for Nigeria identified the gas sector as an area of huge growth potential for the country and underlined the importance of bringing an end to flaring as the first step in tapping this potential (ESMAP, 2004).

Source: Francis and Sardesai, 2008

Beyond the environmental apocalypse suffered by the people of Niger Delta, it is possible to locate the tensions in the region within the context of the lopsided state policies and distributive federalism that are to the detriment of ethnic minority groups. Apart from the fact that the current oil revenue sharing formula is to the ethnic minority groups disadvantage, their rage also stem from the fact that the region has been neglected and alienated for years with lack of basic infrastructure facilities such as pipe borne water, electricity and health care facilities with high rate of unemployment among the youth (Ukeje, 2001a). This perception is being aggravated by the claim that the proceeds from their God given mineral resources (oil in this case) are being used to develop other parts of the country that are non oil producing states. The consequences of these frustrations led to confrontations between the local population and the state with its business partners.

Ethnic nationalism and ethnic politics have added their flavours to, and at the same time aggravate, the conflict situation in the oil-basin. Ethnic nationalism has impacted on Nigeria in so many ways but one important area that is of interest to this study is the creation of Local Government Areas and the sitting of their headquarters and how this has increased the tempo of ethnic nationalism and conflicts in the region. Under the military, especially during the authoritarian rule of Generals Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha, more Local Government Areas were created. In 1997, crisis erupted in Warri, a town in Delta state between ethnic Ijaw and the Itsekiri over the newly created Warri South Local Government Area. The Ijaw/Itsekiri ethnic clashes, rooted in the relocation of the headquarters of the newly created Warri South Local Government from Ogbe-Ijoh to Ogidigben, resulted in many deaths, displacement and property worth millions of naira destroyed. As part of their ethnic nationalism, the Ijaw have clashed with other ethnic

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

minority groups such as the Ilaje, Urhobo, etc in the region over land and other issues (Fregene, 2000).

5. Contesting Exploitation: Armed Violence and the Proliferation of SALW in the Niger Delta

The Niger Delta has been a site of constant struggles where the state and local communities were at each other's throats but the scale of violence witnessed in the 1990s became worrisome to the international community. In the 1990s and the decade that followed the region witnessed the emergence of social movements that were at the forefront of resistance against exploitation. Prominent among these movements are the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Ijaw National Congress (INC), the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), and the Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA) (Badmus, 2009c: 29-36). The activities of these groups, despite the fact that they have been able to place their demands on the national agenda and become popular beyond the shores of Nigeria have as a result become threats to the survival of the Nigerian post-colonial state. The nexus between and among armed violence, state repressions and the proliferation of SALW in the region will be more comprehensible by analyzing, in *extenso*, the activities of the two prominent social movements in the region, i.e. MOSOP and INC and their implications for the Nigerian state.

The Ogoni resistance, championed by MOSOP, is interweaving around the struggles against environmental degradation and social marginalization. The struggles clearly unveil the intensity of the restiveness of the local population as well as its negative implications for the Nigerian state. The struggles that started as a peaceful demonstration took a dangerous turn in 1990 with the issuance of the Ogoni Bill of Rights by MOSOP, which was presented to then military government of General Ibrahim Babangida. In the Ogoni Bill of Rights, the Ogoni people demanded adequate compensation for the destruction of their land and water and a reasonable share of the \$30 billion that Nigeria has received from the sale of crude oil derived from Ogoniland

since 1958 (MOSOP, 1992). According to the Ogoni Bill of Rights, poverty, environmental hazards, lack of health facilities and social amenities are synonymous with the issues experienced by the people of Ogoniland (Badmus, 2009c). The Ogoni ethnic nationalism gained momentum when, in August 1991, MOSOP presented an addition to the Ogoni Bill of Rights which internationalized their struggles and reaffirmed their non-violence approach to conflict resolution. In December 1992, the Ogoni people issued an ultimatum to the military government. In the ultimatum, the Ogoni demanded that both the MNOCs and the NNPC have to pay compensation within a month to the Ogoni people or stop operations and leave their land. The failure of the Nigerian military government to acquiesce to the Ogoni demands saw, at the expiration of the ultimatum, extraordinary peaceful demonstrations in which more than 30,000 took part. The importance of this demonstration was that it brought the Ogoni issue on the national agenda and also through these struggles; it caught the attentions of the international community.

The aftermath of this peaceful protest was the serious clampdown on protesters and, arrests and detentions without trial of MOSOP leaders. The leaders of the organization were subjected to all sorts of inhuman treatments, while the lucky ones fled the country to avoid persecution. Throughout 1993, the Ogoni people were restive with the state relying on brute force and imposition of fear to suppress the uprisings. In addition to force, the then military regime weakened the cohesion among the Ogoni people as the government's divide and rule method actually yielded dividends. Consequent on government's divisive tactics, a face-off ensued between the radical and the moderate elements within MOSOP, a situation that encouraged the proliferation of deadly weapons and the use of mercenaries in the region (Renner, 2002: 46). State violence against the Ogoni people and its divide and rule policy also saw the upsurge in violent conflict between the Ogoni and their neighbours. Superficially, this may appear as ethnic conflicts and used by the government as an excuse to deal with the Ogoni people with the use of violence (Nsirimovu, 2005: 162). But a close look at the nature and occurrence of conflicts among the former peace loving people as well as the

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

type of weapons used convey a clear message that "...broader forces might have been interested in perhaps putting the Ogoni people under pressure, probably to derail their agenda" (Ake cited in Human Rights Watch, 1995: 12). Prominent among these conflicts were the ones in Andoni (July 1993), Okrika (December 1993), and Ndoki (April 1994) in which many lives were lost and property worth millions of naira equally destroyed.

Reverting to the division among the Ogoni leadership, the internal division reached its zenith in May 1994 with the killing of four prominent Ogoni leaders; barely a year after the military junta passed a decree stipulating a death penalty for all acts of treason. Thus, with this tensed military situation in the Niger Delta, the military saw the golden opportunity to deal with the Ogoni crisis once and for all. The government did not waste time to arrest and execute the radical leaders of MOSOP, Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogoni leaders, after the Special Military Tribunal found them guilty of the murders on 10 November 1995 (Rowell et al, 2005; Renner, 1996; Renner, 2002: 46). The death of Ken Saro Wiwa could be, probably, regarded as the end of the Ogoni struggles against state marginalization since it lost the dynamism and militancy associated with it due to lack of unity among the Ogoni leaders.

Another important conflict in the oil delta is the ethnic Ijaw struggles against perceived state suppression and socio-economic marginalization. The rise of Ijaw struggles was coincided with the seemingly decline of the Ogoni resistance following execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and others and direct state repression of the Ogoni. The Ijaw-state-oil companies face-off centered on years of injustice and socio-economic neglect of the oil-bearing Ijaw nation. With the sad experiences of the Ogoni struggles in their minds, one would expect the Ijaw resistance to be more violent. Unsurprisingly, when in August 1997, over 10,000 youth of Ijaw origin demonstrated at Aleibiri village in Bayelsa State¹ demanding an end to Shell activities in the oil Delta, the Ijaw people

¹ Though the Ijaw ethnic group, spread across the Niger Delta region, are majorly found in Bayelsa State. The state was created in 1996 while Yenegoa is the capital.

vowed to liberate themselves from the bondage of exploitation. The state, oil companies and Ijaw youth confrontations intensified especially in Bayelsa State due to environmental destruction by Shell and other MNOCs operating in the area that are threatening the livelihoods of the local population. Between 1998 and 1999, the Ijaw youth became more restive and most of these agitations occurred in Bayelsa State and culminated in the first *Egbesu*¹ war (Ibeanu, 2005: 45; Omeje, 2004). The origin of the war could be traced to the detention without trial of an Ijaw youth leader for distributing 'seditious' documents against the then Military Governor of Bayelsa State. Thus, the militant *Egbesu* Boys reacted by liberating their detained leader from the Government House in Yenegoa having disarmed the soldiers on sentry. Ibeanu (2005: 46) contends that "the success of the first *Egbesu* war obviously enhanced the profile of the youths and cult, and encouraged more people, many of whom were unemployed, to join the protests. In a matter of weeks, the invincibility of the *Egbesu* had spread throughout Bayelsa State and beyond, and the success of the *Egbesu* youth in the 'first war' fed into wider demands by the Ijaw for more petroleum revenues."

The death of General Abacha in office in 1998 and the rise of General Abdulsalami Abubakar (1998-1998) had direct impacts on the Ijaw wars. Immediately after General Abubakar took over, he embarked on reconciliatory agendas to solve the internal political deadlocks that marked General Abacha's dictatorship. In this context, the already militarized and reduced political space opened up and people's fundamental human rights were guaranteed. With this development, the Ijaw youth became more vigorous and assertive in the pursuit of their demands. At the Ijaw Youth Convention in Kaiama town on 11 December 1998, a document, popularly known as the Kaiama Declaration, was issued that was addressed to the military government in which they requested for increased local control of oil revenues and better environmental practices (http://www.ijawcenter.com/kaiama_declaration.html). In

¹ Egbesu connotes the Ijaw god of war that protect them during armed conflicts and wars since the olden days.

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

the Kaiama Declaration, a deadline of 31st December 1998 was given to the federal government and MNOCs to meet their demands; otherwise the MNOCs should close their operations and leave the Ijaw land and the entire Niger Delta region. The declaration was followed by a peaceful demonstration in Yenegoa by Ijaw youth to give vent to their demands and also during this demonstration they passed across their grievances to the Federal Government through the Bayelsa state government. Dishearteningly, the Ijaw youth peaceful demonstration resulted in disaster when soldiers killed scores of youths leaving many injured (Ukeje, 2001b). The Ijaw youth and the entire Ijaw nation interpreted the situation as an open declaration of war by the Nigerian government on ethnic Ijaw. Thus, the Ijaw became more restive with consequential military build-up and arms proliferation made the security situation to deteriorate rapidly. The tensed situation, apparently, makes the second *Egbesu* war imminent and eventually started when the state security forces clashed with Ijaw youth who were participating in a cultural festival in Yenegoa. The clash left many dead and had chilling consequences on the Ijaw nation, especially in Yenegoa and Kaiamna (Ibeanu, 2005: 47).

The inception of the Nigerian Fourth Republic in May 1999 seems, especially during the Obasanjo's presidency (May 1999-May 2007), not to have any significant impact in reducing the spectre of conflict in the Niger Delta. The military invasion of Odi town in Kolokuma-Opokuma Local Government Area of Bayelsa state in November 1999 confirms the above line of reasoning. This is probably why Ibeanu (2005: 47) argues that the Odi incident "confirms the fears of human rights community that it will take some time before the vestiges of the rule of the militariat in Nigeria are eliminated." The proximate cause of the Odi massacre was the abduction and subsequent killings of seven policemen that were on intelligence mission in Odi¹, the second largest

¹ The seven policemen were in Odi to uncover the plan of Ijaw youth to attack ethnic Yoruba in Lagos as a reprisal for the O'Odun People's Congress' (OPC)-a pan Yoruba ethnic militant organisation- attacks on Ijaw residents of Ajegunle Area of Lagos a month earlier.

town in Bayelsa state after Yenegoa, by some Odi youth. The killings of the policemen were interpreted by the Obasanjo's government as *Egbesu* challenge to the Nigerian state. The President gave a two weeks ultimatum to then Bayelsa state Governor, Chief DSP Alamieyeseigha, to produce the culprits, the failure of which saw the Federal Government ordered the Odi punitive military expedition (known as Operation HAKURI II) in which over 2000 people lost their lives, thousands displaced and properties destroyed (Environmental Rights Action, 2002: 7; Albert, 2003). The terrifying consequences of Odi incident did not deter the Ijaw youth as the spate of struggles in the oil delta continues unabated. Presently, the Ijaw resistance is championed by such militant groups as the Mujahedeem Asari Dokubo's led Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Tom Ateke's Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) [see Table 3 for the profiles and activities of selected militant groups in the Niger Delta]. Since 2003, NDPVF and MEND (created in 2005) have proved deadly with increased pipeline vandalism, kidnappings and taking over oil facilities in the volatile Niger Delta. Both movements claim that their activities are to seek a redistribution of oil wealth and increased local control of their God given resources. These groups are notorious for kidnappings of oil workers (especially expatriates) for ransom with negative consequences on the Nigerian state since the deteriorating security has forced some oil services firms to leave the country¹.

¹ It should be stated here that the existence and activities of these movements are very important in understanding the intensity of armed conflicts and arms proliferation in the region with their negative consequences on the Nigerian post-colony. But the scope of this study is limited to the Ogoni and Ijaw struggles within the contexts of MOSOP and INC.

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

Table 3: Select Militant Groups Operating in the Niger Delta

Group	Description	Activities
Egbesu Boys of Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Militant arm of the Ijaw Youth Council • Seeks justice and equity for the oil-bearing Ijaw communities in the Niger Delta • Not a cohesive militant movement; members are active in other groups 	Egbesu involvement in Ijaw-Itsekiri conflicts (Delta); various kidnappings and attacks on oil installations.
Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Forces (NDPVF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Led by Mujahedeed Asari Dokubo • Founded in 2003 • Members mainly Ijaw • Demands more control over resources for the Niger Delta states • Modelled on Isaac Boro's Niger Delta Volunteer Force (1966) 	Declared all-out wars vs. Nigerian government in 2004 and was subsequently outlawed; violent confrontation with NDV mid-2003 to late 2004; kidnappings and attacks
Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Led by Ateke Tom • Members mainly Ijaw 	Violent confrontation with NDPVF mid-2003 to late 2004; kidnappings and attacks
Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emerged December 2005 • Close links to NDPVF • Demands: 100% control of oil wealth; release of Dokubo; release of Alamiyeseigha • Elusive leadership; Jomo Gbomo communicates with media via email 	Many of the recent hostage taking and attacks on oil facilities; armed clashes with security forces between 2005 and January 2006.

Sources: Sesay et al 2003 and ICG 2006b

6. Nigeria's Fourth Republic and the Niger Delta Crisis

Since the inception of Nigeria's Fourth Republic (May 1999-), successive civilian administrations have been working towards finding permanent solutions to the Niger Delta crisis. Prior to this period, previous governments especially under military rule have also made numerous efforts to ameliorate the conflict trajectory and improve the appalling socio-economic conditions of the people of the region. But these efforts have not been able to achieve the stated goals. This situation becomes more complicated when the oil-bearing communities see the Nigerian state as perfect collaborator with MNOCs purposely to destroy the Niger Delta environment. The Babangida military administration responded to the dumping of toxic waste of Italian origin in Koko, a town in Delta state by establishing, through Decree 88 of 1988, the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA). FEPA was to set up national guidelines and standards for environmental management and enforce compliance with environmental law in order to control pollution (Falomo, 1997). Though, FEPA looked promising at the conceptual level, but in practice it failed to achieve its goals of effective managing the Niger Delta ecosystem due, partly, to the ambiguities in its terms of reference, which many experts believe were too broad (Agbu, 2003). Thus, the failure of FEPA to alter the conflict dynamics of the oil delta, sooner or later led to the establishment of the National Policy on Environment (NPE) in 1988 to preserve the Niger Delta environment and also to tackle the development challenges in the area. But, NPE achieved little in terms of success. What can be described as a giant stride towards solving the Niger Delta crisis was the establishment of, by the Babangida military government, the Oil Minerals Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) in 1992. OMPADEC could have done much to improve the situation in the Niger Delta but its organizational structure and management were fraught with difficulties. This is because, the body was directly under the supervision of the

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

presidency while its members were government appointees and only answerable to the presidency.

Furthermore, in the area of funding, OMPADEC relied on the 3% derivation fund controlled by the federal government. I have argued elsewhere (Badmus, 2009c) that since “OMPADEC members were government appointees, they were not truly representatives of the oil-bearing communities of the Niger Delta, thereby serving the interests of the federal bourgeoisies and its oil minority allies...The issue of corruption was brought to the fore with the embezzlement of the contracts’ fund, politicization in contracts’ awards, and above all, the people of the Niger Delta were not part of the decision making process of OMPADEC. All these made the Commission’s effectiveness, efficiency and impacts on the conditions of the oil-bearing communities of the Niger Delta hardly noticeable.” The problems that encumbered OMPADEC and its inability to achieve its aims could be regarded as the background to the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) shortly after Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was sworn into office as Nigeria’s President in May 1999. After assessing the situation through first hand experience during his tour of the region, he sent the NDDC Bill to the National Assembly and its approval gave birth to the NDDC. The NDDC is tasked to prepare and implement a comprehensive multi-sector master plan for the development of the Niger Delta (NDDC, 2005). The Commission is, through its *ad hoc* structure, expected to enhance the development of the region via identifying and addressing the needs of the oil bearing ethnic minorities and through this, it is hoped that such efforts will complement the efforts of the state governments and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) contribution to the development of oil delta. It should be mentioned that the numerous Niger Delta states have also embarked on the implementation of their own programmes. These include: the Ondo State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (OSODAPEC)(http://www.ondostate.gov.ng/news_details.php?id=1529), Rivers State Sustainable Development Programme (RSSDP), Bayelsa Partnership Initiatives (BPI), the Delta State Oil Area Development Commission

(DESOPADEC) (<http://www.desopadec.org/> see Francis and Sardesai, 2008: 30).

In the area of finance, there is appreciable development in the funding of the Commission (i.e. NDDC) when compared to OMPADEC, for this responsibility lies with both the State and MNOCs. Contributions to the Commission are as follows: MNOCs operating in the Niger Delta contribute 3% of their annual budgets; the Federal Government contributes 15% of the Niger Delta states oil revenues (i.e. 13% derivation) and 50% of the Niger Delta states ecological fund allocations (Francis and Sardesai, 2008: 31; see also ANEEJ, 2004: 22). Through this financial muscle, the Commission has been able to achieve some 'relative' successes by implementing community-development projects, put in place 'limited' social infrastructure facilities but these should not be over romanticized because like previous efforts, the Commission's activities/operations were fraught with lack of transparency, under funding and lack of proper planning that had not been able to fully achieve its mandate (Hopfensperger, 2006). Despite the activities of the NDDC in the region, popular perceptions are always against the Commission (see Box 3).

Box 3: Perceptions of the NDDC

Many local people have expressed dissatisfaction with the way that the NDDC has operated in their region. According to the UNDP 2006 Human Development Report for the Niger Delta, many view the NDDC with suspicion and do not appreciate the top-down planning approach the Commission has taken. Members of the NDDC are appointed by the federal government. As a result, local people question the commitment of the NDDC to the region. Some feel that the organisation's loyalties lie more with the federal government and oil companies than the Niger Delta and its people (UNDP 2006: 13). Discontent felt by the local people has added to an already deteriorating relationship with both the federal government and the oil companies (Hopfensperger, 2006).

The NDDC has got mixed reviews from militants. The Niger Delta Coalition for the Advancement of Peace and Progress (NIDECOPP) has advocated greater government support to the NDDC as a way of dealing with militant demands (Akunna, 2006). MEND, on the other hand, has made its opposition to the organization very clear. In December 2006, the group claimed responsibility for detonating a bomb close to the NDDC headquarters in Port Harcourt. In an online statement after the bombing, MEND referred to the managing director of the Commission as having

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

acted “against the interest of the people of the Niger Delta” (Arubi and Onoyume, 2006). The group has also criticised the NDDC for its alleged corrupt practices and for executing projects outside of the Niger Delta. Other groups have also tried to draw attention to their dissatisfaction with the NDDC. For example, in January 2004 a group of Ijaw youths vandalized the NDDC offices in Warri, Delta State, as a means of protesting the marginalization of their communities (ICG, 2006a).

Source: *Francis and Sardesai, 2008*

The ascendancy of Umaru Musa Yar’Adua to the presidency on 29 May 2007 increased the hope that the Niger Delta problems will be solved once and for all going by the commitments of the President to engage in dialogues with all stakeholders and initiate policies that are inclusive in nature. In his inaugural address to the country, President Yar’Adua stated:

The crisis in the Niger Delta commands our attention and it is a matter of strategic importance to our country. I will use every resource available to me to address this crisis in a spirit of fairness, justice and cooperation. We have a good starting point because our predecessor has already launched a master plan that can serve as a basis for a comprehensive examination of all issues.

We will involve all stakeholders in working out a solution. As part of these efforts, we will move quickly to ensure the security of lives and property and investment. In the meantime, I appeal to all aggrieved communities to suspend all forms of violence. Let us allow the impending dialogue to take place in a conducive atmosphere. We are all in this together, and we will find a way to achieve peace and justice. (Full text of the inaugural address of President Yar’Adua “Let’s March into the Age of Restoration.” (Retrieved from

<http://www.allafrica.com/stories/200705300657.html>

The first step that the Yar’Adua administration took to resolve the crisis was to propose a Niger Delta Summit that was initially scheduled for June 2007. The proposed Summit was intended to develop a comprehensive roadmap towards

*Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the
Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta*

resolving the crisis. But, right from the beginning, the proposed Niger Delta Summit was encumbered with controversy, which, on the advice of the Niger Delta leaders, was postponed by the government and eventually failed to see the light of the day. There was lack of consensus on the way to approach the Summit. While the Federal Government considered the Niger Delta's crisis as purely Nigeria's domestic affairs, the people of Niger Delta insisted on the UN and other international meditations (International Crisis Group, 2009). Furthermore, the proposed Summit was even regarded by the majority of stakeholders as unnecessary that will result in failure. The majority of Niger Delta leaders argued that the best way to address the crisis is for the government to, instead of the Niger Delta Summit; reconsider the reports of the previous committees and study groups on the Niger Delta. They urged the government to form a committee to consider the recommendations of those previous committees' reports and present them for action. Fuelling the angers of the Niger Delta people was the appointment of Professor Ibrahim Gambari as head of the Summit Steering Committee. Gambari was seen not as ideal choice by the people of the region and opposition to Gambari's appointment was based on his, as Nigeria's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in 1995, defence of the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogoni leaders by General Abacha and also that he is not an indigene of Niger Delta. Opposition to Gambari's appointment even came from other parts of the country when the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) contended that: "Gambari had lost credibility by hurting local sensibilities." (The Nigerian Labour Congress Statement signed by its General Secretary John Odah, 4 July 2008). Due to stiff opposition, Gambari withdrew and the Federal Government succumbed to popular pressures and shelved the idea of the Niger Delta Summit and replaced it with, after consultations with Niger Delta leaders, the establishment of a Technical Committee to work on the needs of the region and report. According to International Crisis Group (2009: 7):

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

the collapse of the summit at an advanced stage and the fact that opposition to Gambari erupted only after his appointment had been announcement indicated that, in planning for the summit, the government had not communicated and coordinated with Delta ethnic and militant leaders adequately. *More disturbingly, it meant that after over a year in office, an administration that had identified the Delta challenge, as a priority area was still the lead actor in search of a script.* (Italics added).

Though the Federal Government inaugurated a Technical Committee, with broad terms of reference, its recommendations have not been able to meet the aspirations of the people of the Niger Delta, especially the militant groups. Amongst others, the committee recommended amnesty for militant leaders within a context of comprehensive demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) programme; increased allocation of oil revenues to the people of the Niger Delta; improvement of infrastructure and welfare services, and new institutional frameworks for the Niger Delta's long term socio-economic and physical development (International Crisis Group, 2009). Despite the comprehensiveness of the Technical Committee recommendations, many became skeptical of the government position going by the President's position that the government would implement only those recommendations that it found acceptable, and this call into question the sincerity of the federal government in solving the Niger Delta crisis (International Crisis Group, 2009: 1). Unfortunately, the inherent gaps in the Committee's reports and lack of government's sincerity failed to dampen tensions in the region as the attacks on oil installations, kidnappings, etc by the militant groups intensified. The Conference of Ethnic Nationalities of the Niger Delta (CENND) was very critical of the Committee report arguing that it disappointed the Niger Delta people because, it failed to recommend an initial minimum of 50% derivation revenue and full control of their resources. Finally, it vowed that "nothing short of control of

Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta

resources, with payment of appropriate taxes to the federal government would satisfy grievances.” (See the statement by the Steering Committee of CENND at the end of its meeting in Uzere, Delta state, 17 December 2008, cited in International Crisis Group, 2009)

Other significant initiative of the Yar'Adua administration is creation of the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs. The ministry, established in September 2008, is responsible to provide infrastructure development and empower the Niger Delta youth. This is, undoubtedly, a positive development because the newly created ministry will provide a better focused and rapid implementation of programmes and projects for the well being of the aggrieved people tasking cognizance of the fact that these roles were previously performed by several ministries which created problem of coordination. Despite the fact that the creation of the ministry demonstrated a degree of commitment by the Yar'Adua administration to the people of Niger Delta, MEND contended that: “The people of the region should receive this latest dish with apprehension. It will be yet another avenue for corruption and political favouritism.” (See “Nigeria Militants Criticize New Niger Delta Ministry”, Reuters, 11 September 2008). Though the creation of the ministry can be regarded as a very important step towards addressing the crisis in the Niger Delta; unfortunately it attracted a lot of acrimony. First, the mere fact that the Technical Committee was still working on the appropriate ways to solve the crisis when the ministry was created signifies the government has a hidden agenda. The government would have waited for the Technical Committee to submit its report before taking such steps. Also problematic is that the creation of the ministry has opened door for other regional and ethnic groups to demand for ‘region-specific ministries’ which can overstretch the state.

Furthermore, the ministry's mandate and responsibilities conflict with that of the NDDC which resulted in duplication of functions since both are established to tackle the challenges of infrastructure development, environmental protection and the empowerment of the people of the Niger Delta. Coupled with this is the problem of funding. The allocation to the ministry in the 2009 budget was paltry which raised concerns in

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

many quarters about its future. The experience of the NDDC reinforces this apprehension going by funding deficit that has been its dominant feature. Probably this is why Kogbara argues that: “the NDDC does not need to be replaced or eclipsed because it can do everything that a ministry can do—if it is given the human and financial resources with which to play a dynamic coordinating role. There’s a very real risk that the new ministry will largely turn out to be nothing more than a glorified version of the NDDC and a cynical, expensive window-dressing.” (International Crisis Group, 2009: 10). There was even an attempt by the government to embark on constructive engagement with the militant groups. The rationale behind this is to negotiate with the militants to form private security companies through this they will be provided with job opportunities by providing security for oil installations. The dangers in such engagements and popular perceptions that are against such idea explain why it has not yet happened.

One can argue that throughout Yar’Adua presidency, the volatile situation in the Niger Delta has not been significantly improved as acts of criminality are on the rise. With the ascendancy of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, an indigene of the Niger Delta, as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria following Yar’Adua’s death in May 2010, the whole nation is looking to see how he (Goodluck) will solve the problems of ‘his region’

7. Conclusion and Perspective

The foregoing analysis has shown that the volatile security situation in the Niger Delta constitutes real threats to the survival of the Nigerian post-colony and it needs to be addressed by the Federal Government. Though SALW proliferation increases the intensity and duration of violence and, abets militancy in the region but they do not cause the Niger Delta crisis. Now, what is germane is to address the fundamental grievances of the oil-bearing communities. The proclamation of amnesty by the Yar’Adua administration is

*Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the
Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta*

regarded as a palliative measure that will have no significant effects on the conflict trajectory. As long as the Federal Government fails to tackle the root causes of the conflict, the people of the region will continue to be restive with negative consequences of arms proliferation while insecurity will continue unabated. Thus, the Nigerian state needs to, *seriously and sincerely*, attend to the problems confronting the people of the region, such as; environmental insecurity, socio-economic underdevelopment and poverty, and also address the problems associated with the country's federalism, which, in both structure and praxis, is wanton. Thus the following policy options, among others, are considered necessary to address the Niger Delta crisis.

First, the Nigerian federalism is presently skewed and marked by extreme centralization where power is concentrated in the centre at the expense of the federating states. This is disadvantageous to the oil-bearing communities because it has led to such, according to Suberu (1996: 67), "inauspicious and obnoxious outcomes as the erosion of the autonomy and security that genuinely federalists arrangements assure for minorities, the inordinate appropriation by the centre of the resources of the oil-rich Delta minority communities, and the direct and often counter-productive intervention of central authorities in those local and regional issues, such as the determination of local government boundaries, that are best left to subnational authorities or communities." Attempt by the Obasanjo administration to address the problems of Nigerian federalism through Justice Niki Tobi-led National Political Reform Conference in 2005 failed to achieve its objectives because it is believed that the conference was engineered by the government to achieve the hidden agenda of President Obasanjo. It is argued here that the best way to address this contentious issue is through a Sovereign National Conference of all ethnic nationalities. How to adequately cater for the needs of ethnic minority groups, especially the oil-bearing communities in the Niger Delta region should be one of the foremost priorities of the present administration. This can be achieved through constitutional amendments where some degrees of autonomy will be accorded the federating states, especially the oil producing ones, regarding mining rights and also through initiating *sincere*

Isiaka Alani Badmus, University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)

programmes that can address the structural defects of the Nigerian federal system of government within the context of good governance, transparency and accountability.

Second, there is the need for the Federal Government to increase the derivation formula from the present 13%. Such increase in financial allocation to the oil-producing states will dampen down tensions and address the environment and socio-economic problems of the area. These efforts need to be strengthened by establishing mediatory and regulatory institutions to monitor the money spent by oil producing states' governments in order to ensure that the financial resources are used on the provision of public goods and services. The Federal Government needs to intensify its anti-corruption efforts in this regard.

Third, the destruction of the Niger Delta environment by the MNOCs should be addressed by the Nigerian state. The region's ecosystem can be protected by enacting laws that will regulate the activities of MNOCs and also agencies to monitor such activities and enforce compliance. Fourth, the Nigerian government should empower Niger Delta's youth by initiating youth empowerment schemes. Government needs to accord high priority to vocational training and invest in education (especially peace education) and also provide them (Niger Delta's youth) with job opportunities after such training. This will definitely dissuade them from joining militant groups and will inculcate in them the importance of harmonious intra- and inter-ethnic relations as preconditions for physical, socio-economic and human developments.

Fifth, Nigeria needs to improve the quality of its democratic process in order to increase the confidence of the oil-bearing communities in the Nigerian nation-state project. The perceived political marginalization and socio-economic exclusion of the people of the Niger Delta can be overcome by reforming the country's democratic process as this will guarantee their commitments to the Nigerian state. This is probably why Francis and Sardesai (2008: 48) argue that "conflict is a normal feature in any democratic society; however the disconnect between state and society in Nigeria has led to a situation in which conflict cannot be managed within the political process, leading people to increasingly

turn towards violent forms of conflict. *Strengthening the voice of communities in the Niger Delta by working towards free and fair elections would go a long way towards restoring the legitimacy of the current administration and of democracy in Nigeria.*" (Italics added)

Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank Professor Paul Francis, Senior Social Development Specialist, Africa Post Conflict and Social Development Unit, World Bank, Washington DC for his permission to use his work co-authored with Shonali Sardesai. I thank Dr. Bert Jenkins and Professor Helen Ware both from the School of Humanities, University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia for their support. Remaining errors are the author's responsibility.

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

References

- Agbu Osita, (2003). "Oil and Environmental Conflict in Nigeria's Niger Delta", Paper presented at the National Conference on: Nigerian Society under Democratic rule, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, 19-21, August.
- Akintola, F.O, (1982). "Relief and Drainage" in Michael Barbour, Oguntoyinbo, J. Onyemelukwe, and James Nwafor (eds.), *Nigeria in Maps*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Akunna Chucks, (2006). "Group Warns Against Military action in Niger Delta", *All Africa*. 14 March.
- Albert Isaac Olawale, (2003). *The Odi Massacre of 1999 in the Context of the Graffiti left by the Invading Nigerian Army*. Ibadan: Programme on Ethnic and Federal Studies Monograph, New Series, no. 1.
- ANEEJ, (2004). "Oil of Poverty in Niger Delta", African Network for Environment and Economic Justice. Retrieved from <http://www.boellnigeria.org/documents/Oil%20of%20Poverty%20in%20Niger%20Delta.pdf>
- Arubi Emma and J. Onoyume, (2006). "Militants Strike Again as Explosion Rock Warri, port Harcourt", *Vanguard* (Lagos), December 24.
- Badmus, Isiaka Alani, (2006). 'What Went Wrong With Africa? On the Etiology of Sustaining Disarticulation of the African Nation State', *Verfassung Und Recht In Urbersee* (Law and Politics in Africa, Asia, and Latin America), vol. 39, no. 3, September. pp. 270-291.
- Badmus, Isiaka Alani, (2009a). *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: ECOWAS and the West African Civil Conflicts*. Porto: CEAUP, University of Porto, Portugal.
- Badmus, Isiaka Alani, (2009b). "Stabilising Nigeria: Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation and Security Sector Reform", *Asteriskos: Journal of International and Peace Studies*, nos. 8&9, 2009, pp.7-32.
- Badmus Isiaka Alani, (2009c). *Under Reconstruction: Ethnicity, Ethnic Nationalism and the Future of the Nigerian State*. Delray Beach,

Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta

Florida: The Guild of Independent Scholars and Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences *Working Paper Series*, no. 4. Retrieved from <http://www.japss.org/WORKINGPAPERSERIES.html>

Bah, M.S. Alhaji, (2004). "Micro-disarmament in West Africa: The ECOWAS Moratorium in Small Arms and Light Weapons", *African Security Review*, vol. 13, no. 3.

Central Bank of Nigeria, (1997). *Nigeria: Major Economic, Financial and Banking Indicators*. Abuja: Central Bank of Nigeria.

Chevron Nigeria, 2007. "Nigeria Fact Sheet." Retrieved from <http://www.chevron.com/operations/docs/nigeria.pdf>

Dominick Donald and Olonisakin 'Funmi, (2001). *Security Sector Reform and the Demand for Small Arms and Light Weapons*. Ploughshares Briefing 01/7. Retrieved from <http://www.ploughshares.ca>

Energy Information Administration (EIA), (2003). "Country Analysis Briefs: Nigeria Environmental Issues." Retrieved from <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/nigenv.html>

Energy Information Administration (EIA), (2007). "Country Analysis Briefs: Nigeria", *Energy Information Administration*. Retrieved from <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Nigeria/Oil.html>

Energy Sector Management Assistance Programme (ESMAP), (2004). "Nigeria Strategic Gas Plan." Energy Sector Management Assistance Programme, World Bank/UNDP Report 279/04. Retrieved from <http://www.esmap.org/filez/pubs/ESM27910paper.pdf>

Environmental Rights Action, (2002). *A Blanket of Silence: Images of the Odi Genocide*. Benin, Lagos and Port Harcourt: Environmental Rights Action.

Environmental Rights Action, (2005). "Gas Flaring in Nigeria: A Human Rights, Environmental and Economic Monstrosity", Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth, Nigeria. Retrieved from <http://www.eraction.org.org/files/gas.flaring.in.nigeria.pdf>

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

Falomo, A. A. (1997). "Government's Action in Environmental Protection in Nigeria", in Akinjide Osuntokun (ed.), *Dimensions of Environmental Problems in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Davidson Press.

Forrest Tom, (1995). *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Francis Paul and Sardesai Shonali, (2008). *Republic of Nigeria: Niger Delta Social and Conflict Analysis*. Sustainable Development Department (Africa Region), The World Bank, Washington DC.

Fregene Patrick, (2000). "How Nigeria Plundered and Underdeveloped the Itsekiri People" in Wunmi Raji, Ayodele Ale and Eni Akinsola (eds), *Boiling Point: A CDHR Publication on the Crises in the Oil Producing Communities in Nigeria*. Lagos: Frankard Publishers.

Frynas George, (2000). *Oil in Nigeria: Conflict and Litigation Between Oil Companies and Village Communities*. London: Lit Verlag.

Hopfensperger, J. (2006). "Oil Dividend Management in Nigeria: A Case for Democratic Reforms within the Niger Delta Development Commission", *Journal of International Policy Solutions*. Spring no. 5, pp. 79-91.

Human Rights Watch, (1999). "The Price of Oil: Corporate Responsibility and Human Rights Violation in Nigeria's Oil Producing Communities." Retrieved from http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/nigeria/Nigew991-04.htm#P428_109338

Human Rights Watch, (2002). "The Niger Delta: No Democratic Dividend." Human Rights Watch Report vol. 14, no. 7(A).

Human Rights Watch, (2003). "The Warri Crisis: Fuelling Violence", Human Rights Watch Report vol. 15, no. 18(A).

Human Rights Watch, (2007). "Chop Fine: The Human Rights Impact of Local Government Corruption and Mismanagement in Rivers State, Nigeria." Human Rights Watch Report vol. 19, no. 2(A).

Ibeanu Okechukwu, (2005). "The Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Niger Delta: An Introduction", in Ibeanu Okechukwu and Mohammed Fatima Kyari (eds.), *Oiling Violence: The Proliferation of*

*Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the
Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta*

Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Niger Delta. Abuja: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Ikelegbe Augustine, (2005). "The Economy of Conflict in the Oil Rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 208-234.

International Crisis Group, (2006a). *The Swamps of Insurgency; Nigeria's Delta Unrest*. Dakar/Brussels: International Crisis Group *Africa Report*, no. 115.

International Crisis Group, (2006b). *Fuelling the Niger Delta Crisis*. Dakar/Brussels: International Crisis Group *Africa Report*, no. 118.

International Crisis Group, (2009). *Nigeria: Seizing the Moment in the Niger Delta*. Abuja/Dakar/Brussels: International Crisis Group *Africa Briefing*, no. 60

Jega Attahiru, (2000). "The State and Identity Transformation under Structural Adjustment in Africa", in Jega Attahiru (ed.), *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*. Uppsala/Kano: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet/ Centre for Research and Documentation.

Lawal, Y, (2004). "Economic Crimes Panel Now Try Oil Theft Cases", *The Guardian* (Lagos), Monday 19 July, 2004.

Lock Peter, (1999). "Africa, Military Downsizing, and the Growth in the Security Industry", in Jakkie Cilliers and Peggy Mason (eds.), *Peace, Profit or Plunder? The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies*. Pretoria: ISS

Manby Bronwen, (2002). *The Price of Oil: Corporate Responsibility and Human Rights Violation in Nigeria's Oil Producing Communities*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), (1992). *Ogoni Bill of Rights*. Port Harcourt, Nigeria: Saros International Publishers.

National Concord (Lagos), 11 December 1992

Naylor, R.T, (1995). "The Structure and Operation of the Modern Arms Black Market", in Boutwell Jeffrey, Klare, D. Michael, Reed, W. Laura

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

(eds), *Lethal Commerce: The Global Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons*. Cambridge, M.A: American Academy of Arts and Science

Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), (2005). "Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan: Our Challenge—Their Future." Niger Delta Development Commission.

Nsirimovu Anyakwee, (2005). "Report of a Study on Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation in Rivers States", in Ibeanu Okechukwu and Mohammed Fatima Kyari (eds.), *Oiling Violence: The Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Niger Delta*. Abuja: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Ogunmola 'Dele and Isiaka Alani Badmus, (2010). "Meeting the Challenges of the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria: Problems, Possibilities and Prospects." Proceedings of the international conference on *Meeting the Millennium Development Goals: Old Problems, New Challenges*. La Trobe University, Melbourne (Bundoora Campus), Victoria, *Australia*. Retrieved from: http://www.latrobe.edu.au/humansecurity/assets/downloads/MDGconfpapers/Ogunmola_and_Badmus.pdf

Omeje Kenneth (2004). "The State, Conflict and Evolving Politics in the Niger Delta, Nigeria", *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 31, issue. 101, pp. 425-440.

Omotola 'Shola (2006). *The Next Gulf? Oil Politics, Environmental Apocalypse and Rising Tension in the Niger Delta*. Durban: ACCORD Occasional Paper Series, vol. 1, no. 3.

Oyefusi Aderoju, (2007). "Oil and the Propensity to Armed Struggle in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria", Washington DC: World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, no. 4194. Retrieved from http://www.econ.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=64165259&piPK=64165421&theSitePK=469372&menuPK=64166093&entityID=00016406_20070409112904

Renner Michael, (1996). *Fighting for Survival: Environmental Decline, Social Conflicts and New Age of Insecurity*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co.

*Oiling the Guns and Gunning for Oil: Oil Violence, Arms Proliferation and the
Destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta*

- Renner Michael, (2002). *The Anatomy of Resource Wars*. Danvers, MA: State of the World Library, World Watch Paper, no. 162.
- Rowell, A, (1994). *Shell Shocked: The Environmental and Social Costs of Living with Shell in Nigeria*. Amsterdam: Greenpeace.
- Rowell James et al, (2005). *The Next Gulf?: London, Washington and the Oil Conflict in Nigeria*. London: Constable and Robinson Ltd.
- Sesay Amadu et al (eds), (2003). *Ethnic Militias and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria*. Ile Ife, Nigeria: Obafemi Awolowo University Press.
- Shell Nigeria, (2006). "People and Environment Report 2006", Retrieved from http://www.shell.com/home/content/nigeria/news_and_library/publications/annual_reports_archive.html
- Small Arms Survey, (2003). *Development Denied*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Small Arms Survey, (2004). *Rights at Risk*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Small Arms Survey, (2005). *Weapons at War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Suberu, T. Rotimi, (1996). *Ethnic Minority Conflicts and Governance in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Book Limited.
- Turner Terisa and Peter Norre, (1980). *Oil and Class Struggles*. London: Zed Press.
- Ukeje Charles, (2001a). "Youths, Violence and the Collapse of Public Order in the Niger Delta of Nigeria", *Africa Development*, vol. XXVI, nos. 1&2, pp. 337-366.
- Ukeje Charles, (2001b). "Oil Communities and Political Violence: The Case of Ethnic Ijaws in Nigeria's Delta Region", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 13, pp. 15-36.
- United Nations Development Programme, (2006). "Niger Delta Human Development Report", *United Nations Development Programme*.

Isiaka Alani Badmus, *University of New England (Australia) and the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (San Jose, Costa Rica)*

Retrieved from
http://www.web.undp.org/reports/nigeria_hdr_report.pdf

Vasundevan Parvathi, (1999). "Africa and Structural Adjustment: The Need for Sustained Approach", *African Currents*, (Bombay) vol. XVI, no. 27, March.

Watts Michael, (2001). "Petro-Violence: Community, Extraction and Political Ecology of a Mythic Commodity", in Nancy Peluso and Watts Michael (eds.), *Violent Environments*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Watts Michael, (2004a). "Violent Environments: Petroleum Conflict and the Political Ecology of Rule in the Niger Delta", in Watts Michael and Richard Peet (eds), *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements*. London: Routledge.

Watts Michael, (2004b). "Resource Curse? Governmentality, Oil and Power in the Niger Delta, Nigeria", *Geopolitics*, vol. 9, no. 1.

Watts Michael, Ike Okonta, and Dimieari von Kemedi, (2004). *Economies of Violence: Petroleum, Politics, and Community Conflict in the Niger Delta, Nigeria*. Delta. Working Paper no. 1, Berkerly, Washinton DC, and Port Harcourt: University of Carlifornia, the United Institute of peace and Our Niger Delta, *Niger Delta Economies of Violence Working Paper Series* no. 1.

World Bank, (2005). "World Bank Approves Funding for the West African Gas Pipeline in Benin, Ghana, Nigeria and Togo". Press Release no. 2005/181/AFR. Retrieved from
<http://www.web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/NIGERIAEXTN/0,,menuPK:368906~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:368896.00.html>

Zalik Anna, (2004). "The Niger Delta: 'Petro Violence' and 'Partnership Development'", *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 31, issue 101, pp. 401-424.

New Normalcy and Shifting Meanings of the Practice of Veiling in Turkey

Ibrahim Kuran, Bogazici University (Istanbul, Turkey)

Abstract: *The paradigm of identity politics and the dual analysis of secularism and Islamism are insufficient to contextualize the phenomenon of veiling in Turkey. The practice of veiling needs to be recontextualized considering the patterns of pragmatist consumerism and the influences of the neoliberal market environment on sociocultural milieus of the everyday life. This article attempts to explore the shifting and intermingling meanings of the veiling in its recent circumstances in Turkey. It is argued that the veiling is an indicator of lifestyle, social class and status; however, it also continues to be the discursive practice of Islamic faith.*

1. Introduction

Throughout the world, the New Right movements emerged in socio-political domains as a variant of the neoliberalism project in the late 1970s, especially with the rise of Thatcherism in Britain and Reaganism in US (Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2005). In a similar fashion, neoconservatism and neoliberalism intermingled with each other in the political agenda of the Özal in Turkey in the 1980s. Islamist groups, in that period, successfully incorporated into the project of neoliberalism. As the Islamist groups have achieved social mobilization through utilizing the tools of market economy, Islamic identity has been reproduced and reconfigured in public sphere in the last decades (Binark & Kılıçbay, 2002; Navaro-Yashin, 2002). In parallel with this transformation, Islamist paradigm established its hegemony in socio-political domains of everyday life (Yavuz, 2005). There emerged new normalcy for the visibility of Islam in public, and the discursive practice of veiling obtained some kind of everydayness in this context. To put it another way, the increasing visibility of Islam in everyday life provides new normalcy for the Islamic discursive practices, like veiling. Hence, the context that I try

to explore in this article is the Islamization of society¹ which goes hand in hand with the extension of market ideology. The meanings that the practice of veiling obtain in this [normalized, daily] context are needed be scrutinized. My aim, therefore, is to reinterpret the practice of veiling from the perspective of everydayness and also within the [micro] power relations in Turkey.

2. Recontextualizing the Islamic Identity and the Practice of Veiling

Since the early 1980s, Islamic identity with its inherent practices has gained visibility in the public sphere in Turkey. This is indeed very parallel with the emergence of, what Saba Mahmood called, the Islamic Revival that has been experienced in majority of the Muslim countries (Mahmood, 2005). Especially, since the Islamic-rooted Justice and Development Party gained political dominance in 2002 elections in Turkey, discursive practices of the religion and Islamic symbolism have attained more visibility. Even it has been argued that Kemalist factions of Turkey are marginalized in socio-political domains under the hegemony of the JDP government (Shively, 2008). The growing support for the Islamist party politics and the visibility of Islamic practices are required to be contextualized historically in order to understand the positioning of the Islamic identity and the veiling issue in their current situations in Turkey. In the process of formation of modern Turkey, the orthodoxy and the central position of the Kemalist elites have been argued by many scholars (Yavuz, 2005; Binark & Kılıçbay, 2002). Hence, the local-religious communities have been peripheralized in socio-cultural milieus in the early decades of the Republic. From 1950 onwards, the center-periphery relations have begun to be reconfigured with the augmenting migrations from rural to urban areas. In tandem with this transformation, encounters between various stratas of the society have become more frequent, because the physical as

1 Islamization, in this article, refers to the increasing visibility of Islam in the everyday life.

well as the psychological proximity between the center and periphery have declined gradually (Binark & Kılıçbay, 2002).

In the 1980s and 1990s, traditional social cleavages between 'rural-conservative-Islamists' and 'urban-westernized-secularists' have become solidified as the tension between these groups have increased. That's why identity politics and political symbolism have gained new momentum, as many scholars pointed out, throughout this period. The headscarf issue is considered as the main axis of the conflict between secular and Islamic divides of the society (Göle, 1991; Secor, 2002; White 2002). Beginning from the early 1980s, headscarf has gained increasing visibility in public sphere, especially in universities. From the modernist perspective, the headscarf has been perceived as the most apparent symbol of Islamization, and therefore, the visibility of headscarf has been considered as a threat to the principle of secularism and the idea of democratic public sphere. In other words, the public use of headscarf is construed as against the premise of secularism which underlines the necessity of privatization of religion and institutional control of state (Secor, 2002). In retrospect, the role of women has been formulated as a marker of the modernization and the progress by Kemalist legacy. The visibility of headscarf, therefore, is interpreted as the sign of the emergence of public-assertive-muslim-womenhood. Nevertheless, it also argued that it is very difficult to discern the religious meanings and political symbolism of headscarf (Göle, 2008). From this perspective, veiling/non-veiling is deciphered as an indicator of the ideological fault line between secularism and Islamism in Turkey (Göle 1991; Saktanber 1994; Secor 2002).

However, the paradigm of identity politics and the dual analysis of secularism and Islamism in opposition are insufficient to contextualize the current situation of Islamic identity and the phenomenon of veiling in Turkey. In specific terms, the paradigm that scrutinizes headscarf within the framework of radical-Muslim womanhood has lost its grip in recent years, because veiling as the representation of Islamic identity have dismissed its previous political ground (White, 2002). That is not so say veiling is not in the relations and the domains of politics anymore. Nevertheless, Islamic identity and veiling need to be recontextualized in their

everydayness, that is, the meanings that they obtain in the normalcy of everyday life.

In the first place, it is necessary to recontextualize the complexity of Islamist social and political mobilization in Turkey. Beginning from early 1980s, Turkey has passed through serious transformations. The conditions of market economy have been properly established, the post-fordist organization methods in production extensively have been utilized, and the dependency to the world markets have increased because of the globalization process (Binark & Kılıçbay, 2002). Due to the neoconservative agenda of Özal, the ideas that govern neoliberalism and Islamism merged with each other. In the second half of the 1980s, Islamists have achieved to accumulate enough capital to acquire new representations in socio-economic spheres. Islamist groups have utilized the tools of democratic environment, which was established after 1980 coup and especially in the second half of the 1980s, and the forces of market economy to gain mobilization in politico-economical arenas (Yavuz, 2005). Keyman (2007) states that, in that period, 'Islamic identity claims' become more politicized economically grounded and culturally loaded with recognition demands. It is argued that Islamist groups have utilized the tools of media and education, for their part, to gain mobility in that period (Yavuz, 2005). They have attempted to expand their capacity of power and establish their own political-economic regime through forming business circles, by publishing newspapers/journals, and by founding community schools. By means of media and publication, Yavuz (2005) states, Islamist groups determine the norms of everyday life, mark the cultural orthodoxy, and set out the agenda of the country after 1980. Bilici (2004) argues that, with the processes of globalization, Kemalism has lost its hegemony, it is because globalization process operates against the model of nation states, in which Kemalist ideology had constructed itself. He states that Islamic identity has been reconfigured in the phase of globalization in the 1980s and 90s. The regime of Turgut Özal is construed as a milestone in this transformation. Through education and the utilization of economic resources, Islamist groups have gained, in Bourdieu's terms, symbolic as well as cultural capital. Bilici (2004) states that the socioeconomic

mobilization has effaced the reactionary/radical stance of Islamic identity. Instead, as he puts forward, two critical dispositions emerged. One of them is consumerist pragmatism, which I will discuss in detail below, and the formation of Islamism as a social project which is reproduced in Gramscian sense. In this context, Islamism has emerged as a disciplining practice/technique which governs the population. Keyman (1999, p. 192) underlines the disciplinary power of Islamism, which is very similar to Kemalism, because both projects induced certain subjectivities, either as a “decent citizen” or as a “faithful muslim.” As a political and economic project, Islamism transformed yet reproduced social hierarchies and redefined but imposed the mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion. In this regard, Islamism brings new hegemony to social sphere by mainly employing the tools of neoliberalism project. *In its current situation, Islamist hegemony, as I have discussed above, brings new normalcy to the visibility of veiling practices.* Therefore, it is necessary to reinterpret veiling in its dailiness in this context. In the following parts, I attempt to grasp new meanings of the veiling not in the opposition between secularism and Islamism, but in the context of the incorporation of Islamic discursive practices to the conditions of neoliberalism [market ideology].

3. Veiling in the Market

First and foremost, it is necessary to conceptualize the practice veiling in free market environment of 1980s and 90s. The habitus of consumption has become the basis of the patterns of everyday life in this period. The headscarf as well as the image of Atatürk has turned into commodities and market symbols (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). That is to say, the commodification of culture has been realized through the forces of capitalism in recent decades in Turkey. It seems highly plausible to claim that commodification has shifted the meaning of headscarf from its political origin to the axis of consumer culture. Therefore, it is significant to interpret the headscarf¹ in the context of the consumer market -

1 Headscarf and veiling are used synonymously.

influenced by globalization. Binark and Kılıçbay (2002) argue that veiling practices are inseparable from consumption, commodification and even pleasure encouraged by the trends of market economy. One of my informants, Ayşe¹, emphasizes this point through her observations:

In past, women veiled themselves in simple colors. Maybe it is because they were more conscious of veiling. Now, women choose headscarves which fit their overcoat. Me too. In different colors. Whereas, there was only single headscarf and overcoat in the past. And women always wore them.

Ayşe, then, narrates the various veiling styles that she frequently meets in public recently. The new patterns of consumption of veiled women uncover various social classes and religious communities. My interviewees underline the differences among veiled women several times,

When buying headscarf, I look for the lengthy ones. I prefer dark colors in headscarf. My choice is mild response to ones who wear in light styles...My friends always buy their headscarves from *Armağan*, *Yılmazlar*, and *Pardesü Dünyası*. Needless to say, these brands are high-quality and very expensive.

As it is noticeable in this narration, social class and status are salient features behind women's choice of headscarves in the market. The existence of variety of classes among veiled women is noteworthy, because the binarist approach of identity politics, which constructs secularism and veiling in opposition, treats each side as monolithic, unified, and frozen at a time. However, as it is interpreted, there are several classes and attachments among veiled women. Therefore, as White (2002) points out, class-based as well class-saturated-gender approaches are needed to be reinserted in the interpretations of veiling.

1 The actual names of the interviewees are not used, the relevant ones are the nicknames.

Nevertheless, it is significant to note that, class and status distinctions do not merely operate with regard to socio-economic terms among veiled women, but the mechanisms of class and status also functions through the differences in terms of cultural capital, that is, the level of knowledge [sometimes education] and the experience. In a focus group interview, I have noticed that some veiled women have remained silent, while some others were eager to talk to me. When I asked the reason for their silence, they stated that those talking members were more 'conscious' [*şuurlu*]. Then, they explained that those *conscious* members have had an opportunity to access to the knowledge because of their education [secular as well religious education]. Some other silent members, later, have approved that the ones whom were talking are *conscious* because they have passed through 'hard times' in their university education, as veiled women were not allowed to enter university campuses with their headscarves in 1990s. In parallel with my experiences among veiled women, White (2002) draws attention the distinction between *conscious veiling* and *everyday veiling*. She claims that *conscious veiling* conveys the knowledgeable form of Islam and to some extent refers to the symbolism in terms of political Islam. However, *everyday veiling* implies cultural and traditional Islamic practice, that is, the sign of folk Islam. White also argues that veiled women occupy multiple positions in terms of their economic and cultural capital. Hence, it is likely to claim that cultural capital, alongside the economic well being, marks the social cleavages among veiled women.

In terms of the relation between veiling practice and consumerism, Binark and Kılıçbay (2002) draw attention to the shifting meanings of veiling in the context of the market economy. They interpret *veiling fashions* through examining representations of the veiling in the market. In their reading of the *fashions of veiling*, they underline the popularization of some colors and models in the market, and they underscore the emphasis put on uniqueness and elegance in the representations of veiling in the media. By their choices of headscarves in the market, the veiled women strive to redefine their position in society and attempt to gain new kind of visibility, while covering their body. Binark and Kılıçbay (2002) argue that *veiling fashions* shed light into the

multiple and intermingling meanings of the veiling. Through various veiling styles, women attempt to show/exhibit their selves and social positions, while concealing their bodies. In this sense, veiling becomes the representation of lifestyle as well as the discursive practice of Islamic faith. Within the framework of *veiling fashions*, headscarf signifies choice, class, status, and cultural image. Therefore, as Binark and Kılıçbay (2002) points out, different meanings intermingle with each other. Fatma, one of my interviewees, gives insights about *veiling fashions* and multiplicity of meanings of the veiling,

Veiling has its own fashion too. When shopping, I pay attention to the brand of the headscarf. Design and style are also significant for me. Recently, the chain model was fashionable. However, the fashionable model and color change frequently. I follow [the veiling fashion] through my veiled friends and [through the catalogues of] famous brands. Now, I wear Vismara, an Italian brand. Sometimes, I also wear Vakko. As you may know, Vakko is Jewish brand. I wear it in anyway. Some veiled women protest McDonalds and CocaCola [and do not buy them], however, they wear Vakko headscarves. As a matter of fact, they cannot save the world like that...When buying headscarf; I look for the brand and harmony of the colors. The accordance between headscarf and overcoat, between headscarf and handbag is significant.

Through the combination of veiling practice and consumer culture, veiling implies diverse and shifting meanings. In Fatma's account, religious, political and commodified meanings of veiling become insuperable with each other, albeit the emphasis put on fashion. Binark and Kılıçbay (2002) argues that the relation between veiling and consumerism is based on two axis: first, differentiating the self from rest of the group, that is, emphasis put on uniqueness, and secondly, sharing cultural as well as political symbols with the other members of the group. In this sense, the *veiling fashions* bring, on the one hand, temporal choices for style, on the other hand, class-based and community-based choices.

Hence, it is also likely to interpret that the symbols of culture have been commodified with the increasing relation between Islamic practice and consumer capitalism. Through the commodification of headscarf, Keenan (1999) argues, veiling diverges from its religious sacra and attains more profane representations. Ayşe narrates this transformation through her observations,

In past, there were a few veiled women, and they lived perfectly [in terms of religion]. Today, there are much more veiled women [in public], however, I am not sure they care *takva* [as the old generation did]. Fifteen years ago, we, the veiled women, have tried to live in accordance with the the age of the Prophet [Asrı Saadet]. Today, it is likely to say that the veiling experience concession.

During the interview, Ayşe reiterates the loss of *takva*, which means the attention paid to the rules of faith in daily life, several times. Although veiling gain more visibility compared to past decades, Ayşe claims, the veiling has passed through the phase of profanization, as she interprets the current representations of the veiling as *taviz* (concession), in her own word. In parallel with this interpretation, Fatma emphasizes this transformation in her narration,

[Today], veiled women are more comfortable individually [with their headscarves]. Maybe, it is because the headscarf has been recognized by society. Yet, there is an idleness [among veiled women towards faith], and this idleness cuts down the practices [of faith]. As the comfort emerges, the faith loses its worth. Perhaps, when the headscarf was on the margin, veiled women attempted to live faith in practice more carefully.

It is plausible to claim that, with the extension of market ideology to the social milieu, Islamic identity has passed through the process of profanization. Yavuz (2005) argues that, in the context of neoliberalism and globalization, Islamic identity has been reproduced and

Ibrahim Kuran, Bogazici University (Istanbul, Turkey)

reconfigured since the beginning of 1980s in Turkey. In a paradoxical manner, he puts, this period has secularized and pluralized discourses within Islamic identity. Thanks to the easy access to the communication devices and increasing schooling among Islamic groups, traditional Islamic discourses have begun to be criticized, and more relative understandings of Islam have become widespread. He also states that, as the publications among Islamic groups increase, Islamic knowledge has been rationalized and commodified in that period. Ayşe implies this transformation in Islamic knowledge through her experience,

Although I did not know too much about Islam fifteen years ago, I believe I have been living Islam more properly. Now, I know too much [compared to past], and I read as much as possible. But I cannot live the faith properly. When I wore the headscarf for the first time, I only had the knowledge of *ahiret*. Recently, I have been reading much more on the worldly affairs. Maybe, I do not recall the hell and heaven enough [in my daily life].

For Yavuz (2005), in the 1990s, the secularization and pluralization of Islamic knowledge have gone hand in hand with multiplication and differentiation of Islamic communities. One the one hand, Islamic communities have fragmented inside and there emerged new communities, on the other hand, these fragmented communities have attempted to extend their capacity of power. Oliver Roy (2004) puts that the Islamic identity has been secularized in that period, however, Islam in its new forms have also imported to the secular arenas in the Muslim countries. Therefore, it is seems plausible to claim that secularization of the Islam have gone in parallel with the Islamization of the secular public sphere. The normalcy of headscarf has settled in this background.

4. The Everydayness of Veiling

In this part, I strive to shed light into the dailiness and normalcy of headscarf through my interviews. Initially, it is necessary to note that veiled women I have interviewed intentionally want to use the term *başörtüsü* instead of *türban*. My interviewees argue the everydayness of the term *başörtüsü* in their accounts, for them, *türban* connotes to the politicized meanings of the veiling,

I prefer to use the term *başörtüsü*. It seems to me that certain political groups use *türban*. As a matter of fact, the term of *türban* is unlikable. However, everybody [can] wear *başörtüsü*, it is more daily.

I refer my cover as *başörtüsü*. Because, in my opinion, [the term] *başörtüsü* is out of [the domain of] politics. The term *türban* seems more radical and more political.

My interviewees attempt to abstain from the political connotations of veiling. They narrate that they do not veil because of their ideological or political inclinations. However, sometimes veiling has turned into political identity in their lives, especially in university years. Fatma states that veiling as a political identity had imposed upon her in university, because of the restriction on the veiling in the campus. She states that, after graduation, she becomes more comfortable with her headscarf in her daily as well as in professional life¹.

In her narration, Ayşe underlines the increasing visibility of veiling in different styles. She claims that the Turkish society has recognized various styles of veiling, and this brings to some extent comfort/freedom to the veiled women in daily life,

Now every [kind of women] veil themselves, there are various veiled women [i.e. various styles]. Women with bluejeans; women with overcoat; or women who cover all parts of their body. These women can move around more comfortably/freely [compared to past]. Maybe,

¹ Currently working in one of the Islamic banks in Istanbul, which allows veiling in office.

Ibrahim Kuran, Bogazici University (Istanbul, Turkey)

this freedom is because of the recognition or because of the familiarity.

Fatma, likewise, approves the relative comfort or freedom that veiled women experience today, as she compares her generation with the old ones. She explains the current *easiness* by referring to the struggles of the veiled women in universities in the past. She also relates the current situation to the emergence of Islamic bourgeois,

The society recognize the headscarf [in public] today, it is because of the struggles [for freedom of headscarf] experienced in the past. To some extent, it is true to say now “we are everywhere.” Somehow, people get used to see the veiled women in different domains [of daily life]. However, that is not to say we [the veiled women] are very comfortable or totally free. Anyway, there is easiness because of the current government. The government leads to the emergence of [Islamic] bourgeois. Although I am not part of this class, I can feel the easiness [that the Islamic bourgeois brings].

By narrating an anecdote from her life, Fatma indicates the easiness and tolerance that different veiling styles obtain in the daily life,

When I began to veil, ten years ago, people were more critical [towards headscarf]. They criticized me because I wore headscarf as well as make-up. Once, a boy, who is younger than me, came and criticized me in the street. Although some continue to condemn me, people recognize me as it is now. In past, people, who were not getting used to headscarf, were very much critical of it. Everybody thought they have a right to say about me. They intervened in my life. Recently, these criticisms have lessened.

The veiled women, whom I have listened, point to the shifting meanings of the headscarf and articulate the easiness with their headscarves compared to the circumstances of past generations. The narrations of veiled women suggest the *everydayness* of the headscarf: the

meanings that the veil gains in daily life as well as the daily experiences of veiled women. It is plausible to conclude that, through the narrations of veiled women, the veil has its own normalcy in the *everyday* basis away from its political axis.

5. “The Regimes of Veiling”

In this part of the article, I will discuss the power relations behind the practice of veiling and non-veiling. Borrowing the terminology of Anna Secor (2002), I endeavor to discuss the operations of the power relations in terms of “veiling regimes”. Initially, it is necessary to argue and elaborate the theoretical foundations of the *regimes of veiling*. It is argued that *veiling regimes* are the formal and informal rules and norms in terms of veiling and non-veiling that characterize the spaces and determine the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. *The regimes of veiling* signify, in Secor’s words (2002, p.12), “the dress codes that spatialize specific norms or requirements regarding veiling [or non-veiling] arise out of wider power relations within society.” Secor (2002) states that in some urban space of Istanbul, veiling is informal social norm, especially in squatter areas, however, in some areas of the city, vice versa; unveiling is norm of the daily life and imposed upon women. Likewise, Yashin (2002) through her field study in Istanbul points to the spatial configurations of Islamism and secular-Kemalism. She argues that certain informal codes regarding veiling are inherent in urban spaces of Istanbul. She interprets the veiling stores in Eyüp and Fatih as the spatial codes of Islamism, on the other hand, she underlines the secular character of Akmerkez in the 1990s. That is not to say, veiling or unveiling regimes prevent the access of unveiled or veiled women in these urban spaces. However, Islamist or secularist characters are codified in these places and the mechanisms of the veiling *regimes* functions in its dailiness, informally. The *veiling regimes* are restrictive, and therefore limited social mobility of veiled or secular women in the daily life. In other words, the veiling regimes demarcate the spatial and social arenas of inclusion and exclusion. I have realized the existence of the *regimes of veiling* during

Ibrahim Kuran, Bogazici University (Istanbul, Turkey)

my research experience. When I proposed Ayşe to meet in modern cafe district of Eskişehir for interview, she declined my offer, because she said these places are “not comfortable” for her to meet. I have noticed that the *regimes of veiling* are invisible, spatial, hegemonic norms, which bring the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion for both veiled and secular women. Fatma's life experience provides insight for the operation of these regimes in daily life,

Before I veiled myself, I was studying in an Anatolian high school. But I did not continue there. If I continued, I would probably feel oppressed. Because of this, I changed my school and I was transferred to the college [private school]. Veiled students were more comfortable in the college. When I got into the university, nobody knew that I was veiled. As my instructor and my classmates realized I was veiled, they turned their back on me.

In a similar fashion, Ayşe underlines the *regimes of veiling* in macro level through her experience, by comparing the cities she has lived,

In Kütahya and Konya, people act very moderately towards veiled women. You feel comfortable in streets [of the city]. Unfortunately, the public in Eskişehir is not very moderate.

During our informal conversation, by referring to the popular debates of *mahalle baskısı* (neighbourhood pressure) in Turkey¹, Fatma express her ideas and feelings about the operations of veiling regimes,

In my opinion, both conservatism are extreme. Kemalism as well as Islamism. That is to say, *mahalle baskısı* functions reciprocally. In different places, *mahalle baskısı* operates alternately. I admit that in religious, community-based environments, secular women feel oppressed. However, such women who

¹ Basically, psychological pressure relationships between veiled and unveiled women

cover all parts of the body also put pressure on me. I do not feel comfortable in such an environment. *Mahalle baskısı* is in everywhere. Modern, *çarşafı*, veiled, secular, all put pressure on each other. I suppose this is related to power [or dominance].

This exposition sheds light into the multiple and alternate mechanisms of the *veiling regimes*. The micropower relations behind veiling and non-veiling govern the daily operations of social inclusion and exclusion. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that not only Islamism or secularism but also gender and class mark out these mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in daily life.

6. Conclusion

Through the incorporation of Islamism and market ideology, the Islamic paradigm has been reproduced in Gramscian sense in the 1980s and 90s in Turkey. The rising hegemony of Islamic identity, in this regard, has established new normalcy for the practice of veiling. In this context, the discursive practice of veiling has attained new meanings. The relation between veiling and consumerism sheds light into the multiple and intermingling meanings of headscarf. Like every other commodity, the headscarf has obtained daily meanings in market environment. That is to say, political, cultural, commodified meanings have become inseparable. Veiled women, whom I have interviewed, narrate the meanings and representations that the veil attains in everyday life. The accounts of the veiled women point to the dailiness of veiling. Also these accounts disclose the intrinsic power relations behind veiling not only in political domains but also in daily life.

References

Ibrahim Kuran, Bogazici University (Istanbul, Turkey)

Bilici, Mücahit. (2004). "The influences of Globalization and Postmodernism on Islamism." In Yasin Aktay, eds. *Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Islamism*. pp. 799-804. Istanbul: İletişim Publishing.

Binark, Mutlu & Barış Kılıçbay. (2002). "Consumer Culture, Islam and the Politics of Lifestyle: Fashion for Veiling in Contemporary Turkey." *European Journal of Communication* 17(4): 495-511.

Göle, Nilüfer. (1991). *Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Istanbul: Metis Publishing.

Göle, Nilüfer. (2008). "Secularism Is a Women's Affair." *New Perspectives Quarterly* 25(2): 35-37.

Keenan, William. (1999). "Of Mammon Clothed Divinely: The Profanization of Sacred Dress." *Body & Society* 5(1): 73-92

Keyman, Fuat. (2007). "Modernity, Secularism and Islam: The Case of Turkey." *Theory Culture Society* 24(2): 215-234.

Keyman, Fuat. (1999). *Turkey and Radical Democracy*. Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları

Mahmood, Saba. (2005). *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Navaro-Yashin, Yael. (2002). "The Market for Identities: Secularism, Islamism, Commodities." In Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, eds. *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. pp. 221-254. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Ozdemir, Şennur. (2004). "Understanding the MUSIAD and Hak-İş Together." In Yasin Aktay, eds. *Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Islamism*. pp. 837-844. Istanbul: İletişim Publishing.

Roy, Oliver. (2004). "The Ordinarity of Islamic Movements." In Yasin Aktay, eds. *Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Islamism*. pp. 927-936. Istanbul: İletişim Publishing.

Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Deborah Johnston. (2005). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press.

Restoring Lost ‘Honor’: Retrieving Face and Identity, Removing Shame, and Controlling the Familial Cultural Environment Through ‘Honor’ Murder

Brooklynn A. Welden, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)

Abstract: *‘Honor’ murder or ‘honor’ killing is not identical to a man murdering a woman in a domestic violence scenario. An ‘honor’ killing involves the death of a female family member who is murdered by one or more male family members, sometimes with the active assistance of other women related to the victim. In ‘honor’ murder, a female family member is deemed by her male relatives to have transgressed the family’s honor. Unsurprisingly, ‘honor’ murders are historically underreported because of the shame the victim brought to her family. Analyses of ‘honor’ murder cases, therefore, are scarce. I examine the 2007 strangulation of Aqsa Parvez, an ‘honor’ murder victim, through the theoretical lenses of face/shame and the social bond (Scheff, 2000), identity/social identity theory (Stets & Burke, 2000), and Black’s (1983) theory of crime as social control (cited in Gauthier & Bankston, 2004). Then, I deconstruct the conflict leading to Aqsa’s murder through the conflict mapping model devised by Wehr (1979).*

1. Introduction

The December 10, 2007, murder of Aqsa Parvez, 16, strangled by her father for refusing to wear the *hijab* (Muslim head scarf) outside the home is an ‘honor’ killing, the first of its kind in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (Warmington & Clarkson, 2009, p. 2). I begin with an overview of ‘honor’ murder, familiarizing the reader with this practice through brief descriptions of ‘honor’ murder cases reported in Canada and the United States (US). Next, I turn to the case itself, analyzed theoretically through the sociological theory

Brooklynn A. Welden, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)*

of face/shame and the social bond (Scheff, 2000), identity/social identity theory (Stets & Burke, 2000), and Black's (1983) theory of crime as social control (cited in Gauthier & Bankston, 2004). Finally, the conflict is deconstructed through the conflict mapping model devised by Wehr (1979).

Paucity of information available from short news reports about specific instances of 'honor' murder, including the December, 2007, case is a clear limitation to my study. Chesler (2009a) emphasizes that few studies of 'honor' murder exist, as the families involved acted to expunge shame and consider the situation a private matter (p. 2). My paper adds to the available literature on 'honor' killings. Examining the Parvez case theoretically reveals a relationship between theory and behavior, possibly useful for later work to generate a theory specific to 'honor' killings. Then mapping the conflict deconstructs it systematically, allowing analysis of each of its components. Combining theory and model ensures a more robust investigation than exclusive reliance on either theory or model alone.

2. 'Honor' Killings: Overview

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) (2006) declares that about 5,000 women each year lose their lives due to transgressing the family 'honor' ("United", p. 40). Jahangir (quoted in "Honor killings") stated that 'honor' murders were increasing across the globe. States reporting 'honor' killings are: "Bangladesh, Britain, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Pakistan, Morocco, Sweden, Turkey and Uganda" (2000). In the United Kingdom (UK), according to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 'honour' murders are no longer an unusual event ("Honour' crimes", 2007). Whether the overall incidence of 'honor' murder is actually rising or whether this type of crime is being reported more frequently, however, is not clarified; further research is necessary. In Canada, 'honor' killings are allegedly an infrequent event (White & Mick, 2007): the Canadian government informed the UNGA that crimes of 'honour' are a rarity ("United", 2002, p. 3).

Chesler warns that a murder of 'honor' and a murder of domestic violence must be analyzed separately, as they

are not interchangeable. In a domestic violence death, usually one man is responsible, killing a woman whom he has physically abused (2009c). By contrast an 'honor' murder is the deliberate murder of a female who is felt to have behaved in a shameful or inappropriate manner. More than a single male relative, as well as female relatives of the victim, may be involved (Mojab & Hassanpour, n.d., p. 3).

Ali specifies that the female members of any Muslim family are those in whose care the 'honor' of the entire family reposes. 'Honor' is, however, reflective of *male* status. The man whom familial women shame through their inappropriate behavior must act to 'restore' his honor, by killing the offending woman (2009). "Inappropriate behavior" in this context relates usually to a woman's actions, whether such activities are actually taking place or are only suspected [by the male family member or members], of occurring. Rectifying a situation of sullied honor quickly is a priority (Smarrt, 2006, p. 5).

Chesler (2009a) provides a list of honor-bound criteria. Violating any of these, apparently, can lead to that female's death: failing to cover hair, face, or body; failing to serve the family meekly in the home; choosing to don Western clothes or to put on makeup; making friends with people outside of the family's religion; dating anyone not approved of by the parents; deciding to engage in higher education; marrying a person not chosen by the family or someone of whom the family disapproves; divorcing a husband for any reason; acting with 'inappropriate' autonomy, such as automobile driving, determining to live elsewhere than the family home, or even taking time away from the home, visiting.

WNN adds that only suspicion of an honor infraction is necessary for male 'honor' to be impacted adversely and for the offending female to suffer death. An example is suspected female adultery (2007). Jaffrey emphasizes that rape, including a rape by a family member, is also considered an 'honor' 'crime' for which the woman may be murdered (S. Jaffrey, personal communication, 6 October, 2009, Toronto, Ontario).

'Honor' killings reportedly arose in nations now considered Islamic, before the advent of this religion ("Honor," n.d.). However, as stated earlier, 'honor' killings occur worldwide. Cases in Canada include an incident in

Brooklynn A. Welden, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)*

British Columbia where in July 2003 Rajinder Atwal was convicted of murdering his 17-year old daughter Amandeep, whom he stabbed for moving in with a secretly-dated boyfriend (White & Mick, 2007). In Malton, Ontario in January, 2009, Amandeep Kaur Dhillon, 22, died of stab wounds. Her father-in-law was charged with the death. Police stated that the death may be an 'honor' killing (Warmington & Clarkson, 2009).

And in Kingston, Ontario, on June 30, 2009, four females, aged 13, 17, 19 and 52 were found in an automobile at the bottom of a lock in the Rideau Canal system. Police believe this may be an 'honor' murder. The father, brother, and mother of the three deceased young women in the car reportedly felt that the girls were becoming dangerously infused with Western ideals through the machinations of the older woman, who was the fourth victim. The three surviving family members face four murder counts each (Gatehouse, 2009).

'Honor' murders reported in the US include one in 1989: Palestina Isa, living in St. Louis, Missouri, was murdered by her father Zein, with the active collaboration of Palestina's mother. While Palestina was pinned down by her mother, her father stabbed her to death for dating an African American, attending a dance at her school, and for getting a job. Eiserer, Farwell, & Goldstein (2008) write that Lewisville, Texas cab driver Yasir Said shot both his daughters, Sarah, 17, and Amina, 18, to death in his cab. Said alleged that the influence Western society was having on his daughters' purity was pernicious. Also in 2008, Sandeela Kanwal was strangled by her father, on July 5. Sandeela's father said that his honor was sullied due to Sandeela's expressed intent to divorce her husband (2008). On October 20, 2009, in Peoria Arizona, Noor Faleh Almaleki, 20, died in the hospital after being deliberately run over by her father with a car. Faleh Hassan Almaleki, 48, insisted that Noor's rejection of customary Iraqi norms and embracing of Western norms, expressed by Noor's choice of clothing and refusal to abide by his edicts, was damaging his 'honor' ("Iraqi", 2009).

3. December 10, 2007: The Death of Aqsa Parvez

Sixteen-year old Aqsa Parvez of Mississauga, Ontario, Canada, died in a hospital, where she was brought by police. Police acted after being telephoned by a man who stated he had murdered his daughter ("Canadian", 2007). Postmortem results indicated that death was due to "neck compression" caused by strangulation. Aqsa's father Muhammed, 57, was arrested and charged with first-degree murder. Aqsa's elder brother, Waqas, 27, was also arrested and also charged with first-degree murder for his role in Aqsa's death. A court-ordered publication ban on the case means that evidence presented in the 2009 trial is unavailable (Gray, 2009).

Bayart (2005) asserts that clothing can be emblematic of power (p. 200). According to Noronha, Aqsa and her father argued about her clothing choices, which subverted what he thought she should wear: Aqsa resisted her father's requirement that she don a *hijab* while outside the house (2007). In addition, Gray stated that Aqsa rebelled against complying meekly with the rigid house-rules (2009). Noronha adds that the dispute escalated to the extent that Aqsa was reportedly telling her friends she was frightened and planned to flee her home. Aqsa's friends noted that Aqsa came to school with bruised arms, which were allegedly caused by Aqsa's father. Friends reported that Aqsa predicted her father would end her life one day (2007).

4. Theoretical Foundations for 'Honor' Murder

4.1 Face, Shame and Male Place in Society

Scheff (2000) emphasizes that both Weber and Durkheim pressed for recognition of values and emotion as *the* essential aspect of social organization (p. 84). Shame, an emotion connected to face, may be described, writes Scheff, as a complex array of emotions, including humiliation, embarrassment, and resulting feelings of failure (p. 96). Gudykunst (2003) writes that shame and pride are dyadic components of the affect regarding face (p. 142), as are dignity and honor (p. 129). According to Gudykunst, a dispute activates the emotions connected to face, because a conflict threatens the person's ability to maintain face (p. 138). Augsburg (1992) confirms the dual-relationship between 'honor'

Brooklynn A. Welden, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)*

and shame, adding that 'honor' ascriptions are embraced to ensure continuance of the status quo (p. 103). As we shall see below, Muhammed Parvez refused to permit Aqsa to assimilate into Canadian culture, rejecting any changes in her which might result in changes for the family.

Scheff visualizes shame as arising from a disturbance in the connection between individual and society (p. 97). Makar (1996) declares that women living in patriarchal societies, such as in the Middle East, are treated as less than full citizens (p. 14). I suggest that men identify strongly with one another in a patriarchal society and are socialized to embrace visions of themselves as superior to women. Where men move freely in society and women are constrained, family 'honor' rests on the ability of the man to control the women in his family (Akpınar, 2003, p. 432). While 'honor' is deemed familial, because the man represents the entire family, any shameful act devolves directly onto him. If the man fails to act restoratively, he will be unable to comport himself socially with dignity and will be recognized by other men as weak.

Key aspects of face and shame are the need to protect one's face from shame; the ability to maintain continuity of face; and adhering to tradition (Gudykunst, p. 22). Shame occurs for the man whose women behave in a manner deemed inappropriate for the female role. The man's ability to bond socially with other men in his society and culture depends on his ability to maintain order within his house.

Kailo (2003) emphasizes the relationship between honor, face and shame, finding that the belief of being shamed and consequent loss of face when male 'honor' is deemed violated by a female's behavior, is clear and compelling. Douglas (2006) states that the shame accrued to the man whose female family member transgresses is holistic, remaining so until she is killed (p. 177). Aqsa's refusal to abide by her father's edicts apparently resulted in the belief that restoring family 'honor' meant controlling Aqsa. Seemingly unable to achieve this through intimidation and perhaps physical abuse, Aqsa's father, Muhammed and brother Waqas, responded in a manner accepted by them as traditionally customary, killing Aqsa to restore their own sense of dignity.

4.2 Identity/Social Identity Theory

Stets and Burke (2000) write that a person is able to identify the self in relation to other human beings and thus categorize the self (p. 224). Hogg and Abrams (cited in Stets & Burke, 2000) specify that a person's social identity is composed of how he or she conceptualizes of the self in

relationship to others who are of the person's social group. The social group is described by Turner et al. (cited in Stets & Burke) as those persons for whom similarities and belongingness to the same group are clear through self-identification (p. 225).

Persons who immigrate tend to expect their native-born children to behave in society as they do at home, where home cultural norms reflect that of the parents' home country, and the groups with which the parent originally identified. Feather and Wasejluk (1973), and Feather and Rudzitis (1974) (cited in Furnham & Bochner, 1986) found that children of immigrants, whose values and cultural expectations are not yet ossified, evince a proclivity to assimilate the culture and values of the host society. Contrastingly, the parents of these children are less apt to change (p. 194). Yuval-Davis (cited in Akpınar, 2003) urges that the adult immigrant's original cultural group-identity is actually strengthened in a defensive maneuver, as the person rejects cultural assimilation (p. 426).

In the Parvez case, correlations may be drawn between adult rejection of cultural assimilation and the embracing of that rejected culture by younger persons in the same family. Muhammed appears to have rejected Aqsa's cultural assimilation as being dangerous to the family's values and 'honor.' Indeed, the Parvez case at least suggests that in Canada some cases of 'honor' murder confirm Chesler findings: in many probable 'honor' murders in the US, fathers kill their daughters, rather than older female relatives, such as the man's wife (2000b). However, exceptions to this generality, Chesler shows, do exist (2009c).

Muhammed Parvez was originally from Pakistan ("Man", 2007); indeed, at Parvez' trial, Gray reports, a translator was required (2009). Asma Jahangir, chairwoman of Pakistan's national human rights commission, Pakistani lawyer and activist who serves as U.N. rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, stated that approximately 300 women yearly are killed for 'honor' violations in Pakistan ("Honor Killings", 2007). I posit that a relationship between individual and social identity and face, shame and honor, existed in the Parvez case. Muhammed seems to have strongly rejected Aqsa's attempted cultural

Brooklynn A. Welden, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)

assimilation as contradicting his own sense of social identity and face, ultimately restoring these by killing Aqsa.

4.3. Crime as Social Control

Black (cited in Gauthier and Bankston, 2004) urges that crime is in fact a means of social control. In this interpretation, murder is a justifiable elimination of the threat created by another person. Person A feels that Person B is behaving improperly, in a manner which A finds threatening. For Person A, restoring order—regaining social control—means killing B (pp. 98-99). According to Gauthier and Bankston, men murder women to re-establish male control (pp. 99-100). While I would caution that this statement may not be applicable to all male murders of females, in the Parvez case Muhammed appears to have believed he could restore his family 'honor' only through controlling his daughter.

Ruggi (1998) observes that the family unit, in Palestine for instance, is traditionally expected to defend itself against all threats, internal and external. Killing a family member for actions perceived as constituting threat to the family is seen as rightful. Thus for a male family member to kill a female who is thought to be damaging to the family's greatest social possession, its 'honor,' is believed restorative (p. 13).

Goldstein (2002) writes that the hallmark of 'honor' killing in the cultures where the practice is normalized is the freedom of the perpetrator from all hint of guilt or responsibility (p. 30). The fault lies with the victim. An apparent universal aspect of an 'honor' killing which may be indicative of placement of fault and blame, according to the perpetrator[s], is that the deceased woman or girl will not be grieved ("Honor", n.d.).

Although the Canadian Islamic Congress' spokesperson Mohamed Elmasry claimed that Aqsa's death was "a teen issue" and not an 'honor' murder ("Canadian", 2007), Warmington writes that more than one year after her death, Aqsa Parvez' grave remains without a headstone or adornment of any kind (2009). The unmarked grave at least suggests that because Aqsa was believed to be bringing shame to her family, she will not be memorialized and should not be remembered. I conclude that, contrary to

Elmasry's simplistic ascription of "teen issue" which suggests that the 'problem' was Aqsa, offered as the reason she was strangled, apparently by her father, the complex combination of face and shame, cultural and social identify and rejection, and need to control, categorizes Aqsa's death as an 'honor' murder.

5. Conflict Map

1. *Summary Description:* Aqsa Parvez, 16, was strangled at home, apparently by her father Muhammed Parvez, 57, on December 10, 2007. Muhammed notified 911; Aqsa was taken by police to hospital where she died only a few hours later. Muhammed and his son Waqas, 27, were charged with first-degree murder.
2. *Conflict History:* the conflict between Aqsa and her father arose over her apparent rebellion against his demand she wear traditional Muslim clothing, including the *hijab*, outside the home. Aqsa's friends stated she was petrified of her father and brother, who would follow her to school to see if she were obeying. Aqsa wanted to leave her home (Noronha, 2007). The conflict involves a first-generation immigrant man from Pakistan and his Canadian-born daughter, and differences in perceived/desired cultural norms.
3. *Conflict Context:* Aqsa, as many teenagers do, resisted her father's demands. Expressing her self-identity and independence from parental control apparently meant changing her clothes and removing her *hijab* (Timson, 2007). Conflict boundaries were home and outside the home. Muhammed expected Aqsa to accede to his accustomed norms and decision-making parameters in each place; Aqsa felt differently.
4. *Conflict Parties.*
 1. *Primary:* Muhammed Parvez, 57 and Aqsa Parvez, 16.
 2. *Secondary:* Waqas, 27. Waqas shifted between a primary and a secondary-party role. Waqas, originally arrested for obstruction of justice (Noronha, 2007); the charge was later upgraded to first-degree murder over half a year after Aqsa's death (Gray, 2009), suggesting a more

Brooklynn A. Welden, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)*

active and therefore, primary, role. A second son, Sean Muhammed, stated that it was unclear to him what had happened, adding that their mother was “sick” over the occurrence. Aqsa apparently had sisters, who appear to have been recruited to observe and report back to the family on Aqsa’s behavior at school (“Man”, 2007). The roles of both Sean and Aqsa’s mother are unclear from available published sources. I stipulate that unnamed individuals who were presented in the news as having made fun of Aqsa at school for wearing her *hijab*, after which time she began to remove it (Noronha, 2007) also played an unwitting secondary-party role in the conflict.

3. *Interested third parties*: Aqsa’s friends, to whom she apparently confided.

If the Parvez’ family adhered to Pakistani authority structures, we would expect the husband Muhammed to retain highest authority and control over the women in the family, with his sons also playing more important roles than any female family member. And indeed, power relations between the parties do seem asymmetrical, with Muhammed holding highest authority followed, I posit, by Waqas. As I stated above, Sean’s role and therefore his position in the family power structure, is unclear. Aqsa’s mother appears nearly invisible, suggesting that her authority in the family was far smaller than her husband or son Waqas. The main goals of the family in the conflict appear that Aqsa comport herself as they believed she ought, while Aqsa’s main goal was the right to choose for herself. That Aqsa’s sisters and parents reportedly followed her, and that Waqas was also arrested for her murder, suggests a coalition of the family in an attempt to regain control over Aqsa’s ‘wayward’ behavior.

1. Issues.

1. *Facts-based*: a disagreement over whether or not Aqsa were wearing her *hijab* outside the home is possible, based on the alleged familial collaborative spying, which suggests that Aqsa claimed she was wearing her *hijab*. Aqsa’s

family apparently felt she was untrustworthy in her claims.

2. *Values-based*: a disagreement over Aqsa's right to wear what she chose outside the house, and over the power relationship between father/daughter and appropriate roles, is clear. The family's dispute emerged from differences in values emerging from traditional Pakistani ways of being and Canadian ways of being. I argue that the values-based aspect of the conflict is the most important, and that each of the others, facts-based, interests-based, and nonrealistic, arises from the values-based foundation.
3. *Interests-based*: a disagreement over whether or not Aqsa could gain the right to choose for herself what she wore and what she did outside the home, or whether Aqsa's family retained the right to control her, existed.
4. *Nonrealistic*: Wehr writes that the "nonrealistic" may include how the parties engage with one another, inter-party communications, and physical setting (1979). From what little is available in published reports, the parties seem to have engaged with one another directly and indirectly. The bruises Aqsa showed her friends indicated that she was subjected to direct confrontation with her father and possibly brother Waqas. Indirectly, the family kept abreast of Aqsa's behavior away from home by following her. Communications appeared to be strong among at least some family members, as sisters apparently reported to the parents about Aqsa's dress at school. My sense of the family's communications is of a group systematically ostracizing one member who differed, although my conclusion is speculative. The physical setting of the conflict centers on two locations: the home and outside the home, primarily at Aqsa's school.

1. Dynamics:

- a. *Precipitating events:* one precipitating event appears to have been the teasing Aqsa received in school for wearing her *hijab*. Consequently, the family allegedly began following her in order to ensure her behavior conformed to the family expectations and standards.
- b. *Issue emergence, transformation, proliferation:* from available information, it appears that Aqsa expressed her desire for autonomy most clearly by removing her *hijab* when away from home. However, Aqsa's overall choice in clothing also clashed with what was deemed proper by her family and Aqsa would leave home wearing one outfit, changing on the way to school ("Man", 2007). The implication is that the issues in the dispute over what Aqsa wore, were proliferating, becoming generalized into a dispute over family and Canadian values.
- c. *Polarization:* from published reports, the family appears to have polarized around duty to family as demanded by Muhammed, and Aqsa's refusal to submit to the expectations of duty. Aqsa's siblings observed their sister at school and reported back to the parents, who allegedly were also following Aqsa to monitor her.
- d. *Spiraling:* the conflict appears to have spiraled upward, as Aqsa consistently refused to accede to her father's wishes. Aqsa reportedly feared for her life and, according to a published report, had indeed already moved out of her home, returning on the day of her death only to pick up a few more of her belongings ("Man", 2007). Where Aqsa was staying was not reported and is an important piece of information, suggesting possible means by which authorities could have stepped into the conflict and prevented Aqsa's death. For instance, if Aqsa were at a safe house, her return home could have been supervised by a law officer, a case file opened, and conflict resolution or management procedures put into place. However, Avruch

(2006) warns that asymmetrical power relationships cannot automatically be restructured by recourse to trainings (p. 51). Great care would need to be taken to ensure the continued safety of the less-powerful conflict-party.

- e. *Stereotyping and mirror-imaging*: I suggest that stereotyping and mirror-imaging were in fact occurring in this conflict. Muhammed and potentially also Aqsa's family, became for Aqsa the embodiment of rigid traditionalism, while for the family, Aqsa came to represent a threat to 'honor.'

2. **Alternative Routes to Solution(s) of the Problem(s):**

'Honor' murder is not a humane solution to disagreements over female behavior. I suggest that education of elementary-school children is one means by which perceptions and behavior may be changed, while cautioning that the home environment of the children will also act on their perceptions of values. Sensitivity and awareness education for school staff, faculty and students could broaden understanding of cultural traditions and prevented the alleged teasing of Aqsa that was reported as precipitating her decision to begin removing her *hijab* regularly.

3. **Conflict Regulation Potential:**

- a. *Internal limiting factors*: Wehr stipulates that parties' similar or identical values and interests can come into play, assisting them to resolve the conflict (1979). I suggest that insufficient published information is available to answer this mapping component confidently. H. Altalhi (personal communication, September, 2009) contends that the hierarchical relationship between men and women is "nonnegotiable" in Muslim culture. Kriesberg (2003) emphasizes that identity conflicts, including those involving culture, are apt to persevere in the face of conflict resolution processes (p. 169). Similar

Brooklynn A. Welden, *Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)*

values as a conflict limiting factor may thus have less potential for conflict resolution when 'honor' is formative in the dispute.

- b. *External limiting factors*: authorities such as schools; possibly Imams condemning the practice of 'honor' murder and urging alternative approaches; and police, are potential sources for external conflict controllers.
- c. *Interested or neutral third parties*: finding a trusted third party neutral acceptable to all parties, in what is considered by the family a private, honor-bound matter, may be an unworkable strategy.

4. Techniques of Conflict Management

Removing the vulnerable individual from the home or providing a safe-house where the person can flee, seems to me a first step. Providing education and training on 'honor' murder to school personnel, who could then act on behalf of the threatened person through providing resources including funds to reach the safe house, is a feasible early intervention approach to managing 'honor' conflict. As I stated earlier, sensitivity and awareness training for school personnel and students seems a feasible option to help manage this type of conflict. It is of course impossible to know whether Aqsa would still be alive had she been supported by her peers for wearing her *hijab*, rather than teased. Chesler emphasizes that families experiencing an 'honor' violation and subsequent correction through murder, prefer to refrain from communicating with researchers (2009a). I suggest that families in this situation would be apt to avoid or refuse to speak with mediators, facilitators, or conciliators. Creation of a safe house would permit a case file to be opened, activating legal and social services, including mediation and conflict resolution processes, before tragedy occurs.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I examined 'honor' murder through the case of Aqsa Parvez. I provided an overview of 'honor' murder, explaining its parameters and the difference between an 'honor' murder and a domestic violence killing. Three theories, face/shame and the social bond (Scheff, 2000), identity/social identity theory (Stets & Burke, 2000), and Black's (1983) theory of crime as social control (cited in Gauthier & Bankston, 2004), were described and correlated to Aqsa Parvez' murder. I then deconstructed the conflict through the conflict mapping model developed by Wehr (1979), concluding that creation of a safe house, along with educating school officials, staff and students raises awareness and might provide relief to potential victims and open the possibility of resolution, or at least management, of the conflict.

Brooklynn A. Welden, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)

References

- Akpinar, A. (2003). The honor/shame complex revisited: violence against women in the migration context. *Women's Studies International Forum* 26(5): 425-442.
- Ali, W. (19 February, 2009). A wake-up call for the community: the murder of a Pakistani-American woman forces us to confront uncomfortable truths about the prevalence of domestic violence. *Guardian.co.uk*. Accessed 3 November, 2009, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2009/feb/18/beheading-domestic-violence-aasiya-hassan>
- Augsburger, D. W. (1992). *Conflict mediation across cultures: pathways & patterns*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Avruch, K. (2006). *Culture & conflict resolution*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Bayart, J. (2005). *The cultural illusion of identity* (S. Rendall, J. Roitman, C. Schoch & J. Derrick, Trans.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Canadian Muslim teen's dad charged in her murder; friends say they clashed over head scarf. Associated Press; Foxnews.com Retrieved 7 November, 2009, from <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,316550,00.html>
- Chesler, P. (2009a). *Are honor killings simply domestic violence?* Middle East Quarterly: 61-69. Retrieved 3 November, 2009, from <http://www.meforum.org/2067/are-honor-killings-simply-domestic-violence>
- Chesler, P. (2009b). *Beheaded in Buffalo: the honor killing of Aasiya Z. Hassan*. Retrieved 2 November, 2009, from <http://pajamasmedia.com/phyllischesler/2009/02/14/be-headed-in-buffalo-the-honor-killing-of-asiva-z-hassan/>
- Chesler, P. (2009c). *Beheadings and honor killings*. Retrieved 2 November, 2009, from <http://www.aina.org/news/2009022094001.htm>
- Douglas, M. (2006). *Purity and danger: an analysis of concept of pollution and taboo*. New York: Routledge.
- Eiserer, T., Farwell, S., & Goldstein, S. (January 9, 2008). Lewisville cab driver had been investigated for previous abuse. The Dallas Morning News [Electronic Version]. Retrieved 5 November, 2009, from <http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/latestnews/stories/011008dnmetteensskilled.7ba7cc6.html>

Restoring Lost 'Honor': Retrieving Face and Identity, Removing Shame, and Controlling the Familial Cultural Environment through 'Honor' Murder

- Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1986). *Culture shock: psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments*. New York: Methuen & Co.
- Gauthier, D. K., & Bankston, W. B. (2004). "Who kills whom" revisited: a sociological study of variation in the sex ratio of spouse killings. *Homicide Studies* 8(2): 96-122.
- Gatehouse, J. (August 13, 2009). 'Canada has been lucky': lessons from Europe on dealing with the 'honour' killings issue. Macleans.ca. Retrieved 25 August, 2009, from <http://www2.macleans.ca/2009/08/13/%E2%80%98canada-has-been-lucky%E2%80%99/>
- Goldstein, M. A. (2002). The biological roots of heat-of-passion crimes and honor killings. *Politics and the Life Sciences* 21(2): 28-37.
- Gray, B. (January 8, 2009). Accused in daughter's murder cries in court. *Toronto Sun* [Electronic Version]. Retrieved 26 October, 2009, from <http://www.torontosun.com/news/torontoandgta/2009/01/08/7953671-sun.html>
- Gudykunst, W. B. (2003). *Cross-cultural and intercultural communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Honor Killings. (n.d.). Retrieved 25 August, 2009, from <http://www.mahalo.com/honor-killings>
- "Honor killings" of women said [to be on the rise]. (April 7, 2000). Reuters. Global Policy Forum. Accessed 5 November, 2009, from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/218/46472.html>
- 'Honour' crimes 'on rise in UK. (June 12, 2007). BBC News [Electronic Version]. Retrieved 5 November, 2009, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6743357.stm
- Iraqi woman, 20, dies; police in Arizona say father ran her over. (November 2, 2009). CNN.com. Retrieved 4 November, 2009, from <http://www.cnn.com/2009/CRIME/11/02/arizona.iraqi.dad/index.html>
- Kailo, K. (2003). *Honor, shame, culture and violence*. From the Hidden gender contract towards ecosocial sustainability and peace. UNESCO Conference on International Education. Retrieved 5 November, 2009, from http://www.kaarinakailo.net/kirjoituksia/Honour_shame.htm
- Kriesberg, L. (2003). *Constructive conflicts: from escalation to resolution* (2nd ed.). New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Brooklynn A. Welden, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida)

- Lalwani, S. B. (2008). The family name: honor killings in Germany. *Kennedy School Review* 8 (Annual 2008): 109-111.
- Makar, R. N. (1996). *New voices for women in the Middle East*. Paper originally presented at the Middle East Librarians Association Annual Meeting, Providence, Rhode Island, November, 1996. Retrieved 6 November, 2009, from <http://www.mela.us/MELANotes/MELANotes6566/makar65.pdf>
- Man charged with killing daughter in head scarf dispute. (December 12, 2007). *USAToday.com*. Retrieved 7 November, 2009, from http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2007-12-12-canada-headscarfmurder_N.htm
- Mojab, S., & Hassanpour, A. (n.d.) In memory of Fadime Sahindal: thoughts on the struggle against "honour killing." Retrieved 2 November, 2009, from <http://www.womensrights.org/doc/FadimeMojab.pdf>
- Murder in the family: honor killings in America. (July 26, 2008) Fox News.com. Retrieved August 25, 2009 <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,391531,00.html>
- Noronha, C. (December 12, 2007). Canadian charged with killing daughter. *Associated Press*. Retrieved 1 November, 2009, from http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2007-12-12-3527845413_x.htm
- Ruggi, S. (1998). Commodifying honor in female sexuality: honor killings in Palestine. *Middle East Report, No. 206, Power and Sexuality in the Middle East*: 12-15.
- Scheff, T. J. (2000). Shame and the social bond: a sociological theory. *Sociological Theory* 18(1): 84-99.
- Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63(3): 224-237.
- Timson, J. (December 13, 2007). Rebellion is normal: this result is not. *Toronto Globe and Mail* [Electronic Version]. Retrieved 26 October, 2009, from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/article803103.ece>
- United Nations General Assembly. (2002). *Working towards the elimination of crimes against women committed in the name of honour*. Fifty-seventh Session, Item 104 of the provisional agenda, Advancement of women. A/57/169. Retrieved 5 November, 2009, from [http://www.unhcr.ch/Huridocda/Huridocda.nsf/0/985168f508ee799fc1256c52002ae5a9/\\$FILE/N0246790.pdf](http://www.unhcr.ch/Huridocda/Huridocda.nsf/0/985168f508ee799fc1256c52002ae5a9/$FILE/N0246790.pdf)

Restoring Lost 'Honor': Retrieving Face and Identity, Removing Shame, and Controlling the Familial Cultural Environment through 'Honor' Murder

- United Nations General Assembly. (2002). *Working towards the elimination of crimes against women committed in the name of honour*. A/57/169. Retrieved 5 November, 2009, from [http://www.unhcr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/985168f508ee799fc1256c52002ae5a9/\\$FILE/N0246790.pdf](http://www.unhcr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/985168f508ee799fc1256c52002ae5a9/$FILE/N0246790.pdf)
- United Nations General Assembly (2006). *In-depth study on all forms of violence against women*. A/61/122/Add.1. Retrieved 5 November, 2009, from <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/419/74/PDF/N0641974.pdf?OpenElement>
- Warmington, J. (2009). Family refuses memorial for Aqsa. *Toronto Sun*. Retrieved 26 October, 2009, from http://www.torontosun.com/news/columnists/joe_warmington/2009/02/12/8361081-sun.html
- White, P., & Mick, H. (December 12, 2007). Teen death highlights cultural tensions. *Toronto Globe and Mail*. Retrieved 26 October, 2009 from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/article138753.ece>
- WNN. (May 17, 2007). Honor killings—a worldwide crime. *Women News Network*. Retrieved 5 November, 2009, from <http://womennewsnetwork.net/2007/05/17/honor-killings-a-worldwide-crime/>

Latinos in U.S. Film Industry

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

Abstract: *This text is a reflection of the realization of the dreams of those more than eight million Americans of Hispanic origin, which include all the legal Mexican immigrant population, and displayed less real situation of many men and women of Hispanic origin in illegal or integration process in the U.S. Thus, we will focus on Chicano cinema, social cinema and Hollywood cinema, and finally deal with the presence of Hispanic culture in some mythical movies in cinema history. We study how specific social and cultural problems posed by Mexican immigration in the United States is addressed in the film written, directed and produced by Hispanics and other filmmakers of the Hollywood industry. Moreover we revise how Hispanics get involved in the industry: especially to three groups: first, the actors because they often play the role of Hispanic, or to see what role is given both social and starring (if it is considered a hero or a villain, and see what social level holds), second, the directors and third, the producers.*

1. Introduction

There seems to be an evolution in the participation and the degree of importance (or social role) of Hispanic-American population, a phenomenon that is found in relative social mobility and a gradual integration, which is to be equated to other waves of immigration that have occurred previously in the U.S. (Swedish, German, Irish, Italian, etc). The main question of this research is how is the social image of Latinos in U.S. cinema all along the decades. This text is a reflection of the realization of the dreams of those more than eight million Americans of Hispanic origin, which include all the legal Mexican immigrant population, and displayed less real situation of many men and women of Hispanic origin in illegal or integration process in the U.S.

This display would include translating their current dreams resulting in images of their own, specific symbols are inserted in the different scenarios of everyday life: urban space visible, rhythms and styles of life that fill the streets of cities and the different languages that circulate through the space. Recent languages that can not be controlled as easily as a newsstand magazine of the Angels, or the official language of instruction: an expression of this is the proliferation of Hispanic newspapers and magazines, including a paragraph written in Castilian in major newspapers and the political debate on the possibility of including the Castilian as the official language, which ultimately failed. Each of these previous initiatives, are extremely important, but it is behind all of them reach all of those symbolic forms that are present in the mass media and especially in the cinema.

Manuel H. Ayala Palomino and M^a del Roble of Monterrey TEC have researched Hispanic image on movies and think that: "The negative representation of Latinos in American cinema has taken since the beginning of it, and rather than being an invention of film itself, was the projection of the image that Americans perceived a minority of Mexicans, who at the time were their immediate neighbors." (Ayala and Mendiola, 2004). In their investigation, they even say that this negative image persists in the films of the 80s and 90s: "Representations of Latinos in American cinema have evolved over time (...), but apparently and according to the evidence found in the present study, the processing is stopped and during the decades of the eighties and nineties were followed by perpetuating the same negative stereotypes and a usual inaccurate cultural" (Ayala y Mendiola, 2004).

We used the content analysis as a research technique to analyze given explicit messages to the representation that the American cinema makes the characters of Latin origin. The sample of pictures that have been analyzed is 95 from the decade of 30 to nowadays, and the artists of the film industry commented have been over 125.

What interested us to do is a structural analysis of film in the concrete reality of the U.S. pluricultural society, in which demographically not only there is the Hispanic population, and therefore, Chicano is sufficiently

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

representative. We can not overlook that in the sixties movement claim begins a social and civil rights on the part of the Chicanos who saw the importance to be heard in the media and has its own expression in motion picture. It's called the Chicano Movement. Chicanos In this film's self-image show what they feel and want to claim (Noriega, 1993). Similarly, many festivals are held in the U.S. where rewarding work of Latino professionals. For example, in Los Angeles held a Festival of Chicano cinema. The festival tries to promote Chicano producers and directors.

On the other hand we also include social cinema, where directors are socially sensitive such as Tony Richardson, Ken Loach's social current called British Free Cinema, and an American director John Sayles, who tries to portray with accuracy what might happen in a city of multicultural coexistence, Texas.

Thirdly in Hollywood motion pictures we have the image of Latinos, or the role assigned to Hispanic Hollywood, which note that is evolving in the status and treatment given to Hispanics, although we suspect that one of the main reasons is for attract Latinos audiences.

Thus, we will focus on Chicano cinema, social cinema and Hollywood cinema, and finally deal with the presence of Hispanic culture in some mythical movies in cinema history.

The focus of the matter of this article is original, as we didn't find other writings about this issue raised in this way. Furthermore, the scientific interest lies in the systematic collection of data to help end what image Latinos have had throughout American film production.

Today it is already recognized about irreconcilable differences between two languages and two cultures. Actually Obama's presidency has brought some hope in U.S. society. So, we try to see if all this is really reflected in Hispanic cinema modes. Also we are worried about how specific social and cultural problems posed by Mexican immigration in the United States is addressed in the movie written, directed and produced by Latinos and other filmmakers of the Hollywood industry. Moreover we study how Hispanics get involved in the industry: especially to three groups: the actors because they often play the role of Hispanic, or to see what role is given both social and starring (if it is considered a hero or a villain, and see what social

level holds), the directors and producers. Not study the dubbing, or other trades inside of the cinema enterprise.

2. Description of "Chicano Cinema", "Social Cinema" and "Hollywood Cinema."

2.1 Chicano Cinema

The first pictures to be produced as Chicano cinema were: *I am Joaquin* (1969, Luis Valdez) based on the epic poem of the same name written by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonsales, and *Raíces de sangre* (Trevino, 1977) a Chicano Mexican production and realization. In the early '70s, UCLA training served the majority of Chicano filmmakers. In 1976 was held in San Antonio (Texas) the first Congress on the pan-Latino media. In 1975 there was also founded "El Chicano Film Festival" (Noriega, 1993). Other festivals later emerged as "the National Latino Film and Video Festival" (1981) in New York and "the Chicago Latino Festival" in Chicago (1985). The first generation of directors was formed by Luis Valdez, Moctezuma Esparza, Jose Luis Ruiz, Jesus Salvador Trevino. The following was composed by Gregory Nava, Isaac Arstein, Paul Espinosa, Lourdes Portillo, and so on.

Among the iconic pictures of the 80s is *Seguín* (1981). *Zoot Suit* (1981, Valdez) in Castilian also titled "Latin Fever" is about the difficult adaptation of Hank Reyna in North America. It's a family guy who wants to keep his Mexican inheritance, and second, he tries to adapt to American society with difficulties because there is a rejection. *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1983, Young) is an outlaw on the frontier of the nineteenth century. *El Norte* (1984, Gregory Navas) deals with two Guatemalan brothers who travel from their village to the U.S. *Stand and Deliver* (1988, de Les Blair) is about the math teacher Jaime Escalante.

La Bamba (Valdez, 1987) was a commercial success and propelled facilitated independent film production (Noriega, 1993). It develops the biography of the singer and guitarist, Ricardo Valenzuela. *Born in East L.A.*, a comedy, (1987, Cheech Marin) was Golden Globe nominee for best picture in 1988. He caricatured the adventures of a Chicano who accidentally discovers that the other side without a U.S.

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

passport that allows you to legally return to their country. Finally we will mention some films as *Un lugar llamado Milagro* (1988), *La ofrenda: the Days of the Dead* (L. Portillo, 1988), *Break of dawn* (Artenstein, 1988).

We highlight of the pictures in the 90 the one titled *Mi familia* (being writer / director Gregory Navas, 1995) that deserves special attention because it tells the tale of a Mexican's life and the family that founded and established with his wife in California. Through this family history we can see all the efforts by passing an immigrant and the struggle to integrate his family in another country. They have a total of six children that give us the adaptive variety of American society. Two sons work in a restaurant, one son is gang member and finally dies, another son use to warring against the law, another daughter is dedicated to solidarity with political refugees, and another son is a lawyer that aims to improve their social position. Another movie from Gregory Nava is *Selena* (1997). Jennifer Lopez represents Tejano singer Selena. In 1998 Nava received for this film: Alma award, Golden Globe, Lasting Image Award, Lone Star Film & Television award.

2.2 Social Cinema

We newsflash the film *La frontera* (1982, Richardson) directed by an English. Also we highlight *Lone Star* (1996, Sayles). The U.S. director likes to tell true stories and letting them build their characters tell themselves their story. There is a broad set of actors Chicanos in this motion picture: Josse Borrego, Elizabeth Pena. According J.G. Lorenzo is "a story of borders or boundaries, temporal and sentimental, set in Texas bordering Mexico border history (...) where migration and coexistence of different races originate a mixed community and identity problems occurred. The knowledge of their past will be linked to a plot police following a sheriff's investigations into the assassination of his predecessor" (Fijo, 2004). Sayles paints strokes over three generations and refers to the various races: American, Mexican, African, African American Afro-Indian, and their complicated coexistence in Texas. *Men with Guns* (Sayles,

1998) is a film director himself entirely in Spanish on the armed rebellion in Central America.

In this writing has a special place *Pan y rosas* (Loach, 2000) that won the Winner Prize of Phoenix, the Santa Barbara International Film Festival. The British director Ken Loach's approach inherits the social concern of the British Free Cinema -represented for example by Tony Richardson in *La frontera* (1982). Richardson is best known for *Tom Jones* (1963).

2.3. The Hollywood Cinema Until its "Colorization and Pluralization".

The year 2001 signifies a milestone to the fact that the Academy rewarded with an Oscar to an African American actress (mulatto) Halle Berry for her performance in *Monster's Ball*, and actor Denzel Washington for *Training Day* (2001, Fuqua). But looking back, there is a "colorization and pluralization" of American cinema, this has been a slow and difficult path that we pass to describe.

In the decade of the 30 the 60 take-off on the participation of Hispanic actors in the 40 starts in the beginning to emphasize, but timidly. After the 50s and claim social events most notably the leadership of Martin Luther King, there is a law of integration by which actors have to appear from other races, not just whites. Is reflected in the motion picture *¿Adivina quien viene esta noche a cenar?* (Kramer, 1967) The couple of Katherine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy have to accept the courtship of his white daughter, Joanna Dayton with an African American doctor John Prentice (Sidney Poitier). Katherine Hepburn won an Oscar, and Spencer Tracy was nominated in 1968.

Among other actors we stand out: Ramon Novarro in silent movies first appears as first Ben Hur, Pedro Armendáriz (father of Jr.) appears in *El fugitivo* (1947 Ford), *Fort Apache* (Ford, 1948), *Desde Rusia con amor* (1963, Young), Martin Sheen father, Gilbert Roland, Indio Fernandez, Indio Bedoya, Jose Mojica, and Mel Ferrer (who married Audrey Hepburn). Anthony Queen deserves special attention in *Zorba the Greek*. Among the actresses, we can emphasize: Elena Marquez, Silvia Pinal, Dolores del Rio, Rita

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

Hayworth (1946 Vidor) in *Gilda*, in *Sólo ante el peligro* (Zinneman, 1952) Mexican actress Katy Jurado acts as Elena Ramirez.

The visions of the Mexicans that live in the border by American Southerners appear in *Centauros del desierto* (1956 Ford). In the border with Mexico Ethan-a cowboy searching for his kidnapped niece, Debbie- often is lead to the Indian chief, Scar that robbed and killed her family. As they see that can be started a feud and revenge later, they prefer to leave and not take part to be at peace with the Indians. We can also consider this view of the Mexicans in *Gigante* (Stevens, 1956), *Horizontes de grandeza* (Wyler, 1958).

There is participation of Latinos actors in westerns like *Grupo Salvaje* (1969, Peckinpah) as Jaime Sanchez in the role of Angel and Emilio Fernandez in the general Raccoon. At *Easy Ryder* (Hopper, 1969) Antonio Mendoza acts in the role of Jesus. In *La Diligencia* (Ford, 1939) the bartender is a Mexican American married to an Indian, who later betrays them because they assault their diligence.

The historical evidence of the formation of the State of Texas is in *El Alamo*. This is a classic version in which participates as an actor, director and producer John Wayne in 1960. It highlights the injustice imposed by General Santa Ana (Mexican) in the state of Texas, his bid for independence by General Huston (U.S.) that fails to recruit enough volunteers to come to the rescue of the mission of the Alamo, which resists making time for the recruits. General Santa Anna fights with 7,000 Mexicans just after a bloody resistance against 185 outnumbered Americans (the legendary Jim Bowie and Mexican had married, had two children and liked to land and its people). They die in this siege legendary heroes like Colonel Davy Crockett of Tennessee (John Wayne), Jim Bowie (Richard Widmark) and Colonel Travis (Lawrence Harvey). The film won the Oscar for best soundtrack. The story that follows this episode has subsequently faced Houston to Santa Ana in 1836, and won by getting the independence of the State of Texas. In 1845 his intervention was decisive for the state of Texas entered the Union and Houston was later a senator (Payan, 2004).

In the 70s there is participation of actors in legendary pictures, but without leading roles and social roles involving

as being a sign of social assimilation. Fernando Rey is Alain Charnier in *French Connection* (Friedkin, 1971), Perry Lopez is Lou Escobar in *Chinatown* (Polanski, 1974). In *The Godfather* (Coppola, 1972) Richard S. Hispanic plays Peter Clemenza. *West Side Story* (1961, Robbins) reflects the status of Puerto Ricans in a New York suburb. The Hispanic actors are, for example, the dancers Rita Moreno as Anita, and Jose Vega as Chinese, the respective partners of the main characters. In *Alambrista* (1974, Young) Edward James Olmos appears drunk. Tom Berenger plays a prominent role in *La sombra del testigo* and *Cristales rotos*. Butch is the legendary outlaw in the first blows of Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid (Lester, 1979).

In the 80s there is greater participation and leadership demonstrated by the professionalism of some players enshrined. Edward James Olmos plays Gaff, the role of police chief, in *Blade Runner* (1982, R. Scott). Emilio Estevez stars in and directs *Wisdom, el delincuente* (1986). His brother Charlie Sheen appears. He interprets twice Billy the Kid in *Joven arma* (Cain, 1988) and *Intrepidos forajidos* (Murphy, 1991). In *Platoon* (Stone, 1986) Tom Berenger and Charlie Sheen appear. In *Wall Street* (1987, Stone) film stars Charlie Sheen acts as Bud Fox, a son of a mechanic who becomes an ambitious stockbroker. In *Apocalypse Now* Martin Sheen is the doughty Captain Willard. He is required to carry out a secret mission. They have to penetrate and kill a former Green Beret, Walter Kurtz because he has created his own army. They will kill him and discover the Vietnam War. He also appears as an English journalist who supported Gandhi in the film with the same title as the leader (1982 Attenboroug).

Other investments are in *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981, Spielberg) where Alfred Molina is an assistant to Indiana Jones. His name is Satipo. In *ET, the extra-terrestrial* (Spielberg, 1982) Peter Coyote acts as Keys, the researcher with good will with the alien. In 1989 *Old Gringo Viejo* (Luis Puenzo) is Jimmy Smits.

In the 1990s to 2004 mainly in the State of California, Texas and states bordering Mexico, Hispanic social reality are represented in all social classes and professions generals, politicians, businessmen, liberal professions, middle class and humble professions . We will see that the

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

image is trying to follow the reality of assimilation and yet also shows the cultural resistance.

The actors with important roles in 90 are: Jennifer Lopez, Andy Garcia, Benicio del Toro and Salma Hayek. In *Breaking Up* (1997) Salma Hayek appears as protagonist. It is a conflict between an Hispanic woman and middle-class white American man. They marry when she was pregnant, separated and then he returns to California, because he valued her as a person, regardless of culture, social status, etc. He appreciated the value that she passed him like the family support. Jennifer Lopez plays with Russell Crowe. Other films in the works are: *Indomable* (1994, Rodriguez), *Desperado* (Rodriguez, 1995), *Abierto hasta el amanecer* (Rodriguez, 1996) represents in this horror film a vampire.

Other famous actors include Antonio Banderas and Sheen saga: Martin Sheen father and his sons Charlie Sheen and Emilio Estevez. Antonio Banderas appears in *Desperado* and *El mejicano* (2003) for Robert Rodriguez's trilogy that leads next to the mariachi. Martin appears in *Gunfighter* (1998, C. Coppola), *Sin código de conducta* (1998, Michaels) Martin father is protagonist with his son, Charles Sheen. Martin appears once more with Charlie in *Una carta desde el corredor de la muerte* (1998, Michaels and Baker). We stress as supporting roles: Ricardo Montalban, Billy Crystal, Lorenzo Lamas, Alfred Molina, Jimmy Smith, Esay Morales, Guillermo del Toro, Elpidia Carrillo, Maria de Medeiros, Sonia Braga and Penelope Cruz.

It is convenient to describe a review of some films to unravel further the image of Hispanic reflecting. We cite two more films, but less significant: *White River Kid* (1999, Glimcher) where Antonio Banderas represents Morales, a Hispanic, accompanied on their sales to a fraudster posing as a monk. This is a brilliant little comedy. It is about a criminal prosecution in which are involved the monk and himself. With irony Morales seeks a rule book for how to be American, he knows to survive with a knife that is hidden in the sock, he seduces women, and eventually he lives in Las Vegas with big money. It has lots of chutzpah and low morale. *Al otro lado de la frontera* (2000, Spotti) a Guatemalan immigrant fleeing their country and emigrated to the U.S., but corrupt police will meet at the border. The

film won the Silver Award Winner Worlfest Houston film-suspense/thriller theatrical feature.

Another case draws our attention *Maid in Manhattan* (Wang, 2002) produced by a "Major", Columbia, for the role it gives to the Latina. It is a waitress, but she has her dignity and finally it seem to be politically correct to marry a politician, with all that entails respect for her and promotion of social and cultural acceptance for Latinos. This film is presented as an imitation of the Cinderella myth. The protagonist Marisa, is separated or divorced and pulls forward a son as a waitress in a Manhattan luxury hotel. A politician is hosted and mistakenly thinks she is also housed there, and he falls in love because of her sincerity of feelings. She has little sense of her status as a person and however a strong sense of his dignity. She defends it against the social establishment. She may have a more humble and less socially level, but she does not consider her below anyone, and she sees no problem in mixing socially with him. They end up getting married, while respecting the social condition of each and without complexes.

It was announced by the same producer another film that appear in 2005 entitled "Spanglish" starring Paz Vega, Tea Leoni and Adam Schandl directed by James L. Brooks. This is the story of Flower, a Hispanic, which migrates to offer better life for her daughter. She is a house assistant at an American family, but his arrival caused the group fragmentation. Spanglish theme appears as a mixed linguistic situation that shows the difficulty to fully adopt the English by Hispanics immigrants. Justo Barranco journalist of "La Vanguardia" in a commentary believes that with the intention of this film is to capture the attention of Latinos in the U.S. (Barranco, 2004).

Las mujeres de verdad tienen curvas (2002) is a film whose director is Patricia Cardoso, a Colombian based in U.S.A. The film tells the partly autobiographical story of Josefina Lopez, a daughter of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. The movie takes place in Los Angeles. Ana is 18, she just finished high school and she does not know whether to continue studying. Her tutor says yes, but her parents do not want, especially his mother, because she began working at thirteen, and thinks that now it is her daughter that must work by tradition. During the summer, Anne helps his sister

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

who works at the sweatshop that her older sister runs. They concoct and fancy dresses designed only for \$ 18 and they may never dress them because the brand that sells to markets charges \$ 600 and because they don't fit into the dresses. Ana will try to change this.

They are also interesting the historical genre movies because they give social and historical portrait. There are many films made on the subject of the Alamo and its heroes, for example *Texas* (Lang, 1995), *True Women* (Arthur, 1997), *El álamo* (Hancock, 2004) and *The Mask of Zorro* (1998) by the Australian director Campbell. It is played by Antonio Banderas (Alejandro Murrieta) besides Anthony Hopkins, (Mr. Diego de la Vega) as the hero. This is an adventure motion picture produced by Amblin. He sees the struggle of the Mexican people of California battered by Rafael Montero, the Spanish governor, then by the Mexican woman and then an attempt to become an independent state (the California) that would be ruled again by the governor and despotically lords. Together they manage to defeat this tyrant and finally the ones who fight for good triumph.

Then the dissertation pays attention to movies where Hispanic actors are starring and get awards. *Raza de campeones* (Young, 1991) E. J. Olmos plays Virgil Sweet, a talent scout of beisball team called "Angels". He has no educational qualifications, is a former professional player. He doesn't want to marry his girlfriend, Bobbie who is a psychologist, because he has no money to offer, or status. However she did not care. *Días de fortuna* (1996, Davis), Andy Garcia unfolded two orphaned brothers who were wetbacks, and when they grow dispute the farm of his American adoptive mother. In *La noche cae sobre Manhattan* (1997, Lumet) Andy Garcia is a cop, son of police, who studied law with brilliance, and serves as counsel for 30 years for their efforts deserved, until he reaches the opportunity to advance as District Attorney. His mother is Catholic and Hispanic. He preserves traditional values of caring for her father, and her mother would have liked him to be a priest, and so on. Another case in *Gangs of New York* (Scorsese, 2002) Cameron Diaz is nominated for a Golden Globe for Best Performance by an Actress in a Supporting Role in a Motion Picture. And the career of Elpidia Carrillo, an actress multifaceted and perhaps the one that has

intervened in more movies, *Predator I* and *II* (McTiernan, 1987, Hopkins 1990), *Solaris* (2002, Soderbergh). They both appear in *Cosas que diría con solo mirarla* (2002, Garcia). Cameron Diaz characterizes a clever blind girl and Elpidia plays an unhappy woman that commits suicide.

An analysis of Latinos actors in supporting roles and stereotypes they represent shows that usually they already have in 90 the character of hero and defenders of their homeland.

As a police character: *Pulp Fiction* (Tarantino, 1994) with Paul Calderon and Maria de Medeiros (Fabienne). When the two thieves attacked and entered the restaurant with guns to frighten the kitchen, they directly say, "Let's go for the Mexicans." *Traffic* (Soderbergh, 2000) Benicio del Toro and Luis Guzmán represent both two honest cops, Javier Rodriguez, Tijuana and other built in the U.S., DEA police. The fight against drugs proceeds through the cooperation that began with the U.S. police Benicio, gives information on the two Tijuana drug *cartel* to benefit the children who live in these urban areas so they can play and they don't fall into other vices. Curiously, Benicio gave these ideas during filming to screenwriter Stephen Gaghan. Meanwhile Luis Guzmán was killed by a bomb that has been installed by a bully, but his companion will work more to catch the Hispanic drug dealer. Benicio del Toro won an Oscar in 2001 as Best Actor in a Supporting Role, the Silver Berlin Bear for Best Actor (2001), the Bafta film award (2001), The CFCA Association Chicago Film Critics, Circle film critics in Florida, the Golden Globe and Golden Satellite Award. Andy Garcia in *Black Rain* (Scott, 1989) represents the nice policeman Charlie Vincent mate of a hard Michael Douglas. He appears also in *The Godfather III* (1990, Coppola). In 1991 he was given the Golden Globe for Best Performance by an Actor in Supporting Role in a Motion Picture.

As a spy: Antonio Banderas appears as supporting actor in *Spi kids* in two occasions (Rodriguez, 2001 and 2002). He has a comic role; Cortez is the father of two young spies. In this picture it is highlight the value of family, courage, justice, service to country and obedience to the President. As rivals they have two other white spies. The girl is honest and the child is diverted to the lust for power as

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

his father. Ricardo Montalban is the grandfather of the child, his mother's father, also a spy.

As bodyguards: Tom Berenger appears as Miles Utley in *Los Angeles de la Venganza* (1995, Baxley). He is a professional bodyguard of the Mormon community who is forced to become a turncoat because of his faith and is forced to investigate a scandal involving murder and land speculation (13).

As a marginal soldier: the film *La última Fortaleza* (2001, Lurie) tells about a military prison that killed a Hispanic soldier, son of a bricklayer, who refuses to stoop and that restores the dignity due to the behaviour that inspires former Colonel Winter (Robert Redford). Latinos as soldiers are represented in *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) and *Black Hawk Down* (2001, Scott).

As a teacher of music: in *Philadelphia* (Denman, 1993) Banderas characterizes Miguel Hernandez. He teaches music. We see an opening to a liberal profession.

Among Latinos directors and producers in the industry hollywoodiense, we quote as directors Luis Valdez, Gregory Nava *A tres bandas* (1998), Roberto Rodriguez *The Faculty* (1998) with Salma Hayek; Martin Sheen in *Cadence* (1991); Emilio Estevez y Salma Hayek in *El milagro de Maldonado* (2003), a motion picture that tells the story of a Latino who flees the immigration department and was wounded in the shoulder. As director and producer: E. J. Olmos *Sin referencia* (1992), Antonio Banderas *Crazy in Alabama* (1999), Rodrigo Garcia (son of writer Gabriel García Márquez) *Cosas que diría con solo mirarla* (2000). As producers: Andy García *Como caído del cielo* (1999, Wenk); *Servicio de compañía* (2001, Hickenlooper), Antonio Banderas *White River Kid* (1999, Glimcher), actress and producer Salma Hayek in *Frida* (2003, Taymor). She was nominated for Oscar for best actress as lead role in this year.

3. Conclusion

Chicano Cinema and social cinema have fulfilled and meet cultural-as surplus edifying available to modern audiences- the role of defending some Hispanic cultural identity of its own that do not want to lose to other cultural

groups, but wanting to integrate into American society, living together with other cultures and being American, but still being proud of having Mexican origins and values that their culture brings to them. Chicano cinema defends the dignity that of that cultura precisely because it can be measured from the outside by any receiver.

Furthermore, we now see in the latest productions a germ of incipient films where an image of Hispanic greater social integration and "social self" without losing their original cultural identity, or even more, as an identity with its own personality but politically correct at the American society.

It will be our wish and our hope, rather than a final conclusion, what can make or eventually become Hispanic cinema, in the example of Chicano cinema: beyond the complaint, criticism for a true transnational public sphere, an area of real cultural dialogue that brings the rich values that has a pluricultural American society. A cultural discussion where production is mediator in Hollywood and patrons increasingly Hispanic-American productions with works freely express freedom and all the creativity of filmmakers. While this process will be slow, there is a group of filmmakers who try to produce their films and they are distributed worldwide.

We believe that the process of cultural integration of these subcultures will be enriched, will trade and mixed as the cultural production of Latinos feel very integrated and this production take place in the society which in itself it is so very homogeneous and pluricultural.

Beatriz Peña Acuña, Ph.D., San Antonio University, Spain

References

AAVV (2003), *El cine*, Paris, Larrouse.

Ayala Palomino, M. H. Y Mendiola M^a Del R. (2004), “La imagen de los latinos en el cine de Hollywood: un análisis de contenido”, *Seminario Internacional “Medios y globalización en América del Norte”*, en el TEC of Monterrey, Nuevo León, México.”, unpublished.

Barranco, J., (13.VIII.2004) “Spanglish”, *La Vanguardia* (spanish daily journal).

Birri, F. (2007), *Soñar con los ojos abiertos/ Fernando Birri* Madrid, Taurus.

Caballero, R. (2005), *Cine latinoamericano: un pez que huye. Análisis estético de la producción entre 1991 y 2003*, La Habana, Fundación Autor, Universidad de Alcalá, Fundación nuevo cine latinoamericano.

Calvo Buezas, T. (1990), “Puertorriqueños y otros hispanos: integración y desigualdad en una ciudad neoyorquina” en *Muchas Américas: cultura, sociedad y política en América Latina*, Madrid, Editorial Complutense/ICI-V Centenario.

Daniels, R. (2003), *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigrants and Immigration Policy since 1882*, New York, Hil and Wang.

Fijo, A. (ed.) (2004), *Breve encuentro, estudios sobre 20 directores de cine contemporáneo*, Madrid, Cie Dossat 2000.

Noriega, Ch. A. (1993), *Cine chicano*, San Sebastian, Filmoteca Vasca.

Payan, M. J. (2004), *Los Mitos del oeste en el cine*, Madrid, Cacitel.

On-line References

Spanish Data base about film industry from

www.culturalianet.com

www.census.gov/pubinfo/www/multimedia/LULAC.html

Latinos in U.S. Film Industry

www.pewhispanic.org

English Data base about film industry from <http://www.imdb.com/>;
<http://www.habanafilmfestival.com/buscador/index.php3?festi=2002>

Media Resources Center, UC Berkeley from
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/imageslatinos.html>

Cineaste: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/CineasteMenu.html> (include papers about Allison Anders, Gregory Nava, Tomas Gutierrez Alea and Juan Carlos Tabio)

Cinergia: <http://iilt.ilstu.edu/smexpos/cinergia/cinergia-Links.htm>

Latin American Cinematec of Los Angeles from
<http://www.lacla.org/resources.html>

About Independent cinema from <http://www.cineindependiente.com.ar>

New Cinema Journal from
http://www.habanafilmfestival.com/noticias/index_noticias_amplia.php3?ord=534&festi=2004

Internacional Festival of new latinoamerican cinema from
<http://www.habanafilmfestival.com/index2.php3>

Chicanos/latinos in the movies from
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/LatinoBib.html>

Ciberia (Hispanic cinema in internet) from
<http://members.tripod.com/JuanNavarro/>

Data base about Latinos and latinoamericans Studies from
<http://www.holycross.edu/departments/library/website/latindatabases.html>

Greed and Glory: The American Way!

Eshanda A James, M.S., Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

1. Introduction

History shows that the trials of Americans' misuse of money portray their tendency to savor short-term greed and power over long-term prosperity. Despite a long and rocky history with financial crisis, Americans continue to look for quick fix solutions instead of preparing for long-term financial success. In 2007 prior to the credit crunch, the Bank for International Settlements (an organization that fosters cooperation between central banks) warned that years of loose monetary policies could lead to another 1930s slump; as the regulations of free-market, greed, power, inequality, and quick fix solutions ends in a bust (Levinson, 2009). "The Fall of the House of the Lehman Brothers" (Fraser, 2008, p. 3), one of the oldest banks in the United States on Wall Street in the 1980's, provides a perfect example of how the regulation of free-market, greed, power, inequality, and quick fix solutions contaminates partnerships and corporate businesses. While there were several banks on Wall Street affected by this monetary crisis, this article will focus on the Lehman Brothers leverage buyouts, bad decision-making, and the differing opinions and power struggle between its co-Chief Executive Officers (co-CEO), Pete Peterson and Lew Glucksman.

The transition between economics and social politics in the House of the Lehman Brothers can be analyzed through various psychological perspectives. As per Foster and Magdoff (2008), economics are not political; however, the two are "so closely intertwined with the system of economic power," as to make the distinctions between economics and politics are virtually imperceptible. Hence, it would be interesting to apply a conceptual and analytical framework to focus on Peterson and Glucksman's different perspectives on economics and social politics. In addition to the

abovementioned framework, other psychological approaches, such as: behavioral, cognitive, and expressive can be used to understand various perspectives of this multitudinal conflict. Assessing this conflict from a behavioral perspective draws focus on Peterson and Glucksman's leadership, as their personal and professional behavior significantly impact bankers and traders work environment and ethics. Alternatively, the cognitive perspective provides additional insight on how Peterson, Glucksman, bankers and traders thought processes influenced one another's behavior. Lastly, the expressive perspective would focus on the stance of Peterson, Glucksman, bankers, and traders before and after the unilateral change in power with regard to the feeling of group polarization and relative deprivation. These psychological layers can further develop our understanding of the fall of the Lehman Brothers by filling in some of the gaps in the structural details that lead to the outcome of glory, greed, and ruin on Wall Street.

To conclude, a basic analytical instrument and conflict escalation model will be used to provide a framework and quality analysis for the years leading to the fall of the Lehman Brothers.

2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This article examines conflicting issues, leading up to Lehman Brothers last leverage buyout in 1984 to Shearson/AmericanExpress, through the SPITCEROW instrument. It mean(s): origin of the *sources*, *parties* involved in the conflict, main *issues* in dispute, *tactics* parties employed, *changes* as the conflict developed, enlargement, *roles* of the other parties, *outcome* of the conflict, and *winner*. Furthermore, this conflict will be analyzed through Pruitt and Kim's (2004) Structural Change Model: Conflict Escalation. The application of this model will provide an in-depth analysis to further review the complexity of the conflict(s).

2.1 Main Components

Sources

In 1984, various issues at Lehman Brothers were directly related to the internal problems between the co-CEOs, Peterson and Glucksman. The friction between Peterson and Glucksman directly resulted from a difference of opinions regarding goals, ideologies, interests, priorities, work processes, and values. Their distaste for one another started prior to Glucksman's promotion to co-CEO. Glucksman resented Peterson, as he disapproved of Peterson's decision-making and leadership abilities. Under the Chairman and CEO, Pete Peterson's leadership, Lehman Brothers merged with Kuhn Loeb in 1977, resulting in the fourth largest investment bank in the country (Auletta, 1986). Although the final decision to merge Lehman Brothers with Kuhn Loeb was Peterson's ultimate decision as the CEO, he was faced with tension and resentment from people within his own House. In "The Fall of the House of the Lehman Brothers", Auletta (1986) alleges that Robert Rubin, then head of Lehman's banking division, actively attempted to sabotage the merger. These actions taken by Rubin were possibly at the behest of Glucksman, who was serving as a manager in Lehman's trade division at the time (Auletta, 1986). Rubin and Glucksman felt that the decision to merge was not a good one, as they felt that Lehman was paying too much in return for too little (Auletta, 1986). Regardless of the reason for Rubin's behavior, after the negotiations for the merge concluded, Peterson replaced Rubin with Harvey Krueger, Kuhn Loeb's former chief of banking (Auletta, 1986). Glucksman despised Peterson for making such a decision.

As Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb developed over the years, Peterson sought after a changing force to assist him with leading the company. Although Glucksman and Peterson shared differences, Peterson promoted Glucksman to co-CEO of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb in 1983. Glucksman had been with the company for years and was extremely knowledgeable of multiple business areas; hence

Peterson felt that he was the best candidate for the position. Shortly following the promotion to co-CEO, Glucksman began to assert control of the business by making decisions without taking Peterson's interest into consideration (Auletta, 1986).

Another important source that contributed to the conflict was the company's structure. Bobbie Lehman, one of the last family members actively involved in the partnership, was known for encouraging competition and provoking fights between bankers and traders (Auletta, 1986). Consequently, the internal environment was extremely competitive and dysfunctional; bankers and traders were constantly at each other's throats. There was no sense of shared enterprise within the firm; every man was for himself. This is one of the main reasons why bankers and traders had disputes about who received the largest bonuses. In reality, this was an issue from the top down. Peterson and Glucksman had numerous conversations about the allocation and distribution of bonuses. Glucksman, coming from the trading division, wanted to make sure the traders were treated fairly. The traders were the major bread winners of the firm, generating over two-thirds of the incoming revenues. Yet, the bankers were granted larger bonuses; as Peterson showed favor towards them.

Parties

The primary parties involved in the conflict were Peterson and Glucksman. Peterson was a brilliant banker; he immersed himself in public issues and was all about building relationships with the clients. When he joined Lehman in 1973, he made a good impression, and therefore was quickly promoted. He was the lead catalyst when it came to greater savings and productivity; his efforts were directed to cutting back on federal deficits and managing high debts (Auletta, 1986). Peterson was well respected on Wall Street and was well known for his ability to lead in the financial world. Peterson, as the chairman and CEO made great strides to improve the company's financial status. In 1973, he brought Lehman Brothers back from the brink of collapse.

Eshanda A James, M.S., Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Unlike Peterson, Glucksman was an intense trader; his life revolved around Lehman. He joined the company 10 years before Peterson, in 1963 (Auletta, 1986). He was somewhat antisocial; his closest friends were his business partners. Glucksman was not as social with his clients as Peterson and was not an entertainer by any means. Rather, he was the epitome of a no-nonsense, practical business man. Whereas Peterson's main interests were money and social status, Glucksman had a great interest and obsession with power.

There were secondary parties, mostly board members, which had a significant impact on this upper-level conflict. These included Rubin, Harvey Kruger, Richard Fuld, Sheldon Gordon, and Francois de Saint Phalle. Rubin joined Lehman in 1958; he and Glucksman were friends and both became partners at Lehman in 1967 (Auletta, 1986). Rubin and Glucksman had a lot in common. Both men were raised in middle-class Jewish families and both attended public schools in Massachusetts (Auletta, 1986). These commonalities created a strong bond between the two. In 1972, Rubin was promoted to the board of directors and given authority to run the banking division (Auletta, 1976). When Peterson made the decision to merge Lehman with Kuhn Loeb in 1977, Rubin was disappointed; he did not believe the decision was a good one. Taking a stance against Peterson's decision, Rubin tried to sabotage the merge. After the merge, Peterson immediately replaced him.

Another secondary party, Harvey Kruger joined Lehman in 1977 after the Kuhn Loeb merger as Rubin's replacement. Prior to Lehman, Kruger served as the president at Kuhn Loeb -- his specialty was banking. Although Kruger was hired by Peterson, he unexpectedly developed a much closer relationship with Glucksman.

Richard Fuld was one of the firm's key traders. He was known as the "Gorilla" as he was very vocal about not liking the bankers in charge of the fixed income division (Auletta, 1986). Some declare that Fuld's behavior was similar to Glucksman. Needless to say, Fuld was definitely one of Glucksman's business friends. When Glucksman combined the equity division and fixed income division, he

placed Fuld in charge (Auletta, 1986). Due to Fuld's lack of managerial experience, several partners were uncomfortable with Glucksman's decision; as they did not understand why the decision was made. Indeed, it was because Fuld was one of the best, if not the best, trader at Lehman (Auletta, 1986).

Sheldon Gordon was yet another secondary party who was in a key position in the trading division. Under Glucksman's leadership, he was extended over to the banking department as a manager. This move was a part of Glucksman's plan to break the barriers between the bankers and traders (Auletta, 1986). Although Gordon was very sociable and professional, similar to Peterson's style, the bankers were displeased with the decision.

Lastly, Francois de Saint Phalle was the head of the syndicate department. He was known as the financial whiz (Auletta, 1986). Both, Peterson and Glucksman felt that de Saint Phalle was extremely knowledgeable of all parts of the business.

Issues

The final year leading up to Lehman Brothers last leverage buyout in 1984 to Shearson/ AmericanExpress was deplorable. Co-CEOs, Peterson and Glucksman were constantly in a battle and they rarely agreed on anything. This battle was mainly due to their difference of opinions regarding business goals, core values, interests, priorities, and work processes. As a banker, Peterson believed in the traditional banking business style. He thought that the core of building a strong business was centered on relationship building, providing personal advice to corporations and underwriting (Auletta, 1986). This consistency-focused management philosophy was considered to be too staid and complacent by Glucksman. As a trader, Glucksman was no stranger to changing times. He felt that people were no longer interested in long-term investments; they were interested in short-term wealth. Glucksman favored the idea of de-clienting the business. He believed that successful investment banking was dependent on the clients' decision to utilize firms based on the products they offered to assist in completing specific functions and/or transactions (Auletta, 1986). This process Glucksman alluded to is called

Eshanda A James, M.S., Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Global Marketing. Even today, investment banks are pressured to create multiple products to create high performing transitional networks to lure clients to listen to their advice (Ho, 2005).

The issues between the bankers and the traders were also significant to the conflict. Strong stereotypes existed on both sides. The bankers thought that traders were uneducated, short-term thinkers. On the other hand, traders thought that bankers were preppie slackers, taking advantage of Lehman's investments by rewarding themselves with large bonuses. As previously mentioned, the traders brought in two-thirds of the profits; hence they felt they should have been better compensated. This unbalanced approach to distributing bonuses resulted in the traders experiencing relative deprivation; they felt that they were being deprived of what was rightfully theirs. Bankers brought in less money, yet were awarded larger bonuses; they thought their work was more valuable than the traders. The power struggle between the co-CEOs over core conceptual conflicts fostered an environment of ambiguity. This environment, coupled with the bankers' behavior, encouraged conflict with the traders because they were ambiguous about the relative powers (Pruitt and Kim, 2004).

In this conflict, Peterson and Glucksman both had hidden agendas that were quickly exposed. Peterson was considering the idea of selling the firm; as he was getting older and more interested in venturing out in the world (Auletta, 1986). Conversely, Glucksman wanted to boot Peterson and take control over the firm (Auletta, 1986). Despite these fundamentally different perspectives, Peterson and Glucksman's agendas were in line with Bobbie Lehman's cultural dysfunctional theory: one man for self. As such, they were allowed to continue their conflict unabated.

Tactics

These core conflicts began to take a toll on the day-to-day operation of the Lehman Brothers. During a major equities luncheon, Peterson and Glucksman were trying to take the limelight from one another. Peterson gave a speech

at the beginning of the luncheon. Typical of his character, Peterson elaborated boastfully about the people he knew and all of his club memberships and positions (Auletta, 1986). Peterson knowingly talked about these things to humiliate Glucksman, who lacked the privilege of those same experiences. Glucksman was irritated by Peterson's long, drawn out, and apparently meaningless speech, so, he soon tuned Peterson out. After Peterson noticed Glucksman's lack of attention, he made several attempts to include Glucksman in the conversation. Glucksman took those opportunities to embarrass Peterson, by talking about the changes in investment banking and their recent decision to recruit new hires (Auletta, 1986). He completely disregarded Peterson's topics. Through means of storytelling, these men employed tit-for-tat as a tactic by taking the show from one another.

Glucksman employed the *coercive commitment* tactic by giving Peterson an ultimatum to leave the company. Peterson was forced to make the decision to leave on his own. If Peterson refused to make a decision to leave, Glucksman would have continued to disrespect him by undermining his authority. Ultimately, Glucksman had the power; he took over the firm and offered Peterson a severance package upon his departure. Peterson being a well-known businessman handled this conflict carefully. He did not want the issue blown out of portion. He was more interested in saving face than saving his career at Lehman. Unfortunately, shaming could not be avoided at all cost; as Glucksman made the announcement about Peterson's leaving before allowing Peterson to make a solid decision (Auletta, 1986).

Changes

The dissonance in the House of the Lehman Brothers changed rapidly over a short period of time. The strife over economics and social politics had an effect on the co-CEOs, bankers, and traders -- Peterson and Glucksman, resented one another. Prior to Glucksman's promotion, they had a half decent relation and now that they were working directly with one another, it was apparent that their management styles clashed. Glucksman came into power, wanting to

Eshanda A James, M.S., Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

instantaneously redistribute the firm's wealth, by review of performance, seniority and teamwork, to properly compensate traders (Auletta, 1986). Over this short period of time, their communication patterns changed; they hardly spoke to each other. Furthermore, as the conflict unfolded, the bankers became more defensive and the traders became more assertive (Auletta, 1986). These changes significantly impacted "The Fall of the House."

Enlargement

The conflict enlarged in numerous ways throughout the Fall of the Lehman Brothers. One main reason was due to Peterson and Glucksman's management and personality styles differences. Instead of trying to build a good working relationship with Peterson, Glucksman decided to work alone and make unilateral decisions. Making these decisions without Peterson's input developed a greater dissonance between the men. The tainted relationship between Peterson and Glucksman alone with Glucksman's decision to force Peterson out of Lehman caused additional hostility amongst the board members. The board members began to turn against Glucksman. Peter Solomon confronted the issue of Glucksman being in total control over "their money" (Auletta, 1986). In the board meeting, Solomon shouted at his peers for allowing Glucksman to take over and make such a decision (to force Peterson out). He was the head culprit that turned the board against Glucksman; as he felt their jobs were also at stake.

Roles

There were three distinguish parties in this conflict: George Ball, Sheldon Gordon, and other board members. During this conflict, Ball served as a mediator between Peterson and Glucksman. He provided Peterson with directions on how to approach Glucksman about the ultimatum. Additionally, he assured Peterson that Glucksman highly respected him; hence it would be a good idea to have a talk with Glucksman to uncover his real

feelings (Auletta, 1986). In short, Ball warned Peterson of the enormous implementations and how important it was to not allow the issue to escalate, he advised Peterson to thread lightly. Ball had back and forth conversations with Peterson and Glucksman; he agreed to continue to mediate the situation until the issue was resolved.

Gordon, as a concerned board member, met with Glucksman prior to their Monday Board Luncheon on January 9, 1984. He wanted Glucksman to allow the board to make the decision pertaining to the sale of the business to ConAgra. As a board leader, Gordon was speaking on behalf of most of the board members. Due to Lehman's fiscal uncertainties the board was convinced that the only option was to sale the business. The board members acted as the CEO, they were taking the power from Glucksman. In the board meeting, Glucksman gave in to the board. He agreed to sale Lehman.

Outcome

Once the ousting of Peterson was complete and Lew Glucksman took control of the company, Lehman Brothers began an accelerated decline towards financial bankruptcy. In just a few short months, the CEO successfully alienated most of his fellow board members through controversial decisions and poor management. According to Auletta (1986) one definite decision that disturbed Lehman's foundation was Glucksman deceitful plan to sell the firm to ConAgra without the support of Peterson or the board members. ConAgra was prepared to pay Lehman \$300 million in cash, \$100 million through the sale of ConAgra's new common stock, and \$200 million in ConAgra's convertible preferred stock. Although Lehman needed a financial rescue, Glucksman was ultimately forced, by Peterson, to decline. In retrospect, Lehman's failure to accept ConAgra's offer for \$600 million would had been misfortune: one that eventually could had forced them to lose leverage in future buyout negotiations (Auletta, 1986). Lehman was fortunate that Shearson/ AmericanExpress made an offer, in 1984, to buy the troubled company, saving it from complete financial collapse. After 134 years in existence, Lehman Brothers was

Eshanda A James, M.S., Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

officially gone, absorbed into one of the largest “supermarket” corporations on Wall Street.

The conflict that resulted in “The Fall of the Lehman Brothers” was unique, but with lessons that have wider applicability to Wall Street as a whole. Over 25 years later, the destructive trends of short-term greed and power still exist. In recent news, the America International Group (AIG), one of the oldest insurance companies in the world, became the latest company to fall victim to the influence of greed. After being rescued by an \$85 billion dollar bailout from the government, instead of resolving financial debts, AIG executives misused the money by continuing their lavish spending (Whoriskey, 2008). Among other unnecessary expenditures, top executives used the bailout money to treat themselves to a lavish vacation in California (Whoriskey, 2008).

Winner

There were multiple winners in this conflict. Once the Lehman Brothers was sold in 1984 to Shearson/AmericanExpress, adequate monetary means were provided to ensure continued financial comfort for all of Lehman’s partners, including Peterson and Glucksman. Peterson received 6 million, in addition to the 7 million profits he gained during the summer of 1983. Glucksman netted 15.6 million and landed a job as a consultant at Shearson/AmericanExpress. Together, the board members and partners received a total of 116.1 million. Though Peterson himself admits he was interested in possibly selling the company when he turned sixty, he certainly did not envision the outcome transpiring the way that it did. He “lost” in the conflict with Glucksman because he was successfully forced out, but was vindicated later by Glucksman’s failure. On the other hand, Glucksman’s dream to obtain power over Lehman was realized; although it was only for a short time. The board members were interested in selling Lehman and making a profit; nevertheless they succeeded.

2.2 Analysis

This article outlined the conflicts within the House of the Lehman Brothers through the use of the SPITCEROW instrument. The following section will provide an explanatory analysis of the conflicts through Pruitt and Kim's (2004) Structural Change Model: Conflict Escalation. This model explains the difference in change as the conflicts enlarges.

Structural Change Model: Conflict Escalation

The Structural Change Model: Conflict Escalation portrays how individuals and/or groups are affected by the upward spiral hostilities. This supposition can be depicted by the *four* recurrent escalation cycles: segment A, segment B, segment C, and segment D (Pruitt and Kim, 2004). In the first cycle, heavy tactics used by Party produce structural changes in Other (segment A). As a result, change encourages a harsh reaction from Other (segment B). Consequently producing structural changes in Party (segment C), which encourages further heavy tactics from Party (segment D): this cycle continues to progress in a circular order.

The model serves as a great tool to examine Peterson and Glucksman's aggression, hostility, and power act against one another. For example, during the equities luncheon, Peterson humiliated Glucksman by boasting about his association with well established and wealthy individuals: knowing that Glucksman lacked the privilege of those same experiences. As a result of Peterson's arrogance, Glucksman embarrassed Peterson by discussing one of his most reviled topics: new investment banking changes. Eventually, Glucksman started to disrespect Peterson by tuning him out. The conflict heightened as Peterson irritated Glucksman by attempting to include him in undesirable conversations. The aforementioned example depicts the initial phase of how the conflict at Lehman Brothers escalated. Another great example that depicts the continual change in the conflict is when Glucksman started making unilateral decision and plans to oust Peterson. Also, consider Peterson's plan to sell the company without

consulting Glucksman. This conflict continued to escalate over time until the Lehman Brothers 1980's leverage buyout.

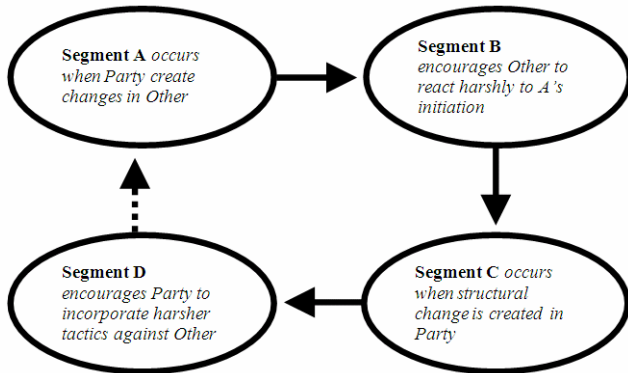


Figure 1.1
Pruitt and Kim's (2004) Structural Change Model: Conflict Escalation.

3. Conclusion

The purpose of this case study was to enhance mediators understanding of how conflicts develop. The Fall of the Lehman Brothers provides a logical depiction of how individuals and businesses allow the obsession of short-term greed and power to control their decisions. Today, even after historical experiences, instead of preparing for future endeavors, Americans continues to lust after quick fixers. The challenges Americans face does not concern personal goals, interest, priorities, and values, but needs. As per Peterson (1988), there is a general theory between "enterprise" and "speculations" that drives people to think that the creation of new wealth provides power to "get rich by buying and selling wealth." This theory is in line with Lehman's multitude of decisions to merger and sale.

The SPITCEROW instrument was used to provide a subtle quality analysis to emphasize the basic elements of the conflict. While Pruitt and Kim's (2004), Structural Change Model: Conflict Escalation was used in the attempt to show how the conflict consistently escalated between Peterson and Glucksman; the board members and Glucksman; and bankers and traders. Although the instrument and model assisted in providing a lucid understanding of the conflict at Lehman Brothers, it would be interesting to explore this conflict using a different model, such as, Mitchell's conflict attitude model to further explore each party's psychological perspectives in depth. This model suggests that human conflict is internal and is the root cause of emotions (Mitchell, 1981). The abovementioned instrument and model, SPITCEROW and the Structural Change Model: Conflict Escalation, does not support this alternative perspective.

The conflict at Lehman can be viewed on multiple levels. There were several issues that overlapped one another. Having a better understanding of this study provides intermediaries with an insight on how deep conflict can live in individuals and businesses. Furthermore, this study should enlighten and inspire individuals in the field of conflict analysis and resolutions to explore multiple options to gather the "truth" before providing professional guidance.

In future studies, researchers should consider reviewing this conflict from several perspectives. Although significant research was completed, individuals in the academia arena may want to consider reviewing other material related to this conflict: similar to Auletta's "Greed and Glory on Wall Street." This book provided a great deal of information; however, the perspective was limited. It is suspected that results will differ if other sources directly pertaining to this conflict were reviewed.

**Eshanda A James, M.S., Nova Southeastern University (Fort
Lauderdale, Florida)**

References

- Auletta, K. (1986). *Greed and Glory on Wall Street*. New York, NY: Random House, Inc.
- Foster, J.B. and Magdoff, F. (2008). Financial Implosion and Stagnation: Back to the Real Economy. *Monthly Review*, 60(7), 1-29.
- Fraser, S. (2008). *Wall Street: America's Dream Palace*. Yale University Press.
- Ho, K. (2005). Situating Global Capitalisms: A View from Wall Street Investment Banks. *Cultural Anthropology*, 20(1), 68-96.
- Levinson, M. (2009). The Economic Collapse. *Dissent*, 56(1), 61-66.
- Mitchell, C.R. (1981). *The Structure of International Conflict*. St. Martin's Press. New York
- Pruitt, D. and Kim, S. (2004). *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement* (3rd Edition). New York: McGraw Hill
- Whoriskey, P. (2008). After Bailout, AIG Executives Head to Resort. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/livecoverage/2008>.

Gandhi, Civilization, Non-Violence and Obama

Tamer Söyler, Humboldt University

***Abstract:** How should we understand Gandhi's commitment to non-violence? After discussing and refuting the idea that Gandhi's conception of non-violence can be treated merely as a method to stand up to aggression, its embedment in a concept of true civilization is examined. It is argued that the important nuances between the definitions of civilization in the Gujarati and the English versions of Gandhi's seminal work *Hind Swaraj* (1909) reveal Gandhi's conception of civilization.*

1. Introduction

The year 2009 has marked the 140th birthday of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). World leaders have honored Gandhi in their public speeches and messages throughout the year. For example, U.S. President Barack Hussein Obama has showed his respect for Gandhi's contribution to a philosophy of non-violent struggle as a key to facing hostile forces threatening the modern world. This would have sounded all good if only we had not noted the irony of Obama's strong belief in the concept of 'just war' which Gandhi perhaps could have not stood up to more. In his Nobel 'Peace' Prize acceptance speech¹, Obama has declared to the world that although he has not seen anything weak, passive and naive in the creed and live of Gandhi, because of the fact that a non-violent movement could not have halted Hitler's armies, sometimes war has proved to be necessary. In other words, while seemingly acknowledging the legacy of Gandhi, Obama has claimed to go beyond Gandhi's philosophy and practice of non-violence by stating that as the President of the U.S., he faces the world as it is, therefore, in his view, the use of force is necessary and morally justified. For one obvious reason, this statement is almost an oxymoron which we can hope Obama has carefully crafted possibly to reveal and share his paradox of using war as a mean to reach the peace end: Gandhi's philosophy requires full commitment to the principle that

violence should be avoided no matter whatⁱⁱ. What prevents Obama and his talented speechwriters finding a remedy for this dissonanceⁱⁱⁱ is the simple fact that there cannot be a reasonable way to pass Gandhi's name along while, for example, sending more troops to Afghanistan. One good solution is to isolate Gandhi's concept of non-violence from that of 'true civilization', a common trick that politicians tend to use to get around the problem of using contradictory concepts. For make no mistake: 'True civilization' and non-violence are inextricably intertwined components of the Gandhian Thought. Therefore, without a true understanding of Gandhi's definition of civilization, it is not possible to refer to his conception of non-violence free of contradictions. In the following, by elaborating on the important nuances between the definitions of civilization in the Gujarati and the English versions of Gandhi's seminal work *Hind Swaraj* (1909)^{iv}, I will speculate on what Gandhi might have meant by civilization and explain its relevance to non-violence. Through this, I aim to show that if Obama has a problem, that is not one of expression but it derives from the structures of modern civilization which Gandhi criticizes the most.

2. Defining Civilization

Gandhi's idea and practice of non-violent struggle is a fundamental notion of his worldview and it is not possible to treat his conception of non-violence by reducing it to a merely passive-aggressive method to resist despotism. First of all, as Gandhi states repeatedly, there is nothing 'passive' about *Ahimsa*^v. It is in fact one of the strongest ways to actively resist aggression. The adjective 'passive' in that sense is a misnomer (CWMG 22: 221)^{vi}. Secondly, according to Gandhi, non-violence is more than a method; it determines the essential and existential values of a civilization. Therefore, to make sense of Gandhi's commitment to non-violence, we need to understand what Gandhi means by 'true civilization'. Because of the fact that Gandhi had always kept himself to his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*, the most appropriate place to start discussing his

conception of civilization is, I argue, this modest but influential booklet.

Although *Hind Swaraj* has always been referred to as the embodiment of Gandhi's critique of modernity, it will not be wrong to state that what Gandhi means by 'civilization' in *Hind Swaraj* has never been adequately examined. There are several reasons for this odd situation and one reasonable explanation is that since Gandhi introduces varying meanings of civilization on different occasions, it is difficult to give an exhaustive definition of the concept. Therefore, given the hardship of the task, I will limit myself to the examination of the nuances between Gandhi's definitions of the term 'true civilization' in the English and the Gujarati editions of *Hind Swaraj*. What underlies this focus is my assumption that interpreting those differences can lead us to an accurate grasp of Gandhi's conception of civilization. One of the main distinctions between the Gujarati and English editions of *Hind Swaraj* is that while in the former Gandhi uses the Gujarati words 'sudharo' and 'kudharo' in a dialectical manner, the word 'kudharo', thus, the dialectical context is missing in the latter^{vii}. Accordingly, in the following, I will elaborate on what big of a difference one missing word can make in our efforts to understand Gandhi's understanding of civilization.

3. Two Definitions of Civilization

Gandhi states quite clearly that when he uses the Gujarati word 'sudharo', which generally has been used to refer to the word 'civilization', he actually regards a broader meaning which should read as: 'a good way of life' (CWMG 12: 44). In this particular case, Gandhi does not elaborate further on what he means either by 'civilization', 'a good way of life' or 'sudharo'. Nonetheless, elsewhere, in *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi takes the opportunity to elaborate on his understanding of civilization:

"civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man [human beings] the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind

and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves” (CWMG 10: 279).

Reading the earlier definition with the latter guides us in our intention to conceptualize in what context Gandhi uses the terms ‘civilization’, ‘a good way of life’ and ‘sudharo’. Gandhi’s introduction of the concept ‘duty’ bears a special importance not only because ‘duty’ has a special meaning for Gandhi; it also has a unique place in the Indian tradition bearing a variety of meanings. This calls for the need to contextualize the meaning of duty within the framework of ‘purusharthas’ (Parel 2006).

‘Purushartha’ can refer to any of the four aims of life: ‘dharma’, ‘artha’, ‘kama’ and ‘moksha’ (ibid.: 5). Amongst these four, ‘dharma’ has a special place as it embodies three core meanings: religion, ethics and duty. According to Anthony Parel, “dharma in the sense of duty was the foundation of classical Indian social philosophy. The stability of the social order depended on the sense of duty with which members of society carried out their activities” (ibid.: 87). In the light of this information, it is possible to read Gandhi’s definition of civilization as follows: A *civilization* is a *true civilization* only if it offers a *good way of life*; a *good way of life* is possible only if the *social order* is maintained within the society; *social order* can only be possible if people dedicate themselves to *dharma*. Therefore, according to Gandhi, a *true civilization* could be possible only if people live *religious, ethical and dutiful lives*^{viii}.

It is by no means difficult to identify passages supporting this interpretation in Gandhi’s collective works; indeed, to the point that what I am discussing here may look like new wine in old bottles. Hence, I will go one step further and ask this question: what if the original Gujarati text was translated differently? Would it be then possible for us to read Gandhi’s definition of civilization rather differently? I will try to answer this question in the next section.

4. Reform as a Process of Change

One of the contemporary representatives of the Gujarati literature, Sitanshu Yashaschandra (2003), argues that it is possible to translate some parts of the original

Gujarati text differently into English. Yashaschandra puts the emphasis on the Gujarati words 'sudharo' and 'kudharo' and he identifies at least two interesting points with Gandhi's own translation:

Firstly, since Gandhi translates the word 'sudharo' as 'a good way of life', 'kudharo' should mean 'a bad way of life' (CWMG 10: 279). As already mentioned, Gandhi uses the two words as opposing concepts in the Gujarati version of *Hind Swaraj*. Nevertheless, when Gandhi translates the text into English, he leaves 'kudharo' out and uses 'sudharo' alone. By doing so, Gandhi actually brings a completely different meaning to the text. Secondly, when 'sudharo' and 'kudharo' are considered to be operating in a dialectical manner, they could be translated as 'a change for the better' and 'a change for the worse' as well (Yashaschandra 2003: 605). When we highlight the relevant part in *Hind Swaraj* where Gandhi refers to his particular conception of civilization, and read it with Yashaschandra's translation, the difference in meaning will be apparent to the reader. Gandhi's own translation reads:

"It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but the condition is due to modern civilization. It is a civilization only in name. Under it the nations of Europe are becoming degraded and ruined day by day" (CWMG 10: 258).

See the difference with Yashaschandra's translation:

"It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but it is due to **the fault of their -or rather Europe's- reforms [sudharo]. Those changes for the better are [in reality] changes for the worse [kudharo].** Under it the people of Europe are being ruined" (Yashaschandra 2003: 605).

While I think that the difference can lead the reader to some very interesting conclusions, it is also possible to treat this nuance as negligible. For example, keeping the principle of remaining loyal to Gandhi's own translation, Parel argues that putting too much emphasis on the concepts 'sudharo' and 'kudharo' may actually mislead the reader^x because of the point that 'sudharo' and 'kudharo' are not the only

relevant concepts in the definition of civilization. This view encourages the reader to work mainly with the concept 'purushartha' and interpret the concepts 'sudharo' and 'kudharo' accordingly. Consequently, the main message of the passage will read as the inconsistency of colonialism with the teachings of Christianity (Parel 2007: 115). Parel draws on the below passage from *Hind Swaraj* to support this argument:

“You, English, who have come to India are not good specimens of the English nation, nor can we, almost half-Anglicized Indians, be considered good specimens of the real Indian nation. If the English nation were to know all you have done, it would oppose many of your actions. The mass of the Indians have had few dealings with you. **If you will abandon your so-called civilization and search into your own scriptures, you will find that our demands are just.** Only on condition of our demands being fully satisfied may you remain in India; and if you remain under those conditions, we shall learn several things from you and you will learn many from us. So doing we shall benefit each other and the world. But that will happen only when the root of our relationship is sunk in a religious soil” (CWMG 10: 308).

Although I agree with Parel on this point, in my assessment, this particular interpretation does not contradict or challenge the meaning I derive from Yashaschandra's translation. In fact, shedding some light on the concepts of 'sudharo' and 'kudharo', on the contrary, does clarify and strengthen Gandhi's core message. When we read the three texts together, the underlying message becomes apparent:

Gandhi's own translation reads: “It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but the condition is due to **modern civilization**. It is a civilization only in name. Under it the nations of Europe are becoming degraded and ruined day by day” (CWMG 10: 258).

Yashaschandra's translation reads: "It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but it is due to the **fault of their -or rather Europe's- reforms [sudharo]**. Those changes for the better are [in reality] changes for the worse [kudharo]. Under it the people of Europe are being ruined" (Yashaschandra 2003: 605).

The relevant part from *Hind Swaraj* reads: "If you will abandon your so-called civilization [**if you will abandon the reform (kudharo in the form of sudharo)**] and search into your own scriptures [**go back to the original meaning before the reform**], you will find that our demands are just" (CWMG 10: 308).

The 'reform', as Yashaschandra's translation suggests, has not led the so-called Western World to 'true civilization'. Although this 'reform' had the potential to lead its people to a religious, ethical and dutiful life, in the end, it has created such institutions through which miseries such as colonialism have been brought to the world. In that sense, we can conclude that the main nuance between the Gujarati and the English definitions of civilization in *Hind Swaraj* renders thusly: while in Yashaschandra's translation there is an emphasis on both the processes of change which the Western civilization had experienced, and the static structures which had occurred as a consequence of this transformation, Gandhi's English translation gives the impression that the focus is merely on the static structures. In my opinion, this new reading makes it clear that Gandhi does not "refer to any static, eternal structure of social organization, whether Indian or European. He is rather analyzing two processes of change, 'sudharo' and 'kudharo'. He explains how a certain process of change is better and preferable to another" (Yashaschandra 2003: 606). To rephrase what I have just argued in the framework of 'purushartha': with the rise of modernity, Gandhi thinks that there has been a shift in the balance between the four aims of life favorable to 'artha' and 'kama', discrediting 'moksha' and 'dharma'. In other words, Gandhi's main problem is with this existential change in people's attitude towards life. His critique of modernity, therefore, puts the emphasis on 'duty' with the aim to balance the four aims of life in a traditional

manner. Bluntly put, Gandhi concludes that modern civilization has caused a distortion in people's perception of life and time has come for all to get rid of this disillusion to have a more humane life.

5. Abandoning 'The Reform'

Because Gandhi's critique is directed to the great discourses of modernity by its persistent references to the so-called premodern traditions of the world, it does not imply that he is uncritically premodern or nostalgically recreating an atavistic past in reactionary terms. "Rather, his criticism of modernity takes care to note that many of its excesses are due to a detrimental devaluation of more 'traditional' ways" and his main concern is to get tradition back into the game of dialectics (Abraham 2007: 150). This principle lies at the core of his critique of modernity and therefore, any attempt to interpret Gandhian Thought has to take this fundamental principle into consideration. In that sense, although it would be indeed very interesting to speculate on Gandhi's understanding of the intellectual roots of modernity (e.g. Uberoi 2002), because of the fact that Gandhi prefers rather to concentrate on its "character and effects" (Terchek 2006: 78), it is not necessary to discuss which historical incidents Gandhi specifically relates this transformation to. For the very same reason, in this essay, I have avoided the very popular approach of discussing Gandhi's ideas in tandem with some of the Western sources. Although I strongly believe that a comparative framework derives its legitimacy from the fact that in a rapidly globalizing world it makes much more sense to emphasize what is shared by ideas that are authored in different cultures, rather than listing their differences, owing to the fact that my readings of such comparative studies so far have disappointed me enormously for quite a few reasons, I have not labored over a similar effort in this essay. Before I come to the conclusion, I will open a parenthesis to write a few more lines on this topic.

It is true that in his writings and speeches, Gandhi often encourages the readers and his audience to study other thoughts in comparison which put forward similar criticisms of modernity. But we must note that, it is indeed

two different things to read Gandhi in tandem with some other so-called Western and non-Western sources, and to get into a debate of how much Gandhi is indebted to the Indian tradition and how much to the others. I must admit that a discussion like this is tempting and I was trapped in such an irrelevant vocation for quite some time (e.g. Söyler 2009a)^x. Take it as a confession, I feel the necessity to state here loud and clear that as far as my own comparative readings are concerned, I am consciously avoiding to recruit myself to, and suggesting others doing the same, mainly two strands of thought.

The first approach at its extreme can be named 'occidental' (Buruma & Margalit 2004)^{xi}. If the ideas which are presented in this framework speak with a softer tone, it would be more proper for us to categorize them under the label 'universalist' (Dallmayr 1989). Neither of the terms are my inventions, I use them in a specific context, perhaps distorting their original meanings. Even so, by these terms, I specifically refer to one particular line of thought which tends to argue that the non-Western critiques of the Western modernity, in fact, derive their ideas from Western sources. Since my specific concern is to highlight Gandhi's definition of *Hind Swaraj* in this essay, this will be a proper place to give Rudolph and Rudolph's (2006) remarks on *Hind Swaraj* as a self-explanatory case for the readers. Although Rudolph and Rudolph give some credit to Gandhi by examining his thought through a postmodern framework, they do argue that the foreword of the 1909 edition of *Hind Swaraj* and the 1910 preface "make it clear" that Gandhi perceived himself as "part of a larger movement of European Thought"; he "learned from and identified with Europeans who doubted, dissented, and resisted empire and modernity"; and "it was they who motivated and helped him to formulate his critique of modern civilization and to articulate his alternative to it" (ibid.:17). In other words, Rudolph and Rudolph, and many others (e.g. Adams and Dyson 2003) tend to see Gandhi's critique of modernity through 'ethico-moral' glasses (Dadhich 1993) and arrive at a conclusion that Gandhi is a synthesizer at his best and an eclectic at worst. On the other hand, the second position which we can refer to as 'contextual' or 'exclusivist' or so-called scientific, tends to treat *Hind Swaraj* as a time-bound, strategic document,

whose interpretation would be confined to the political circumstances under which it was written (e.g. Rothermund quoted in Rudolph and Rudolph 2006). It seems to me that this approach is not less problematic than the former, and it spends an unnecessarily large amount of time and energy on bending over backwards to turn the 'simplicity' of the Gandhian discourse into something 'sophisticated' in an apologetic manner.

I think, both approaches alienate Gandhi from his own work. It is indeed still interesting to read those studies, but while doing so, I really do not know about whom the reader will learn the most: Gandhi or the authors? What these two lines of thought seem to be bothered by the most and try to bypass, in fact, provides the most solid grounds for our study of Gandhi's critique of modernity. The simplicity of the Gandhian discourse is not an obstacle but a facilitator. Just like non-violence is an existential principle for Gandhi so is simplicity (Söyler, 2009b). In other words, very clearly and boldly, Gandhi does not need to be contextualized, Westernized or 'even' Indianized. Just like there is nothing 'passive' about *Ahimsa*, there is nothing 'naive' about the Gandhian Thought either. This brings me to my conclusion.

6. Conclusion

A true understanding of the Gandhian practice and thought of non-violence requires internalizing Gandhi's definition of civilization. A close examination of the English and the Gujarati editions of *Hind Swaraj* reveal that what Gandhi refers to by 'civilization' and 'true civilization' is a process of change which either can generate power or exterminate it. In that sense, while Gandhi links the change in the form of 'sudharo' to sources of strength; he conversely discusses how all power has to be given up when one accepts the other process of change, 'kudharo'. A perfect example of a change which generates power [sudharo] is *Satyagraha*. The core principle of *Satyagraha* is holding on to truth, performing love-force or soul-force, presenting firmness in a good cause to create a change for better (CWMG 20: 39; 34: 93). On the other hand, the reform which

Western civilization has experienced and through which it has lost its purity [power], is a good example for a change for the worse [kudharo]. Therefore, as Yashaschandra (2003) argues, Gandhi's critique of modernity is not interested in static structures of a civilization per se, whether Indian or European. Speaking in terms of purusharthas, what Gandhi understands from this process of change is a fundamental shift of emphasis from moksha and dharma to artha and kama (Parel, 2006). To put it bluntly, if we draw an existential framework out of the theory of purusharthas by keeping Gandhi's definition of civilization in mind, it will give us a fair understanding of one's view of life through which we can perhaps determine whether or not this particular view has anything to do with that of Gandhi.

The thread leads us, inexorably, to Obama, who apparently is convinced that it makes sense to refer to Gandhi right before starting to discuss how just his war is in Afghanistan. I think we do not need any existential framework or whatsoever to state clearly that Obama's references to Gandhi have nothing to do with the Gandhian Thought^{xii}. We can never emphasize enough: in the Gandhian framework, non-violence is not meant to be a political tactic or strategy but a core principle which dominates all aspects of life. Hence, there is absolutely no room for selective violence in Gandhi's view. Although by referring to Gandhi's comments on the Jewish resistance to the Hitler regime^{xiii} in a subtle and tricky way, Obama tries to make grounds for a legitimate use of force in the name of 'just war' for the Afghan case, his argumentation is destined to fail. Nevertheless, equating the alliance against the Third Reich with that of Afghan invasion, Obama goes beyond our wildest imagination and shadows our hopes for a non-violent world. Unlike Gandhi, the U.S. president does not hesitate to pretend to possess 'the truth' about good and evil. By declaring his conviction that evil literally does exist in the world, he proclaims to have a legitimate position to determine who should be punished and who spared. We must give Obama some credit since he comes close to Gandhi with his discussion of evil, with a nuance though: It is true that Gandhi also believes that evil exists in the world, but for Gandhi what is defined as evil is actually to hold a position which claims to know the absolute truth regarding

the nature of goodness. The beauty of the simplicity^{xiv} of the Gandhian discourse is that it clearly declares without bearing any doubt that a violent life is at war with itself. Given the fact that Obama's reference to Gandhi is utterly contradictory, I cannot stop myself from asking this question: Why does Obama feel the need to talk about Gandhi?

One explanation is that since the year 2009 has marked the 100th anniversary of *Hind Swaraj* and 140th anniversary of the birthday of Gandhi, world leaders must have felt obliged to mention Gandhi's name. In Obama's case, his admiration of Martin Luther King (1929-68) and King's glorification of Gandhian non-violent struggle must have played an additional role. But, there is certainly more to Obama's persistent references to Gandhi than his appreciation. In my opinion, it cannot be a coincidence that Obama has developed a habit of introducing ambivalent and contradictory points in his speeches. The ambivalence which dominates Obama's statements is a result of his strategy for survival. While it is obvious even for the most ethnocentric arrogant minds that with the rise of the Global South^{xv} it is not possible anymore for anyone to stick to the good old fashioned modern discourses, one should expect from Obama, a master of rhetoric, to reflect on the global shifts in power structures in his remarks. Colluding with the challenge of the rise of the Global South forces Obama to acknowledge the reality of alternative modernities. Although I personally take, for example, Shakira^{xvi} more serious than Obama when she states that she has been following Gandhi's principles on social change, there is yet a positive aspect of Obama's heroic effort to melt contradictory concepts under one pot: acknowledging the co-existence of modernity and alternative modernities has the potential to fuel the dynamic tension between those views and create unique approaches which can contribute to our understanding of the world and hopefully our efforts for social change towards a peaceful world.

References

- Abraham, S. (2007) *Identity, ethics, and nonviolence in postcolonial theory: a Rahnerian theological assessment*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Adams, I. and Dyson R. W. (2003) *Fifty Major Political Thinkers*. New York: Routledge.
- Bondurant, J. V. (1965) *Conquest of violence: the Gandhian philosophy of conflict* [Rev. ed.]. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Buruma, I. and Margalit, A. (2004) *Occidentalism: a short history of anti-Westernism*. London: Atlantic.
- Chant, S. H. and Cathy McIlwaine (2009) *Geographies of development in the 21st century: an introduction to the Global South*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Dadhich, N. (1993) *Gandhi and Existentialism*. Jaipur, India: Rawat.
- Dallmayr, F. R. (1989) *Margins of political discourse*. Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Gandhi, Collected Works.
- Hardiman, D. (2003) *Gandhi in his time and ours: the global legacy of his ideas*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lal, B. K. (1978) *Contemporary Indian philosophy* [2nd rev. ed.]. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishing.
- Parel, A. J. (2007) *Hind Swaraj and other writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parel, A. J. (2006) *Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rudolph, L. I. and Rudolph, S. H. (2006) *Postmodern Gandhi and other essays: Gandhi in the world and at home* [Rev. ed.]. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Tamer Söyler, Humboldt University

Sharma, A. (1982) *The Purusharthas: A Study in Hindu Axiology*. East Lansing, MI: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Söyler, T. (2009a) *Gandhi and Counter-Enlightenments*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis.

Söyler, T. (2009b) The Simplicity of the Gandhian Discourse in Hind Swaraj (1909) in *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, vol 1, no 3, pp. 938-42.

Terchek, R. (1998) *Gandhi: struggling for autonomy*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Uberoi, J. P. S. (2002) *The European modernity: science, truth and method*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Wakabayashi, J. and Kothari R. (2009) *Decentering translation studies: India and beyond*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.

Yashaschandra, S. (2003) *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*. (S. I. Pollock, Ed.) Berkeley, Calif. ; London: University of California Press.

Note

ⁱ Obama, Barack H. (2009) "Office of the Press Secretary." *The White House*. December 10, 2009. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-acceptance-nobel-peace-prize> (accessed December 23, 2009).

ⁱⁱ For example, see Gandhi's comment on World War II to see the obvious contradiction with Obama's approach:

"Supposing the Allies are victorious, the world will fare no better. They will be more polite but not less ruthless, unless they learn the lesson of non-violence during the war and unless they shed the gains they have made through violence. The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every department of life. Perhaps it is too much to expect of human nature. I do not, however, think so. No one should dogmatize about the capacity of human nature for degradation or exaltation" (CWMG 78: 180).

ⁱⁱⁱ See Serge Halimi's essay for a similar point. <http://mondediplo.com/2010/01/01obama>

^{iv} Gandhi had written *Hind Swaraj* in 1909, between 13 and 22 November on his return trip from England to South Africa. Excerpts of his notes were first published in the Gujarati section of the Indian Opinion. Then, Gandhi personally had translated the book into English with a few revisions. Consequently, the text was published in book form in 1910. In his own translation Gandhi had translated *Hind Swaraj* as *Indian Home Rule*. Although all of my references in this essay are to the English edition of the book, I refer the book as *Hind Swaraj* because of the historical importance of its message and more important than that, the existential connotations of the original title (Söyler, 2009b).

^v The term *Ahimsa* appears in Hindu teachings as early as the Chandogya Upanishad, where it is listed as one of the five ethical virtues: ahimsa, austerity, almsgiving, uprightness, and truthfulness (Bondurant, 1965: 111). For a good argument about how Gandhi uses *Ahimsa*, see: (Lal, 1978: 108-13).

^{vi} In this essay, all of the citations to the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG) are from *the Gandhi Serve* online archives. Reference numbers are given accordingly. Although I am aware of the CWMG Controversy, the parts that I cite are not part of the controversy and I have double checked the citations each time. <http://www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/cwmg.html>

^{vii} In the following, I will discuss the meanings of the terms *sudharo* and *kudharo* by referring to the most accurate translation, I believe, by Yashaschandra (2003). See also Hardiman (2003: 67-72) and Wakabayashi and Kothari (2009: 116) for more information on the Gujarati concepts.

^{viii} All emphases are mine in this paper. Thus, this note should serve as generic reference.

^{ix} Through e-mail message to Anthony J. Parel, January 7, 2009.

^x Although they are not responsible for the ideas I present here, I want to thank Prof. Dr. Boike Rehbein, Prof. Dr. Ari Sitas and Prof. Dr. Anand Kumar for taking my attention to this point.

^{xi} I want to thank Dr. Darrin M. McMahon for his remarks on my M. A. thesis and taking my attention to the discussion around Occidentalism.

^{xii} Although this is the fact, it is very interesting to observe how some of the Gandhian scholars are excited each time when Obama or other world leaders refer to Gandhi. They tend to forget to ask the question if Gandhi would have taken the honor by such references.

^{xiii} Although Gandhi insists that German Jews could have followed a non-violent resistance with a high price to invoke the consciousness of 'ordinary Germans', he thinks even a violent struggle is justifiable in this special case.

“The German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have gone. And he is doing it with religious zeal. For he is propounding a new religion of exclusive and militant nationalism in the name of which any inhumanity becomes an act of humanity to be rewarded here and hereafter. The crime of an obviously mad but intrepid youth is being visited upon his whole race with unbelievable ferocity. If there ever could be a justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is therefore outside my horizon or province. But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared enemy of both?” (CWMG 74: 239-40).

^{xiv} In a very contradictory way, the simplicity of the Gandhian discourse does not seem to appeal to most of the Gandhian scholars. They tend to write their works in a cryptic manner without letting easy access to their ideas.

^{xv} The term “Global South” has a contentious meaning just as the terms “Third World” and “Developing World.” All these terms refer to distinctions such as South-North, developing-developed and so forth. There is indeed a problem with dividing the world into different spatial zones according to levels of development. Although there are more neutral terms such as “LACAAP” (Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and the Pacific), I used the term “Global South” which is increasingly favored by the scholars (see Chant and McIlwaine, 2009, Chapter 1 for a discussion of the term). I also want to thank to Nicholas Jepson for raising this point.

^{xvi} For Shakira’s remarks see the link: <http://www.india-server.com/news/shakira-says-she-follows-mahatma-22190.html>

Dependency Theories and the Icelandic Pension Crisis

Phillip Andrew Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

***Abstract:** The collapse of the financial market in 2008 ushered in a new era. No longer can the capitalist worship the gods of profit and sustainable production, instead the dreams of prosperity perished with the hopes of recovering. This work seeks to analyze the Icelandic financial crisis under the Marxist and Neo-Marxist lenses. Iceland was one of the first victims of the financial disaster and represents the prime case study for states that are financially dependent on each other. The systematic destruction is contributed to the global derivatives fall out and the intricate relationship between financial networks that control state treasuries and civilian pension funds. The end result has been catastrophic for civil society in Iceland.*

1. Introduction: Marxism and Neo-Marxist Tradition

The financial crisis that has encompassed the globe derives its roots in conflict theory. The current global financial market concerns interdependent states relying heavily on each other for their markets to perform. However, the Capitalist system dictates the eventual demise of the global market due to natural economic fluctuations. The laws of gravity “What goes up must come down” define the allegorical spectrum of the international economic system. This paper seeks to compare and contrast Dependency theories through the multiple lenses Sociology (Wallerstein) and International Relations (Dos Santos) and how these two paradigms have relevancy in the pension crisis that occurred in Iceland 2008. The evolution of this social theory was developed through the examination of traditional Marxist believes through the perspective of inter-dependency amongst states in the international system.

Marxism examines the class system and its function in a capitalist society. In these capitalist societies lie social inequalities that are measured primarily through the

Phillip Andrew Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

struggle between the rich (bourgeoisie) and the working class (proletariat). Marx expands upon this relationship in the following insertion: “The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of old ones.” (Lemert.,pg 37.) It is from this insertion that allows Marxist themes to be revolutionized in describing the world as an economic system. This is the essence of Neo-Marxism which utilizes Marxist principles and adopts them to international phenomenon. In the international system, the relationship between the rich states and the poor states exemplify the hierarchical relationships of Marx’s proletariat and bourgeoisie. This Neo-Marxist observation leads to the development of the World Systems theories and the Dependency theories. Marxism and Neo-Marxism fall under the general classifications of these conflict theories.

2. Wallerstein’s World System’s Analysis

Immanuel Wallerstein is a Sociologist whose work *The Modern World System* sought to examine the capitalists’ apparatus of the economic machine its political effects on the relationships between core states and semi-peripheral areas (Lemert .,pg391). Wallerstein did not believe in the First World, Second World and Third World class system. Instead he sought to establish these roles with the political/economical status of the Core, Periphery, and Semi-Periphery (Lemert.,pg 394). These roles are defined through the International relations realm as developed, developing and semi developed states. Wallerstein exploited the Marxist principles of class struggle and used it as a basis to describe historical and present phenomenon. Yet, Wallerstein’s approach to the economic system is differs Marx. Marx establishes the role and relationship between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat as a constant struggle. This relationship is apparent and universal while never ceasing. However, Marx proposed a change in the system from the inevitability of a revolution caused by the Proletariat against the Bourgeoisie. The capitalist, according to Marx, eventually control all means of political power and use this power to

exploit the Proletariat. Under Wallerstein's model the relationship of the core, periphery and semi-periphery is interchangeable: "The external arena of one century often becomes the periphery of the next or its semi-periphery. But then too core-states can become semi-peripheral and semi-peripheral ones peripheral." (Lemert, pg 393). This is a sharp contradiction to Marx's roles and relationships.

3. North vs. South; Economic Dependency

The North vs. South phenomenon is the relationship between developed states exploiting developing states. This exploitation can encompass a wide array of dysfunction between financial independence and natural resources. The North vs. South description given by Joan Spero and Jeffrey Hart expand upon the detailed relationship between these two entities in the following insertion:

Southern countries, Marxists argue, are poor and exploited not because they are illiberal but because of their history as subordinate elements in the world capitalist system. This condition will persist for as long as these countries remain part of that system. This conclusion will persist for as long as these countries remain part of that system. The international market is under the control of monopolistic capitalists whose economic base is in the developed economies. (Spero & Hart., pg 176).

The most prominent model used to support the North vs. South theory is the relationship between the United States and South America. Theotonio Dos Santos is a political scholar whose work entitled *The Structure for Dependence* examines this relationship. According to Dos Santos, dependency has taken on many forms throughout the ages. These manifestations include Colonial dependence, financial dependence and Technological Industrial dependence (Kaufman et al., pg 556). Dos Santos expands upon a new dependence in which financial currency correlates with the exploitation of raw materials in the following insertion:

The new form of dependence, is in the process of developing and is conditioned by the exigencies

Phillip Andrew Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

of the international commodity and capital markets. The possibility of generating new investments depends on the existence of financial resources in foreign currency for the purchase of machinery and processed raw materials not produced domestically. (Kaufman et al 557).

Dos Santos uses these multiple forms of dependence and conflate them into a sophisticated structure. The dependency theory has evolved from state on state relations to Non-governmental organizations and their indirect relationships to their home base. (Kaufman et al.,pg 556). Under the currency dependence examples, states such as the United States with the strongest world currency can enjoy the wealth of resources from other countries by buying their goods in their native currency. The valuation of the currencies allow for the former to sell such goods and services for relatively cheap prices within their home state. This exploitation would be the same between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat under Marx.

The difference between Dos Santos's structural dependence and Marxism lie with the methodology used by the North. According to Marx it is simple, Bourgeoisie exploit the labor of the proletariat in the name of profit and thus the alienation of one's labor occurs. Dos Santos would state this same exploitation occurs but through indirect and sophisticated structures. The current event that can strengthen both Dos Santos's structural theory and Wallerstein's system theory is the financial collapse of Iceland.

4. Icelandic Financial Collapse and Collapse of the Pension System

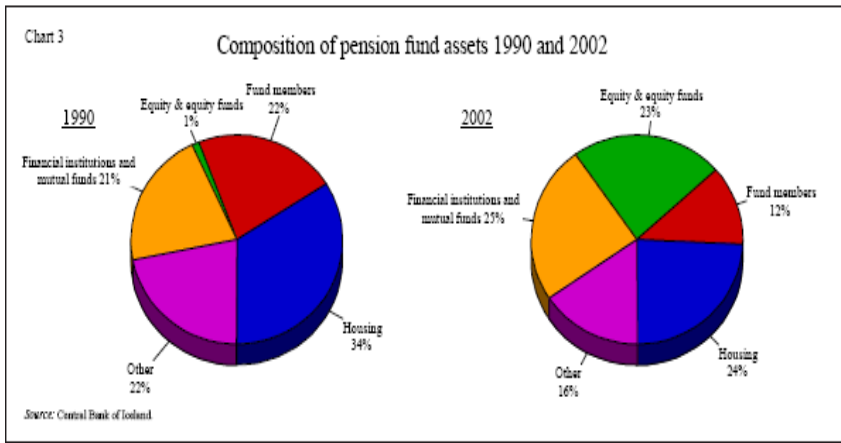
Iceland's financial failure is the paramount example to use as a current event that exhibits the Dependency theories presented. The financial infrastructure of Iceland's banking system in 2007 according to the CRS report

At the end of 2007, almost half of the total assets of the largest commercial banking groups were accounted for by foreign subsidiaries, most

of them located in Northern Europe, and in 2007 about 58% of their overall income was generated from their subsidiaries located abroad. By the end of 2007, Iceland's three largest banks relied on short-term financing for 75% of their funds, mostly through borrowing in the money markets and in the short-term interbank market. (CRS 2008., pg 3).

This insertion sets the stage for the interdependent relationship with foreign banks and Iceland's banking structure. This interdependent relationship exemplifies the intricate relationship between banks through the international economic system. The pension fund invested at least half of its value in the international equity market. Thus, the Marxist link to the market system lies with the connection between worker and capitalist. This is exemplified in the pension structure of state employees involved in the pension program in Iceland. The following chart was from a proposal speech held by Mar Gudmundsson at the International Pension Conference in Moscow, Russia.

Phillip Andrew Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)



¹ The Equity funds shifted from 1% in 1990 to 23% in 2002, this exemplifies the foreign equity investment which led to the collapse in 2008. The movement of equitable distribution from 1% to 23% can create a financial crisis regarding pensions for employees. The financial crisis in the United States creates a shutdown of Lehman Brothers; Merrill Lynch is acquired by Bank of America. This stagnation of the credit and equity markets transformed the economic system. The financial crisis has an advert effect on the world economy and the connection from the developing world to the developed world systems is evident in the selling off of liquid assets by NGOs.

¹ Gudmundsson, Mar. (2003). *The Icelandic Pension System: Design Lessons for others*. Speech given at International Pension Conference, Moscow, Russia.

5. Dependency Conclusion

The financial meltdown of the Icelandic banking systems and the pension system is attributed to the dependency theories presented. Iceland's financial system was intricately tied into the British banking system. Whenever Britain's banks fail this has an overall reaching effect to the workers of Iceland. The Marxist theory of class struggle would lie with the relationship between the workers in Iceland and their pension systems to that of the capitalist leaders of the banking system.

This liquidation of retirement benefits is very damaging to the proponents of a free market approach to investment banking. Under the Neo-Marxist microscope, the liquidation of these banks and the assets of the banking system in Iceland are an indirect cause of the capitalist greed that has plagued Wall Street for the past twenty years. Dos Santos would conclude that the capitalists on Wall street caused the meltdown, while Wallerstein would contend that this is the relationship between the core states and the periphery. This was an inevitable event that was caused by one state solidifying its economic prowess. The Icelandic crisis was one of the first indicators to world economist that a global financial meltdown was underway. The causes of this meltdown remain clear, Wall Street has enormous leverage over world financial markets, and simply put when the United States has a small cold the rest of the world gets the flu.

Phillip Andrew Smith, Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

References

- Dos Santos, Theotonio *The Structure of Dependence*. (1970). In Kaufman, Daniel J; Parker, Jay M; Howell, Patrick V; Doty, Grant R. (2004). *Understanding International Relations: The value of Alternative Lenses*. N.Y., New York; Custom Publishing. Pp.557-559.
- Gudmundsson, Mar. (2003). *The Icelandic Pension System: Design Lessons for others*. Speech given at International Pension Conference, Moscow. Russia.
- Jackson, James K. (2008). *Iceland's Financial Crisis*. CRS report for Congress; Code RS22988.
- Kaufman, Daniel J; Parker, Jay M; Howell, Patrick V; Doty, Grant R. (2004). *Understanding International Relations: The value of Alternative Lenses*. N.Y., New York; Custom Publishing.
- Lemert, Charles. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. (2004). Boulder, CO; Westview Inc.
- Marx, Karl. (1848). Class Struggle. In Lemert, Charles. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*.(2004). Boulder, CO; Westview Inc pp.37.
- Spero Joan E; Hart, Jeffrey A.(2003). *The Politics of International Economic Relations*. Belmont, Ca; Thomson Wadsworth
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1976). The Modern World System. In Lemert, Charles. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*.(2004). Boulder, CO; Westview Inc pp. 391-394.

Dependency Theories and the Icelandic Pension Crisis

Deconstructing the Caste Hegemony: Lambada¹ Oral Literature

Suneetha Rani Karamsi, University of Hyderabad, India

1. Introduction

Indian society is very carefully and dexterously stratified on the basis of castes and sects. This carefulness and dexterity are used not only to divide the society into thousands of sections but also to protect and preserve this system for ages, banning and barring mobility and interaction between castes. Each caste has a caste lower than itself in hierarchy. Even the most downtrodden and discriminated against section like “untouchables” are divided sharply among themselves according to their castes and practice untouchability against one another. Subservience to one caste and subjugating another caste will put each caste’s agenda, position and attitude in tact by making it rigid in its hierarchical behaviour.

In a country where one’s self-respect, especially that of lower castes and isolated communities, is constantly affected and existence always threatened, one needs a system which will function as an emotional channel to give vent to the trauma that the marginalised people suffer in an oppressive society. They have to dismantle the degradation, at least in their mind or among themselves and boost their morale. It could be by looking back at the past, quite often an imagined past and looking hopefully at the future. This is when the construction of history steps into the picture. This construction of history quite often takes the form of origin stories of different castes and communities. Each caste in India has an origin story and a dependent caste to narrate it. One can recollect the Vedas which are oral, called *apaurusheyas*, those not written by men, which in a way construct a colonial story that is the invasion and colonisation by Aryans. The defeated communities which have become lower castes or untouchables in some cases write their stories or their dreams and aspirations in the

form of caste puranas which quite often write the histories of origin overlooked or misrepresented by "history". That is why these oral histories, origin stories in nature, not only write the absent histories but also try to dismantle the hierarchy.

Here, I would like to borrow from a Native Canadian writer Lenore Keeshing Topias, who says, "Stories, you see, are not just entertainment. Stories are power. They reflect the deepest, the most intimate perceptions, relationships and attitudes of a people. Stories show how person, a culture, thinks" (Petronie 121)ⁱⁱ. Stories are powerful, indeed. They become much more powerful in the context of colonisation and subjugation. It could be in an attempt to voice protest or build solidarity that words take the form of songs, stories and legends. When such cultures are "illiterate" with no script, these stories become the storehouse of experience, culture, tradition and history. When this story-weaving is done in such cultures, the narratives are modified frequently because of the very fluid nature of oral tradition and also because of the updating done constantly by people intentionally or unintentionally. Fact and fiction, reality and fantasy get merged in order to achieve the purpose intended, whether it is to write back to the oppressive system or to build a support system for the community by providing stories that boost the esteem of the people.

Interestingly, all the castes in India, as mentioned earlier, have origin stories and all of them have at least a touch of fantasy in order to assert the caste's association or intimacy with gods and goddesses thus proving their eligibility to spiritual domain which has been deprived to them hitherto. Quite often these stories have variations according to the subcastes focussing on the respective castes. Let me take for instance Jamba Purana which traces the origin of two Dalit castes as untouchables. The story goes like this: Shiva and Parvathi have a divine cow Kamadhenu which can feed any number of people. Parvathi invites only gods, goddesses and sages to taste its milk and milk products. An adolescent looks after Kamadhenu. Once he feels like tasting Kamadhenu's milk. When he expresses his desire to Parvathi, she asks him to go and tell this to Kamadhenu. On hearing this desire, Kamadhenu collapses

Suneetha Rani Karamsi, University of Hyderabad, India

and dies. All the gods and goddesses eagerly flock for its meat. This boy and Jambavantha start cooking it. When a piece falls down from the vessel, the boy and Jambavantha put it back in the vessel. For this, they are cursed to be born as untouchables on earth. Whether this story has a historical basis or not, it definitely is moulded by the spirit of self-esteem among Dalits. On the other hand, if one believes the story of four varnas taking birth from four body parts of Brahma, which forms the foundation of the caste system in India, this story should also be believed.

Similarly, tribes in India though relegated not into the outskirts like Dalits but into the forests, have their own stories of origin. While some tribes live near villages and as nomads in the villages, they borrow from Hindu religion to some extent while some of the tribal deities and practices are appropriated by Hinduism. In all this, one should not forget the fact that some of these tribes have a history of being rulers of the respective territories. It is in this context that their origin stories write their histories and rewrite their aspiration to get acceptability and respect in society. One such tribe is Lambadas.

Let me give a brief introduction to the Lambada tribe. The total 461 tribes in India constitute 7.76 per cent of the population of India, among which the largest tribe is "Gond". Andhra Pradesh is the traditional home of nearly 33 tribes out of the 461. Of these Lambadas constitute the largest tribe in Andhra Pradesh. The oral traditions, mythology, folk tales, historical evidence partly reveal their past. Unlike literature, history does not ignore or neglect the Lambadas. It tries to interpret the different names of the same nomenclature--Lambada, Banjara and Sugali--with reference to the lifestyle of the Lambadas in the past. The word Banjara is perhaps derived from the Sanskrit vanachara, which denotes their nomadic lifestyle in forests in the past. Lambada seems to have derived from the word Lamban or length which perhaps refers to their long caravan of bullocks along their migration routes. As another alternative, it is also considered to be a form of *Lavan*, a Sanskrit word for salt, which refers to Lambadas as salt carriers. It is also said that some consider Sugali a corruption of supari (betel nut), a

derivation dependent on the belief that the tribe formerly traded largely in the betel nut.

Russell and Hiralal in their book *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces* state that Banjaras were first mentioned by Asian in the 4th century BC. According to Asian, they were then leading a wandering life, living in tents and letting their cattle out for hire.ⁱⁱⁱ Russell and Hiralal say that Banjaras migrated to the Deccan along with the forces of Aurangzeb in 17th century. In fact, There are various controversies about the period of migration of Lambadas. In his *Castes and Tribes of North-Western Province and Oudh*, W. Crooke states that the first migration of Banjara in Mohammedan history is Sikander's attack on Dholpur in Rajasthan in 1504 AD. They worked as a sort of unofficial commissariat to the armies of the Mughals and Marathas during the turbulent medieval period, and even to the British army.^{iv}

Several historians have tried to write the history of Lambadas by referring to their profession, lifestyle, language, dress code, celebrations so on and so forth.^v What is of interest to me that I am going to discuss in this paper is how Lambada oral tradition captures all this meticulously and shares it in the community thus passing on the history from generation to generation. It is obvious that Lambadas have not learnt about themselves from history books as they were not literate until a few decades ago. It is "history" that has borrowed from Lambada oral tradition. Even without the interference of history, the Lambada history has stayed in tact in the form of oral tradition.

Tribals have always remained isolated from the caste and class-ridden Indian society. In a society of extreme social stratification, tribals are on the last step of the ladder. They do not even come into the caste structure. They stand outside the social system. In order to assert their position in the society, some Indian tribes have woven stories around mythological characters and ideas. Lambada settlements called 'thandas' are located adjacent to main villages in two to three kilometres of distance. Their settlements are built on rocky surface. Their life is full of song and dance. They sing at almost every significant occasion of life like birth, puberty, marriage and death. They dance on every possible happy

Suneetha Rani Karamsi, University of Hyderabad, India

occasion including festivals. Marriage is full of song and dance, but it is not devoid of sorrow.

Although there is not much of Lambada representation in literature, their culture itself becomes their literature. Their lifestyle speaks volumes about their history. Orality, which is a part and parcel of their life also plays its role in recording their history and culture. Their oral literature holds a mirror to their evolution from nomadism to pastoralism and ultimately to agriculturalism. It also succeeds in giving reasons and providing backgrounds to every aspect of Lambada life. It connects their building houses on rocky surface to their nomadism. As they had to change settlements from one place to another, in order to avoid the risk of building foundation for their huts, they chose rocky areas that provided natural foundation. Bride's kith and kin lament in the marriage because as nomads and pastorals, the ever-moving Lambadas had very little chance of meeting them among other tribes. A girl married into some other tribe has to forget her parental relations. Thus, marriage was a moment of permanent separation. Marriage and death become synonymous since both demand permanent separation. Thus their customs and traditions unveil the cultural history of the Lambadas.

Oral literature is rightly described as unwritten history. This oral literature not only constructs the history of a section from its own perspective but also deconstructs the history that has been constructed by the other. Consciously or unconsciously this oral literature protests against the strategies of the privileged sections whether it is done with a motive of revolt or not. The social status of Lambadas as a criminal tribe may have led to their poverty or their economic bankruptcy may have led to their social isolation. Whatever it is, they have no power to change their place in the contemporary society. To some extent they may be able to change their economic position, but changing social status in a rigid society like India is next to impossible. In this context their oral literature comes to their rescue. Lambada oral literature which talks about their past most of the time, not only helps them in assuring themselves of their own social status but also proves the efforts of Lambadas to prove themselves in society.

Lambadas in the contemporary society are mostly seen as manual labourers at construction sites. Their oral literature says something contrary to the present situation about the past. According to it, Lambadas' nomadism started from the times of Muslim Invasion. Lambadas helped Prithvi Raj Chauhan in killing Jayachandra who joined hands with Ala-ud-din Khilji, who was fascinated by Prithvi Raj's wife Padmini. After this, the Muslim soldiers haunted Lambadas to massacre them. So, they had to escape into the forests. Their attire, ornaments, especially of women and food habits clearly throw light on their past as nomads. This Literature also says that people who fled into the forests became Lambadas and those remained in the cities were called Marwaris. Marwaris are the ones who have retained the largest share of India's wealth. As if an evidence to this, there is close resemblance between the languages of Marwaris and Lambadas.

In the above stories, we find an attempt to construct the history for they were denied a place in history. This construction also leads to the deconstruction of history where their presence is derogatory and discriminated. In that attempt to deconstruct the history written by the other and construct their own history, some stories are woven around mythological characters and episodes. These stories reveal the longing of the tribals to prove themselves on par with the mainstream society. These stories not only try to convince the other about their superiority but also work as assurance to themselves that they are no less than anybody else. While the society describes them in all possible negative words, it requires a lot of courage and confidence for the tribals to live with self-respect. These stories emerge from that self-respect in expectation of achieving acceptability in the discriminating society.

One of these efforts takes the form of an episode involving mythological characters like Radha and Krishna. According to this story, Mola and Mota were two brothers engaged in the court of legendary Krishna. Krishna, disgusted with material life, distributed his belongings including the crown among his people. Mola and Mota were not present at the time and when they came back, Mola, who was very close to Krishna, asked Krishna as to what his share was. Krishna decided that since Mola is his most

intimate friend, he should be given something invaluable and dearest to Krishna. Krishna gave Radha to Mola. Mola and Radha got married, but they could not have marital life because of Radha's divinity. Both of them, worried about their successors, devised a plan according to which they toured three empires. There, Radha danced and Mola sang. When the kings were impressed and asked what Mola and Radha wanted, they asked for a prince from each empire. Thus they collected three princes from three empires and brought them up as the children of Radha and Mola. In those days, girls were supposed to be married before attaining puberty. A brahmin family had three girls who had attained puberty but were not married. This family was excommunicated by the society. As the family is sleeping under the tree, it comes into contact with the foster children of Mola and Radha and the three girls get married to them. The children born out of these marriages are none other than Lambadas.

This episode clearly shows the attempts of an excommunicated community to enter into the mainstream society. By claiming their origin from Radha and Krishna, probably Lambadas wanted to give a touch of divinity to their origin. Children of two dominant sections of the society--brahmin and kshatriyas--are supposed to be the superior race inheriting the valour and courage of kshatriyas and intellect of brahmins. But the questions about the historical evidence to this episode remain unanswerable. No logic would work as far as this story is concerned except the logic of self-respect. Radha was not Krishna's legal wife and he had no right over her to give her to Mola. This shows that these are only episodes that were built on the endeavour of the Lambadas for self-assurance. It is not only mythological connections but also royal lineage that they take help from to generate confidence among themselves that they are not outcasts but belong to the upper strata of the society.

It is here that the oral tradition of Lambadas becomes crucial and reminds one of Wendy Singer's observation that "History becomes both subject and instrument" (Singer 23). Although Lambadas do not have any clear concept of history but refer to their narratives as stories, it is history that is being reclaimed by Lambadas through their oral tradition.

While history, that is past or their origin becomes the subject of their story telling, history becomes their instrument also. This history, which is partly fiction and partly fact, attempts to barge into the mainstream acceptability by tracing its origin to the mythical figures. On the other hand, their reclaiming or reviving their origin to the Rajput dynasty also writes their stories afresh by dismantling the image of Lambadas in the contemporary society as manual labourers, vendors of petty forest products and worst of all as thieves and criminals. Thus, these stories which make their past as their subject are used as instruments to record and rewrite history, subvert the mainstream notions and bring Lambadas together in solidarity, in celebrating the glorious past that they are deprived of now. Decorating these stories with dance and song keeps them alive, spontaneous and cherished. In all this, one question still haunts us. Are these tales carefully written histories?

These narratives dismantle the Brahmanical standards of the highly stratified society. The above story could be highly fictitious. But, it emphasises mobility among castes in Indian society that existed once upon a time, though with some resistance. On the other hand, except Krishna, the mythical figure, the remaining story might be true. Reading a little more into it, this Krishna could be king Vasudeva that history books refer to. Thus, taking the historical sensibility of Lambada oral tradition as proved above, this may also contain some truth. In any case, the concern of this part of my paper is not to examine how much of these tales is true or false but to discuss how oral tradition becomes a storehouse of community memory and also an endeavour to change the hierarchies in society by reversing the notion that tribals, especially Lambadas who were called notified criminal tribes during colonial times, have no admission into the varna system thus having no acceptance into the spiritual domain. This also adds to the argument that in a country like India which has been subjected to several invasions, migrations and assimilation, it is difficult to decide on the origin of people. How can one be attributed caste identity and relegated to such a situation?

In a country where spiritualism is considered the monopoly of one section and the lower castes have no access to it, tribals have to prove that they too have an access and

eligibility to spiritualism and they are eligible for spirituality. Hence, the other stories like those of Seval Bhaya and others. Seval Bhaya is considered to be an incarnation of Siva and was blessed by Mother Goddess. The seven goddesses gave a pill of dirt collected from their bodies and gave it to a Lambada woman saying that a great man will be born from that pill. The Lambada woman swallowed it and gave birth to Seval Bhaya. The goddess of small pox, who was also responsible for Seval Bhaya's birth, fell in love with him. But he refused and the goddess of small pox haunted him throughout his life. Ultimately the goddess of small pox killed him and his cremation place has become a pilgrim centre which every Lambada has to visit at least once in a lifetime. The Seval Bhaya cult is being revived in recent years.

Baba Hathiram, Seva Saad, Soma Saad, Matru saad and others are the holy figures we come across in Lambada oral Literature. This also seems to be an attempt to prove their equality or superiority in spirituality. The above mentioned people reached the pinnacle of meditation and devotion. According to these legends, Baba Hathiram played indigenous chess with Lord Venkateswara. Mithu Bhukia was none other than the incarnation of Lord Kartikeya. Their meditation, devotion and intimacy with gods assure Lambadas that they are also pure and sacred like brahmins, the section who has monopoly over religion and spirituality.

Interestingly, while Lambada oral tradition ascribes Lambada origin to mythical Krishna, the first novel in Telugu *Srirangarayacharitra* or *Sonabhai Parinayamu* (1872)^{vi} by Gopalakrishnamasetty discusses the acceptability of Lambadas and ascribes their origin to mythical Vali and Sugriva thus associating them with mythical Rama. This, in fact, throws light on an important aspect of acceptability. Any caste in India requires an association with some mythical or legendary figure. Probably this can also be traced back to the birth of four varnas from Brahma's body. Prince Rangaraya defends Lambadas by saying that Lambada lineage is from Vali and Sugriva, who were born of Indra and Surya respectively. The country of Vali and Sugriva, Kishkinda, is supposed to be modern Maharashtra. Their

language, which is spoken across the country by this tribe, also resembles Marathi.

Let me borrow here from the concept of history according to native people around the world. I would like to refer to certain peoples in particular. Australian Aboriginal and Native Canadian writers look at writing life stories as construction of histories because by recording one's own story one is recording the history of the community as well. This is not because one functions as the representative of the entire community thus pan-nativising others but because one is a part of the community and goes through a similar predicament when the whole community is subjected to atrocities and admonition.

Interestingly, in the case of Lambadas, personal life stories are not so important and are not in vogue except those of legendary Lambada figures like Seval Bhaya, Baba Hathiram and others. Like the traditional oral narratives of native people, Lambada oral tradition also celebrates the origin, past and the world. Although the modern development in writing life stories and conscious revival and reclaiming of history has not yet begun among Lambadas, they have always kept the past alive by passing it on from generation to generation as a tradition and singing it on occasions of celebration. These stories may not be careful constructions of history but they are attempts towards or tradition of preserving the past. History is not always created or recorded consciously by people who are part of it. It remains in memory and turns into the part and parcel of one's existence. Their sense of hierarchy is proved by similar tales narrated or proofs submitted by historians.

In fact, a Dalit writer Kalyana Rao, in his novel *Antaraani Vasantham* discusses how the most atrocious tales of caste discrimination, state bias, conversion, religious conflicts that took place in pre-independence India are not to be found in chronicles but are still alive in the oral tradition of the locals. This is evidence of the fact that whether books have it or not people's memory and treasure of language will always remember what is ignored and concocted by "authentic" books. To borrow a phrase from Wendy Singer once again, these stories are "living interpretations of the past". Past is memorised, articulated, shared, celebrated

Suneetha Rani Karamsi, University of Hyderabad, India

without really interpreting and understanding its significance. Hence it remains alive and preserves certain crucial facts through reciting them constantly and convincing their own people about the validity and authenticity of such stories that emerge from the consciousness of their Lambada identity.

All this proves, once again, how oral tradition preserves history and provides sources to the recording of history. Without an intention to do so, oral tradition not only records history but also passes it on from generation to generation. In a similar manner, oral tradition of marginalised sections expresses their suppressed anger, agony and repressed hopes and aspirations in order to topple the hegemony and establish a just place for their community in society. Fortunately, the very culture of oral tradition, becoming occasional songs and everyday stories, helps in imbibing a sense of history in younger generations without having to go to schools and without any compulsion.

References

- Bauman Richard. (1986). *Story, Performance and Event: contextual studies of oral narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gonanaik, M. (2002). *Sugali Sanskruti-Bhasha Sahithyalu*. Secunderabad: published by the author,
- Irvine William. (1962). *The Army of Indian Moghuls*. New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House.
- Naik Cheeniya B. (1998). *Banjara Charitra: Sanskriti-Pragati*. Anantapuram: Sri Hathiram Bawaji Publications.
- Ong Walter J. (2004). *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London: Routledge.
- Raheja, Gloria Goodwin (ed.) (2003). *Songs, Stories, Lives: Gendered Dialogues and Cultural Critique*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Singer Wendy. (1997). *Creating Histories: Oral Narratives and the Politics of History-Making*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Tedlock, Dennis. (1983). *THE SPOKENWORD and the Work of INTERPRETATION*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Thurston, E. (1909). *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.
- Vizagapatnam District Gazetteer. (1907), vol. 1. Hyderabad: District Gazetteers.

Note

ⁱ One of the major tribes in India, who have been the notified criminal tribes during the colonial rule in some regions and now recognized as denotified tribes.

ⁱⁱ Petrone, Penny. *Native Literature in Canada: From the Oral Tradition to the Present*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990.

ⁱⁱⁱ Russell R.V. and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. Vol. II, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1975.

^{iv} Crooke, W. *The Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh* Vol.I. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1962.

^v Here are some more details about the origin and migration of Lambadas. *Census of India 1961* Vol. 1 states that Ptolemy, in his list of Indian castes, has made a mention of a caste called 'Lambatai' which is considered by some as Lambada. The same volume states that the first historical mention of Lambadas of Deccan is found in *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Mohammedan Faith in the Country of the Hind* by Mohammed Kasim Ferishta. Ferishta records, according to *the Census of India*, that in 1417, a large convoy of Banjara bullocks was seized by Khan Khanan, the brother of Feroz Shah Bahmani, when the former rebelled and made an attempt on the throne of Gulbarga. It is believed that the Banjaras might have come to the Deccan in and around 1639 with Asaf Khan, the wazir of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan. They are supposed to have carried provisions during his ride against Bijapur.

It is mentioned in the Gazetteers of the Vizagapatnam district that during the 15th century, Vinayaka Deo, the then ruler of Jeypore in Orissa, crushed the rebellion in his dominion and regained the throne with the help of a Banjara leader. In his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Thurston says that the Lambadas of Bellary (now in Karnataka) came to Deccan for the first time from the North with the Mughal contingents as commissariat carriers. William Irvine in his book *the Army of Indian Moghuls* gives a graphic account of the Banjaras as suppliers of rations to warring Indian armies.

^{vi} Gopalakrishnamasetty, Narahari. *Srirangarayacharitra (Sonabhai Parinayamu) Hinduvulayacharamulu telupunatti Navina prabandhamu*. Madras: Thevitakara Press, 1872.

Scholar of the Month: May, 2010



Dr Mojeed Olujinmi A. Alabi, is the *Expert in Good Governance, Ethics and Professionalism in the Public Sector* at the African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development (CAFRAD), a pan-African inter-governmental organisation based in Tangier, Morocco. He is on a two-year (2008-2010) placement by the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria under the Nigerian Technical Cooperation Fund (NTCF) administered by the African Development Bank (ADB).

Dr Alabi, a Nigerian born in Cote d'Ivoire, was educated at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) and the University of Ibadan, both in Nigeria. He has B.Sc. (1984), M.Sc. (1988) and Ph.D (2000) degrees in Political Science. He also has LL.B. (1989), B.L. (1993), and LL.M. (2006) in Law, and has been a Barrister and Solicitor of the Supreme Court of Nigeria since December 1993. He currently pursues a second PhD (Law) at the University of Leicester, UK. Academic laurels to his credit include: Professor David Ijalaye Prize for the Overall Best Student in Masters of Laws (LL.M.) for 2005/2006 Session, Obafemi Awolowo University; Postgraduate Fellowship Award, Obafemi Awolowo University, 1985-1988; African Fellowship Award, American University in Cairo, Egypt, 1986/87 (not utilized); and the Best Overall Student in Political Science, University of Ife, 1984.

Alabi has a background in academics, and had taught Political Science, Public Administration and Public Law in three Nigerian universities, starting with his Alma mater - Obafemi Awolowo University. He was, until his present appointment in CAFRAD, a Senior Lecturer/Head, Department of Political Science and Associate Lecturer, Department of Public Law, both at the University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Dr Alabi's research and consultancy activities have focussed on the reform of governance institutions, particularly the role of the judiciary and the legislature in facilitating good governance. He has done some work on federal-state relations, judicial administration, legislative processes, human rights, public policy analysis, constitutionalism and the rule of law, electoral reforms, technology transfer and the digital divide, regional integration, local government administration, and rural development. He is the author of *The Supreme Court in the Nigerian Political System 1963-1997*, has over 20 articles in learned journals and books, and several other seminar and public presentations. His latest (co-edited) publication, *Perspectives on the Legislature in the Government of Nigeria*, was released during the Spring 2010.

Dr Alabi has attended over 25 academic/learned conferences, and participated in over 50 leadership/management workshops, seminars, retreats and conferences in Nigeria, Morocco, United Kingdom, Republic of South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, The Gambia, Namibia, and Australia. He is registered as a Consultant on the data base of the Africa Development Bank (ADB) and the Department of Technical Cooperation in Africa (DTCA), and is on regular consultancy work for Actionaid International Nigeria (AAIN), an international NGO. At CAFRAD, he heads the Parliamentary Capacity Building Programme, and has developed, organized and served as resource person in several workshops, seminars, conferences and training programmes on human capacity development in the areas of governance, law and human rights, public sector reforms, gender, performance budgeting, results-based management, change management, and civic society engagement, among others. He is a Fellow of the *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, serves/has served on the Editorial Boards of the *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, *Ilorin Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, *Ife Social Sciences Review*, and currently edits *CAFRAD News*.

Dr Alabi has held many leadership and management positions. At the Obafemi Awolowo University, he was the Chairman of the Examinations Committee of the Department of Political Science (1996-1998), Representative of the Dean of Social Sciences and of the Head of the Department of Political Science on the Faculty Board of Law (1986-1998), and a Member of the Editorial Board of the *Ife Social Sciences Review* (1996-1998). At the University of Ilorin, he was the Course Organiser for the Master in International Studies (MIS) Programme (March 2006-August 2008), a Member of the Postgraduate Committees of both the Faculty of Business and Social Sciences and the Faculty of Law, a Member of the Editorial Board of of the *Ilorin Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, and a Member of the Faculty Board of Law and of the Faculty of Law Annual Conference Planning Committee. He also served on the University Strategic Planning Review Committee.

At the governmental level, he was the Secretary to Ejigbo Local Government in Osun State, Nigeria (January 1991-November 1993), and Speaker of the Osun State House of Assembly (May 1999-May 2003), both of which positions gave him further exposure in the management and working of public services and state institutions.

Contact Info.:

Telephone: (+212) 645901676, 534472225, 653738794; (+234) 8068964365; (+44) 7404270314

E-Mail: mojeed62@yahoo.co.uk ; mojeed62@cafrad.org ; mojeed62@unilorin.edu.ng

Scholar of the Month: April, 2010



Isiaka Alani Badmus, M.S., FJAPSS: A Nigerian national, Isiaka Alani Badmus is presently an Australian Government (Endeavour IPRS) funded international scholar attached to the Centre for Peace Studies, School of Humanities, University of New England, Armidale, NSW, *Australia* where he is conducting a Doctoral Research on the African Union regionalism and international Peacekeeping. He was previously a Researcher at the Centre for Social Science Research and Development (CSSR&D), Lagos, Nigeria and Senior Programme Officer, Educational Services Consult (now Lead City University), Ibadan, Nigeria. His educational

backgrounds include a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in International Relations from the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria; and a Bachelor's degree in Law from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He also hold a Diploma in French Language and civilization; Postgraduate Diploma in Democracy and Diversity; and Diploma in Peace and Conflict Research from *Universite de Cocody*, Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire; New School University (TCDS), New York, USA; and Uppsala University, Sweden respectively. Mr. Badmus has been a Swedish Government (SIDA/SAREC) scholar at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden (2000); Fellow of the Transregional Center for Democratic Studies, New York/Democracy and Diversity Graduate Institute, Cape Town, South Africa (2002); Uppsala University/Swedish Government Scholar to the United Nations Office, Geneva, Switzerland (2000). In addition, he won the prestigious Swiss Government (Pro-Helvetia) scholarship for the 13th Session of the European Summer University (Euroregion 2001), Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg, Switzerland (not utilized) and has attended various noted professional training programmes, seminars and conferences in Africa and beyond. Mr. Badmus' current research interests include, but not limited to, Security Studies; International Peacekeeping; Conflict Prevention; Post-Conflict Peacebuilding; Conflicts in Africa and Post-Conflict Transitions in African States; Disarmament and Arms Control in West Africa, Security Sector Reform and Governance; Humanitarian Affairs/Complex Humanitarian Emergencies [CHE]; Governance, Democratization and Civil Society in Africa; and Afro-Asia Relations.

A specialist in Africa's regional security studies, Mr. Badmus has over 10 years' experience in the field of research, training, administration, and documentation. He has strong leadership and management experience having fully involved (at the Centre for Social Science Research and Development, Lagos, Nigeria) in the coordination and execution of a project on "Understanding and Promoting Positive Leadership in Nigeria", a nationwide study supported by a Grant from the Ford Foundation, New York between 2002 and 2006, etc.

Mr. Badmus is the author of "*Managing Arms in Peace Processes: ECOWAS and the West African Civil Conflicts*" (Porto, Portugal: CEAUP, University of Porto, 2009); "*Under Reconstruction: Ethnicity, Ethnic Nationalism and the Future of the Nigerian State*" (JAPSS, Florida, 2009); contributing Researcher to "*Alternative Who is Who for Nigeria*" (Lagos: CSSR&D, 2006), and Editor of "*Intra-State Conflicts in World Politics: Framing the African Experience*". Delray Beach, Florida: JAPSS Press, Inc. [Forthcoming 2011]. His articles have appeared in such learned journals as; *Nigerian Forum* [Lagos]; *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* [AJIAD]; *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs* [Lagos]; *Africa Insight* [Pretoria] South Africa; *Contexto Internacional* [Rio de Janeiro], Brazil; *Afrique et Developpement/Africa Development* [CODESRIA] Dakar, Senegal; *Peace Research: The Canadian Journal of Peace Studies* [Manitoba], Canada; *Journal of Social Sciences: Interdisciplinary Reflection of Contemporary Society* [New Delhi], India; *The Anthropologist: International Journal of Contemporary and Applied Studies of Man* [New Delhi], India; *Development and Socio-Economic Progress*, [Cairo]; Egypt; *Law and Politics in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* [*Verfassung Und Recht In Ubersee*] [Hamburg], Germany; *Ufahamu* [Professor J.S. Coleman African Studies Center, University of California at Los Angeles], USA; *International Journal of African Studies* (CEAUP, University of Porto), Portugal; *Asterikos: Journal of International and Peace Studies* [La Corunha, Galiza], Spain; *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* (Florida), USA; *International Problem* (Belgrade), Serbia; *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, (New Delhi), India; *Review of International Affairs* (Belgrade) Serbia; and forthcoming articles in *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* (USA); *Journal of Development Alternatives and Area Studies*, (Sweden/USA); *African Studies Quarterly* (Florida), USA; etc. His forthcoming major study (To be co-authored with 'Dele Ogunmola) is titled: [1] "*Nigerian Defence Policy and National Security: A Forty Year Appraisal*" (To be published in Australia). His other major book projects are tentatively titled: [2] "*Putting Guns in Their Place: ECOWAS/Civil Society Organisations Partnership in Securing West Africa*"; [3] "*ECOWAS and Conflict Management in West Africa*", [4] *Multilateral Diplomacy, Peace Making and the Post-Cold War West African Civil Conflicts*, and [5] *Alternative Theories of Development and Conflicts* [To be co-edited with Otto F. von Feigenblatt and Prof. Dr. Om Prakash Dwivedi]

Mr Badmus is a member of the Nigerian Society of International Affairs; Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (FRAS); Distinguished Fellow of the Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences (FJAPSS) [USA]; Member, African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP); Member, Nonkilling Security and International Relations Research Committee of the US-based Centre for Global Nonviolence, (Honolulu, Hawaii); The Right and Honourary Member of the Guild of Independent Scholars (USA); Master of the Lagos (Nigeria) Priory of the Guild of Independent Scholars; Master of the Armidale (Australia) Priory of the Guild of Independent Scholars; Editor of the "Working Paper Series" of the Guild of Independent Scholars (Florida), USA; Review Editor of *Journal of Post colonial Culture and Societies* [USA and India]; Associate Editor of the Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences (Florida), USA; Representative of the Guild of Independent Scholars in Africa and the Asia-Pacific; etc and was/is on the Editorial Board of the *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* [1999-2001], *CSSR&D Bulletin* [2003]; *Journal of Post colonial Culture and Societies* [USA and India], *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* [USA], etc. He has reviewed manuscripts for international scholarly journals such as: *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* [Nigeria]; *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* [USA]; *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* [USA]; *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* [USA]; *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution* [USA]; *The Anthropologist: International Journal of Contemporary and Applied Studies of Man* [India]; *African Journal of History and Culture* [USA], *African Journal of Environmental Science and Technology* [USA], etc A polyglot social scientist, Mr. Badmus speaks

English and French fluently and passable Spanish and Portuguese. He is currently Assistant Professor of International Relations and African Studies, and, Deputy Director, Central American Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at the International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (IUHSS), San Jose, Costa Rica. He is also the University of New England, Australia (UNERS) Scholar. On 29 February 2009, Mr. Badmus was conferred with the Honorary Citizenship of the Local Government Area of Armidale Dumaresq, New South Wales (NSW), Australia by the Mayor of Armidale Local Government Area Dumaresq, Cr. Peter Ducat.

NEW FROM YKING BOOKS

Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region

*Security Challenges, Regional Integration, and
Representative Case Studies*

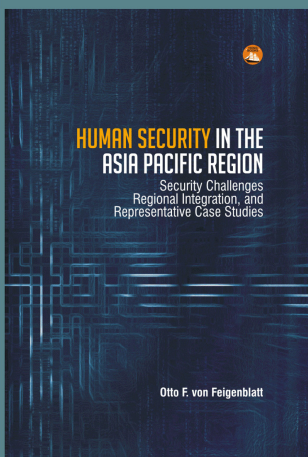
OTTO F. VON FEIGENBLATT

200 pp, 5 illus., \$38 cloth



YKING BOOKS

18, Jain Bhawan, Opp. NBC,
Shanti Nagar, Jaipur-302 006
Ph.: 0141-222 1456, 94140 56846
e-mail : ykingbooks@gmail.com



“Exceptionally stimulating, *Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region* integrates security challenges and regional integration. Otto F. von Feigenblatt’s comparative monograph takes a magisterial overview of the region by comparing intra-regional and regional dynamics to produce a novel perspective of the Asia Pacific region. The brilliant synthesis in exploring the two Chinas’ problem in relation to Costa Rica and the use of Sarawak’s past to probe for a solution in Southern Thailand provide originality and vision of a rising young scholar. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the region.”

Prof. Dr. A. Mani
Vice President, Ritsumeikan
Asia Pacific University
Japan

AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE OPEN ACCESS MOVEMENT
ALL OUR TITLES CAN BE DOWNLOAD AT NO COST FROM OUR WEB-SITE

JAPSS PRESS, Inc

New Titles:

La "Economía de "Burbuja" en Japón

By Erneschè Rodríguez Asien



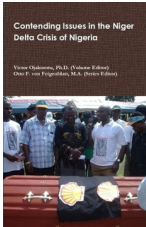
Paperback, 217 pages

"El crecimiento de la burbuja financiera a mediados de los años 80, hasta su explosión a principios de los 90 en Japón, trajo como resultado un gran número de créditos irrecuperables, que causaron graves problemas en el sistema financiero nipón..."

La "Economía de "Burbuja" en Japon provides rare glimpse at Cuban scholarship in the field of economic development. Ernesche Rodriguez Asien is a Professor at the University of Havana as well as bureaucrat at the Central Bank of Cuba. \$25.95

Contending Issues in the Niger Delta Crisis of Nigeria

By Victor Ojakorotu, Ph.D.



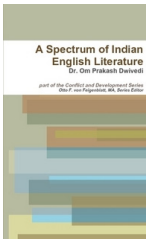
Paperback, 308 pages

This edited volume deals with a vast array of issues related to the Niger Delta Crisis of Nigeria.

\$77.82

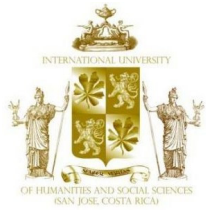
A Spectrum of Indian English Literature

By Om Prakash Dwivedi



Paperback, 114 pages

This is a collection of critical essays on Indian English Literature by diverse hands, with a special focus on the theme of conflict and development in it. It contains thirteen essays by as many scholars, and the scholars contributing to it are both Indian and Westerners. Indian authors like, Raja Rao, R.K. Narayan, Amitav Ghosh, V.S. Naipaul, Manohar Malgonkar, Salman Rushdie, Jhumpa Lahiri, Girish Karnad, Aravind Adiga, Kiran Desai, Kamala Markandaya, and their texts have been studied herein. This collection will, hopefully, prove useful to teachers and researchers and find a place on the shelves of the libraries the world over.



Central American Institute of Asia Pacific Studies

(CAI-APS)

The International University of Humanities and Social Sciences has recently established the **Central American Institute of Asia Pacific Studies (CAI-APS)** to promote Asia Pacific Studies in Central America through academic and research programs, publications and international conferences. The Asia Pacific region is very diverse therefore the CAI-APS will have a few specialized sub-regional academic and research programs e.g. South Asian Studies, Southeast Asian Studies etc.

The CAI-APS will continue to expand the scope of Asia Pacific Studies through international networking and outreach programs. Therefore, presently the CAI-APS is active in forging academic and research collaborations with relevant academic institutes and research organizations in Central America and the Asia Pacific region. Through cooperation with academic institutions, we wish to offer opportunities to students of Asia Pacific Studies from universities across the world to come and benefit from rich academic resources at the CAI-APS in the beautiful Costa Rica. Through research collaborations, the staff at the CAI-APS offers the opportunity to students to interact with our highly qualified research faculty to enhance the scope of their research. Also research institutions and individual researcher are invited to contact us to further discuss the possibility of collaboration in the area of Asia Pacific Studies.

IUHS is based on a new paradigm in education combining the best of distance education with the personal touch of on campus instruction. Our hybrid programs are taught by highly qualified scholars from various countries.

CAI-APS updates

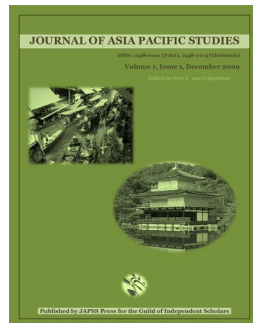
We are proud to announce that two faculty members, Professors Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Otto F. von Feigenblatt, have been elected Fellows of the prestigious Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 2009 for their contribution to Asia Pacific Studies. The Royal Asiatic Society is considered to be the oldest and most prestigious learned society dealing with Asian Studies and membership is highly selective. IUHS is proud to have the only Fellows of the Royal Asiatic Society in Central America as part of its faculty.



In a picture, director of the CAI-APS meeting the SAARC Secretary General, Dr. Sheel Kant Sharma at the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu, Nepal, 14 September 2009

CAI-APS Publications

The institute is proud to have launched the Journal of Asia Pacific Studies (JAPS) which is published in collaboration with the Guild of Independent Scholars. You can access the JAPS issues online: <http://www.iapss.org/iapsdec09.html>



Staff at the CAI-APS

- CAI-APS Director, Assistant Professor Zahid Shahab Ahmed, MA Sociology & MA Peace Education (PhD candidate, University of New England, Australia).
- CAI-APS Deputy Director, Assistant Professor Isiaka Alani Badmus, MS (PhD candidate, University of New England, Australia).
- CAI-APS Distinguished Fellow, Dr. Steven Shirley (Assistant Professor, Keimyung University, Korea).
- CAI-APS Associate Fellow, Dr. Yin C. Chuang (Assistant Professor, Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan).
- CAI-APS Associate Senior Fellow, Dr. Muhammad Junaid Naqvi (Assistant Professor, International Islamic University, Pakistan).
- CAI-APS Associate Senior Fellow, Dr. Ruan Wei (Professor, University of Shenzhen, Nanshan, China).
- CAI-APS Research Fellow, Prof. Otto F. von Feigenblatt, BS, MA, FRAS, PhD Scholar (Rector of the IUHSS).

For more information about the CAI-APS please contact the director, Zahid Shahab Ahmed at: shahab@iuhss.edu.net

International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (IUHS)

Opening September 2010!

Welcome to the new university designed for the Global Leaders of the 21 st century.

A postindustrial knowledge society requires leaders with an interdisciplinary training. More than just technical skills are needed to succeed in a globalized world. IUHS provides the best of universal design learning with quality research. All faculty members hold advanced graduate degrees in their fields and most have considerable experience as practitioners.

- A.A. in International Studies**
- B.A. in International Relations**
- M.A. in Global Leadership**
- Professional Training and much more...**

Apply Now!!!

www.iuhs-edu.net
info@iuhs-edu.net

Urbanizacion Monte Roca, Escazu,
San Jose, Costa Rica



International University of Humanities and Social Sciences (IUHS)

Universidad Internacional de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales

What programs do we offer?
Our university offers a Master's of Arts in Global Leadership, a Graduate Certificate in Global Leadership, an Associate of Arts in International Studies, a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations, and multiple professional training programs in field ranging from negotiation to English Composition.

Apply Now!
IUHS is now accepting applications for the 2010-2011 Academic Year!

Scholarships Available!!!

www.iuhs-edu.net
info@iuhs-edu.net



South Asia Centre for Peace (SACP)



South Asia Centre for Peace (SACP) is a non-government and not-for-profit organization based in Pakistan. *While striving for peace in South Asia*, SACP is working at the regional level through collaborations with likeminded individuals and organizations across the region. The organization aims to become not only a regional think-tank in the area of peace studies but also a centre on peace education and peace awareness through research and media campaigns. The key objectives of the centre are to:

1. build and work in collaboration with a network of peace organizations and individuals in South Asia;
2. develop an exclusive peace education curriculum for South Asia to eliminate all kinds of social evils such as stereotypes, prejudices, violence against women, religious extremism etc. Special emphasis will be made to develop first of its kind curriculum on rural peacebuilding;
3. spread the message of de-nuclearization, disarmament and non-violence by lobbying against growing nuclearization, arms race and violence in the region;
4. facilitate further study on the conflict issues by bringing together diverse viewpoints and encourage creative thinking to enhance the peace process faced with impasse. The aim is to put forward a set of recommendations for policymaking at bilateral level and regional level through SAARC.
5. foster inter-faith and inter-cultural harmony through dialogues on inter-faith harmony and cultural exchange programmes;
6. engage with journalists from South Asia by offering training workshops on “peace journalism” because by acquiring necessary skills journalists have a potential to contribute to peace in South Asia; and to
7. collaborate with extra-regional organizations and interested individuals to understand regional dynamics so as to contribute towards peacebuilding in South Asia.

Mission

The mission of the SACP is to bring together organizations and individuals having a common cause of promoting peace in South Asia. Our mission is not only to end wars and violent conflicts in the region, both at intrastate and interstate levels, but also to address increasing poverty besides emerging human security threats such as water, food, health and environmental security vis-à-vis climate change, and terrorism which is as much a human security as a traditional security threat.

Vision

To empower organizations and individuals in South Asia to promote peace in all the countries of the region through education, media and research programmes.