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# Language, Discourse & Society

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# **Language, Discourse & Society**

A Journal Published by the Language & Society,  
Research Committee 25 of the International Sociological Association

Thematic issue

## **Symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts.**

### **Language, power and ethnicity**

This issue is guest-edited by

Anna Odrowaz-Coates, The Maria Grzegorzewska University in  
Warsaw, Poland

&

Sribas Goswami, Serampore College in West Bengal, India

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*Language, Discourse & Society* is an international double blind peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

The editorial board will consider proposed articles based on clear methodological and theoretical commitment to studies of language. Articles must substantially engage theory and/or methods for analyzing language, discourse, representation, or situated talk.

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# Language, Discourse & Society

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**Language & Society**  
**Research Committee 25 of the**  
**International Sociological Association**

## **Message from the editor**

This issue of *Language, Discourse & Society* is dedicated both to a thematic issue and to a varia section, renamed non thematic section for more clarity. The thematical part is presented below by Anna Odrowaz-Coates (The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw, Poland) and Sribas Goswami (Serampore College in West Bengal, India), guest editor for the call, entitled “Symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts. Language, power and ethnicity”.

Regarding the non thematic section, it counts three original articles. Nicole Trujillo-Pagan looks at the expression “self-deportation” to shed light on its use by the media, academics and political experts, and on its effect toward the implementation of the related public policies. Abdullahi Saleh Bashir and Umar Ahmed focuses on the news reports of “Bring Back Our Girls” campaign in Nigerian newspapers. This is enlightening toward how the campaign is dealt with within the context of its emergence. Finally, Eli Ayawo Atasi and Benjamin Amoakohene analyse the level in spelling toward key terms in English by students of a Technical university because matching the right English words to their respective pronunciation toward a professional glossary help them in their various areas of work after school but also enhance their classroom work.

The December 2019 issue will be dedicated to “Political Discourse and Historical, Colonial and Neo-Colonial Regimes of Power”, co-edited by Gatitu Kiguru (Kenyatta University, Kenya) and Phyllis Mwangi (Kenyatta University, Kenya). The June 2020 issue will be dedicated to “Language Studies in a Decolonial Interpretative Key”, and is edited by Viviane de Melo Resende (University of Brazilia, Brazil).

The past years as editor in chief were extremely rewarding; I am thankful to the editorial board members, and especially to Federico Farini, who created *LD&S* in 2011, and Amado Alarcon, RC25 President at the time, who both entrusted the journal to me. *Language, Discourse & Society* is a central journal for the dissemination of research in the field of sociology of language, and sociolinguistics (with a huge weight put on the “socio” part), looking at language rather solely through it. It also has the specific feature of covering a diversity of linguistic and geographical areas beyond the usual borders, enabling a significant contribution to the investigation of the language issues toward the production and the dissemination of knowledge.

As announced in the previous issue, Natalie Byfield (St. John's University, USA) becomes the new Editor in Chief of *LD&S* on July 2019. I am looking forward to still supporting the journal under Natalie’s leadership, and to supporting her in this position. *Language, Discourse & Society* is in good hands!

Wishing you a vibrant and stimulating reading of this issue, with my best regards,

**Stéphanie Cassilde, Editor in Chief**  
***Language, Discourse and Society***  
**Centre d’Etudes en Habitat Durable**  
**Belgium**  
**[journal@language-and-society.org](mailto:journal@language-and-society.org)**

## Message from the Guest Editor

*Language, Discourse, & Society* is an international peer-reviewed journal, focused on advancing sociological knowledge concerning language, face-to-face interaction, and other language-related social phenomena. The objective is to investigate language from a sociological and/or a sociolinguistic perspective. Discourse and discourse analysis is also at focus. This was taken into account in the selection of articles for this thematic issue: "Symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts. Language, power and ethnicity."

The post-review acceptance rate was at around 70 percent in order to maintain high standards of the journal. In the special issue we present articles from Finland, Germany, India, Netherlands, Nigeria, UK, USA and Vietnam, reviewed by reviewers, from France, India, Israel, Poland, UK, USA and Chile, whom we wish to thank.

This thematic issue of *Language, Discourse and Society* is dedicated to language as a tool to investigate power, discourses, and cultural and semiotic practices. Language is conceived per se and looking at its social functions entangled in hidden power structures and complex internal and external relations. This subject is closely connected to the issues of globalization and ethnicity crisis.

The focus is on symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts. Symbolic violence refers to invisible mechanisms of power bestowed by not only verbal and written communication, but also as a tool for social engineering. In this framework, researchers were invited to submit papers on the dynamics of language and the linguistic norm negotiation, through globalization and localization processes in culturally diverse societies.

Contributions which are accepted include the theme of human rights, issues of gender, governance, ownership, education and socialization. This thematic issue of *Language, Discourse, & Society* includes both theoretical and empirical articles that produce an exhaustive monograph of perceived and hidden symbolic violence in endo-exo symbolic exchanges represented through language, discourse and socio-cultural practices. The guest editors are notably inspired by the works of Norman Fairclough, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Félix Guattari, Martin Heidegger, Henry Bergson, Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault, Slavoj Žižek, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Walter Mignolo, and Ramon Grosfoguel. The interest of the guest-editors already led to the publication of *Symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts. A post-colonial critique* (2017, published by Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki Specjalnej, Warsaw). This special issue is the continuation of the invested interest of the co-editors.

The authors discuss refugee education in Germany, violence rooted at school and family in Vietnam, language landscape of Finnish education, displacement of Janusz Korczak's pedagogical heritage and the reading of children's rights in novel contexts. Other papers include social realism as a tool used for interpretation of symbolic violence found in Nigerian novels, often centred around gendered social practices, a 'cryptolept' in Nigerian muso-linguistics of hip-hop, and reflection on literary translation of Igbo and Kalabari languages. Furthermore, Ayurveda and its links to education in India is discussed and the textual concepts of neo-gothic architecture in RC churches as an ideological expression of Ultramontanism.

The guest thematic issue was divided into 4 sections: "Language, text, re-contextualization", "Language and symbolic violence in education", "Symbolic violence and gendered discourses" and finally "Discourse and symbolic violence". The reviewers noted that these rare and perhaps unusual topics make this special issue unique in the field of interdisciplinary language and discourse studies.

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## **Call for guest-editors for e- journal *Language, Discourse and Society***

*Language, Discourse & Society* is an international peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

All interested guest-editors are invited to submit a proposal (a call for papers) in order to edit a thematic issue. The editor in chief will consider proposed call for papers based on clear commitment to studies of language. *Language, Discourse & Society* cannot publish proceedings. Guest-editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal. *Language, Discourse & Society* accepts electronic submissions year round. Please send your proposals to: [journal@language-and-society.org](mailto:journal@language-and-society.org)

The role description of *Language, Discourse & Society* guest-editor is as follow:

Each guest-(co-)editor is responsible:

- for writing the call for articles: within the framework of *LD&S* editorial line and tacking into account that *LD&S* cannot publish proceedings, (co-)editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal.
- for all communications with authors
- for the evaluation process of articles, which includes:
- finding additional reviewers so that each article is peer-reviewed.
- taking a decision regarding the final selection of articles in accordance with the editorial line of *LD&S*
- for keeping the deadline to submit the whole issue to the editor in chief of editing. This includes to take care that minimal requirements are met (font, font size, space, margin, accuracy of references)
- for basic editing regarding the form and the style of each article: the (co-)editor should check whether the references within the article are mentioned in the bibliographical part, whether the references listed in the biographical part are all quoted within the article, and whether the template of *LD&S* is respected (letter font, size, etc.)

The guest-(co-)editor cannot publish an article in *LD&S*, neither as principal author, nor as co-author. His/her name is indicated as follow: “this issue of *Language, Discourse and Society* about {here the final title of the thematic issue} is edited by {here the name of the editor(s)}”.

The position of guest-(co-)editor is unpaid.



**Call for Papers**

The next call for papers should be online by September 2019.

This is also the opportunity to remind all potential authors that *Language, Discourse & Society* accepts submissions all year long for its non thematic section.



## **Original Articles**

### **Symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts**

**Language, power and ethnicity**  
guest-edited by Anna Odrowaz-Coates & Sribas Goswami



## **'Re-Placing' Janusz Korczak: Education as a Socio-Political Struggle**

Basia Vucic<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

The Jewish-Polish pedagogue, Janusz Korczak is traditionally associated with his orphanage in the Warsaw ghetto and his murder alongside the children during the Holocaust. A doctor and educator, Korczak is also increasingly acknowledged for his unique pedagogical projects such as the self-governing orphanages (democratic children's homes) and his advocacy for child rights. Translations of his writing and the dominance of individualized interpretations for his motives, has resulted in Korczak being displaced from his socio-historical context of Warsaw.

This paper seeks to increase awareness of the inseparable nature of Korczak's Polish language texts to the Polish struggle for independence. The aim is to further investment into understanding the socio-historical context within which Korczak's writing was rooted. When readers acknowledge the limitations of the translated Korczak texts, this encourages a greater appreciation of current Polish scholarship but also deepens the philosophical inquiry into his work. This paper uses Korczak's texts to demonstrate how power and language reinforce each other by conflating the concepts of the oppressed into those of the oppressor. The purpose of highlighting flaws in translated texts is not simply to correct the error but to disrupt notions of identity; oppressed and oppressor, in relation towards the 'not-so-radically' Other. Examinations of Korczak's ideological experiences, either religious, cultural or political, move more of his own account from the periphery into the foreground. To date, the impact of Russian colonization and Poland's struggle for political independence within Korczak's texts has been given little attention and served to keep readers ignorant of this aspect. Whereas other studies have attended to Korczak's Jewish-Polish heritage, the focus here is on his political philosophy. The goal is to RE-place Korczak by historically situating his ideas within his city of Warsaw and the intelligentsia of the time. This demonstrates that Korczak's critical pedagogy and work outside of the authority of the State positions him today as a radical educator. Historically, he can be aligned with the ideas of specific social movements, especially anarchist theories. Rather than uniformity of ideas, the Warsaw intelligentsia at the turn of the twentieth century, both Polish and Jewish, was a democratic mesh with disparate individuals brought together in tactical co-operation for the struggle of nation-building. The reader is introduced to Korczak in 'place' in order to illuminate a new reading of Korczak's texts and ideas as emanating from radical philosophical underpinnings.

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### **Keywords**

Korczak; translation; critical pedagogy; revolution; anarchism; philosophy of education

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## Introduction

The Jewish-Polish pedagogue, Janusz Korczak is traditionally associated with his orphanage in the Warsaw ghetto and his murder alongside the children during the Holocaust. A doctor and educator, Korczak's combination of ambition, knowledge and skills, led to the development of a unique pedagogical project in the form of self-governing orphanages (the children's homes). His tragic death and story of sacrifice have simultaneously elevated and obscured him. There have been recent attempts to move beyond Korczak's life story, to recover his pedagogical work and influence within the child rights movement. The primary purpose of this article is to demonstrate the integral relationship of the Polish struggle for independence to the development of Korczak's philosophy and practice. Exploring a small number of Korczak's texts demonstrates how power and language reinforce each other by conflating the concepts of the oppressed into those of the oppressor. Even in his lifetime, Korczak (1929b/1967, p. 486) challenged Eglantyne Jebb's 'save the children' movement for appropriating 'child rights' to mean goodwill or adult duties. Within many published works, Korczak has been 'dis-placed' from his early historical Warsaw context, so that accounts of his life and activities usually highlight his death in the Holocaust or itemize his array of pedagogical practices. Recent contributions have begun to acknowledge Korczak's role within a 'hidden' history of child rights: however, individualized narratives are told through a psychological lens explaining his motives for action as an identity crisis or as an unshakeable sense of duty. As a result, Korczak's philosophy and perspective of child rights under-researched and remains poorly understood (Liebel, 2018; Vucic, 2017).

Although his greater visibility is welcomed, this renewed interest in Korczak has often not included Polish studies; increasingly leaving Polish scholarship and even Korczak's own texts isolated from the discourse. Despite a respectable bedrock of work on Korczak by the likes of Bińczycka, Lewin, Mencwel, Sliwerski and Smolińska-Theiss; this solid local cluster has failed to join the international neural network as such. Economic drivers and desire for mobility go some way in explaining why the younger generation of Polish scholars, including those at the Korczak alma maters in Warsaw, have had no substantial interest in pursuing Korczak-related research. This is certainly not due to a lack of talent, intellect or capacity but one based on the prediction that this Polish line of thinking and any possible professional opportunities ended with the previous academic generation and failed to pay dividends in the West. The socio-historical context of Warsaw before and during Korczak's lifetime is complex, contested and not well known even in Poland thus demands the ongoing engagement with Polish scholars. Non-Polish scholars often fail to recognise or acknowledge that for much of his lifetime, Korczak lived and wrote as a colonized subject or under occupation; and that he initiated his educational experiment in a violent, oppressed city. Under such circumstances, his early work was directly shaped as a criticism of the authority of the State (Russian Empire) and sought independence (politically, culturally and spiritually) for both Poles and Jews on the Polish territory. This article highlights some of Korczak's earlier texts, written in the decade prior to the establishment of the Homes (two Polish and Jewish orphanages) which provide valuable insight into Korczak's political ideals. By encouraging the reader towards an understanding of anarchism as a theoretical framework, the article facilitates a deeper understanding of Korczak's own philosophy rather than portraying him as a political anarchist.

## 1. Reading Korczak

The Swedish professor of pedagogy, Sven Hartman (1997) pointed towards the lack of a rigorously researched body of work as the impediment to Korczak's ideas being propagated. The solution he offered did not necessarily consider the problems of translations nor indirect secondary sources but highlighted the different ways of 'reading' Korczak. The most common readings, according to Hartman, were biographical-narrative and normative-interactive; both directed at sourcing historical facts or extracting Korczak's pedagogical practices. The main goal of such readings is to formulate a 'Korczak system' which has been the favoured approach in Eastern Europe. The alternative reading recommended by Hartman is somewhat skewed towards enticing researcher interest and has a focus on gathering more data in contemporary settings with Korczak's ideas as a comparative 'counterweight'. Such analysis privileges the existing body of knowledge and the empirical case. Whereas according to Douglas Porpora's (2015, p. 20) argument, what is more important and must be undertaken first, is the conceptual and philosophical work. However, the sheer volume of Korczak texts has resulted in editors and academics selecting what they consider as the most important pieces for publication and review. Aware of Korczak's wide range of topics and often satirical style, statements or articles that do not seem to fit are often dismissed or excluded all together. The example considered here is the account of Korczak's visit to Forest Hill orphanages which often exclude his concluding remark that following the visit he committed an 'act of revenge'.<sup>2</sup> If this remark was included it might raise doubts for the reader of Korczak's positive impressions in London as explored in the following section.

Much of the literature on Korczak in English, although reproducing quotes, relies heavily on secondary translated sources (c.f. Odrowaz-Coates 2018). These citations often do not draw from the original Korczak texts but trade quotes between indirect sources and even more prominently from the popular biography written by Betty Jean Lifton (1988). It is acknowledged that Lifton's biography has made a great contribution to worldwide awareness of Korczak's work and legacy. Written as a psycho-historical account, however, has stripped Korczak of any political motivations. Leaving his educational work to be rebranded under a 'pedagogy of sympathy', there is an overemphasis on Korczak's duty for 'saving the children'. Whatever small concessions have been achieved away from this position, sympathy and sacrifice remain the dominant narrative and any 'revolutionary' political concepts are kept outside the scope of subsequent scholarly work. Despite protest that Lifton is not influencing academia, there is an entrenched tendency for any contradictions to Lifton's individualist account to be 'explained away' or ignored. Lifton's biography is cited more than 180 times, far more often than Korczak's own works translated into English.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the biography has become conflated with Korczak himself, with a tendency towards the reductive understanding of his work as synonymous with (Lifton) biographical details of his life resulting in a convoluted pragmatic philosophical stance. The intention here is not to delve into the content of the biography as such but provide a better understanding of how

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<sup>2</sup> The only account Korczak wrote specifically of his time in London, consisted of a couple of pages on the orphanages in Forest Hill. The concluding statement refers to his vengeful acting of giving money to a beggar which is rarely included in scholarship or discussions. The Forest Hill Historical Society seminar "In the Footsteps of Janusz Korczak" provided the explanation that it was incompatible with the rest of the Korczak narrative.

<sup>3</sup> Google scholar (10.03.2019)

such seminal works have shaped the prevalent psycho-historical understanding of Korczak, especially in English speaking circles. The language and power of psychology as an academic discipline presents not only a certain individualist image of the child, but also of education and human nature in general. It is understandable that Lifton undertook minimal exploration of the ideological underpinnings of this era, thus rather than focus on content the intention is to critically examine certain dogmatic assumptions being perpetuated.

This chapter refers to the many subsequent academic works which have tended to adopt uncritical readings of Lifton, incorporating and perpetuating this dominant account. Lifton presents Korczak's motivation for working with children as mainly psychological and philanthropic. Firstly, in terms of family influence drawn from a difficult relationship with his father, an overbearing mother and secondly, peer influenced in terms of doing his duty popular within the Young Poland movement. Within this narrative, Korczak had a sudden 'identity crisis' in London. Inspired by what he saw at the Forest Hill orphanages, he throws away his career in medicine in order to build and direct a similar institution for Jewish children in Warsaw (Lifton, 1988, pp. 65-66). This account demonstrates how readily a dominant psychological narrative based on identity and sympathy, due to popularity and distribution, can become the new story. This narrative reappears in almost every English account including well-respected work on child rights, such as Veerman's (2014) chapter on Korczak. Veerman (1992, Pp. 93; 105) describes his London investigation into the Forest Hill orphanages as thorough and wide-ranging but still substantiated Lifton's account. Even a quick physical visit to the girls' orphanage (Louise House) and local-archives reveal that this institution was much like other English 'industrial schools'.

Although contemporary sources have refashioned the industrial schools and workhouses into 'homes', the Forest Hill orphanages were strict and punitive, tasking themselves with the reform of poor children, whose families were labelled as degenerate and immoral. Although not strictly juvenile detention, there was little difference between reform and industrial schools by the end of the nineteenth century. The courts could send children to industrial schools for discipline and training if they had been deemed likely candidates for future criminal activity due to their circumstances. The Forest Hill institutions were primarily residential homes which were established to house vagrant, destitute and disorderly children as per the Industrial Schools Act of 1857. Many of the children were 'social orphans' so labelled for being raised by single or poor parents unable to earn a sufficient income to care for their children. The Lewisham Local History and Archive Centre holds a file entitled 'The Forest Hill Industrial School for Boys and Girls' which contains the committee reports, local maps, photos and parent letters. The archival records and the architecture of Louise House provide ready evidence that it operated as a residential industrial school/workhouse. The children received board and were taught vocational skills such as boot-making, wood chopping, animal husbandry (for the boys) and housekeeping and laundry skills (for the girls). This instruction was not intended only for life skills or educational purposes, but the children were required to earn an income for the institution in return for their keep. This work was in addition to attending local schools and geared towards future employment in domestic or military service. According to census documents and letters to parents, the homes referred to the children as 'inmates' and granted limited freedom, opportunities or possibility of returning to families. Both Forest Hill houses were operated by a charity and were subject to licencing and inspection by authorities. Under the patronage of local philanthropists, the children received annual 'treats' such as small gifts and outings to the local museum. Meanwhile, the

cohort of children was inducted into the social service of the British upper class or for return to work in the sweat trades (shoemaking, tailoring) of the East End of London. Most of the children placed in Forest Hill had been removed from their family environs of the polluted and crowded East End. The disparity between the two populations, Forest Hill and the East End, is an important element which was not lost on Korczak during his visit.

At the time of Korczak's visit around 1910, the girls attended public school locally and in return for their board worked in the large commercial laundry, where the entire 'garden' was used for hanging washing. The older children were better earners, thus less likely to be released back into family care, even if requested, unless sickly or injured. Korczak detailed the visit, describing the tram from Victoria (central London) to Forest Hill, where he alighted at the Horniman Gardens tram stop. Korczak provided a description of the expensive facilities in the Forest Hill neighbourhood, namely schools, parks, the orchestral bandstand, public baths and museum. There was brief speculation on the cost of building and maintaining such facilities, to which Korczak received the reply that it was made possible by parish patronage and wealthy philanthropists i.e. the Church, aristocracy and capitalists. The poor children of the town, and those of the orphanages were unlikely to access community facilities often. Their only joys were received gratefully a few times a year and bestowed by philanthropists rather than via their rights as citizens. Veerman (1992, p. 105) includes in his footnotes that he was aware of some inconsistencies within the Forest Hill account, such as the school and orphanages being unrelated institutions, yet fails to expand upon these within his own work. Influenced by a dominant lens of sympathy, psychology and philanthropy, Veerman remained certain in substantiating Lifton's account of Korczak's 'inspiration' despite documenting his own empirical evidence to the contrary. Through reciprocity, the Forest Hill Historical Society has somewhat refashioned its own narrative due to the popular account of the outcomes of Korczak's visit.<sup>4</sup> Hampered by translation, it was unlikely that Veerman had access to earlier Korczak texts, which would question Korczak's supposed admiration for London. Instead, he might have considered whether the visit had served to confirm first-hand Korczak's negative expectations, having read such criticisms in the books of Kropotkin and Ruskin. Therefore, it is asserted here that Korczak's visit to Forest Hill had the opposite effect and that he produced a sardonic account of London's care for a specific group of children, so much so, that Korczak 'took revenge' on the city after the visit. It is important to note that this last statement is puzzling for many readers and thus often omitted from Korczak quotes. If taken into consideration, a different picture emerges of that month in London, one which strengthened Korczak's resolve into action for socio-political change to produce a more equitable and fairer society.

Examining Korczak's London account must also be socially and historically situated within the era. The 1905 Aliens Act was the beginnings of modern-day immigration control, emanating from the political debates on the numbers of Eastern European Jews coming to the UK. Moral panics had been generated around the rising number of foreign national activists (terrorists) and criminals allowed onto British soil. Politicians and newspapers had increased focus on the large numbers of Russian and Polish Jews who fleeing persecution in the Russian Empire had settled in

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<sup>4</sup> One reason given for the Grade II heritage listing of the Louise House building was based on the visit by the notable Polish paediatrician Janusz Korczak, who was 'inspired' by Forest Hill.

the East End of London. The new arrivals put further pressure on housing, sanitary and welfare services and fuelled resentment amongst locals. This poor migrant population strained the capacity of charities and raised concerns that an outbreak of epidemics, both in terms of health and criminal degeneracy, may spread to English citizens. Whilst the British Empire and London enjoyed unprecedented prosperity as trade and factories brought immense wealth, the child mortality rates in London’s East End climbed exponentially. With limited English language skills, it is not hard to imagine that Korczak would have gravitated towards the communities of Russian- and Polish-speaking émigrés, predominantly Jewish. Leaving the riverside docks, the adjacent area of the East End is a natural starting point for Korczak’s orientation to London. The contrast of children’s starvation and disease in the East End within a stone’s throw must have been shocking for the young doctor. Here, Korczak may have learnt about the ragged schools and the child emigration schemes operating in Britain at the time. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1850 allowed institutional boards to arrange for a child’s migration overseas if unable to find an orphanage or work placement. The peak of this practice between 1870 and 1914, coincided with the strain that immigration had put on poor law authorities. Members of the East End community could have provided information on the circumstances of local children, many of whom were placed in orphanages outside of the city limits, namely Forest Hill. At the time, approximately 150 such institutions were operating within Greater London and there were certainly better institutions, in terms of facilities and conditions, further afield. The Forest Hill orphanages only differentiated themselves by counting royal patronage amongst their donors. This valuable piece in the puzzle may go some way to explain why Korczak made the effort to travel more than one hour to visit this relatively unremarkable industrial school on the outskirts of London. Embedded in class division and social inequity, Korczak witnessed first-hand the failure of philanthropy and the charity model despite the wealth of the British nation. Understanding this historical background further illuminates Korczak’s motives for taking charge of the Warsaw orphanage as a form of social engineering rather than philanthropic duty. This distinction is important in understanding Korczak’s role within a hidden history of child rights. Researching Korczak for a number of decades, Veerman can be credited for introducing Korczak to many in the English-speaking world and Veerman’s (2014) text on the future of child rights was reviewed as ‘forceful and convincing’ (Gillett-Swan & Coppock, 2016). However, looking beyond the ‘Lifton effect’, Veerman has gained little traction for Korczak’s ideas, rather than his life story, gaining entry into the field of educational research or child rights discourse. Therefore, in order to tease out the issue of Korczak’s absence within contemporary academia and the child rights discourse, the positive and negative impacts of Lifton’s biography on Korczak scholarship as a causal mechanism must be considered. The body of contradictions presented here, create sufficient doubt around the usual account of Korczak’s positive experience of London and the desire to replicate English education or its treatment of children. The following section delves deeper into Korczak’s earlier writing [1905–1912] in a historically situated manner to explore the influence of the revolutionary atmosphere of Warsaw at the time.

## **2. Historical Context**

### **2.1. 'Displacing' Korczak in Translations**

The point of this paper is not simply to enumerate and counter-factual errors in the work of others, but to show how power and language intertwine in the acts of writing, translation and reading using Korczak texts as the example. The purpose of translation appears simple, to convert one language into another, but the act of translation can also serve as a tool of further subjugation and oppression. As each party claims to hold the 'true' version over another, there is the tendency for either complacency or division with the dismissal of a previous work as holding poor scholarship. Instead, such conflict and debate should lead to an exploration of what sustains the errors within value-laden perspectives. The aim should be to harness any cross-cultural conflict by tying both parties together through the exposure of the flaws of translation. Gathering and analyzing these different points of view in terms of the social structures is done in order to challenge the false belief systems as a critique of ideology (meta-critique). As Winks (2009) explained, exploring the mechanisms causing such misunderstandings 'can rupture insular notions of identity that may be held by both oppressed and oppressor, and which are anchored in their binary opposition towards the Other'. The purpose of highlighting these flaws made by both experienced linguists and non-Polish speakers creates uncertainty in one's own ways of knowing whilst demonstrating that languages are not static nor geographically or historically disconnected. Specifically, in the case of the Polish language, this has evolved through resistance to the oppression of its political neighbours and as such it issues a statement of independent national identity inseparable from its historical-political struggles.

Semiotician, Umberto Eco (2015, p. 23) advises to researchers working on foreign authors, by saying it is essential to read in the original language. However, even when working within the Polish language, care must be taken not to produce accounts which 'displace' or 'replace' Korczak while working from different geographic, cultural or ideological perspectives. Despite shortcomings and fragmentation that plague everyone's work, the key is an awareness of the bias issue, especially when the translator/reader is working from the cultural-historical position of the oppressor. Restoration of Polish language scholars within the discourse is vital to Korczak scholarship expanding on its home territory, but also for gaining depth and a foothold within international academia. Similarly, Olga Medvedeva-Nathoo (2017, p. 112), advocates for a return to 'place' as being essential for Korczak's work, as she cites the cultural landscape as reciprocal in the forming and being formed;

Henryk Goldszmit grew into the famous Janusz Korczak on the rich soil of Polish culture and, at the same time, he himself made the Polish culture grow bigger. He was an inseparable part of the assimilated Jewish Warsaw – the city that filled up his heart and that was filled up with his presence.

The language a child acquires during the early years is not simply bound by the rules chosen by the adults in their home. The 'mother tongue' Korczak (1942/1992, p. 135) pronounced as the 'air' which the collective soul of the nation breathes;

Truth and doubt, faith and custom, love's quarrels, frivolity and seriousness, integrity and falsity, riches and poverty - all are the creation of the poet's inspiration, dribbled out by a drunken killer, centuries of degrading toil and dark years of slavery.

The fragments and aphorisms are stripped of their philosophical heritage and meaning when text is treated as a poetic turn of phrase, a-historically or by failing to recognise an import. Conversely, scholars have transferred philosophical meaning between different phrases during translation. The argument against conferring imported meanings are often taken up in a similar fashion to Marc Silverman (2017) and Bozena Shallcross (2011, p. 31) who state their unwillingness to use decidedly Christian words such as 'martyr', in relation to Korczak and the Holocaust. However, without much deliberation, Shallcross decides upon the German word, *Bildung* to describe Korczak's personal self-development and the process he undertook eventually leading to his death and ultimate 'sacrifice'. It is a term also adopted readily by Silverman and found in the foreword to Korczak's 'King Matt', where the American psychologist, Bruno Bettelheim described the book as a *bildungsroman* (tr. a novel dealing with one person's formative years). As a philosophical term, *Bildung* has entered the English vocabulary to refer to a German tradition of education or upbringing; specifically, it refers to the self-development of both mind and spirit. Although fluent in German, Korczak refrained from using the term in his pedagogical articles. As a useful definition, Hegel regarded *Bildung* as life-long development for personal transformation but embedded within social and historical processes. A defence against professionalism and material pursuits, the growth of the individual was regarded as essential to the betterment of German society. The general contemporary meaning of the *Bildung* concept is taken as a process of self-cultivation and a mediation between the individual and the world. In some ways, it can be considered a 'secular theology' driven by the Enlightenment. Disturbed by the terror following the French Revolution, *Bildung* emerged from a specifically German view, which elevated logic and meaningfulness whilst the individual engaged in a critique of one's society to actualize higher ideals (Reichenbach, 2014, Pp. 86-88). Yet for Hegel, this constant improvement process for the individual and society was part of a German historical tradition. Despite its neo-Kantian rejection of universal narratives, Hegel's *Bildung* promoted cultural maturation as a universal quality, whereby differentiating the primitive or 'a-historical' from the civilized. Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Hegel considered Oriental and Slavic agrarian societies as undesirable or lacking in cultural maturation (*ibid*). In light of the circumstances under which Korczak formulated his ideas, there should be strong resistance to *Bildung* being applied to Korczak's philosophy, or even more generally to the Polish context at the risk of perpetuating this historical concept of domination.

Along with the application of *Bildung* from German, the terms 'education' or 'pedagogy' have been popular in English translations of the Polish word *wychowanie*. The inadequacy of these terms has rarely been considered, although both have Polish equivalents; *edukacja* and *pedagogika* respectively. Similarly, *wychowawca* is often translated as teacher, for which there is the Polish word *nauczyciel*, as related to the school setting. There is limited scope here for an explanation of the Polish grammar involved beyond raising awareness of the issue and is an exercise best revisited by a philologist. In most basic terms, the noun, *wychowanie* is related to 'education, raising, upbringing' and the verb *wychowywać*, is an equivalent for the concepts 'to educate, to raise, to bring up'. There are instances where late in life, Korczak (1942/1992, p. 135) attempted to guide the reader in the development of this 'coda' with a diachronic analysis,

discussing the complexity and cultural significance of certain words. One such example is found in a little-known fragment, only available in Polish. Fluent in several languages, Korczak claimed languages such as Italian, French and Russian simply do not have the expression *wychowywać*; and English can be added to this assessment. Examining the etiology of the word *wychowywać*, Korczak wrote that it drew its meaning from the words 'to hide, protect, screen from harm and damage, secure' (provide security). According to Korczak's explanation, *wychowywać* was a 'beautiful expression' born out of the need to hide Polish children from countless foreign invaders, with an explicit cultural and political meaning (*ibid*). Therefore, instead of applying *Bildung* or English words, it is recommended that further definition of Korczak's use of the original Polish word *wychowywać* (vi-ho-vi-vutch) in relation to his pedagogical practice be undertaken.

To explore a historical figure such as Korczak, Daniel Little (2014) advocates methodological localism as the study of the development of self by exploring how the individual was formed and constituted. This seeks to understand the individual as the 'historically situated self' and requires accounts which provide insight into the possible determinants of individual agency. In this sense, this requires an exploration of which social institutions and influences culminated in the individual's worldview, moral framework and way of thinking and acting. Going beyond generalisations of the historical period such as the label of Positivism or Young Poland, the aim is to discover micro-foundations and the local variants which were key to identity construction. Little (*ibid*) is congruent in emphasizing that any historical account must also encompass the reality of social institutions. The constraints and opportunities presented through the local social environment influence the agent's choices, actions and goals. The access to the knowledge required for reflexivity must be framed by the context; the legal and political frameworks, educational and personal networks and so forth.

## **2.2. The Warsaw Intelligentsia**

The politically turbulent era of Korczak's youth occurred under the maxim that there would never be a Poland under any guise or name. Therefore, writing in Poland with the aim of cultural and political freedom was a dangerous endeavour and choosing pseudonyms displayed the need to protect oneself. Reserving his real name, Dr Henryk Goldszmit for his work as a doctor, Korczak adopted aliases early in his writing career for publishing outside of the medical profession in a bid to avoid censorship and the Tsarist authorities. Publishing anonymously or under pseudonyms reflected the wider Polish and Jewish use of alias names in clandestine activities but also for creating an intimate sense of community and purpose in revolutionary circles (Ury, 2012, p. 103). Korczak's encouragement for teachers and children to write and publish was one of the few avenues for ensuring active citizenship despite State oppression. Such use of print originated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Poland, which saw a flood of free gazettes, pamphlets and magazines publishing commentary on political and diplomatic events. Seized upon as a propaganda tool, the forum was characterised as 'every writer, grasping a pen, [...] felt he was a citizen fulfilling his patriotic duty, benefiting from his citizen rights' (Tarnowska, 2016, p. 222). It was the expectation of the literate, free citizen to publish their political reflections and opinions, not only as an expression of rights, but as a duty to Poland and the forum of public debate (*ibid*). Embedded within this long history, Korczak's decision to write political commentary alongside

his medical career had many Polish and Jewish precedents and hardly presented any conflict of identity issues.

By historically situating ‘Korczak the writer’ as a colonized subject within the Russian Empire, the scene can be set for the activities of ‘Korczak the educator’ to be understood as a continuum of his socio-political agenda. Specifically, within Korczak's circles, the lack of freedom accompanied by a collectivist ideology drove a social epistemological model which argued against the dominant individualistic ways of knowing. Unable to participate in academia at the turn of the twentieth century, the Warsaw intelligentsia were painfully aware of their own low status within Western Europe and mainstream schools of thought. The notion of academic hierarchy can be explained using Miranda Fricker's (2007) concept of 'epistemic injustice' that not only strives for awareness but, in the case of Warsaw, in some ways the thinkers were fuelled by this injustice to remain active and engaged even if rarely visible. Nearing the end of his life, Korczak (1942/1967, p. 582) still loudly declared the ethnic prejudice against the contribution of many 'great Poles'. That Korczak's ideological debate could have even occurred under conditions of war and occupation, speaks to the intellectual climate that existed in his lifetime.

Using Daniel Little's (2009) definition of a *mentalité* as a shared way of looking at the world and reacting to happenings and actions by others, provides us with a platform to characterize Korczak's developing philosophy and practice. The *mentalité* provides the intellectual frame for understanding the world, coupled with values and norms for acting and responding to the events encountered in life. The *mentalité* theory postulates that Korczak's activities were not just his unique set of eccentric traits but reveal a specific group basis for his choices and actions taken. Any references to the Polish schools of thought or the Warsaw intelligentsia in this article are an attempt to narrow down on the characteristics of Korczak's *mentalité* as a young man. Teasing out these threads do not suggest any were homogenously accepted in Warsaw or exclusive of other influences on Korczak such as Judaism. A *mentalité* comprises a cognitive framework, a value system, and a set of expectations about behaviour within the same group; although it would be expected that these could vary between members of the group. Generally, institutions for children and young people, formally and informally provide these elements. To persist, however, there must be consistency in the delivery, shared across schooling, religious practices, local culture and family life. One such institution was the underground *Latajaca Uniwersytet* (Flying University), an illegal society educating predominantly women; so, named as it moved constantly to new locations to avoid the Russian authorities. The seedbed or *mentalité* created by students and academics at the Flying University is often overlooked in favour of stressing Korczak's positivist medical training at the legal Tsarist University in Warsaw. Demonstrating the *mentalité* is fundamental to the argument that young Korczak was at the vanguard of a social movement promoting a specific ideology at the turn of the century.

Polish history and culture are little known or appreciated outside of Poland and its diaspora, and that is with good reasons. As a poor Eastern cousin on the outskirts of Europe, with a notoriously difficult language; as a nation it was unable to influence widespread or lasting schools of thought. Polish literature is inextricably linked to its cultural and historical context. This refers not only to its artistic elements but also to the course of its development. In terms of function and strategy, these elements of literature have differed significantly from those of other European countries

(Woźniak, 2014). When Poland was dismembered by its neighbours in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the Poles resisted the increasing repression on 'Polish-ness' in public spaces. Polish literature followed suit, becoming an instrument of resistance by maintaining cultural and linguistic identity (*ibid*). Many motifs, phrases and themes within Korczak's texts was drawn from such literature. At the turn of the twentieth century in Warsaw, writers, poets, publishers and journalists were at the heart of the revolutionary movement; able to speak directly to, and mobilize, the people. The decade in which Korczak began his professional career as a doctor was a period of unexpectedly quick social changes accompanied by intense transformation of the Polish landscape. In the early 1900s, it became routine for thousands to gather in the streets of Warsaw and elsewhere, to protest and demand Polish autonomy. Poets and painters spearheaded the quest for change engaging with men, women and children. Visibly active, children joined men and women in protests and strike actions which ground the city to a halt. At this time, Polish youth were not driven by Marxism as popularly assumed in the West, but more often by a form of positivist Romanticism which translated into revolutionary zeal seeking to achieve justice. The Polish nationalist movement, in striving for independence meshed to create unlikely bedfellows with the feminists and clergy joining both left and right political sides. However, the protests were not restricted to syndicate action, as chaos and violence reigned in Warsaw streets. Between 1903 and 1906, at least ten bombs had exploded in the city centre and 83 policemen had been killed. Postcards appeared publicising the various events of the time; the bomb blast at a cafe on Miodowa Street in the Old Town, was near to Korczak's primary school and university. A Russian troop convoy publicly escorted those arrested to the Citadel (fortress-prison) but Korczak was not in Warsaw at the time of the failed revolution of 1905. Drafted into the Russian army (the enemy), Korczak found himself at a great distance from his colleagues who were in the thick of the action. Although known for his pacifist views, especially in relation to the effect of war on children, his absence elicits a different question - what effect did missing out on such home events have on Korczak?

The violent deeds of hot-blooded activists had achieved nothing more than notoriety, and the label of 'terrorist' became synonymous with 'anarchist' in the public eye. Across Europe, ideologues who favoured abolishing private property turned to armed robbery to fund their revolutionary activities. One such crime in London was a jewellery theft which made international headlines, now famously connected to 'Peter the Painter'. This London heist was infamous due to the media sensationalism of anarchist terror, but it was the chaotic aftermath which resulted in police deaths and burning buildings which propelled it to international notoriety. Warsaw newspapers fuelled the public's fascination with these events, with many affording the story front page status complete with photos and headlines of 'Anarchists in London!'. In targeting private property and citizens rather than State authority, these anarchists blurred the lines of criminal versus revolutionary activity. English politicians and the press used the opportunity to build upon existing anti-immigrant sentiment which was predominantly directed at the flood of Jews from Eastern Europe. There are some clues to Korczak's allegiances within his socio-political writing around the events of this decade. Korczak (1911/1994, Pp. 242-3) himself entered the discussion by publishing a short response titled 'Scandal in the Salon' in a politically sympathetic gazette, the 'Free Tribune', affiliated with Roza Luxemburg's SDKPiL party. In this article, Korczak derided England, France and Germany for their colonialist policies and attitudes to foreigners, warning that Poles were yet to understand the cold-hearted nature of the industrialised West. His descriptions of Europe's three great cities were scathing, for example, he labelled Paris as the brothel of bankers, her streets 'rich' with syphilis and disease. Most of all

he singled out the hypocrisy of London for its outrage over the anarchist theft, whilst remaining morally blind to the wealth the nation amassed by stealing across its own vast empire. Warning Slavs and Polish Jews not to emigrate, Korczak's description of London's East End and police brutality are on-target thus suggesting first-hand experience. Korczak described London's schools and its beautiful parks as built from the blood and sweat of millions of 'slaves' – the 'black, yellow and white, indentured in the colonies of Africa, Asia and Australia'. The denouncement of philanthropy echoes the general anti-capitalism sentiments of socialists but is specifically found within the tenets of social anarchism.

### 3. Employing Anarchism

Jewish anarchism had been imported to London from the Polish ghettos in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century. Both cities were hot-beds of dissatisfaction not just amongst the rebellious literati and failed intelligentsia but also for Jewish immigrants fleeing the Russian pogroms. Finding themselves again under exploitative conditions, often via assimilated Jews, these were ready-made converts flocking to anarchist ideals (Woodcock, 1962, p. 421). In London, as was the case across Europe, the intellectual climate was focused upon the important socio-political debate over Darwin's natural selection theory and had generated great divides between nations and groups. Nineteenth-century anarchists, such as Peter Kropotkin [1842-1921], were especially vocal within the debate on evolution and the individual. With a charming persona and powerful supporters, Kropotkin's orations drew in crowds eager for his brand of anarchism, which was akin to moral philosophy, and his social theory, best summarised in his book 'Mutual Aid' (1902). The impact of Kropotkin's ideas resonated and stayed with Korczak to the end of his days. In his last weeks in the Ghetto Diary, Korczak includes Kropotkin on a list of books he planned to write. This seemingly disparate list of great thinkers that Korczak wrote – Fabre (entomologist), Kropotkin (anarchist) and Ruskin (art critic) all share a common link of having criticised aspects of Darwin's evolutionary theory.

By considering 'Mutual Aid' as the quasi-scientific response to Social Darwinism it structures the family tree of ideas which influence Korczak. In simple terms, Mutual Aid emphasises intra-species cooperation over competition and rejects the concept of individualistic struggle for existence. Standing in contrast to Spencer, Marx and other economic based models, this forms the kernel of the various anarchist schools of thought with this presumption of a natural and pre-human origin of society. Kropotkin argues that society is not governed by 'man-made' laws but 'by a sum of social customs and habits – not petrified by law, routine or superstition', but continually evolving towards higher ideals of freedom, accord and justice (Woodcock, 1963, p. 21). Such a theory does not automatically subscribe to the notion of 'goodness' in each individual simply waiting to be liberated but that political revolution requires also a spiritual transformation. Based on the belief that man is naturally social rather than naturally good, the anarchist vision is no Utopia of rigid perfection but an open system that experiences continual growth and change (*ibid*).

Korczak's references to Fabre (and even Maeterlinck) can be brought into this picture with his supporting evidence that challenged the individual nature of struggle through the examples of the

social world of bees, wasps and termites. Hence, 'beehive' and 'anthill' appear as Korczak's nicknames for the orphanage. That society evolved out of the animal world and existed before humans provided the basis for Kropotkin's argument that such a society is natural (*ibid*). Put simply; anarchism makes the "ontological claim that society preceded the State". (Goodwin, 2010, p. 107).

The label 'anarchism' is itself misunderstood, often used in a derogatory sense and vilified. Surrounded by the 'repressive myths' of chaos and violence on the one hand, or naivety and utopianism on the other; both of which serve to exclude anarchist ideas from general and academic discourse (Ward, 2005). Anarchism provides a description of how human life is already organized in different hierarchical levels; the authoritarian level is burdened with bureaucracy, privilege and injustice whilst another exists in parallel but hidden just below the surface. Without the pressures of higher authority and tension between the conservative and radical elements, this grassroots layer allows for creativity, democracy and the emergence of the new. Both upper and lower layers have positive and negative impacts but are both crucial for continuity and change to occur in society (*ibid*). It is not possible here to detail the history and principles of anarchism, only to encourage the reader to take the anarchist perspective as seriously as did such proponents as Tolstoy, Gandhi and Ferrer in their social and political propositions for education in the early twentieth century. Within their conception of social revolution and education, the anarchist model of school was presented as a microcosm of an alternative society embodying non-hierarchical relationships and mutual aid, whilst preserving individual freedom. The anarchist objection to the State was that it was oppressive and conserved the existing hierarchy. Contrary to popular belief, this form of anarchism did not seek to destroy all institutions chaotically to start anew as a utopia. Instead it sought to harness existing structures in new ways for organic growth of a decentralised, self-governing society appearing from below. Although there are many similarities, Korczak's pedagogical model is not simply a replication of the anarchist or libertarian school. If this was his intention, Korczak could have guided the reader to the book "Francisco Ferrer: Life and Work", which appeared translated into Polish in 1911 and was actively promoted by the Polish Social Democrats. Alternatively, Korczak could have co-operated with the Ferrer school which opened in Warsaw around the same time as his Homes. Instead, awareness of these socio-political debates and anarchist theories within the historical Warsaw context, allows for a more complex base to understand Korczak's own philosophical framework.

The book 'Anarchism and Education' by Institute of Education (London) researcher, Judith Suissa (2010) is a welcome addition to the literature, addressing an 'anarchist' gap in education. For example, Suissa finds great sympathy for the anarchist perspective and many references to Kropotkin in Martin Buber's work on social transformation. There has been a proliferation of articles, demonstrating overlap between Korczak and Buber particularly in terms of their Jewishness, spirituality and educational ideas but to date none have explored the link with anarchist thinking [(Kurzweil (1968); Efron (2005); Boschki, (2005); Smolińska-Theiss (2013b); Silverman (2017)]. This paper recasts Korczak as a revolutionary educator involved in the early Polish independence movement, with a subsequent role in nation building. Whilst readers may point to a clear hierarchy and order in Korczak's Homes as evidence against anarchism, this only serves to highlight that there is limited understanding to anarchist theory. Contrary to popular perception, the anarchist can operate in parallel with the State and borrow or infiltrate its institutions without seeking to overthrow it. Social anarchists differentiated themselves from

Marxists by the concept of prefigurative practice, as with Kropotkin’s spontaneous order and Proudhon’s worker-intellectual (Suissa, 2010, pp. 30; 33; 105). A few Korczak’s revered thinkers such as Kropotkin, Fabre and Maeterlinck held the theory that society precedes the state, that mutual aid already exists within the animal kingdom and by constantly evolving does not need an authority to impose it. This view forms the expectation that co-operation already exists or becomes spontaneously ordered amongst groups in society including children, but perhaps not necessarily in the forms recognised or appreciated by adults; within the invisible anarchist entity.

The hierarchy in the Home was in line with the Warsaw philosophy of ‘mankind creating itself’ and Brzozowski ‘philosophy of labour’ thus the work of the children and adults also encompassed the principle of creation-destruction and was inseparable from concepts of respect, suffering and its effects on the collective soul in general (Vucic, 2017, p. 172). This aspect of Korczak’s approach is focussed on the moral order and finds similarity within Jan Dawid’s ‘souls of teachers’ theory but has also appeared in the works of Bergson, Buber, Biesta and Levinas (*ibid*). The degree of socialisation preserves the existing order and sense of belonging but is balanced with subjectivity and creativity, which each new individual does not simply replicate or assimilate. It is this subjectivity that facilitates creativity and an ‘emergentist epistemology’<sup>5</sup> which allows not only the introduction of new ideas from elsewhere but serves to imagine solutions that were considered impossible. Every child, each day, possibly brought to Korczak (1929/1967, p. 21) a greater understanding of his own conception of collective knowledge and cultural evolution, as he defined, ‘the Child – immensity; the child and eternity, the child – a speck of dust in space, the child – a moment in time’. The Child is an evolving mystery, a mere instant in a nation’s history, both being and becoming (Korczak, 1919/1967, pp. 86-88). Such a ‘knowledge event’, as explained by Osberg and Biesta (2007, pp. 33-40) is not simply the idea that knowledge (or knowing) was revealed in that moment but itself was an unrepeatable radical way of knowing. The concept of simultaneous preservation of the existing whilst supporting the emergence of new and creative forms is also found in Smolińska-Theiss’ *Korczakowskie Narracje Pedagogiczne* (tr. Korczak’s Pedagogical Narratives, 2013b) although the link to anarchist theory is not extrapolated.

The key component to Korczak’s initial formulation of his model was the questioning of the State, and that is what makes his critical pedagogy strikingly different to other philosophers and thinkers. That praxeology remained central to his work rather than a short-lived periphery is related to his standing in solidarity with the oppressed, whether Polish or Jewish, that was demanded by Freire (1996, p.155). In contrast to Dewey who advocated the democratic school, Korczak envisaged mass schooling as insufficiently political or critical of the State and its institutional structures. In his assessment, the English, German and Russian schools were far too intertwined within the complex issues of class, race and gender to be able to challenge the State, and simply served as a tool of replication of oppression. Each education system reflected the distinctive elements of their own State, as Korczak (1905) elucidated;

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<sup>5</sup> The ‘emergentist epistemology’ of the child is one of the elements of Korczak philosophy which is the subject of the author’s doctoral research and will be expanded upon within a future publication.

For anyone today, it is no secret that the modern school is an institution thoroughly nationalist-capitalist, that first and foremost responsibility is of the education of central bureaucrats and patriotic-chauvinists.

His stance mirrors that of Kropotkin, who criticized the State for colonial oppression, capitalism and intervention in social and educational life for its own gain (Morris, 2014, p.176). In his prospectus for the 'modern school', the anarchist, Ferrer, also challenged any school that claimed to be neutral as hypocritical and instead should 'awaken' in children the desire for a free and equal society without violence, hierarchy or privilege (Avrich, 2014, p. 30). It was a view shared by Korczak (1905) who ridiculed the concept of a politically neutral school as 'a school on the moon'. The school as an institution could not be "independent of time and space, a school that would serve pure knowledge without any political colouring" was impossible'. Being closely linked to complex issues, the school influences directly, faithfully reflects and is enslaved by those issues, thus the case of school reform was related directly with the general reforms of the State. Kropotkin's radical humanism was formulated within the sphere of crime and punishment, proposing that human essence was repressed by institutions. Although later, Foucault would argue against humanism, that the human nature which wills to power is also what dominates and exploits us. Exploring Kropotkin's humanism, Korczak (1905) had already extrapolated more than a century ago and came to similar conclusions as Foucault, as he wrote;

Schools serve the same social functions as prisons and mental institutions - to define, classify, control, and regulate people.

Korczak (1905) branded each State's education system with its own distinctive trademark designed to replicate the existing social order which would perpetuate injustice;

So English school educate the brave, clever and nimble plantation owner-colonists and industrialists, whose goal is to operate more and more territories, to exploit more and more new territories, to harness more and more new markets, squeeze the benefit of English power through more and more tribes and nations. And throughout these immoral purposes, through exemplary schools, the English government achieves successfully.

By reserving his particularly harsh criticism for England, Korczak laid the groundwork of his expectations for his London visit a few years later. Mistakenly, Korczak's Homes are too often aligned with English models which superficially interpret these ideas within the individualist paradigm into protecting children's needs or preparing children for life by providing an alternative education. The confusion arises that social anarchists were not generally libertarians in terms of education and believed that moral or political neutrality in education was neither possible nor desirable. The school, as defined by anarchism, can serve as a microcosm of alternative society and be at the vanguard of the social revolution, embodying non-hierarchical relationships, mutual aid and individual autonomy. The Homes, often called 'Children's Republics' draw quick parallel with this definition, although Korczak's pedagogical model is not simply a replication of the anarchist or libertarian school. The argument here is that if this was his intention, Korczak could have guided the reader to the book "Francisco Ferrer: Life and Work", which appeared translated into Polish in 1911 and was actively promoted by the Polish Social

Democrats. Alternatively, the Homes could have co-operated with the Ferrer school which opened in Warsaw around the same time. Thus, it should be clarified that this article advocates for anarchism as a historically and ontologically appropriate framework for the reader to better understand Korczak’s ideas, rather than strictly labelling Korczak as an anarchist. Those who remain uncomfortable with an anarchist interpretation of Korczak’s writing is usually due to the label ‘anarchist’ conjuring images either of violence or utopia rather than conflict, creativity and change. Perhaps they may find solace in the sentiments echoed many decades later by the ‘gentle anarchist’, Colin Ward who provided not a vision of the future, but a description of how human life is already organized in two levels along anarchist principles (Ward, 2005, p. 11). The authoritarian level is burdened with bureaucracy, privilege and injustice whilst the other exists in parallel but hidden just below the surface as an anarchist society without the burden of the dominant authority. Resonating deeply with Korczak’s own image of the Child, Ward evoked anarchist imagery as he urged deeper examination of the everyday spaces of children’s lives. Ward describes children as ‘anarchists in action’, who creatively negotiated their environment and able to re-interpret adult based intentions through play and appropriation (Mills, 2010). Korczak similarly clarified his efforts in *How to Love A Child* (1919/1967, p. 197);

So many of us, so many young faces, clenched fists, so many sharp tusks, we won’t give in. [...] Death to the old world, to the new world - Viva!

The image of the ‘Innocent Child’ is often depicted as a universal one across Western society. However, this was not always the case, as children’s penchant for overturning authority was embodied in artwork from time to time. Similarly, the image of the child must be reconsidered when examining Korczak’s work. Instead of an interdependent paradigm, much of Korczak’s writing has been viewed by English readers on the level of isolated adult-child relationships. It is commonly interpreted as encouraging the adult’s individual agency and self-reflection to combat the Dickensian model of an authoritarian teacher or parent. This overlooks the greater complexity of how his orphanage practices served to promote explicit moral and political values forming a social agreement at grassroots level, that is, evolving from the institution and more importantly, from the children, to take root within the larger society. Instead of attempting a minimalist State or utopian closed community, Korczak’s model operated alongside, and often despite, the various oppressive forces of the Russian Empire, the short-lived Polish State and lastly, German occupation. His ‘Children’s Republics’ served the role of radically democratic schools to lay like seeds ‘beneath the snow’, an apt description borrowed from contemporary anarchist thought (Ward, 2005, p. 11). This changes the question from ‘how to achieve co-operation?’ but in acknowledging co-operation already exists and new forms are emerging, the question becomes ‘what is the best form of co-operation?’ (*ibid*). One could readily dismiss an emergentist epistemological understanding as utopian and untranslatable into prefigurative practice but Smolińska-Theiss (2013a) articulates Korczak’s defence as, ‘faith in the power of education is not the delusion of a dreamer, but the result of centuries of study and experience.’ The German anarchist, Gustav Landauer explained that the State was a condition of human behaviour, one that could only be destroyed by redefining human relationships to primarily change society (Ward, 2005, p. 8). Rather than a violent revolution or complete disdain for the State, Korczak’s own educational model was to spread moral and social ideals beyond the bounds of the Homes as invisible entities within his books. By organically growing the replacement over time, he envisaged a fairer, more just society for all nations of people living on the territory of unified

States. Anarchism seeks to harness rather than dismantle institutions and this is evident in Korczak's practice as he employs the constitution, the court, public schools and other State affiliated institutions to his own ends of nation-building. In anarchism, the means of societal change had to be aligned with the end goals, thus a society based on mutual aid had to emerge organically shaped by such a process of co-operation. Internationally, the anarchists attempted to prefigure the revolution but creating it in the present moment on a small scale by nurturing what societal structures already existed towards their aims; the schools. This organic process can be seen in Korczak's practice as he re-introduced and experimented with historically important Polish institutional structures such as the Polish Constitution (of 1791), the Sejm (democratic parliament) and local judicial court which had been demolished by the Prussian, Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires when Poland was partitioned. Although, Manfred Liebel (2016, p. 3) includes Korczak within the intellectual current of the time and in a hidden history of child rights, but he simultaneously seems to de-historicize and displace. Drawing attention to scholarship on Korczak having little regard for the political or legal dimension, Liebel also falls into the trap of failing to consider that Poland during much of Korczak's lifetime did not exist. In going beyond the legalistic construction of children's rights, Liebel (2018, Pp. 204-208) appears perplexed by Korczak's distrust of authorities and scepticism towards the State and unable to resolve it with the democratic and citizenship activities within the Homes. Failing to find a philosophical solution, Liebel (*ibid*) calls this Korczak's 'preference' for working with institutional and the "unwritten" laws of life. The answer to this dilemma is historical, with Korczak born subjugated under the Russian Empire, his Polish language and customs were oppressed until the country's formal political independence in 1921, hence the promotion of democracy was a revolutionary act. Any criticism of the Russian Empire or discussion of freedom for the people had to be disguised. It is readily acknowledged that during the Soviet communist era, much of Korczak's work was censored, re-edited and misappropriated (Smolińska-Theiss, 2012, p. 53). However, censorship (including self-censorship) is rarely given consideration as being ingrained within the writing and publishing during his lifetime or as adding any element of difficulty to translating Korczak texts.

Prior to establishing either of his Homes, Korczak must have been thrilled with the outcomes of his early efforts to put theory into practice through the propagation of his ideas in literature. Being hauled before the Polish Teacher's Union in 1910, would have served to reinforce to him that results were possible and fortified his commitment to continue this experiment within a Home for Jewish children. The Union's Pedagogical Section had requested Korczak's presence to defend himself against charges that had surfaced due to the influence of his publications. Singled out was *'Moški, Joski i Srule'* (1908), a children's story about Jewish boys at summer camp (Falkowska, 1989. p. 132). The story outlined some of the issues Korczak had encountered whilst working as a camp counsellor. It detailed how he had implemented a 'children's court' to direct a group of 150 street children, stressing without such institutions of self-governance, he could not have managed within such large groups. Regarding the Union's discussion with Korczak about the children's courts, the following statement was issued (25.10.1910);

Young readers of the novel *'Moški, Joski i Srule'* intrigued by the idea of 'camp-colony court' have spontaneously taken it upon themselves to organize 'school courts'; shown to be an effective defence and they have issued sentences without control or mastery, as was demonstrated in the original management example. [...] it has turned out, that what was a positive remedy for children on summer colonies (camps) collected negative influences on urban children from the intelligentsia sphere (*ibid*).

In less than two years, school children around Poland had spontaneously organized themselves and initiated Korczak’s experiment into building a democratic society. The controversial nature of Korczak’s ideas, and resultant social divisions, are evident as his teaching colleagues present at the meeting did not come to his defence against the charges laid by his former employer, Stefania Sempołowska (*ibid*).

## Conclusion

As Polish literature is inextricably linked to its cultural and historical context, the turn of the twentieth century texts of Janusz Korczak must be re-placed as emerging from the revolutionary atmosphere of Warsaw. In order to deepen the inquiry into his philosophical underpinnings, an anarchist framework assists in the analysis of Korczak’s work in terms of political struggle. The use of such an alternative lens also serves to remind the reader that philosophy in education and pedagogical practices do not necessarily start and finish at the school gate. Nor does it necessarily operate at macro-level, within a State-controlled system but instead can tell us something about ourselves, our relationships and different ways of living our lives to create a more just society. An examination of the ideas and actions during socio-political crisis, at a time when the concept of the State was heavily contested, may provide a powerful challenge to contemporary assumptions and dominant ideas, especially about children, education and democracy.

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## **Saussure's concept of meaning applied to translation from French into English. Igbo and Kalabari languages of Malot's *Sans Famille***

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### **Abstract**

Translation can be said to be an exercise based on a tripartite comprehension: that of the text, the original author and the reader of the translated text. In translating therefore, an attempt is often made to create a text that would be comprehensible to the target reader. To effectively do this, several factors are considered, one of which is culture, especially in literary texts where culture is richly presented. A literary translator must therefore reproduce not just language but also culture. An illustration of this can be found in the translation of Hector Malot's *Sans Famille*, from French to English, Kalabari and Igbo. To adapt the translated version to the various target audiences, the cultural elements of the original French text have been replaced with those of the target languages but with the semantic content intact. This is known as cultural appropriation, an application of the semio-pragmatic theory. This theory affirms Saussure's structural linguistics thereby applying structuralism to translation.

### **Keywords**

culture; appropriation; literary text; meaning; structural linguistics

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## Introduction

This study is based on the appropriation of meaning in translation. It aims at illustrating the necessity and effect of adopting recreation or textual appropriation as a style of literary translation. Ken Liu, an American-Chinese fiction writer and translator, defines translation as an act of recreation, basically the creation of a text in another language. According to this definition, recreation is a major component of translation. On his part, Anyabuike (2015:12): sees translation as a professional activity that ensures the effective transfer of knowledge across cultural boundaries.

Mariane Lederer (1998: 13) reiterates Edmond Cary's definition of translation as:

une opération qui cherche à établir des équivalences entre deux textes exprimés en deux langues différentes, ces équivalences étant toujours fonction de la nature des deux textes, de leur destination, des rapports existant entre la culture des deux peuples, leur climat moral, intellectuel, affectif, fonction de toutes les contingences propres à l'époque et au lieu de départ et d'arrivée.

### *Our translation*

An operation that aims at establishing an equivalent between two texts written in two different languages. This equivalent is a product of the nature of the two texts, their destinations, their cultural ambiance, the historic era in which the text is set as well as the moral, intellectual and emotional climate of both source and target audiences.

These three definitions affirm that translation is not based solely on language but also takes into account other components, such as the nature of the document to be translated, the source and target languages, the culture and purpose for which the translation was initiated. This study aims at examining the different methods employed in achieving this purpose.

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One major area of study is the problem of translatability and untranslatability of literary texts. This problem was addressed by Fortunato Israel (1994: 17) in the following terms:

En effet, trop souvent l'œuvre littéraire est jugée intraduisible sous prétexte qu'il est impossible d'en établir le double exact, de la reproduire en préservant toute la complexité de ses choix initiaux. Tenir un tel raisonnement, c'est non seulement se condamner à l'impuissance, nier toute possibilité d'accès aux littératures étrangères mais aussi oublier que, par définition, l'opération traduisante repose sur la dialectique du même et de l'autre.

Too often, literary works are said to be untranslatable on the pretext that it is not possible to reproduce an exact copy of a literary text while preserving all its complexities and initial style of figurative language, the art of translation rests on source and target variations. *Our translation*

The position taken by Israel presents literary translation as an impossible or possible act. At the end, he confirms clearly that all can be translated. This research seeks an answer to the question; how can the impossible be made possible, how can the untranslatable be made translatable? In response to this question, the translator may adopt one of four methods; the first is using an equivalent. This means that a word or expression in the target language having the same meaning is employed. The second method is literal translation. Thirdly, lexical borrowing may be employed, the loaned words however should be accompanied by explanation or description.

Cultural appropriation is a means of making the incomprehensible to be comprehensible, this is the fourth approach and the one to be discussed in this study.

For one to depict foreign cultural signs and symbols to an audience where these signs are completely absent due to environmental constraint, one may need to apply semiology to translation. This means the use of the semio-pragmatic theory. Semiology is the study of the system of science in a given culture, translation refers to the interpretation of these signs in another language. This study aims at proving the importance of semiology to literary translation.

The research is a demonstration of the application of Ferdinand de Saussure's structural linguistics to literary translation. Structuralism claims that *meaning* is a product of the cultural construction or identification according to the relations of signs that constitute the tradition.

These points are proven through the translation of a French text into English, Kalabari and Igbo. The selected text for translation is an extract drawn from Hector Malot's *Sans Famille*. Three English translations of *Sans Famille* already exist: *Without a Family*, *Nobody's Boy* and *Alone in the World*. The one presented in this study was created specifically for this work, and the version is created to aid comprehensibility of the French (source) text. Items depicting French culture have been replaced with English, Igbo and Kalabari cultural items in the translated versions. These prove that literary translation is truly the creation of a new text in a foreign tongue.

## **1. Language and Culture**

This study borders on literary translation. Literary texts are characterised by the presence of a secondary literary code superimposed on a stratum of unmarked language (Gibova 2017: 5). This secondary code may not have a direct equivalent in another cultural setting.

Culture is the totality of human behavior manifesting in thought, action and speech, formed through education or social experience. Cumming (2006: 43) defines culture as: the totality of transmitted behavioral pattern. The term *transmitted* suggests a social activity. Language is a medium to convey thought and these thoughts are borne by social experiences. Evelyn Mbah (2017: 306) defines language as a vehicle through which the thought system or culture of a people is expressed. Mbah links the working of the thought system and language, hence affirming the proposition of Fowler (1986:26): "Linguistic codes do not reflect reality neutrally, they interpret, organise and classify the subjects. They embody theories of how the world is arranged resulting in worldviews and ideologies".

A literary translator is therefore faced with the task of transmitting language and culture. Standard literary translation is the one which reflects all cultural, social, emotional and linguistic specifications of the source text.

## **2. Saussure's concept of meaning**

According to Saussure's structuralist theory of language, the meaning of a term (a word or expression) does not begin and end with the speaker's experience or intention. The act of

speaking and intending presupposes a language already in place and upon which the speaker must rely in order to say anything at all. Concepts or meanings are picked out (signified) because of the differences in the network of words that make up the language, each word finds its own relative position or node within the network of differences.

In other words, the meaning of a particular term in a language is due to its relative difference from all other terms in the language. The meanings of words are arbitrary and depend on the agreement of a group of speakers.

Ferdinand de Saussure's theory proposes three angles to language; a sign/symbol, a signifier and a signified. A concept or idea, is properly understood in terms of its position relative to the differences among a range of other signifiers (words with different positions in the network and, hence, different meanings).

Saussure (sited by Mahadi 2012: 230) defines language as a system of differences, in this sense he believes in the difference of meaning of a sound-image or written shape in different languages. Noting that translation is an inter-lingual art, the relationship between *meaning* and culture make translation a cultural activity. The relationship between meanings rely on source and target language and culture. In literary translation, cultural mediation is not only expected but also demanded. In the view of Danica Seleskovitch, there are three processes of comprehension, déverbalisation and reformulation. These always come into play in the course of appropriating terms for the recipients of a linguistic exercise such as translation.

Speech events differ cross-culturally, in the same way social distance and closeness cannot be determined in a universal way. It is culture-specific and the translator/interpreter has to determine the practicality of the situation to know whether or not to employ the strategy of disturbing the original message with a view of conveying the message appropriately in the target languages without causing any offence. (Ozidi 2015: 14). The translator should take into consideration the speaker or writer's intention and the listener or reader's inference or comprehension. A great deal of cross-cultural misunderstanding occurs when the meaning of words in two languages are assumed to be the same. And this misunderstanding may lead to negative stereotypes of other cultural groups.

### **3. Presentation of selected text**

The text selected for this study is *Sans Famille*, a novel written in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Hector Mallot. The version used for this illustration is that published by SPECTRUM, this version was adapted into 1500 words for learners or beginners in the use of French language. The whole novel was not presented but an extract (the first chapter) titled *Mère Barberin* was translated for a Kalabari and Igbo audience.

Nigeria has thirty-six geo-political state with over four hundred indigenous languages, English serves as the language of administration. These indigenous languages are grouped into major and non-major languages. Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba are considered major Nigerian languages. Igbo-speaking people cover seven geo-political states; Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo, parts of Delta and also parts of Rivers. Igbo is considered as one of the developed Nigerian languages.

Kalabari, on the other hand, is one of the major languages spoken in the Southern part of Nigeria. It is often referred to as Kalabari-Ijo and it belongs to the Niger-Congo language family, specifically the East-Ijo group. According to Dapper (2003: 7), Kalabari is one of the Ijaw tribes that inhabit the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria. Speakers can be found everywhere in the world but more specifically in the states of Rivers, Bayelsa, and parts of Delta.

**Source Text : *Sans Famille* (Mallot, 1878; here the 2006 version is used)**

**Original text in French**

**Mère Barberin.**

Je suis un enfant trouvé. Jusqu'à huit ans, j'ai cru que j'avais une mère : quand je me couchais, chaque soir, une femme venait m'embrasser. Si je pleurais, elle me serrait doucement dans ses bras, et elle arrêta ma peine.

Mais, un jour, arrive de Paris un homme. Il venait dire à ma mère, la Mère Barberin, que son mari était tombé du toit d'une maison pendant qu'il travaillait. Il était maintenant à l'hôpital, et ne pouvait plus nous envoyer d'argent. Le seul moyen d'avoir quelque argent était de vendre la vache ! Mais une vache, c'est la nourriture du paysan. Si nous la vendions, nous n'avions plus de beurre ni de lait, ni de fromage, ni de tout ce que nous achetions avec quelques litres de lait par jour. Nous l'avons quand même vendu et, depuis nous avons seulement mangé du pain le matin, des pommes de terre au sel, le soir, et c'est tout.

Pourtant, le jour du Mardi-Gras, Mère Barberin a une bonne idée : avec deux œufs, un peu de lait, un peu de farine, elle fait des crêpes. Nous commençons ce bon dîner, quand on frappe à la porte.

-Q'ui est là? demande Mère Barberine.

Puis elle se retourne.

-Ah ! Mon Dieu c'est toi, Jérôme ! dit-elle. Et, me poussant vers un homme qui venait d'entrer, elle ajoute :

-Remi, c'est ton père.

**English Translation: *Without a Family***

**Mother Barberine.**

I am an abandoned child. Until the age of eight, I thought I had a mother.

This was because a lady came to embrace me every night before I slept. When I cried, she held me gently in her arms and she'll stop my pain. But one day, a man came from Paris. He told my mother, Mother Babarine, that her husband had an accident. He fell while working on the roof of a house. He was now in a hospital and could no longer send us money. The only means of earning a little money was to sell our cow. Sell the cow? The means of sustenance for country man. Selling it meant we would not have milk, cheese or butter, nor would we have the little things we buy in exchange for a few litres of milk. We however sold the pick-up van. Since then, our meal has been dry bread in the morning and salted potatoes in the evening and that's all!

Today is *Fat Tuesday* Mother Babarin had a wonderful idea; with two eggs, a little flour, and a bit of milk we made pancakes. We were just about to settle down to this lovely dinner when there was a knock on the door.

-Who' is that? Asked Mother Barberin as she got up to get the door.

Ah! It's you Jerome. Then she pushed me towards the man who had just entered and said

-Remi, it's your father!

**Igbo translation: *Nwa Enwe Nne***

**Nne Barberine.**

Ábụ m nwá atụtụ tara atụtuta. Rúkwáá áfọ ásáto, échèrè m ná énwèré m íné. Ìkè à bụ n'íhì ná ó nwèrè ótù nwáànyị ná- élétá m ányá mgbè ọ bụlà m ná- àràhụ ụrā. Mgbé ọbụlà m bèrè ákwá, Ò kúrú m n'áká yā àbụọ mà méé kà íhé mgbú m kwụsị.

Màná ótù ụbọchị, ótù nwókè si òbòdò Aba wée bíá. Ọ gwàrà íné Babarine ná dí yā nwèrè íhé mbèrèdé; ná ó sì n'élú gbámgbám ụlọ wée dàá mgbè ọ ná- àrụ ọrụ. Ò nwéghízí iké ízítèrè ànyị égō n'íhì ná ọ nọ n'ụlọ ọgwụ. Náánị ụzọ ànyị gá- èsì nwétá égō bụ síté n'írè éwu ànyị nwèrè. Réé éwu áhụ? Éwu bụkwanụ àkụ nwá ógbènyè. Anyị ree ya. ànyị agaghị enwezikwa ànụ ma obụ ihe nde ànyị

n'ázuta site n'iji nwa ewu agba ibe. Ànyị mèchàrà n'ìkpéàzụ réé éwu áhụ. Kémgbè ụbòchị áhụ, ànyị nà- àta zí náání aki n'ùtùtù nà jí mmánu n'ábàlị. Ọ gwulá.  
Táá bụ ụbòchị iri jí. Nné m wátàrà óbéré jí wéé síé mà sụọ yá. Ó jikwàrà náání ayiya nà ugwú síté óbéré ófē. Ọzúgbó ànyị chọrọ inọrọ àlà wéé rié omárichá nrí à, á kuru áká n'uzọ. Ọ bụ ònyé? Nné m juru mgbè ó biliri ọtọ imèghè ụzọ. Ah! ọ bụ gị Jerome. Ọ kwàgàrà m n'ébé nwókè áhụ bátára nọ wéé si, Remi, ònyé à bụ nnà gị

***Kalabari Version: Mina ofori be tubo***

**Aya Baberini**

A mịna nyana a. Wenii, a ọo nine-a kura la, a sịnbara a nyingiọ nyanam. A gotẹ ọkọ mę sịn ye, dın goyegoye, gboru ẹrẹọ ọo te i fınamari. A r'owuari ẹẹẹ, ar' i bobo te, a mono ọa. Ọo gboru ene la saki, gboru oyibo nweni Port Harcourt bu sime te ọo. O duko Aya Barberini pirim minese ye a di bu pakate. O kpoli te wari isun telemar' ogbo, o hikim. Mi gboru saki, o bu-gwowari bu emi, te o bari ine igbiki ke wane firima bi-a. Wa ye fi bim ẹẹẹ, anie wa boko doki te wamine gboru aru deri ọa. Wamine gboru aru deri mo? Anie ama-ongono be apu ke bu paliaari ye me? Wa anı deri kuma, inji ba bara bari ofori, isam tan bara na ngbe pele bara so, bari ofori, te dokodoko ai ma te wa inji ke faar' ai ma so, bari ofori ọa. Aniso, wa aru me derim. Wa an deri te so, dede fiye oo mbrakasin na songu na, ọbiri wa nkata baku te k'isila bar', fate!

Mingba, oo owuti alali. Aya Baberini meni ibi kroma nyana te, buru kalaye doki, biate mbana doki, te ani ke onunu na iwo inji odun so. Wa pa legite ani fi be ye ari kuma, gborubo boko baku te.

Ọ tųbọ?" Aya Barberini gbola te ọkọ finji ẹ muar'.

- "Ee, Jeromi, ọwu iyeri." A mie duko ar' ogbo, ar' i sukuruma mu oyibo ẹ la te.

- "Remi, anie i da."

Oyibo ẹ nweni wamine na deble bu legi. A ye me fiari, ori idiki ari.

- "Or'opuma yefi a-a?"

- "Ibioku, ori ibima yefi fim." Aya Barberini pakrite.

- "Buru i tari-a?" O ọo i gbola te. A bem buru i tari-a, ekwen so piki i tari-a.

- Anie o ọo i ẹ ye: "Ibila kpoli te mono, fanya !"

#### **4. Analysis of the translated versions**

This study presents three translations; English, Igbo and Kalabari. One must note that all three have not been published prior to this study but were create for the purpose of this research. Though one may see published English translations, the version shown in this study was made uniquely for this research, cultural appropriation is not applied to this version. It is also very necessary to note that the English version is not captured in our analysis. This is because the study focuses on African culture and its' effect on translation. Cultural appropriation is employed in ten different points as indicated in table 1 below:

**Table 1: Translation of key terms of *Sans famille***

FRENCH	ENGLISH	IGBO	KALABARI
Sans famille	Without a family	Nwa enwe nne (motherless child)	Mina ofori be tubo (Child without relations)
Paris	Paris	Aba	Port Harcourt
Vache	Cow	Ewu (goat)	Aru (canoe)
Lait	Milk	Anu (meat)	Inji (fish)
Fromage	Cheese	Akpukpo Ewu (goat skin)	Isam (periwinkles)
Beurre	Butter	Igbawa ebe (collateral)	Ngbe (oysters)
Pain sec	Dry Bread	Aki (palm carnels)	Mbrakasin na songu (cassava and pilchards)
Pommes De Terre Au Sel	Salted Potatoes	Ji Mmanu (yam and palm oil)	Isila (mudskipper)
Mardi Gras	Fat Tuesday	Iri ji (New yam festival)	Owu ti (masquerade dance)
Crêpes	Pancakes	Nri Ji n'ofe (pounded yam and soup)	Onunu (yam and plaintain delicacy)

Source: Self-made.

The French version of the selected text (which is actually the source text) presents ten cultural symbols. The first is the title *Sans Famille* (Without a Family). This title depicts how lost Remy (the principal character) was, he did not know his roots so he was without a family. The story (taking note that this research presents only a fraction of the story) shows the nomadic life Remy had to live. In Igbo society, being without a mother is considered a terrible state. It is believed that children may survive without a father but not without a mother. The Igbo version adopts the title Nwa enwe nne (Motherless baby). In Kalabari culture, it is believed that the community owns a child, ties with relations are therefore very strong. To be without relations to lean upon is considered truly terrible and so the Kalabari translates the title as Child With No Relations

The second aspect of culture presented in the source text is a commercial town – Paris. Paris is the administrative and commercial capital of France. The French version presents Remy and his mother living in the countryside while his father was away in the city to make money and send to them. The administrative capital of Nigeria is Abuja but its commercial capital is Lagos. In Rivers State where Kalabari is largely spoken, the commercial nerve centre is Port Harcourt and is the direct equivalent of Paris in this context. Igbo speaking people live in the south-east region of Nigeria, this region has two main commercial towns; Aba and Onitsha. For the purpose of this research, Aba is adopted, this is because it is close to Port-Harcourt.

In *Sans Famille*, the picture of a nineteenth century French society is painted where agriculture is the mainstay of the economy (especially in the rural villages or countryside). One very important farm animal in France is a cow. A cow is a source of milk, cheese, meat and butter. Losing one's cow represents a significant loss. In the source text, Remy and his mother had to sell their cow to raise money. The Igbo people also practice agriculture. Goats are reared in most Igbo villages, these are a source of meat, skin (hide) and a goat may be a form of collateral when money or items are borrowed. In the Igbo translation, goat is employed in place of a cow. The Kalabari are a riverine people who live on islands surrounded by water. A boat, more appropriately a dug-out

canoe is an extremely useful item to have. It has a commercial, cultural and utilitarian value. Without a canoe, a Kalabari man cannot provide fish (inji), periwinkles (isam) or ngbe (oysters) for his family. That is akin to starvation!

The fourth, fifth and sixth cultural items that were appropriated would be taken together, these are milk (lait), cheese (fromage) and butter (beurre). These are basically dairy products obtained from a cow and they are of high domestic and economic value. Igbo and Kalabari people do not have milk, cheese or butter, these are foreign to them. In the Igbo version, meat and hide replace milk and cheese, while in the Kalabari version, fish, periwinkles and oysters replace milk, cheese and butter. Creativity is a vital aspect of translation, for this reason, the Igbo translation replaces butter with young goat (kid), the exchange done with liters of milk in the source text is appropriated into using kids for collateral when items are borrowed.

Remy and Mother Barberine ran out of funds (due to the sale of their cow), they fed poorly. This poor feeding constitutes the seventh and eighth aspects of cultural significance to be captured by the translator. The source text depicts poor feeding with dry bread (Pain sec) and salted potatoes (Pommes de terre au sel). In the Igbo society, palm nut (Aki) can be afforded by most people in Igbo land (Nigeria is one of the worlds' largest producers of oil palm, most of these is produced in the south-east region). Igbo people eat and celebrate yam a lot. For the rich, yams may be boiled, pounded and eaten with sauce (prepared with fish or egg). Poor people boil yam and eat it with red oil (palm oil). The Igbo translation thus employs palm nut and yams. For the Kalabari people who live mostly in the creeks of the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria, being unable to catch or afford marine produce is a big indicator of poverty. The very poor feed on cassava shavings with fish fingerlings or pilchards which are often rejected by fishermen. At night, they hide and go to pick mudskippers (isila) from latrines built on water. When the tide ebbs, the mudskippers are easy to pick but no well-to-do person would condescend to do so.

Religion is part of culture. French history (especially before the French revolution of 1789) presents France as a Christian state with the Roman Catholic Church being the dominant church. Christian feasts (such as Christmas, Ascension, Assumption, etc.) are observed as national public holidays in France. Lent is one of such religious feasts, it is period of forty days during which time one prays for forgiveness of sins. Lent begins on a Wednesday known as Ash Wednesday and ends on a Sunday which is Easter. In French culture, the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday is celebrated by disguising one's self, parading and preparing pancakes. This feast is known as Mardi Gras (meaning fat or greasy Tuesday). Igbo people and their Kalabari counterparts do not celebrate Mardi Gras nor do they have pancakes as part of their indigenous diets.

There are however some notable Igbo religious feasts. As previously stated, Igbo people eat and celebrate yams. After the harvest, new yams are sacrificed to the gods. This sacrifice is followed by merriment where pounded yam is served with sauce prepared with meat, fish and crayfish. Poor people (like Remy and his mother) may make their sauce with only crayfish. This feast is called Iri ji (New yam Festival). Iri ji is employed in the Igbo translation in place of Mardi Gras.

In the Kalabari version, the closest cultural equivalent to the religious feast in the French text is the play of masquerades. Masquerades have cultural and spiritual significance for island dwellers who believe that they represent water spirits and can help them communicate with the gods. Masquerades also represent periods of merriment and celebration and local delicacies are

prepared to mark them. In Kalabari land, one of such delicacy is called onunu, a dish prepared with yams and ripe plaintains pounded together and served with homemade fresh fish stew. It can serve as cultural appropriation to replace Mardi gras in this context.

## Conclusion

As mentioned at the beginning of this study, we have approached the translation of our selected text from the perspective of a tripartite comprehension process involving the text, the original author and the reader of the translated text. The cultural appropriation of terms to be translated has helped to achieve this. It would also appear that this exercise lends credence to the translatability theory promoted by linguists like George Mounin (1962) who are of the opinion that there are universals which underlie all human activities. Mounin was able to identify cosmogonic universals, biological universals, cultural universals, linguistic universals, etc., and concluded that, at least, at the level of universals, translation is possible between all languages.

Other scholars like Catford (1965: 65: 99) make a distinction between linguistic untranslatability which is the “failure to find a Text Language equivalent due entirely to differences between the source language and the target language”, and cultural untranslatability which, according to him, arises “when a situational feature, functionally relevant for the Source Language text, is completely absent from the culture of which the Target Language is a part.”

We hope to have demonstrated that in both instances, cultural appropriations which assure target audiences of readability and comprehensibility, can prove to be veritable solutions to the age-long issue of untranslatability. Also, applying Saussure’s concept of meaning according to the structuralist theory of language, we have attempted to show that each term actually finds its relative portion within the network of differences. It is expected that the speakers of Igbo and Kalabari will be able to relate to the cultural appropriations in the translations and achieve a significant level of comprehension of the intended meaning of the original author of the French text.

In this paper, *Sans famille* has served as a model for the application of Saussure’s concept of meaning for cultural appropriations in Igbo, and Kalabari. This has been adopted as a translation strategy to effectively bridge the gulf of incomprehensibility created by cultural divergence.

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## **Musicolinguistics: Deciphering the Nigerian Hip-Hop Music: Cryptolect**

Waliya, Yohanna Joseph<sup>8</sup>

### **Abstract**

Young rappers use a secret language or *cryptolect* to shield themselves from public criticism but share persuading hidden messages that influence their communities. Some of these young musicians are Nigerian University students and their special use of language gives birth to this type of hidden language. In this article, I highlighted the cryptolect or Cant used by Rapcultureafrica, a team of both young students and ex-students of the University of Calabar and their cohorts. The cryptolect is making its way into everyday speech especially English and Pidgin as the rappers use it in their rhythmic music. Many people hear these Cants in rap and feel that it allows them to reconnect with their cultural identity in the postcolonial period. It is for this reason, I write this research paper to decrypt to the world the exact messages these rappers are presenting in their music. In this report, I will apply a critical lens using the theoretical framework called Rappers Cryptolect Theory. I will rely on the help of the informants and solicit their help in deciphering these messages for this aspect of the cryptolectics<sup>9</sup> in order to make an entry into Linguistics and unconventional English lexicons with the aim to contribute towards establishing cryptolectics in Musicolinguistics as a part of the field of study.

### **Keywords**

Musicolinguistics, Nigeria Hip-Hop Music (NHHM), cryptolect, cryptolectics, Rapcultureafrica.

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<sup>9</sup> I coined the word to refer to a sub-branch of linguistics that deals with cryptolect

## Introduction & Motivations

Nigerian hip-hop culture is inherited from the rap that came out of the South Bronx, New York City, USA, in Mid-1970s (Vernon, 2018). However, Nigerian rappers garnish their hip-hop music with special cryptic languages or national languages most often to show its uniqueness. For instance, hip-hop mixed with a Cant produced by Rapcultureafrica spoke to me during my undergraduate years at the University of Calabar (2012-2015). The Cant is anti-language by nature. Having investigated Rapcultureafrica’s hip-hop keenly, I felt the regular usage of the Cant in hip-hop music should be interpreted for the public because of its peculiar coded messages and its cultural undertone. I will use Cryptolect and Cant interchangeably since they mean the same thing.

Rapcultureafrica is a troop of rappers whose founding Stars claim that they are teams of innovative scholars poised at organising rap battles and other projects that are highly educative, impactful and entertaining mainly the undergraduates in the Nigerian Universities. This group is a subset to the Nigerian Hip-Hop Music (NHHM) industry. During the course of this research, I have visited them and observed their rehearsals in Babylon Bar, Calabar.

This study is concerned mainly with Rapcultureafrica’s cryptolectic application in hip-hop music and its in-group conversation. The cryptolect of Rapcultureafrica/NHHM attracts attention of music experts and consumers to quest for meaning of puzzled words, phrases and locutions. Hence, the description of such Cants will help us to interpret and comprehend their music, which is beyond vococentric rhythms and textures; it is holistically harnessed in language and semiotics.

I have equally figured out, as well as, interpreted some dark words the rappers use in their rap which are difficult to comprehend. Simplifying their language will make parents, and the general public comprehend properly the musical creed that is being spread in society by this particular troop in order to counsel their children in accordance with the moral standing owing to the uncensored digital music consumerism in Nigeria.

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Next, I will present the description of the cryptolect as post-colonial linguistic resistance to the official languages’ imposition and classify its dynamic linguistic nomenclature even though its vocabularies get enriched from every mega show by the Stars. It is certain that Rapcultureafrica and its mother industry, NHHM, introduce into society new incomprehensible vocabularies in a musical culture. They craftily conceal some private aspects of their lives, like those of the Syrian rapper, Tammam, who told BBC journalist he had been “using hip-hop as a way to document his experience (Lang, 2016).” These rappers use rap in the same sense. They document their historical narrative in hip-hop. In addition, hip-hop musical rhythms from the various Nigerian stars are rolling away the religious and cultural differences in Nigeria today, particularly among youth (Liadi, 2012). Rap is serving as an agent of socialisation in the diverse milieu.

Finally, I will start with clarification of terms, describing the cryptolect, its root, analysing its usage in music and conclude with my perspectives to open a door for more arguments in the musico-cryptolectic studies as a branch of musicolinguistics.

## **1. Characterisation of terms**

2. **Musicolinguistics:** it is a study of the language application in music not a musical language as emphasised by Ray, Douglas, Nancy, & Jeffrey (2014). It is not an interrelationship between music and language in cognitive linguistics as opined Antović (2005). In this study, I put it this way: It is an aspect of linguistics that questions the linguistic applications in music.
3. **Cryptoelect:** it is a secret language or Cant spoken/written among certain social groups in order to encipher their doings from the unfavourable environment or public attention because of the hostile cultural settings.
4. **Cryptoelectics:** In this study, I coin this term to refer to an applied linguistic branch that deals with interpreting in-group languages or cryptoelects especially among artists.
5. **Nigerian Hip-Hop Music (NHHM):** it is a Nigerian indigenous version of the hip-hop genre which its root is traceable to the Afro-American hip-hop Stars (Babalola E. T. & Taiwo R., 2017). From the onset, it serves as the arm to fight injustices or to revolt against imperialism.

## **2. Methodology**

An unstructured interview was administered to the Rapcultureafrica five times within a period of 11 months from 19th June, 2017 to 19th May, 2018. I chose four informants from the Racultureafrica troop of which I interviewed in order to get the correct orthography, phonetics and meanings of about hundred cryptoelectic words used among the RapculturrAfrica rappers. Rapcultureafrica, as my research focus group, comprises eighteen students and ex-students of University of Calabar living in the city of Calabar. I was only able to transcribe the difficult words as I listened to the sounds in their rap and in-group conversation. Rapcultureafrica does not like prolonging rehearsals before performances just like many other hip hop artists in the USA as affirmed by Vernon (2018).

## **3. Conceptualising Rappers Cryptoelectic Theory**

This research is enshrined in the conceptualised theoretical framework that I call ‘Rappers’ Cryptoelectic Theory (RCT) in musicolinguistics as a new model initiated for this study. This theoretical framework is not to compare music with language in cognitive linguistics, rather, it is a paradigm to analyse in-group invented language and its application in music, with the aim to entertain the masses and express salient cultural variation. Rapper’s Cryptoelectic Theoretical Model deciphers semantic difficulties for musicophiles and researchers. NHHM reached its peak in the post-colonial era in the 1980s to early 1990s in Nigeria. Theories of the origin of Polari cryptoelect, Pidgin and creole are available in linguistics studies, but, the Brotherzone cryptoelect of the NHHM, or Rapcultureafrica is new in scholarship. Brotherzone Cryptoelect is an inspired creative language erupting from the music ecstasy in Calabar city even though it has been a trend for decades in the Nigerian music industry that any artist ought to enrich the society with new expressional vocabularies from their music group’s cryptoelect, it started in 1970s with Fela when he attached new meaning to zombie to mean soldier. The artists speak such Cants among themselves in the brotherzone of the hip-hop or afro-pop. It is evident that the artists create this

linguistic system most often from the fusion of the pure linguistic realities or alteration of the standard language orthographies. Afro-pop and Nigerian Hip-hop music genres use cryptolect as a means to attract public attention. The incomprehensibility of the titles of the albums/track such as Dorobucci-amazing person (Sholola, 2014; Michael Ajereh, 2014) and Eminado-good luck charm (Tiwatope Savage, 2013; Apphiaanna, 2014) produced by Marvins Records are proper examples. These albums/tracks tagged in cryptolect have generated wider criticisms and went viral on the social and traditional media.

Therefore, a music genre is called NHHM, when there are inventions of unknown languages or new coinage of strange vocabularies, mixed languages, rapping and solo chant with rhythmic consorted membranophone instruments of the African region or using mixtures of the foreign instruments with indigenous ones. It can also be called Nigerian hip-pop music, if the instruments are missing but the other characteristics mentioned above remained intact. African musician both within Africa and in diaspora must sing, imitating the trend pattern characterisations above for their music to be authenticated as Nigerian hip-hop music. Instruments may be overlooked but the language mixing must be there to justify that it is Nigerian hip-hop music. Rappers use neo-languages craftily with musical melodies. Those languages are good for insightful linguistic studies says Gboyi (2016). This insightful cryptolect is the concern of our proposed rappers' cryptolectic theoretical framework. In a nutshell, the Nigerian Hip-Hop Music or Rapcultureafrica's cryptolect is born out of musical rhythmic ecstasy and mixed languages of the in-group street language most often, although some of the vocabularies are so deep to fathom their meaning. Those deep ones are our major concern here.

#### **4. Nigerian Hip-Hop Music & Rapcultureafrica Cryptolect**

Rapcultureafrica group, being a subgroup to the Nigerian Hip-hop Industry, raps on stages most often in monophony tune, whereas in big shows, in heterophony to get the variations of rhythmic voices mixing it with dancing steps, moving to and fro, and acrobatic displays. Sometimes, they sing in cryptolect mixed with popular language. Some versions of Nigerian Hip-hop Music's Cant culture appear likely to be a mixture of the indigenous languages (Efik, Igbo, Edo, Yoruba, and Hausa), Pidgin and English but not limited to these known tongues. I observed a word 'Ahoy' which might have had its origin from Spanish (meaning 'in today') or an upside-down English acronym for 'are how you?' 'Ahoy', for Rapcultureafrica rappers, it means 'how are you.' It is also used in English 'maritime culture'. The cant is more or less creative language that need deep retrospection to decode it by the outsiders. Notably, they call information—pass, instead of the functional phrase 'pass an information'; money-araba meaning 'let us share' in Hausa, it is also called 'arab' which probably mean Arab. There is a myth among rappers that Arabs are known for wealth. Therefore, arab has become a metaphor of money for Rapcultureafrica hip-hop Stars. Another example, car—Whip alert, penis-banana, etc. (see the Table I. below). The Cryptolect can probably also be engendered out of the contact languages from linguistic varieties and multi-ethnolects. I called this facet of this cryptolect 'Brotherszone' because during the interviews, our respondents said only brothers in the zone i.e. Rapcultureafrica and NHHM understand the cryptic language. Such rappers' language has tendencies to breed a new independent language as a result of contacting the existing languages (Bakker P. & Matras Y., 2013; Winford, 2013).

Nigerian rappers or artists mostly have made it as a culture or trend to unveil the meanings of some recurring unknown words in their albums only when they are pressurised with interviews by the journalists or their fans on the social media. In other words, till the society mounts pressure on them before they do interpret the meanings of some cryptolect used in their lyrics whereas the music is made for public consumption.

Certainly, the cryptolect vocabularies which do not have real origin per se are coined intentionally. However, such cryptolect sometimes remained sealed from the general public to some extent.

Moreover, I decide not to call this particular cryptolect a slang in as much as it is not widely understood by the Nigerian populace, even some artists, themselves. Partridge, an English famous scholar on slang and other unconventional English defined the term slang as ‘from 1850, an ‘illegitimate’ colloquial speech: but since then, especially among the lower classes...’ (Partridge, 1933, p. XV). If we deduce from this premise, the Brotherszone is not a slang but a cant. Druide (2016) defined Cant as ‘the special coded words or language used by a particular group of people in order to keep things secret.’ The unknown code is one of the principles of a group to distinguish themselves as noble professional or idiosyncratic people. Albeit, another expert affirms that ‘such talk was associated in the main with thieves, beggars and those on the margins of society.’ (Décharné, 2016). Rapcultureafrica’s cryptolect is classified as Cant, nevertheless; it is used among the rapping groups in Calabar just like medicant and other professional jargons.

Most Nigerians welcome any album of songs or a track released with mixed, consorted linguistic singularities with attractive beating. This act of mixing languages in music is also called code-switching asserted Babalola E. T. & Taiwo R., (2017). For example, Pidgin and Yoruba in *Zombie* by the father of the Afrobeat, Fela Kuti (1977), Igbo and English in *African Queen* by 2face Idibia (2004) and in *Ada, Ada* by Flavour (2012), Yoruba and Pidgin in *Wo* by Olamide (2017) etc. Despite the fact that Hip-hop music is still creeping into almost every local language in Nigeria such as Hausa Hip-Hop (HHH), Igbo Hip-Hop(IHH), Yoruba Hip-Hop (YHH), Edoma Hip-Hop(EHH), Margi Hip-Hop, etc. Rapcultureafrica decided to grasp the schooling youth in the South-South region of Nigeria, before extending the movement to Lagos, South-West.

They are different from the rest of the other rapping groups that commenced on the streets or in Lagos' ghettos such as Plantation Boys, Star Plus etc. The troop leader started as student in the University of Calabar. However, I noticed they have a great hitch in defending their identity as well as transmitting their philosophy succinctly as they adopted cant system as means of communication among themselves. This is trying to betray their endeavours in such a way that people may take them as unnecessary noise makers in the society. During rehearsals, they do generate new vocabularies among themselves. This makes their group superior to other competitors such as Legit, Box411, Mastero and International Boy Music who are constantly working hard to beat them down as rapping struggles are concerned in Calabar city. Those other groups above are outside school environment. They have a little impact on the students.

I observed this cryptolect is evolving into strong street slang and neo-language because all the rappers from the different groups depend on Rapcultureafrica to invent words before all does adopt into their daily expression or music as confirmed by the pioneer of Rapcultureafrica. This

troop serves Calabar rapping world like the Académie Française who adopts new registers into French. Her front-liners might have possibly come across the cant called Polari which is popularly used in Britain from early 1960s (Green, 2004). Rapcultureafrica’s cryptolect is not an invention but rather a musicolinguistic innovation of the Nigerian hip-hop artists.

## 5. Cryptolectic Analysis on the Nigerian Hip-Hop and Rapcultureafrica

Multilingual expressions in Nigerian music industry are well encouraged from the onset in order to fight against the foreign languages’ hegemony over the local ones by the conservatives. The question now is that the rappers in NHHM are drifting from the known languages to the clouded languages in their lyrics. That is the cause for this research to trace the roots of those cryptic languages deploying the cryptolectics. An expert argues that it is emanating from the quest to hold unto the ethnic identity:

A number of mixed languages emerged as a consequence of outside pressure from some other, dominating, group. In other words, these mixed languages typically emerge because of ethnic minorities who resist outside pressure to assimilate into the mainstream society and wish to retain their ethnic identity. (Velupillai, 2015, p. 79)

Unfortunately, today, many vocabularies chanted in rap may not represent particular ethnicity in Nigeria whereas hip-hop music is perceived as a legitimate defence to protect the Pan-Africanism ideology as a postcolonial struggle of returning to the source. On the other hand, the advent of the Nigerian hip-hop troop into the entertainment industry has brought dramatic linguistic manipulations (Agbo qtd in Liadi, 2012) coupled with rhythmic musical pitch, beats, textures, tone colour and amplitudes metamorphosis because most of its rappers are young men inspired majorly by suffering, love, abject poverty and fruitless democracy as it is featured in *Letter to Mr President* by African China (2006) and *Jaga jaga* by Abdulkareem (2004) etc.

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Language is necessary when we come to music and its consumerism. Filtering music critically while listening to decipher its semantics is the essence of music, even though, others may listen to music for its therapeutic value too. One who wants to get exact message in music must not be carried away by the incorporated consort of the rhythms, beats, tone colour, dynamic pitch, forgetting the main wordings i.e. the lyric of the songs because it is in it, sense is hidden. Music creates an emotion and utopic world via the linguistic interpretation of the images in the mind of the listeners. It means music supplement language (Keith & Andrew, 2013). This proves the musical efficacy because ‘Music plays a vital role in human society. It provides entertainment and emotional release, and it accompanies activities ranging from dances to religious ceremonies’ (Kamien & Kamien, 2015, p. 2). As for Rapcultureafrica, it is known for stimulating studious spirit in students and raises fund for them through its project in order to disillusion the public belief system vis-à-vis hip-hop culture in Nigeria.

Although, an American researcher has asserted that, ‘the lyrics of late-twentieth and early-twenty-first-century rap often offend. They shock listeners out of their complacencies. Many teachers, parents, critics, public figures, and private listeners find music of this kind simply offensive.’ (Lerer, 2007, p. 233). Consequently, moral instructors employed by the government or religious bodies are trying to prevent the society from decadence via checkmating all happenings to maintain sanity. Another expert criticised hip-hop musicians thus:

A key aspect of much of the criticism that has been leveled at hip-hop is the claim that it glorifies, encourages, and thus causes violence. This argument goes as far back as the middle to late 1980s—the so-called golden age of hip hop— when politically radical hip hop artists, such as Public Enemy, who referred to direct and sometimes armed resistance against racism ‘by any means necessary,’ were considered advocates of violence. (Rose, 2008, p. 34)

These criticisms do not carry weights when we are talking about Rapcultureafrika’s ideals. It adds values on students through its corporate responsibilities and ethics with intention to make them happy while studying although it has few vulgar words in her in-group conversation. Rapcultureafrika falls into the hip-hop categories of Gabriel Benn and Rick Henning’s Hip Hop Educational Literacy Program (H.E.L.P), Martha Diaz’s Hip Hop Association (H2A), and Michael Mauldin and Jermaine Dupri’s Hip Hop 4 Humanity (id.pp. 249-252) whose aims are to serve and save humanities as well as the society from socio-cultural decadence.

I observed on the course of doing this research that there are 100 irregular words that the Rapcultureafrika or the NHHM do release into the society through their lyrics. Most of these words are used as censorship to encrypt understanding from the members of the public Let me summarise them up into eight linguistic elements as follows:

- (i) Woman: aluta-e, shallam, bani, runs-girls, santa, figure 6, figure 8, figure 9, okpo, Sakanto, shodi and DKNY (double kegs no yash i.e. two boobs are okay but no butts).
- (ii) Sex: kpansh, kupé, mopo, mark a register, shine akpako, puna, punani, straf, Inatigidi-mété, iskaba, iskelebeta, Iskoroboto, matter, chiné, one mouth, barca, banana, burna-boy, robo ske ske etc.
- (iii) Hard drug/drink: slow, one for the road, trips etc.
- (iv) Music: jam, dope etc.
- (v) Education: microchip, chokes, bullet etc.
- (vi) Life style: Jagaban, jab, job, omila, ahoy, scama, sos, ‘stay there make pant dey wear you’; them know you? ogbese, ogbonor, ekelebe, no reach, nothing, leg over, crib, cabal, shit for church, your shit soft, your shit hard, alinga, cast, draw, cut, control, jonze, dust, local, march carbon, lock up, miscafo, pass, quash, runs, sabibori, senkpe-senkpe, soften me, whip alert, wobe, street, etc.
- (vii) Money: pepper, raba, araba, arab etc.
- (viii) Aesthetics and Happiness: purge, burst my head, kill me, ball, die, dey, joy, gel, off me, za, zado.

Some of these words above are mostly offensive to the public consumption in the polite society of Nigeria. Most of the vocabularies appear sexist, violent and demeaning the womanhood. I am not supporting such exposure of gender demeaning for my research compass is to expose the encapsulated linguistic vulgarities and hip-hop musicians’ commodification of women. The rappers drift semantically from the real sense of some words and invent contextual neologisms and neo-semantics for the insiders only which will eventually enter into the social urban dictionary owing to some of the new words drift from street slangs and end up in developing lexicons (Berchoud, 2011). It is obvious that most of the lexicons expressed in Nigerian hip-hop music are dirty but youth cherishes such. Nevertheless, Rapcultureafrika as a group is careful

during performance not to use their Cant in music often. I noticed them speaking it among themselves most often in rehearsals, at the hostels or private homes than in the public shows.

Our recapitulation on the **Table 1** below explains the proper meanings of the words in the eight categories above, the vivid phonetic transcriptions of the unknown root words in the Brotherszone cryptolect orthography. The aim is to clear the cloudy minds of the rappers’ fans and the world entirely as the Rapcultureafrica keeps influencing many students in the University of Calabar, Akwa Ibom State University, University of Uyo, Uyo, Cross River State University of Technology, Calabar, other places in Lagos. I noticed most of their fans are ladies. See the use of the cryptolect in William Usese's album *Gerrou* 2016 with only two cryptolect words. The words in bold-font indicate cryptolect.

### **Gerrou**

Verse 1

Now I be respond in your hood,  
 I did what I could & now I be bursting in your hood,  
 Coming up real quick I'm never gonna dull  
 Hustle straight to the top  
 And I'm never gonna drop,  
 Now, beautiful be clapping  
 & some be hating me for the wrong  
 Reasons With my punchlines don't girls I'm pleasing  
 & all my hommies be forming **effizeeee**.  
 It's never been easy, everyday busy  
 And I'm never staying lazy,  
 Funny lady wanna carry my baby  
 And I'm like damn girl, that's so crazy,  
 Believe me, you don't wanna test me,  
 Usese Will-i-a & you don't wanna vex me,  
 People be hating & hating on me  
 But Jehovah...  
 (Excerpt from Usese William, *Gerrou*, 2016)

This rap poem is written in simple colloquial English with awkward orthography. The English phrase 'get out' is transformed to '**Gerrou**' whereas new vocabulary '**effizeeee**' is introduced on the ninth line of the verse which according the rapper, means 'swag, self-carriage'. Other rappers do as Rapcultureafrica group for example Tiwa Savage. According to DJ BB (2017)<sup>10</sup>, “ske ske” is term for sperm (see N° 71 “robo ske ske” on the Table 1). N° 76-Samankwe is a Viking cult vocabulary meaning ‘I believe’ borrowed into Hip-hop music by Harisong and it has become a public language on Nigeria streets but many people don't know it's meaning. There are also drifts in the meaning of some words such as street—tough, hard drugs or hard drinks—slow, control—description of a place, N° 86 since—yes, N° 70 quash—relax, N° 13 cast—disappointment, N° 57 nothing—it will not occur N° 100 1999-birthday, maybe almost all of them were born in the 1990s. N° 69 purge meaning drifts to ecstatic moment, etc. for others check **Table 1** below. Hip-

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.ekomusic.com.ng/2017/11/03/check-out-the-meaning-of-ske-ske-tiwa-savage-mentioned-in-her-song-malo-ft-wizkid/>

hop culture influences linguistic semantic drift in the words above which may cause diachronic and synchronic linguistic metamorphosis in the society. Just as an expert confirmed when he said ‘within a single person’s lifetime; words shift their meaning; pronunciations differentiate themselves; idioms from other tongues, from popular culture’ (Lerer, 2007, p. 3). These constant changings reflect the nature of slang most often not a cryptolect. ‘Slang is an everchanging set of colloquial words and phrases that speakers use to establish or reinforce social identity or cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in society at large’ (McWhorter, 1998; Eble, 1996, p. 11). As I observed the cryptolect being used in the hip-hop lyrics produced by Rapcultureafrica, it is built on the strength of existing English and Pidgin language structure.

**Table 1: Recapitulative of the Rapcultureafrica and the Nigerian Hip-Hop Cryptolect**

S/N	Words	Phonetic Transcription	Definition	Sources
1	Aluta-E	[alu:tə-i:]	Woman with big buttocks	Rapcultureafrica
2	Ahoy?	[ɑ: 'wɔɪ]	How are you?	Rapcultureafrica
3	Alinga	[ɑ:linga]	My man	Rapcultureafrica
4	Arab/Raba	[rɑ:bə]	Money language/money	Rapcultureafrica
5	Ball		Enjoy life	Rapcultureafrica
6	Banana		Penis	Astar & E. Double’s <i>Eggplant</i> (2017)
7	Bani	[bɑ:ni]	Girl	Rapcultureafrica
8	Barca	[bɑ:kə]	Back of a woman/buttocks	Rapcultureafrica
9	Burna-boy	[bəʊnɑ:bɔɪ]	Fornicator	Rapcultureafrica
10	Bullet		Copy of notes sets aside for examination malpractice	Rapcultureafrica
11	Burst my head		Extra pleasing me	Rapcultureafrica
12	Cabal		House	Rapcultureafrica
13	Cast		Exposed, used, disappointment, negation,	Rapcultureafrica
14	Chiné	[tʃineɪ]	sex	Rapcultureafrica
15	Chokes		Copy of small sets aside for examination malpractice	Rapcultureafrica
16	Clear		Realised	Rapcultureafrica
17	Crib		House	Rapcultureafrica
18	Cut		Spoil	Rapcultureafrica
19	Control		Location description	Rapcultureafrica
20	Dey	[deɪ]	Satisfaction	Rapcultureafrica
21	Die		Extreme ecstasy, extremely happy	Rapcultureafrica
22	Dope		Talent rapper, very good in rapping	Rapcultureafrica
23	Draw		Fool/imbecile	Rapcultureafrica

S/N	Words	Phonetic Transcription	Definition	Sources
24	Acronym: DKNY		a lady who has double keg no yash ‘Two sexy boobs but no butts’ (Double Kegs No Yash)	Rapcultureafrica
25	Dust		Rubbish	Rapcultureafrica
26	Figure Six		A woman who has two big sexy butts but small boobs.	Nigerian Hip-Hop Music artists
27	Figure Eight		A woman who has curved big sexy boobs, big buttocks, and flat tummy.	Nigerian Hip-hop Music artists
28	Figure Nine		A woman who has big boobs but small butts.	Nigeria Hip-Hop Music artists
29	Ekelebe	[ekelebe]	police	Rapcultureafrica
30	Gel		Beautiful	Rapcultureafrica
31	Hunger		H	Rapcultureafrica
32	Hype		Wash	Rapcultureafrica
33	Inatigidi-mété	[inatigidimeter]	Vagina	Rapcultureafrica
34	Iskaba, Iskelebete	[iskala:ba], [iskeleiber]	See big ekebe ( see big buttocks)	Wande Coal’s <i>Iskaba</i> (2016)
35	Iskoroboto	[iskɔ:rɔbɔtɔ]	Very big ekebe (Very big butts)	Wande Coal’s <i>Iskaba</i> (2016)
36	Jab		Job	Rapcultureafrica
37	Jagaban	[dʒaga:ban]	Wicked	Rapcultureafrica
38	Jam		Appreciated sweet music	Rapcultureafrica
39	Job		Cheat	Rapcultureafrica
40	Jonze	[dʒɔnz]	Disappointment	Rapcultureafrica
41	Joy		Orgasm or intoxication	Rapcultureafrica
42	Jump		Introvert	Rapcultureafrica
43	Kill me		Over please me	Rapcultureafrica
44	Kpansh	[pa:nʃ]	Sex	Rapcultureafrica
45	Kupe	[kɔpet]	Sex	Rapcultureafrica
46	Leg over		Deceive or cheat	Rapcultureafrica
47	Local		Dubious	Rapcultureafrica
48	Lock up		Quiet/ shut up	Rapcultureafrica
49	Manchester		Breast	Rapcultureafrica
50	March carbon		Walk fast or be fast	Rapcultureafrica
51	Mark a register		To have sex	Rapcultureafrica
52	Matter		Big buttocks	Rapcultureafrica
53	Microchip		Copy of small notes dedicated for examination malpractice	Rapcultureafrica

S/N	Words	Phonetic Transcription	Definition	Sources
54	Miscafo	[miskɑ:fɔ:]	Talking too much/loquacious/Talkative	Rapcultureafrica
55	Mopo	[mɔ:pɔ]	sex	Rapcultureafrica
56	No reach		You can't do it	Rapcultureafrica
57	Nothing		It will not happen	Rapcultureafrica
58	One for the road		Souvenir	Rapcultureafrica
59	One mouth		Quick sex	Rapcultureafrica
60	Off me		Disappointment or doing something that blows someone's imagination	Rapcultureafrica
61	Ogbese	[ɔ:'beiseɪ]	Abscond	Rapcultureafrica
62	Ogbonor	[ɔ'bɔnɔ:]	Wonderful!	Rapcultureafrica
63	Okpata	[ɔ'pɑ:tɑ]	Nonsense	Rapcultureafrica
64	Okpo	[ɔ'pɔ:]	Prostitute	Rapcultureafrica
65	Omila	[ɔmila]	Thief	Rapcultureafrica
66	Pass		Information	Rapcultureafrica
67	Pepper		money	Rapcultureafrica
68	Puna or punani	[pɔnɑ:] or [pɔnɑ:ni]	Vagina	Nigeria hip-hop artists
69	Purge		Ecstatic realm	Rapcultureafrica
70	Quash		Relax or hold on	Rapcultureafrica
71	Robo ske ske	rɔ:bɔ: ske	Go and have sex	Tiwa Savage, 2017
72	Runs		bribe	slang
73	Runs girls		Call girl/escort or popular harlot	Rapcultureafrica
74	Sabibori	[sə:bibɔ:ri]	Smart, savvy	Rapcultureafrica
75	Sakanto	[sə:kantɔ]	Girl/ young woman	Rapcultureafrica
76	Samankwe	[sə:mɑ:nkwe]	I believe	Harrysong, <i>Samankwe</i> (2017)
77	Santa		Free sex giver i.e. whore who does not collect money for sex.	Rapcultureafrica
78	Scama	[skɑmɑ:]	Unisex name for boys and girls.	Rapcultureafrica
79	Skubido	[skɔbidɔ]	Fearful pet	Mayon Kun, <i>ma'ama</i> (2017)
80	Senkpe senkpe	[seɪn'kpei seɪn'kpei]	Get ready	Nigeria hip-hop artists
81	Shallam	[ʃɑ:lɑm]	Woman/lady	Rapcultureafrica
83	Shit for church		Mess up or get oneself into serious trouble	Rapcultureafrica

S/N	Words	Phonetic Transcription	Definition	Sources
84	Shine Akpako	[ʃɪn a: 'kpɑ:kɔ]	To have sex with a lady/woman	Rapcultureafrica
85	Shodi		Woman/lady	Rapcultureafrica
86	Since		Yes, affirmative	Rapcultureafrica
87	Slow		1. Dizziness due to drunkenness from drug or alcohol. 2. Hard drug or hard drink.	Rapcultureafrica
88	Soften/Soften me		Generosity/Show me love	Rapcultureafrica
89	Acronym: SOS		Shit on shit	Rapcultureafrica Rappers
90	Stay there make pant de wear you		Keep fooling yourself.	Rapcultureafrica
91	Straf	[strɑ:f]	Sex	Rapcultureafrica
92	Them know you!		I hail you	Rapcultureafrica
93	Trips		Marijuana	Rapcultureafrica
94	Whip alert		Car	Rapcultureafrica
95	Wobe	[wɔbeɪ]	Street	Rapcultureafrica
96	Your shit soft		You're enjoying	Rapcultureafrica
97	Your shit hard		You're suffering	Rapcultureafrica
98	Za	[zɑ:]	nice	Rapcultureafrica
99	Zado	[zɑ:dɔ]	Very nice	Rapcultureafrica
100	1999		Birthday	Rapcultureafrica

Source: Self-made.

Many Nigerian Hip-hop Music lyrics use the Brotherszone cryptolect as we can see above on Table 1. The language in music addresses issues concerning particular people while listening to it. It equally incites emotions. We, as emotional being can react to music in particular way. It is noticeable in our daily conversations with friends around us. Musical aptitude has ‘a unique blend of word and sound, poetry and music. As we listen, we respond to those images. We form mental pictures, and we experience emotions’ (Kimbal, 2013) The Rapcultureafrica or Nigeria Hip-hop Music cryptolect may influence our society faster than ever owing to young musicophile and digital age sound enhancement gadgets. Thus, it motivates them to behave. This significance of music in our society is a call for all the artists and rappers to speak to us in plain languages that a common average person can fathom and even the intellectuals within the walls of the Universities can get research prompts out of it for the betterment of our society.

## **6. Succinct Comparison between Reggae and Rapcultureafrica**

The more the music is understandable, the more it influences the masses. Then, inculcating its relevance to upcoming generations is simple just like reggae musician or Rastafarian are known for freedom fighting in their musical philosophy. We all know that Bob Marley is never dead via his philosophy. He has been still fresh in reggae lyrics until now. We must understand Nigerian hip-hop rappers in the light of their philosophy of life as reggae artists who chanted afrocentric anti-colonial rhetoric in the 1920s-1950s (Soni, 2014) but both of the music groups started in the same era, twentieth century. Reggae fought for the Blacks' independence, against discriminations and racism even to the postcolonial era whereas hip-hop fights against present government injustices and neo-colonialism whereby African leaders enslave their kinsmen. Musicolinguistics in African settings has been used as a weapon of resisting the anti-humanity practices of all kinds. Reggae lost to hip-pop music since the death of Bob Marley in 1981 as the rappers were gaining more popularity than reggae Stars.

Hip-hop brought about a linguistic insurrection, in which the polite decorum of civil rights was scorned for a new 'wild style' that used words like a violent weapon against the forces of ghetto decay and urban blight. Rap artists started slang in' words as a matter of survival, as a way of battling the demonic forces and bleak circumstances that threatened their bodies and souls. (Nava, 2017, p. 173)

It is not all hip-hop that is traceable to the ghetto cultures or dirty circus, but linguistic insurrection is inevitable in their lyrics. Noticeably, Rapcultureafrica's rappers in question started among students in the University. They are envisaging to raise entrepreneurs from hip-hop culture via channelling talented youths as did the global peace ambassador, Bob Marley who preached the gospel of love, peace and world singularity, a world free from injustice whereby Africans in diaspora can return to their motherland (Salewicz, 2012). On the other hand, Rapcultureafrica inspires students to do their best in life. All of them are for the better society. They perform their shows both in the secular and in the religious ceremonies. Furthermore, it is obvious too that the vocabularies related to sex are common in Rapcultureafrica's hip-hop as reggae does it sometimes. Rapcultureafrica invents words and slots them into rapping chant whereas reggae groups demonstrate their revolt in outlook, mystic religion and disjointed syntaxes (Soni, 2014). On the stage, they denounce the colonial domination. Thus, the dreadlock on the Angela Davis and Bob Marley.

Angela Davis, chanteuse américaine, Bob Marley, chanteur jamaïcain, se caractérisent...leur chevelure...Leur chevelure, pour l'une en boule mousseuse et pour l'autre en enchevêtrements de dreadlocks, devient le signal de contestation d'une société conventionnelle et politiquement marquée, de leurs pays respectifs (Tilles & Gründ, 2013, p. 75)

Rapcultureafrica's rappers dress casually in clean jeans and T-shirt denoting their innocence, spirit of integration into the youth world and igniting the passion to reach out to their peers because '[Rappers]' words often reflect what they see and experience firsthand in their communities' (Rose, 2008, p. 138).

Moreover, this makes music an exponent of language as well as literature. Therefore, music cannot exist outside language. I argue that musicolinguistic study centres on the poetic license,

cryptolect and underworld languages’ application in hip-hop music or any other music. All musical sound or song is the imitation of the language or linguistic codes. Music is enshrined in the empire of the linguistics for it employs language to give better taste to the soul. The art of applying languages in music is what is referred as the musicolinguistics. I observed and see the similarities of both reggae and hip-hop artists as cultural idealogists movement.

## Conclusion

It is evident that one cannot separate sociability of the rappers or peculiar professions from their jargons. One needs to decipher those jargons or cryptolect to fathom their doings. Brotherszone Cryptolect to the outsiders is foreign or unknown language but within the circus artists is a clear daily language. In this research, I am able to unveil a handful of meanings to the dark vocabularies presumed as meaningless in the Nigerian hip-hop music. Some curious researchers and the journalists have made some endeavours to fathom the languages but the artists do not give them the full or exact meaning of some words on camera because it deals with their private lives. So many people might have concluded over the years that the hip-hop music are meaningless but I have deciphered few of the difficult ones through informants. Deciphering is a noble pursuance for me because I want to point out some dirty expressions for society to curb the perversities in the lyrics in order to censor it for the sake of children for they cause social vices that we do experience everywhere around the globe for music influences the youth as much as their peerage. We should not also forget the activism and optimism launched by the hip-hop and reggae artists which have minimised the injustices around the globe too just as we have seen in the little in-text comparative analysis of hip-hop with the Rastafarian reggae. Will Cryptolect soon be slang or popular language?

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## **'Ite ad Joseph'; A short survey on textual concepts in the neo-gothic interior decoration in catholic churches in the 19<sup>th</sup> and first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

Annelies Abelmann<sup>11</sup>

### **Abstract**

No other period in the history of religious art has shown such a great amount of textual statements on altars, walls, stained-glass windows, communion benches, pulpits, pietà, entrances in ex- and interiors, ways of the cross, vaults, floors and statues as the neo-gothic interior of Catholic churches all over the world produced in the period 1870-1919. During these decades the church artists adhered to the neo-gothic style introduced by Pugin in Great-Brittan and Viollet-le-Duc in France. A whole generation of clerics, monastic orders, guilds and devotional groups glorifying the ideology of Ultramontanism in all kinds of manifestations, such as international gatherings, expositions of church-art, the consecration of churches, processions and publications in all sorts spread this style. This ideology, with a strong emphasis on the power of the pope in heavenly and worldly matters, has inflicted the whole world. The utopian Christian society based on a false image of the Middle Ages had also to be implemented in the colonies, without any real concern for the indigenous peoples or knowledge of the structures and cultures of their traditional societies. This article focuses on the unprecedented 19<sup>th</sup>- century decoration program in churches based on a new devotion inspired by the Neo-thomistic philosophy, incorporated in the official policy of the Vatican. The author chooses S. Jozef as an example because his devotion was elaborated with the persona of 'patron of the church'. Not only the iconography had to be adjusted. For a good understanding words were necessary, also to stretch the difference with the patriarch Joseph of Egypt, a pre-figuration of Christ. The methodology chosen is based on elaborate research in parish-archives in the Rhineland completed with the study of primary and secondary literature. In the last category, the recent publication on de S. Jozef in Groningen is instructive. This research brought together all the inscriptions and textual concepts in the church for the first time. (Werf, 2012) The intensive research on the works of the Mengelberg-ateliers in the Rhineland is the backbone of this article ([www.themengelbergstudios.com](http://www.themengelbergstudios.com)). The author is aware of the fact that this survey is just a modest try to investigate this very interesting aspect of the neo-gothic art.

### **Keywords**

Ultramontanism, Neothomism, neo-Gothic style, textuality and textual concepts, colonialism and education.

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## **Introduction: The textual concepts of the shrines dedicated to S. Jozef and S. Joseph, 1837-1924**

The theoretical approach to this topic, as it is in my previous essay (Abelman, 2017), is primarily based on Bruno Latour and his so-called Actor-Network-Theory, in which he pointed out new ideas on the crucial role of social networks in relations to the arts and on Benedict Anderson's view about religion as a kind of nationalism without borders. (Latour 2005 and Anderson 2006) Ultramontanism is the very vivid example of an international religious ideology without concern of borders or landmarks as it states that the pope is the only authority in religious and worldly matters.

The theory of Foucault on power and its fluid manifestations in society got more importance in the view of the activities of the Congregation of the Sisters of the little Infant Jesus in Indonesia in the field of education. (Foucault 1991)

New is the incorporation of Thomastic philosophy in this context. The rediscovery of the 13<sup>th</sup> - century philosopher Thomas of Aquinas, a student of Albertus Magnus, who became the patron of Catholic education, and his ideas was studied thoroughly by the eager priest-students and young, ambitious laymen. The encyclical ‘Aeterni Patris’ by Leo XIII in 1879 formed the culmination of this development. The battle for free confessional education is an important aspect of the glorious emancipation of the Catholics in Europe. The textual additions in the church interiors celebrate the victory of Catholic education.

On the forehand, it should be noted that for the period covered here, the economic situation in Western-Europe was periodically abominable, especially the agricultural crisis, caused by a severe potato-disease was destructive in the years 1845-1854. It caused what is regarded as the last official famine in Europe. (Segers 2004) These were also the years of spreading diseases which contaminated people and cattle and of extreme weather conditions, which impressed people. (Thoen et al. 2015)

Perhaps the most destructive of the crises has been the economic crisis of 1873-1896, known as ‘the Great Deflation’ or ‘Long Depression’, that shortly erupted after the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, with the defeat of France. It was the cause of great poverty among the working class in the industrialised countries and can be regarded as an announcement of economic developments to come. (Fisch 2002) The apocalyptic feelings of the end of this century were strong and influential as Weber (Weber 2000) has described so impressively in his last study.

As religion is the core business of this article, it is obligatory to indicate the definition I follow, formulated by Davies:

‘Religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that these moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic’. (Davies 2011, 30)

About religious feelings he writes:

‘We are also alert to the equally obvious fact that different societies and religious groups emphasise some part of the wide spectrum of possible human feelings, framing it with nuances of their moral value and undertaking to cultivate and control it for the good of their community.’ (Davies 2011, 1)

Regarding these definitions, the use of textual applications may enhance the impact of the importance of the devotional objects on and the framing of the (aspirant) believers. They were in these days mostly illiterate and impoverished peasants, unemployed or freelance proletarians and lower working class members in the European countries and completely ‘ignorant’ peoples in the colonies. The use of Latin reinforces the superiority of the learned clergy and higher educated lay-men and silenced critical voices. Wealthy Catholics dedicated the shrines, statues and other church objects supplemented with beautiful painted or carved dedications with names, dates and thanks in gothic style on prominent places.

The use of the vernacular language became again popular at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the common man was discovered as possible ‘*milites Christi*’, soldiers of Christ and his children as the Catholic pupils for the confessional schools.

The following paragraph focusses on the persons and veneration of two Josephs: the patriarch Joseph of Egypt and the foster parent of Jesus, Jozef. With these two saints, I want to give an insight into the use of words and images and prove the importance of texts as such and as icons.

The textual concepts were already in 2012 elaborately gathered in the research on the S. Jozef in Groningen. (Werf, 2012) The reason for the application of so much textual information, however, was not investigated. To give a beginning on the answer on this question, elaborate research on objects and in parish archives was necessary, accumulated with the study of secondary literature. Till now, no one has ever dropped the question about the huge amount of textual concepts in neogothic churches.

## **1. ‘*Ite ad Joseph, gaat tot Joseph, gehet zur Joseph*’, ‘Go to Joseph’; the multi-layered persona of Jozef.**

Joseph of Egypt, vice-king and later patriarch was the prefiguration of Christ. Like Jesus, his brothers betrayed him, and during a journey for their father, they threw him, the dearest loved son in a well, dressed in a multicoloured robe, awaiting certain death. After some time he was rescued by tradesmen and brought to Egypt, where he developed himself to an important man at the court of the pharaoh. Theologian interpret the dreams he had during his stay with his family as the prediction of the arrival of the new kingdom of Christ. His colourful robe reflects not only his identity but also that of the human nature of Christ. Jesus lost this natural body on the cross like putting of a robe of many characteristics. All this makes Joseph to a predecessor of Jesus but also as an identification figure for Jozef, as the foster parent of Christ.

The words ‘*Ite ad Joseph*’ were found on multiple altars in the Rhineland produced by the Mengelberg-studios f.i. in the S. Michaël in Harlingen (1882) and the Munster in Bonn (1894). The Mengelberg-atelier was beside the workshop of Pierre Cuypers the most important atelier in this field. The words point to the statement of Pius IX in which he declares that the meaning of the words ‘*Go to Joseph*’ refers to the holy church under attack by various enemies and can be

equalled to ‘Go to Jozef’, the foster parent of Jesus and patron of the church. When we pray to Joseph or Jozef, that will help us to overcome the assaults on the church. (Buil 1915, 35) The assaults were f.i. the loss of the papal states and the Vatican, the struggle in Germany between Prussia and the Catholic church, the uprising in France in 1871 and all the modernities since the Enlightenment.

The eldest altar with this text we find in the S. Michaël in Harlingen, in the far North of the Netherlands. Wilhelm Mengelberg (1837-1919) carved Jozef as a freestanding statue with a tondo and the ship of the church in his left. With his right hand, he gives his blessing. The relation with Joseph we see on the wings where he is painted as vice-king of Egypt with the wheat in his hand and with King David with his attributes of the crown and harp on the other side.

On the triptych in Bonn, a painted Jozef is shown as half figure with a branch of lilies in one hand and a carpenter’s square in the other. The dedication says: ‘Ersetze ihn zum Herrn/ über sein Haus’. What means: ‘give Jozef the lead over his house’. The family of Carl Hopmann donated it to the church: ‘Zum Andenken Gatten u. Vater Carl Hopmann gestiftet von der Familie 1894 RIP’. The persona of the carpenter was an object of devotion for the young working class. These Catholic young men were often members of the ‘Josephgesellenvereine’. But Jozef is also shown as a protector of the church with the dedication.

## **2. ‘Non possumus’, the policy of Pius IX**

The ‘Ite ad Joseph’ adoration was embedded in the policy of Pius IX known as ‘Non possumus’, (‘we can not’) officially declared in ‘Quemadmodum Deus’ (1870). It was the outcome of the loss of the papal states, the fall of the Vatican, the captivity of the Pope and the final defeat in the battle against Garibaldi. This assault on papal power led to this concept of ‘non possumus’ inspired by the story of the martyrs of Abitinae who were killed in 304 by Diocletian for worshipping on Sunday. Clemens VII used it in the conflict with Henry VIII to state that the Holy See cannot discuss with other, worldly parties and certainly cannot give in in these matters. This policy came only after Vatican II to an end in the sixties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the difficult times for the church in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the devotional companies, guilds and movements like the already mentioned ‘Josephgesellenvereine’ in Germany, ‘Kolpingvereine’ in the Rhineland and the Bernulphusguild in Utrecht, modelled after the Belgian S. Thomas and Luc guild played a dominant role in the spreading of the Catholic word and image, such as that of S. Jozef.

Wilhelm Mengelberg signed for the design of the new prototype of Jozef as presented in the S. Michaël in Harlingen. This design was copied many times in- and outside his workshops. It was a challenge to invent a devotional image because Jozef was a ‘young’ saint as patron of the Church. Jesus is still asleep. The stormy weather and other turmoil must someday wake the one and only captain. Jozef is probably the most depicted saint in 19<sup>th</sup>-century religious art together with Mary. Both figures play however a very modest role in the New Testament and their veneration were inventions of the post-Tridentine era and the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> -century.

### **3. Two Jozef- shrines in Bonn: S. Marys and S. Mary Magdalen**

The altar dedicated to Jozef in the Marienkirche in Bonn dated from 1893 and was a gift to the new parish by Joseph Hoffmann. We learned these facts not only by studying documents but also because Mengelberg painted an elaborate dedication on the wing with the words: 'Josephus Alexander Hoffmann hoc altare sancto Josepho posuit ut felix sit finis' ('Josephus Alexander Hoffman dedicated this altar to S. Joseph and will happily die'). And on the statue itself, we read: 'Ecce electus meus reliqui domum meam.' ('Here is my house that I have chosen'). Hoffmann was a wealthy merchant who paid the amount of 7000 Reichsmark for the object for his patron. The artist presented Jozef in the persona of the protector of the church. He is in the good company of S. Frances as patron of the poor. The strong visual depiction of the merciless dismissal of the couple in Bethlehem by the innkeeper enhances the protective role of Jozef over his wife is. The pastor characterised this scene as 'umbarmherzig abgewiesen', 'send away without mercy'. (Bonn, archives S. Marien nr. 271, p. 3) This merciless treatment had to evoke a lot of emotion on the worshippers and strengthen them in the role of devoted husbands and fathers.

A year later the neighbouring parish of S. Mary Magdalen ordered also an altar for S. Jozef by Wilhelm Mengelberg. It was realised with the assistance of his younger brother Edmund. Isabella Martini dedicated the shrine, and it was much cheaper than the one Hoffmann gave: only 2250 Reichsmark. The phrases on this altar were: 'Ite ad Joseph', 'David reviv.' and again 'Ite ad Joseph et quidquid differit facite'. (the last words mean 'he will do what is necessary'). Here again, Jozef is presented as a foster parent of Jesus and as a patron of the working man with a branch of lilies and the carpenter's square. The patriarch Joseph of Egypt and King David accompanies Jozef.

During the writing of this article a further persona of Jozef appeared in the research of the archives of the congregation of 'Zusters van het arme kindje Jesus' in Simpelveld in the surroundings of Aix-la-chapelle. The sisters moved their convent during the Kulturkampf over the German border and created an impressive atelier for religious paraments and wax figures, transported over the whole globe. They used an image of Jozef reading the Bible to Jesus, so as a teacher. This is a very unique image, that accentuates the importance of education for the sisters. Their institution can be regarded in the context of the very strong charitable movement in Aix-la-chapelle under the guidance of pastor Sartorius. Wilhelm Mengelberg was admitted to his circle during his years in Aix-la-Chapelle. The congregation worked in the colonies esp. in Indonesia, where they are still active in education and health-work. This will be a topic for further research in the near future. It links perfectly to the statement of Foucault of power as a regime of truth. (Foucault, 1991) There is a positive aspect of power in its producing reality, domains of objects and rituals of truth. In these surroundings the powerless gain education and literacy.

### **4. New devotion by word, icon and rituals spreads over the world**

These examples may prove that the interpretation of the scenes and figures on shrines in neogothic churches was not very easy for the common believer in general and in the devotion of S. Jozef or S. Joseph in particular. Symbols and tools for understanding the devotion and above all the words were necessary to guide the Catholic in his or her devotion. These texts were

incorporated in various rituals on special days and written down in the ‘Manuale Romane’. The prescriptions for these theological and art- historical knowledge was spread by the already mentioned guilds like the Thomas and Luc- guild in Belgium, the Bernhulphusguild in the Netherlands and the ‘Verein für christliche Kunst’ with branches in different parts in Germany.

As the birthplace of the spread of the neogothic ‘word’ and icon must be regarded Great-Brittan. Here the Oxford-movement with the Irish Cardinal John Henry Newman and his colleague in England, Henry Edward Manning revived Catholicism in a very ardent way. The art- historical group of the ‘Cambridge Camden Society’, followed up by the ‘Ecclesiological Society’ would give the final impulse for the restyling of churches all over Europe in a neo-gothic way. The key figures in this movement were Viollet le Duc in France, Pugin in England, Bethune in Belgium, Reichensperger in Germany and Alberdingk Thijm in the Netherlands. The words penetrated in the lives of the Catholics using the spreading in the various magazines and newspapers and richly illustrated low-budget publications.

It should be realised that these textual conceptions in neogothic interior decorations also entered the lives of the peoples in the colonies with the mission and the plantation of churches. The use of Latin enhances even more than in the mother countries the distance between the indigenous peoples and the Catholic colonists (in the case of the Dutch they were by far in the minority compared with the Protestants). The coloniser often used his mother tongue in which the education was set up. Till now I have not come across 19<sup>th</sup> -century shrines with dedications in the vernacular. Finally, I present here an example of a Catholic colonial church as a ‘pars pro toto’.

## **Conclusion: The cathedral in Jakarta dedicated to the Virgin Mary again**

‘Beatam Me Dicentes Onmes Generationes’ is a quotation of the text above the entrance of the cathedral in Jakarta. It means that all generations will venerate Mary as the blessed Virgin. The cathedral is marked with the traditional neogothic layout with a high altar dedicated to the celebration of the Eucharist in the main choir. Mengelberg made this shrine for the ‘Paterskerk’ (‘Friarschurch’) in the eighties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Groningen Together with the pulpit and various statues of saints it was transported to Jakarta in 1956.

For the right wing, atelier Ramakers produced the shrine dedicated to Mary (1915). In the left choir, the Jozef-shrine dates from the year 1922. It is completely styled in the neogothic ways, which was by then already old fashioned. It strengthens the idea that this can be the late product of the Mengelberg-studio led by the brothers Otto and Hans Mengelberg after the death of their father. The saint is symbolised with a branch of lilies and carries the Child Jesus on his arm. He is shown here as the foster parent of Jesus. The baby holds a globe as a sign of his powers and gives us his blessing. Two scenes of the life of Jozef accompanies the statue. On the one side, we see the Holy Family in the carpentry studio. Maria is spinning, and Jozef stands aside her with the child Jesus between them. The child holds a hammer, symbolising his foretold death on the cross. Such images of the Holy Family were an example for the indigenous people of Indonesia, living according to roman-catholic rites in the way the church and the ruler wanted. ‘Ite ad Joseph’, Joseph will lead you here and after death. For his guidance and that of S. Joseph of Egypt words were necessary for understanding the message. Words that were not only used for a better understanding as such but also as icons and decorations. The understanding of words was taught

by the Sisters of the poor Infant Jesus and provided the poorest of the colonies knowledge and means of communication, not only suppression and abuse of power.

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## **Becoming German: A Critical Look at Refugee Education in Germany**

Courtney J. O'Connell<sup>12</sup>

### **Abstract**

This paper examines education for refugee children in Germany through the lens of contemporary childhood studies. When children resettle in Germany they are not only permitted, but also required to attend school. They are put on a fast, straight track to learning German so they can get matriculated into mainstream classes as quickly as possible: their only shot at succeeding in Germany's highly stratified school system (SBJW, 2016). But does this intense focus on the future meet the needs of this population of children in the present? Eurocentric and nativist attitudes behind integration rhetoric are explored, including how they factor into teaching approaches in so-called *welcome classes* for Germany's young newcomers. Why and how should schools look after the mental health of its students? The case is made for the incorporation of creative expressive interventions in the classroom as a means of enhancing students' self-esteem, self-efficacy, and ultimately agency.

### **Keywords**

Refugee children, school, Germany, creative expression therapy

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## Introduction

### *Children as becomings*

Childhood has traditionally been viewed in an anticipatory sense, in which children are on a journey and the destination is adulthood (Qvortrup, 2009). Understanding the structural form of childhood in this way shapes adults' attitudes towards children, as well as children's perceptions of themselves (Qvortrup, 2009). Across many fields of study and throughout society at large, childhood is regarded as a stage, a step on the way (Jenks, 1996). Jenks (1996) elaborates this point:

The type of 'growth' metaphors that are readily adopted in discussions about childhood all pertain to the character of what is yet to be and yet which is also presupposed. Thus childhood is spoken about as: a 'becoming'; tabula rasa; laying down the foundations; shaping the individual; taking on; growing up; preparation; inadequacy; inexperience; immaturity, and so on. (p. 8)

Associating children exclusively with the future runs the risk of failing to regard childhood as a coherent social practice in and of itself (Jenks, 1996). Qvortrup (1985) coined the now commonly used phrasing when he described the problem of viewing children as "not human beings but human becomings" (Qvortrup, 1985, p. 132).

### *Children as beings*

More recently, the discourse on childhood challenges the perception of children as *becomings* by seeing the child as a social actor; a whole person containing a set of needs and rights in the present, independent of a presumed future version of themselves (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). Rather than understand children as first and foremost people in training – waiting to become whole - they should be appreciated for their current personhood. This conceptual shift does not require a disregarding of a child's future potential, opportunities, or aspirations. On the contrary, responding to the needs and wishes of children in the present also, in turn, serves to support and bolster them as they grow.

### *Refugee<sup>13</sup> children in Germany*

This paper takes a critical look at how children are framed as becomings in the context of young refugees attending public schools in Germany. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (2018), never before has the world seen so many people forced from their homes. More than half of the nearly 22.5 million refugees on the move today are under the age of 18 (UNRA, 2018). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2017) reported that in 2016 alone, approximately 1.3 million people came to Germany as refugees, 30 percent of them children.

When displaced children resettle in Germany they enjoy the right to education (Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Wissenschaft, 2016). In fact, school in Germany is compulsory from the

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<sup>13</sup> For the purposes of this paper, the term *refugee* will be used to refer to children who, alone or with their families, are seeking, have been granted or denied refugee status in Germany.

first grade on, so children are required to exercise this right (Döbert, 2015). Refugee school children are put on a fast track to German language acquisition in order to be matriculated into mainstream classes as quickly as possible (SBJW, 2016). It could be said that children in this situation are not only exposed to the burden of becoming an adult, but also, in a way, of becoming German.

Can this intense focus on the future though meet the needs of this population of children in the present? This paper reveals how fundamental elements of German schools, as well as broader, macroeconomic forces present obstacles for newcomers that stem from colonial and Eurocentric ideologies surrounding children and childhood. How can Germany support its new student population by appreciating them not only as becomings, but first and foremost as beings? Incorporating creative expression interventions with a therapeutic orientation in classrooms will be considered as a way to take on this worthy challenge.

### ***The institutionalization of childhood***

One could easily assume that speedy language acquisition and integration into the German school system is a goal based chiefly on the well-being of refugee children. However, widening the scope of the question allows for additional interpretations regarding the forces underpinning this effort. In her work, *Individualization and Institutionalization of Childhood in Today's Europe*, Näsman (1994) discusses how

The twentieth century has witnessed increased levels of institutional control over children. The introduction of compulsory schooling and children's formal exclusion from paid work signaled a historical tendency towards children's increasing compartmentalization in specifically designated, separate settings, supervised by professionals and structured according to age and ability. (pp. 32-33)

The author understands this modern treatment of children as influenced by overarching economic forces, such as increasing competition in the world economy (Näsman, 1994). The less states are able to exert full control over their own economic circumstances, the more they tend to regard children as the future labor force (Näsman, 1994). Molding and securing the qualified and robust workforce of tomorrow usually means tighter regulations and increased standardization of what and how children learn at school today (Näsman, 1994).

### ***Social injustice in German education institutions***

Institutions have an especially strong effect on children in Germany. In *What is Childhood? Questions and Answers from Sociology*, Hungerland and Luber (2008) bring forth the example of Germany's highly stratified school system to illustrate how social institutions can work to maintain society's existing power structures. At around the age of 12, students are placed on one of three educational tracks, likely determining the nature of the rest their professional and economic lives (Döbert, 2015). Rather than create equal opportunities for students, the system confirms and further fortifies existing social inequalities (Hungerland, 2008). The connection between one's socio-economic background and success in the German school system is especially strong in children and youth with mixed heritage (Döbert, 2015). This is confirmed by international PISA research (OECD, 2013).

The specific case of refugee children in Germany offers yet another lens through which to view the system. If racial segregation is already occurring in the German school system (Döbert, 2015), then how will the children presently arriving in Germany as refugees fit into this hierarchy? Pinson, Arnot, and Canappa (2010) point out that

By exploring the educational responses to the presence of asylum-seeking and refugee children in our schools, we can learn about the social and political values of our education system and the ways in which its principles of inclusivity and cohesion operate in the context of globalizing forces. (p. 1)

Germany's schools may help maintain the status quo by holding marginalized people in the margins, but can refugee children be supported in ways that move towards the dissolution of the margins?

### ***Children as a minority group and intersectional discrimination***

In *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies*, James and James (2008) explain how, as a social group, children occupy a space in society that is largely separated and segregated from the majority adult population. Their lack of political power and limited control over access to resources leaves them vulnerable to exploitation and discrimination (James & James, 2008). Children are already members of a minority group (James & James, 2008), if for no other reason than being "underage." However, refugee children in Germany, belonging to multiple minority groups beyond their status as children (regarding ethnicity, religion, political status, etc.) are at risk of experiencing intersectional discrimination (Liebel, 2014). This can occur when prejudice based on age is combined with – or masked by – other forms of discrimination (Liebel, 2014). One may, for example, refer to a child's young age to conceal a racist motive (Liebel, 2014).

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### ***Othering, nativism, and integration***

German society is culturally heterogeneous, but the freedom to live in individualized and different ways has led to dwindling commonalities binding different segments of society to one another (Döbert, 2015). This phenomenon is reflected in the preferred term evoked when discussing immigrants in Germany: *integration*. The word is ambiguous and blurry and therefore well suited for political and tactical discourse, leaving plenty of room for political idleness, while creating an illusion of societal consensus (Löffler, 2011). The word *integration* is used both as a synonym for multiculturalism – a cultural pluralism in which various cultures co-exist – as well as for assimilation, where a minority group member fully adopts dominant, mainstream cultural norms (Löffler, 2011). What then does it mean to encourage refugees to integrate?

De Genova (2005) argues that both sides of the discourse on migration "are systematically concerned with what a native *we* should do with a foreign *them*" (p. 62). In *The "European" question: Migration, race, and post-coloniality in "Europe,"* De Genova (2016) explains how the language used in the discourse is indicative of a steady stream of anxiety surrounding post-colonial transformation. Migration is described as a problem, which naturally threatens the normative good of the dominant society (De Genova, 2016). With this comes a variety of strategies and procedures for the "'inclusion' of migrant 'outsiders,' or perhaps for compelling

‘foreigners’ to figure out how to appropriately ‘integrate’ themselves” (De Genova, 2016, p. 345).

De Genova’s words echo Freire’s in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). He similarly observes the paternalistic underpinnings behind regarding oppressed people as “welfare recipients” or a pathology of an otherwise healthy society (Freire, 1970, p. 55).

When considering the reception and inclusion of refugee children into German schools, it is important to keep in mind that their childhoods may have looked very different from a typical German childhood. Even more important is maintaining awareness that there is no one, correct childhood. Harding (1998) reminds us that

Even individuals with the highest moral intentions, and with the most up-to-date, state-of-the-art, well-informed, rational standards according to the prevailing institutions and their larger cultures, can still be actively advancing institutional, societal, and philosophic eurocentrism. (pp. 14-15)

Kincheloe (2008) extends Harding’s assertion that researchers and pedagogues can sometimes be blind to Eurocentric and reductionist assumptions underlying our social institutions and scholarly communities, by adding that these ideologies affect our economic policies, creating the “‘ground zero’ of twenty-first century oppression” (p. 181).

### ***Banking education***

Freire (1970), too, examines how macroeconomic forces of systemic oppression are manufactured in social institutions. He transcends theoretical musings though, by linking these explorations to the individual’s experience of education in oppressive institutions. The picture he paints from almost half a century ago is unfortunately still quite relevant today. He describes the *banking* concept of education, “in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits” issued by the teacher (Freire, 1970, p. 53). Following the banking method of teaching, the educator replaces genuine communication with the issuing of static information to be memorized and repeated (Freire, 1970).

Freire (1970) believed that as a consequence of banking education, aside from the students filing away in their minds empty assertions from the teacher, the students themselves are filed away when they are deprived of creativity, transformation, and knowledge. He asserts,

For apart from inquiry, apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry humans pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other. (Freire, 1970, p. 53)

This is not simply a matter of stimulating a child’s mind so that they might be able to perform better academically. Freire (1970) sees banking education as an extension of the mentality that humans are adaptable and manageable. The harder the students work to be successful in storing the information deposited into them, “the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world” (Freire, 1970: 54). Applied to the present example of refugee children in Germany, it is then indisputable that

how children and youth are seen by their educators – and, in turn, how they may learn to see themselves – has broad implications for their agency and participation in society.

## **1. Educating Refugee Children in Germany**

### ***Welcome classes***

The city of Berlin has had special classes for children new to Germany for several decades now, originally called *classes for new arrivals without knowledge of the German language* (Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie, 2017). With the arrival of thousands of new students in and around the year 2015, the name was changed to *welcome classes* (SBJF, 2017). According to a report on schools in Berlin, published by the senate department for education, youth, and family (SBJF, 2017), as of January 2017, 12,570 children were enrolled in 1,067 welcome classes in Berlin.

The current procedures for integrating new students into the education system in Berlin is outlined in a guide (SBJW, 2016) published by the city’s senate department for education, youth, and science. According to this manual, children from outside of Germany who live in the country with a residence permit, or those who are seeking asylum with or without their families, are legally required to attend school (SBJW, 2016). Even if a child’s family is not granted (or loses their status of) asylum, they are no longer required to attend school, but still possess the right to (SBJW, 2016).

If a child arrives in Germany as a non-native German speaker without having attended a German school in the past, they must take a language test. If a child’s German is deemed sufficient, or if they are young enough to be placed in either first or second grade, they join a mainstream class. If they are too old for the first or second grade and their German skills are deemed insufficient, children are enrolled in a welcome class, held parallel to mainstream classes in elementary schools, secondary schools, and high schools. Children are meant to attend welcome classes for no longer than one year (SBJW, 2016).

In regards to the purpose of the welcome classes, the guide (SBJW, 2016) clearly states: “The goal is the fastest possible acquisition of the German language, to enable a swift transition into a mainstream class” (p. 11). Does this approach leave enough room though, for children to be appreciated as beings, right now? In an environment where there is not only heavy emphasis on learning German, but also on the speed of language acquisition, there is great potential for additional pressure to be placed on a group already living under the weight of countless possible burdens. If children are evaluated exclusively on academic performance, they may miss out on the chance to discover and develop competencies outside this limited and stringent realm of aptitudes. It is as if Germany views these students as immediately lagging behind, defining them first and foremost by what they do not yet have. Refugee children stand to benefit greatly from being characterized by their skills and competencies rather than their deficits or weaknesses.

### ***The role school plays for refugee children***

Timmerman (2008) brings attention to the fact that “between the ages of 6 and 12, school typically plays the leading role in a child’s life – the way there and back, social interactions in the breaks, class trips, and so on” (p. 189). In addition to the importance school holds for any child, for a refugee what happens – or does not happen - in these first years of school upon resettlement is of crucial importance. A refugee child’s well-being is largely affected by successes and failures at school (Richman, 1998). As parents are often unable to speak the local language, they may not be able to help children as much as they would like to (Richman, 19998). This means children are often required to deal with difficulties at school on their own (Richman, 1998). As “educational progress and emotional well-being are mutually dependent,” school policies are a crucial part of the equation (Richman, 1998, p. 65). They have the potential to assist a child in reestablishing a sense of safety, normalcy, confidence and self-esteem, while preventing frustration and isolation (Richman, 1998).

With so much in flux, school can provide a constant, fixed, and stable routine for a child (Zito & Martin, 2016). Ideally, social contacts, opportunities for achievement, and the chance to begin constructing future endeavors can also be found at school (Zito & Martin, 2016). In their study, *Belonging and connection to school in resettlement: Young refugees, school belonging, and psychosocial adjustment*, Kia-Keating and Ellis (2007) observe that schools are typically the first point of contact a refugee child has with the greater community in their new home. In their study examining school belonging among newly resettled Somali refugees (aged 12-19) in the north-eastern United States, researchers found that beyond the stabilization school can provide, fostering a sense of school belonging can have substantial positive effects on a child’s educational experience (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). The researchers found that feeling more attached, committed, involved, and spirited about one’s school is directly linked to decreased levels of depression and heightened self-efficacy among young refugees (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007).

Gaining a sense of school belonging, however, does not come easily, as the task of adjusting into a brand new school system is often filled with obstacles. In *A systematic review of school-based social-emotional interventions for refugee and war-traumatized youth*, Sullivan and Simonson (2016) note, “several studies have documented high rates of anxiety, depression, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder among refugee youth” (p. 506). Aside from diverse and possibly severe preflight traumas lived by young refugees (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016), many children miss long periods of schooling as a result of war and flight (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). This means that on top of possibly dealing with lacking language skills and emotional distress, success at school is even more challenging as many children have missed out on learning skills they may be expected to already have based on their age.

### ***Schools and mental health***

Sullivan and Simonson (2016) also found that among a sample of refugees in the Netherlands, despite reporting substantially higher needs and greater desire for mental health services, they were far less likely than control samples to receive them. Language and cultural barriers, lack of information about the local health system, lack of access to transportation or funds are just a few

of a myriad of obstacles standing between refugee children and mental health service (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016).

As children are required to attend school, it is the most practical starting point for monitoring and caring for students' mental health (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016). Schools also stand to benefit from taking psychological well-being of its students into consideration (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016). As academic success is connected to mental health (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016), caring for students in this way also promotes positive educational outcomes. Tending to mental health then falls into the philosophy of regarding children first as beings, while not altogether disregarding their status of becomings either.

### ***Support systems embedded in German schools***

In his chapter on Germany in *The Education Systems of Europe*, Döbert (2015) explains that German schools contain what are known as *support systems*, consisting of "school supervision, school counseling, in-service training of teachers, school-related counseling by experts, evaluation of schools, regional cooperation among schools, psychological services, school social work, school expert information, and media services" (p. 311). With possibilities for a high level of coordination among different sectors under the umbrella of one school system, schools in Germany seem to be especially well positioned to oversee and actively support the psychosocial well-being of refugee children attending these institutions. Often times it may be unrealistic for children to be connected to independent mental health services (for reasons listed below), but as they are permitted and even obligated to attend school, therein exists a great opportunity to provide care beyond delivering the standard academic curriculum.

The systems of support that German schools have in place can also lead to unintended consequences though. In *Traumatized Children and Youth in the Classroom: A Practical Guide for Teachers*, Christiane Pillhofer (2017) comments that when a child disrupts lessons through their behavior, teachers often begin deferring responsibility to deal with the "problem" child to school counselors, therapists, or doctors. She argues that this compartmentalizing of support can obscure an issue's most obvious causes and solutions: acknowledging and appreciating the child's present living conditions and the creation of a therapeutic atmosphere in the elementary school class (Pillhofer, 2017). The structure in place to provide a wide range of support is fundamentally helpful, but it should not be relied upon to replace vital practices in the classroom.

## **2. Post-Colonialism and the Treatment of Refugee Children**

Before introducing studies in which therapeutic creative expression interventions have yielded promising results, it is important to call attention to a few significant limitations. The experience of war, forced migration, or resettlement is subjective. It is therefore essential that teachers, other school staff members, or volunteers working with refugee children do not purport to know or understand what children have seen or are feeling. Migratory experiences are particular and it is essential that the needs of children are not universalized (Pinson & Arnot, 2007).

### ***Cultural sensitivity***

As Germany supports the displaced children seeking refuge within its borders, care must be taken to avoid placing majority-world people into minority-world boxes. What constitutes trauma, if and how one “manages” or “works through” possible effects of trauma, as well as how one regards emotions varies widely from individual to individual and also from culture to culture. In *Forced Migration and Mental Health: Rethinking the Care of Refugees and Displaced Persons*, Summerfield (2005) asserts,

The notions that ‘traumatic stress’ causes psychological disruption may be invalid in cultures that emphasize fate, determinism and spiritual influences. There is a serious possibility that the Western trauma discourse imported into the lives of people whose meaning systems have been devalitized by war and forced displacement might impair their struggle to reconstitute a sense of reality, morality and dignity. (p. 101)

Western society has become increasingly psychologically minded and therapy is seen as a form of assistance many people utilize, not only the mentally ill (Richman, 1998). In many majority-world countries where refugees come from, this is not the case and therapy may be viewed as help for the “mad” (Richman, 1998). Any kind of therapeutic intervention used with children from communal societies should therefore be carried out with caution, as individualistic attitudes surrounding expressing feelings and disclosing personal information could potentially be culturally inappropriate (Richman, 1998).

### ***Pathologizing pain and eurocentrism in psychology***

Being mindful of cultural diversity is important, but so is being mindful of the biases that color our concept of diversity to begin with. Euro-American psychology is Eurocentric, but a larger problem is that it fails to recognize that it is Eurocentric (Leong & Wong, 2003). Even cross-cultural psychology within Euro-American traditions is Eurocentric by virtue of trying to apply Euro-American research to completely different cultures (Leong & Wong, 2003).

There is a tendency in Western Europe to apply medical labels and diagnoses to people reacting normally to horrific events, such as the broad and frequent reference to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Summerfield, 2005). Countries receiving forcibly displaced children should be aware of and sensitive to the atrocities they may have witnessed. However, just as important is being wary of the assumption that the “biopsychomedical paradigm” that Western psychiatry and psychotherapy sits upon can be applied to everyone, regardless of how one understands the mind and body (Summerfield, 2005, p. 101). Summerfield (2005) goes on to explain how “psychiatric universalism risks being imperialistic, reminding us of the colonial era when what was presented to indigenous peoples was that there were different types of knowledge, and that theirs were second-rate” (p. 101). What may be seen as “help” to one person from one culture may not translate as such to the recipient of the offer. The same mentality that spawns a desire to assist a vulnerable population could come with unintended paternalistic attitudes. Shifting the focus from offering help to offering solidarity could serve to dismantle this conundrum.

### ***Stigma and victimization***

Furthermore, viewing individuals who have experienced great hardship as possessing a deep or long-term psychological wound can create a stigma for them (Summerfield, 2005). Pinson and Arnot (2007) warn, "the discursive framing of trauma can render such children weak and vulnerable, as traumatized rather than violated by political and personal oppressions" (p. 402). Rather than empower children and expand their opportunities for agency and participation, linking human pain to an impairment could "muffle what they themselves want to say (not least politically), distort assistance priorities, and color how society comes to think of them, and they of themselves" (Summerfield, 2005, p. 104).

## **3. Mechanisms of Motivation**

### ***Learned helplessness and coping***

While it is necessary to remain aware of potential implicit biases, there are nevertheless attributes of and concepts within the western study of psychology that are well worth consideration. One of these concepts is that of *learned helplessness* and its impact on personal agency, coping, and the power of self-efficacy (Seiler, 2013).

In her book, *Resilience: Fostering Hardiness among Children in Daycare*, Seiler (2013) evokes Seligman's 1979 model of learned helplessness to explain that when a child repeatedly experiences uncontrollable events, they are likely to develop feelings of helplessness, leading to the child viewing themselves as incompetent. This can result in a child expecting to be unable to change a situation even when they may be able to (Seiler, 2013). Learned helplessness can elicit not only emotional resignation and feelings of hopelessness, but also a loss of motivation to try to influence a situation or to test out one's own skills (Seiler, 2013).

Considering the case of refugee children in Germany, Seiler's (2013) descriptions can be combined with Freire's (1970), who observes that people in disadvantaged positions in society often engage in self-deprecation spawned from having internalized the opinion their oppressors hold of them. To Freire, it is unsurprising that oppression results in the oppressed distrusting themselves and failing to acknowledge "that they, too, 'know things'" (1970, p. 45).

Seiler (2013) notes that because children have less experience with stressful life events than adults may have, they are often less able to identify and utilize resources they possess to handle a difficult situation. Children are also typically confronted with problems related to their families or social-economic status that are largely outside of their own control (Seiler, 2013). A third challenge to developing adaptive coping strategies is that in a highly structured place like school, children are threatened with punishment for employing coping mechanisms that adults might, such as avoidant strategies like daydreaming, walking away from an undesired situation, or refusing to perform an undesired task (Seiler, 2013).

## **Self-efficacy**

Reversing a sense of helplessness requires gaining convictions of self-efficacy: the subjective belief that one's own skills and actions can be drawn upon and implemented to effectively manage difficult tasks (Seiler, 2013). Self-efficacy underlies how one participates at school because how effective one perceives themselves to be plays a large role in the activities they choose to engage in, how much energy they will expend on them, and how persistent they will be when confronted with difficulty (Bandura, 1977). If the mind can be compared to a machine, self-efficacy might be likened to the battery that powers it.

One school in Thüring, Germany, The Wenigenjena comprehensive school (containing grades one through ten), has placed self-efficacy, along with autonomy, competence, and a sense of connectedness, at the core of its educational concept (Weyrauch & Zech, 2017). They are the first in Germany to fully implement the pedagogical theory of *intensive understanding learning* (Weyrauch & Zech, 2017). In this model, *understanding* is distinguished from the term *learning*. As opposed to learning, understanding involves an active, constructive process consisting of a reciprocal interaction between experience, imagination, comprehension, and metacognition (Weyrauch & Zech, 2017). The Wenigenjena school may represent an example of the type of "liberating education" Freire writes about, which "consists in acts of cognition, not transferals of information" (1970, p. 60).

The Wenigenjena school is pushing the boundaries of what the German support system can offer. A fundamental element of the school is its social workers, available to all students, but especially catering to underprivileged students (Weyrauch & Zech, 2017). The school willingly takes responsibility for providing a bridge between students and access to valuable social resources.

## **Cultivating interest through problem-posing education**

Seiler (2013) reports that children who have developed high levels of resiliency often rely on a special interest or hobby that consoles them during hard times. School, and in particular classes for newcomers, could provide space (both physical and emotional) for refugee children to cultivate hobbies or interests. This could be facilitated with more experimental and experiential methods, bearing in mind Freire's answer to banking education: *problem-posing education* (1970). In this style of education, the hierarchy between teacher and student must first be resolved, resulting in both children and teachers learning from one another (Freire, 1970). Freire summarizes the juxtaposition of the two forms of teaching:

Whereas banking education anesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-solving education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the *submersion* of consciousness; the latter strives for the *emergence* of consciousness and *critical intervention* in reality. (1970, p. 62)

Schools can create conditions for the emergence of consciousness and critical interventions in reality by finding more ways to complement academics with creative and expressive arts.

#### **4. Creative Expression Classroom Interventions**

While studies on creative and expressive workshops in educational settings specifically for the population of displaced children are relatively scarce (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016), there are now both qualitative and quantitative studies demonstrating the effectiveness of such programs (Rousseau, Drapeau, Lacroix, Bagilishya, & Heusch, 2005).

Art, music, and drama sessions with a therapeutic orientation "provide individuals with outlets to express feelings and process emotions... develop social-emotional skills, and, by extension, reduce impairment and improve school behavior" (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016, p. 517). Attending to these areas of a child's life is not an alternative to traditional pedagogical methods, but a complement to them. Positive experiences gained through creative expression activities enhance a child's self-confidence (Rousseau et al., 2005), thereby supporting them in their academic pursuits as well (Sullivan & Simonson, 2015).

##### ***Creativity's function***

In his denouncing of banking education, Freire (1970) warns that it has the capacity to "minimize or annul creative power and to stimulate... credulity" (p. 54). Creativity is in many ways the opposite of oppression. To be creative is to look for new solutions to a problem and to bring elements of one's own imagination into reality.

In her practical guide, *In the Midst of the Whirlwind: A Manual for Helping Refugee Children*, Richman (1998) points out that many refugee children have had lacking opportunities for fun in their lives. Creative play and experimentation allows children to explore the material world and develop social skills (Richman, 1998). While creative activities may benefit all children, they hold a special significance for children who are deprived or who have special needs (Richman, 1998). Richman (1998) includes in these benefits:

providing relaxation and enjoyment, and improving motivation to learn; encouraging integration in to a group; developing social skills and friendships; enabling success even if not good at [the local language], raising self-esteem, and not overemphasizing academic skills; affirming a positive identity through activities related to children's culture; exploring sensitive issues such as anger and bullying; and allowing expression of feeling in a safe way. (p. 75)

##### ***Creativity and agency***

Standard subjects in school – including learning German – typically contain a "right" and "wrong" answer, but creativity requires subjectivity and invites exploration. Introducing different forms of creative arts in classrooms containing refugee children could broaden the range of ways one may express themselves, things one could be good at, and feel good about. In their *Evaluation of a classroom program of creative expression workshops for refugee and immigrant children*, researchers found that the sessions improved levels of self-esteem among participants (Rousseau et al., 2005). In the best case, this self-esteem can translate to empowerment, increasing a child's power to act, interact with and influence the world around them.

### ***Language without words***

In his writing on artistic, non-verbal forms of therapy, Timmerman (2008) asserts, “verbalization constitutes only a tiny slice of a universe of possibilities with which to communicate and express oneself” (p. 166). In addition to being non-verbal, music, art, dance and movement may be more accessible, as they are cross-cultural media (Chang, 2006). These approaches have the potential to foster a safe and comfortable environment for children, especially ones new to the culture, as they use modes of expression that are more familiar to them than a new verbal language.

A study on music therapy activities for refugee children describes workshops in which students were invited to share their musical cultures with the group, explore their personal identities, experience a sense of agency, and further develop social skills (Baker & Jones, 2006). A second stage of the same program took on the themes of adjustment, acculturation, anti-racism, and feelings of failure in the classroom (Baker & Jones, 2006). Broaching complicated subjects like these may typically be avoided in a traditional classroom setting with groups of children where teachers and pupils do not share a strong common language. Creative expression sessions in which non-verbal communication complements (and perhaps also facilitates) verbal language can provide an alternative way to explore complex topics.

### ***Improved self-image through drama, drawing, and writing***

In their study, Sullivan and Simonson (2016) examine various therapeutic creative expression approaches. Two studies in the review by Rousseau, Armand, Laurin-Lamothe, Gauthier, & Saboundjian (2012) and Rousseau, Benoit, Gauthier, Lacroix, Alain, Viger Rojas, & Bourassa (2007) assessed classroom drama workshops that centered on “language and dramatization... [and] acting out stories developed by participants addressing various themes related to family, friendship, migration, culture, identity, and belonging” (as cited in Sullivan & Simonson, 2016, p. 518). The results showed improved school performance (especially among boys) as well as decreased perception of impairment (Sullivan & Simonson, 2016). Another program included individual writing and drawing time followed by presentations to the group (Rousseau et al., 2005). The results demonstrated increased levels of self-reported popularity among children who participated in the workshops (Rousseau et al., 2005).

### ***Group bonding through creative expression***

A major advantage of therapeutic creative expression interventions in the classroom is that unlike traditional forms of one-on-one talk therapy, they provide opportunities to enhance group cohesion. Groups comprised of children with a similar background can rely on the group to share feelings in a non-threatening environment (Richman, 1998). Richman suggests that dealing with the “painful issues of loss, disappointment, anger, identity and loyalty” in groups “can be dealt with sometimes more easily than on an individual basis” (1998, p. 78). Rousseau et al. (2005) also confirmed, “the workshops participate in the reconstruction of a meaningful personal world while simultaneously strengthening the link of the child to the group” (p. 180). In *The Therapeutic Powers of Play*, Schaefer (1993) notes that improved problem solving and conflict resolution skills are among the most commonly reported benefits of therapy-based creative expression methods.

***Creative work and teacher-student relations***

Such methods could also work towards dissolving Freire's teacher-student contradiction mentioned above (1970). There is promise in this area, as Rousseau et al. (2005) found that the creative programs they evaluated "transform the teachers' perceptions of newcomers by placing an emphasis on their strength and their resilience, while not negating their vulnerabilities" (p. 180). This is a particularly inspiring finding, as shifting the perception teachers hold of children could in turn affect how children see themselves. Timmermann (2008) supports this suggestion when he points out that teachers during primary school years play a large role in transmitting to children societal values and norms. A school's methodology and the personality of its teachers greatly influence a child's experience during this time (Timmermann, 2008).

***Using support systems to bolster creative expression interventions***

Simonson (2016) explain that a major limitation of classroom interventions is "the reliance on specially trained therapists - or even teams of trained therapists - to implement treatment, which undermines the social validity of these interventions for most schools, where such interventionists could be cost-prohibitive" (p. 523). This may be a limitation that Germany is in a good position to overcome though. The existence of support systems in German schools could provide the infrastructure needed to implement such programs. The cost of involving trained professionals remains, but the high level of connectedness among various social sectors at the state level in Germany might serve to offset some of the financial strain.

***Going Forward***

An interesting area of future study could be how to effectively link creative and expressive arts therapists to school staff and volunteers, developing approaches that draw from psychotherapy, art education, and general pedagogy. How can classrooms be made truly safe spaces, and how can an alliance similar to a therapeutic alliance be cultivated amongst whole groups of teachers and students? There are methods for bringing in such elements that do not necessarily require full-fledged therapies and therapists. Interdisciplinary collaboration and innovation surrounding caring for mental health in schools may yield exciting results.

The creative expression interventions studied and reviewed above have been conducted primarily in classes specifically containing all or mostly students with experience of forced migration. It is, however, not just refugee children who stand to benefit from introducing more platforms for creativity and expression into classrooms. The non-academic skills like emotional awareness, self-esteem, and group empathy that such activities promote are invaluable to anyone living in today's world. The potential of these interventions to strengthen ties in a group and foster empathy for one another also means that forming groups of children with varied backgrounds could help build stronger, more unified communities. For many children, refugee or not, life is full of movement, impermanence, and instability, but an empowering and inclusive education is something one can take with them wherever they may go.

## **Conclusion**

The historical moment Germany finds itself in right now is entirely new. The media tends to frame the current demographic shift with fear-mongering terms like “crisis” and “flood of migrants.” It is indeed a crisis for the people who have had their lives turned upside down through violence and displacement. For Germany, however, this is an opportunity not only to exercise human compassion and solidarity, but also to benefit from the richness of a diverse society.

Germany is full of systems, structures, and supports. They need only to be operated with a rigorous respect for human dignity. To borrow again the words of Freire,

The truth is, however, that the oppressed are not ‘marginals,’ are not people living ‘outside’ society. They have always been ‘inside’ - inside the structure which made them ‘beings for others.’ The solution is not to ‘integrate’ them into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can become ‘beings for themselves.’ (1970, p. 55)

When the dominant culture makes room for non-dominant cultures, it is not only the latter who wins, but the former as well. It is a mistake to regard diversity as something that needs to be tolerated, when it is absolutely something worth celebrating. For German children, it means they win the chance to learn more about the world around them, by getting to know their non-European contemporaries personally.

Inviting diversity and honoring human dignity involves routinely stepping back to scrutinize the status quo. Existing power structures and societal hierarchies are often questioned in the discourse on gender or race, for example. Perhaps too regularly overlooked is the fact that “postcolonial critique requires that adults place themselves in positions in which they must examine authority, power, knowledge, and even the will to understand. Adults must be willing to rethink and reconceptualize what they think they know about the child and childhood” (Canella & Viruru, 2004, pp. 83-84). Examining German institutions of childhood, focusing specifically on policies governing the treatment of refugee children, can reveal how institutions may restrict one’s ability to act, but also how children’s reactions to these confines (co-)produce agency (Esser, Baader, Betz, & Hungerland, 2016). When adults see children as under-formed, immature, and deficient, they risk teaching children to see themselves this way. If refugee children are made to feel that learning German and catching up at school define them, they may fail to recognize their strengths and personal resources. Adults can help release untapped potential in students by developing programming that stimulates, motivates, and strengthens children.

Too commonly missed are opportunities to find out what children need or want from children themselves. This is all the more important when considering refugee populations, as they may be especially underrepresented. Children, like everyone else, are the experts of their own lives. All of the world’s leading professionals in the fields of education, pedagogy, psychology, and research could be assembled to assess the needs of refugee children, but never could they provide the insights that refugee children hold. Rather than thinking exclusively about how we can serve this population, we should also stop to think about what we can learn from them.

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## **They appear missing – An examination of the apparition of language, discourse and agency in a Finnish landscape of education**

Timo Savela<sup>141</sup>

### **Abstract**

This article examines the visual apparition of language, discourse and agency in a school unit in Southwest Finland. It addresses the disciplinary functions of schools as landscapes and the discourses materialized in them. The purpose of this article is to render visible the discourses, the systematic practices that form the objects of which we speak that are manifested in the landscape. The results indicate high levels of linguistic homogeneity, marked by high use of Finnish and English text. This is in clear contrast with a linguistically heterogeneous study body, marked by the apparent, albeit marginal visual presence of other languages not taught in the school as parts of its curricula. It is evident that the official discourses of language and education are manifested in the landscape. These materialized discourses function to instill desired national and linguistic identities and proprieties on students while landscape operates to effectuate indifference towards these processes. This is further apparent in the behavior of the students who are passive in comparison to the teachers and the school staff and typically express themselves textually either in Finnish or English. The students are not explicitly prohibited from freely expressing themselves, yet their participation in the landscape decreases and homogenizes as they progress through the school system.

### **Keywords**

landscape; education; language; discourse; discourse materialized

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## Introduction

Educational institutions are important contemporary apparatuses of order, discipline and regimentation (cf. Foucault, 1995; Kraftl, 2015). They are built environments in which most people spend significant portions of their lives, likely under the assumption that they are static environments in which information is neutrally communicated from teachers to students. While there is no shortage of research in education, there is little research on education that pertains to built environments. When it does pertain to them, the studies tend subscribe to an image of thought (Deleuze, 1994: 129-139) that treats space as a given totality, a mere container, and/or privileges the autonomy of the subject (cf. Brown, 2018; Laihonen and Tódor, 2017; Pakarinen and Björklund, 2018; Szabó, 2018). In other words, much of the existing literature does not recognize educational institutions as landscapes, as orderings of reality, and the general indifference towards them, which, in turn, ignores how landscape enables and reinforces the disciplinary function of these institutions.

This article examines a school unit situated in an officially bilingual urban municipality in Southwest Finland, offering a glimpse to Finnish primary and secondary education when the national core curricula of 2003 and 2004 were in effect. The school is approached as its own miniature world and explored as a critical reading of a landscape, not unlike Benjamin (1999) or Goss (1999). This is necessary as it is very unlikely that the locals, those to whom the landscape is part of their everyday life, pay attention to the particulars in the landscape (Cresswell, 2003: 277). In my view the researcher should not make people do the unthinkable, make people go beyond their sense of reality (Bourdieu, 1977: 164, 1993: 154), otherwise one risks projecting oneself on to others, providing expert accounts in the guise of lay accounts. As aptly expressed by Lewis (1979: 12), landscape is “our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form.” In other words, we are not particularly self-conscious about our involvement with the landscape and therefore landscapes are bound to be more truthful than the accounts provided by people themselves.

While landscapes can be examined in numerous ways, this article is limited to addressing three issues posited as four research questions: how language discourses materialize in the landscape, how agency discourses materialize in the landscape, how are they connected to one another and how they are grounded on the de jure language and education discourses? Similar to Schein (1997), answering these questions is a process that consists of archival research, examining the relevant discourses on language and education, and fieldwork, identifying the manifestations of these discourses, followed by further discussion of these findings in relation to the relevant de jure and de facto discourses.

The first part of this article elaborates the premise, mapping the problematics that underpin this study. The second part of this article provides a discussion of the materials and methods. The third part of the article provides relevant background information: demographics, key pieces of legislation and the curricula. The fourth part contains the examination of the data. The fifth and final part discusses the findings and addresses them in the light of the purpose of this article.

## **1. Premise – a map of problematics**

Following Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Massumi (1992), I conceptualize landscape as a facialized world, the correlate of the abstract machine of faciality, operating at the intersection of discursive formations and non-discursive formations. As an abstract machine it does not merely reflect nor represent reality. Instead, it assembles it for the observer (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 142), acting as “a non-unifying immanent cause that is co-extensive with the whole social field”, executing its relations within it, not outside it (Deleuze, 1988: 37). In other words, landscape appears to the observer as a symbolic environment which has been given “form from a particular angle of vision and through special filter of values and beliefs” (Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 1). More concisely, it is a conditioned way of seeing the world (Cosgrove, 1985: 45; Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 9-12) which results in a peculiar redundancy, a gestalt, looking at nothing in particular, substituting apperception for perception (Mitchell, 2002b: vii-viii).

It is possible to extract a literal diagram of the abstract machine (Massumi, 1992: 17-18), making it possible to utilize landscape as a medium (Mitchell, 2002a: 5). Its uses are principally twofold. Firstly, it can be utilized to appropriate space, to secure property, as identified by Cosgrove (1985: 45-62). Secondly, it can be utilized to instill desirable proprieties, as discussed by Matless (2016). It is in the latter sense that Ronai (1976: 154-155) argues that landscape can function as the face of the nation by linking the aesthetic appearance to materiality. This is particularly relevant to this article as it pertains to socialization, how landscapes of education can be utilized as a medium, in order to instill certain desirable identities and proprieties on students by controlling the visual appearance of our surroundings (Duncan, 1978b; Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 17-19).

As identified by Lewis (1979: 11), the central problem of landscape is that for many landscape simply *is*, a mere matter of appearance, at best limited to the appraisal of its aesthetic qualities. Summarizing Rose (2006), this passive disposition is explained by how landscape offers people dreams of presence, a reassuring foundation, marked by a longing for the past that provides a tangible sense of security. In other words, it provides a symbolic representation of collective history (Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 4). As argued by Cosgrove (1985: 55) and Ronai, (1977: 79-80), it presents a posture, a mastery of observation, an alluring structuration of the world, an impression of order and control, which is, nonetheless, a mere illusion of such, a mere imposture. Moreover, as recognized by Cosgrove (1985: 46), landscape is such an effective and widely embraced idea because it is based on the certainties of geometry. In Foucault’s terms, (1972: 178-195), as a discursive formation landscape can be understood as having become axiomatic and considered as space itself, as objective reality, which results in naïveté towards it.

## **2. Conceptual framework**

I follow Foucault (1972: 49) in his definition of discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak”, Scollon (2008) in his definition of materialized discourses as parts of a discourse itinerary, a process in which discourses become reified, resulting in either reinforcing or modifying the existing discourses, and Schein (1997) who locates this process of reification in the landscape. In short, in this article landscape operates as a nexus of practice (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2003), as a node of intersecting discourses that stretch across space

(Schein, 1997). Importantly, as explained by Schein (1997: 663), it is in the landscape, once materialized and aggregated, that discourses function to discipline, to limit human action and thinking, including the level of conscious engagement with the landscape. Reciprocally, as argued by Schein (1997: 663, 2003: 202-203), it is our naïveté towards landscapes, the unquestioned and unspoken qualities associated to them, that underlines the disciplinary capabilities of the materialized discourses, making landscape central to the (re)production of everyday life.

It is not my intent to examine the landscape in this article as a totality, as a matter of appearance. Instead, following Deleuze (2002: vii), empiricism is understood as pluralism and the purpose is to “find the conditions under which something new is produced”, as a matter of apparition. As expressed by Klee (1920: 28), the goal of this article is not to render *the visible* but to render *visible*. I have therefore adapted Tuan’s (1979: 89-90) understanding of landscape as an ordering of reality, an integrated image that does bear the appearance of a totality, but which at the same time contains smaller units or clues that together provide information regarding the materialized discourses in the landscape. This is important because our surroundings and the objects in them come effect people and who they become (Duncan, 1978a, p. 29).

### **3. Framework in place – materials and methods**

This article examines a school unit that provides compulsory education primarily in Finnish to students aged 6 to 16 (grades 1 to 9) and voluntary secondary education to students aged 15 to 18. It caters to approximately 800 to 900 students each school year, of which approximately 300 are primary level students (grades 1 to 6), 250 are lower secondary level students (grades 7 to 9) and 250 are upper secondary level students. As indicated in Savela (2018a), the school is known for its heterogeneous student body, consisting of not only students who speak Finnish, but also of students who speak Albanian, Arabic, Kurdish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian, Sami, Somalian and Vietnamese.

The examined landscape consists of different physical areas, the school exterior, the entrances, corridors, staircases, sports facilities, a cafeteria, an auditorium, 39 compulsory education classrooms (21 for students on grades 1 to 6 and 18 for students on grades 7 to 9), 9 voluntary education upper secondary level classrooms and two classrooms shared by the lower secondary and the upper secondary levels. No changing rooms and toilets were included due to their private nature. Moreover, no storage rooms, cafeteria, kitchen spaces, staff meeting rooms or offices were examined due to being inaccessible to the students without supervision.

The gathered data consist of 6016 photographed items. I gathered and annotated the data in the spring of 2015. The gathering conformed to the Personal Data Act (523/1999) and the principles set by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2009). For this reason the school is not identified in this article. Use of imagery is kept to a bare minimum for this reason. Each unit of analysis is defined pragmatically as one textual unit, as presented in figure 1:

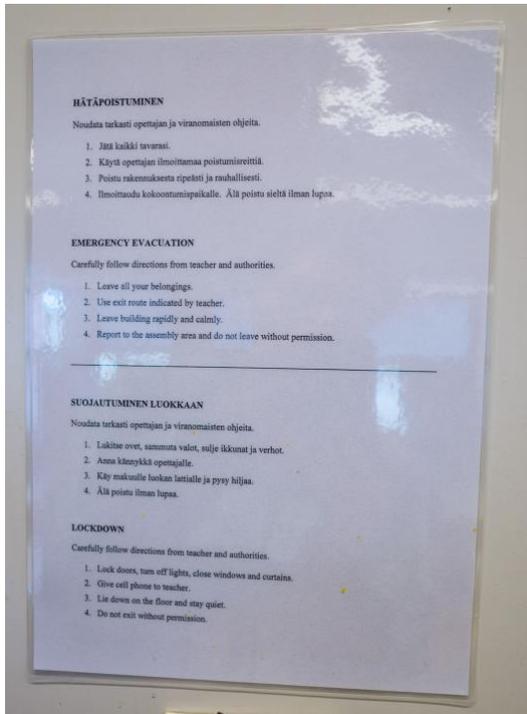


**Figure 1: A lavatory door with script**

Figure 1 contains a photograph of a white door with black tape markings on it. If a physical definition were applied in this instance, each piece of tape, ‘W’ and ‘C’, would have to be considered a separate unit of analysis. This would result in absurdity (cf. Deleuze, 1990: 12-22), ignoring that together the letters transform the understanding of the door into a lavatory door.

I consider language to be an indivisible, yet I recognize that languages are typically considered as bounded entities distinct from one another (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 130; Voloshinov, 1973: 73; Årman 2018: 57). Therefore, they are categorized as such in this article. For example, the acronym in figure 1 is short for water closet and recognizable as English. If an item contains more than one language, the order of languages is defined on the basis of code preference, interpreted by text size, contrast, quantity and/or composition, as elaborated by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003: 116-128). To be more specific, composition is defined by privileging center over margin, top over bottom and right over left, as explained by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 179-197). Figure 2 illustrates the most typical of these, the preference of top over bottom composition, presenting Finnish as the primary language and English as the secondary language, whereas figure 3 illustrates a case where the preference is based on quantity, the label containing more German than English:

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**Figure 2: A laminated placard with emergency instructions**



**Figure 3: A label on the side of a machine**

Figure 4 illustrates how attention shifts from low contrast top part containing German and English to the high contrast bottom part that contains English and Finnish with Finnish being the dominant one by quantity, while the round sticker in figure 5 contains Finnish and English in its margins, Finnish on the top and English on the bottom with English being markedly larger in size than English:



**Figure 4: A label on the side of a machine**



**Figure 5: A sticker on a glass pane**

Bearing relevance to understanding landscape as “our unwitting autobiography” (Lewis, 1979: 12), Samuels (1979: 64-65) notes perceptively that “landscapes without authors would be like books without writers.” In other words, it is important to not only consider what landscape is and/or what it contains, but also who is responsible for it and the items present in it, who is behind this and/or that proposition (Deleuze, 1990: 13-14). In this article agency is further distinguished in a Derridean (1987: 5; 1988: 5-6) fashion between designer (writer) and issuer (signatory) and acknowledging the distinction between the intended audience (addressee) and the actual audience (recipient). The actual audience is, however, not taken into account as the items put on display in the school can be examined by anyone. Figure 6 illustrates this categorization of agency:



**Figure 6: Overlapping placards**

The overlapping placards in figure 6 are issued by a teacher, but it is evident that they have been designed by an external entity, paint manufacturer Tikkurila. Instead of creating this teaching material on his or her own, the teacher has reappropriated the material and issued it with added emphasis to certain parts of the placards. However, by using existing materials the teacher has relinquished some control over the design of the materials to a third party.

#### **4. Context of the study: demographics**

In 2015 the population of Finland was nearly 5.5 million, of which 88.7 percent reported themselves as native speakers of Finnish, 5.3 percent as native speakers of Swedish and 6.0 as native speakers of other languages (Statistics Finland, 2016a). The largest foreign language groups were native speakers of Russian (72 436 speakers), Estonian (48 087) and Somalian (17 871) (Statistics Finland, 2016b). Notably, only the speakers of Russian make up more than a

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percentage of the total population (1.3 percent). Therefore, the population can be characterized as linguistically highly homogeneous.

## **5. De jure discourses: language legislation**

Finland is a bilingual country. It has two national languages: Finnish and Swedish. The status of these languages is enshrined in the Constitution of Finland (731/1999, 17 §). The Language Act (423/2003) defines their applicability to state and municipal authorities. The act (423/2003, 5 §) designates municipalities as either as monolingually Finnish or Swedish speaking municipalities or as bilingual municipalities. Correspondingly, it is stated in the act (423/2003, 33 §) that signs erected by the authorities must contain either Finnish or Swedish or Finnish and Swedish. However, the same section contains an exception for municipal units, such as schools. Therefore, schools are not required to be bilingual in bilingual municipalities.

In practice, Finland is marked by a parallel school system in which most education is provided mutually exclusively in either Finnish or Swedish (From and Sahlström, 2017: 466). In fact, this stance is emphasized in the Strategy for the National Languages of Finland (Tallroth, 2012: 14). School exteriors, however, may not necessarily be considered a part of a school and therefore the requirements set in the Language Act may apply. In this case the school is required to carry only Finnish signage, the exception being the necessity to provide certain health and safety instructions on fire extinguishers in both Finnish and Swedish.

## **6. De jure discourses: legislation on primary and secondary level education**

It is stated in the Basic Education Act (628/1998) that the compulsory basic education consists of a 9 grade comprehensive school. Its predecessor, the Comprehensive School Act (476/1983), divided the comprehensive school to two levels: the primary level (grades 1 to 6) and the lower secondary level (grades 7 to 9). The division is no longer recognized. In practice, however, this is still largely the case due to the existing school infrastructure and the required teaching qualifications on these levels of education (Government Decree, 986/1998). Compulsory basic education is supplemented by voluntary upper secondary education that takes three years to complete.

Both the basic education syllabus and the upper secondary education syllabus privilege language subjects, giving precedence to mother tongue and literature, the second national language and foreign languages among all subjects (Basic Education Act, 628/1998, 11 §; General Upper Secondary Schools Act, 629/1998, 7 §). Both acts define mother tongue primarily as either Finnish or Swedish (Basic Education Act, 628/1998, 12 §; General Upper Secondary Schools Act, 629/1998, 8 §). The privileged position of languages is further evident in the allocation of lesson hours on both levels of education, which emphasizes the mother tongue in particular, followed by two mandatory language subjects of which one is the other national language (Government Decree, 1435/2001, 6 §, 955/2002, 8 §). The full extent of basic education is a minimum of 222 study units, of which mother tongue is 19 percent, first other language is 7 percent and the second other language is at least 3 percent. It is, however, worth noting that the units are not evenly allocated by the level of education. Primary level is more marked by the mother tongue whereas the lower secondary level is more by the other language subjects as it

becomes possible to opt for a third, as well as a fourth language subject only midway through the primary level (FNBE, 2004: 304).

Similarly, to the lower secondary level and unlike on the primary level, on the upper secondary level there is an emphasis on overall language learning, not specifically on the mother tongue. This depends on the choices of the individual students as the students are granted more freedom to select the courses than on the compulsory levels. In summary, the mother tongue comprises 8 to 12 percent, a second language subject comprises 8 to 11 percent and a third language subject comprises 7 to 9 percent of the total minimum required courses.

## **7. Language education and learning in Finland**

Considering that the mother tongue is in most cases either Finnish or Swedish and the second national language is also Finnish or Swedish, approximately one third of the languages taught as mandatory subjects is open to choice. The latest published data on basic education indicates that nearly 80 percent of all lower secondary students (of approximately 180 000) studied two languages besides the mother tongue during a time period between 2010 and 2012 and that over 90 percent of the students (of approximately 57 000) opted for English as the first other language on the third grade between 2008 and 2012 (Kumpulainen, 2014: 43-44). This indicates that the typical combination of language subjects consist of Finnish or Swedish as a mother tongue, English as the first other language and Swedish or Finnish as the second other language. Only approximately 25 percent of the students opt for a third other language, primarily choosing English, Swedish or German (Kumpulainen, 2014: 45). Moreover, only less 20 percent of the students opt for a third or a fourth other language, primarily choosing German or French (Kumpulainen, 2014: 46).

In upper secondary education it is most common to study only two languages besides the mother tongue, with over 45 percent studying only two languages in 2013, followed by slightly under 40 percent studying three languages and slightly over 10 percent studying four languages (Kumpulainen, 2014: 98). Nearly all, 99.6 percent of the 30 231 students, completed studies in English as the first other language in 2013, whereas Swedish, Finnish, German and French studies were completed by only 7.6 percent, 6.7 percent, 4.3 percent and 1.9 percent respectively (Kumpulainen, 2014: 99). The second other language is typically either Swedish or Finnish due to the mandatory nature of studying the other national language. Third or fourth other languages are typically German or French, with 8 to 10 percent who studied German and 6 to 8 percent who studied French (Kumpulainen, 2014: 100). Overall, with the exception of English, studying languages as offered in their full extent has declined noticeably, with a 28 percent drop in studying French, German, Russian and Swedish as the first and second other languages from 2003 to 2013 (Kumpulainen, 2014: 101).

## **8. The local curricula**

It is stated in the national core curricula that the education providers form their own local curricula based on the national curricula (FNBE, 2003: 8, 2004: 10). The schools are steered by the national curricula, but it is possible to deviate from them within certain limits. This allows the schools to profile themselves to a limited extent by emphasizing certain areas of the curricula.

The examined school unit offers a variety of languages to its students in basic education, including English, French, German, Russian, Swedish, Spanish and Latin. All the languages except Latin and Spanish are available on the upper secondary level. In practice, however, the language education also depends on the selection of language subjects by the students. Typically, language education is only provided if large enough a group of students opt to study the language, which can be a limiting factor in the variety language education provided by the school (Hakulinen et al., 2009: 79-82).

The school unit supplements its basic education with an optional English track, marked by content and language integrated learning. The upper secondary education has no tracks, but it offers an optional English medium program alongside the Finnish medium national program. The language education offered is more limited on the English medium program as Russian is not offered to the students. However, either German or French must be studied during the first year of the program. Moreover, any non-Finnish nationals must study Finnish as a foreign language in their first year on the program. The notable difference is, of course, the use of English as the primary language of learning. In addition, the school building caters to a small number of international students on the lower secondary level, with English as the primary medium of instruction.

As previously discussed in Savela (2018a), with regards to the school’s heterogeneous student body, the school prides itself on being a multilingual school and explicitly promotes awareness of multilingualism on its premises. Additional learning support is routinely provided to speakers of Albanian, Arabic, Kurdish, Russian, Somalian and Vietnamese. However, this support is subject to change, depending not only on the number of speakers of various languages but also on the availability of teachers competent in both Finnish and the specific languages.

## **9. Analysis of language in the landscape**

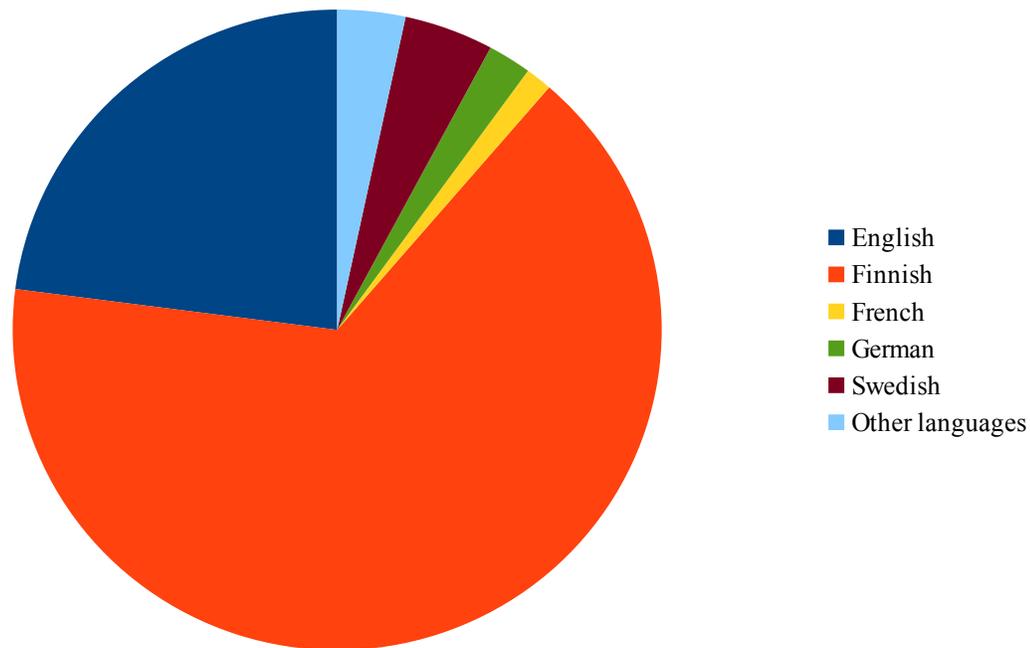
The data consists of 6016 units of analysis, including items that contain language and items that do not contain any language. Proportionally 64 percent of the items in the data contain language (3832 items) and 36 percent contain no language (2184 items). More specifically, 53 percent of all items and 83 percent of items containing language contain only one language (3198 items), 9 percent of all items contain and 15 percent of items containing languages contain two languages (566 items) and 1 percent of all items and 2 percent of items containing languages contains more than two languages (68 items). In summary, the landscape can be deemed highly monolingual in the sense that 83 percent of items containing language contain only one language and conversely only 17 percent contain two or more languages. Table 1 illustrates the languages present on monolingual items:

Language	n	%
Albanian	2	0%
Danish	1	0%
English	582	18%
Estonian	1	0%
Finnish	2456	77%
French	29	1%
German	67	2%
Greek	2	0%
Italian	4	0%
Latin	9	0%
Portuguese	1	0%
Serbian	1	0%
Slovakian	1	0%
Spanish	1	0%
Swedish	41	1%
Total	3198	100%

**Table 1: Languages on monolingual items**

Table 1 indicates that monolingual items are predominantly Finnish (77%) and that English is the second most used language on monolingual items (18%). The presence of other languages on monolingual items is at best marginal (5%); only 160 of the 3198 items contain a language that is not Finnish or English. It is worth noting that German (2%), Swedish (1%), French (1%), Latin (<1%), Spanish (<1%) are all taught language subjects in the school unit. Therefore, only 13 items containing only one language, less than half a percent (0.41%), contain languages unrelated to the school and its curricula.

Multilingualism can be principally approached in two ways. It can be defined as cumulative, including all tokens (4607 tokens), all instances of languages on any item, in any combination with or without other languages present on the same item (one or more languages) or alternatively as including only the items that contain more than one language (1409 tokens), thus excluding the monolingual items in the total count (3198 items). As previously presented in in a slightly different form in Savela (2018b), figure 7 illustrates the former (4607 tokens):



**Figure 7: Languages in the landscape**

Figure 7 indicates that if all tokens are counted, as manifested on both the monolingual and the multilingual items, Finnish (3028 tokens) and English (1058 tokens) are the salient languages in the school. However, Finnish is 11 percent less salient (from 77% to 66%) and English is 5 percent more salient (from 18% to 23%) in the cumulative data than it is in single language data, as presented in table 1. Most notably, Swedish (205 tokens), German (100 tokens) and French (60 tokens) stand out more in the cumulative data than they do in the single language data. This is on the expense of the other 36 recognized languages in the data, combined (156 tokens) in figure 7 as other languages for the sake of clarity, considering that each of these languages counted only for less than a percentage of the total number of language tokens (4607 tokens). It is worth noting that the third, fourth and fifth most salient languages, Swedish, German and French, are all languages taught in the school unit. The alternative approach to multilingualism, excluding the monolingual items in the total count of tokens (1409 tokens on 634 items), is illustrated on table 2:

Language	n	%
Finnish	571	41%
English	476	34%
Swedish	164	12%
German	33	2%
French	32	2%
Italian	28	2%
Albanian	12	1%
Arabic	12	1%
Spanish	11	1%
Other	70	5%
Total	1409	100%

**Table 2: Languages on multilingual items**

Table 2 indicates that Finnish (41%) and English (34%) are salient also on the items containing more than one language. The third salient language Swedish is proportionally more prominent on the multilingual items (12%) than on monolingual items (1%) and in the cumulative count of languages on items (4%). The previously discussed other taught languages of the school unit, German (33 tokens) and French (32 tokens), remain marginal at 2% percent each in this subset of data. For the sake of clarity, 30 very marginally present languages were combined into one stack in the table.

The cumulative counts do not address the combinations of languages present in the landscape. Due to the low number of items containing more than two languages (68 items), these items are examined separately from the items containing no more than two languages (566 items). Table 3 illustrates the combined use of languages on items containing one or two languages:

		L2														L1+L1&L2			
L1 Only		Albanian	Arabic	Danish	English	Farsi	Finnish	French	German	Italian	Kurdish	Latin	luxembourgis	Malagasy	Russian		Spanish	Swedish	
L1	Albanian	2																2	
	Arabic	0	0		1													1	
	Danish	1	0	0														1	
	English	582	0	0	2		67	7	1	6		0	0	1		1	1	2	670
	Estonian	1	0	0															1
	Finnish	2456	6	2		298	1		6	5	12	1	4		1		1	74	2867
	French	29	0	0	0	2	0			1		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
	German	67	0	0	0	7		2											76
	Greek	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Hawaiian	0	0	0	0	1													1
	Italian	4	0	0	0	1						0	0						5
	Latin	9	0	0	0	0	1												10
	Latvian	0	0	0	0	1													1
	Portuguese	1	0	0	0	0													1
	Serbian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0									1
	Slovakian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0									1
	Spanish	1	0	0	0	0	0	3											4
Swedish	41	0	0	0	15		32											88	
L2*	3198	6	2	2	326	1	105	13	7	18	1	4	1	1	1	2	76	3764	

**Table 3: Distribution of languages (one and two languages)**

Table 3 indicates the combinations of languages present on the items containing one (3198 items) and two languages (566 items). The first language indicated in the first column and the second language in the first row under header L2. The column right to the L1 languages, indicates the number of monolingual items. The combinations of languages, L1&L2, are indicated in cells between L1 and L2 headers, starting from the column to the right of the L1 only data column. Invalid combinations of the same language as L1 and L2 are marked out in black for the sake of clarity. The row on the bottom, labeled as L2\*, indicates the total number of L2 items per

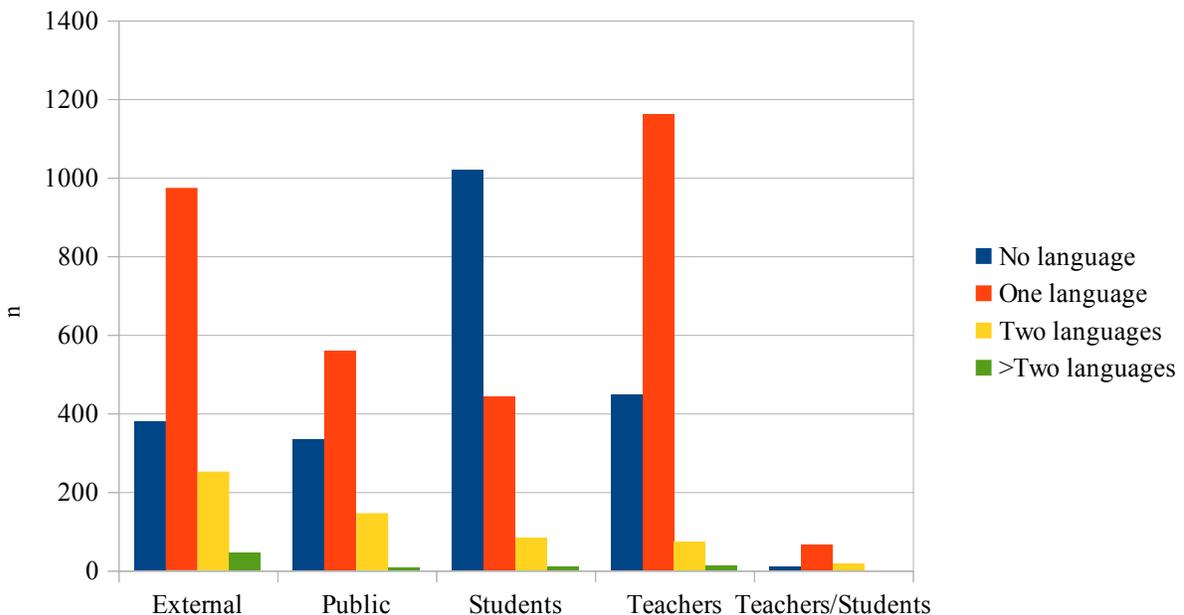
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language and the last full column to the right, labeled as 1+2, indicate the total number of L1 and L1&L2 items. Most noticeably, English is the most salient second language and it is present most often alongside Finnish (298 items), followed by Swedish as the second most salient second language, also present alongside Finnish (74 items). Finnish is the third most salient second language, present alongside English (67 items). Both the L1/L2 data and the combined L1 + L1&L2 data indicate salience of Finnish and English, followed by marginally present languages, notably Swedish.

The number of items containing more than two languages is very marginal. Only 68 items contain more than two languages. Out of those items, 50 contain three languages, 5 contain four languages, 5 contain five languages, 1 contains seven languages, 1 contains eight languages, 1 contains eleven languages, 2 contain 14 languages and 1 contains 15 languages. Most notably 44 of these items contain Finnish as the L1 and 21 contain Finnish, Swedish and English as L1/L2/L3, supplanted by further 6 items that contain Finnish, English and English as L1/L2/L3. These multilingual items are in line with the rest of the data as they are marked by the presence of Finnish and English, as well as Swedish.

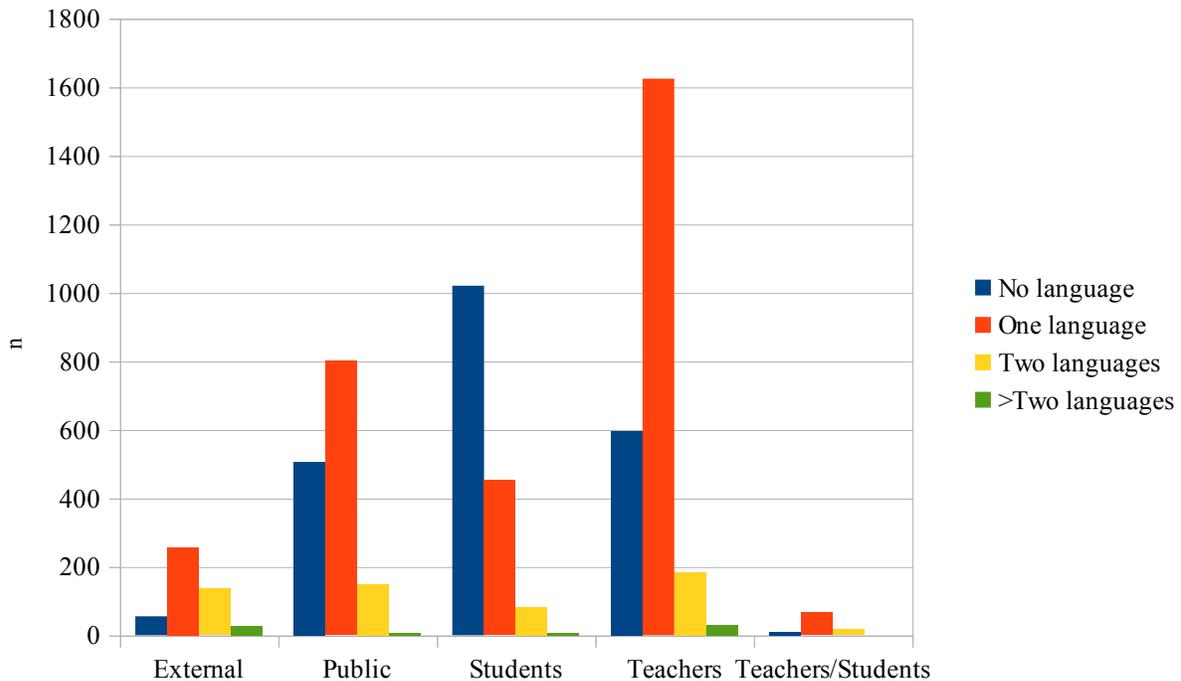
## 10. Analysis of agency in the landscape

The analysis of agency is dedicated to examining who designs the items present in the landscape, who issues them in the landscape and who serve as their intended audience. Figure 8 illustrates the role of landscape participants as designers, as the creators of items present in the landscape:



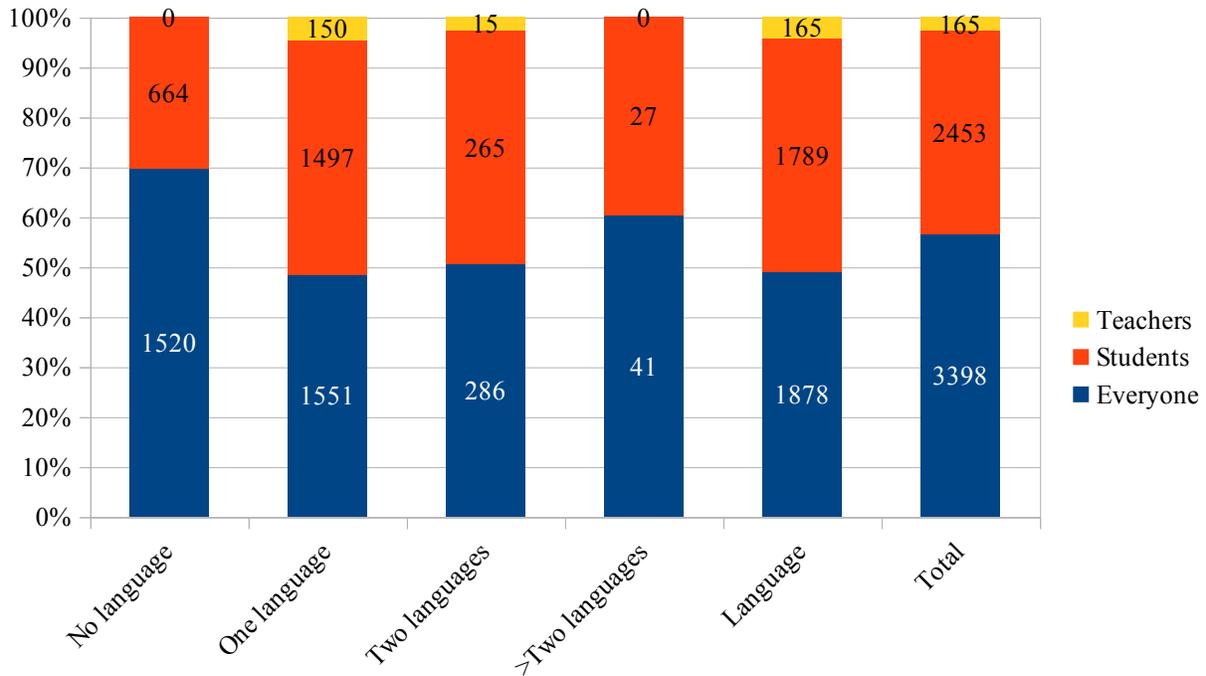
**Figure 8: Participation and language use (designer)**

Figure 8 indicates that no participant clearly dominates the landscape as its designer if no data is excluded in the analysis. External participants, i.e. item manufacturers and service providers, and teachers dominate the landscape as its linguistic designers. Students dominate the landscape as its non-linguistic designers. Figure 9 illustrates the role of participants as the issuers, as the people who place items in the landscape:



**Figure 9: Language use and participation (issuer)**

Figure 9 includes the same data categories as figure 8 but there are certain notable differences in agency between participants as designers and as issuers. The role of students as issuers differ very little from their role as designers. The roles of teachers and the public, namely the other members of the school staff such as administrators, maintenance and janitorial services personnel, are more pronounced as item issuers than they are as item designers. Notably, only 473 items (29%) out of the 1646 items designed by external participants are also issued by external participants. A high portion, approximately 69% of the externally designed items are issued by the teachers and the staff. The shift can be attributed to the use of externally designed and prefabricated materials used in the school, such as commercially branded items, health and safety signage and prefabricated learning materials used by the teachers. Figure 10 addresses the role of participants as the landscape audience:

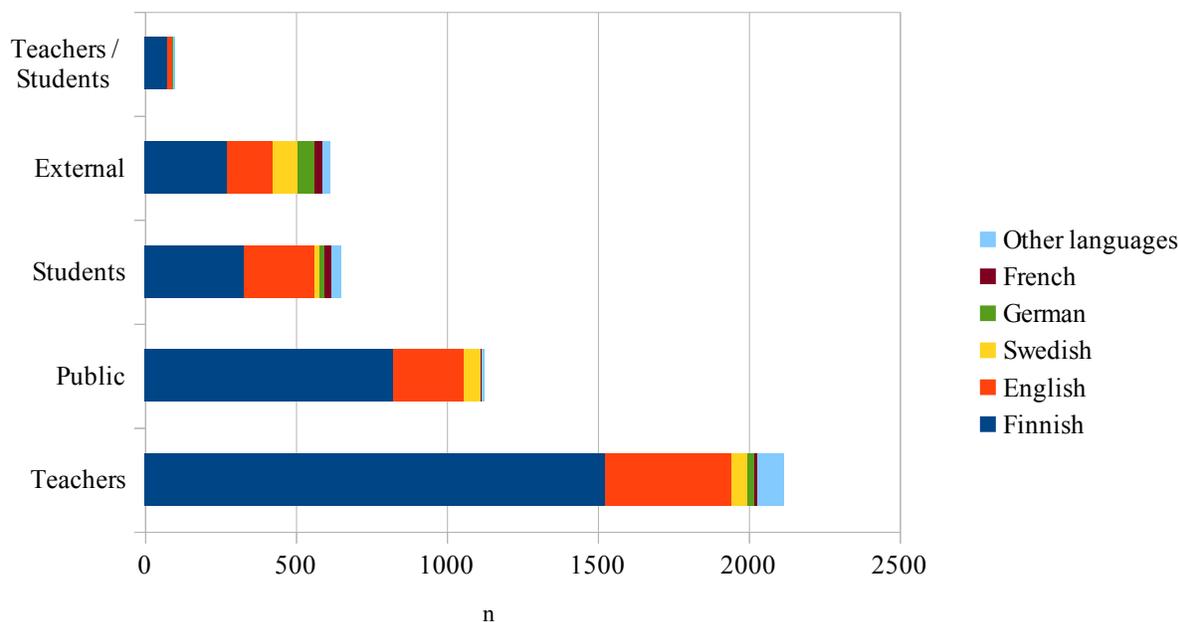


**Figure 10: Language use and audience**

Figure 10 indicates that over half (56%) of all items (n=6016) in the landscape are intended for everyone. Similarly, most (70%) non-linguistic items (n=2184) are intended for everyone. Items containing language (n=3832) are intended for everyone (49%), with a slight margin over students (47%). Nevertheless, regardless of which portion of data is examined, it is evident the landscape caters primarily to the students, considering that a high proportion of items are intended only for students and students are also included in the non-discriminative category that contains everyone. Items intended only for teachers are at best a marginally present in the landscape.

## 11. Analysis of language and agency in the landscape

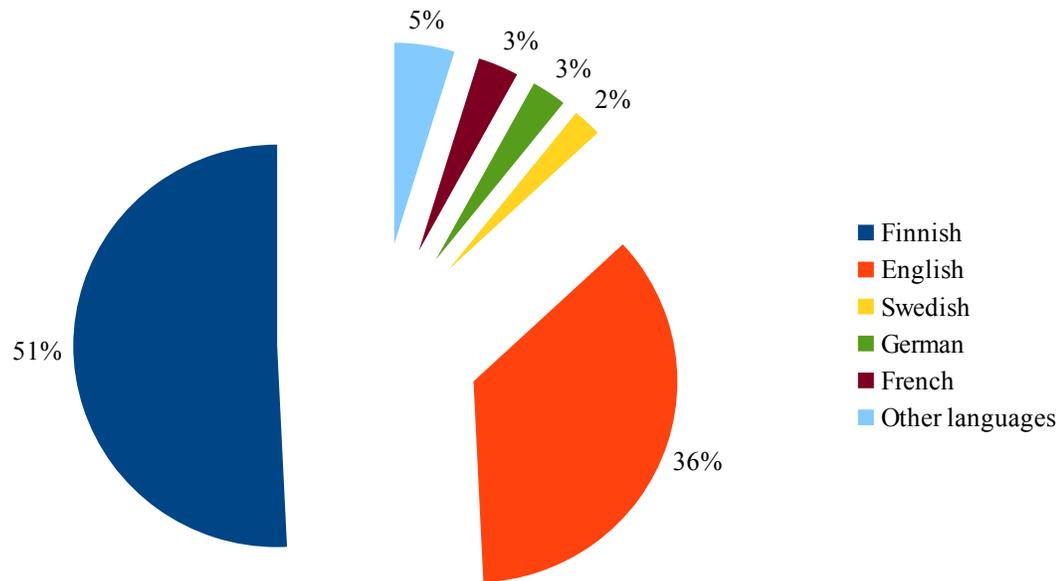
The tables and figures presented thus far do not indicate which languages are used on the items issued by different participants, only the overall agency of participants and the overall presence of languages. Figure 11, previously presented in a slightly different form in Savela (2018b), illustrates the use of different languages by participant as issuers:



**Figure 11: Language use by participant (issuer)**

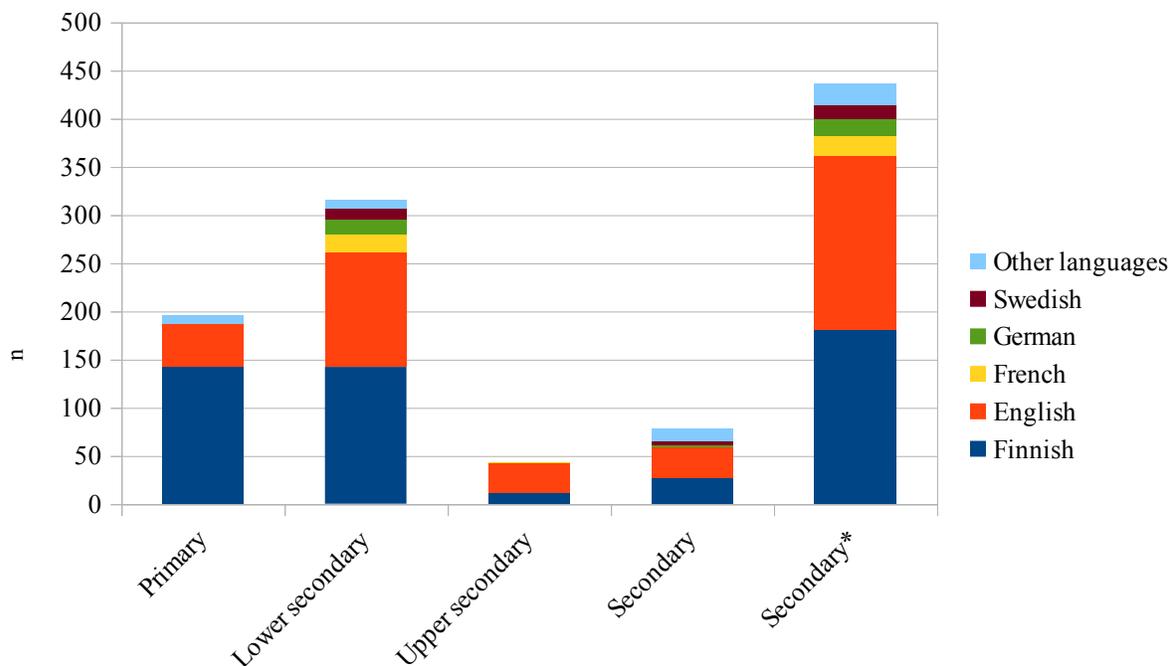
Figure 11 indicates that Finnish is the most used language by all the participants, followed by English. The other languages are in marginal positions in the landscape, as also indicated in the cumulative total count. However, the use of English is almost as common as the use of Finnish by the students. Figure 12 elaborates the use of languages on items issued by students (650 tokens):

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**Figure 12: Language use by students (issuer)**

Figure 12 clarifies that the use of Finnish and English by students is similar to that of external issuers, as illustrated in figure 11. The other languages category (31 tokens) consists of items that contain up to 3 tokens of 23 different languages. This category is likely a mixture of languages used by native speakers of these languages, for example Albanian (3 tokens), Arabic (3 tokens), Estonian (2 tokens), Farsi (1 token) and Russian (1 token), school language subjects, Spanish (3 tokens) and Russian (1 token), and/or languages used for other reasons, such as Italian (2 tokens), Afrikaans (1 token), Basque (1 token), Hawaiian (1 token), Luxembourgish (1 token) and Malagasy (1 token). Figure 13, previously presented in a slightly different form in Savela (2018b), further elaborates the use of languages by students:



**Figure 13: Language use by students (issuer) by level of education**

It is highly fortunate that a high proportion of the school classrooms and corridors were clearly dedicated to different levels of education (632 tokens), excluding only eighteen tokens on items located in other mixed use areas, making it possible to contrast the different levels of education. Figure 13 illustrates the use of language on items issued by students, split by the level of education: primary (196 tokens), secondary (undifferentiated, 78 tokens), lower secondary (315 tokens), upper secondary (43 tokens) and secondary (cumulative, 436 tokens). It is evident that there is a clear difference in the use of Finnish and English between the levels of education. The upper secondary level seems to be dominated by English (72%). However, while data seems to suggest this, it should be analyzed with caution, considering the notable drop in participation on the upper secondary level.

## Conclusion

It is worth reiterating that landscape is an ordering of reality (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 142). It constructs a peculiar redundancy, an apperception, looking at nothing in particular, overlooking instead of looking, as characterized by Mitchell (2002b: vii-viii). In other words, landscape makes us not question the various particulars surrounding us, the materialized discourses, and therefore it augments their disciplinary capabilities, making landscape central to the (re)production of everyday life, as argued by Schein (1997: 663, 2003: 202-203). This is why Mitchell (2002b: vii) characterizes its power as subtle; it is hard to resist because, as a gestalt, irreducible to any particulars, it is hard to notice.

Looking past the appearance, paying attention to the particulars, the analysis of the data renders certain materialized discourses apparent in the landscape. Firstly, it is apparent that Finnish is the

visually prominent language in the landscape, followed by English. Other languages are, at best, marginally present visually. Moreover, much of the visual salience of the other languages can be attributed to the curricula as languages, such as Swedish, French and German, are taught in the school on all three levels of education. Considering the linguistic heterogeneity of the student body and how the school claims to promote awareness of multilingualism on its premises, the overall homogeneity is remarkable. Therefore, contrary to what one might expect, the linguistic heterogeneity appears missing in the landscape, as if the presence of certain groups of people, speakers of other languages, was visually erased (cf. Schein, 2006: 4).

Secondly, it is apparent that the landscape participants have different roles in the landscape. Teachers and the other members of the staff are its primary agents as they issue most items in the landscape. Students do issue items, but they are in a more passive role. In other words, it is evident that the school as a public institution is largely in control of the items issued in the landscape whereas the largest group of landscape participants, students, is relegated to functioning more as an audience. In this sense they appear missing in the landscape. Furthermore, it is evident that teachers and other members of the school staff make use of materials created by third parties. I suspect that this a matter of convenience, using what is readily available, as opposed to creating something yourself as such may prove to be time consuming. Nevertheless, this partly shifts the agency from the teachers and the school staff to various external agents, thus granting them a degree of influence in the school.

Thirdly, considering that the school unit in question is known for its linguistically heterogeneous student body, the apparent overall linguistic homogeneity is somewhat surprising. However, in the light of the relevant *de jure* discourses, namely the language act, the education acts and the curricula, this is not particularly surprising. Alternatively, taking cues from Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 81-84), approaching this from the perspective of the students, it may well be that the presence of Finnish, as well as English, has to do with the students writing in the languages they know, the skill condition, followed by other reasons, namely writing in a certain language in order to be associated or identified with that language, the symbolic value condition, and in order to be understood by others, presumed reader condition. Moreover, as writing in other languages is not strictly speaking prohibited, the desire to be associated or identified with, for example, Finnish or Finnishness may explain why they may opt to use it instead of another language. Nevertheless, considering the dominant role of the teachers and the school staff, the disciplinary role of the institution should not be overlooked in instilling certain proprieties through the landscape (Greider and Garkovic, 1994; Matless, 2016), in this case the preferred national and linguistic identities, as explicitly asserted in the Strategy for the National Languages of Finland (Tallroth, 2012: 14).

Fourthly, it appears that the salience of Finnish is likely the result of the *de jure* discourses being materialized in the landscape. Similarly, the presence of Swedish, the most visually salient of the marginally present languages, can also be attributed to its *de jure* position in Finland. The apparition of Swedish comes across as a gesture to its position as the other official, albeit proportionally marginal language in Finland. The landscape could thus be characterized as marked by a materialized discourse of monolingualism. With regards to the languages that do not enjoy a *jure* position in Finland, English is materialized as a *de facto* discourse, reflecting its dominant position in language education in Finland. It is likely rendered further apparent by the

presence of the school's English language track, as indicated in the local curricula. Furthermore, its presence likely reflects the role of English as the other language of choice in Finland, especially among students.

It is worth noting that this article is limited to the examination of language and agency. While the examination of these categories is thorough in this article, it is by no means exhaustive. Not unlike Årman (2018) who focuses on one materialized discourse, this article cannot fully address the complexity of the landscape in question. It is clear that there is a broad range of other discourses that it intersects in this miniature world. It is, however, my intention to address this limitation to a certain extent in the future by examining other materialized discourses in the landscape. It is also worth acknowledging that the findings of this article are not representative of all landscapes of education. It only bears relevance to Finnish medium of instruction landscapes of education in Finland, inasmuch it pertains to language and the agency of those who spent their days working and studying in them when the 2003 and 2004 core curricula were in effect. In the context of Finland, contrasting the findings with those of a Swedish medium of instruction landscape of education would be of particular interest. It would be interesting to see whether the positions of the national languages are simply reversed in terms of their presence. Moreover, contrasting these findings with findings from studies conducted under the 2014 and 2015 core curricula would likely also prove to be of great interest as the new curricula are at least supposed to emphasize student activity. Furthermore, it would be of even greater interest if this type of contrastive examination were to be conducted in the same school, the one examined in this article. It would permit diachronic analysis, reflecting possible changes between the curricula, not only on the national level but also on the local level.

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## **Violence rooted from school and family: Voices of Vietnamese insiders**

Phan Thị Tuyết Vân<sup>15</sup>

### **Abstract**

The article aims to point out a social phenomenon in Vietnam currently which is recognized as both visible and invisible violence from parents and teachers to their children or learners at different levels of general education<sup>16</sup>. The focus of this study is to interpret violence as a result of parents and teachers' excessive demand on the study of their children or learners. A survey was employed to collect data from 265 primary and high school students about the behavior of their parents and teachers on issues related their learning to clarify the research problem. The findings analyze the phenomenon from emphasizing the forms of violence significantly resulting from teachers' behavior when young learners make mistakes at school and parents' concerns and behavior towards their children's learning; simultaneously, the consequences of this type of violence are also examined from the insiders' voices of the learners in a comprehensive picture for various types of violence. These forms of violence may not be recognized in other contexts, but in Vietnamese families and schools. The results of the article can contribute considerably to not only raise awareness in Vietnam specifically and in Asia generally about of the notions of violence on our young generation but also recognize the needs of young generations in their learning.

### **Keywords**

violence, violence at school in family, requests on learning, penalties, behavior, attitudes, young learners, trauma

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## Introduction

Vietnam with its own characteristics of historical conditions and ethnic characteristics have formed a common concept of education; of which learning means to escape poverty or learning is to change one's life. In this sense, learning became the highest mission of many Vietnamese people over the history of Vietnam under the hardships causing by wars and oppression from different invaders. As a matter of fact, every child at that time was expected to have better life than his or her parents and the best and unique way to obtain that expectation was “studying”. Simultaneously, to be different from the others and easily to be recognized in the society, children were required to study hard and try best to get the highest scores or highest results in their study. Such a thought is still so popular that it has become a cultural feature of the country. The situation has even become more serious due to the fact that children's obedience to their parents in traditional families still remains the same in Vietnam currently (Tran, 2016). It is common that Vietnamese parents tend to impose their wishes on their children; i.e., what to study or what should and shouldn't do (Anh Thu, 2015). These things lead to a series of consequences on children both mentally and physically. A letter sent to leaders, parents and teachers by a junior high school student via Vietnamnet- one of the leading official electronic newspapers in Vietnam on 22 September, 2016 is a living proof for the mentioned points:

“.....For many years, our students' lives have just been involved getting up, going to school, having extra classes, returning home and the process has been repeated and repeated. Over years, my passion for learning has gradually disappeared. I have started to get exhausted, depressed and desperate when I have heard the word LEARNING..... The friend sitting next to me, each of her school days begins from 5.30 am until 11 pm. She is exhausted, I know that.....”

Tran (2018) clarifies this student's confession further by stating that “the biggest daily concern of parents is whether their children do homework or not causing their children to be stressed and tired”. Children are not only the oppressed at home but their roles at schools are also underestimated. They usually play the passive role in class or mainly study under the teachers' control. Regarding this, Confucian education which was introduced to Vietnam over 1000 years ago when Vietnam was under the domination of China contributed to the formation of the ethical foundation, traditional values, and the identity of Vietnamese people. Till now, this education seems to hold its value and the best overview of Vietnamese education is reflected from Confucian teaching and learning in Starr's (2012) research as follows:

“....These included teacher-centered whole class teaching, very large classes, apparent passivity on the part of learners with low levels of active learner participation, and much use of teacher-led chanting, rote learning and mimetic methods” (p. 4)

It is also noted that in Confucian education, every teacher was so powerful that rights to punish his/her young students was ruled if they didn't obey or focus on the lesson. The finding that methods of teaching and learning in Vietnamese educational context are out of date (Chu, 2008) may be a consequence of this education. In his research about Vietnamese education, the researcher suggests that curriculum at all academic levels need to be officially considered due to the fact that it is so heavy in time limit, inadequate in scientific aspect and not practical for real life. More importantly, according to Phu Hop Mai et al. (2008), one of the most serious problems or a big concern in Vietnamese education now is school violence. A question is whether the

imposition of parents and teachers on children's or students' studying and rigid curriculum are a part of violence at school or from family, but it cannot be denied that "school is a place of hardships and sufferings for many children; and their childhood is being "stolen" by a heavy, boring, and impractical curriculum" (Chu, 2008).

In general, within the scope of this study, the author does not focus on analyzing the aforementioned drawbacks of Vietnamese education but employ them as a main reason leading to a demand of deeply analyzing the forms of violence against children rooted from family and school.

## **1. Literature Review**

The concept of violence is not new to many research contexts, including Vietnam. However, the majority of studies focus on the visible acts rather than the invisibility of violence. The concentration of this matter is mainly on the penetrators or victims of school violence or violent situations related to school with power usually in one side (Cuellar, 2016; Lesneskie and Block, 2016; McDonald, 2014; Mncube and Steinmann, 2014; Joyce, 2013; Georgiou, 2009; Estévez, Jiménez, and Musitu, 2008; Ricketts, 2007; Eisenbraun, 2007; Hudson, Windham, and Hooper, 2005; Carney, Shannon, and Murphy; 2005; Benbenishty, Astor, and Zeira, 2003; Mayer, 2002; Chisholm, 1998; May, 1972 ), "at-risk victims" in domestic violence or that of in the family to the weaker sides (Hiitola and Hautanen, 2016; Hill, 2005; Fantuzzo, Mohr, and Noone, 2000; Bermann, 2000; Kocourková and Koutek, 1998; Heron, Javier, McDonald-Gomez, and Adlerstein, 1994; Hartman, 1987) and the victims of the groups of "traditional oppressors" as teachers, elderly, and parents (Magalhães, Castro, Ruido, and Lope, 2016; Coogan, 2011; Chen and Astor, 2009).

According to Collis and Webb (2014), the invisibility can be recognized because of the visibility. As for violence, in a broader and different aspect of violence in the contexts of human, the power is visibly connected with the act of violence on weaker people.

"In many other cultures, it is hearing that holds a privileged relationship to knowledge and understanding; but in Australia, this peculiarly Western perspective of visibility is a metaphor that sets in place mechanisms of power and processes of knowledge formation." (p.493)

When reviewing literature about invisible *domestic violence to vulnerable children*. Fantuzzo, Mohr, and Noone's (2000, p. 10) implies the invisibility of domestic violence not being explored (p.11), but not the invisibility of the act of violence with less physical acts, of which more mental trauma may affect children, as what focuses of this study are about. The children's invisible trauma from the acts of violence from teachers and parents may not be properly recognized in the context of Vietnam when limited researchers have raised this research matter. That type of trauma is possibly compatible with the repeated exposure of invisible violence to the child in a long time, as follows.

"Two types of child traumatization. The first can be described as an unpredictable event similar to a shock, the second as a result of repeated exposure of the child to longitudinal traumatization." (Kocourková & Koutek 1998, p. 435)

The invisible trauma may be the result of the long-term repetition of oppressed actions to children both at school and at home. If children perspectives about their teachers and parents’ actions to their learning and problems in this study which imply to be causes of possible invisible trauma to children. Joyce (2013) confirms the aspect of “being exposed to violence” can become models to violent behavior at home and school when they are young and the thoughts have been nurtured until they become teachers or parents.

While “children are exposed to violence on the way to and from school” in the research context of Chisholm (1998, p.138), parents or grandparents are responsible to take children forward and backward between school and home so that the exposure to violence falls into other factors in the classroom or at home, but not on the way to school. Chisholm implies that children are both the victims and the perpetrators of violence. They can be the victims of violence by their friends, their teachers, their neighbors, or even people in their family.

In Carney, Shannon, and Murphy (2005, p.32), young children at school may encounter different forms of *bullying, verbal teasing, and harassment, or minor theft*. In addition, Cuellar (2016) finds that the exposure of violence negatively affects the young children’s mentality. This idea is also compatible with Eisenbraun (2007) that violence in educational environment hurt students’ feeling of safety and the belonging senses. Young people commit or *may be exposed to violence* not only at school (Hudson et al., 2005, p.135).

In fact, it is obvious or traditionally believed that the responsibility for educating would not be only from the school, but also in the family with significant influences on childhood development. Both the school and families share major roles in any circumstances regarding violence to or from young people with and without the visibility of evidence for the sources of the research phenomenon. In a different study, Joyce (2013) confirms a fact that violence at school is unexplainable phenomenon with the results of what children may experience here and there. Any single behavior may be facilitated from different causes and effects in different situations.

However, they will not only the victims when they turn to learn how to deal with their reality that being perpetrators to the weaker people will relieve their feelings a bit. This idea may be compatible with Freire (2005) about the reaction of the oppressed when being the oppressor. They would not stop the similar actions that they used to bear but tend to duplicate or escalate that sense of violence to the current oppressed people, in this case the victims of violence. The series of reactions will be repeated to different generations of the same philosophical perspectives.

Still complicated to understand the phenomenon of violence, the following explanation of this term shows an idea.

“Violence is a uniting of the self in action. It is an organizing of one's powers to prove one's power, to establish the worth of the self. It is risking all, a committing all, an asserting all. But it unites the different elements in the self, *omitting* rationality... Whatever its motive or its consequences may be within the violent person, its result is generally destructive to the others in the situation.” (May, 1972, p. 188)

As described in Chisholm (1998), the acts of violence may be of causes from dealing with different levels of *stress, anxiety, fear, frustration, and anger* (p.142). In Hiitola and Hautanen (2016), violence which is caused by parents or their conflicts with the power on the parental side could be interpreted as the failure of protecting children. From a similar view, Hartman (1987, p. 62) raises the sensitivity of violence in the family regarding the tension and political conflict in that research context that *violence has primarily been used by men to oppress women*. This idea is not too different from Freire (2005) about the concept of the oppressors' power on keeping their control to the oppressed. From that, *violence is used by adults to control children, by older siblings against their younger brothers and sisters and by adult caretaking children to control their ageing, ill and dependent parents* (p.63). This idea is also described in Herron et al. (1994) as a consequence of endorsing violence in context of a society. In *tackling violence at home*, Coogan (2011, p. 350) focuses on *either a direct victim of domestic violence or abuse or as secondary victims, as witnesses to domestic abuse*. Similarly, Benbenishty, Astor, and Zeira (2003) confirms the cases that domestic violence aiming to children with visible actions such as cursing, humiliating, ridiculing, pinching or slapping, kicking, pushing and shoving the victims

In a different aspect, looking at violence from the perspective of the causes of revenge actions is found with peer factors. The violence just happens when

“A child that looks different than the rest, is disliked and isolated by peers, is not effectively monitored at home, and has the tendency to blame factors other than the aggressor when asked to explain aggressive acts.” Georgiou (2009, p. 114)

In addition, violence can also be led by various sorts of fear (Waghid, 2010). such as fear of peer opinion, fear of the perpetrator, fear of family response, fear of being “found out” as gay or lesbian, or even fear of being known as the users of drugs or alcohol (Hill, 2005, p.174).

As stated in the rationale of this study, much research commonly deals with the obvious phenomenon or the acts of violence on the victims with clear or obvious evidence. However, limited research was found about the invisible trauma caused by the teachers in the daily praxis in the classroom and the parents at home. The aforementioned cases of teachers and parents may not be able to recognize their “non-aggressive” violence with the oppressing manners of the oppressors to the oppressed young children. The major difference among visible violence from the review of literature and invisible violence in this study is that the acts of teachers and parents on the oppressed young children may commit invisible violence or would give some minor physical punishments, which would not directly cause obvious attack physically to be recognized on the children's bodies. The oppressing thoughts and pressure on learning, behavior, and mistakes may impose to children at different degrees.

## **2. Methodology**

The study was to figure out visible and invisible violence against young learners resulted from teachers' behavior when students make mistakes and from parents' concerns and behavior towards their children's learning. It also concentrated on the consequences of this kind of pressure in learning on learners. Due to the purposes of the study, the two following questions were asked:

*1/ Does teachers and parents’ behavior or expectations on issues of young learners’ learning cause any forms of violence?*

*2/ What are possible traumas to young learners from violence at school and at home?*

The participants of the study are 265 students of grades 3 to 12 (between the ages of 9 and 18), hereby called young learners from a large number of schools in three provinces Vinh Long, Tien Giang and Dong Thap in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam. Learners at this age were selected to ensure they are able to understand and respond to the questions on issues related to their learning from the survey. They share the similarity that they are studying in public schools which are under the management of the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam.

A survey with five questions was written in Vietnamese and carefully explained to the participants so that they could understand the questions thoroughly and respond to them properly and sufficiently. The data gained was translated into English by the researcher and checked by a colleague who holds a doctoral degree in Pedagogy and is fluent in both languages.

The data collected from the surveys were qualitatively analyzed regarding a variety of types of violence from school and family. The extracts were then coded randomly among participants from different schools and provinces and the coding methods for each concept as in the following:

Code	Extracts	Coded for
<b>VL224-5-TB</b>	“My teacher punishes me when I make a mistake. For a small mistake, I was asked to stand up in front of the class door. For a serious mistake, my teacher hit my left hand two times and for the most serious mistake, my parents were summoned to school”	<b>VL</b> = Vinh Long <b>224</b> = The participant 224 <b>5</b> = Grade 5 <b>TB</b> = Behavior of teachers
<b>TG025-7-PB</b>	“...my parents scolded me for my bad learning result”	<b>TG</b> = Tien Giang <b>025</b> = The participant 025 <b>7</b> = Grade 7 <b>PB</b> = Behavior of parents
<b>DT032-9-LF</b>	“The first feeling is disappointment, then shame and fear”	<b>DT</b> = Dong Thap <b>032</b> = The participant 032 <b>9</b> = Grade 9 <b>LF</b> – learners’ feelings

The coded extracts would be considered in terms of physical and mental violence or invisible violence caused by teachers and parents’ behavior and expectations on young learners’ learning. The levels of trauma were also concentrated to figure out the consequences of violence on the psychology of the young learners.

### 3. Findings

The data analysis showed different forms of violence resulted from teachers' punishment when learners made mistakes while studying at schools. The penalties used by teachers were very diverse and inhumane, recognizing as punishing learners directly by hitting them or forcing them to carry out some missions or involving parents' roles in adjusting their children's behavior. Besides, the common protocol in daily communication between parents and children, which linked to parents' top concern, was their children's learning. This was also a form of violence against grade-schoolers at home. As a result, the violence at school and at home, which may not be realized by the mentioned adults, gradually leads to psychological trauma for young learners. The findings would be presented in terms of (1) physical and mental violence from teachers when their learners make different types of mistakes and from parents when they put too much expectations on their children's learning, and (2) the mental trauma due to violence from school and family.

#### 3.1. Physical and mental violence when making mistakes and parents' behavior and expectations on children's learning

Regarding the ways teachers behaved when grade-schoolers made mistakes, only 8 out of 265 participants (VL019-3-TB, DT068-7-TB, TG092-11-TB, VL039-7-TB, DT184-9-TB, VL220-6-TB, VL240-5-TB, and VL241-4-TB) confirmed that their teachers did not do anything to penalize them when they make mistakes. On the other hand, the remaining number of 257 participants, accounting for 97%, showed that their teachers usually punished them in a variety of both physical and mental ways. In fact, forms of punishment were very diverse but quite similar among the research contexts.

Depending on the severity or types of mistakes, teachers offered different forms of punishment. Many learners from three research sites reflected this common principle among teachers in the implementation of penalties for students (VL224-5-TB, TG008-8-TB, VL014-9-TB, DT030-9-TB, VL244-5-TB, VL031-10-TB, DT032-9-TB, TG177-9-TB, DT161-8-TB, VL241-4-TB).

“Depending on the case [*small or serious mistake*], teachers have specific penalties, for example, sometimes my friends and I cannot retell a learnt lesson [*in Vietnam K-12 learners are asked to learn by heart lesson content taught by teachers at home and retell it in the following class*], teachers ask us to rewrite that lesson from 10 to 50 times” [VL031-10-TB]

“For a minor fault, we will be reminded and criticized in front of the class. For a bigger one, we will be criticized “under the flagpole” [*in front of the school*] and for the most serious one, we will be disciplined and expelled from school (I am afraid of this level of punishment most)” [DT032-9-TB]

“Teachers reprove us for minor faults. If the faults are bigger, they will inscribe the violator's name on the register [*every class has a register for teacher to note about the learning situation of the class and the notes will be one of the bases for teachers to evaluate their students' conduct*], ask parents to school, or threaten” [TG177-9-TB]

In Vietnam, parents will be summoned to school for a mistake at school of their child. A teacher has the right to evaluate his student's conduct (the manner in which that student behaves) well or

badly, and this which belongs to a moral aspect more or less infringes on human rights. Of the 10 extracts above, up to six extracts indicated that asking parents to school was the highest level of punishment, which would be reserved for the most serious mistakes or faults by young learners and they were usually afraid of this penalty most. This demonstrated parents’ oppressing power rather than the nurtured parenting solutions to their children.

To further explain this phenomenon, parents in Vietnam are responsible not only for raising their children but also for educating them within the chaos of social philosophies and the influence of various perspectives of education. Such an irreplaceable role of parents is utilized radically at school to manipulate students in certain ways regardless of its negative influence against children’s development at different senses. In other words, parents and teachers are the ones who can intervene directly in children’s learning by any means even if that means causes any injuries to children.

From what has just been analyzed, a part of an overall picture of teachers’ violence against young learners is revealed. In this respect, different levels of teacher’s punishment for students helped clarify the research problem and more importantly, various forms of chastisement recognized from the extracts reflect the seriousness of the violence on both physical and mental aspects of young learners. It can be said that applied penalties from teachers were very diverse ranging from less serious influences to terrible ones. For the first category, it included some variations such as *inscribing the violator’s name on the register, sweeping the classroom for the whole week, cleaning up the classroom or the school yard, dumping the trash, cleaning the board, standing, dictating, doing public work, calling parents to school, writing a paper of self-examination, run with high thigh and etc.* (TG044-11-TB, DT043-12-TB, VL042-12-TB, TG041-9-TB, VL040-9-TB, VL040-9-TB, VL023-3-TB, VL037-8-TB, VL034-7-TB, VL026-9-TB, DT183-10-TB, TG027-7-TB, TG83-6-TB, DT103-5-TB, TG185-10-TB, DT178-11-TB, DT175-11-TB, VL172-6-TB, VL169-8-TB, VL170-8-TB, VL234-5-TB....). The other forms of chastisement, which were extremely inhumane, may not have been experienced or imagined in other cultures, especially in western ones. Frankly speaking, teacher’s punishment in this level which was really violence against children destroys them both literally and figuratively. The following extracts would provide vivid examples for the situation:

“Teachers (male and female) punish us by forcing us to *thụt đầu* (two hands cross the shoulders and hold ears in the opposite side while standing up and sitting down continuously for many times), hitting, and asking us to stand in a corner of the classroom” (VL011-8-TB)

“Hold the pen in our mouth, be spanked [*slap with a flat object on the buttocks*]....” (VL006-7-TB)

“..... kneel at the flagpole [*in front of the school*]..... be kicked out of the class” (VL237-5-TB)

“My male teacher usually scolds at us.....” (VL240-5-TB)

“....hit the hand or lie on the table to hit the butt” (TG214-9-TB)

A variety of visible forms of serious violence were exposed from the extracts from a numbers of young learners in different grades such as *beating, spanking, humiliating, ridiculing, hitting,*

*pinching, pinching ears, scolding, criticizing, cursing, threatening, or forcing learners to kneel, stretch hands, or push-up, and “thụt đầu”* (TG196-9-TB, VL143-4-TB, TG199-7-TB, VL222-8-TB, TG210-7-TB, TG209-7-TB, VL025-7-TB, VL024-4-TB, VL240-5-TB, VL033-7-TB, VL029-8-TB, TG176-9-TB, DT174-9-TB, TG173-9-TB, VL020-3-TB.....). Accordingly, this discovery is compatible with Benbenishty, Astor, and Zeira’s (2003) findings about domestic violence in their study and it influences more from school as in the current research contexts. It is worth noting that 125 feedbacks from the participants (47.2%) indicated that teachers used the penalty methods of hitting, beating, slapping, or spanking to deal with children’s mistakes. Specifically, this type of punishment was carried out with a variety of discouraged physical actions on children like hitting hands with a ruler, lying on the table to hit their butt with a wooden stick, spanking, self-slapping on cheeks, slapping on the mouth and so on. Consequently, and “coincidentally”, a severe child abuse has just taken place in the context of Vietnamese education, a sixth grader was slapped 231 times for his “one mistake” (Dang, 2018). This abuse was due to a fact that a 6<sup>th</sup> grade child said “bad words”<sup>17</sup> and because of this reason his teacher ordered each of his twenty-three classmates (out of 26 in total) to slap on his cheeks for ten times. Hence, that victim got 230 “real strong slaps” from his friends (3 out of 26 students didn’t slap him because they came back home to take their books right at that time). Two hundred and thirty strong slaps are meant to be done because his teacher asked if someone pretended to slap, that person must get slaps in return from the victim. Importantly, the last slap was noteworthy done by the teacher herself when she heard the victim yell at the early end at her “evil face” that “I hate you”. The statement “I hate you” which a student is not allowed to say to a teacher regardless of any circumstance is one of the eloquent demonstrations for how Vietnamese learners are oppressed at school, and accordingly, how they are physically and mentally damaged. The following extracts would clarify the matter:

“... for the most serious mistake, we will be disciplined and expelled from school (I am afraid of this level of punishment most)” [DT032-9-TB]

“Teachers punish us. I study in the afternoon from 12:15 to 16:45 pm and I have been sent to collect. Sometimes, it is very hot and we feel extremely tired. I am afraid that type of punishment..... I used to wear a pair of sandals in a physical education class because my sneakers were wet and I was forced to collect garbage all over the school yard and I got sick that time” [DT238-6-TB]

“...I felt sad when my teacher punished me...” [DT246-4-TB]

In contrast, young learners are required to obey and comply unquestionably with school rules and violent genres, which have been employed to achieve such an expectation or to maintain the available orders in one school. From this, it follows that teacher in this scandal may be under the pressure from a bunch of “untold requirements” from the school administrators about how to assure “teaching quality” for both academic and non-academic purposes and how to make “the oppressed”<sup>18</sup> obedient. Although underlying cause of this affair would not the focal point analyzed in this study, the phenomenon can be asserted that the teacher’s behavior or violence against her learner should be worth condemning and sentencing. As can be seen in Vietnam, due to the facts that teacher holds a decisive role in ensuring the “quality of education in the classroom” (found in Article 15 of Chapter I of the Law of Education 2005 No. 38/2005/QH11

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<sup>17</sup> words that he was not allowed to say in his school

<sup>18</sup> Learners and people in the lower rank of the system hierarchy in an educational institution

dated June 14, 2005) and the influence of Confucianism which highlights the central roles of teacher in adjusting ethical behavior of learners, teachers in the research contexts tended to overuse a large quantity of violent forms as aforementioned to conveniently fulfill their “assigned controlled and oppressed missions”. Some violence seems to be weird but their vulnerability to learners is not less than the others as follows.

“My male teacher threatened that if I did not wear a belt again, he would take off my pants and throw it into the trash [*his fault was not to wear a belt when going to school*]” [TG196-9-TB]

“... my teacher asked us to gather 1,000 leaves of flame tree [*in Vietnam, there is at least one flame tree on any school grounds*]” [DT51-8-TB]

Another important aspect is that the learners’ faults or mistakes were severe enough for being punished with aforementioned forms by their teachers. The mistakes or faults can be classified into three types of infringement as (1) breaking regulations that aims to force learners to participate in the learning process, (2) using taboos in the classroom, and (3) violating ethical standards.

Similar to punishment forms, schools which were represented by teachers or teachers themselves offered a number of rigid and bizarre rules for young learners. Accordingly, a number of things that “the oppressed learners” were not allowed to do because it would violate the regulations which were *understood* to ensure the educational quality as follows: *going to school late, not being able to retell the lesson correctly in the manner of rote learning, not doing homework assigned by teachers, talking to each other during class, not taking note during class, and not concentrating when studying in class*. The second type included mistakes or faults such as *not wearing a belt, not weeping the classroom, having snacks in class, bringing food to class, not wearing a badge, not wearing sneakers in physical education class, forgetting notebooks at home, playing truant, littering and etc*. The third type of violation on ethical standards which was to adjust young learners to be future obedient citizen or educate them to comply with school rules and regulations could be identified as *swearing, saying bad words, being disrespectful to teachers, or fighting with each other*. To some extent, some of these regulations or rules should be considered carefully for the possibility of violating the law of children rights and human rights or not respecting one’s dignity; especially they may make young learners become dependent and obedient unnecessarily.

In addition to being physically and mentally abused by teachers at schools with a significant amount of penalties due to their poor academic performance, the primary concern of the majority of parents at home was also about their children’s learning or what is called educational quality of family demands. An unexpected number of 221 responses towards the surveyed question about what parents talked or required from their children demonstrated for the findings. Actually, up to 83.4% of the participants voiced their reality on their parents’ main concern about their learning. These participants were assigned a series of duties related to learning by their parents as *learning better or studying well, having good scores, trying to study hard, trying to study best, having to achieve the first place in class or at school*<sup>19</sup>, *studying harder, learning by heart, getting good*

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<sup>19</sup> in Vietnamese education, students are publicly ranked in accordance to the levels of how good they are in their learning

*marks, having to keep silent while studying, studying well for every single subject, studying well for supporting oneself or parents when they get older, and practicing for writing more beautifully.* Such a concern from parents was truly a burden on a majority of learners' shoulders or a big pressure to them. In most cases, violence may appear against their children when they insulted or compared their learning capacity with the others.

"My parents usually ask me "Why are you so stupid?" and tell me that "I pay for you to study, not to disturb in class. Let try to study hard and properly". My parents ask me to study well" [VL260-10-PB]

"They ask me to study hard in order to be not inferior to my friends" [DT249-8-PB]

"My parents often complain that why I cannot study as well as other parents' children and they ask me to be the best student in class" [TG74-7-PB]

".....My parents usually compare me with my elder sister" [TG204-10-PB]

" ..... they criticize me and always compare me with "the children of other families" [TG185-10-PB]

It should be noted that twelve out of the remaining of 44 participants gave no response to this question or the question was left blank without any reasons and other fourteen answers were just "no" or "yes" without any explanation or illustration. The rest participants shared the common ideas that their parents paid attention to how much and when they were allowed to watch television, asked them to be obedient, gave them no permission to love while studying, or advised them not to idolize singers or movie stars too much and so on. Exceptionally, as a matter of fact, one case frankly shared that the relationship with his parents was problematic:

"... I rarely talk with my parents. It is perhaps my parents and I cannot get along with each other well. If there is any conversation between us, it will be about my study of which my parents usually complain a lot....." (TG185-10-PB).

The study results about parents' behavior towards their children's learning outcomes helped strengthen the previous findings. In this sense, almost all of the participants (except 10 responses about their parents' indifferent actions or behavior with both good or bad study results) expressed the same ideas that their parents treated them in two completely different extremes depending on how good they studied at school. When they got high marks [*in Vietnam, learning capacity of a student has been assessed through marks or scores*], the extreme of satisfaction was found among the parents. From that, they would employ some rewarding policies to remain or enhance their children's good study spirit such as *praising, encouraging, leading them out to eat or travel, or letting them participate in recreational activities*. On the contrary, it would be really catastrophic if the young learners couldn't achieve the desired results in their learning. Another type of extreme seen from the participants' parents was their dissatisfaction or anxiety about their children's academic performance, and as a result they would use violent forms to manipulate their children's education. Both mental and physical violence against children from parents was quite similar to the ones from teachers recognized as *complaining, scolding, whipping, punishing for labor, interrogating if they have known their fault or not [fault here is recognized as studying badly]*.

In a word, young learners were under the tremendous pressure from parents and teachers about their learning. Except for some odd reasons, teachers and parents believed that the “educational methods” represented by a variety of punishment forms they used were to help students learn better and become good persons in the future. From this, it follows that teachers and parents have not fully thought of what they have behaved to their children as a form of abuse or violence against them. With or without their notice, such behavior may cause invisible trauma to the young learners. For further discussion about the findings of trauma from the aforementioned forms of violence, the next part would present how the participants become victims of violence from school and family.

### **3.2. Trauma in young learners due to violence from school and family**

Resulted from a variety of requirements and pressure from teachers and parents about their learning which were identified from many forms of violence, an equal number of traumas were found from the participants. Of all, negative feelings about themselves were the most popular results among young learners in the study. It can be said that the consequence of violence against young learners was so serious and worth considering. An unbelievable number of 233 from different age groups out of 265 respondents in total shared about mental traumas in multiple levels they have been experiencing when they got low marks or bad grades. Unexpectedly, that phenomenon seems to be assumed as just a “normal” reaction<sup>20</sup> as in the following extracts:

“I feel extremely sad” [VL084-6-LF]

“I am very embarrassed” [TG127-3-LF]

“I feel sad and helpless in learning” [TG053-10-LF]

“Feeling like going mad” [VL035-7-LF]

“I feel regret when I get bad grades” [VL033-7-LF]

“I feel so bad and stupid” [DT016-10-LF]

“...I feel like falling into the abyss” [TG184-9-LF]

Nevertheless, the real problem cannot be seen by its appearance. The causes of participants’ reactions towards their unexpected learning results were scrutinized in different categories to make clear the viewpoint. The first one would be a sense of guilt that overwhelms their soul:

“I felt terribly guilty as if throwing my corpse into the Ganges also could not wash away my sin” [TG058-11-LF]

“I feel guilty about myself and my parents” [TG204-10-LF]

“I have faults with myself, family and society” [TG196-9-LF]

“... feel frustrated, depressed, stupid and make parents disappointed” [VL007-6-LF]

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<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that it is “normal reaction” here just because academic scores are being used to assess learner competencies in the research contexts.

“I feel humiliated for me and have faults with my parents and teachers” [TG143-4-LF]

Secondly, the normal reactions of disappointment about themselves as aforementioned were pushed to a higher level of hopelessness as follows:

“The first feeling is disappointment, then shame and fear” [DT032-9-LF]

“...ashamed, self-deprecating; sad and regretful” [VL241-4-LF]

“... sad, under pressure, and scared” [VL260-12-LF]

“...feel defeated in front of everyone” [DT030-9-LF]

“sad and feel lost face when the score is poor” [TG113-5-LF]

“I am sad and afraid of going to school, my feeling is so bad” [TG046-11-LF]

“... about to faint and feel extremely sad ....” [TG089-12-LF]

“I feel useless and inferior to my friends” [TG179-11-LF]

“I don’t want to go home” [VL034-7-LF]

“... life is unfair to me, nobody cares about me” [TG186-9-LF]

“...too much pressure to faint, afraid of returning home, afraid of meeting parents” [VL029-8-LF]

Similarly, in nature but more specifically, a number of participants pointed out the causes of traumas from teachers and parents’ violence directly and this is compatible with the findings in the previous part of the study. The following extracts as vivid demonstrations were presented below:

“No one is happy when he or she gets bad grades ... I always disappoint about myself, it is so sad. I feel very anxious about what will happen if my parents know about my low score? Sometimes, I worry to burst into tears, especially when I knew my score in a good English student contest in which I failed” [TG185-10-LF]

“...uncomfortable; worried, sad and afraid of being scolded by my mother” [DT259-8-LF]

“I am afraid of being scolded by my parents” [TG199-7-LF]

“I feel uncomfortable and afraid of parents and teachers” [TG177-9-LF]

“I feel so down and afraid of being scolded by parents” [TG096-7-LF]

“... sad and afraid teacher will tell parents and parents will scold me” [VL234-6-LF]

“I am so sad and afraid that parents will know” [TG070-7-LF]

“I’m not allowed to go on vacation in summer [TG085-6-LF]

“I feel a meal full of chopsticks waiting for me at home” [VL027-7-LF]

Or just in one “simple” word of “speechless fear”:

“fear” [VL215-7-T, VL037-8-LF]

And this is the best way to avoid such a “fear”: “...I will learn the lessons again to better memorize” (VL213-6-T) because memorization saves the situation for quality in education in the research contexts. Learners who can memorize better may become the best of a class.

As can be seen from the analyzing data, young learners, who were in traumas, suffered a lot from not getting good results in their study. In other words, they have been living in fear and the feeling of guilt, which always exists in their minds. This finding is compatible with (Hill, 2005). It can be said that teachers or parents' violence against young learners resulting in their traumas has been so serious that it not only affects them in the present but also turns them into the oppressors of their children or learners in the future as a vicious circle (Joyce, 2013).

In general, regardless of any reasons, both teachers and parents need to consider carefully the appropriateness of what they do in relation with their learners or children. If not, what they act and do would be like “a sentence to death” or contribution to ruin” a child in both literal and figurative meanings.

## **Implications and Conclusion**

A number of implications were drawn out from the findings of the study:

Teachers should properly use their power in punishing their students because it causes a lot of harmful consequences to the learners both physically and mentally, especially the psychological trauma (Flannery, Wester, & Singer, 2004). The ideology that teachers have rights to punish their young students if they don't obey or focus on the lessons and students must memorize the learnt lessons by learning by heart in Confucian education (Tran, 2009; Starr, 2012) should be eliminated. From that, violence at school can be partly reduced or removed and students have not been suffered from an obsolete learning style anymore (Nguyen, 2015).

The nurturing of a child for his comprehensive development includes both physical and mental aspects. Parents should be fully aware of this so that they are willing to reduce or not create any pressure on their children for whatever reason. Too much pressure will deeply hurt one or knock him down. The suggested reactions to any circumstances should a wing-wing solution which requires more dialogues and *equal roles in their real influences on each other on the two sides of every sort of communication about learning or else* (Nguyen, 2017a).

As adults, teachers and parents should be aware that learning well or not is a learner's matter, too much interference into one's learning process would not help change the situation but also causes a lot of unexpected results as knocking one down, violating human rights, ruining one's future, or even sentencing one to death. Otherwise, teachers and parents should respect their learners or children in the ways they are respected by the latter. In this sense, every child has different types of intelligence as well as identity, demands, and wishes; therefore, the adults should not require

the same things from different individuals or ask them to be obedient unless they want to turn children into “the oppressed” or “robots”, who just follow the orders from human (Biesta, 2013).

It should be aware that violence would lead to violence (Freire, 2005) as a vicious circle, it becomes a “culture of oppression” of a country in which the young learners as in this study have not been listened or cannot able to raise their voices in any aspects of life. As a matter of fact, generations of “fear” or “coward” people would not be able to decide on important things in their life and this would lessen one’s life quality.

More than ever before, as human beings, young learners’ ideas should be listened even the ideas could be negative or opposite to their teachers and parents (Nguyen, 2017b). Their distinctive features or identity must be respected so that they can fully promote their own strengths and talents, then this turns to contribute to the equality of a society or elimination of oppression existing many centuries ago from feudal regime in Vietnam.

Generally, people should join hands to change a situation that has long existed in Vietnamese society. From that, children can enjoy a happy life and learning at the fullest sense.

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## **Media Discourses that Normalize Colonial Relations: A Critical Discourse Analysis of (Im)migrants and Refugees**

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### **Abstract**

The im(migration) and refugee crisis that are being exacerbated under the Trump administration, is a manifestation of empire-building and the long history of colonization of the Global South. A Marxist-humanist perspective recognizes these as consistent aspects of a clearly racist global capitalism that functions in the interest of multibillion dollar U.S. –based corporations and increasingly transnational corporations. Trade agreements, international economic policy, political intervention, invasion or the threat of these, often secure corporate interests in specific countries and regions. The authors use critical discourse analysis to examine the discourses around Mexican, Central American, and Syrian im(migrants) and refugees as examples of how U.S. mainstream media discourses normalize relations of domination between the U.S. and the Global South and by extension, between its peoples. The article posits these communities as an important revolutionary class for today.

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### **Keywords**

CDA, immigrants, USA, critical pedagogy, Marxism-humanism

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## 1. Media Discourses that Normalize Colonial Relations

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Case of (Im)migrants and Refugees Amidst notions of a post-coloniality is the reality that colonialism remains a permanent fixture of our global capitalist system. While traditional forms of colonialism are no longer as prevalent, the sociopolitical and economic relations that exist between the Global North and the Global South are no less defined by domination, forced dependency, and dispossession (Magdoff, 2013). The United States, in particular, continually and systematically reaches out to gain ever-increasing control and manipulation of the rest of the world (Chomsky, 2017); this, notwithstanding, that the United States remains a colonial settler society, with its goals of elimination of Native communities and its demand for a substitute cheap labor in Black, Chicanx/Latinx, Asian, and other Communities of Color (Glenn, 2015; Monzó, in press). Marx, first theorized the necessary relationship between colonization and capitalism in his famous chapters of *Capital* on “primitive accumulation” and, although written in the 1800s, it remains highly instructive to today’s global capitalism (Marx, 1977).

We see this clearly in this Trump era, which has brought forth an increasing hysteria against the “Other,” in particular against im(migrants) and refugees from Mexico, Central America, and the predominantly Muslim countries of the Middle East. The racialized discourses that demonstrate disdain for peoples who merely seek a place of refuge from poverty and persecution has roots in colonial relations and the capitalist goals of accumulation. The inhumanities we are currently seeing at the U.S.-Mexican border, where thousands of people seeking asylum are being forced into concentration camps, is not unlike the denial of refuge to so many Syrians seeking refuge from a civil war in which the U.S. has no doubt played a part (Cohn, 2018).

How the reality of living within a settler-colonial state, and continually investing and engaging in the destruction of peoples across the Global South becomes normalized and acceptable to the vast majority in society has much to do with discourses that help create and perpetuate the “American unconscious,” which involves a blind-like faith that the U.S. is built on the ideals of democracy, freedom, and equal opportunity, even while drowning in evidence to the contrary (Lichtman, 1993). It also has to do with discourses that perpetrate a violent and false deficit rendering of the racialized “Other,” creating a xenophobic fear of immigrants and refugees and White nationalist fervor.

The corporate media is a critical component in this societal hazing (Chomsky, 2002). While sometimes expressing sympathetic views and critical of dehumanizing policies against immigrants and refugees, the corporate media nonetheless carry discourses that reflect and perpetuate colonial and imperial relations that exact a racist and misogynist criminalization against these communities (Macías-Rojas, 2016). Marcuse recognized the potential dangers of technological innovation, including the mass media, which today is represented not only in TV and newspapers but also in the explosion of the internet and social media. Marcuse argued that although technology has the potential to challenge oppressive structures by making possible the attainment of our human needs and desires, that technology is controlled by those who have the power to create a false consciousness, means that technology is unlikely to be used to challenge the status quo. As a Marxist, Marcuse recognized the need for a revolutionary class but was doubtful that today’s working class, who have the ability to meet many of their falsely constructed

needs and desires, would be able to recognize, much less, challenge, the structure of oppression within which we live.

In this paper, we engage a critical discourse analysis of media discourses against so-called “immigrant” and “refugee” communities from distinct parts of the world but whose racialization and violent colonial depictions share important similarities - Syrian and Mexican and Central American refugees and immigrants. Following Marcuse, we recognize that the working class, especially in the U.S. today, is highly fragmented, especially by race, and we posit these im(migrant) and refugee “Others” as one of today’s potential revolutionary class.

## **2. Colonialism, Empire, and the Accumulation of Capital**

The current attack on “immigration” and specifically on Black and Brown migrants and refugees particularly Mexican, Central American, and Muslim, is portrayed by politicians and their corporate media supporters as a necessary safeguarding of the “American way of life.” By this, they spread false narratives that these im(migrants) threaten our economic well-being (“they take our jobs”) and our physical safety (“they are terrorists”) and fuel fear and hate among the general population toward these communities (Macías-Rojas, 2016). These false narratives fail to recognize that migration patterns are responses to relations of domination between the Global North and South, exacerbated by global capitalism and the incessant drive for empire that sustains the capitalist mode of production (Robinson, 2008).

Marx’s critique of capitalism, which recognized “dispossession” as an essential aspect of capitalist production, helps us understand how colonialism and imperialism are permanent features of capitalism and thus helps us make sense of why negative discourses of the “Other,” in this case Muslim and Latin American peoples, have a structural dimension.

After decades of vilifying Marx or at best rendering his work “utopian,” we are finally experiencing a resurgence of interest in Marx, as capitalism has proven itself incessantly more and more destructive to people and nature and his theories have become increasingly instructive to today’s realities. Of course, this destruction is not evidenced equally across the world but rather afflicts more acutely the Global South, where people are increasingly displaced from poverty, war, and/or environmental disaster and forced to seek “refuge” in the more industrialized capitalist world.

In his concept of “primitive accumulation,” Marx articulated that the greatest accumulation of capital occurs not through the working day but through the centralization of capital in the hands of a single capitalist. Marx (1977) demonstrated that while the process of accumulation through labor extraction is slow, centralization is capable of quick and tremendous growth. Traditional forms of colonization provided exactly this centralization of capital at the hands of the imperial country.

Marx used the example of Ireland who was at the time experiencing a significant depopulation due to the potato famine of 1846 and the significant exodus from Ireland to the United States. At the same time, farms were being highly centralized with the wealthiest capitalists buying off smaller farms. While workers lived under extreme pauperization, the total social capital of the country was significantly prosperous. Marx argued that the capital growth of Ireland was

especially beneficial to the English aristocrats who sought to buy meat and wool from Ireland at the cheapest possible prices for the English market but more importantly the unemployed population of Ireland was especially beneficial to the English bourgeoisie who employed them as cheap labor, which in turn brought down the wages of the English working class.

Today, we see a more contemporary version of this process with the outsourcing of manufacturing jobs to the Global South, where parts are made in poor countries where workers, often Native women and Women of Color, are hyper exploited, and the products made are then shipped back to the United States and other more industrialized countries to later be imported into the same economically impoverished countries and the goods are sold at prices where the workers cannot come close to affording them.

Of course, colonization had and has much to do also with land appropriation and the capital that can be accumulated as labor is made to put the land to use and extract its resources for production and capital accumulation. Although Marx’s theory of primitive accumulation has often been misunderstood as a necessary process *igniting* capitalism, Marx referred to this process as “so-called” primitive accumulation to mark its *continually necessary* function to the system of capitalism. Since awareness that colonization was enacted through an unfathomable genocide and violence against Native peoples, has made traditional colonial relations “unacceptable,” it has shifted into processes of domination that *appear* as “choice” transactions, circumventing the critique of violence and coercion, but that have the same economic, social, political, and psychological effects of colonization. We see further examples of neo-colonial practices in NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), “land grabs,” and the War on Drugs/Terror, which taken on new forms of continued social, economic, and political control and or influence over, and extraction of resources of the Global South and the hyper exploitation of their labor.

The most important early anti-imperialist Marxist work came from Rosa Luxemburg (2015) who described the devastating brutality by which Native peoples were violated. She argued that imperialism was a necessary component of capitalism because the “unlimited expansive capacity of the productive forces” and the “limited capacity of social consumption” required imperial expansion to create more markets for consumption in the pre-capitalist world. Peter Hudis and Kevin Anderson (2004) argue that Luxemburg placed too much emphasis on the need to absorb buyers from non-capitalist societies. Indeed, we see today that imperialism is not confined to pre-capitalist societies. Instead, Hudis points out that Marx was correct when he recognized that production did not necessarily require exchange value (the money form); Marx argued that in certain industries, the product, in its use form, can be inserted, as means of production, into new cycles of production. Thus imperialism serves not merely the purpose of expanding markets but more importantly for the appropriation of extensive sources of means of production, which produce much greater concentration of capital and therefore support the capitalist goal of consistent and expanding accumulation.

Nonetheless, Luxemburg’s contribution to Marxist analysis was crucial as she denounced colonialism and imperialism and both recognized and repudiated the racism inherent in the colonial project, describing to the world the horrors inflicted upon native peoples and challenging ideologies that they need be “civilized.” She saw beauty and value to their communal ways and focused her most important work to the role of imperialism in capitalism. More than any other

Marxist before her, Luxemburg adopted an internationalist stance and gave her life to the cause of humanization. She wrote from prison in 1917:

I am just as much concerned with the poor victims on the rubber plantations of Putumayo, the Blacks in Africa with whose corpses the Europeans play catch ... I feel at home in the entire world, wherever there are clouds and birds and human tears.

While genocide, epistemocide, and enslavement in the service of empire continue (often through state legitimized violence such as war, mass imprisonment, deportation, and police brutality), the vast majority of peoples accept and condone continued colonial “territories”, neo-colonialism, and imperialism as a result of a constant bombardment of media distortions and discourses that portray “aliens” as dangerous (physically or economically) and U.S. assault on the Black and Brown bodies as “necessary” to preserve “democracy” and ensure the well being of “Americans.”

### **3. Racist Ideology and Global Capitalism**

In the US, the mainstream media is a billion-dollar industry owned by a small number of large corporations that control, determine, and decide information fluidity (Chomsky, 2002). As such, the news we receive is highly influenced by corporate interests and agendas. The corporate media as a whole is an entity that exudes capitalist ideology; through the stories they tell and the advertising that pays, the media has significant influence over the ways in which we live in society, what we value, and the needs and desires we construct as a society. As Marcuse has pointed out, the media (along with other technological advances) have been put to use by those in power to normalize capitalist values and desires, including the value for competition, meritocracy, individualism, and the incessant desire for and belief that we need things.

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When it comes to discourses about the racialized “Other,” the corporate media, as will be seen below, tells stories that fulfill their interests and cover lightly, or even eliminate, information that contradict these discourses. Since the majority of the public receive information from a second hand source, such as the news media, it is imperative to understand that the information is selected and controlled by these financial giants and their beneficiaries. For example, it is no accident that the significant emphasis on deportation of predominantly Mexican undocumented workers is part of the billion-dollar prison and military complexes and that while much is said about the large number of undocumented workers in this country, little is said about plans to increase guest worker programs because we do not have American workers to fill the agricultural, construction, and other employment sectors.

Antonio Gramsci (1971) has made an important contribution to our understanding of ideology and hegemony. Gramsci proposed that both the state and civil society function to sustain the ideologies consistent with those of the ruling class and which support their control of society and the system that serves their interests. The state serves this function through coercive tactics, militarization, and policing. Civil society does so through the continual bombardment of ideologies and narratives that are presented as “normal,” or “natural.” The media is a critical tool of hegemony, perpetuating this “common sense,” which for U.S. citizens includes narratives of the U.S. as the “leader of the ‘free world,’” benevolent supporter of “democracy,” a place of “unlimited opportunities.” Under the bombardment of these narratives, U.S. citizens, especially the dominant group, develop a historical amnesia, that allows them to support national and

international policies that they believe will help maintain their position of privilege and that, to them, justify inequality, dehumanization, war and destruction.

Racist narratives that depict people as “Others,” other countries, as “foreign,” and immigrants as “alien” function to create distance between U.S. citizens and the rest of the world and to normalize ideas about “us” before them or “America first,” wherein “America” is made out to be White, invoking the historical amnesia that this land has been inhabited by Native peoples for thousands of years before the first colonizers arrived. In the U.S., racialization and racism are central aspects of everyday life. While the privilege that Whites hold is often invisible to them, People of Color are very cognizant that racism shapes both dominant discourses, material conditions, and opportunity structures. The dialectic between race and class ensures divisions between groups. Narratives that feed specific ideologies about particular groups are often exploited by the media in ways that encourage support for the continual relations of domination and imperialist activities that the U.S. engages in across the world. As Marx indicated in his analysis of the relationship between the Irish and the English, racism can become an important way in which to ensure the continuation of the status quo and to turn people with similar class and other interests against each other.

Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class divided into two camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life ... He regards himself as a member of the ruling nation, and consequently, he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the “poor whites” to the Negroes in the former slave states of the U.S.A. (Marx, 1870, p. 12)

Marx continues:

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And the latter is quite aware of this. (p.13).

This is certainly what has happened to the Muslim, Mexican, and Central American communities in the U.S. Media portrayals of these groups, although different, demonstrate important parallels, such as continual vilification and criminalization, bans from travel to or entering the U.S., denial or hyper restrictions to asylum or refugee status and the hyper vigilance of proper documentation.

Herbert Marcuse, in his important essay, “The End of Utopia” tackles consciousness and the development of needs. His argument is that needs and desires of a people are created through the dominant social reality. He argues that the idea of utopia, as impossibility, must be shattered and that instead we must recognize that we do have possibilities for a world in which human beings have needs and desires consistent with freedom and human dignity. Certainly, social consciousness plays an important part in the development of needs, whether or not we recognize the need to create spaces for all peoples can find safety, education, and live with dignity.

Media discourses are especially crucial in this effort as they reach mass audiences and can, theoretically, change public opinion. However, as Marcuse points out, we need to be careful of the new technologies that although they have potential for transforming society, they are more likely to be manipulated toward ends that support dominant oppressive structures since these are consistent with the needs of the powerful. For Marcuse revolutionary consciousness can only be achieved by those who reject the needs and desires created by capitalism.

Marcuse challenges Marx's conception of the working class as today's revolutionary class, arguing that technology has made available to the working class today, many of the same desire and needs that capitalism creates. For example, in the U.S. many working class people live lives that seem affluent in that they have the things that the capitalist class has, even though these may be of lesser exchange value, such as a car, iPhone, etc. As such, he argues, today's working class is unlikely to be revolutionary since they do not see themselves on the fringes of society even though they are more exploited than ever before.

Certainly, this along with the racism that divides the working class seems to explain why the White working class in the U.S. have supported Trump and his racist policies in favor of mass deportations, travel bans, and family separation. They see a world that has changed culturally and linguistically and scapegoat communities of color as responsible for the stagnant economy that challenges their ideology of U.S. opportunity and social mobility.

Although different racialized groups are associated with different stereotypes and incorporated (or rejected) into societies in diverse ways, the clear parallel among migrants and refugees is that they are placed in subordinate positions in relation to the White dominant group and that this relation of domination persists not only within U.S. border but also in our treatment of their countries of origin. Although differences exist, one general trend is that "immigrant" groups are depicted as "dangerous" to the people in the U.S. and to "our way of life." This narrative criminalizes Mexican and Muslim peoples, making them out to be "criminals," "terrorists," and "undesirables." At the other spectrum are narratives of pity, which exemplify sympathy and desires to "help" peoples who are then depicted as "needy" and "dependent," without ever acknowledging that the only way to solve the "problem of immigration" is by changing the capitalist system which feeds off of the exploitation of the Global South. Either narrative, makes it plausible to accept U.S. involvement and/or intervention in their countries' politics and activities and desensitizes U.S. citizens to U.S. imperialism and the destruction of other communities and peoples.

#### **4. Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Discourses are sets of semiotic meanings (language - oral, textual, and visual) that both reflect but also constitute social reality and position people as social subjects in particular ways and with particular identities. Discourses are never neutral expression but rather impart social meanings that are embedding in specific practices and communities. Discourses are, thus, always embed with particular social meanings associated with power differences and ideologies.

Norman Fairclough (1999, 2001) has made important contributions to understanding how discourse is often used to support capitalism's goals, including the use of neoliberal discourses on "flexibility" to encourage worker acceptance of downsizing and pay cuts and the discourse of

“new economies” to support restructuring, including outsourcing and other cuts to social services. Jan Blommaert has discussed globalization as the new “historical phase” of capitalism, which demands that social phenomena, including language use and discourses, be analyzed and understood in local, national and transnational relations and through movement and shifts. Specifically, Blommaert focuses on the rise of migration as a result of global markets, which have exacerbated previous national and international inequities and significantly affected migration. Social conditions present possibilities for the development of discourses that, generally, reflect ruling class ideologies and interests.

Certainly migration patterns, whether from Mexico, Central America, Syria or any other country must be examined as both functions of local conditions but also as pieces to a broader puzzle of global economic relations that create the impossibility or perceived impossibility of survival or acceptable living conditions within once home country and as part of a large historical process of migration. In this sense, analysis of migration patterns must take into account not only the social conditions that pull people towards more stable economies and push people out of their home countries but also the historical conditions of migration that have brought peoples with similar language and culture together to establish enclaves in particular areas. Furthermore, the process of globalization, as a phase of capitalism cannot take a class-reductionist position that ignore the salient process of racialization and the colonial histories and relations that have impacted migration patterns and the discourses of particular peoples, communities, and countries. The ways in which particular communities and their migration patterns have been popularly and politically defined in the U.S. has much to do with the history of U.S. relations with these countries, U.S anti-communist rhetoric that made people fleeing so-called “communist” or “socialist” regimes almost automatic refugees, and the disqualifying of economic reasons for “im(migration),” since accumulation by dispossession is the foundation of capitalism.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides researchers with the tools to dig into specific narratives and discourses to ask questions of “how” language and visuals are used and “why” such narratives are erected, which promotes political intervention and social change (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In media discourse, not only what has been said is important, but also what is not said by the media. Often media narratives are presented as neutral and audiences internalize messages without pondering what information is missing, what information provided are only half-truths, what stereotypes are taken for granted. However, with a critical focus, one can de-neutralize media narrative and detect their hidden meaning and agenda (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Although there are significant cultural, linguistic, and political differences between Mexican, Central American, and Syrian im(migrants) and refugees, these differences are often collapsed into the broader narratives about “threats to this country.”

Of course there are important similarities and parallels among these groups. Whether economic or war refugees, they come to the US in search of a more secure life, economic and/or physical safety. The stories of these communities and of the political, social, and economic conditions they face in their countries, as reported by the media, can be examined through CDA approaches to gain a greater understanding of the hidden and structural reasons for the struggles they face as well as to better understand the U.S.’s responses to these communities seeking help. For example, the words “immigrant” and “im(migrant) implies a foreign identity based on the border parameters of the U.S. In reference to Mexico and Central America, the word immigrant hides a

collective memory of migrant patterns used historically within the Americas. The (Im) prefix to the word migrant plays into the social and economic exploitative equations Marx calls primitive accumulation. Furthermore, it hides the fact that im(migration) is currently a global phenomenon that has almost nothing to do with choice migration but rather is a forced reality led by global capitalism, wherein less “developed” countries have no choice but to relocate to more industrialized countries, where a more robust economy exists due to the hyper exploitation of the Global South and the fact that war and destruction is kept always at bay from these more industrialized borders. The term immigration to describe human beings looking for their space to exist and subsist systematically devalues and erases the importance of migrant patterns and political realities into discursive language serving the needs of capital.

## **5. Mexican and Central American Refugees**

The history of racial, economic, and political tensions within The United States and its neighboring Mexican and Central American communities is long, extensive, and complex (Ngai, 2004). The exploitative and forced migrations by Mexican and Central American communities into the United States become effects and consequences strategically calculated by a capitalist approach in its trajectory for profit and accumulation. As we speak, hundreds of refugees and (im)migrant families await at the border seeking asylum and refugee status as their countries can no longer provide the economic and social opportunities for living (Cohn, 2018).

Within the United States, media portrayals from news casts such as Fox News, CNN, Telemundo, and Univision to name a few, have used language and discourse to denigrate, and desensitize its viewers from the inhumane conditions being experienced by (im)migrant communities searching for a better life (Macías-Rojas, 2016). For instance, in the case of Central American (im)migrants searching a new life in the U.S., Fox News described it as a “critical crisis” for the Americans, and that the many Central American families seeking humanitarian supports in the U.S. are doing so for financial benefits, therefore not “true” asylum seekers (Grate, 2019). In reality, the Central American families waiting at the border, particularly those from El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala are escaping from inhuman conditions back home, such as violence, corruption, and climate change (Flores, 2019). Although we can find narratives from both sides of the argument, the ones that paint a negative picture of the (im)migrants would further reinforce any misunderstanding of the situation and the (im)migrants’ true intention for relocating to the U.S.

When we understand the historical conditions that delineate the relationship between the United States and Mexico, we can conclude that the communities migrating north are truly economic refugees rather than “illegal immigrants”. The term of “illegal immigrants” disarticulates and rearticulates the political, economic, and cultural reality of people into those of criminality and invasion. The historical conditions between the United States and Mexico relay a different backdrop, one based in an imposing colonial set of values, and violence that demonstrate our current (im)migrant debate today.

Such new outlets mentioned above systematically align ideologically with a western perspective of borders, a division in the land that separates Indigenous communities who historically have been the same community. New outlets deem migrant communities as criminal, irresponsible, and exploitative. Images and videos flood the media with (im)migrant communities crammed into

corral prison cells, where people are seen as defiant, resistant, and irrationale for attempting such harsh experiences (Macías-Rojas, 2016). The media does not contextualize within its news the destabilization or rather imposed policy, such as NAFTA, that destabilizes the hometowns of such (im)migrants in the first place. Nonetheless, the reality is distinct, majorly from such framing narratives. The United States is implicated in the destabilizing conditions experienced within these countries.

Juan Gonzalez (2000) and Eduardo Galeano (1973) have demonstrated the intervention and manipulation that still currently pull cheap, physical, and exploitative labor to U.S. borders. As Gonzalez and Galeano document, The Monroe Doctrine is important in understanding the entitlement and control over countries within the American Continent. After decades of war and colonial imposition by European entities such as Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, France, and Germany, President James Monroe instituted in 1823, the Monroe Doctrine, which specifically, declared the American Continent as a “New World” with a different system distinct to those of the “Old World” of Europe (Gonzalez, 2000, Galeano 1973). The Doctrine was meant to stop any further interference and colonization from Europe upon the American Continent; likewise, the United States would also stop interfering with the colonies of Europe. This doctrine intentionally gave the United States control and dominion across the Americas. Countries such as Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, fell under the presumed “protection” and oversight of the United States (Gonzalez, 2000, Galeano 1973).

Such policy opened the doors, and further gave the United States free reign to continue its own colonizing project. Motivated by an ideological premise of Manifest Destiny, the God Given Right to conquer and expand westward, the United States instituted a distorted entitlement and authority over the American Continent (Acuna, 2011; Galeano, 1973). The history of U.S. intervention in Latin America is long and extensive, specifically, within the Civil Wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. The United States, fueled and backed oligarch, dictators, and military regimes over Indigenous, poor, and working-class populations. The United States implemented puppet governments in these countries that would serve the best interest of the United States, over the civil and human rights of the country’s populations (Gonzalez, 2000, Galeano 1973). Corporations that produced oil, tobacco, sugar cane, and bananas, to name a few, were controlled and governed by US entities, exploiting the lands, and products for the benefit of the United States, while the populations of those communities, labored at unlivable conditions without any access to the benefits of the products they produced. The United States, used its resources to back assassinations, implement and fund coup d'etat, create sterilization programs in Guatemala amongst Indigenous women, and fully trained oppressive military leaders within the School of the Americas, who’s training grounds are found within the United States (Gonzalez, 2000, Galeano 1973).

The relationship between the United States and Mexico, likewise, reflects the imposition of policy and ideology over the American continent (Acuna, 2011). The Treaty of Guadalupe ended the Mexican American war in 1848, turning over a large area of land over to the United States (Acuna, 2011). The states of California, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Colorado, and a small section of Wyoming were surrendered in an unfair war motivated and instigated by Manifest Destiny on behalf of the United States. Overnight, Mexican and Indigenous families living within these lands, were forced to assimilate into a new identity and way of life. The introduction of borders was enforced and communities were pushed to assimilate and respect the demarcation and

sanctions that define the United States. Up until this point Indigenous and Mexican communities migrated up and down the continent following crop and migration patterns as they have done for generations, yet, this geographical and traditional way of life became illegal with the implementation of a border (Acuna, 2011; Gonzalez, 2000).

Fast forward to the current political climate that perpetuates dominant rhetoric framing, (im)migrants as “illegal immigrants”, further enforces a colonial strategy where language is used to erase historical accounts, and the collective memory of (im)migrant populations is deemed as irrational and oppositionary (Apple, 1979/2004). For example, a recent report by CNN (Sands and Alvarez, 2019) on the significant increase of migrants arriving at the U.S.-Mexican border quotes “an official” who states, “This is dangerously elevating the time in custody and poses serious, significant safety risks” to agents as well as migrants... “The idea that migrant families, many of whom are children alone, who are seeking refuge pose a “safety risk” to the border agents feeds into ideologies already long established about the “criminality” of im(migrants). The same report goes on to quote the Director of ICE who feels that the release of families, due to lack of space and adequate conditions in holding cells, “...obviously has a negative impact on our public safety efforts.” While appearing neutral by discussing the difficult plight in caring for the many children and families detained at the border, the report fails to document the U.S.’ long history of involvement in Latin America, the conditions that push and pull families to the border, or migrant perspectives on what is happening at the border. Furthermore, the report in no way challenges the safety concerns posed to agents with statistics to show that the ones who face peril in these border holding and encampment cells are the migrants as evidenced by the fourth death of a young migrant child being held.

The infamous and slanderous discourse of Mexican’s as “rapists” who bring drugs and crimes to the U.S., perpetuated by President Trump in 2015, began an all out war against Mexican im(migrants) and extended already extremely high levels of deportations (begun by President Obama) to persons without any previous criminal records other than coming to the U.S. to work. The attacks on Mexican and Central American undocumented workers attacked DACA recipients, Dreamers, and includes the goal of building a wall. The most recent legislation attempts against predominantly Mexican and Central American im(migrants) involves a “merit-based” system that facilitates immigration to those persons who are already highly educated and presumed to “contribute” to the U.S. economy. Appearing to be supportive of Mexican im(migrants), NBC News recently released a report indicating that a large number of Mexican (im)migrants are highly skilled workers with higher education degrees in the U.S. (Gamboia, 2019). While this study contradicts the slanderous lies that Trump reported, it feeds right into the discourse that im(migrants) who enter the U.S. for economic reasons and do not hold academic degrees are here to “take our resources” and do not contribute to the economy. Furthermore, it normalizes the idea that immigration is a process of choice and that the host country is supposed to get something in return, completely bypassing the fact that migration is spawned by a global capitalism that puts the Global South at risk to the benefit of the Global North, including of course, the United States.

## 6. Syrian Refugees and U.S. Interests

The Syrian war has now lasted close to a decade. No one would have predicted this war would last this long and at the moment, there is no evidence of peace in the horizon. The crisis started as a local conflict and turned into a full-blown proxy war, involving several major nations, including the US, Russia, Turkey, and Iran. The most recent U.S. involvement in Syria was in April 2018, when the U.S. along with France and Britain launched military strikes in several Syrian government controlled sites (BBC, 2018).

Despite claims to humanitarian intentions, the U.S. active involvement in Syria promotes capital gains and fulfills corporate interests. According to Ekman (2012), the U.S. military invasion of Iraq was a clear example of U.S. involvement in the Middle-East for the purposes of securing oil, however, the media justifies the U.S. involvement in the region as peacemaking efforts. By showing the audience the devastating aftermath of war but not the key players that caused the wreckage, the media ignores U.S. responsibility in the Syrian Civil War and stresses only U.S. military intervention in the region.

Currently, the U.S. proxy war in Syria has allowed the U.S. to maintain control over the majority of oil fields, the largest freshwater reservoir, and significant gas fields in the country. Indeed, the areas of U.S. focus in Syria all possess great financial value; hence, some question the U.S.’ true intention in Syria (Webb, 2018). To put things in perspective, the biggest oil facility in Syria is the al-Omar oil field, which produces approximately 50 million dollars monthly from its oil production (Masters, 2017). U.S. military forces took over this oil field in 2017. Thus, the U.S. currently controls a crucial industry of the Syrian economy. However, this information is not addressed by mainstream U.S. media. Instead, humanitarian reasons are highlighted. By “mainstream media,” the authors are referring to the large mass media outlets in the U.S. that have significant viewership and corporate sponsorship. These are able to influence large segments of the population. For example, *CNN*, *New York Times*, *Fox News*, *TIME*, and *The Washington Post* would all be considered “mainstream” or “corporate” U.S. media.

Within the chaos of proxy wars, the ones that suffer the most from this long war are the Syrian people. To this day, more than 5.6 million Syrians have become refugees and fled to other countries, while 2.9 million Syrians reside in hard-to-reach corners in war torn Syria, unable to connect with any humanitarian aid (World Vision, 2018). In 2017, we saw the executive order of the Muslim ban, which aims to stop the peoples of a handful of predominantly Muslim countries from entering the U.S. on the premise of homeland security. In 2018, only 44 Syrian refugees were granted entry to the U.S., which is approximately 6,000 fewer than in 2017. Nonetheless, facing such a humanitarian crisis, the U.S. mainstream media dedicated little space to Syrian civilians’ needs or the status of Syrian refugees, compared to their reporting on Assad and Russia’s destruction in Syria. It is a paradox that the U.S. decided to intervene in the Syrian crisis for humanitarian reasons, yet the media chooses not to focus on that very aspect. The media is nearly silent on the U.S.’ contribution to the catastrophe of the Syrian refugee crisis. For example, little is said about the fact that U.S.’ bombings have resulted in significant Syrian civilian casualties and the need for Syrian families to relocate due to losing their homes. An important question is how we can become involved in a war for so called humanitarian reasons and yet not accept the very people who are fleeing? The 44 Syrian refugees relocated in the U.S.

in 2018 is a small percentage of the Syrian refugee population. In addition, although the majority of the Syrian refugee population is Muslim, U.S. State Department Refugee Data (2019) indicates that the majority of Syrian refugees accepted in the U.S. since 2017 are Christian applicants. It is worthy to ask why there is such hesitation in bringing Muslim refugees into the country.

The mainstream media, generally, uses “othering” language when covering topics on Arab and Islam, for example, adding tonal emphasis on “Islamic” when describing terrorist activities in the Middle East. Additionally, they tend to stress “terrorism” in conjunction with adding the tonal emphases. In contrast, White domestic terrorism is often depicted as an act of trauma. In the Las Vegas massacre of 2017, the mainstream media did not emphasize that the gunman, Paddock, was “White.” Rather, Paddock was referred to as a “psychopath,” someone who might be mentally ill. In other words, the mainstream media did not emphasize Paddock’s skin color, nor the word “terrorism” when discussing Paddock, which is usually how they are depicted when the act is committed by people associated with Islam. According to the FBI (2018), terrorism is defined as both internal and domestic. Domestic terrorism is defined as “perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with primarily U.S.-based movements that espouse extremist ideologies of a political, religious, asocial, racial, or environmental nature.” Interestingly, the FBI website used the Las Vegas shooting as an example of domestic terrorism, even though the U.S. media hardly reminded the public of this truth. It seems the media reserves the word “terrorism” for certain groups of people.

This kind of “word trick” influences the audience’s perspective, creating an attitude of “othering” certain groups of people, and an “us versus them” mindset. This “othering,” the negative stereotypes associated with them, and criminalization creates fear toward the Middle East region and its people. This makes the public less empathetic or even apathetic to the suffering of the Syrian refugees. To keep the “others” away from “us,” the media continues to produce fear through language and to create separation, so that “others” remain stigmatized and marginalized.

Islamophobia is an epidemic that we see in our society. Perhaps then, it is not hard to understand why the U.S. mainstream news media prefers to spend time and energy reporting on the chaos and destructions in Syria, and not on the miserable conditions or the urgent need of the Syrian refugees. Through language, the news media also removes agency, causing the public to turn a blind eye or build apathy for those who became homeless during the Syrian crisis.

U.S. involvement in Syria is not solely for the benefit of the Syrian people, but mainly for its capitalist accumulation. Using Syria as a battle ground, several powerful countries, such as the U.S., Russia, Iran, and Turkey, fight to gain or maintain control in the Middle East. Herman (2007) reminds us that in cases where the U.S. or its allies have caused negative outcomes in other countries, the media uses a more passive language in order to remove agency. This is how the idea of a “good war” is created by our news media—to highlight the humanitarian purpose for entering a war, and at the same time, eliminate information that would reveal its self-serving and capitalist intentions.

If the news media focused heavily on the distress of Syrian refugees, who are the ones who experience the unfortunate results of this full-blown proxy war, it would redirect the public’s attention on the real suffering of human beings, and not on supporting our presence in

Syria. Together with the news media’s negative representation of Islam and its people, the Syrian refugees sink even deeper in a void, away from the public’s eyes.

## Conclusion

The Mexican and Central American (im)migrants and Syrian refugees are just two recent examples of how the U.S. corporate-owned-media use discourse to normalize their imperialist activities and at the same time create White nationalist fervor in the U.S. and xenophobia against the non-White Other who is made to be “alien” and criminalized. We must not ignore or downplay the power behind corporate media, as they continuously penetrate the “American unconscious” with their agenda, with and without the public’s consent. It is imperative that we as consumers of media interrogate media discourses and the language choices that are made to deceive the public and consider the agenda behind every news story. Mexican (im)migrants, Syrian refugees, and all others whom fit into this category can find their voice in our society, if the public no longer blindly follows the corporate media that perpetuate a dominant narrative of history, and reproduce dominant frames of illegality that do not align with a critical view of history. It is ironic and unethical to support the dominant narratives that we have discussed in this paper; yet, we lack the spaces where the real stories, sans political ideology, can be learned and a true consciousness developed.

A ray of hope for a better world beyond capital and its imperialist doctrine that is destroying not only humanity but the Earth we depend on may lie in these same communities. Marcuse (1964) argued that working class may be unable to recognize its own exploitation and/or unwilling to risk the comforts they have gained through the technological advances that have made capitalist desires available (albeit along with increased exploitation) to them. Yet, the disastrous conditions that have resulted in tremendous migration and the loss of human dignity associated was not as prevalent in Marcuse’s time. Today’s migration patterns, the advent of social media and globalization, have allowed many people to recognize not only the plight of so many displaced peoples but also to see the parallels that exist between different types of migrants, including im(migrants) from across the world who seek to escape from poverty and refugees who seek to escape political persecution. These communities are racialized working class peoples whose exploitation goes beyond the extraction of surplus value and alienation as workers. These are displaced communities whose dehumanization cannot be hidden through false ideologies of market “freedom” or “meritocracy. Their criminalization, the indignities of running from “la migra,” the pain of being separated from their children and being jailed for seeking refuge, the arrogance of racial profiling, the protection for White supremacists, and the horrors of being labeled a terrorist, cannot be easily bought off with the possibility of having the next new commodity. Raya Dunayevskaya (2003), coined the Black masses as the vanguard of the revolution precisely because their conditions of unfreedom were such that they could not easily forget their long history as slaves and the conditions of destruction and police brutality that their communities were forced to live under. Indeed, it was the Black masses that led the Civil Rights movement of the 60s and many other movements followed on their coat tails. Today’s Latinx and Muslim communities are growing important grassroots movements and coming together as they recognize their shared conditions of dehumanization within the U.S. context. For example, in 2017, OOCORD (2019) founded the Muslim Latino Collaborative, a consortium of 14 Latinx and Muslim organizations seeking to extend and solidify greater power by uniting around their

shared concerns and civic engagement (we predict that these communities will come to represent a strong revolutionary Reason and force). We need to prepare to support them and to develop ties to other marginalized communities of color so that together we can bring down the monster of capital and establish a truly free and human society.

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## **Education system of India and Ayurveda – A Critical analysis**

Mahesh T S<sup>24</sup>

### **Abstract**

The Indian System of Medicine known as ‘Ayurveda’, had been in use from time immemorial. It was the main system of healthcare in the ancient and medieval period but has presently become a contemporary system today. It has its own principles developed during its peak which formed the basis for stable concepts upon which the whole system has grown and developed. But today due to various political, social, cultural, etc. turmoils that had resulted due to repeated and consistent invasion on India right from the ages for almost 8 centuries have resulted in its fall of status from main system to a contemporary or alternate system. But from the last two decades, the failure of Modern system of medicine to provide safe and desired health status to many people has resulted in retracing their steps towards this science.

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Today, education system of Ayurveda is far more different from the past methods as it has undergone drastic changes totally. The result of this change has also affected the field and the science too. A question thus emerges as to how far this methodology and understanding will help it to reach the levels and importance that it was in the past with the present system of education. The present chapter is an attempt to give a detailed review of the education system of India and its relative effect with respect to Ayurvedic education.

### **Keywords**

tradition, alternative medicine, symbolic violence, history, language of healing

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## Introduction

Ayurveda, the indigenous system of medicine in India which had its origin right from the day of creation as it was remembered by Lord Brahma the creator of the universe (Vagbhata 1997, p. 2). He is considered as the first preceptor of Ayurveda who later on passed the knowledge to his son Daksha Prajapati and in his turn to Lord Ashwini Kumaras who were considered as eternal physicians. They in turn passed on the knowledge to Lord Indra the king of Gods. It was Lord Indra who is believed to have taught the same to Sage Bharadwaja who in turn spread the science of Ayurveda on earth by preaching and teaching it to many other sages (Agnivesha (1998), p. 8).

From a different perspective we can infer from the sequence that the knowledge of healing was existing on earth in an unorganized manner right from the day of creation and was Lord Brahma who organized it such that it can be understood and propagated to the successive generations. This was present only with elite group of people till Lord Indra being a head or a leader disseminated to the scholarly people such for the benefit of mankind. Initially, it was a part of the Vedic literatures and didn't have individual existence. But as it swelled up with experience, formulation of new concepts and understanding gradually, it came to be recognized such that it became the Upaveda of Atharvaveda which is the last among the Vedic texts. The end of Atharvaveda also marked the end of Vedic period too. Vedas are the main texts that conceal every knowledge within it. These are present in the form of Sutras (Discourse or Short sentence or Aphoristic rule) that give explanation of larger meaning that will be a part of concept or sometimes the whole concept itself. But as the experiences increased, there was need for further analysis and development of new concepts which again further swelled the Vedic knowledge making it impossible to be contained in the Sutras. This gave rise to a new era known as the Samhita period. Samhitas are texts similar to Vedic literature, but unlike the Vedas where every field is touched, Samhitas were restricted to a particular field of knowledge. The books namely the Charaka Samhita, Sushruta Samhita, etc are some of the examples that deal exclusively with the knowledge of Ayurveda. During this period of enlightenment, the knowledge, research, experience and development of Ayurveda increased so much that it obtained an individual status like many other contemporary fields. Thus, Ayurveda got established in every household as it gave directions to everyone as how to live in a healthy way rather than only concentrating on cure of disease. Thus, preaching of parts of Ayurveda that dealt with healthy living was commonly intermingled in the culture and tradition such that the common man doesn't suffer from any diseases. But the parts of Ayurveda that dealt with treatment of disease conditions were not imparted generally and was restricted to those who wanted to know it deeply and with precision. These set of people were known as Vaidyas or physicians while those who preached were known by the prefix Acharyas or simply teachers.

The education system of Ayurveda was the Gurukula system that existed in India right from the ancient period till the dawn of Indian Independence. The system became rudimentary with its presence being restricted to the teaching of vedic literature that have been in practice and is unaffected by any outward influence of the invasions or regimes. There are many other systems that have emerged and influenced Ayurvedic education before reaching its present condition. This chapter will deal with the various facets of Education system through which the science of Ayurveda was imparted to the present generation.

## **1. Education System of Ayurveda**

Initially, the system of education that dealt with imparting knowledge of Ayurveda was the Gurukula system as it was the part of Vedic method of learning. But when the tides of time led to political uncertainty due to invasions leading to mixture of culture, tradition and inducement of newer systems of learning, the methodology for education too changed drastically. For the purpose of our convenience and proper understanding, the whole timeline can be divided into three spheres namely Ancient period (3600BC – 500AD), Medieval period (500AD – 1500 AD) and Modern period (1500AD – Present) as per common practice (Nate Sullivan (2018), Web on 29/11/2018). The period before ancient is the pre-historic. These drastic changes not only brought changes in education system but also in the practice of Ayurveda resulting in a slow decline. Today it has fallen from the level of being main stream of healthcare to alternate or complimentary stream of healthcare. Now let us understand the Ayurvedic education system and its influence on its status in detail.

## **2. Ancient Period**

The time period right from 3600 BC till the 5<sup>th</sup> Century AD is normally considered as Ancient period. The period starts with the invention of writing where scriptural records take their origin. It also marks the end of the pre-historic period. This time period assumes greater importance for the system of Ayurveda as it was the period which saw its origin and bloom right from the naive to the most dominant health care systems of India. Even the other systems like the Yoga and Siddha were having its own presence but were not as dominant as Ayurveda during its time. This period can be again bifurcated into two periods namely the Vedic and the Samhita Period.

Vedas refers to scriptures or books that are considered as sacred and the main source of knowledge. The Vedic Period was the time when the Vedic thoughts, concepts and practices were composed. During this period, the system of education was more like a mutual choice of student and teacher while the induction was marked by a ceremony known as ‘Upanayana’ after which he was known as ‘Brahmachari’. It is only after this process the student goes to his chosen teacher called as Acharya. The student was supposed to stay along with the Guru during the whole process of education in the Guru’s house which was the center of learning. It was normally situated in natural surroundings, in solitude and silence without any artificial constitutions. The main aim of education was to realize the supreme, preservation and spread of ancient culture, unfold spiritual and moral character in the individual and obtain perfection of physical, mental and intellectual personality of the student. It also aimed in inculcating social and civic duties which was necessary to have a peaceful and better life. Even development of vocational efficiency, positive and healthy attitude and finally dignity of labor was fostered in pupils. The education was done in 3 methods namely Shravana (Listening the texts as uttered by the teacher), Manana (Deliberation and reflection of the topic) and Nididhyana (Meditation or repeatedly remembering the topic). During this time period the education was free and the students led an exemplary life with having a father-son like relationship with the teacher. Moreover, the education was not based on caste, creed, colour or religion (Nikita Iyer (2018), Web on 29/11/2018). It was purely based on interest, personal ability, interest or passion and inherent skills of the individual.

The Samhita period is the post Vedic period when Ayurveda emerged in its crystallized form as a result of discussions and serious thinking on the subject that was a part of the Vedas itself. It was in this period that large texts that were exclusively dedicated to Ayurveda namely the Charaka Samhita, Sushruta Samhita, Astanga Hridaya, Astanga Sangraha, Bhela Samhita, etc got composed and was put into practice. It was the most flourishing age of Ayurveda as it became the mainstream of healthcare system of the country. There was no change in the education system as the same was followed but the emphasis was slightly changed with more importance given to Ayurveda. But the primary objective was the same as in any other fields of knowledge. The teaching was purely on discussion basis as seen in the chapters of Charaka Samhita (Agnivesha (1998), p. 255) where the student starts the topic of discussion by posing questions to the Guru and then follows the series of discussion with final clarification by the Guru.

### **3. Influence on Ayurveda**

Like all fields of knowledge even Ayurveda education too was disseminated in the similar manner. Initially, Ayurveda was a part of Vedic literature where it was only in the form of a topic namely the Osadhi Sukta (10-47,1,2,3) in the Rigveda with some other references dealing with instances of medical reliefs provided by different celestial physicians. Here too there is description of characteristic features required for an individual to be recognized as a Royal Physician or Raja Vaidya (Rig Veda 10-19-23). But later as the knowledge of medicine and cure increased the system of Ayurveda assumed greater importance and came to be recognized as Upaveda in Atharvaveda (Rama Rao R and Shastry J L N (2010), p. 15). But during the whole period it was educated along with the vedic scriptures.

During the Samhita period even though the method of teaching was the same, the emphasis was much laid on Ayurvedic aspects. This led to more precision and understanding which again propelled its growth. This also marked the formation of branches in Ayurveda with emergence of two different school of thoughts namely Atreya and Dhanvantari school of thoughts with the former emphasizing on the Conservative lines of treatment while the latter on the Surgical lines of treatment. The rise of Buddhism saw major changes in education and also addition of its principles in Ayurveda like the swabhavoparmo Vada in Charaka Samhita (Agnivesha (1998), p. 323). Even though the development of primary education was in temples, monasteries and Gurukul that formed the large network of education system, there were seats of higher institutionalized learning like the Nalanda, Banaras and Taxashila. Works like the Haramekhala, Kalyanakaraka, Nidanamuktavali are some of the contributions by the Jain authors to Ayurveda (Rama Rao R and Shastry J L N (2010), p. 36). The influence of Ahimsa principle pertaining to Buddhism and Jainism on Ayurveda had resulted in the suppress of the Surgical procedures but simultaneous development of another branch known as Rasa Shastra (Indian Alchemy). Rasa Shastra was present in the past too as a method to obtain Lohasiddhi (Conversion of lower metals to higher metals) but later it was used for Dehasiddhi (Medicinal purposes). Many texts like Rasa Ratna Samucchaya, etc are significant. The institution of Rasa Shastra into Ayurveda can be seen in Charaka samhita (Agnivesha (1998), p. 42) but not the extent of its full-fledged use. Later on Buddhist influence it received significant thrust resulting it having a larger importance in the system of Ayurveda. The fall of the ancient period marked great influence with the destruction of universities of Nalanda by Islamic invaders resulted in migration of scholars. Some towards the

South India who again developed it with the guidance of 48 Siddhiars and the medicine came to be known as Siddha Medicine (Rama Rao R and Shastry J L N (2010), p. 103).

During this period, the language that dominated mainly is the Sanskrit in which the Vedic scriptures and other literary works were written. But with the dominance of the Buddhism especially during the reign of Emperor Ashoka of the Maurya Dynasty, the whole system got a slight set back. Systems like Traditional Tibetan medicine which is known as Tibbi system of medicine today was greatly influenced by Buddhism. Still the dominance of Sanskrit language can be commonly seen during the entire period.

#### **4. Medieval Period**

The time period from 500 AD to 1500AD is considered as the medieval period which saw great upheavals in the history of India with regular invasions, loss of unity among the rulers in India and lastly establishment of Muslim rule.

Even though the earlier period there was frequent wars, conquests and change of rulers or ruling clans, the basic belief was either the Vedas or the other belief systems like Buddhism or Jainism that have originated in India itself which again added to the materia medica of Ayurveda rather than shunting its growth. But during the medieval period foreign invasions starting from Alexander had started which brought in new culture, tradition, beliefs and practices into the country.

The invasion of Greeks under Alexander only added its influence and the existing system continued its presence. But the later Persian-Afghan invasion followed by the Islamic invasion and establishment of Islamic rule under Muhamad Ghazni and Muhamad Ghauri, the educational institutions of the Hindu and the Buddhists were destroyed paving way for the Muslim system of education which was quite similar to the existing system (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 100). Even though it was a new order of education system but the methodology was on similar lines but the emphasis was on Islamic principles, thoughts and practices. Especially during the rule of Akbar, there was great patronage to the spreading of education and learning (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 102). During the period both the Hindu and Islamic system still existed with the books of knowledge being translated into different languages like Urdu and Persian from Sanskrit and vice versa. The Islamic rulers introduced vocational and technical education system as the most important reforms bringing under central administration (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 102).

#### **5. Influence on Ayurveda as a representation of symbolic violence**

Like any other fields even Ayurveda was influenced greatly by the period. The invasions resulted in acquiring of new knowledge of herbs, technology etc. along with new diseases. This made the materia medica of the system to be increased in a large way. Even though the basic books of knowledge were the Samhitas, newer literatures emerged which again bifurcated the science into many more branches. These literatures were known in general as Nighantus like Dhanvantari Nighantu, Astanga Nighantu, Raja Nighantu, Bhavaprakasha Nighantu, Siddhayoga Sangraha, Basavarajeeyam etc. There were also several commentaries on the Samhitas and even the Nighantus so as to update the knowledge and make it more suitable for the existing era. But as

there were frequent wars and political turmoil, the stability of education system used to vary considerably due to which the literatures were mostly compiled leading to mass confusion and inaccuracy. Moreover, the fall of the medieval society led to social anarchy and growth of socio-personal immorality. The scholars mainly the Pandits and the Mullahs became social conservers leading to a considerable damage to cultural front (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 102). This made the scholars to even hide or wrongly interpret the sciences as to protect it from wrong use.

During the period too, the classical literary works were basically done in Sanskrit. But the influence of Sanskrit was comparatively lesser during this time and at the end of the period, the literary works were either translated into the foreign languages like Arabic and Persian as the period was mainly dominated by Muslim invasion and these two languages were the official language during their rule.

## **6. Modern Period**

The modern system of education in India takes its origin from the Christian missionaries who had mainly started schools to preach and spread Christianity in India. As a result, most of the missionary schools are attached to church or to the missionary offices (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 103). These missionaries were first introduced by the Portuguese but later on the patronage was extended by other European powers including the British. The British Indian Government gave a provision of its budget to the development of Education system in India. Initially the missionaries started their education propagation from the lowest classes of the society by adopting the native language as the medium of instruction concentrating mainly on primary education but after 1813, they shifted the focus on the rich and elite class with English as the medium of instruction concentrating on secondary and higher education. The Bengal Presidency in 1823 appointed Central Committee of Public Instruction which reorganized Calcutta Madrassa and Banaras Sanskrit College along with establishment of Sanskrit College in Calcutta in 10 years. It also introduced English classes in all the colleges (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 105). Thus, the indigenous system of education in India still existed and thrived in a reorganized way even under the British rule till 1835. But in 1835 the order of Lord Bentinck on the recommendation of Macaulay resulted in removal of funds to print the books in Oriental Language even though the Oriental institutions were funded (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 106). The filtration of the English and the modern system from the upper class also resulted in the deviation of the rich and their patronage from the Indigenous or Oriental system of education towards English education. Further Harding's Resolution in 1844 resulted in giving preference for the candidates educated in the institutions established for English Education in the selection for Public employment. This still more degraded the indigenous system making it secondary to English education. But after 1857, a series of reforms were introduced by the British Government to expand education starting from Hunter's Commission (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 109). Lord Curzon adopted a policy to improve the curriculum due to which majority of institutions imparted education in English and the number of schools where the medium of instruction was in mother tongue was in minority (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 110). The advent of the British education system resulted in an institutionalized center known as Schools in Modern India (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 112).

The British era saw rise of modern education system along opening of the people to international levels of interaction and understanding. Even scholars and reformists like Raja Ram Mohan Roy

and Gandhi had strived for the development of modern education in religious society of India are notable. (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 112-113).

Independent India opened new avenues of economic development, social change and democracy which required skilled and knowledgeable people for development. After 1968 the investment for education was accelerated, and there was an acceptance of common structure of education throughout the country (Siwakoti, Tej Kuamr, (2015), p. 114). Later in 1986 and 1992 new education policies were drafted to achieve complete literacy through modern system of education. The 1992 education policy is still in vogue while the goal of complete literacy is still not possible.

## **7. Influence on Ayurveda**

Like all other social order and fields of science, even Ayurveda was affected considerably by this new order of education. Initially during the British rule in India, the modern education system that dealt more of western philosophy resulted in opening of the Modern system of medicine in India as well. But as the indigenous system of education was still in vogue and supported by the British initially that was suspended in 1835 (Uma Ganesan, (2010), p. 109). Still the methodology for teaching of Ayurveda was still in vogue as in ancient times especially patronized by Indian princes in their states. Moreover, in these states it still remained to be the main system of healthcare. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century there was proliferation of Ayurveda in English, Sanskrit and other regional languages making it more inaccessible as a social knowledge (Uma Ganesan, (2010), p. 108).

The British period saw Ayurveda take a defensive position as it tried to justify and answering itself to the critics and queries of the Modern or European system of medicine. The revival of Ayurveda started with from the year 1885 to 1947 for its legitimate right and position and more intensely during the 1920 to 1930. People like G. Srinivasa Murti, M. M. Gananath Sen of Bengal, Jivaram Kalidas Shastri of Gondal, A Lakshmipathi of Madras, etc were the proponents of this revival who got engaged in a reasoned analysis of the pros and cons contained in different systems of medicine (Uma Ganesan, (2010), p. 117 -121).

After the dawn of Independence, Ayurveda was slowly institutionalized by incorporating into the modern pattern of education. During this process, there was compromise of some of the important merits of the ancient system of education. (Kishor Patwardhan, Sangeeta Gehlot, Girish Singh, and H. C. S. Rathore (2011), p.1)

Today, India officially recognizes Ayurveda as an indigenous system of medicine along with other systems like Siddha, Yoga, Unani and Homeopathy and is brought under a separate department known as AYUSH Department. This department is responsible for the overall development of Ayurveda with respect to its propagation or awareness, infrastructure facilities, education and practice. The CCIM (Central Council for Indian Medicine) established in 1970 is the board that monitors the matters related to Ayurvedic Education in India by enacting norms and regulations such that there is standard and uniform education all over the country. Presently the 5½ year undergraduate course of Ayurveda (BAMS) is imparted by over 240 colleges all over the country with majority of them being controlled by private management. The mushrooming of

private colleges as a result of the liberal policies of the governments and the loopholes in the existing norms has led to fall in the standards of Ayurvedic education. Thus, the standard of Ayurvedic education has been a great concern for the policy makers and the monitors today (Kishor Patwardhan, Sangeeta Gehlot, Girish Singh, and H. C. S. Rathore (2011), p. 2). In spite of these challenges, the system is on a revival mode especially after the 1990s as a complementary and alternate system to the Modern system of medicine due to continuous patronage and support from the Indian Government.

With the advent of the Europeans especially the British in India, a new system of education was introduced with the language English being the main medium of instruction. This resulted in the addition of new language to the country. The education system ensured that everyone was made to learn English. Moreover, at the initial period, the British government had funded many translations to regional and English language. This made the British to understand the system too. But after the initial years of rule, the introduction of British Medical system was seen resulting in loss of patronage and funding to oriental sciences. But it had slowly given the thrust to opening of new era in understanding with many translations into European languages like German, French, etc. The fading of Sanskrit language as the main language of communication led to difficulty in understanding the texts. Hence there were mass translations and commentaries on regional languages like Kannada, Hindi, Gujarati, Malayalam, Marathi, etc. Many texts were in fact transliterated into these languages for easy understanding and authenticity.

But the colonial language English traversed into the system so much that it became one of the official languages for medium of instruction along with Hindi and other regional languages (presently 22 languages recognized by Indian constitution) in Modern educational system today. Hence in the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century when India got independence, many texts were translated into English. This not only helped Ayurveda to improve its status but gave a better understanding and easy communication to every individual of the world. Today, all the major texts of Ayurveda are available with English translation so that it has crossed the borders of India slowly and is getting ready to serve the global health problems.

## **Conclusions**

During the different phases of history, Ayurveda was not affected much as it was during the end of the medieval and modern period. The shift of the system of education from the traditional and indigenous one to the modern and institutionalized one led to drastic changes. The deletion of Indian philosophy and metaphysics from the education system which forms the basis for the proper understanding of Ayurvedic theories and concepts was the main reason for the loss of its prominence. This is due to the fact that the theories of Ayurveda were either improperly or completely misunderstood resulting in chaos within and around the system. This made it to be considered as unscientific, rudimentary and only an unsystematic field not only by the British but also by the elite Indians.

Moreover, the present syllabus of the institutionalized system of education adopted too have not included the Indian theories and philosophies regarding various fields that were dealt in the Gurukula system that has resulted in the present situation of Ayurvedic education.

The main cause of such a situation is the difference in the approach of Modern and Indian system of Education. The Modern system's approach is more of mathematical which is technically correct but negates the abstract factors which at times are responsible for the manifestation of various events. While the Indian system's approach with its philosophical background is more of Holistic one which is logically correct and includes all the factors even the abstract ones. Thus, for a science like Ayurveda to be learnt and understood properly it is obvious that a holistic approach should be provided in the primary education system. This is the need of the present hour especially for the development and flourish of Ayurveda such that it regains its lost glory.

The expression and explanation of the concepts and literature in English and other languages have made it more acceptable and understandable in the present world making it one of the major contemporary system of medicine around the world. But its journey and changes from Sanskrit to English had been a very long with lots of ups and down.

To conclude it is obvious that every concept of thought or system has to undergo three important phases namely the initial phase or the Dawn of the concept or system, the maintenance Phase or the Balance of the concept or system and lastly the Decaying phase or the Fall and destruction of the concept or system. Ayurveda appears to have just finished the cycle and is again drawing up towards the initial phase of development with a new look, experience and approach but surely on the basis of its well rooted principles of the past.

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## **Social Commitment in Amma Darko's *The Housemaid* and *Faceless***

Tayol, Raphael Terhemba<sup>25</sup>

### **Abstract**

When a literary work is conceived, it demonstrates the fact that a writer is sensitive to the world around him or her and thus, his or her work bear the responsibility of creating an impact positively on that society. This paper arises from this fact and exemplifies how Amma Darko is socially committed to shaping the moral conscience of contemporary African society using her novels – *The Housemaid* and *Faceless*. Using social theory as a theoretical bearing, the paper analyses the novels and discovers that Amma uses especially her characters and settings as forces to create a social transformation in contemporary African society.

### **Keywords**

social theory, novel, cultural, social change, impact of literature

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## Introduction

Social commitment is by its very nature an act or an art of dedication by a writer to the development of human values. Its role as a potent medium of moral development entails more of responsibility than privilege to the writer. It carries a great deal of social significance especially when it is committed to uplifting humanistic gestures and principles. The publication of a literary work is essentially an act of commitment through which the writer seeks to present ideas relating to perceptions about life visible in that society. This in turn, denotes a pledge, an involvement of the nature of a binding promise, implying a clear stand in a specific problem arising out of a deep consciousness of the various dimensions of the issues inherent in that given society.

This is why John Anthony Cuddon (2013: 139) says that “a committed or engaged writer is one who through his work, is dedicated to the advocacy of certain beliefs and programmes especially those which are political or ideological and in aid of social reform”. This affirms the fact that literature emanating from any society does more than enlightenment. It is a tool for the propagation and fostering of change within that given society directly. This is primarily the case with Amma Darko whose literary novels are greatly committed to the erasure of social and moral decadence inherent in rural Ghana and Africa largely. She joins fellow Ghanaian female writer Ama Ata Aidoo as well as other female writers across Africa in focusing on the social ills of modern African society, especially issues that concern and affect the African girl child and women particularly. Her commitment as a writer in Ghana expands to an inclusion of themes that range from general national corruption and greed, the role and view of women in modern Ghanaian (and African) society, destructive woman-to-woman dynamics, pursuit of education, and the politics of poverty as well as polygamy and its economic and social influence on African family values. Albeit, these subjects are inherent in her novels, this paper is basically an exploration of Darko’s resolve in the enlightenment campaign on the essence of education for the eradication of the social menace in rural African societies generally, immoral sexual behaviors, cruel cultural practices against women, the consequences of poor parenting the street child phenomenon, the consequences of greed and corruption. The focus is on two of Darko’s novels – *The Housemaid* and *Faceless*.

## 1. Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts social theory as its theoretical framework which serves as an anchor to the explication of the commitment of Amma Darko’s works to the development of moral standards in the African society. According to Austin Harrington (2015: 1), “Social theory can be defined as the study of ... ways of thinking about social life. It encompasses ideas about how societies change and develop, about methods of explaining social behavior, about power and social structure, class, gender and ethnicity, modernity and ‘civilization’. This implies that an author’s thoughts and depictions about the above mentioned component of a particular society especially in a critical manner. In this regard, the idea that a writer’s depictions in literature portray his/her commitment towards the change and development of that society introspectively is re-emphasized. Social Theory is a naturalistic theory that focuses specifically on social issues and the drive towards “revolutions and utopia, and numerous other concepts and problems in social life” (Harrington, 2005: 1). Social theory aims at social change. It establishes itself as an important tradition in criticism because according to Harrington, it is “...believed that people

who [do] not pause to engage in contemplation and reflection [have] no points of orientation for conducting their lives in practice” (2) Thus, for Amma Darko, commitment in this sense is about a re-think of the moral decay, social deterioration of her contemporary African society. She therefore reaffirms herself in practice by depicting through literature using the novel genre, the social life obtainable in the African setting as shown in her novels under study to further cause a social change in behavior for development.

In fiction, the fictional society becomes a background against which the personal relationships are studied and individuals are merely illustrations of the aspects of the way of life. Thus, Social theory is chosen to aid the analysis of Amma’s depiction of the rural illiterate society in Ghana and Africa largely with a view to enunciating a social change for the better and a re-shaping of the moral decay visible in the novels as applicable to the real society.

## **2. Synopsis of *The Housemaid***

*The Housemaid* is a short novel which tells the story of the homicidal death of an abandoned baby and the different responses of women and the men. Woven through the plot is a bottom-line concern - that is, the truth about what it takes for women to advance economically and professionally in a male-dominated world. This is what Tika, the protagonist, discovers after failing her fifth-form exam at school. As the story unwinds, it becomes obvious that without adequate education and professional training, women like Tika end up sleeping their way with men to the top of their careers. Tika seeks to remedy a familial omission: she would spend some of her wealth training a girl from her dead father’s extended family, undoubtedly a fitting memorial gift to her beloved father, who was ill-treated by her mother. Efi comes on the scene as the trainee housemaid, gets pregnant, then, blames it on one of her mistress’s lovers, an impotent civil-servant. As Efi’s grandmother and mother’s extortion plan falls apart, Efi runs away and soon delivers a down-syndrome baby girl who dies minutes after birth. Out of fright, Efi disposes off the baby’s body, which has decomposed from being carried around in a plastic bag.

News of the discovery of the body of the baby in the thicket spreads throughout the town, reaching her porter friends, one of whom turns her in. Efi shows up to give an account of what happened, but ironically, the novel’s tension is resolved by the deft, quick thinking of one of Efi's porter friends, whose motive is quite simply to cover for herself and her cronies.

## **3. Amma’s Show of Commitment in *The Housemaid***

*The Housemaid* is Amma Darko’s social satire about life in a contemporary African society. Its chief focus is her emphasis on the essence of obtaining education which is a basis for enlightenment for the progress and development of a society. She uses the character of Bibio to challenge parents who have taken likely the issue of education and have not considered the relevance of prioritizing education for children especially the girl child. Mami Korkor becomes surprised at her ten-year-old daughter who finds every avenue and opportunity to make it clear to her that because of her neglect for education, their condition cannot be improved. She says “too bad. You should have sent me to school to learn some manners then. But since you rather let me stay home to play mother to you and your friend’s sons — boys I’m only three years older than

— where else can I learn my manners but in the streets?” (Darko, 1998). Bibio’s reply is Darko’s authorial position on the neglect of the essence of education and its value to the development of a society. By Bibio’s comment, Darko’s dedication to the enlightenment of the African initial intuition against the education of the African girl child to serve as an illumination on the fact that educating a girl child is an emancipation tool from continuous poverty to development nationally. This call also goes a long way in support of contemporary agitations for the female gender recognition in the polity and policy formations globally.

*The Housemaid* is a combination of diverse and difficult social positions of women in the African society. Amma Darko begins the text with a warning about the significance of the status of being female. The resounding effect of the warning is further confirmed by the account of one typical, desperately poor old woman who is made a scapegoat for her family’s poverty and then ostracized from her village. The main illustration of this derogatory position of women in the society is evident in the suffering undergone by Effia when she leaves the city. Faced with reprehensive return to the village and the dreary prospects of life in Kataso, the pregnant Efi flees and takes refuge with her former village playmate, precariously surviving in a particular centre as a porter. When her child is born mongloid, and dies soon after birth, she flees again, secretly taking the child’s body with her to have it buried in Kataso. In the end, it proves fortunate for her that she is frightened away from the dead child’s body, for the villagers would have condemned her (or her grandmother) for witchery, had they seen the dead body. At the end of the novel, Tika and Teacher’s discussion illustrate a heathenized society which treats the women folk with disdain and neglect, thus:

“So what do you think would have happened had she delivered that damaged baby in Kataso?”

“I cannot even begin to think about it!” Teacher replied. “But as sure as night turns to day and day to night, believe me, Kataso would have been thrown into a frenzied orgy of witch-hunting. And only God knows how many poor lonely old widows would have been spared. So we can thank God not only that Efi did not give birth in Kataso, but also that the remains were found in a state beyond identifying as having Down’s.”

“God help Ghana’s poor, lonely old women!” Tika muttered to herself.

“And God help us all!” Teacher added. (105-106)

By these authorial comments, Darko insinuates that this very harsh and cynical notion of women’s lot and of village immorality should be set off. A replacement of this is the receptive ability and a sense of communal village responsibility that Akua and her friends took upon themselves for the pregnant Efi. They help look after her and show intense concern at her disappearance. Thus, this depiction by Darko exemplifies the way whole generations are being ruined in African societies as a result of social neglect and scorn for single parents. Single mothers face this the most. Darko’s novel describes how many of the girls from the villages end their lives in precarious and dangerous conditions, thus, describing with commitment a social tragedy in contemporary African rural society.

Amma Darko also uses the Kataso setting to examine the effect of sexual irresponsibility inherent in contemporary African society generally. Kataso is a grooming ground where boys and girls are sexually hyper-active. From the author’s perspective, while it appears on the surface that both boys and girls are yielding to their teenage sex drive in Kataso, Darko’s responsibility is on the depiction of irresponsible boys who are always on the prowl, cruelly and indiscriminately

displaying their immature sexual behaviours. She uses the chieftaincy decision of the traditional ruler of Kataso to elucidate the possibility of curbing waywardness in a society. For instance, the story is told of Kofi Akorti who impregnates a fourteen-year old girl, bringing to twelve the number of girls he has impregnated. The chief of the village thinks that in the best interest of the village, “Akorti [should carry] his willful and undisciplined penis away before he impregnates another twelve girls” (Darko, 1998). This defines Darko’s commitment to the campaign against sexual immorality and irresponsibility in contemporary Africa. Darko does not stop at this; she continues to frown at the level and extension of the display of this sexual irresponsibility even by adults like Tika and Madam Sekyiwa – Tika’s mother. The mentorship that plays between Sekyiwa, Tika, and later Efia signifies Darko’s illustration on the consequences of poor parenting and guidance. The tragedies that befall both Tika and Efia arise as a result of loose parenting efforts, and Amma Darko exercises her duties of educating parents who flaunt nonchalance to the negative behaviour of their children in contemporary Africa. This nonchalance has necessitated the growth and expansion of various social vices such as cultism, kidnapping, corruption, examination malpractice, and a host of sharp practices and malpractices prevalent and existing amongst numerous societies especially the African society currently. Darko hopes that as ‘charity begins at home’, so will every good deed that leads to national development begin from the nucleus of the society – the family.

As part of Amma’s commitment as a writer to enhance social consciousness on the consequences of greed and corruption, she demonstrates its ugly nature in the attitudes of Tika’s adversaries. Her advisers particularly Efia’s grandmother and her mother (as well as her drunken, greedy father), have their own ideas about getting their hands on Tika’s cash, since they are distant relatives and since Efia will be there, “planted”, so to speak, in Tika’s household. The plot they hatch is for Efia to fall “innocently” pregnant, so that her mother and her grandmother will pretend intense outrage and heartbreak, but will somehow push Tika into adopting Efia’s baby which will be in their interest, as a medium to their wealth creation plot and exploit at the detriment of Tika. Similarly, the Custom Officers’ attitude at the border gates amounts to acts of corruption against the state. The Chief Custom Officer at the border in most cases declines cash offer as bribe, preferring sexual satisfaction. All these are demands that are inimical to the progress of any state. For instance, in the case of the intention of Efia, Efia’s grandmother and her father, tradition considers their desire a sacrilege and can lead to a generational curse that will leave rhetorical questions unanswered for decades. It is also adverse for a Custom Officer (talk more of Custom Officers and or Chief Custom Officer) to demand enticement at a border when on patrol. The consequences are grievous when considered at any formal polity engagement. Thus, by these depictions, Darko’s desire is for Africa to get enlightenment on the mishaps eating up the social and economic setup of the African continent generally. The same strong will for social change goes for the context inherent in *Faceless* as shown in the analysis below.

#### **4. Synopsis of *Faceless***

The novel opens when fourteen-year-old Fofu is sleeping on an old cardboard at the Agbogloboshie market. In her sleep, she dreamt of living in a home with a roof and a toilet, a dream shared by other street children like her. She is suddenly woken up by Poison, a street lord who attempts to rape her. Fofu resists him and runs to Odarley, her best friend who lives in a

rented wooden shack. Fofu’s mother, Maa Tsuru, informs Fofu, that her elder sister, Baby T is dead and that Poison threatened her into silence over Baby T’s death and urges Fofu to leave for her safety.

Kabria, a mother of three children, who lives in the neighbourhood in Accra and works with MUTE - a non-governmental agency runs into Fofu at the Agbloghoshie market while shopping for vegetables. Kabria stands with other spectators at the spot where Baby T’s body was found. Fofu then tries to steal her purse. She rescues her from the angry mob who intends to lynch her for her act. Fofu reveals her identity and tells Kabria that Baby T is her sister. influence of Kabria, MUTE gets interested in Baby T’s matter and grants Fofu protection by taking her into temporal custody while conducting investigations regarding Baby T’s death. Baby T is the third child of Maa Tsuru and is born after a brutal beating. Her father disappears, leaving her mother to fend for herself and the children. Her mother finds a new lover Kpakpo, who sexually abuses Baby T. She reports the rape incident to an uncle who lives in the same compound with them, and he rapes her also. Baby T is later forced to a prostitution ring consisting of Madam Abidjan, Maami Brooni and Poison, the street lord and ring leader. She is made to work as a child prostitute in Maami Brooni’s brothel with her earnings sent to Maa Tsuru (her mother) who simply turned a blind eye.

Onko visits a native doctor who tells him that Baby T is the reason for his problems. So, he goes in search of Baby T as Kpakpo helps him connect with her once again. Poison eventually leads Kpakpo to Maami Brooni’s brothel where Baby T works as a prostitute. Baby T is reminded of what Onko did to her in the past and vehemently refuses to sleep with him. Enraged at her refusal, Poison slapped and beats her into submission. Baby T later found dead on the concrete floor with her head split open. She was alone with Onko in the room at the time of her death. Onko committed suicide thereafter. The consequences of this goes to demonstrate that streetism as a contemporary menace shortens the life of young prospective youths who can be useful to the society in future. The onus is hereby vested on parents to consider the option presented by the juxtaposition of the Kabria family with the Maa Tsuru family to correct wrongs made to save African youths from the deadly hands of streetism.

#### **4.1. Analysis of *Faceless***

In *Faceless*, Amma Darko sets for herself the social task of portraying with empathy the manner in which some mothers allow themselves to be burdened by discriminatory cultural, social, and even religious structures. The end result of such behaviour is the mothers’ failure in the eyes of their daughters in whose judgment such mothers stand forever condemned. Darko’s second task is to portray victorious mothers who apply foresight, courage, and reasoning in their determination to confront and overthrow those socially constructed norms and practices which undermine a mothers’ sense of self. Darko elevates these victorious mothers as role models for their daughters. She presents mothers whose life stories teach readers that an awareness of the value of mothers can transform their societies in numerous positive ways. Thus, this also stresses the fact that the role of mothers is not limited to only the nurturing children but (as Darko expands it to encompass) their contribution to solving national problems and contributing towards national development. Basically, it is Darko’s desire to depict the distinction between positive and negative motherhood as she contrasts the portrait of Maa Tsuru and Kabria. Kabria and her colleagues at MUTE respond to social change by rejecting all those strictures that militate

against women's self-realization. Two examples will be cited here to reveal the basic differences in lifestyles of Maa Tsuru and Kabria.

Darko's elevation of Kabria and positioning her as a role model for her readership while condemning the other (Maa Tsuru) because of the irresponsible choices she makes is highly effective. Albeit, these mothers (Kabria and Maa Tsuru) are both challenged by the trials of motherhood, Kabria is able to strategize in such a way that she is not burdened by these trials. She prevails over all challenges and is able to raise her children in a decent manner. Maa Tsuru is an opposite to Kabria in the sense that she allows the trials of motherhood to cower her into irrational resolutions. She is not only incapable of reasoning but she allows her children to suffer the repercussions of her irresponsible behaviour. By this juxtaposition, Darko is able to emphasize the consequences of poor thinking and indecisiveness, poor educational qualification attainment, and low level of formal interactional abilities which serve as Maa Tsuru's deficiencies, as a mother. Consequently, the commitment displayed here by Darko is for every reader to acknowledge that education is an emancipation tool from poverty, and that educating the girl child is a factor that needs to be considered in every ramification for the continuous development of any nation especially on the African continent.

The street child phenomenon is also another reality that is treated in the novel. As the novel begins, without any preamble, the author launches us into the world of the street child where we find Fofu, Baby T, Odarley, Macho, Poison and other malnourished children are living. It is a world where the struggle to live defeats the essence of living itself and where the semblance of comfort remains forever an illusion. The street child merely exists rather than lives. At night they strip off their clothes and with all the careless abandon that is laced with an ever increasing hopelessness, find an escape route from their pathetic existence as they engage in sexual misbehaviour. The causative of the street child phenomenon is always poor or loose parenting. If Baby T, Odarley, Macho Poison had experienced good parenting or had come in contact with formal education like Kabria and her children, the least would have ever occurred to them as the misfortune of becoming street children and ending up as destitutes and consequently facing death in different dimensions like they did. These depictions are Darko's fervent dedications to the enlightenment of her society for its development basically (Darko, 2003).

Baby T is typical of the street girls who are occasionally found dead and dumped somewhere in the slum. Sexually abused by her stepfather Kpakpo and the supposedly generous Onko, Baby T is handed over to Mama Abidjan by her mother, Maa Tsuru, possibly to prevent her from further sexual abuse. Baby T is introduced into prostitution unknown to her mother and to cover it up, Maami Broni regularly sends an envelope of money through Kpakpo to her. This money is actually part of the earnings from Baby T's prostitution. Basically, the street children of Sodom and Gomorrah are not born in those conditions they find themselves. Their unfortunate state is the result of a conspiracy of several factors which range from poverty at home, family break-up to brutality in their homes. The fragile peace at Maa Tsuru's home, for example, takes a turn for the worse when Kpakpo steps in as the children's stepfather. Unable to bear the nightly creaking bed and the moaning from their mother as Kpakpo makes love to her MaaTsuru's two sons leave the house in frustration.

In a subtle artistic ingenuity, Darko hints at one of the solutions to the menacing social problem of parents abandoning their children on the streets. Darko uses a reporter from one of the

broadcasting stations to achieve this. The journalist asks some street children during a survey about their most passionate dreams. One of the boys says his joy will be

to go home one day to visit my mother and see a look of joy on her face at the sight of me I want to be able to sleep beside her. I wish her to tell me she was happy when I came to visit her. Whenever I visit her, she doesn’t let me stay long before she asks me politely to leave she never has a smile for me. Sometimes I cannot help thinking that maybe she never has a smile for me because the man she made me with, that is my father, probably also never had a smile for her (Darko, 2003: 3-4).

A similar response is derived from one of the girls who also decries that “I wish to be hugged even if I am smelling of the streets (Darko, 2003). What can be inferred from the responses of the children interviewed above is the inescapable fact that street children are first and foremost from loveless homes. Children need love and care in order to develop naturally. A home devoid of these vital ingredients of human development is nothing but a huge prison to the child. He or she therefore, sees the open streets as a comfort zone. This is especially common during teenage years when the urge to take to the streets to celebrate one’s “freedom” is rampant and this is Darko’s utmost concern in this novel.

That a functional and conducive family capable of restraining children from the streets is possible is the rationale for Darko’s story of the Adades. This family may not be perfect as witnessed the eccentricities of the elusive husband and father, Adade. Yet the family is intact without any of the children thinking of seeking shelter on the streets. There is room for all including the old and battered Creamy. The children are in school and together the family members can sit for meals daily. That in spite of her tight schedule of work Kabria can still go the extra mile to keep the family together not minding Adade’s familial indifference is a testament to the fact that a workable family is not beyond the reach of single parents like Maa Tsuru.

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If keeping children off the streets is possible as demonstrated by the family of Kabria, rehabilitating those already on the streets is not an insurmountable task too as seen in the narrative. This is the significance of MUTE, a non-governmental organization that is basically into documentation and information build-up on similar situations. MUTE is a four-member all female organization dedicated to keeping female teenagers off the streets. Together with other organizations and Harvest FM Radio Station, which helps in the publicity of their work, MUTE helps in providing training facilities for these street teenagers willing to learn a trade and improve themselves. It is MUTE who rescues Fofu from her depth of almost social and psychological damnation after the death of Baby T. Through MUTE, she is convinced to abandon the streets stop associating with her street friends and undergo a series of check-up at the Korle-Bu Hospital for AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (Darko, 2003).

Amma Darko uses many instances to portray the social ills inherent in the African society. Among such issues include the attitude of government functionaries to their work. The police are cited in this story as public servants who are to champion the course of citizens in the society. However, the vivid description of the police station as well as the attitude of the Inspector symbolically depicts the inefficiency and powerlessness the institution have been reduced to in our society.

The police station stood in a very busy area and is, simply put, a sorry sight with broken windows, leaking drains, cracked walls and peeling paint greeted Vickie and Kabria. The officer behind the outdated front desk, who seemed very bored with his world, his job and his very own self too, responded to their loud and clear greeting with a sullen nod.... (Darko, 2003)

In the same vein, the narrator contrasts the work of the police to that of the media and the MUTE group. While the police have been portrayed as powerless and inefficient, the media wield power and authority in this society. Considering the role the media (Harvest Fm) plays in the unfolding of the story by assisting in exposing and uncovering some of the causes of street child, one needs to commend them. The media's role has become very essential to all and sundry. Significantly, the role of the MUTE group should also be commended for being the mouth piece of the ordinary people in the society. Most non-governmental agencies, even though not sponsored by the government seek the interest of the people. They investigate Baby T's death and rehabilitate Fofu. These are the practical instances the author uses the selected novels to display her commitment towards the development of her society from social ills. Thus, the setting of the novels alongside its characters becomes useful tools for Darko to achieve her aim.

## Conclusions

There is no doubt that literature does more than creating fun and providing information. This is why Lawrence Olanrele Bamidele's (2000: 4) claim that "...literature ... is a discipline pre-eminently concerned with man's social world, his adaptation to it and desire to change" it becomes necessarily acceptable and applicable. To examine an author's commitment to his or her society is basically an observation of the author's perception of that society and his or her aspiration to modify the structures inherent in that same society for the better. Amma Darko's *The Housemaid* and *Faceless* are typical demonstrations of an author's commitment to adequately transform a society for good. These novels are her quest to make a change for the contemporary condition and state of youths across Africa. To say the least, the present state of immorality and social decay of the African youth has continued to raise concerns and discourses. The commitment displayed by Amma Darko in these novels is not just a realistic re-presentation of the social situation of Ghana, but a critique of the psycho-social behaviour of the lot of many youths in Africa.

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## **Men as Puns in the feminist African novel**

Onuoha, Onyekachi Peter<sup>26</sup> and Opere Humuani Oyndamola<sup>27</sup>

### **Abstract**

The dominant hierarchy upon which the order of existence is predetermined has placed the man at the centre of creation; which is also substantiated by cultural norms that prioritized generic divides. The principles of feminism have been created to alter patriarchal hegemony in order to reconstruct the distorted female self of an egalitarian society. However, in an attempt to reconstruct these misconceptions upheld by patriarchy, most feminist texts and criticisms have denied the woman the agency of freewill and independent choices, except the continuous emphasis on feminist objectification that patriarchy seem to propagate. It is against this backdrop, that this paper interrogates the subjugation of the woman by her fellow woman and to outline a model of feminist liberation. This is consequent upon the fact that even at the disruption of patriarchy, some feminist scholars have failed to account for the role of women in using men as puns in the subjugation of their fellow women in the African novel. Consequently, this paper replicates Chinweizu's *Masculinist Dissection of Matriarchy* and uses feminist-deconstruction to interrogate Ama Ata Aidoo's *Changes* and Nawal El Saadawi's *A Woman at point Zero*. To this effect, it submits that women are stakeholders in the structure of matriarchy and the substructure of patriarchy and men are mere puns in the structure of matriarchal subjugation of their fellow woman. The concept of pun(s) which is play on word is used in its expounded form on how women manipulate men physically and psychologically for their economic and political gains.

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### **Keywords**

Chinweizu, Men, Pun, Feminist, African Novel.

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## Introduction

Giving the power of women as a result of squaring in education, economic and political power, it does become necessary that the power of women should be examined within the structures of their subjugation in the society and of what Okereke 2009 refers to “women’s growth from naivety to experience within gender politics (11). African men including the boys are simply the finished product of matriarchy. In most cases they are fashioned by the female-portal psychologically to the extent that even their view of the physical world is conditioned. It is perceived that the society upon which the world is constructed has placed the hierarchy of the existence of mankind in a generic term with the man as the leading figure. Feminism seeks to alter this backdrop and reconstruct the society through imaginative literature and criticism of it, as a pointer to what it should be. The foregoing is in line with the Ozumba 2003 observation of “the initiators of feminist discourse meant well” for the society (1). Obuta 2011 corroborated the foregoing when he observes, “trends in modern African Literature show that attention is being focused on the place of the woman in the society” (57). However, he focuses on the women and in the attempt to reconstruct patriarchal society, the woman has not been given any responsibility of free will on how she turned out to be; and the effects of her actions on her fellow woman except the status of a robot. This has been imposed on her by most feminist critics that seem to classify patriarchy as a metaphor for oppression of the woman in the society. Feminism has over the years, failed to address women in its fight towards the liberation of women by viewing the plights of women in the society from a unilateral position of women’s plights, being a creation of a patriarchal society with the sole aim of men humiliating and exploiting women. It still has been severely misunderstood by women and feminist empathizer who only see the dictate of feminism as that of the abuse of the women instead of a movement to protect the women from all forms of mistreatment even by her fellow women and the need for females to bond together to achieve common goals. There seem to be a belief by the feminist that the problems of women are resultant effects of patriarchy, hegemony and bottlenecks. Contrary to the general belief of the society, women not only play a pivotal role to support, permit and propel the menfolk in pushing for their own virtual inactivity in the society, but also are the cause of their own misfortunes in the world. In other words, women consciously or unconsciously contribute to their own stereotyping as clearly portrayed through character delineations in *The Woman at Point Zero* and *Changes* as archetypes to illustrate this narrative. This is one basic ‘truth’ to the lives of women in the society, and since time immemorial this “truth” has not been addressed because it seems easier to blame the opposite sex for the stifling of the development and progression of women. This one sidedness seems to have been the workings of the feminist analyses of literary texts. Hence, this paper seeks to examine the manipulations of men by women in subjugation of their fellow women as manifested in the lives and actions of characters as portrayed in Sadaawi’s *Woman At Point Zero* and *Changes* respectively. The theories adopted for the analysis of the texts are feminist-deconstruction, this is referred as one under the heading of feminist-deconstruction. Feminist-deconstruction is an approach that seeks to question the traditional assumptions about certain feminist postulations as absolute truth and the only interpretational markers in the analysis of a text. It is a marriage of two theories: feminism and deconstruction. This approach identifies the contradictions in Saadaw’s *Woman at Point Zero* and Aidoo’s *Changes* by deriving its surface meaning from the text. Deconstruction sees meaning as been indefinite, for meaning is based on seeking to deconstruct ideological biases; such as gender, racism, economic and political reasoning. Feminist-deconstruction in this paper is primarily

focused on the prejudices as perpetuated by their fellow women in the society. It is a temperament that seeks to liberate the women from all forms of oppression and exploitation, even the ones that are orchestrated by the women's actions. Feminist-deconstruction, is not an implicit bias for patriarchy as element of oppression and subjugation of the women as most feminists seem to suggest through their analysis. However, feminist-deconstruction is the new frontier that gives women right to self-determination and struggle against oppression even from their female folks. Tyson corroborates the foregoing thus: "Contrary to the opinions of many students new to the study of feminist literary criticism, many feminists like men, think that 'women should be able to stay at home and raise children if they want to do so, and wear bras. Broadly, feminist critics examine the ways in which literature (and other cultural productions) reinforces or undermines the economic, political, social, and psychological oppression of women (83). Men are the first feminists to have written in defence of women and it will be erroneous to think that at the core of the subjugation of the women, is the fact that men that are the first and only cause of their plights in the society, for who the women need liberation from. However, the feminist writers in particular, decide to balance the narrative by telling her-story which many feminists felt must be told from the premise of the subjugation of the women from their own perspectives; without looking deeper into the contribution of the women to their own plights. The focus of feminist-deconstruction theory irrespective of its variation, is to liberate women from all forms of oppression and subjugation in the society. Derrida in making a case for deconstruction refers to language as not only non-reliable tools of communication, but rather as a fluid ambiguous domain of complex experiences, in which ideologies program an individual's thought process. He views deconstructionism as an elaborate understanding of the relationship between the text and its meaning. Fusing deconstruction and feminism aiding the individual to interpret the texts within the premise of deconstruction to reinterpret feminism. Feminist-deconstruction looks at the binary of women's oppression as aided by the women. It rejects the concept of feminism that states that the female plights are sole products of patriarchy by assessing women's action in asserting themselves and in undermining their fellow women. Feminist-deconstruction makes use of Binary opposition in the deconstruction of hierarchy, with certain figures given privilege to what they are compared to, this is exhibited in texts in the form of the relationship between masculinity/feminity, and tradition/ modernity. In view of masculinity/feminity, there is a huge distinction between these two terms as constructed in the text. However, the female characters aid this imbalance through their actions and some times pun on men and boys to achieve matriarchal intention. Feminist- deconstruction is a literary interpretation that frowns at all forms of oppression against the women in literary texts. It is a theory that aids the understanding of various oppressions perpetrated against the woman either by the woman or man in the texts under study.

### **1. Women punning men into the subjugation of their fellow women in *Woman at Point Zero***

The prevailing temperament of oppression and subjugation as result of cultural expectations of gender roles within East African environment as depicted by Saadawi in *Woman at Point Zero*, make the work first a feminist political tool in the disruption of patriarchy. The narrative, employs the metaphor of hostilities against the women, in other to foster pity and achieve authorial intention within the scope of feminism in the text. Through characters delineation of men and women, Saadawi demonstrated that women are victims of patriarchal society. The forward of the narrative demonstrates that the work is politically constructed to achieve a certain

aim that Miriam Cooke is prescriptive about. She says: “It does not matter if this story is true or made up, or a bit of both (which it is). ...Readers cannot but be drawn into the catastrophe of Firdaus’s life in such a way that her hope and disappointments become theirs. You do not have to be a lost girl to appreciate how great Firdaus’s need for her uncle and how terrible the shock was, when he abused her (vii). What the work is set out for is actually highlighted in the forward of the text and the writer corroborated the foregoing in the author’s name when she states that: “I had fallen in love with a man who did not love me. I felt rejected, not only by him, not only by one person amongst the millions that peopled the vast world, but every living being or thing on earth, by the vast world itself” (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 5, 2007). Consequently, through the application of supplementation the method which states that; “the relationship between any binary hierarchy, however, is always unstable and problematic” (*Bressler*, page 128, 1999). The foregoing enables us to see the imbalance in construction of males as simple “type characters” and reveals her sense of commitment to female liberation motivated by negative portrayal of men as beasts in the narrative. *Woman at Point Zero* chronicles the subjugation of women in East Africa and Firdaus becomes an archetype for the subjugated women by women and men in the society. The narrative depicts extreme bestiality of males and females in the text and their inability to profit from them. It is necessary to note the effect of abuses imposed on women by men in the narrative as a result of the privileged position they occupy in the society. However, on deeper level analyses, supplementation method of deconstruction enables us to see that women directly or indirectly contribute to the sustenance of patriarchy. Some of the actions of women are geared towards the exploitation and subjugation of their fellow woman in the society as depicted in the *Woman at Point Zero*. Most of the women in the life of Firdaus play prominent roles in the construction of her reality in the text and how her life eventually turns out to be. Consequently, in applying the binary method of difference which is premised on Derrida’s “what if question” (128), a possibility question which emphasizes the possibility of women being prominent actors in their plight as clearly illustrated in *Woman at Point Zero*, irrespective of the extreme temperament of the narrative that depict men as embodiment of evil; we could see how women contribute to the realization of such evil as perpetuated by men in the text. Women directly or indirectly contribute greatly to the subjugation of their fellow women in the text. The narrative is that of power, where Firdaus talks and everyone including the other (man) keeps silent. The narrative assigned limited speeches because feminism is actually reversing the role of silence that is imposed on the woman and it takes the supplementation method of deconstruction to see this. The narrative is so constructed to motivate the people into changing their ways through the spiting of their tradition, the feminist element of silence is strategically positioned in the narrative as a gleams of what is to follow: “Let me speak. Do not interrupt me. I have no time to listen to you. They are coming to take me at six O’ clock this evening” (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 9, 2007). The narrative is politically one sided without the objectivity of art; the text seems to be fashioned in such a way that it represents a single theme of female oppression and heroism of the protagonist as her words highlight, thus: “All my life I have been searching for something that would fill me with pride, make me feel superior to everyone else, including kings, princesses and rulers” (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 9, 2007). Firdaus is speaking from the position of hurry and hate. She celebrates her choice of been a prostitute or better still secretly forced into prostitution by the choices made for her, by her fellow women that she at the end of the day celebrates.

...I was only a successful prostitute. And no matter how successful a prostitute is, she cannot get to know all the men. However, every single man I did get to know filled me with but one desire: to lift my hand and bring it smashing down on his face. But because I am a woman I have no courage to lift my hand. And because I am a prostitute, I hid my fear under layers of make-up. Since I was successful, my make-up was always of the best and most expensive kind. (*Woman at Point Zero*, pages 9-10, 2007)

The narrator seems to be saying that the Firdausi's problem is as a result of her gender. However, a critical look at Firdausi's construction of success as a prostitute is a factor of choice she makes as a woman. The actions of the men are responsible in the making of her but we cannot absolve the women in her life whose choices and decision constructed her the way she turned out to be. Firdaus' life is that of choices on how she responds to her society. She says: "I am a prostitute, I hid my fear under layers of make-up. Since I was successful, my make-up was always of the best and most expensive kind, just like the of respectable upper-class women. I always had my hair done by stylists who tendered their services only to upper-class society women" (10). She traded her to belong to the upper-class of the society. The narrative portrays men as evil starting from Firdaus' father:

my father, a poor peasant farmer, who could neither read nor write, knew very few things in life. How to grow crops, how to sell a buffalo poisoned by his enemy before it died, how to exchange his virgin daughter for a dowry when there was still time, how to be quicker than his neighbour in stealing from the field once the crop was ripe. How to bend over headman's hand and pretend to kiss it, how to beat his wife and make her bite the dust each night (*Woman at Point Zero* page,10, 2007).

This is a clinical depiction of hostilities Firdaus' father represent to the extent that he could not be anything good in the psychology of his daughter not even a single act of love from a father to a daughter. Firdaus' mother shares the same temperament of lack of care in respect to the welfare of her daughter. Firdaus says:

On my head I carried a heavy earthenware jar, full of water. Under its weight my neck would sometimes jerk backward, or to left or to the right. I had to exert myself to maintain it balanced on my head, and keep it from falling. I kept my legs moving in the way my mother had taught me, so that my neck remained upright. I was still young at the time, and my breast were not yet rounded (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 11, 2007).

Firdaus' mother taught her to carry heavy weight that suppressed her growth without demonstrating any motherly love. Firdaus portrays the extent of domestic abuse perpetuated by her mother even when it is within the mother's purview to show her daughter love and take care of her. Firdaus is oppressed and abused by her family, first in line of her subjugation is her mother and later by her father. And when she seeks for explanation from her mother why she would tell her that she was beaten by her. Firdaus says: "So one day I asked my mother about him. How was it that she had given birth to me without a father? First she beat me. Then she brought a woman who was carrying a small or maybe a razor blade. They cut off a piece of flesh from between my thighs" (*Woman at Point Zero*, 2007). Firdaus' mother continued her abuse and humiliation of her daughter as can be seen below: "I cried all night. Next morning my mother did not send me to the fields. She usually made me carry a load of manure on my head and take to the fields" (12). Firdaus' mother failed to show sympathy for her daughter thereby entrenching the oppression of her daughter. Firdaus further highlights her abuse in the hand of her mother who is her fellow woman.

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Before the sun had started to appear in the sky, she would nudge me in the shoulder with her fist so that I would awaken, pick up the earthenware jar and go off to fill it with water. Once back, I would sweep under the animals and then makes rows of dung cakes which I left in the sun to dry. On baking day I would knead dough and make bread (*Woman at Point Zero*,12-13, 2007).

The foregoing demonstrates the abusive weight of a mother on her daughter. Firdaus’ sexual awakening is that of consent before it matures into the commercialisation of it for personal gain. The narrator captures this succinctly in the text thus:

Little boy called Mohammadain used to pinch me under water and follow me into the small shelter made of maize stalks. He would make me lie down beneath a pile of straw and lift up galabeya. We played ‘bride and bridegroom’. From some part in my body, where exactly I did not know, would come sensation of sharp pleasure. Later would close my eyes and feel with my hand for the exact spot. The moment I touched it, I realised that I had felt the sensation before. Then we would start to play again until the sun went down and we could hear his father’s voice calling to him from the neighbouring field. I would try to hold him back, but he would run off, promising to come the next day (*Woman at Point Zero*,12, 2007).

Mohammadain is a sexual pun in which in pretense Firdaus enjoys the touch of Mohammadain and tries to prevent the boy from answering to his father’s call. This highlights her feminist impulse of celebrating her sexuality and sexual awakening occasioned by her ability to freely feel sexual pleasure. The protagonist came to appreciate her sexual pleasure that she relives the experiences over again. Firdaus became sad when she could not experience again sexual pleasure as a result of her mother’s action. She says that: “I no longer feel the strong sensation of pleasure of my body. I closed my eyes and tried to reach the pleasure I had known before, but it was not there” (*Woman at Point Zero*,13, 2007). Due to the deprivation, Firdaus questioned the logic that she was born by both people who happened to be her parents in view of her various plights occasioned by their actions. She says:

... I had not been here, but I had suddenly dropped from the skies, or emerged from somewhere deep down in the earth, to find myself in a place where I did not belong, in a home which was not mine, born from a father who was not my father, and from a mother who was not my mother. Was I really the daughter of my mother, or was my mother someone else? Or was I born the daughter of my mother and later changed into someone else? Or had my mother been transformed into another woman who resembled her so closely that I could not tell the difference? (*Woman at Point Zero*,15, 2007)

Firdaus had to re-examine her paternity including her maternity in view of the subjugations and oppressions she had passed through in the hands of both parents. She sorts to create a distance between her mother because she could not fathom why her mother treated her the way she did. Firdaus suffers from progressive abuse and subjugation in the hands of her parents to the hand of her foster mother as she laments:

When I grew a little older my father put his mug in my hand and taught me how to wash his legs with water. I had now replaced my mother and did the things she used to do. My mother was no longer there, but instead there was another woman who hit me on my hand and took the mug away from me. In fact, she looked exactly like my mother, the same long garments, the same face, and the same of moving (*Woman at Point Zero*,16-17, 2007).

Firdaus' stepmother possesses the same oppressive characteristics of her mother. She experiences the same humiliation and abuse in the hands of her stepmother, as it is reminiscent of her mother. It seems Firdaus' parents are in a competition of who would outsmart the other in terms of humiliation and abuse of their daughter and this Firdaus remembers vividly what her father did to her.

My father never went to bed without supper, no matter what happened. Sometimes when there was no food at home we would all go to bed with empty stomachs. But he would never fail to have a meal. My mother would hide his food from us at the bottom of one of the holes in the oven. He would sit eating alone while we watched him. One evening I dared to stretch out my hand to his plate, but he struck me a sharp blow over the back of my fingers (*Woman at Point Zero*, 17-18, 2007)

Firdaus' mother is an accomplice in the lack of love and feelings that are shared between parents and children. They both lack parental care of their daughter and they put themselves first above the needs of their daughter. Firdaus' uncle's wife is of no difference to the cruelty Firdaus face. She is of the highest woman's inhumanity to her fellow woman and this is succinctly captured in her words: "Her voice was soft not with gentleness, but with the softness born of cruelty. Her eyes were large, and black with an extinguished vitality that left nothing but pools of dark, sleepy indifference" (Bressler, 1999). Firdaus' aunt's subjugation is progressive and it extends to her own husband to the extent that Firdaus could feel the weight his uncle carries and says:

I sensed that his feelings for her was more of fear than of love, and that she came from a higher social class than his. When her father or one of her relative paid us a visit, my uncle would buy meat or chicken and the house would resonate with his laughter. But when his aunt arrived, dressed in her flowing peasant garments, her cracked hands showing through the openings of her long sleeves, he retreated into a corner without word or even a smile (*Woman at Point Zero*, 23, 2007).

Firdaus' aunt uses her social class to oppress and subjugate her husband. She willed him according to her desire to the extent that when her relatives are at home the man pretends to be happy because the woman wants it so, but when the man's relatives are at home, the man retires back to the kind of man the woman wants him to be. Firdaus aunt's actions causes sadness in the heart of her fellow woman. Firdaus captures the plight of her uncle's aunt and how her fellow woman torment her because she came to visit the man she sold her things to get him educated.

His aunt would sit next to me on the bed weeping silently and mentioning how she regretted having sold her golden necklace in order to pay his studies in El Azhar. In the morning she would empty her basket of the chicken, eggs and breadcakes it contained, hook it over her arm, and leave. I would say to her, 'Stay just another day with us, Grandma,' but my uncle never said a word, and neither did his wife (*Woman at Point Zero*, 23, 2007).

Firdaus' aunt makes the house unconducive for her fellow woman to the extent that her husband's sister had to leave in tear. Her husband could not say any word because he is a weaker man and has been subjugated by his wife. Firdaus' aunt uses her like a domestic slave and this she says about her action: "I went to school every day. Once back I swept the house and washed the floor, the dishes and the clothes. My uncle's wife only did the cooking, leaving the pots and pans for me to scour and clean" (23). Firdaus' aunt plots her exit from her uncle's house and

without any explanation to why she should leave but she actually accounted for the woman's body language and the reaction of her uncle to her being.

One day when I returned from school, I found my uncle looking very angry with me. His wife also seemed to share his anger, and she continued to appear angry, until he decided to take me away from the house with my clothes and books, and put me in the boarding girls section of the school. From then on I slept there at night. At the end of each week the fathers, mothers and other relatives of the girls visited them, or took them off to spend Thursday and Friday at home. I would look over the top of the high wall and watch them as they departed, my eyes following the people and the movement of the street like a prisoner condemned to look out at life over the top of a high prison wall (*Woman at Point Zero*, 24, 2007).

Firdaus' aunt through her actions conditioned Firdaus into a life of loneliness by virtue of the things she feeds her husband with about Firdaus. Firdaus lived a life of an orphan because her aunt who is a woman did not care about her welfare and she manipulated her husband to toe the same course of action against Firdaus just to please her. Almost all women in Firdaus' life always brought her nothing but pain and sorrow. Even the principal spited her because none of Firdaus' parents were around to collect her result at her graduation. Firdaus is always humiliated and her life complicated by the women who came into it. Firdaus's uncle had the zeal to send her to further her education but her aunt rejected it and when Firdaus uncle suggested that Firdaus should stay in their house until he can find her a job, her aunt refused. Out of frustration Firdaus' uncle said: “She can stay with us until I find her a job.” But Firdaus' aunt refused and replied, “that would be years. The house is small and life is expensive. She eats twice as much as any of our children (*Woman at Point Zero*,36, 2007). Firdaus' aunt did not even want Firdaus in her house. Her husband suggested that Firdaus replace Saadia their house help since the wife is complaining about the cost of running the home, but Firdaus' aunt replied: “She will not replace Saadia. Saadia is light and quick, and puts her heart into work. In addition, she's not too fond of food and of sleeping long hours, but this girl's every movement is slow and heavy. She is cold-blooded and couldn't care less” (*Woman at Point Zero*,37, 2007). Firdaus' aunt looked for every reason she could fabricate to dissuade her husband from assisting her niece, but Firdaus' uncle knew that the life out there awaits Firdaus and he needed the permission of the wife of the house for him to take any decision so he suggested: “We can get rid of her by sending her to the university. There she can live in the quarters allocated to the girl students” (*Woman at Point Zero*,37, 2007). Firdaus' aunt is the head of the family and final decisions lie in her hand and that is why her husband tries to convince her before he could make any decision in respect to the life of Firdaus, but Firdaus aunt rejected all suggestion that would have led to Firdaus' development. Firdaus' aunt says:

To the university? To a place where she will be sitting side by side with men? A respected Sheikh and woman of religion like myself sending her niece off to mix up in the company of men? Besides, where will the money come from for her lodging, books, and clothes? You know how high the cost of living is these days. Prices seem to have gone mad, and yet the salaries of us government officials only rise by a few millimes (*Woman at Point Zero*, 37, 2007).

Firdaus' aunt makes the decision in the family and the structure of the narrative and her words demonstrate the enormous power she yields as the head of the family. Matriarchy is a social and political system in the narrative and Firdaus' aunt exercises the political power of who gets what

and when because she is the woman of the house. In resistance to giving Firdaus a future, her aunt's action conditions her into progressive suffering and subjugation in the society of the text.

My uncle, Sheikh Mahmoud, is a virtuous man. He has a big pension and no children, and he's been on his own since his wife died last year. If he marries Firdaus she will have a good life with him and he can find in her an obedient wife who will serve him and relieve him of his loneliness. It is risky for her to continue without a husband. She is a good girl but the world is full of bastards (*Woman at Point Zero*, 37, 2007).

Firdausi's aunt uses her feminist power to make choices for the family even to the detriment of her fellow woman (Firdausi). Her choice for Firdausi is a vehement rejection of the suggestions Firdausi's uncle made for her future and through her rejection of them, she conditions her in the narrative. Firdausi's aunt's decision opens her up to the various exploitations she later faces in the narrative. Life is like a stage and any mistake at a particular stage affects the development of humans in the chain of humanity and this is seen in the life of Firdausi. Education and the family are some of the tools of feminist liberation and it is the same tool Firdausi's aunt appropriates first to oppress her husband and to reverse the role of gender in her home. Secondly, she deprives Firdausi empowerment vis a vis her outright rejection of her husband giving Firdausi further education. Her decision forced Firdausi into an early marriage. Even when Firdausi's uncle tries to correct his wife that: "I agree with you, but Sheikh Mahmoud is much too old for her" (*Woman at Point Zero*, 37, 2007). He says, trying to reject the marriage, which his wife wants to force Firdausi into. She replies by pressing her intention to subjugate her fellow woman thus: "Who said he is old? He only went on pension this year and Firdausi herself is not that young. Girls of her age have already married years ago and given birth to children. An old but reliable man is surely better than a young man who treats her in a humiliating way or beats her. You know young men of these days" (*Woman at Point Zero*, 38, 2007). Firdausi's aunt counters her husband in all the reasons he raises to prevent his niece from getting married to Sheikh but she refuses to listen and says: "Deformity? Who says it's deformed? Besides, your holiness, as the saying goes, "nothing shames a man but an empty pocket" (*Woman at Point Zero*, 38, 2007). Firdausi's uncle is not convinced about her decision for the future he projects for her with Sheikh and he wonders: "supposing Firdausi refuses him?" (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 38, 2007). Firdausi's aunt, the woman of the house is so certain of her decision that she asks her husband: "Why should she refuse him? This is her best chance to get married. Do not forget what a nose she has. It's big and ugly like a tea mug. Besides, she has inherited nothing and has no income of her own. We will never find a better husband for her than Sheikh Mahmoud" (*Woman at Point Zero*, 38, 2007). Firdausi's aunt redefines Firdausi's personality as "ugly" and having no "income" in order to force her into early marriage and to achieve her economic interest. She uses a redefinition of Firdausi's personality to reduce her worth and construct a privilege match making for her. Firdausi's uncle did not think that Sheikh would welcome the idea of marriage between he and herself, but her aunt through her words and action commercializes Firdausi as commodity to be profited from. She informs her husband: "I spoke to him I am sure he will agree. I intend to ask him for a big dowry, a hundred pounds or perhaps even two hundred if he has the money" (*Woman at Point Zero*, 38, 2007). She is interested in the money she would make from the dowry of Firdausi instead of her welfare. Firdausi's aunt is interested in profiting from Firdausi's plights, she says: "If he pays a hundred pounds, then Allah will indeed have been generous to us and I would not be so greedy as to ask for more. I'll start with two hundred. You know he's a man who can argue for hours over five milliner and kill himself over a piastre" (*Woman at Point Zero*, 39, 2007). She is aware of the physical and psychological deformity of Sheikh, but because

of money she is bent on conscripting Firdausi into an early marriage because if Sheikh “...pays one hundred pounds that will be sufficient blessing from Allah. I will be able to pay my debts and buy some underwear, as well as a dress.” (*Woman at Point Zero*, 39, 2007). Firdausi’s equivalence in value and the value of her future is that of underwear defined by her fellow woman. At the center of the exploitation of Firdausi in the text is a woman who is her mother, her foster mother, her aunt and her friend. The plight of Firdausi’s co-conspirators to exploit and subjugate Firdausi is seen in the society of the text. Firdausi’s aunt sold her into sexual slavery, into a family of abuse and intimidation instead of allowing the girl to go to school or learn a skill for her own good as recommended by her husband. She is an extremist by imposing sadness on Firdausi’s life to the extent that she denies her joy including her own daughter Firdausi’s little niece. She physically and psychologically stripped Firdausi of joy and a future due to her selfishness and greed. Firdausi attests to this sadness thus:

... when I was alone in the room, she would come in and jump on to the couch and say “Daus, Daus.” I would stroke her hair and answer, “Yes, Hala.” “Daus, Daus,” she would reply, and giggle, and then try to make me play with her. But her mother’s voice would soon be heard calling her from outside, so she would jump off the couch, and toddle away on her little legs (*Woman at Point Zero*, 41, 2007).

Firdausi’s aunt subjugates her daughter psychologically to trauma by taking Firdausi away from her.

Firdausi is used as a slave in her marital home. She washes and cooks for Sheikh and in her tiredness spreads her legs to perform her conjugal functions as wife. She narrates her plight thus:

But no sooner did I stretch out my body to rest from the fatigue of cooking, washing and cleaning the large house with its rooms full of furniture, than Sheikh Mahmoud would appear by my side. He was already over sixty, whereas I had not yet turned nineteen. On his chin, below the lip, was a large swelling with a hole in the middle. Some days the hole would be dry, but on others it would turn into a rust old tap exuding drops red in colour like blood, or whitish yellow, like pus (*Woman at Point Zero*, 45, 2007).

Firdausi’s aunt is aware of the deformity of Sheikh and her husband calls her attention to it but her greed to trade her fellow woman does not allow her to pay attention to the bleak future that awaits the girl. She sells Firdausi off to Sheikh and that is why Sheikh treats Firdausi as it pleases him because she is an item he bought from her guardian. A man who is not physically healthy yet she has to endure it because of lack of choice orchestrated by her aunt; her fellow woman who would have protected her interest from man exploits. Firdausi in her subjugation feels she is performing her marital duty. She notes:

When the hole dried up, I let him kiss me. I could feel the swelling on my face and lips like a small puss, or a water skin full of a stagnant greasy fluid. But on days when it was not dry I would turn my lips and put my face away to avoid the odour of dead dogs, which emanates from it. At night, he would wind his legs and arms around me, and let his old, gnarled hand travel all over my body, like the claws of a starving man who has been deprived of real food for many years wipe the bowl clean, and leave not a single crumb behind (*Woman at Point Zero*, 45, 2007).

The foregoing highlights Sheikh’s sexual temperament and how he uses Firdausi as an object of sex. It demonstrates the torment she faces as a result of the marriage her aunt single handedly

forces her into. Sheikh subjugates his wife both physically and psychologically and when Firdausi runs away to her uncle and his wife for solace they reject her and force her back to an abusive union. Firdausi laments their responses when she runs to them for protection thus:

On one occasion he hits me all over with his shoe. My face and body become swollen and bruised. So I left the house and went to my uncle. But my uncle told me that all husbands beat their wives, and my uncle's wife added that her husband often beat her. I said my uncle was a respected Sheikh, well vested in the teachings of religion, and he, therefore, could not possibly be in the habit of beating his wife. She replied that it was precisely men well vested in their religion who beat their wives. The precepts of religion permit such punishment. A virtuous woman was not supposed to complain about her husband. Her duty was perfect obedience (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 46, 2007).

Firdausi's aunt by her words supports the subjugation of her fellow woman and projects perfect obedience to wife battery using religion as an aid to her definition of an ideal woman. She aids the institution of patriarchy by her own decision in forcing Firdausi into an early marriage with a man old enough to be her grand father. Before nightfall, Firdausi's uncle with the support of her aunt takes her back to her husband's house without even inquiring about why the man beat her or cautioning him. This emboldens Sheikh to abuse her the more. He asks her:

Why did you come back from your uncle's house? Couldn't he bear to feed you for a few days? Now you will realize I'm the only person who can put up with you, and who is prepared to feed you. Why do you shy away from me then? Why do you turn your face away from mine? Am I ugly? Do I smell? Why do you keep at a distance whenever I come near to you? (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 47, 2007).

He uses his deformity to torment her even with his ailing health status. He feels the rejection of Firdausi by her family is a license for him to continue exploiting her because of lack of concern and care they demonstrate in respect to her welfare and Firdausi's family action emboldens him to do more to abuse and exploit her physically and psychologically. Sheikh uses Firdausi as a sexual slave, Firdausi laments:

He leapt on me like a mad dog. The hole in his swelling was oozing drops of foul Smelling pus. I did not turn my face or my nose away this time. I surrendered my face to his face and my body to his body, passively, without any resistance, without a movement, as though life had been drained out of it, like a piece of dead wood or old neglected furniture left to stand where it is, or a pair of shoes forgotten under a chair (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 47, 2007).

Firdausi gives up her resistance mechanism because the people she believed in rejected her and supported her husband's actions. Firdausi is not sure again what is right or wrong in her own situation as she has to give up herself for the satisfaction of Sheikh who feels he is doing her a favor. Sheikh's abuse becomes severe, as days pass by and Firdausi can not help it but to walk out of oppressive marital union. She says:

One day he hit me with his heavy stick until the blood ran from my nose and ears. So I left, but this time I did not go to my uncle's house. I walked through the streets with swollen eyes, and a bruised face, but no one paid any attention to me. People were rushing around in buses and in cars, or on foot. It was as though they were blind, unable to see anything. The street was an endless expanse stretched out before my eyes like a sea. I was just a pebble thrown into it, battered by waves, tossed here and there, rolling

over and over to be abandoned somewhere on the shore (*Woman at Point Zero*, page 48, 2007).

Firdausi cannot withstand the battering in the union that was imposed on her by her aunt and she had to walk away from it. She observes that both male and female, none pays attention to her. They are so busy with their lives to the extent that she does not exist even in her plight. The world that Firdausi walks into is made of male and female but they exhibit the same degree of hostilities toward her. After Firdausi walks away from her marriage as a result of battering, her fellow woman (Sharifa) socializes her into prostitution for her own benefit. Sharifa places a price tag on Firdausi as a commodity she sells to men for exchange of cash. She accounts for how Sharifa introduces her into prostitution thus:

Sharifa says to me one day, ‘Neither Bayoumi nor any of his cronies realized your worth, because you failed to value yourself highly enough. A man does not know a woman’s worth, and be prepared to pay with the means at his disposal. And if he has no means, he will steal from someone else to give you what he demands (*Woman at Point Zero*, pages 58, 2007)Umoren, 2002).

Sharifa socialized Firdausi into prostitution as a means of economic sustenance and thereby sustaining the institution of patriarchy that patronises it. Sharifa also uses Firdausi to make additional money for herself. She places price on Firdausi and negotiates with men who come to lay Firdausi after which she takes her cut from the money and gives Firdausi whatever that pleases her. Fawzy the man that Sharifa is a go between with, captures the philosophy which he is aware that Sharifa has indoctrinated Firdausi with. That: “I don’t know. Sharifa told you me work is work, and that feelings do not come in where work is concerned’. He gave a short laugh and kissed me on my lips. ‘Sharifa’s fooling you, and making money out of you, while all you get is pain” (*Woman at Point Zero*, 62, 2007). Sharifa constructs Firdausi psychologically in such a way that she can never think of leaving the work. Firdausi weeps when she realises that Sharifa is using her as a commodity to boost her financial status (*Woman at Point Zero*,62, 2007). Sharifa’s business interest is what matters to her more than the future of her fellow woman. Sharifa’s action forces Firdausi into the street when she realises what she is using her for. She narrates her situation:

I opened my eyes. My body was stretched out on the bed without a man beside me, and the room around was dark and empty. I walked on the tip of my toes to Sharifa’s room, and found her lying naked with Fawzy at her side. I tiptoed back to my room, put on the first dress I could lay my hands on, took my little bag, and hurried down the flights of stairs into the street (*Woman at Point Zero*, 65, 2007).

Firdaus regained her freedom from her fellow woman but decided that she would work for herself. She decided to go into prostitution on a full scale and to profit from it based on her own terms. She says:

...I had chosen this life of my own free will. The fact that I rejected their noble attempts to save me, my insistence on remaining a prostitute, proved to me this was my choice and that I had some freedom, at least the freedom to live in a situation better than that of other women (*Woman at Point Zero*, 97, 2007).

Firdausi's choice of being a prostitute is patterned by her experiences in life as a result of the choices her aunt made for her by refusing her education. Thus, Firdausi becomes a victim of

female colonisation and imperialism because her aunt fails to grant her the opportunity to acquire education which is one of the tools of feminist liberation. She decides to force her into an early marriage which thereafter leads to the development of the plot and conditioned Firdausi's life from one disaster to another and portraying men as evil while the women become the powers behind the scene creating reality for both genders.

## **2. The progress of women in patriarchal society, the other man and the woman's plight is her fellow woman - *Changes***

*Change* echoes women who have come of age from operation of patriarchy and making choices on how their lives have turned out to be. The novel mirrors the experiences of Esi, a woman who has come of age to know her rights in the society to the extent that she determines what she would accept or not irrespective of patriarchal construction of her place in the society. The text according to the reversal of roles shows the superiority of the female in the text as depicted in the relationship between Esi and her husband Oko as would be analysed extensively in the body of the essay. Character delineations in the text highlights female 'privileges' and consciousness of power in Aidoo's *Changes* and the application of these privileges in the subjugation of other women and the smothering of the male characters within the text. The application of supplement method of deconstruction which reverses the binary of men as evil in relation to certain interpretations of feminist texts to highlight some men as good and victims of women in the society and women as capable of perpetuating evil in the subjugation of their fellow women in the society as seen in *Changes*. Female consciousness is one of the profound achievements of feminism because it highlights the powers of women and enables them to enforce it in literary texts. Feminism has made giant strides in its ability to disrupt certain traditional rights that were prerogatives of men in the society and that were oppressive to women. Such cultural rights ranging from marriage, education and sexuality were demonstrated and presented as the rights of men in male-conscious texts. However, from the application of deconstructive supposition to textual analysis Bressler observes that "A deconstructor would thus begin textual analysis assuming that a text has multiple interpretations and that it allows itself to be re-read and thus reinterpreted countless times" (Bressler, 129, 1999). Thus, the supposition method of interpretation of feminist achievements in the text as we can clearly see the woman exhibiting more of those rights that used to be reserved for men as a result of the economic and political powers that have been captured by female characters in the text and these powers have been wrongly used in the text. Esi's mother-in-law and sister's-in-law abuse and subjugate her in the text as a result of their feminist powers and by extension she subjugates her husband.

The application of the method of difference to the text helps us to see the existence of equal powers in the society as a result of women demanding for their own rights and reserving such rights through cultural and social creations as archetypal illustrations of what a feminine personality should do to seek for her own freedom in the society. The possession of certain gender rights of women in the text, and the application of such rights on their own leads to a situation whereby some women subjugate other women even to the extent that some men are subjugated and abused physically and emotionally. The method of difference and supplementation helps us to state that feminism seems not to be a movement seeking for the right of women in the society but a movement seeking to perpetuate the same philosophy of oppression

that Patriarchy seems to be noted for and which made ‘them feminist’ to seek for reconstruction and redefinition of the woman’s personality. In the opening chapter of the novel, Esi is portrayed to be abused by men because she decided to drive herself ‘The car of course stalled more than once on the way, and, of course, all the other drivers were unsympathetic. They horn, and some taxi drivers shouted the usual obscenities about women drivers’ (*Changes*,1, 1991). The foregoing demonstrates that irrespective of the actions of patriarchy there has been concessions to most women in the society as a result of the fierce battle of feminism, although some men may frown at it but they have no choice but to acknowledge it.

Many feminists are of the view that the family is the centre of oppression and subjugation for women. The family seems to be a tool in feminist narratives to attempt to reconstruct gender roles and reverse the abuses of the woman in the society. Aidoo in *Changes* uses the domestic space to portray the growth and consciousness of the protagonist Esi who grows from her stage of naivety to acceptance of her sexuality and through the application of supplementation we can see how her fellow women malign and abuse her psychologically.

When she was younger and growing up in the big compound house with her cousins and other members of the extended family, she had had to be extremely careful about starting a quarrel with anyone. Because no one lost the chance to call her beanpole, bamboo, pestle or any such name which in their language described tall, thin and uncurved (*Changes*, 10, 1991).

Esi’s body is condemned by her fellow women in her extended family through their application of the cultural definition of beauty that is dependent on a robust and curvy body structure. Interrogating the binary in the text we can see that, women set standards for women, they compete, measure themselves up and make enemies of each other and strangely enough, it is this bony structure that Oko comes to fall in love with, ‘I love this body. But it is her sassy navel that kills me...watching the little protrusion, and feeling heated up at the base of his own belly’ (*Changes*,10, 1991). His appreciation makes Esi accept her physical look and invariably accept her sexuality; the authorial voice in an attempt to describe Esi’s appreciation of her body succinctly captures her growth. Thus:

Esi had always enjoyed walking around naked after love making. For her, this was one of life’s very few real luxuries. Indeed, one miracle of her own existence was the fact that in spite of the torment she had suffered during childhood and adolescence for having an unfeminine body, as an adult she was not shy of showing that body to the men she slept with (*Changes*, 89, 1991).

She grows to consciousness and accepts her physical body construct. Her acceptance is propelled by the male acceptance and appreciation of her body. She attains maturity through contrastive analysis of her persona, especially physically, and finds out that most women have the wrong perception of what the feminine body should be which through the aid of the men in her life she is able to assert herself and redefine her identity with courage.

The family is the centre of matriarchy and the stronghold of the woman's power and this is so because like the popular Yoruba adage explains it, ‘obirin lo ni ile’, which means the woman owns the home. As much as this is so, it is practised with extreme caution for masculine intrusive authority, so it is through the family that the woman manipulates and constructs patriarchy as a

tool in her hands for the achievement of the dictates of the feminist ideology. Esi's marital problem and her resolve to assert herself starts as a result of her fellow woman having interest in her family and exercising undue influence over her husband. First, Esi creates the problem that makes the whole institution of patriarchy to rise against her without the knowledge and consent of her husband. Even in marriage Esi exercised a personal right of her body, responsibility and defined what she would accept as mother and whether she would continue child bearing. She refuses all pleas by her husband for more children and decides to take unilateral decisions without involving her husband. The narrator corroborates the foregoing thus:

Look at Esi. Two solid years of courtship, six years of marriage. And what I got out of it? Little. Nothing. No affection. Not even plain warmth. Esi had never stated it categorically that she didn't want any more children. But she was on those dreadful birth control things: pills, loops or whatever. She had gone on them soon after the child was born... (*Changes*, 11, 1991).

The reversal of gender roles shows how the man is subjugated in the marital setting. The woman seems subtly to be on a revenge mission in marriage as seen in the case of Esi. The man in the marriage is used as a pun and machinery of patriarchy to achieve feminist motives. Oko feels the pressure from the society that is patriarchal in nature and he becomes a manly tool in the realisation of patriarchal predispositions in the society. Oko listens to everyone and become voiceless because he is occupied in trying to achieve the patriarch's desires in the society. Oko becomes apologetic trying to keep his marriage amidst the pressures from all sides including his wife's. Esi attests to the above fact when she acknowledged subtly the plight of the man.

The fact that his mother and his sisters were always complaining to him about the unsafety of having an only child made him feel worse. One of them had even suggested that he did himself and them the favour of trying to be interested in other women. That way, he could perhaps make some other children 'outside'. The idea hadn't appealed to him at all. In fact, for a long time, the thought of sleeping with anyone other than Esi had left him cold, no matter how brightly the sun was. (*Changes*, 11, 1991).

The suggestion for the displacement of Esi in their marital union is championed and promoted by her fellow women who tried all they could to sustain patriarchy by making sure that the man obeys all their bidding in the situations concerning his own life. They go as far as getting women for him to marry so that he can continue procreation and preserve patriarchy because it was considered dangerously unsafe for him to have an only child. Oko is a faithful husband who could not practice polygamy because he has been domesticated by patriarchy to be viewed as wrong from one party, and right from another, even when they try to force him to achieve their political objective in sustaining their hold and the subjugation of men in the society. There is a reversal of the roles in marriage and the marriage becomes a union where the man should live and die in as binary interpretation shows. As such Oko is psychologically indoctrinated right from birth into patriarchy. The power of birth and the first six years of the child as a power structure in the way the male turns out to be as opined by John Chinweizu is clearly illustrated in the case of Oko. He is oppressed in his own home; his wife Esi has no time for him. In fact, Esi 'married' him and as such rules him the way she pleases.

Esi definitely put her career well above any duties owed as a wife. She was a great cook, complained endlessly any time she had entered the kitchen. The bungalow came with her job as a data analyst with the government's statistical bureau; its urban

department. leaving the house virtually at dawn returning home at dusk; often bringing work home? Then there were all those conferences. Geneva, Addis, Dakar one half of the year; Rome, Lusaka, Lagos the other half (*Changes*, 12, 1991)

Esi is the “woman” of the house and she reigns over it as it pleases her and has little regard for her husband. She leaves and returns as she likes and fails to perform her conjugal responsibilities toward her husband. She uses her vagina as an object of oppression by refusing her husband sexual intercourse and withholds her power of reproduction by using birth control pills to deprive her husband of more children. The man becomes the weaker vessel, the ‘other’ in the marriage caught between the ranging battle of patriarchy and matriarchy without a safe place for him. The ‘other’ man, which is the weaker man is manipulated and exploited in the society and disregarded whether we are referring to Unoka in Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*, Fridausi’s Uncle in *Woman at Point Zero* and Oko in *Changes*. This ‘other’ man (the weaker men) live at the fringe of the society and has no stake in the society he finds himself in. Oko in *Changes* captures the plight of weaker men like himself when he says: ‘My friends are laughing at me, he says; They think I’m not behaving like a man’ (*Changes*, 12, 1991).

The focus of deconstruction is to comment on values in a text and explicate the binary operation in a text through reversal interpretation of what is prevalent in a text and this we can clearly see in *Changes*. Society although has undergone certain changes in terms of gender functions as dictated by matriarchy in its influence on patriarchy but there are still gender ascribed roles for sexes in the society. The man is consistently forced to fit into this model to the extent that the other man becomes annihilated first from his home due to the oppression of his wife and secondly by the society which are made of his friends and family related matriarchs.

Esi was trying to pretend she had not heard the declaration. ‘Aren’t you saying anything?’ Oko’s voice was full of pleading. ‘What would you like me to say?’ she spoke at last, trying very hard to keep the irritation out of her voice. ‘You don’t care what my friends think of me?’ he pressed. When she spoke again the irritation was out, strong and breathing (*Changes*, 13, 1991).

Oko’s demand irritates his wife to the extent that she tries keep it out of her voice because she has the power of narrative and as such decides how she would respond to the man’s request because of her position of power which the man’s action has no way of influencing. She uses irritation to subject her husband and corners him into acceptance of the status she has created and imposed on him through the control of her sexual and reproductive organs. Esi reminds him that his friends should respect him for what he had turned out to be in his marriage to her. She calls her husband by name demonstrating equality and superiority of the feminist power before she goes ahead to emphasize her point, that:

‘Oko, you know that we have been over this so many times. We all make friends. They either respect us for what we are, or they don’t, and whether we keep them or not depends on each one of us. I cannot care of what your friends say to you, think of you or do to you’. ‘I need my friends,’ he said. ‘I also need mine,’ she said (*Changes*, page 13, 1991).

Esi’s action makes her husband literarily excommunicated from the gathering of his friends, mother and sisters who are gamuts of feminist operations in achieving the sole objective of matriarchy. There is the existence of equal voices in both gender, however, Esi demonstrates

great powers over her husband and it almost seems as if he needs her permission before he can acquire or be ascribed a stable personality in the society. Esi is an educated woman who does not care what society thinks of her whether matriarchy or patriarchy is, she is a woman who seeks for nothing but her complete benefit and enjoyment in life. She rejects every received opinion of women even in relaxation and entertainment and decides to do what pleases her: ‘...she was going to have her beer: misunderstanding or not. By this time, she was already sitting by a table’ (*Changes*, page 41, 1991). Esi does not allow societal perception of what a woman does in a hotel affect her, so she enjoys herself. This spirit of resilience is the same spirit she demonstrates when she devoices her husband Oko. Esi demonstrates the resilient philosophy of feminism that the woman does not require the man (Oko) to survive in life and to be fulfilled. First she rejects child bearing after she gives birth to her first and only child Ogyaanowa and now she has taken steps to divorce her husband. Esi illustrates her power when she responds to her mother and grandmother on why she wishes to divorce her husband when the narrator says: ‘Esi had to tell the truth. Her husband wanted too much of her and her time. No, it was not another woman. In fact, she thought she might have welcomed that even more’ (*Changes*, page 47, 1991). The binary method highlights the negative effect of feminist power in *Changes*, Esi has all the privileges she desires as a woman and she exercises enormous power over her husband but still she feels she needs complete time for herself which both her mother and grandmother find troubling. They could not impose their decisions on her because matriarchy has given the woman the room to choose what she wants to become in the society and since their daughter has decided to divorce Oko they saw no reason to pressurize her to remain because it is against the dictates of matriarchy.

As deconstruction theory shows, the problem of women in *Changes* is their fellow women. Oko’s sisters see that the cure for a woman’s oppression that her brother faces is caused by ‘a woman’ and they decide to look for another woman that could save their brother from the subjugation he is going through in the hands of his ‘woman’. Esi knows that she is wrong and decides to construct any available reason for why she should leave the marriage and stay on her own, through the narrator, we are able to see the thought process of Esi. Aidoo says:

As for Oko’s people, there never was a question of Esi talking to them. She was convinced they hated her. She knew that for some time his aunts had been trying to get him a woman, ‘a proper wife’. What had discouraged them was his lack of enthusiasm and the fact that they suspected Esi didn’t care one way or another. The purpose of the project had been two-fold: to get him to make more children, ‘because his lady-wife appeared to be very satisfied with only one child, a terrible mistake, a dangerous situation’ (*Changes*, page 47, 1991).

The only battle Esi faced in her matrimonial home was perpetrated by her fellow woman and even put her husband in constant pressure for him to take another wife which he resisted and it is this same pressure mounted by women that Esi capitalised on to divorce her husband. The foregoing illustrates that in most marriages men are victims although matriarchy has constructed the women as victims. A critical look at the binaries of female characters would enable us see that most of their actions have cumulative negative effects on the man as Oko’s life in *Changes* depicts. Women on seeing that they cannot subject Esi their through marrying another woman for their brother ‘they wanted to hurt Esi: very badly, if they could’ (*Changes*, page 47, 1991). Oko’s sisters were women and wanted to hurt their fellow woman for their ego, this demonstrates that the woman is not a robot of patriarchal creation, as most feminist critics want us to believe because they contribute directly or indirectly to the abuse of the woman in the society. Oko even

as a man is viewed from the viewpoint of patriarchy is a mere tool in the hands of matriarchy in view of how he is manipulated by his wife and sisters to achieve their aims. Through their words, they demonstrate the feminist strength and visibility in the society and their attempt to reconstruct Oko into another man from the weaker man matriarchy has constructed him to be.

...his sisters were no better. They used to come and insinuate that their brother was failing in his duties to the family because she had turned his head-with 'something'. 'She fried it with the breakfast eggs!' 'She put it into cakes!' And they would whisper and laugh. As far as the sisters were concerned, Oko never had money to spend on them because he was busy wasting his salary on her (*Changes*, page 48, 1991).

Oko is a subservient worker who lives to take care of his grown sisters who have their own rights as humans and still expect him to take care of their responsibility because matriarchy has nurtured him to look strong in the eyes of all when he is actually a weakling. Oko's sisters (women) are the ones who accuse his wife of using charm on him to the extent that they mock his wife and make the marriage unbearable for her and when Esi reminded them that she earned more than him:

... their new line of attack was that it served him right, marrying a woman that had more money than him. His wife could never respect him. It was also around this time that the hints began to drop here and there: about the need for him to get himself an unspoilt young woman, properly brought up, whose eyes have not jumped over her eyebrows with too much education and too much money of her own. (*Changes*, page 48, 1991).

These women use their feministic privileges and consciousness to construct Oko's home to suit their dictatorship. They appropriate the right to define who a good woman is and what type of woman their brother should go for to have peace in his matrimonial home. This is an evidence of afore mentioned claim that women set standards for themselves and they are their own worst enemies. Oko is the voiceless and molested character in the narrative, his sister... accuses him of the cause of his problem without giving any choice to express his own point of view and they go as far as dictating for him what to do. Oko's mother does not even spare him neither does she try to find out what happens to Esi for her to want to divorce her son. She uses Ogyaanowa as a weapon to fight Esi and she strives to confront and create problems where none exists.

However, as the marriage began to fall apart, Oko's mother had become just a little nasty about everything. It had seemed to Esi that the older woman was getting ready to use the child as some sort of a weapon to fight her with, and she had secretly sworn not to let that happen. So one day, and much to her mother-in-law's surprise, she had suggested to her that Ogyaanowa could stay on. The bungalow gets too lonely for her. Here, there would be other children for her to play with. Nearly all cousins. 'You know that in our custom there is nothing like that. Oko's sister's children are Ogyaanowa's sisters and brothers. Are we Europeans that we would want divisions among kin?' (*Changes*, page 82, 1991).

Women perpetuate the subjugation of the woman in *Changes* that is assumed as an archetype of a patriarchal society in their attempt to exercise their powers subtly while manipulating the man to achieve their purpose. The woman most times is at the root of the problems of her fellow woman in a marital union and coerces the man to side her. Esi decides not to fight her mother-in-law even when she has declared war against her, 'Esi feels completely ashamed. She suspects the older woman is seizing the opportunity to hit the issue to put her in her place' (*Changes*, page 82

1991). Even when Esi avoids her fellow women they don't allow her to be, instead continue to fight and molest her from all sides.

His people had of course learned of what had been going on between him and his wife. One day, one of his mothers and two of his sisters had marched on Esi, demanding what right she thought she had to start him on a new job with such bad luck? They had gone on to call her a semi-barren witch and told her that they thought their son and brother was well rid of her, thank God. Esi had not said a word during the entire performance (*Changes*, page 841, 1991).

The humiliation of Esi, calling her names and wanting to beat her, all these are perpetrated by her fellow women. Oko's family, through incentives thrown at Esi want to drive her out of her husband's house so that they will use the opportunity to benefit from Oko's wealth which Esi's presence seems to deprive them of.

Women's action against their fellow woman is oppressive and it also has indirect effects on men. Esi through her actions oppresses Oko and he endures his persecution because the society considers him a strong man and incapable of expressing emotions. Oko is hurt psychologically when his wife refuses to reason with him and relocates to his new place of work, Esi asserts herself by pursuing her dream but her decision has greater effect on Oko because there is no one he can turn to to share his difficulties with because the matriarchal society considers him strong and capable of dealing with the problems of a woman.

Esi had carried out her determination to leave Oko and even asked for a divorce. This development had so startled him that for a day or two he had almost become disoriented, and had taken to drinking a little more than usual. In fact, he was later aware that what had really saved him was the newest challenge in his life-going to head the school. It demanded so much of him that he could not possibly have indulged in too much sorrowing after his collapsed marriage. But not even the new job could stop him from thinking about his broken marriage. He did, especially in the very late hours of the night, when he could finally leave his office and crawl home to bed (*Changes*, page 85 1991).

Aidoo in *Changes* captures the plights of the weaker men whom the society for long has ignored in constructing as a single personality incapable of variations. The author of *Changes* uses the family to portray the plight of the man and how he is exploited in the family which is one of the units of matriarchal dominance. Oko indulges in drinking to escape the choices his wife hoists on him.

Oko mourns his marriage and this shows that some men are also affected by sudden marital break ups to the extent that they silently mourn because the society frowns at male grief even when it exists; society refuses to acknowledge it because it serves the purpose of patriarchy in advancing female dominance that the woman is always abused in marriage. Oko has been deprived of his conjugal rights even when he is ready to fulfill it for the past ten years by his wife. *Changes* acknowledge the power of the woman in a marital union and her ability to undo the man if she is insistent as demonstrated by the actions of Esi in *Changes*. Oko nurses his heartbreak alone and he feels the weight of his wife's action at night and the loneliness it imposes on him because he had been trained from birth to rely completely on the woman right from birth. The man is made dependent by the way he is trained by the woman in a patriarchal society. Oko endures this deprivation of sex many times in his marriage and hopes that his wife

would change one day and fulfill her obligation as a wife. Even after divorce Oko hopes that he has really not divorced and that his wife would come back to him. He lives in this denial for a while before reality hits him in the face later on in the text. In a matriachal and patriachal society, the weaker man only exists through hope and pretence because the society does not consider him as humble but dislodges him because his attitudes are not in conformity with various defined norms. Oko still holds on:

.. he was able to deceive himself into thinking that Esi had not left him. That they were only separated until she could start coming for weekends. And he missed his daughter terribly too. Deep down in the corners of his being, he could not persuade himself to accept that it was all over (*Changes*, page 85, 1991).

Oko faces psychological stress as a result of the betrayal of his wife and her self-centred disposition in the marriage. In his helplessness his mother who is an active member of the matriarchal fold decides to bring him a young girl to set him free from the spell that is cast upon him by a woman.

Then Oko's mother came and deposited a breathing parcel on his doorstep, in the form of a very beautiful and very young girl. Oko was absolutely certain that he had not met her before. During their first encounter the only feeling he could recognise was extreme surprise-that it was still possible in this day and age to get a young woman in this world who would agree to be carried off as a wife to a man she had never met (*Changes*, pages 85-86, 1991).

Matriarchy is at the root of polygamy and this is seen in Oko's mother's action who tries to force a young girl on Oko when she is aware that Oko is trying to fix his marriage that is being faced with challenges.

The men are puns in the hands of women in life, it is either he is controlled by his sister or mother or wife, and sometimes all three. They use certain elements of attachment to woo or subtly pressurise him to do their bidding; hence, power play. In Oko's helplessness and confusion he rejects his mother's offer although he does not say it to her because he is powerless but insinuates it. He goes again to plead with his wife, 'You know perfectly well that if ever you really want to, you can come back to me,' he said without the slightest trace of irony and cynicism, and left' (*Changes*, page 86, 1991). The foregoing shows that in marital dispute the weaker man is at the receiving end and always pleads even when he is not at fault. Decisions are made and imposed on him although he pleads to go back to the former state of affairs even when it is not favourable to him. Oko is finally obsessed in getting his wife back and this prompts him to go to Ali to demand for his wife:

When Oko saw him, he dashed towards the door, as if to rush in. But the door had a Yale lock and Ali quickly banged it shut and locked both of them out of the bedroom. Frustrated, Oko turned and faced Ali. 'Where is she?' he demanded. 'Where is who?' Ali asked coolly, as if genuinely had not the slightest idea to whom the other man was referring. 'My wife,' Oko thundered. 'You're what?' Ali demanded. 'My wife. That's what I said, and you heard me well,' said Oko (*Changes*, pages 146).

At the dawn of feminism, the man is very willing to remain and die in marriage with the woman but the woman rejects him and he retaliates through confrontation with his fellow man that he could win the love of his wife again and he decides to engage in physical combat with Ali but he gets battered.

He was shaking with rage, as he tried to shake Ali. To break free, Ali pushed Oko away from him violently, Oko virtually fell. He didn't quite, but a button from his shirt fell to the floor. Then a child began to cry. It was Ogyaanowa. Oko picked himself up quickly and resumed banging on the door, almost to himself, 'listen, I don't know who you are, but Esi is my wife. I don't know who you are, but Esi is my wife. (*Changes*, pages 146-147 1991).

Oko decides to fight Ali and reclaim his wife back but he is battered by him, a stronger man. In his humiliation he pleads for his wife to be returned to him even when he is aware that Ali is actually sleeping with his wife. Esi could not even separate them; she runs away and allows them to kill themselves.

Oko left the door, turned on Ali with a raised fist. But Ali was too quick for him. He got hold of the raised hand. Then, as they began to struggle, Esi, who had heard Ogyaanowa from the bedroom, opened the door, rushed out, passed the two men, picked up the child, ran with her into her car and drove off. She left two very surprised men staring at the car (*Changes*, page 147, 1991).

Esi through her selfish interest exposes her daughter to unnecessary disputes and deprives her of the love and care of a father due to her choice to divorce Oko, with his only fault being that he demanded for her time and his conjugal right. She deprives her fellow woman of her husband. Fusena and her family endure unnecessary stress by taking away their father and husband from them. Ali's family had to wait for him in fear of what had happened to him before they could eat:

A few minutes later, and feeling somewhat collected, he had phoned home. Fusena was almost incoherent with concern. Where was he? Was he alright? He had assured her repeatedly. When she mentioned that they had been waiting for him to come home so that they could all eat supper together, he felt really bad. But he asked her to eat with the children. She would not agree. How could he expect her to? Eventually, he persuaded her to let the children eat so that they could go to bed. She agreed to that, but she would wait for him, of course... (*Changes*, page 156, 1991).

Fusena was scared that something had happened to her husband and this is actually triggered by her fellow woman who rejects her own husband but decides that it is another woman's husband that interests her most.

Esi has no respect and regard for Oko. She rejects and refuses Oko her husband sex but she freely gives it to Ali who is not her husband. She uses her power of sexuality to suppress Oko while she freely gives it to Ali who is still married to Fusena her fellow woman.

Esi and Ali reserved their love-making for the comfort of Esi's bed. This nearly always followed an outing, as well as any time he came just to be with her. He would shut up Linga Hide Aways at the end of the working day and drive straight to her. They would immediately fall into each other's arms holds her welcoming kiss from the front door through the length of the sitting-room, through her bedroom and on her bed. Then for the next hour or so it was just grunts and groans until, quite exhausted, they fell quiet (*Changes*, pages 88, 1991).

Esi deprived her fellow woman of the presence of her own husband Ali, she manipulates Ali that whenever he closes from work he hurries to her place just to be with her and sexually excites himself. Esi through her action supports polygamy and in effect deprives another woman of her husband as she indirectly inflicts psychological pains on her husband and her daughter. She

deprives her daughter the right to grow in a proper family setting through her choice to divorce her husband because he loves her. Esi sleeps with her fellow woman’s husband even when she is aware that Ali is still married. She accepts to marry Ali even when she is aware that he is married, ‘Okay. Okay, what I mean is that you have already got Fusena who was your first wife. She wears your ring, and I’m almost certain that here in this city she is the only one known as Mrs Kondey’ (107). Esi wants to displace her fellow woman by her choice to get married to Ali so that she can answer Mrs Kondey.

The above shows once again that matriarchy is the driving force behind patriarchy. For her to subtly coerce Ali to marry her demonstrates that polygamy is sustained and promoted by women through her actions and not really that men are polygamous in nature. Esi’s decision to share someone else’s husband instead of sticking to her husband Oko affects Fusena psychologically:

The streak of abnormality managed to run through some more of that morning. When Fusena drove to the kiosk the first time, she did not go in. After she had parked and was getting out of the car, she changed her mind, banged shut the car door which she had just opened and drove back to the house. She met Ali in front of their gate just as he was backing out. She drove her car to where the two cars became parallel, and stopped. Ali had stopped, and looked at her with a question on his face. ‘Is she also a Muslim?’ Fusena asked him, without any prelims, and without getting out. ...Ali said just, ‘No.’ Fusena backed out again and drove off. She was going to look for someone to talk to (*Changes*, pages 119-120, 1991).

Fusena is disoriented when she remembers that she would be competing for her husband’s attention because another woman has considered herself better by first secretly sleeping with him and now asking him to legitimise the secret affair. Esi demonstrates that feminism is somehow vindictive in the sense that in its attempt to struggle for equality and appropriate rights in the society, it also oppresses men and fellow women as character delineation in *Changes* illustrates. It was women who were sent to talk to Fusena to accept her husband’s “decision” to marry another wife:

As she sat in front of older women trying so diligently to listen to them, she knew that all was lost. Besides, what could she say to the good woman, when some of them were themselves second, third and fourth wives? And those who had been first wives looked dignified, but clearly also so battle-weary? She decided to make their job easier for them. ‘Yes, Mma. Yes, Auntie. Yes...yes...yes,’ was all she said to every suggestion that was made (*Changes*, pages 130, 1991).

At the bottom of the perceived male domination is the woman who advances it because it benefits her the most. The social inequality that is held up against men in their choices to marry more women actually is for the interest of women to take care of excess women in the society. Fusena’s situation highlights the foregoing because she saw the beneficiaries of polygamy and she knew that she could not argue for her husband to be hers alone because the other women who are husband sharers would resist her and she saw the futility to fight with them. She is aware that matriarchy always wins a war against its own and no one fights against his clan. Esi through marrying Ali deprives his children the right of the presence of their father and when Ali tries to visit his children she frowns at it and feels cheated.

‘I said I can’t go on like this,’ she repeated. What would you consider marriage to be?’ ‘If that’s how you see it, then I’m going-“Home! Esi finished the sentence for him with something of a flourish, like a victory declaration. ‘Well, just go “home” to your wife and children and leave me alone,’ she told him, more quietly (*Changes*, pages 190).

Esi wants the attention of Ali yet she rejects the company of Oko. She wants Ali to spend more time with her instead of spending it with his children and his wife. Esi in the process oppresses the man and her fellow woman. She subjects herself at the end of the day.

She had to teach herself not to expect him at all. She had had to teach herself not to wonder where he was when he was not with her. And that had been the hardest of the lessons to learn. For, Accra being that kind of place, she couldn't help hearing about his womanising activities (*Changes*, pages 198).

Esi inflicts pain on herself and those who come close to. Her choices contribute to the sustenance of patriarchy not passively, but actively.

## Conclusion

Women are part of the structure that subjugate their fellow women and weaker men. Giving the power of women in the society it would be wrong to construct women subjugation as totally a product of the patriarchal society even when women are having great roles to play in identity construction and in molding characters in the human society. Consequently, a true female liberation is that which includes addressing women as they pun men to do their bidding even as they hide behind the scenes of such female motivated male actions.

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## **Gender, Health and Socio-Political Issues in Tanure Ojaide's *The Activist***

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### **Abstract**

For many years, gender issues have continued to dominate discourses locally and globally. It is therefore heart-warming to note that women are providing leadership not only at home but in other spheres of life, be it economic, social or political. The exploration and exploitation of oil in the Niger Delta region has resulted in untold hardship, eco-trauma, bio-terrorism and the general neglect of the area. The debacle associated with oil exploration has affected the people and denied them their traditional occupations. Women are not left out and are confronted with new challenges of violence, health and political issues metted on them by the federal government of Nigeria in collaboration with multi-national oil companies, the army, navy and the police. Lives and properties are lost to gas flares, blow out from oil spillage, environmental pollution etc. Meanwhile, the federal government and multi-nationals grow fat at the expense of the poor. Oil capitalism has brought sorrow and doom to the region, as the Niger Delta remains under-developed. Ojaide's thematic preoccupation in *The Activist* is to throw more light on the plight of the Niger Delta people especially the women who face various forms of victimizations like rape, miscarriages, occupational disempowerment, pollution, lose of eyesight and other health hazards. This paper seeks to highlight the role of these women who refuse to be seen as docile and second class as well as their socio-political activism in reversing their predicament. Three theories inform the focus of the paper through it's characters representation namely; eco-feminism, feminism and the Marxism theories as the women and the masses fought the oil workers and their cohorts to a halt to gain full control of the companies and become employers of labour in the once ravaged, impoverished environment by oil companies. The paper is based on library research.

### **Keywords**

Gender, Health, Hardship, Socio-Political, oil Spillage, Environment Pollution.

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## **Preamble**

Before the advent of oil exploration in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, the ecosystem was pure and natural. Everdren opines that “nature is real and constitutes the standard against which the laws of all nations must be judged and to which they ought to conform” (Agar, 2006). The Niger Delta people lived peacefully, savoring the green environment characterized by clean water for farming/domestic use, fishing and fertile land for agriculture, thick forest for hunting animals and games among others. Atemie and Akikibofori opine that by engaging in the same activities and rituals, people of traditional societies share common moral values that Durkheim called “collective conscience. In traditional societies people tend to regard themselves as members of a group. The collective conscience embraces individual awareness, there is little sense of personal options” (Apter, 1998). The region is densely populated and one of the world’s greatest ecosystems with mangrove forest found everywhere. The discovery of oil in the region was supposed to bring wealth, job opportunities, infrastructural development, social amenities etc to the people of the region. Yet man in his greed and quest for materialism has disturbed the order of nature. The “eco-peace” to borrow Onyema’s expression (Apter, 1998) has suffered setbacks. The palliatives the Niger Delta people were suppose to have, have always eluded them. Instead, they are subjected to hardship, suffering, marginalization, starvation, health hazards among others. Onyema argues that “rather than deep indulgence in the praise song school of romantic green, the Niger Delta writers praise nature as nostalgic memorization that instills a psychological throw out to the eco-harmony that prevailed in the pre-crude Delta, in order to give fillip to the degree of loss, devastation and suffering spilled by crude oil exploration. People pay for eco-devastation with their lives” (Habila, 1992).

Lending credence to the above claim, writers like Helon Habila, Kaine Agary, Isidore Okpewho, Tess Onwueme etc have lamented the negative impact of oil exploration in the Niger Delta region. The region is plagued by vast degradation, pollution, destruction of farming and aquatic life, which has further impoverished the people. Many Niger Deltans have lost their sources of livelihood. This has led to rise in criminal activities like oil pipe vandalization, kidnapping, militancy, prostitution, armed robbery among others. While the federal government and multi-national oil companies wax stronger and richer, the region is fast becoming a ghost of its former self. Apter states that “the multi-nationals/federal government were engaged in lootcraft-stealing from the poor and giving to the rich” (Habila, 1992).

The federal government/multi-national oil companies are insensitive and mindless to the plight of the people. They eschew corporate social responsibilities, turning deaf ears to the plight of the people. As the natural green and fecundity of the ecosystem disappears, the Niger Deltans are faced with new realities and seek alternative ways of survival in a hitherto eco-violent environment where extortioners enjoy immunity.

## **Women, Health and Socio – political issues in Ojaide’s *The Activist***

Ojaide’s novel, *The Activist* explores Ken Saro – Wiwa’s concern for his people and his region. Saro Wiwa was one of the greatest activist/environmentalist in the Niger Delta. Daminabo recalls that Saro – Wiwa did not fight for his Ogoni people alone. What he did was to use Ogoni as a metaphor for the entire minority ethnic nations of Nigeria. He successfully launched a non violent approach in tackling ecological issues in the Niger Delta. Saro-Wiwa’s attack was global, starting from Port Harcourt, Lagos, London Geneva, Vienna and both Rotterdam and The Hague. He also used major organizations like the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), European Economic Commission (EEC), the Commonwealth Secretariat,

Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), International (World) Court of Justice (ICJ) and the World Council of Churches (WCC) as well as influential media outfits like the BBC, VOA, CNN among others.

The novel situates itself within the socio-economic political discourse of injustice and eco-trauma witnessed by the people of the region. The title of the novel foregrounds the author’s ideological stance concerning the plight of his people. Ojaide has written several collections of poetry which include *Labyrinths of the Delta*, *Delta Blues and Home songs*, *The Eagle’s Vision*, *The Fate of Vultures*, and *other Poems and The Blood of Peace*. Darah opines that what is discernible in Ojaide’s poetry is “an abiding concern with the fate of the Niger Delta people” (Calhoun, 1997). Ojaide’s novel include *Stars of the Long Night* which celebrate the Niger Delta of yore, of great men/women as well as their rich cultural heritage. *The Activist* takes a swipe into the socio-political and economic activities in the rich oil region “which celebrates young academia and freedom fighters who combine courage and intellect to advance the cause of popular resistance against exploitation by the federal government and its foreign collaborators” (Darah, 2010). These freedom fighters like Pere, Omagbemi, the area boys etc are like the MauMau in Ngugi’s *A Grain of Wheat*.

In *The Activist*, Ojaide probes into gender and health concerns which have continued to destroy communities in the Niger Delta. The police, army and naval marines unleash terror on the people instead of protecting them. Terrorism is a global issue that has continued to plague most countries today. Calhoun et al in *Sociology* define terrorism as simply “the spread of terror” (Daminabo, 2008). This definition is encapsulated in the Niger Delta experience and literary works. On the other hand, Schmid and Jongman view terrorism as a method of combat that includes a target of violence, a state of chronic fear and mobilization for target of demands or attention. They add that terrorism is often characterized by violence and threat targeted against civilians in-order to intimidate them. From this definition, it is evident that the Niger Delta people in *The Activist* are victims of terrorism perpetuated on them by the state (represented by the federal government) and secondly the multi-national oil companies like Bell Oil, O and G, in collaboration with some greedy and corrupt Niger Deltans.

The replacement of palm oil, which the region was noted for with crude oil changed the landscape bringing in its wake discontentment and greed. Teilanyo states that “the palm oil of the colonial era stands for the present day crude petroleum oil” (Daminabo, 2008). Money from oil wealth was used to develop Lagos and Abuja. Ojaide writes “... the oil boom turned into doom for the Niger Delta people. The proceeds from the oil went to Lagos to build a festival town for the black people of the world to celebrate their culture and arts and also to construct unending bridges to connect water-separated parts of the teeming city. Other oil gains also went to build an entire new capital on rocks in the windy and dusty savannah” (*The Activist*, 50). Corroborating the above claim, Darah asserts that “the stupendous growth of Lagos and Abuja, the state capitals, the highways and express ways, the airport, seaports, banks and finance houses is a direct consequences of the diversion of money from the Niger delta” (Daminabo, 2008).

Most farm lands became polluted and fishing became impossible Chief Tobi Ishaka, one of the prominent sons of the region bimated his colleagues for greed and neglect of the region. He is upright and wants development in the region. Ojaide writes:

Tobi Ishaka had rejoiced when oil was first discovered in his farmland and family land. He had been to Lagos and seen its beauty in the skyscrapers and roads and had thought that the oil found in the area would be partly used to bring social amenities.

But that joy was short lived as he saw the national projects from oil taken away. He saw outsiders occupying all the key positions in the oil companies while most of their children remained unemployed (*The Activist*, 142)

Chief Ishaka's forthrightness calls to mind Chief Malabo in Habila's *Oil on Water*, who refused to sell his community land to multi-national oil companies. Chief Tobi Ishaka sends his son Dennis to study petroleum engineering, so that he will be able to drill oil in his family land. His son informs him thus:

That may not be possible father, because the federal military government has already sold the rights for prospecting oil on our land to the foreigners. They call it oil prospecting concession; I will not be able to drill oil in our own farmland, even if I had the knowledge, unless those concessions are revoked or re-assigned. By the land use decree and the many concessions already sold out, what's in our land has been taken from us and is no longer ours to take back even if we knew how to (*The Activist*, 143-144).

This is gross violation of human rights. In addition, the Niger Delta people faced bio-terrorism inform of blowouts e.g in Roko village, which was caused by old leaking pipes which "crossed playground of children, crossed cassava farms of women and even went through many parts of the village. Residential homes stood on both sides of pipelines" (*The Activist*, 154). This again is a clear example of insecurity of life and property which the people are subjected to. The oil companies bribe local chiefs and send the Community Development Officer, Professor Kokoba to reassure them of their safety. This is betrayal. This incident led to fire outbreak and destruction of the entire village. Ojaide records the deception, callousness and insensitivity of oil companies in the region. He recalls "they know that there was a blowout and the fire vehicle was stationed at the location less than twenty miles away. Rather they sat in their offices and issued a statement that the native population was sabotaging their pipelines" (*The Activist*, 155).

Raji argues that "... there is no other way to capture a situation where successive administrations remain unmoved even as their people experience incalculable damages resulting from environmental degradation and abuse if not as criminal neglect" (Stratton, 1994). It is against this backdrop that the area boys, led by Pere, in collaboration with the Activist, a returnee from the United States, now an academic in Delta State University and the student union of the university planned a protest which the oil company got wind of and sent Professor Tobere Ede, another Community Development Officer, to pacify the irate students. He blamed the fire on the people, whom he described as lazy, calling them names:

The villagers set their village on fire because they wanted to extort money from Bell Oil Company. People have become lazy and want an easy way to make money. None of those villages has a farm as they used to; none of them carries on fishing in waters proverbially rich with all kinds of fresh and salt water fish. The villagers just sit at home drinking illicit gin and playing draft and eko-games (*The Activist*, 156).

This insult was too much for the irate students, who saw him as a traitor and set him ablaze. Again, Atemie and Akikibofori aver that "youth restiveness completes a picture of socio-political anomie. The Niger Delta people are left out of the equation of governance and control in their own country because they are in the minority, the exploiters of their resources do not care about the people whose land had been left bare due to years of oil exploitation. The situation can be regarded as robbery of the minority" (Stratton, 1994). The Community Development Officer was replaced with a Community Liaison Officer from the military,

known as Colonel Sampson Dudu. He refused to help the displaced refugees of Roko. Nemesis caught up with him, as he died of stroke.

Oil violence/terrorism continued to affect the region. In Ekakpamre, the entire village was also destroyed. The poisonous gas destroyed wildlife and humans. The police/soldier drafted there again failed in their duties as they busied themselves looting homes of already traumatized victims. The people’s efforts to douse the fire failed, “they were black from the soot of smoke and ashes. There were many premature births because some pregnant women went into sudden labour. Babies coughed relentlessly. The old wheezed. Eyes itched and those already with poor eyesight had their problems worsened by the fire and smoke” (*The Activist*, 207).

Again in the spirit of Marxism, Omagbemi mobilized the students and people against the multi-national arsonists. They were able to suppress the mobile police that Bell Oil sent to secure their installations. They were more interested in securing their installations than saving lives. The students carried green leaves and tree branches to signify peace. Bell Oil, afraid of losing sixteen million dollars daily, drafted soldiers to the area. The Egba boys, students and protesters were shot and wounded. This act of violence meted on innocent people by the military and the government’s denial of terrorism smacks of deceit, by a government that is supposed to protect its citizens from oppression. In addition, the federal government commended the police/army for brutalizing the people. Ojaide inundates his story with ironies and sarcasms and indicts the media for their complacency in covering evil in the oil rich region. Onyema agrees that “the poaching multinational companies with (the conniving Nigerian government) become as it was industrial capitalist that inevitably subdue pastoralism and pollute the natural habitats dizzy” (Stratton, 1994).

The wanton destruction of lives and property led to mourning in the affected community. Women left their hair unmade, while their male counterparts shaved their hair and sang dirges for their departed loved ones. These activities culminated in a nude protest by women of menopausal age, “this was in keeping with traditional practice of cursing the oppressors” (*The Activist*, 210). The nude protest by women marked the climax of violence in the region and underscores the women’s feminist spirit and female bonding. Emenyi (2005) cites Judith Bardwick who describes feminism as an implicit reflection of the lifestyle created by strong coercive norms that define and restrict what women are and can do...” (Ojaide,2010). Peter Okadike explains to his foreign boss that “women’s nude protest is the worst curse possible in the traditional society. It is a curse invoked when all measures to seek redress or justice had failed. And those cursed always died within days” (*The Activist*, 121). The above reiterates the fact that the female gender cannot be silenced forever. It is against similar backdrop that Stratton “castigates Achebe’s women for silence in the face of their oppression under Igbo patriarchy (and) express no opposition to the imposition of a regime which will add racial to further sexual oppression” (Ojaide,2010). Closely related to the nude dance is “the baring of the female buttocks” (Ojaide,2010) which Opara terms a typical female drama associated with some culture as a mark of vehement protest.

Timi Taylor, the president of women of the Niger Delta Forum, alongside Ebi (*The Activist*’s wife) become strong mobilizers of women in the region. Timi had ensured that journalists and reporters were on hand to cover the nude dance/protest but the women were tear-gassed by naval marines and taken away. Brutalized and raped, the women refused to give up their struggle. Their doggedness is commendable. It calls to mind the women’s action in Sembene Ousmane’s *Gods Bits of Wood*. Kolawole submits that in *Gods Bits of Wood*, “women are at the vanguard of social struggle against racism, impoverishment and the male intimidation of

their men by the colonial bosses” (119). Titi called on the goddess of women, Umalokun to avenge the rape and humiliation of the women.

It is worthy of note that the above incident of rape is not the first in the region. The fishing net-project resulted in rape, killing, arson etc by drunken soldier’s. The soldiers “harassed people, extorted money, raped women, robbed and shot dead those who resisted the extortion and robbery and described them as saboteurs of peace” (*The Activist*, 186). Ojaide portrays the police/military as the real enemies of the people. They accepted bribes openly, sold their ammunitions to armed robbers and spent the money on alcohol and prostitutes, thus aiding the spread of HIV/Aids in the region. The health implication here is enormous for the whole community and Nigeria at large.

Oil exploration as mentioned earlier has adverse effect on the welfare of the Niger Deltans. Timi finds out that the women’s problems were linked to bio-terrorism. For instance, several women recounted their litany of woes, which include infertility in men and women, burning sensation, early menopause, spread of prostitution, early menstruation and pregnant women delivering malformed babies which some of them deliberately killed. One woman, known as Matije laments:

Your husband may look well but many of our men are now sick. Newly married young women complain about the weakness of their men; we older women see for ourselves what is happening. To be blunt about it, our husbands are losing their manhood at a very early age. How can old men be stronger than young men (*The Activist*, 191)

These women’s activism underscores Onyema’s assertion that “women move from ego-consciousness to eco-consciousness. They are active in local/national politics and play complementary roles to the men, especially as it concerns organizing protest” (Ojaide,2010). In addition, Chukwuma submits that women from time immemorial have always been great mobilizers.

The Egba women’s march on the Alake of Egbaland by Mrs. Ransome Kuti was political and national. That move forced the Alake into exile. In 1929, the Aba women’s war which spread to Abak and its environs was to protest the taxation of their menfolk. These political marches and protests which in Abak cost about twenty-nine women their lives were completely national in objective... (105).

Bryce (2008) cites Nina Mba who posits that “the eastern women’s war was very much a feminist movement in the sense that the women were very conscious of the special role of women, the importance of women to society and the assertion of their rights as women vis-à-vis the men they consistently drew attention to their sexual identity through their dress, body gestures and songs (Saro, 1993).

Saro Wiwa according to Apter recounts with pride how the Ogoni people participated in the 1929 women’s tax riot in which several Ogoni women lost their lives. Their deaths attest to the Ogoni tradition of mobilization and resistance against foreign domination. Bryce is of the opinion that due to their protest, women were not taxed and were given a say in the election of warrant chiefs; considering also the further mass protests against taxation and other aspects of colonial rule in 1938 and throughout the 40s and 50s; in the 60s over education, in the 70s also when “there was swift government submission in Benin and Ibadan... when ... some market women, angered by the government’s insistence on their paying taxes before their children could be registered for school, threatened to go naked...; and more recently, the anti-oil company demonstrations of 2002 in the Delta, it would seem the history of women’s protest in

Nigeria has been both continuous and effective” (Ogunyemi, 11) The nude protest that foreigners dismissed as “voodoo ‘beliefs” (Saro., 1993) coincided in the death of Mr. Van Hoort and two weeks later General Mustapha Ali Dongo, the then Military ruler also died “in weird circumstances” (*The Activist*, 217). Thus Ojaide, like Sembene Ousmane and Ngugi elevate the feminine gender for bringing down “tyrants that their men failed to remove” (*The Activist*, 217). All forms of protest against the federal government and Bell Oil by the Area boys led by Pere, the Activist, Omagbemi, students, women and others implicate that the Niger Delta people have not been docile. Infact Isaac Boro was the forerunner in the agitation against the neglect of the region. Boro adopted a violent approach in tackling the problems of the Niger Delta.

The multi-nationals are crafty and they do not want the world to know their wrong doings. For instance, they were able to deny the Niger Delta delegation clearance to travel abroad. Dr. Oti the leader of the delegation was brutalized and tagged a saboteur. All their passports were confiscated. Ojaide writes:

Within days of the aborted overseas trip of all the oil community delegation, federal secret service agents descended on Niger Delta state for what they described as a major security operation. They raided offices and homes of the delegates and confiscated documents, coloured pictures and maps, slides and video cassettes taken of sites of oil pollution. The agents were surprised at the tones of documents especially the different parts of the Niger Delta... They treated all the members of the delegation as suspects in a grand plot... (203- 204).

This is why Saro-Wiwa publicized his activism in the region. Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni leaders were executed by hanging on 10 November, 1995.

Despite their supposed smartness, Pere in collaboration with The Activist and the Area boys made money through oil bunkering. During the national strike they sold their products, exploited the multinationals, built houses, hotels and set up their businesses. In a dramatic twist, the staff of Bell Oil patronized Pere’s hotel, while he in turn exploited them to his advantage. The Activist’s newspaper, known as The Patriot highlighted the activities in the region and some of the boys were gainfully employed there. With the sacking of the military it is hoped that the new leader, the Activist will take the region to greater height and eliminate all forms of oppression, marginalization bio-terrorism and discrimination in the region.

## **Conclusions**

From the foregoing, it is evident that the female gender is coming out of their cocoon and asserting their individuality and collective self in their various communities. They are providing leadership at home and in their society and are saying “NO” to the marginalization and exploitation of their resources especially as it affects their sex, health and socio-political life. Women in the Niger Delta region want to live freely and conduct their businesses in an eco-friendly environment, devoid of pollution, degradation, terrorism, victimization and all forms of injustices metted on them by the government and multi-national. They want the region to be fully developed and social amenities like road, schools, water, electricity etc provided for the people, instead of living in abject poverty and squalor. Ojaide’s juxtaposition of the living quarters of oil workers and that of the poor villagers is indeed illuminating and calls for genuine concern and a turn around.

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## **Non Thematic Section**

## **Self-Deportation and Forced Choice as Discursive Maneuver: Force and “Voluntary” Migration**

Nicole Trujillo-Pagan<sup>30</sup>

### **Abstract**

The words we use to understand migration underpin how we attempt to control it. This paper uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to trace the use of “self-deportation.” I find the word was framed in different ways by media, academics and political experts. I focus on how political experts used self-deportation as a form of dog-whistle politics and associated it with a variety of enforcement-only approaches to immigration policy. I consider the relatively consistent political framing participated in shifting policy debates because they normalized the force and coercion implied by deportation.

### **Keywords**

Forced migration, deportation, immigration policy, self-deportation

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## Introduction

An analytic distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration traces back to the beginning of modernity and language remains critical to how we understand this fundamental difference between freedom and coercion. This paper uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to explain how “voluntary” movement is implicated in efforts to control migration. For instance, Israel encourages “voluntary return” by offering financial incentives. Other countries have developed more elaborate and expansive programs that include support with formal reintegration once they go home (Plewa 2012). In the United States, legal definitions of voluntary departure and voluntary return are used to contrast deportation. My analysis elucidates how “self-deportation” became a discursive innovation that capitalized on the presumption of voluntary movement.<sup>31</sup> I find political experts used the word to mask the force and coercion of deportation.

Political experts understand “dog whistle politics” as discursive conventions in speech. These conventions are of particular analytic significance in democratic societies because they send messages that are “heard only by a certain group of people” (McCaskill in Palmer, 2016; Goodin and Saward, 2005). The discursive appeals persuade in-group members and avoid negative reactions from outgroups (Albertson, 2015). In this analysis, self-deportation was a whistle signaling political support for expanding interior enforcement, cooperating with states and local agencies to detain a greater number of immigrants and increasing deportation.

I suggest that the relatively consistent framing of self-deportation by experts in the period from 1993-2018 enabled a political strategy to develop that centered on deportation, despite significant challenges. For instance, California Governor Pete Wilson appropriated what had been an administrative term in 1993. He passed self-deportation legislation as Proposition 187, which was subsequently deemed unconstitutional.<sup>32</sup> In May 2005, Mark Krikorian codified self-deportation as part of an “attrition through enforcement” strategy. He used it to frame a political alternative to mass deportation, which had been a dominant theme in debates before passing HR 4437. In 2007, the estimated costs of mass deportation “featured prominently in the congressional hearings” on U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) (Camacho 2010: 9-10). In 2008, following the largest ICE raid in U.S. history, self-deportation became a way for ICE to defend “Operation Scheduled Departure,” despite their press release indicating it was not a form of voluntary departure or voluntary return. Self-deportation again featured prominently in media coverage of the 2012 U.S. Presidential campaign. Republicans then blamed the term for candidate Mitt Romney’s loss of the election, but media commentators nonetheless inferred President Trump referenced the term again in 2016 when he said “Day one, my first hour in office, those people are gone. And you can call it deported if you want. The press doesn’t like that term. You can call it whatever the hell you want. They’re gone” (Preston, 2016).

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<sup>31</sup> U.S. immigration law distinguishes between voluntary departure, voluntary return and deportation. For instance, under U.S. President Trump’s “zero-tolerance” policy, families are separated at the U.S.-Mexico border. Desperate parents sign “voluntary departure” forms in order to improve their chances at returning to the United States. This paper focuses only on the discourse surrounding self-deportation and deportation.

<sup>32</sup> Wilson was the first politician in my dataset to use the word self-deportation. Proposition 187 allowed California to deny social services to undocumented immigrants, including emergency medical care and enrollment in public schools. The courts ruled that the legislation was unconstitutional, but scholars consider it “was a symbolic protest that marked the beginning of a new politics of immigration that would involve states and municipalities to a much larger degree than in the past” (Provine and Varsanyi, 2012: 106).

This paper begins with a discussion of why speech acts are important to our understanding of state coercion. I also explain how different frames lead scholars to misrecognize self-deportation and focus instead on choice and effectiveness. I then outline my methodological approach to CDA and explain why a word (self-deportation) is the subject of my analysis. My approach distinguished expert and media frames that misrecognized self-deportation and that introduced the concepts of voluntariness and choice into discussions about its meaning. Finally, I analyze expert quotes on self-deportation to mediate the potential that its use in media coverage was taken “out of context” (McGlone, 2005).

## **1. Literature**

There is a burgeoning literature on European migration policies that encourage “voluntary return” (Koch 2014). For instance, Frances Webber (2011) notes voluntary return schemes have recently become popular in order to accede to the principle of voluntariness outlined by the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), but they don’t meet the UNHCR criteria. Analyzing the case of Afghans granted refugee status, Brad Blitz et al (2005) similarly find that, despite having an ostensibly secure legal status, “choice” had little meaning amidst harassment, violence, deportation of co-nationals, and threats of repatriation. Other scholars echo that “assisted voluntary return” should recognize the role of the state and international organizations in enforcement as “soft deportation” or “state-induced returns” (Arjen Leerkes et. Al 2017; Koch 2014). Antoine Pécoud suggests an alternate explanation for attempts to control mobility in the European Union (EU). Reflecting on the benefits of labor mobility, he argues immigration control is about creating the conditions for mobility to take place without disturbing the “national order of things” (Malkki in Pécoud, 2013).

In contrast, President Theodore Roosevelt suggested the United States should promote order by speaking softly and carrying a big stick. His reference implied the use of force to achieve policy objectives. In this paper, I identify a form of “soft speak” used by politicians in order to advance unpopular ideas. This form of speak can frame an issue in multiple ways, depending on its author. Sociologists have used frame analysis in a variety of ways, but most endeavor to define or distinguish different frames (Feagin, 2010; Matthes and Kohring, 2008; Scheff, 2005; Entman, 2004; Goffman, 1974). Thomas Scheff (2005) suggests a frame can be identified by a word. My analysis of self-deportation led me to distinguish media and political frames because the latter functioned like a dog whistle, “inaudible and easily denied in one range, yet stimulating strong reactions in another” (Haney López, 2015: 3).

What seemed inaudible to media led it to develop an alternate frame that introduced concepts of choice and voluntariness in defining self-deportation. In other words, media invented opposed metaphors and limited the terms of public debate. Opposed metaphors have long characterized debates surrounding immigration in the United States. For instance, public claims that the immigration system is “broken” can refer alternately to “poor, hardworking migrants [who] cannot obtain visas or work permits for legal entry and employment in the United States” [or] federal authorities [who] have allowed the undocumented population to reach the astonishing sum of 12 million people, who reside within U.S. borders without any imaginable claim to naturalization” (Camacho, 2010: 18). Metaphors are part of how media mobilizes frames than can, for instance, mobilize voters to support anti-immigrant legislation and politicize immigration “in often inflammatory and blatantly populist ways” (Joppke 1998: 18; Haynes et al 2016; Santa Ana, 2002).

The media frame of self-deportation is echoed by scholars who have studied both self-deportation and Attrition through Enforcement (ATE) assert it involves “choice.” For instance, Walter Ewing defines the goal of ATE “to make life in the United States so difficult for unauthorized immigrants that they *choose* to leave, or self-deport” (2010: 114). Luis Fernandez and Joel Olson interpret “all that is needed [by attrition through enforcement as strategy]... is to induce enough fear and terror about being caught that once *chooses* to go away” (2011: 414). Lisa Sandoval argues the “policy [ATE] behind the law [Arizona’s Senate Bill 1070] is...making their lives so difficult that they *voluntarily choose* to leave the country rather than be subject to deportation” (2011: 48). Angela García argues ATE policies are “formed to trigger the *voluntary* exit of undesirable immigrants” (2012: 1850). Alexandra Filandra challenges ATE proponents who argue it “will work because ‘rational’ individuals will *choose* to ‘self-deport’ (2012: 8).

The scholarship on ATE indicates other ways limited frames constrain our analyses. For instance, the literature asserts related policies, including 287(g) programs and Secure Communities, are *ineffective* in fulfilling their stated objectives of encouraging outmigration.<sup>33</sup> Alternately, they suggest the effect is unclear and endeavor to redefine “effectiveness” in terms of other considerations. For instance, some analyses present effects in terms of ATE’s collateral damage on households and children (Suárez-Orozco, 2012; Waslin, 2012). Anna Ochoa O’Leary and Azucena Sanchez (2011) suggest policy goals may be met, but restrictions may impact eligible children. They argue the “highly adaptive and cohesive household forms, including those of mixed immigration status,” make enforcement untenable (128). In a similar vein, David Thronson finds the number of immigrants arrested is less significant than the impact of immigration raids on children and the “unmistakable message of loss and fear” communicated to families (2008: 417). The analysis assumes fear is an *unintended* consequence. In contrast, Adam Goodman (2017) considers fear is the intended consequence that force people to move or live on the margins of a society. Other scholars focus on how ATE policies do not effect settlement and residency (Johnson, 2009; García, 2012). For instance, Emilio Parrado argues the effects of ATE policies are “unclear” because they have been “variably enforced” (2012: 19-20). Although Parrado documents instances of civil and human rights violations related to enforcement, he vacillates in his arguments that ATE “is not very effective at eliminating the undocumented worker population,” “policies are successful only if they are enforced with extreme vigor,” and “extreme application of these programs does in fact reduce the local immigrant population” (2012: 34-35). In essence, Parrado ties the problem of effectiveness to the severity of enforcement. In summary, scholars focus on predicting migrants’ movements and emotions, including fear (Gunkel and Wahl, 2012; Hing, 2010; Mendieta, 2011). Common perspectives on self-deportation also do not elucidate self-deportation as a strategic effort or how it is related to a broader framework of civil and human rights violations. These perspectives also fail to elucidate how self-deportation is a discursive instrument that can serve other purposes, such as promoting increased spending to further militarize a border or to expand the “immigration-industrial complex” (Trujillo-Pagan, 2014).

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<sup>33</sup> The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act was passed in 1996 and included Section 287(g), allowing ICE to enter into formal agreements of cooperation with state and local law enforcement agencies. 287(g) programs deputize non-federal police officers as immigration agents and gives them the ability to detain undocumented immigrants and begin the deportation process (Coleman 2009). Secure Communities expands officers’ ability to check immigration status by sharing Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) data with ICE via a vis finger prints. Chand and Schreckhise (2014) find local political attitudes played a role in use of Secure Communities program.

The use of data to predict the actual incidence of self-deportation is also reflected in non-academic discourse. For instance, journalists and politicians critical of ATE also share a paradigm that emphasizes efficacy and utility. This presents several problems. First, it obfuscates ATE as a broader *strategy* whose aims span beyond the actual incidence of settlement or outmigration, which is readily apparent from its use in political campaigns. Second, references to social and economic ties unwittingly reify immigrants as subjects whose rights are (or should be) premised solely on the citizenship of children who are “born here” rather than, for instance, the mobility of capital or the human right to work. Third, although migrants are constructed in different ways by ATE proponents and opponents, both reify immigrants as outsiders and may unwittingly render broad entitlement to legal protections a matter of debate. Finally, the shared paradigm emphasizes migrants’ behavior at the expense of critiques directed at ATE as strategy and its influence on enforcement and immigration law.

Current perspectives treat “undocumented migration...as a self-evident problem” (De Genova, 2007). My analysis of self-deportation is particularly significant because it focuses on the word rather than migrant behavior. I find self-deportation is not about choice or even the law’s ineffectiveness in discouraging undocumented migration. Instead, the term is part of a discourse that promotes the law’s ability to expand state control. Self-deportation emerged before the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act was passed in 1996. After that point, political experts were quoted by media. These quotes consistently associate self-deportation with deportation and increased law enforcement, particularly at the local and state level. This association becomes a more systematic whistle after 2005 when Mark Krikorian presented the “attrition through enforcement” strategy.<sup>34</sup> His paper outlined an enforcement-only approach to immigration control, but presented ATE and self-deportation as if there were compromises between two poles in the immigration debate: mass deportation and amnesty. In other words, the word has a political history that both precedes and that follows what seem to be more recent political trends.

An online map of people who have used or promoted ATE identifies John Tanton as “the Architect” of an anti-immigrant movement.<sup>35</sup> He founded the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) in 1985. As its Executive Director, Krikorian’s paper took on an air of “non-partisan research” that was legitimized by media. In other words, by quoting political experts on self-deportation, the media became complicit in normalizing a discourse that expands law enforcement. Indeed, the online “who’s behind the plot against DACA” map includes a variety of actors currently at the front lines of the anti-immigrant movement and the U.S. government, including Kris Kobach, Jeff Sessions, and Stephen Miller.

## 2. Methods

I use an approach to critical discourse analysis that has an affinity with other socio-cultural analyses. Norman Fairclough (2013) underscores the relationship between social practices that shape texts and, in turn, how texts frame social issues. He outlines four stages of analysis that include identifying semiotic obstacles to addressing social wrongs and their role in depoliticisation and politicization. His approach to critical discourse analysis emphasizes how

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<sup>34</sup> The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) identifies “CIS as an anti-immigrant hate group” whose deceptive research and reports are used by politicians and conservative media. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/center-immigration-studies>

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.plotagainstdaca.com/network/#graph>

decoding texts can be a significant form of social research because they help elucidate the relations between “social history and social reality” (Fairclough 2013, p. 229).

This study builds on Fairclough’s insights and analytic approach to CDA by treating discourse as historical and dialectical process (earlier texts influence subsequent ones) and by paying close attention to the socio-cultural and historical context in which text is produced and consumed. I conducted the study in three stages. The first began in 2012 as media buzzed about what “self-deportation” meant. I began an exploratory online search and created a list of the definitions that followed the term’s use in the 2012 U.S. presidential campaign. I found no consensus on what the word meant. Indeed, a single article could refer to self-deportation in contradictory ways. A sample of the definitions are categorized in Table 1:

**Table 1: Online References to Self-Deportation (2012)**

Words Associated with Definition	Themes
“idea” and “fantasy,” (Editorial Board, 2012) “myth” <sup>36</sup>	Idea/concept
“proposal,” <sup>37</sup> “solution,” <sup>38</sup> “policy” <sup>39</sup>	Policy
“fantasy,” <sup>40</sup> “dream,” “nonsense”	Psychology
“movement” <sup>41, 42</sup>	Collective/social movement

The lack of consistency in how the term framed social reality shaped my approach to a second stage of analysis, which was more systematic in considering how mainstream media defined self-deportation. In this stage, I relied on what is now called “Nexis Uni,” and formally called Lexis Nexis, which is a widely-referenced database that indexes domestic and international news in a variety of formats. I used the keywords “self-deport” and “self-deportation.” My preliminary analysis indicated “self-deport” was used narrowly to refer to human movement and the term was dropped from further analysis. In contrast, “self-deportation” was used in politicized and ambiguous ways that elicited clarification. Sources referenced in this second

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/myth-self-deportation>

<sup>37</sup> States News Service. "CRACKERJACKS, BAY OF PIGS SEQUEL AND SELF-DEPORTATION". States News Service. January 23, 2012 Monday. <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:54T4-R9B1-DYTH-G02B-00000-00&context=1516831>.

<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Stuart Deseret News. "Gingrich mocks Romney's 'self-deportation' solution to illegal immigration, Romney swings back". Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City). January 25, 2012 Wednesday. <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:54TH-NC01-JBRG-X18H-00000-00&context=1516831>.

<sup>39</sup> States News Service. "ROMNEY DECIDED TO BE THE MOST EXTREME CANDIDATE ON IMMIGRATION". States News Service. May 8, 2012 Tuesday. <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:55KN-1PD1-JCBF-S28R-00000-00&context=1516831>.

<sup>40</sup> Editorial Board. "The 'self-deportation' fantasy". The Washington Post. January 29, 2012 Sunday. <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:54V5-K2V1-JBFW-C55Y-00000-00&context=1516831>.

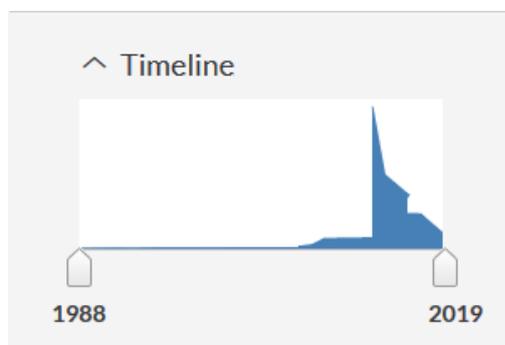
<sup>41</sup> David A. Fahrenthold. "A test for architects of bills on migrants". *The Washington Post*. April 25, 2012 Wednesday. <https://advance.lexis-com.proxy.lib.wayne.edu/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:55GN-Y6M1-DXXY-33TD-00000-00&context=1516831>.

<sup>42</sup> Targeted News Service. "Fifth Circuit Affirms Farmers Branch Housing Ordinance As Unconstitutional Targeting of Undocumented Immigrants". *Targeted News Service*. March 21, 2012 Wednesday. <https://advance.lexis-com.proxy.lib.wayne.edu/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:557F-W7C1-DYG2-R0PR-00000-00&context=1516831>.

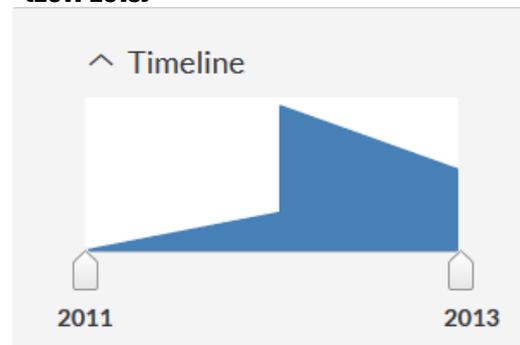
stage of analysis included major newspapers, magazines, news wires, television broadcasts, and blogs.

One consideration that required further analysis was that Nexis Uni results included news reports reproduced across multiple sources. This meant there was a high number of duplicates among the 5,339 records in the period from 1988-2019 (see Figure 1). Another concern with the data from stage 2 was that journalists defined self-deportation ambiguously and failed to identify agents or the cause of action (see Table 2). The discursive ambiguity highlights the ways media associated self-deportation with a variety of strategies and perspectives on immigration policy. A third concern was that media was not only inconsistent in defining the term, but also in when it paid attention to its use. Nexis Uni includes a timeline of articles, which indicated references were particularly pronounced in the period surrounding Mitt Romney's 2012 campaign (see Figure 2). This meant that 2,935 of the records were in the period between 2011-2013 (see Figure 2).

**Figure 1: Media References to Self-Deportation (1988-2019)**



**Figure 2: Media References to Self-Deportation (2011-2013)**



**Table 2: Media Frames of Self-Deportation**

	<b>agent/subject or cause</b>	<b>Adverse outcome</b>		<b>Implied choice (voluntary)</b>
<b>No agent/cause identified</b>	None	life	life becomes <b>hard</b>	leave of their <b>own accord</b> <sup>43</sup>
			making life so <b>difficult</b>	<b>choose</b> to return <sup>44</sup>
			lives unbearable	<b>want</b> to leave
			life so inhospitable	flee rather than face legal proceedings
			life so miserably unlivable for Hispanics--documented and undocumented alike	no other viable option but to move from the jurisdictions in which we currently live, to return "home".
		conditions	<b>conditions</b> so <b>unwelcome</b>	leave <b>voluntarily</b>
			making <b>economic</b> conditions so difficult	<b>choose</b> to leave the country
children	dividing children from their families	<b>none</b>		
jobs	Tough...to get jobs	<b>force</b> them to leave		
<b>agent/cause identified</b>	every transaction with a <b>government worker</b> into an effective checkpoint	life	making life unbearable	<b>forcing</b> them to move back
	tougher <b>enforcement</b> measures		making life more difficult	inducing illegal immigrants to leave voluntarily
	stricter immigration <b>laws</b>		make life ... so unbearable	they will leave on their own <sup>45</sup>
	<b>laws</b>	conditions	make it so hard to get a job or do business	leave <b>voluntarily</b>
	a <b>legal environment</b>		a) so hostile b) work so hard to come by	<b>choose</b> to depart of their own volition
<b>No Adverse outcome</b>	before ICE gets to them first	None	lived in the United States for decades	should decide to pick up and leave by themselves
	if citizenship laws and restrictions are enforced		NONE	leave on their own
	strict enforcement of laws		NONE	encourage ... to leave
<b>No Adverse outcome</b> <b>No agent/cause</b>	NONE		NONE	leaving the country voluntarily
<b>Misc</b>	equivalent to 1070's stated intent of " <b>attrition through enforcement.</b> "			
	undocumented immigrants will get their affairs in order, return to their native countries and try to reenter the United States by legal means--"getting in line" though no such line exists			

As a result, and following other qualitative research on media frames, in Stage 3, I focused on quoted references in the news in order to analyze how experts defined self-deportation. In

<sup>43</sup> "Arizona Primary 2012: What to Watch For". International Business Times News. February 27, 2012 Monday. <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:552D-6TH1-DXX7-H2HV-00000-00&context=1516831>.

<sup>44</sup> Alan Gomez, USA TODAY. "In voter tug of war, both conventions play to Hispanics". USA TODAY. September 7, 2012 Friday. <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:56HG-43X1-JC8N-K3P2-00000-00&context=1516831>.

<sup>45</sup> "Romney says he favors 'self-deportation'". The Associated Press. January 24, 2012 Tuesday. <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:54T8-C3G1-DXYN-605S-00000-00&context=1516831>.

other words, media relied on experts who had a professional interest in immigration. By focusing on expert quotes, I mediated the potential that politicized statements were taken “out of context” (McGlone, 2005). My final sample of 205 unique quotes were authored by politicians, enforcement officers (ICE), Campaign Advisors and Supporters (both Democrat and Republican), organizations (immigrant rights advocates, conservative groups), immigration attorneys and migrants. Only 6 quotes fell outside these categories, but were nonetheless retained in the final sample.<sup>46</sup> Word counts were highest for federal government politicians, Presidential candidates and conservative organizations.

In Stage 3, I identified an important shift in how Republicans thought about self-deportation after Mitt Romney lost the 2012 election. This shift was signaled by the publication and subsequent deliberations surrounding the Republican Party’s “Growth and Opportunity Project” Report, which was referred to as an “autopsy” of why they had lost (Barbour et al 2013). The value of that analysis is not tied to public debates or even the ways media misrecognized self-deportation. Indeed, after 2012 the media used the term repeatedly and politicians avoided it. One politician responded to a journalist’s query about self-deportation that he didn’t speak in whistles. Because the signaling of self-deportation shifted so significantly after 2012, my analysis is centered on the period before that date.

### 3. Data

#### *a. the Opposed Metaphor of Choice/False Choice*

Politicians and other political experts associated self-deportation with enforcing immigration policy. Their references treated force as an abstraction and removed it from the criticisms that have long accompanied the ways ICE detains and deports people. Meanwhile, although the media emphasized choice, experts who were proponents of self-deportation did not. For instance, the opening premise of the 2005 paper that initially outlined “attrition through enforcement” as strategy involved a fundamental rejection of choice.

“Since the federal government can't quickly deport the 10-12 million illegal aliens, the only alternative is legalization -- i.e., amnesty. But there is a third way that rejects this false **choice**, and it is the only approach that can actually work: Shrink the illegal population through consistent, across-the-board enforcement of the immigration law” (Krikorian 2005).

In this use, choice is the “false” outcome of two options that immigrants do not act upon. Migrants are referenced in abstract terms, as a population that can “shrink” through enforcement. In the sentences that followed, Krikorian underscored the systematic elimination of choice through force.

By **detering** the settlement of new illegals, by **increasing deportations** to the extent possible, and, most importantly, by increasing the number of illegals already here who **give up** and deport themselves, the United States can bring about an annual decrease in the illegal-alien **population**, rather than allowing **it** to continually increase. The point, in other words, is not merely to curtail illegal immigration, but rather to bring about a steady **reduction in the total number** of illegal immigrants who are living in the United States. The result would be a shrinking of the illegal population to a **manageable nuisance**, rather than today's looming crisis. This is analogous to the approach a corporation might take to downsizing a **bloated**

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<sup>46</sup> These included a comic strip cartoonist, business people, a resident of Arizona and a University student.

**workforce**: a hiring **freeze**, some **layoffs**, plus new incentives to encourage excess workers to leave on their own” (Krikorian 2005).

In this construction, forced migration and deterrence act on objects: illegals, aliens, population, number and nuisance. The state becomes a corporation. Incentives do not give choice, but instead systematically deny it. Self-deportation compliments a strategy focused on deterrence and deportation.

### ***b. The Opposed Metaphor of Legal / Illegal***

Self-deportation emerged in relation to a state politician’s effort to expand his control over immigration regulation. Prior to 1993, media references to self-deportation treated it as an act undertaken by an individual to leave a country and relinquish his/her legal claim to belonging in a country, typically while the person had a pending status adjustment application or under an order of deportation. California Governor Pete Wilson appropriated the term in 1993 when he claimed “you’d see self-deportation” result from enforcement and a law that denied public benefits, including education and health care, to “illegal immigrants” (Sesno 1993). Despite many important influences in the intervening years, Wilson’s initial reference to self-deportation was a blue-print for many associations mirrored almost twenty years later in the Republican Primary Presidential debates of 2012.

For instance, in 1993, Wilson explained

“the **denial** of needed services to legal residents, many of them, I might add, **legal immigrants** who have recently arrived, and it is they who **suffer most** in terms of depressed wages, lost jobs and even the crimes committed by people who comprise 13 percent of the state's prison population” (Sesno, 1993).

Wilson associated illegality with indirect and direct threats (wages, jobs, crimes) to legal immigrants. Similarly, Romney blamed “illegal immigrants” for the problems of

“four to five million people who are **waiting** at home in their own nations trying to get here legally...Grandparents and uncles and aunts. Those are the people we have a responsibility for....Let’s focus our attention on how to make **legal immigration** work and stop illegal immigration” (Blitzer, 2012)

Romney implied “illegal immigration” explains why people are “waiting...to get here legally.” He reinforced this association in other quoted references to “the line,” which tied immigration to the ideas of competition, fairness and deservedness. Wilson suggested legal immigrants suffer because of illegal immigrants, while Romney implied potential legal immigrants wait because of illegal immigration. These associations defined “illegal immigration” as the cause of denial, suffering, and waiting and blamed “illegal immigrants” for problems related to legal immigration. They also constructed both politicians as defenders of vulnerable and legitimate (“legal”) victims of illegality. At the same time that they dissociated immigration policy for problems associated with legal immigration, both politicians referred to “obligation” and “responsibility” in order to suggest their plans to introduce new policies would correct the problem of “illegal immigration” and “illegal immigrants.”

In two other quotes, Wilson and Romney similarly advocated developing of a “card” that would prove legality. The card became symbolic not only because its absence would create the conditions that would ostensibly encourage self-deportation, but also because they loaded

it with anxiety about fraud. For Wilson, driver's licenses "are easily **counterfeited**" even though they include a picture and a thumbprint (Thurm, 1994). He focused on "the **technology** of the card" (Press, 1994). Eighteen years later, the arguably advanced technology of the E-verify system allowed Romney to charge it with an ability to inform "employers...if it's ["identification card"] been **counterfeited**" (Blitzer, 2012). One of the critical limitations of E-verify is that it cannot detect counterfeits. Instead, its use often results in a high number of false positives that force people with the legal ability to work to prove their status. They often lose money and/or a job opportunity.

### **c. *The Opposed Metaphor of Home: Here / There***

In 2008, the majority of statements on "self-deportation" referred to a program launched that year and reflected broader debates around enforcement, detention, and deportation. An ICE program dubbed "Operation Scheduled Departure" followed shortly after the May 2008 raid in Postville, Iowa, which was the largest in U.S. history. The raid and subsequent detention of almost 400 workers reflected the broader erosion of immigrants' rights to due process and judicial review. An ICE press release that described Operation Scheduled Departure claimed "**thus far** in FY 2008, they **arrested** more than 26,000 **fugitives and other immigration status violators**. There are 90 **active** fugitive operations teams, with 14 more scheduled to be **deployed** in the next two months." Beginning the press release by associating Operation Scheduled Departure with "arrest and removal" bolstered the implied threat of detention. The release used numbers and time to amplify the threat of deportation and attributed an indistinct criminality to "fugitives and other immigration status violators." The release mobilized military imagery in reference to "active fugitive operations teams" and others "to be deployed." Although the program was widely considered an experiment with "self-deportation," the release explicitly clarified "the program is **not a form of voluntary** departure or voluntary return," which implied removal orders. The ban on re-entry to the United States would also not be suspended. Presented in the context of constraint, the release defined avoiding detention as an "opportunity."

Of the 28 quotes published in 2008, nine were issued by immigration enforcement officials. Their quotes were consistent in explaining the program was a response to criticism ("many have criticized us for" (Martin, 2008), "organizations who have asked us" (McCombs, 2008) and "issues were brought forward to us...asking us"(Tareen, 2008)) and as an

"**alternative** methods to enforce the law... This was a program we thought we could to do in **affording** them the opportunity to come forward without being arrested, without having detention time and **allowing** them to minimize impact it's going to have on the **family**" (Tareen, 2008).

The quotes displace attention from enforcement methods onto a "them" who were made responsible for minimizing the impact of deportation on their family. The ICE official implied the family was in the United States and threatened by arrest and detention, but the actor is not ICE, but "them." In contrast, the quotes presented ICE as responsive ("affording," "allowing") and concerned about families.

Two quotes that challenged the program referred more specifically to children. For instance, one migrant argued "It's [Operation Scheduled Departure] not **right**...people have **children** who are U.S. **citizens**. They'll be left **alone**" (Tareen, 2008). The shortness of the quote reflects how media reproduces power, authority and influence, but its existence suggests important areas of overlap with the discourse on self-deportation. The migrant's reference to

citizens was associated with needs and protection in ways that were comparable to how Wilson and Romney had constructed legality. From the migrant’s perspective, however, it was enforcement that threatened citizens. The migrant destabilized the association of enforcement and law, implying instead that enforcement compromises rights (“It’s is not right.”) Whereas the dominant discourse on self-deportation assumed enforcement protects, the quote highlighted how enforcement had become the threat. It emphasized citizenship and its associated rights to protection. The quote implied children should not be left “alone” by the people who “have” them. In the quote, children symbolized a shared familial vulnerability that expanded the rights of citizenship to protection from forced migration.

A secondary theme in 2008 was reference to “home.” The quotes varied in the implied location of “home” within or outside the United States but shared an assumption that it was jeopardized by potential enforcement. As one officer explained, “it’s getting too hard to **hide**. They have the **stress** of looking over their shoulders...they know there’s a lot of law enforcement looking for them. This is their way to go **home**” (Weiss, 2008). Among quotes that challenged Operation Scheduled Departure, “home” was only referred to once. Joshua Hoyt, Executive Director of the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, noted “The vast majority of immigrants are trying to stay in the U.S. because they have American citizen **children**, they have **homes** and they have **jobs** they've been working at for years” (Press, 2008). His quote associated “home” with important ties to the United States that include children and jobs. Unlike the discourse on self-deportation that used “home” as an abstract place one returns to, in this quote, home is here in the United States.

Fourteen quotes dismissed or challenged the discourse surrounding self-deportation and “Operation Scheduled Departure.” Rather than assume its goal was effective self-deportation, however, Hoyt wondered “Perhaps it's [the program] trying to make them [ICE] **look** more **humane**...It's not designed to work” (Hsu and Lydersen, 2008). His reflection implicated a fundamental characteristic of modern discipline. Modern enforcement and corrections are premised on “humane” forms of regulating groups and ostensibly reject pre-modern forms of physical punishment and torture (Foucault 1977). The popular consensus that enforcement should be humane explains why mass deportation and enforcement measures like “Operation Wetback” did not have widespread support. Similarly, polls indicate most voters oppose family separation at the U.S.-Mexico border (Matthews, 2018; O’Neil, 2018). The political demand to manipulate the appearance of humane immigration enforcement and control continue to inform political critiques. Four of the remaining quotes echoed related efforts to manipulate the ways ICE was perceived.

#### **d. *The Opposed Metaphor of Workers and Employers***

In the years leading up to the 2012 Presidential debates, use of the term “self-deportation” was infrequent and elaborated themes that had been previously identified. In 2012, most of the 72 quoted references focused on **jobs** (35) and **deportation** (15).<sup>47</sup> Mass deportation was only mentioned once, but Kris Kobach suggested legislation could have “massive effects” on self-deportation at a national level when he referred to the effects of Arizona’s 2007 law. His claim reflected a new pattern of associating law with jobs. In particular, law was implicated in

<sup>47</sup> The majority of quotes published in 2012 implicated Romney’s political position on self-deportation (45/72). Many statements considered his advocacy of self-deportation had a negative effect on his campaign (19/45) and a majority used this position to dismiss or oppose his candidacy (28/45). A minority of quotes was limited to Romney’s candidacy (8/45), however, and most statements (64/72) also referred more generally to self-deportation.

denying work opportunities and in establishing a “guest” worker program, an identification card and an E-verify system. Quotes focused on workers, job-seekers, and work permits rather than employer practice. **Employers** were infrequently mentioned (3) and no quote implicated the law in regulating employer hiring practices beyond general references to post-hoc “sanctions” and “penalties.” For example, Romney implied employer discretion when he argued E-verify “allows employers to check.” Other quotes similarly referred to employers’ ability or used more abstract terms, such as “tools,” to obscure the relationship between law and employers.

Although self-deportation was not often explicitly implicated in human rights and/or humane enforcement in 2012, it remained associated with ideas of vulnerability and deservedness that distinguished between immigrants whose opportunities required protection, such as “young, talented Hispanics,” and others whose marginality was reinforced by their status as single and unrooted in America. For instance, during the campaign, Newt Gingrich (2012) associated self-deportation with “fantasy,” but specified “the one group I singled out were people who have been here a **very long** time who are **married**, who may well have **children** and **grandchildren**” (Blitzer, 2012) His quote made age, marital status, and family the basis for a legitimate claim to stay in the United States. The opposed metaphor contrasted heterosexuality with persons who were not tied to citizens who are “**children** and **grandchildren**.” In other words, Gingrich did not challenge the legal basis of citizenship, but instead, implied enforcement should be reserved from some groups and based on selective criteria.

## **Conclusion**

Self-deportation was reproduced by media and scholars who provocatively associated it with choice. This misrecognition undermines public efforts to mobilize symbolic capital against local and state anti-immigration policies, measures, and practices. The relationship of self-deportation to enforcement was notably absent in media critiques of self-deportation. Analysis of political expert quotes on self-deportation demonstrated how enforcement was simultaneously emphasized and presented in abstract terms. For example, abstract references to enforcement as “measures” and “tools” camouflaged the force and coercion implied by deportation. The emphasis on specific terms that were repeatedly associated with self-deportation was thereby used to justify enforcement in the broadest terms. Presented as an aspect of existing law, measures associated with self-deportation seemed palatable. Experts repeatedly emphasized the distinction between the “attrition through enforcement” approach and mass deportation. Their opposed metaphors used self-deportation to obfuscate criticism of increased deportation and the use of forceful methods. Similarly, conservative politicians contrasted the extreme of mass deportation to make their support for deportation seem more legitimate. In this context of eroded human rights, self-deportation was reframed as not only deportation, but also humane enforcement.

My data finds scholars and the media reified and reproduced the idea that the political objective of self-deportation included choice. In contrast, conservative politicians and lobbyists have not associated self-deportation with choice or voluntariness. This finding suggests that the whistle of self-deportation was effective in obscuring the force inherent in “en-force-ment.” Similarly, the idea of “forced choice” is an oxymoron that contributes to distancing self-deportation from coercion. In these ways, scholars fetishized migrants’ behavior.

“A commodity appears, at first sight, a very trivial thing, and easily understood. Its analysis shows that it is, in reality, a very queer thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties” (Marx, 2018:46).

Like “a very trivial thing,” scholars abstract human movement from the social and political context that determines its legality. My analysis revealed how politicians endeavored to expand state control in a variety of ways and how they implicated a variety of actors in normalizing coercion and forced migration. In the original version of self-deportation (1994), even teachers and hospital workers would police the spaces that people can “legally” occupy. Eventually, local police officers were drafted to the task. Self-deportation indicates the ways enforcing otherwise controversial immigration policies has enlisted even journalists and scholars in the task of normalizing coercion through knowledge.

My analysis revealed that self-deportation was revealed as more than an idea, policy, or movement. Instead, it was a symbolic technique used to legitimize the increase and expansion of state control. State officials and political experts used self-deportation and a pattern of opposed metaphors to constrain debates about immigration overall, e.g. beyond unauthorized immigration. Self-deportation was framed as a compromise, a “third way” between the policy alternatives of mass deportation and amnesty. This discursive strategy co-opted public and Congressional debates about mass deportation, but nonetheless promoted increased enforcement. In this way, references to self-deportation were like a dog whistle that helped move political debates on immigration to the right. Even in purportedly unsuccessful proposals, references to self-deportation nonetheless shifted the meanings and implications of illegality and expanded the scope of enforcement at the local level. My data also indicated that media references to self-deportation deflected challenges to state authority and inhumane deportation practices. Politicians and lobbyists presented self-deportation as a symbolic alternative to the excesses of deportation, as if it made the costly and disastrous specter of mass deportation obsolete. By 2012, the ridicule Romney faced for insisting on self-deportation at the national level suggested the whistle had lost its sound. It appeared to have been out of tune. It was nonetheless present in its absence when President Trump recognized a term “the press doesn’t like” and insisted on mass deportation.

Scholars, politicians and immigration activists continue to debate immigration policy in ways that remain ensnared by opposed metaphors. One debate involves whether self-deportation reduced the number of immigrants in the United States. Another whether it is humane. Yet another debate surrounds who should have rights and who should protect them. That these matters are subject to debate indicate how “the problem” was taken for granted, normalized and constrained consideration of a broader field of solutions. My data demonstrated that self-deportation muddied the possibility of democratic approaches to governing migration. Most immigration discourse following Pete Wilson’s invention has not required any voter input in order to be effected and/or enacted. For instance, 287(g) and Secure Communities are products of collaborations between federal agents and local law enforcement. The expansion of policing and law enforcement has developed to the point that the United States enjoys the dubious honor of having the largest incarcerated population in the world.

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## **A Critical Discourse Analysis of Reports on “Bring Back our Girls” Campaign in Nigerian Newspapers**

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### **Abstract**

This paper analyses news reports of “Bring Back Our Girls” campaign in Nigerian newspapers. The “Bring Back Our Girls” advocacy group was formed to pressure the Nigerian government to intensify efforts to rescue the over two hundred school girls abducted by Boko Haram insurgents at Chibok, Borno State, north east Nigeria. The abduction which took place in April 2014 and the subsequent campaign to release the girls received global media attention including many newspapers in the country. The study therefore analyses the schematic directions, discursive strategies and context of the discourse reports of “Bring Back Our Girls” campaigns in Nigerian newspapers using critical discourse analysis. The corpus was purposively selected from three nationally circulating newspapers: *Leadership*, *New Telegraph* and *Daily Trust* published from 1<sup>st</sup> May to 31<sup>st</sup> July, 2014. Descriptive design was adopted using Fairclough (1995) model of critical discourse analysis. Findings show that narration and criticism constitute the dominant schematic directions of newspaper reports of the campaign; on the discursive strategy, it is found out that rationalization, narrativisation and argumentation account for 80% of the discourse and the context revealed that there is negative use of language because the campaigners and the then government of the day were loggerheads over the issue. The study concludes that due to high prevalence of criticism and rationalization in the corpus, the discourse the text of newspaper report of Bring Back Our Girls campaign largely reflected the narrative and argument of the group against the government which has responsibility to protect and rescue the abducted girls.

### **Keywords**

Campaign, Critical Discourse Analysis, Boko Haram, Nigeria

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## Introduction

The extremist Islamic sect who called themselves “Jama’at ahl-al- Sunnah li-d- da’awati wal- Jihad” and popularly known as Boko Haram emerged around 2003 and has constituted a major security challenge to the most populous country in Africa, Nigeria, especially in the north east parts of the country. According to Mohammed (2014), Boko Haram as a group emerged to challenge the Nigerian state by declaring its small occupied territory independent but was bloodily suppressed in 2003/2014 and also later in 2009. Initially, the grievances of Boko Haram were directed against local clerics and western educated elites especially those connected with local secular local authorities (largely in Borno State, north east Nigeria) all of whom they perceive as corrupt and the cause of poverty in the area. However, later the group targeted security agents, other Muslims who are not their members, Christians, health workers, school children, journalists, informants, among others to terrorise the Nigerian state. The Nigerian government and the international community declared the group as international terrorist group because their activities spread to neighbouring (countries) Niger, Chad, Cameroun. As a result of perceived influence of Al-Qaeda and other external developments, the group later adopted targeted assassinations, suicide bombings and hostage taking in addition to direct attack directed at security agencies and soft targets in the Lake Chad Basin (Mohammed, 2014). Although, the Nigerian government forces have been reclaiming areas captured and controlled by the group, Boko Haram is still controlling territories and using guerilla tactics to attack government held areas which keep changing hands. Boko Haram is now divided into two factions with one allied to ISIS is alleged to be responsible for the death of many people, destructions of properties worth billions of Dollars and displacement of millions of people across the Lake Chad basin.

On 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2014, the group claimed the abduction of over 200 school girls in Government Girls Secondary School Chibok, in Chibok village of Borno State. This act by the insurgents raised global attention to their activities and threats they pose to the region with many people calling on the Nigerian government to intensify efforts to ensure the kidnapped girls are released and others are protected. Consequently, the demand to ensure that the kidnapped school girls are released gave birth to different forms of protest, ranging from street matches, prayers, media campaigns, etc. Out of this, “Bring Back Our Girls” (BBOG) group emerged as the major pressure group to lead effort to pressure government to rescue the abducted school girls.

BBOG campaign was initiated nine days after the abduction of the school girls on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2014 with Nigeria’s former Minister of Education Mrs. Oby Ezekwesili, as the leader. Mrs. Ezekwesili, in her interactive session with a Nigerian news daily *Leadership* on the 16<sup>th</sup> May, 2014 stressed that, the group aims at creating awareness and putting pressure on the Nigerian Government to intensify efforts in the fight with the insurgents and rescue the abducted girls alive. According to her, government is saddled with the responsibilities of protecting lives and properties of its citizens. So, rescuing the abducted girls has become mandatory for the government.

The Twitter hash-tag ‘#BringBackOurGirls’ which turned out to be name of the group in the campaign was initiated by a lawyer, Ibrahim Abdullahi. Abdullahi coined the hash-tag via his Twitter account after a speech by Mrs. Oby Ezekwesili in an event on World Book Capital organised by UNESCO at Port Harcourt, south east Nigeria on 23rd April, 2014, where she drew the attention of the guests and urged them to demand for the release of the abducted school girls in Chibok village, north east Nigeria. Specifically, Ezekwesili said “...they

should bring back our daughters”. Instantly, Abdullahi tweeted two options with the hash-tag ‘#BringBackOurGirls’ and ‘#BringBackOurDaughters’. Few minutes later, Ezekwesili re-tweeted it and asked people to tweet based on the hash-tag #BringBackOurGirls (Sampson, 2014:27). From there, the hash-tag went viral and was boosted by many celebrities, advocacy groups, and the mass media. A campaign group with the same name was established especially around Nigeria’s capital Abuja which conducted protest rallies, sit-ins, as well as on mass media and social network platforms. Even though the campaign started on social media, the conventional mass media (radio, TV, newspapers and magazines) played important role in boosting the stories of BBOG campaign and also, served as a platform for discussion on the issue. Most of the girls were subsequently released by the insurgents but the BBOG advocacy continue to draw attention and became a reference point for civic action against the government and the insurgents. This study therefore, analyses the discourse of the BBOG campaign in Nigerian newspapers using critical discourse analysis. Specifically, the study examines the schematic directions, discursive strategies and context of selected Nigerian newspapers’ discourse on the BBOG campaign.

History of journalism in Nigeria, like other sub Saharan African countries, is tied to colonialism. The first newspaper to be established in the country is *Iwe Irohin* in 1859 was a missionary outlet which was rested in 1865 due a conflicts with the locals in Abeokuta, a town in south west. Other few missionary publications followed suit the practice of journalism was taken over by nationalist who through ‘agitation journalism’ fought for and won Nigeria’s independence which was granted in 1960 by Britain (William, 2014). Of course as the leading group independence agitators, it was no surprise that many journalists became prominent members of the ruling post independent Nigeria. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the then Governor General and later the first president; Obafemi Awolowo, the first Premier of Western Nigeria (one of the then Nigeria’s four regions) and later the then Vice Chairman of Federal Executive Council and Minister of Communication; Anthony Enahoro, a parliamentarian and the man who moved the motion for Nigeria’s independence and many others, up till today, cut their teeth first as journalists.

One can say that Nigerian journalism served as a platform for political influence as well leadership training. After, independence there was expansion in Nigeria’s media sector with many newspaper outlets springing up including government owned radio and television stations. However, the expansion was largely driven by politically aligned proprietors who used the newspapers as forum for the blunt promotion of their political interest and businesses. The press became so divided along regional and partisan lines to the extent that their credibility where put to question. The journalists then contributed to the numerous political crises which contributed to about seven military coups which severely hampered press freedom and caused a decline on their influence. Despite these, Nigerian journalist continued to serve as the most reliable source of public information.

With the return to democratic rule in 1999 which the press fought alongside other agitators, Nigerian journalists regained much of their freedom which was truncated during the various military government. Despite their divisions and allegiances along partisan, regional and religious lines and the challenge of information source proliferation, are still influential as source of daily information for most of the country’s citizens. Government and the formal sector in the country rely on journalists for most information dissemination activities. Journalists on their part take part or even discourses relating to agitations, demands or public campaigns that resonate with the public. Bring back our girls’ campaign was, not surprisingly,

well covered by Nigerian news media in the country of sympathy for the girls and their parents as well as the poor response of the then government to respond appropriately.

The media, as one of the advocacy platforms for the campaigners to bring back the abducted Chibok girls, played an important role of providing news update of the campaign to the public and also conducted their own advocacy on the issue. However, as Thomson (1996) asserts, journalists do not only present reports of event that are entirely true and objective, but they also employ rhetorical strategies in their writings aimed at persuading readers to adopt their (journalist’s) point of view. Being a protest and mediated discourse, the interpretation and analysis of the reports of BBOG campaigns gives an insight for better understanding of how Nigerian newspaper journalists framed mediated protest discourse of BBOG issue. The aim of this paper therefore is to analyse the discourse of Nigerian newspaper reports of BBOG campaign. Specifically, the objectives are to analyse the schematic structures, schematic directions, and determine the discursive strategies “Bring Back Our Girls” campaign reports in Nigerian newspapers.

## **1. Brief history of Nigeria**

Nigeria as a country came into being on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1914 when the colonial authorities amalgamated the largely Christian and animist Southern Protectorate with the Muslim dominated Northern Protectorate. The administration of Nigeria was based on a system known as indirect rule where the British rule through existing traditional institutions rather than establishing a wholly administrative network. In some areas (especially the south east and some north central parts) new African traditional rulers were created some were not fully accepted. The British built the railway and road that traversed the country to encourage the export of various cash crops like palm products, cocoa, cotton, groundnut, etc.

The British, due to various nationalist agitations and changes, promulgated numerous constitutions but Nigeria was to regain its independence on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1960. The first elected government, a coalition of northern based Northern People’s Congress (NPC) and the eastern-based National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was toppled by the military in a bloody coup that claimed the lives of top politicians from the northern and western parts of the country in 1966. There was a counter coup in that same year led by Lt. Col. (later) General Yakubu Gowon. As a result of series of crises the country plunged into a civil war between 1967-1970 when the Eastern Region attempted to secede by declaring themselves as Biafra Republic. General Murtala Mohammed who was assassinated in a coup attempt in 1976 toppled Gowon’s regime in 1975. It was under the military rule of General Obasanjo, his then deputy and successor that elections in 1979 ushered in Alhaji Shehu Shagari under a new constitution (known as the 1979 Constitution). The Second Republic was not to last however as it was toppled by the military under General Mohammadu Buhari in 1984.

In 1985 a coup led by Major General Ibrahim Babangida brought a new military regime to power, along with the promise of a return to civilian rule. A new constitution was promulgated in 1990, which set national elections for 1992. The military regime annulled the elections of the earlier presidential primaries and set up two political parties and in 1993 the presidential election contested by Chief Moshood Abiola and Alhaji Bashir Tofa was also annulled. This led to unrest and the resignation of General Babangida. Ernest Shonekan, a civilian was appointed interim President but was forced out after three months by General Sani Abacha who ruled from 1995 to June 1998.

General Abacha also promised to return power to civilians but did not deliver on that promise too. The Abacha regime drew international condemnation in late 1995 when Ken Saro-Wiwa and others were executed after a trial that was widely condemned. Also, a number of military officers (serving and retired) and civilians were arrested in connection with alleged coup plots. Abacha died in 1998 and was succeeded by General Abdulsalami Abubakar whose regime successfully organized a transition to civil rule from May 29, 1999. From then there were four elected presidents (one of whom died in office) and six general elections.

Nigeria now has 36 States plus the Federal Capital Territory in Abuja. It operates an American style federal system of government from 1966 with power shared between local, state and federal but the latter yield more power, as a result of military influence. Economically, the country relies on crude oil mainly found in the south-eastern Niger-Delta region plus some offshore areas. The major industrial centre is Lagos, the former national capital. Nigeria is an active member of many international organizations like the African Union, United Nations, Economic Community of West African States, the Commonwealth, etc. Nigeria, as the largest black nation on earth has achieved many remarkable developments in infrastructural and social development compared to other African countries. The country also has huge potential human and natural resources to spur it to development.

Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa with estimated 197 million people with one of the largest youth population in the world (47%), has been experiencing development challenges right from its formation despite the oil boom years in the 1960s and 1970s. The overreliance on the oil sector led to growth without corresponding economic and social development (World Bank, 2019). This is worsened by endemic corruption with the country languishing for many years at the bottom of transparency indexes. For example, data showed that from 1996 Nigeria was 6.9 on the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index and continued to rise to 27 in 2018 meaning that it is the 19<sup>th</sup> most corrupt country in Africa and 33<sup>rd</sup> most corrupt country in the world on a scale of 180 countries (Lawal, 2019). Right from the 1960's to date Nigeria has been experiencing numerous violent conflicts from the civil war to numerous ethno-religious crises that is contributing negatively to the development of the country. In addition to the Boko Haram insurgency (largely affecting the north east part of the country), armed banditry, kidnapping and other forms of violent crimes have continued to rise in defiance of official solutions. The bring back our girls' campaign was not only an agitation for the release of the abducted girls but also a reaction against poor government that brought about insurgency and lack of effective reaction to it.

## **2. Critical discourse analysis**

Discourse means anything from historical monument, a 'lieu de memoire,' a policy strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech and topic related conversation to language (Wodak and Meyer, 2008). The notion of discourse varies from political, racist, gender, media, public, populist discourse, etc. Critical discourse analysis, on the other hand, is not interested in the investigation of the linguistic unit *per se*, but studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodical approach (Wodak and Meyer, 2008). The social phenomena in the case of this study is the discourse of bring back our girls in Nigerian newspapers.

CDA is interested in several contexts and studies that are connected between textual structures and their functions in an interaction within the society. One of the objectives of CDA is to create a framework for decreasing opacity of a discourse, thus:

Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between a. Discursive practice, events and texts, and b. Wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes: to investigate how such practice, event and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of the power and struggles over power: and to explore how the opacity of their relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1993: 135).

In addition, Fairclough opined that discursive practices are constitutive of social structures, just as the social structures determine discursive practices. CDA acknowledged the two directions. It explored the tension between the two sides of language that are socially and constitutively shaped.

Fairclough’s Model of Critical Discourse Analysis analyzes the relationship between concrete language use and the wider socio-cultural structure. This approach was attributed to three dimensions to every discursive event. It is simultaneously text, discursive practice-which also includes the production and interpretation of text and social practice (Fairclough, 1995). Indeed, the method provides more accessible way of doing CDA than other alternative approaches because it draws out the form and function of the text, the way that text relates, to the way it is produced and consumed and the relation of this to the wider society in which it takes place (Fairclough, 1995). According to him each of these dimensions represents different kind of analysis such as text analysis (descriptive), processing analysis (interpretation) and social analysis (explanation).

This approach is important because it enables the researcher to focus on the specifiers, that make up text, the specific linguistic selections, their juxtapositioning, the sequencing, their layout and so on (Janks, 1999). In addition, the approach requires one to recognise the historical determination of the selections and to understand that the choices are tied to conditions of possibility of the utterances made. Therefore, it suffices to say that texts are instantiations of social regulation of discourse and that the processes of production and reception are also socially constrained. However, the usefulness of the approach provides the researcher with the multiple points of analytical entry which at the end will be mentally explained (Janks, 1999).

### **3. Newspaper and campaign discourse**

Generally, journalism is seen as the major purveyor of facts about events and issues happening in the society. Journalist in most societies see themselves as authentic or factual stories to their audience. However, lace with these ‘facts’ are argument or appeals to convince the audience to perceive these issues within an identified view. So much so, that Richardson (2004) argues that journalistic text is nothing but is an argumentative discourse. In support of this, Kieran (1998) opined that journalistic news reports are aimed to persuade the audience that their descriptions and interpretations are rational and appropriate. This implies that journalists write to convince the reader to accept their viewpoints about a phenomenon being reported not solely to inform. This may account for the view by Thomson (1996) that journalists employ in their writings rhetorical strategies aimed at persuading others to adopt their point of views. So, it can be seen that there is a close connection between journalism itself and campaigns because journalism is persuasive discourse is trying to relay another form of persuasion. In each campaign discourse, there could be many strands or directions with journalists likely amplifying or even supporting one or some of them.

In addition, Van Dijk (1996) opined that journalism represents opinion statements embedded in argumentation that makes them more or less defensible, reasonable, justifiable, or legitimate as conclusion. He however, he adds, the success of their argument often rests on the use of rhetorical tropes; which are deviation from the ordinary and principal signification of words which are again used to denote-connote something different from their ordinary meanings. Therefore, such tropes are use strategically to describe things in order to present to the audience some non-obligatory additional structure in text that may draw attention and may therefore indirectly emphasized specific meaning (Van Dijk, 1991). The tropes include hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, neologism, pun, narrative and so on.

According to Rodin and Steinberg (2003), journalists do not only report events of civil society and public discourse but they also shape the events as well. Therefore, in analyzing public discourse, they are of the view that the relevant questions to ask are not on the competency or professionalism of the journalists in the reportage of the events but weather the craft as a whole is serving the interest of the public. Press as an active agent in public life often present public affairs, policies, debates, and other public issues such as the campaign bring back the abducted Chibok girls as the plot lines for the parties involved.

A campaign can be defined generally as any systematic course of aggressive activities for some special purpose (Stein, 1970 in Rodin and Steinberg, 2003). Campaign can be classified according to it purposes, such as political, marketing/advertising and public communication campaign. Political campaign attempts to encourage people to support a particular candidate or issue, marketing campaign aims at getting people to buy a product or patronize a service/brand and public communication campaigns are designed to achieve some sort of social change (Rodin and Steinberg, 2003). However, Rice and Paisley (1981), identified reform as the unifying principle of public communicative campaign. He therefore defined reform in a generic sense, as any action that makes society better or makes the lives of individual better. These reforms include health campaigns, road safety campaigns on the use of seat belt, etc. As such, campaign through mass media strategies should spell out its objectives and the target audience.

Newspaper mediated campaigns are aimed explicitly to elicit response from either the public or the people in power; in other words, they are always aimed at changing things in one form to another (Richardson, 2007). Newspaper campaigns are therefore, instructive in the political position of news reports. Aldridge (2002) is of the view that newspaper campaigns provide an opportunity to create leadership loyalty and identification by positioning the newspapers and or journalists as an effective change agent. As a medium of power, people may ask what kind of things newspaper campaigns directed toward changing, what kind of issue they foreground and what are their relations to wider iniquitous social relations. However, from a discourse analytic perspective, newspaper campaign should be viewed as reaction to the prevailing social practice and the discursive practice which are articulated in ideological ways. Moreover, newspaper ideologies are composed of matrices of beliefs, attitudes, and practices that constitute ways of looking at world and ways of acting in the world that accept and neutralise the contradictions of an ideas, phenomena or events in the society.

In this connection, Mahmood, Javed and Mahmood (2011) examined how ideology works in construction of news report headlines of local Urdu and the international newspapers using CDA approach. The findings showed that newspaper headlines have not only generalised rhetorical and graphological features but also have certain hidden ideologies of the editors behind the apparent simple statement. It's also revealed that editors are politically inclined in

their reportage. However, in some cases they reflect the views of the society while their political inclinations are kept in view. The research concluded that single news is presented in different perspectives, thereby recommended further studies using different methodology. This study therefore analyses three national dailies in Nigeria with the view to determine the discursive strategies, directions and the schematic structure of every article in the newspaper using CDA approach.

This study is underpinned by Fairclough’s approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) which was grounded on Halliday’s (1985) theory of Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) on the textual analysis. Fairclough (1995) approach to CDA attempt to draw out the form and functions of a text, the way the text relates, the way it is produced and consumed, and the relation of these to the wider society in which it takes place. Despite the variety in the positions occupied and approaches adopted by CDA practitioners, it is generally acknowledged that Norman Fairclough is the major exponent of CDA (Cameron, 2001). Although there is much overlap between authors, as well as at times a hint of indeterminacy, it is possible to circumscribe three broad approaches to CDA: the sociocultural approach of Fairclough and the discourse-historical approach of Wodak. Somewhere in the middle is the cognitive approach of van Dijk, who in broad terms might be said to combine the sociocognitive approach of Wodak and the sociosemiotic approach of Fairclough.

Fairclough describes the objective of this approach as “a contribution to the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language” (Fairclough, 1989, p.4). In addition, Fairclough (2001) developed a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice. Particularly, he combines micro, meso and macro level interpretations. The micro-level is also known as the textual level, it is one in which the analyst studies the text to be acquainted with the content. At the micro-level, the analyst considers the text’s syntax, metaphoric structure and certain rhetorical devices. The meso-level involves studying the text’s production and consumption, focusing on how power relations are enacted, thus, at the meso-level, the analyst must consider the discursive practices like norms and culture as they affect the linguistic composition. The macro-level is concerned with intertextual understanding, trying to understand the broad, societal currents that are affecting the text being studied, here; the analyst considers how the social context affects the text.

What is useful about this approach is that it enables the analysts to focus on the signifiers that make up the text, the specific linguistic selections, their juxta-positioning, their sequencing, and their layout and so on. However, it also requires analysts to recognize that the historical determination of these selections and to understand that these choices are tied to the conditions of possibility of that utterance (Janks, 1997). Hence, the justification for using the model for the analysis of the discourse campaign of the BBOG in the Nigerian newspapers in the study.

#### **4. Method**

The study descriptively analysed the form and function of the newspaper discourse reports of BBOG campaign in Nigerian. The corpus of this study consists of 15 purposively selected articles from three Nigerian nationally circulating newspapers; *Leadership*, *New Telegraph* and *Daily Trust*, published and circulated in Nigeria from 1<sup>st</sup> May to 31<sup>st</sup> July, 2014. Five

articles each comprising of straight news, feature stories and editorials selected from the three newspapers were selected based on accessibility, availability, regularity, distribution and contents relevant to the subject matter under study. Table 1 presents a summary of the corpus used in the study, thus:

**Table 1: Summary of the corpus used in the study**

Text number	Newspapers	Date of publications	Article category	Head of the article
Text 1	<i>Leadership</i>	11th July, 2014	Straight News	Face your real enemies Bring Back Our Girls Tells F. G
Text 2		11th July, 2014	Straight News	Bring Back Our Girls defies security threats, meet at Unity Foundation
Text 3		20th June, 2014	Straight News	Bring Back Our Girls, we are the voice of Chibok Girls Group
Text 4		6th May, 2014	Opinion/Editorial	Our stand Bring Back Our Girls
Text 5		12th May, 2014	Straight News	Chibok Girls Police Disperse protesters in Abuja
Text 6	<i>New Telegraph</i>	11th May, 2014	Opinion/Editorial	Chibok we may never know the truth of the matter
Text 7		30th April, 2014	Opinion/Editorial	Bring Back Our Borno Girls
Text 8		1st May, 2014	Straight News	Abducted school girls Mark, Tambuwal, Ihedioha defy down pour to address
Text 9		3rd June, 2014	Straight News	Police Ban Chibok protesters in Abuja
Text 10		17th May, 2014	Feature News	Celebrities hit the road for Bring Back Our Girls Protest
Text 11	<i>Daily Trust</i>	5th June, 2014	Opinion/Editorial	Bring Back Our Girls lesson we must learn
Text 12		7th July, 2014	Straight News	Soldiers bar BBOG protesters presidential villa
Text 13		11th July, 2014	Straight News	Bring Back Our Girls Group alleges fresh police harassment
Text 14		17th July, 2014	Straight News	Chibok Girls Protesters accused Federal Government of spreading falsehood
Text 15		16th July, 2014	Feature News	Chibok Girls Protesters take campaign to National Assembly

## 5. Result

Media text may aim to inform, inspire or stimulate the reader to think or provoke to action through ways or strategies in which the event was reported (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, the analysis of the corpus of the study was presented based on the three objectives of the study i.e. analysis of schematic structures, directions, and determine the discursive strategies using Fairclough’s three-layered text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice. The results are presented using tables to show the frequency distribution of the analysed data and excerpts from the corpus.

The study analysed two schematic structures of the news discourse. This refers the flow of information in newspaper articles about BBOG which are top-down (starting from headlines and leads followed by main event) or bottom-up schema (a story delving into main event first before summarising). Result show that of the 15 selected stories, 80% of the structures are top-down while 20% are bottom-up schematic structures. The summary consists of headlines and the leads, while the main event made up of background, consequences and comments in the news reports.

Example, text 1: Headline read “Face your Real Enemies Bring Back Our Girls Tells FG”. It sets the theme of the discourse report, while the lead expressed the major semantic propositions thus, “The Bring Back Our Girls Group has described franchise allegations leveled against it by the State Security Services (SSS)...in order to crack down on its members”. This portrayed that the stories were composed in top-down schematic structure by starting the reports from the major semantic propositions.

The bottom-up schematic structure is reflected in the remaining three articles (texts 6,7 and 8). For instance, articles 6 titled “Chibok Girls: We may never know the truth of the matter”. The lead of the article reads ”I join thousands of other Nigerians in saying that the current international attention on terrorism in Nigeria is a welcome. Hitherto, the rest of the world appeared to have ...”. These illustrated features of bottom-up schematic structure by starting the report with detailed story where the leads in the corpus did not answer the 5Wh questions of the news discourse.

Table 2 presents the results of the analysis of schematic directions of the discourse reports. Schematic direction refers to the discourse strategies or the process involved in the production and consumption of the text BBOG group campaign. Table 3 presents the results of the analysis of discursive strategies of the discourse reports of BBOG campaign in the Nigerian newspapers showing high incidences of criticism and narration.

**Table 2: Frequency Distribution of Schematic Directions in the Corpus**

Schematic Directions	No. of Occurrences	Percentage
Criticism	7	46.67%
Narration	6	40.02%
Appealing	1	6.67%
Activism	1	6.67%
Total	15	100%

The third objective of the study is to examine the frequency of discursive strategies of the BBOG campaign in Nigerian newspapers. By discursive strategies, the study refers to the

process involved in production and consumption of newspaper stories on BBOG campaign which is categorised into four types; narrativisation (use of storytelling), authorisation (referring to authorities i.e. experts), and argumentation (using argument or debate format to reject or accept an idea or action) and little narrative (restricted stories that challenge dominant narrative). The result also shows that rationalisation and narrativisation are the major discursive strategies.

**Table 3: Discursive Strategies in the Discourse Reports of BBOG Campaign in Nigerian Newspapers**

Discursive Strategies	Frequency	Percentages
Rationalisation	5	33.3%
Narrativisation	4	26.8%
Argumentation	3	20%
Authorisation	2	13.4%
Little narrative	1	6.7%
Total	15	100%

Therefore, the highlighted article’s headlines and leads correlated, indeed, the leads try in answering the 5Wh questions (about the participants, purpose, place etc) in the first paragraphs of the news reports.

### **a. Schematic Directions**

The reading of the canonical ordering of the news reports revealed four schemas. These are criticism, narration, activism and appealing. The linguistic forms are not of paramount importance but the role or function played by the elements in the production and consumption of the text and its relation to the society where it emerged matters.

#### ***Criticism***

This is an assessment of an action or event by media through commenting on the good and the bad qualities of an event or action of individual or group with the view of emphasizing or de-emphasizing such action or event. In this study, the newspapers text show polarity (situation where individual or group have ideas or principle that are opposed to each other) in exploring the good or the bad qualities of the participants in their reportage. Thus, texts 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 14 depicted such features, for instance:

The excerpts in Text 1 (*Leadership* 11 July, 2014) paragraphs 2, 6, and 8, emphasize good qualities of the campaigners and exposing bad qualities of the government thus: paragraph 2, sent. 2: “...who are the real enemies, instead of seeing its civic activities as anti-government” Paragraph 6 Sent 1: “It is clear from these comments that the security agencies are setting up the movement for crackdown based on trumped up accusations”. Paragraph 8, Sent 1 further exemplifies the use of criticism: “Noting that its activities remain open and its meetings held in a public space.... group denied ever compelling others to register for their membership”.

Also, Text 4 (*Leadership* 6 May, 2014) is another example of critical tone against the government thus: Paragraph 5, Sent 1: “There has been insensitive and uncharitable double standard on the part of the government for instances it is utterly unconscionable that the Federal Executive ... lavishly celebrate political decampment and marriage when...”

Accordingly, Text 5 (*Leadership* 12 May, 2014) paragraphs, 2 and 7 also depicted schematic frame of criticism toward the government, thus, Paragraph 2, Sent 1: “The Bring Back Our

Girls Protesters confronted a heavy police cordon off the ... for the release of the school girls”. Thus, Paragraph 7, Sent 1: “How can a democratic government dare to be repressive towards us for crying that our girls are missing”.

On the other hand, Text 6 (*New Telegraph* 11 May 2014) paragraph 6 and 7 explore the efforts of the government and placed the campaigners at a wrong position, thus: Paragraph 6, Sent 1: “To be sure, I am in solidarity with Bring Back Our Girls marchers across Nigeria and in some parts of the world, but I am not comfortable with the new facts that are emerging. I do not know who are behind these marches...” Paragraph 7, Sent 1: “Perhaps the government could have done better in the circumstance no doubt about that but to continue to insinuate...as we have done in the past few days that the government has done practically nothing to rescue the kidnapped girls is to lie to ourselves”.

In another development, Text 7 (*New Telegraph* 30 April 2014) paragraphs 4 and 14 of the corpus criticized the government toward the rescue mission: P 4, Sent 1: “Despite the billions of Naira spent on security and the state of emergency in force, it is curious that gunman ... making life hellish for Nigerian”. Paragraph 14, Sent 2: also depicted same, thus: “...it is urgent that politics be put aside and security be given serious attention...”

Furthermore, Text 10 (*New Telegraph* 17 May, 2014) paragraphs 5 and 6, the reporters criticized the campaigners of being insinuated politically by some unidentified group. Thus, P 5, Sent 2: “It’s even more instructive that there are more protesters in these cities (Abuja and Lagos) than in Borno... it won’t be surprising if the ongoing protest may have gulp more millions than the fuel subsidy rally presumed to be most elaborate in terms of cost...” He further continued in Paragraph 6, Sent 2: “However, what remain uncertain are the organizations or individuals that underwrote the huge publicity the protest has attracted”.

In line with its criticism, the Nigerian press in Text 14 (*Daily Trust* 17 July, 2014) Paragraph 3, Sent 1: the reporter served as active participant in the campaign by defending the campaigners: “The group denied being responsible for the conciliation of the meetings by the Chibok girl’s parents with the President as had been insinuated by some government officials”.

Therefore, the used of phrases and clauses connotes polarity, by exposing good and the bad qualities of the participants with the view of attacking or defending them, thus: “real enemies”, “instead of seeing its civic activities as anti-government”, ” for a crackdown based on trumped up accusations”, “insensitive and uncharitable double standard”, “lavishly celebrate”, “politics be put aside and security be giving serious attention”, ”organizations or individuals that underwrote the huge publicity the protest has attracted” among others in the discourse reports implied the act of criticism of the reporters for or against the campaign

### ***Narrative***

*This* is the basis of cognition or paradigm (Allen and Jullia, 1995). It is an opposition of argumentative paradigm where rationalities can be understood. Analyses of the corpus show indicate entertaining tone, declarative statements, quotations, reported speech and so on in describing the proceedings and forthcoming of event or action of the participants, individually or simultaneously in the text. Six articles in the corpus of study which includes text 3, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 15 were composed in narrative schemas. For example, the following excerpts illustrated thus:

In text 3 (*Leadership* June, 2014) the reporter illustrated the schema of narration by reporting the event in an entertaining tone: paragraph 1, sent 1: "...second day running, the aggrieved women of Chibok..." Also, paragraph 3, Sent 1, stated thus: "The group, which expressed worries that some government officials were still in doubt if the girls were really...". Furthermore, P 4, Sent 1 stated that, "It is sad that some people are yet to..."

Text 8 presented another instances of reporting speech in narration thus, paragraph 13, Sent 1: "Women activist, Saudatu Muazu, said Nigerian women would continue to make noise until the girls were rescued."

Again Text 9 (*New Telegraph* 3 June, 2014) paragraphs 1 and 3 shows instances of narrative schema. Paragraph 1, Sent 1 features imperative sentence: "The police yesterday ordered immediate stoppage of further rallies and protest in the Federal ... to press for the release of over 200 school girls..." Similarly, paragraph 3, Sent 1 presents quotation: "Mbu in a statement said the ban was necessary to prevent a breach of the peace in Federal Capital Territory".

Also, in text 12, (*Daily Trust* 7 July, 2014) paragraphs 4 and 6, portrayed schema of narration. P 4, Sent 1 presents another imperative statement: "The campaigners are demanding that the Federal Government take extra action to secure the safe return..." Paragraph 6, Sent 1, is another example of quotation: "He said after a heated debate some of the leaders of the protest agreed to instantly embark on a procession to the villa because sitting down would not yield any more results."

Again, Text 13 (*Daily Trust* 16 June, 2014) paragraphs 1 and 3 illustrated other feature by linking activities past to present thus, P 1, Sent 1: "The Bring Back Our Girls campaigners, who are demanding stronger actions towards rescuing the Chibok girls, yesterday alleged renewed police harassment against them in Abuja". Paragraph 3, Sent 1 quotation: "A statement by group leaders... In keeping up with its pattern of harassment and intimidation members of our movement the Nigerian police force detached heavily armed policemen who prevented our members from..."

In addition, text 15(*Daily Trust* 16 June, 2014) paragraph 1 and 3 contained other features of imperative statements. P 1, Sent 1: "The Bring Back Our Girls protesters took their campaign to the National Assembly Yesterday and meet senate president David Mark and Speaker Aminu Tambuwal". At the same vein, Paragraph 3, Sent 1, stated: "The protesters were led by former education minister Mrs. Ezekwesili and Mariam Uwais".

Thus, the above excerpts illustrated narration schemas by characterizing the reports with the features of narration. According to Allen and Faigley (1995) narration is based on the storytelling by linking activities from the past to the feature with an entertaining tone purposely to awake reader's interest in the story. For instance, rhetorical device (personification) "second day running, the aggrieved women of Chibok", "Mbu in a statement said", "The campaigners are demanding that the Federal Government take extra action to secure the safe return", "A statement by group leaders" among others illustrated features of narration, thus; entertaining tone, reporting speeches, quotations, linking activities from past to the present and so on.

### ***Appeal***

Appealing is a serious and urgent request to the public in order to act and respond appropriately to the demand of the campaigners. In this category, Nigerian press after lamentation, appealed to all Nigerian to stand by the campaigners and put pressure for the government to intensify effort in the rescue mission. This was revealed in the schematic direction of the discourse report of article 11. Thus, text 11, the headline stated: “The lesson we must learn” which presents the major semantic proposition while the lead gives insight about the subject-matter, which is the sluggishness of the authority in the rescue saga of the abducted school girls. And the main event constitutes the second major schematic category of the news report which reveals the background information about the event in question, the consequences depicts the menace of the insurgents act which according to the reporter will affect everybody irrespective of religious, ethnicity, economic or political affiliation. The commentary in the article reveals that Nigerians need to guard their rights and carry out their civic responsibilities more seriously and jealously. Therefore, the schematic frame of the discourse report implied an appeal to the general public in support of the campaign against the insurgents and that government should intensify effort to rescue the abducted schoolgirls alive. The following excerpts confirmed thus:

In Text 11(Daily Trust 5 June, 2014) paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 demonstrates features of an appeal. P 4, Sent 4 and 5 thus: “Every Nigerian must speak and act as one in this matter. This lingering menace affects all of us and cut across religious, ethnic, economic situation or political affiliation”. In other assertions, paragraph 5 and 6 depicted other features: Paragraph 5, Sent 2 and 3: “...we have the power to determine how we wish to be governed. Therefore, we must carry our civic responsibilities and show our elected officials what true leadership means to stand with the Chibok community and to get involves in whatever capacity that we can to help bring back our girls...” Paragraph 6, Sent 3: “Politics is for too important to be left only to politician... in a democratic settings, it is the involvement of citizens that produces enlightened leadership”.

It can be seen from the discourse report, Nigerian press used clauses such as “Every Nigerian must speak and act as one”, “lingering menace affects all of us”, “get involves in whatever capacity that we can to help bring back our girls”. The above expression connotes appealing to the general public to come together, speak and act as one in this matter in order to rescue the abducted school girls.

### ***Activism***

This is a process of campaigning in public for an organization in order to bring about a political or social change. Therefore, the organizational structure of the article in question revealed the reporter activism in his reportage of the campaign. The schematic structure thus, Summary: headline and lead, and the main event: background, consequences and the comments signals activism. Thus, the following excerpts are examples:

In Text 2 (*Leadership* 11 July, 2014) paragraphs 1, 2, and 4 demonstrated such schema thus, paragraph 1, Sent 1: “The Bring Back Our Girls group yesterday defied the threat and accusation from ...DSS Marlyn Oga to meet for their daily sit out...” Paragraph 2, Sent 1: “... despite the questionable statement from Ogar the group would keep protesting and continue with the daily sit out until the abducted girls are rescue”. Paragraph 4, Sent 1: “The group also challenged the DSS and other security operatives to make public the details of the said bank account and all the claimed to know about them”

Therefore, the headline “Group defies Security Threat, Meets at Unity Fountain”. Describing the action of Nigerian security as a threat is an open campaign for the group. Other instances are: “despite the questionable statement from Ogar” “Debunking the allegation raised by the DSS..”, among others illustrated reporter’s activism.

## **b. Discursive Strategies**

The third phase of this analysis was an Inter-discursive analysis of the textual materials through close reading of the corpus to link the social and the textual processes of the discourse reports. The objective is to explain the order-of-discourse which defined the network of discursive types adopted in a particular article under study. Indeed, the findings of this analysis reveals five discursive strategies, these are rationalization, narrativisation, argumentation, authorization and little narrative. Therefore, table 5 presents the frequency distribution of the discursive strategies in the corpus of the study. The table shows that rationalization marked the highest strategy used by the Nigerian newspapers in this study with five out of the fifteen articles in the corpus, equivalent to 33% of the total distribution. While little narrative is the lowest usage with only one out of the fifteen articles in the corpus which is equivalent to 6.7% of the total distribution. The analysis is presented below.

### ***Rationalization strategy***

This is an overview of the negative consequences of the previous action by criticizing and emphasizing its inapplicability and the need for further changes. Journalists rationalized a discourse by referring to open opinions that explain and assess the actions of the participants through indication of the rational side of the discussed action. They present a problem, current situation of the problem, its drawback and offers suggestion for further benefits. These features were depicted in five of the fifteen articles in this study in legitimating or delegitimizing the action of the campaigners. The following excerpts are examples of rationalization in the corpus.

In Text 7, (*New Telegraph* 30 April, 2014. Paragraph 4) illustrated elements of rationalization. Example, paragraph 4, Sent 1: “...despite the billions of naira spent on security and state of emergency in force, it is curious that gunmen have a free reign wreaking havoc and making life hellish for Nigerians...”

Again, Text 9, (*New Telegraph* 3 June, 2014. Paragraph 3) is another feature thus, P 3, Sent 1: “FCT Commissioner of police, Mr Mbu Joseph Mbu, announced the ban in Abuja against the backdrop of last week’s attack of the Bring Back Our Girls campaigners by thugs suspected to be agents of Federal Government”. Still, paragraph 8 demonstrated the negative consequences of the actions of the government by the Nigerian press in this campaign thus, P8, Sent 2: “However, despite the fact that it was the campaign that facilitated the international support...the Federal Government has not been comfortable with the protests in Abuja which climaxed on May 22 with an aborted march on the State House where Ezekwesili and others urged president...to expedite action in bringing back the Chibok girls”.

Also, Text 11, (*Daily Trust* 5 June, 2014). Paragraph 2, Sent 1, presented other elements: “It raises profound and disturbing questions about our beliefs and values as a nation. It has raised a mirror unto our society and forced us to look ourselves and ask who we are and what we

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stand for. What value do we place on human life? The girls must be found and brought back but these and other lingering and deep questions will not go away”

Another feature was presented in Text 13, (*Daily Trust* 16 July, 2014) Paragraph 5, Sent 1, stated: “As a group, we once again remind the Nigerian police that its constitutional responsibility in a democracy to provide citizen safety and security while maintaining law and order”

In addition, Text 14, (*Daily Trust* 17 July, 2014) Paragraph 3, Sent 1: “The group denied being responsible for the cancellation of the meeting by the Chibok girl’s parents with the President “as (had) been insinuated by some Government officials”. Paragraph 4 further stated that “The statement said there has been escalation of calumny campaign by the government officials on our citizen’s movement...”.

Therefore, the expressions in the above assertions depicted features of rationalization thus; clauses such as “despite the billions of naira spent on security”, “Mbu, announced the ban in Abuja against the backdrop of last week’s attack of the Bring Back Our Girls campaigners by thugs suspected to be agents of Federal Government”, “Federal Government has not been comfortable with the protests in Abuja which climaxed on May 22 with an aborted march on the State House” “It has raised a mirror unto our society and forced us to look ourselves and ask who we are and what we stand for. What value do we place on human life?”, “As a group, we once again remind the Nigerian police that its constitutional responsibility in a democracy to provide citizen safety and security “, “The group denied being responsible for the cancellation of the meeting” all are examples of how Nigerian newspapers rationalized their information through ‘pen opinion by presenting negative consequences of an action in the reports of the campaign of BBOG.

### ***Argumentation strategy***

This strategy is a verbal or social activity of reasoning, aimed at increasing or decreasing the acceptability of a controversial stand point for audience by pushing forward a constellation of propositions intended to justify or refute the stand point of an action before rational judgment (Van Eemeren, 1996). In the analysis of the discourse report of BBOG campaign in Nigerian, newspapers Journalists applied argumentative strategies in advancing their point of view, in defending or attacking individual or organizational action. The findings revealed three argumentative strategies in the corpus. Thus, Text 1 and 6 argued for the campaigners, while text 10 argued against the group. The examples are as follows:

Text 1, (*Leadership* 11 July, 2014. Paragraph 1, Sent 1) illustrated this feature: “The Bring Back Our Girls Group has described Franchise allegations labeled against it by the ... as dangerous and unprecedented attack designed to cook up trumped up charges in order to crack down its members...”

Secondly, Text 6 (*New Telegraph* 11 May, 2014) Paragraph 7, Sent 1 also shows the elements of argument thus, “perhaps the Government could have done better in circumstances no doubt about that. But to continue to insinuate ... as we have done in the past few days that the Government has done practically nothing to rescue the kidnapped girls is to lie to ourselves”. Sent 4 further depicted same feature thus: “All over the world, citizen come together in bipartisanship to support government to fight a war as elusive ... but here we are more interested in scoring cheap political points” Sent 6 is another example: “...rather than assist the nation to fight the insurgency ,the state governors would not even provide information at

their disposal to the Federal Authorities, because they believed the government is fighting a genocide war against phantom Boko Haram ... with the president and his Eastern brethren leading”.

Thirdly, Text 10 (*New Telegraph* 17 May, 2014) Paragraph 5, Sent 3 gives another example of argumentation thus, “It won’t be surprising if the ongoing protest may have gulped more millions than the ‘Fuel Subsidy’ rally presumed to be the most elaborate in term of cost in recent time”. Another example is in the next paragraph 6, Sent 2, the reporter argued about the sponsorship of the movement thus, “However, what remains uncertain is the organisation or individuals that underwrote the huge publicity the protest has attracted”.

Therefore, from the ongoing analysis, the elements of argumentation were depicted in the following expressions thus: “...unprecedented attack designed to cook up trumped up charges in order to crack down its members...”, “But to continue to insinuate ... as we have done in the past few days that the Government has done practically nothing to rescue the kidnapped girls is to lie to ourselves”, “All over the world, citizen come together in bipartisanship to support government to fight a war as elusive ... but here we are more interested in scoring cheap political points”, “...rather than assist the nation to fight the insurgency, the state governors would not even provide information at their disposal...”, “...because they believed the government is fighting a genocide war against phantom Boko Haram ... with the president and his Eastern brethren leading”, “what remains uncertain is the organisations or individuals that underwrote the huge publicity the protest has attracted”. In fact this feature is almost in all the articles in the corpus but they are more prevalent in the articles mention above.

### ***Authorization strategy***

Authorization is a legitimating through mentioning an authority as a subject. Such an authorization may be personal or impersonal as the case may be. In this study, Nigerian journalists employed negative tone of messages in presenting a critical position toward an action or discussion of the government. As such, critics and critic advice were regularly expressed in legitimating the action of the campaigners through personal and impersonal authorizations by the Nigerian newspapers. The following excerpts serve as examples:

Text 5, (*Leadership* 12 May 2014) paragraphs 2, 3, 6, 8, and 9 illustrated thus, P 2, and Sent 2:”The Bring Back Our Girls protesters confronted a heavy police cordon...” Paragraph 3, Sent 2 also portrays such strategy: “A plain-cloth police officer who appeared to be in charge stated that he had orders from above to stop the protesters...” Paragraph 6, sent 1-2, Ezekwesili continues” When we got here, they were evacuating us. We simply resisted and said we were not going anywhere...” Paragraph 8, Sent 1: “How can a democratic government dare to be repressive towards us for crying...” Paragraph 9 sent 12. “Also a former member of the House of Representative and protester, Hon. Dino Melaye, said: “We feel very insulted as Nigerians. This is a peaceful assembly, but the police came here with machine guns...”

Secondly, Text 12, (*Daily Trust* 7 July 2014) Paragraph 3, Sent 1 illustrated authorization in legitimating the discourse report thus; “One of the protesters, a popular blogger Japheth Omojuwa, told our correspondents that protesters decided to take the protest...”. Other instances can be seen in paragraph 5, Sent 1: “Omojuwa said during the meeting, protesters debated over the effectiveness of the sit-out session...” Again, last paragraph sent 1, stated

thus “He (Omojuwa) observed that shortly after the protesters were stopped by the first group of soldiers...”

Therefore, the two articles followed authorization strategies by often reference to the authority concern, for instance these expressions confirmed the strategy: “A plain-cloth police officer who appeared to be in charge stated that he had orders from above”, “We simply resisted and said we were not going anywhere...”, “...former member of the House of Representative and protester, Hon. Dino Melaye, said: ‘We feel very insulted as Nigerians’...”, “Japheth Omojuwa, told our correspondents that protesters decided to take the protest...”. Therefore, features of authorizations were depicted in most of the articles but are more peculiar in two articles mention above.

### ***Narrativisation strategy***

Narrativisation is based on the story-telling by linking activities, actions or events to the past or future (Vaara, Tienari, and Laurila, 2006). Reporters of Bring Back Our Girls Campaign in Nigerian newspapers writes in an entertaining tone, which awakes reader’s interest in a special way in the campaign saga through narrating the events of the group concern. This strategy was depicted in four out of the fifteen articles under study. The excerpts in texts 2, 3, 8, and 15 illustrated this:

In Text 2 (*Leadership* July 11, 2014) Paragraph 4, Sent 1, provides clear example of narrativisation thus; “The group also challenged the DSS and other security operatives to make public the details of the said bank account and all they claimed to know about the group...”. The last paragraph, Sent 1 of the article also set another element of narrative by presenting the information in an entertaining tone: “It also noted with regret the rate at which government and it security agencies are paying attention to its sit out and tasked them to channel the same energy and attention to safe rescue...”

Also, Text 3 (*Leadership* 20 June 2014) Paragraphs 2 and 4 contain other features, paragraph 2, and sent 1: “The group which stated this yesterday at the unity fountain Abuja ... that it is the voice of the abducted girls who have been in the hands of Boko-Haram sect...” Other instances were seen in Paragraph 4 sent. 1: “... it is sad that some people are yet to believe that the girls have been abducted ... said the group”.

Another example of narrativisation can be seen in Text 8, (*New Telegraph*, 1 May, 2014) where an entertaining tone of the press in presenting the discourse report of BBOG campaign was revealed thus, paragraph 1, Sent 1 exemplified thus: “For the second day running, the aggrieved women of Chibok, Borno State, whose children were abducted by the Boko Haram insurgents a fortnight ago and other concerned Nigerian women yesterday besieged the National Assembly impressing the lawmakers...”. Paragraph 2, Sent 2 also presented such element: “The same women, numbering over 200, stormed the apex legislative complex on Tuesday calling on the president...”

Further examples were also depicted in Text 15 (*Daily Trust* 16 July 2014), Paragraphs 5, 6 and 9. Paragraph 5, Sent 1: He said the collaboration was necessary so that the civil society group and government agencies do not work at cross purposes...”. Paragraph 6, Sent 1 stated thus: “Government has not ruled out any option in the guest to free our girls, let us be on the same wave length and free the girls alive. Mark said”. Paragraph 10, Sent 1 is another element: “Tambuwal who apologized to the campaigners for the bad treatment meted out on

them...”. Also, the last paragraph, Sent 2 of the article further exemplified the entertaining tones of the press thus, “Earlier in her remarks, leader of the campaigners who is a former education minister Oby Ezekwesili said they...”

Therefore, assertions in the above articles portrayed how press utilizes elements of narration in the discourse reports of BBOG campaign in Nigeria. Expressions such as, “For the second day running, the aggrieved women of Chibok, Borno State, whose children were abducted by the Boko Haram insurgents a fortnight ago and other concerned Nigerian women yesterday besieged the National Assembly”, “It also noted with regret the rate at which government and its security agencies are paying attention to its sit out and tasked them to channel the same energy...”, “...the group which stated this yesterday at the unity fountain Abuja ...”, “Earlier in her remarks, leader of the campaigners who is a former education minister Oby Ezekwesili..”, and many more are examples of narrativisation.

### ***Little narrative strategy***

Narrative is based on the story telling and consists of linking a particular action or event to the past or future. While little narratives, are short and restricted stories to challenge dominant narratives are used to raise issues of human right and counter political wrongs of the state (Allen and Faigley, 1995). The text portrays little narratives to likely make the Nigerian government to account for their breach of responsibility to the people they claim to represent, by providing stories of live experience which contradicts the common sense hold by the grand narrative. The finding of this study shows that text 4 titled “Our Stand: Bring The Girls Home” depicted the feature of little narrative by countering the political wrongs of the state and its security operatives toward the campaigners of BBOG group in their quest for the rescue of the kidnapped school girls. Thus, below are excerpts that illustrated the instances of little narrative.

In Text 4 (*Leadership* 6 May, 2014) paragraphs 2, 4, 5 presents instances of little narrative. Examples, paragraph 2, sent 1: “Even the international community is beginning to ask why, three weeks after April 14 midnight abduction, the nation’s security apparatus is still wallowing in helplessness” Sent. 3 further stated that “Worse is the blame game going on among the political leadership as well as the cluelessness of the security agencies who were again caught napping in other frontiers of the war on terror” Paragraph 4 sent 2–3, are another instances: “A serious matter like this should not be trivialized under any guise. ... It is time to put the outcome of those investigations to work...” Paragraph 5, Sent 1 “...there has been insensitive and uncharitable doubt standard on the part of the government... if the government had been sufficiently provoked to tap into diplomatic and international military channels, the captors of the girls would have felt the heat enough to release them” Paragraph 6 sent 1–3 “The PDP women are not just politician they are also mothers. They are in the position to apply pressure on the government to bring this vexatious abduction to an end” Sent. 3 further depicted same element of little narrative thus; “Crying like ordinary folks to seek presidential intervention or pandering to public sentiment is not enough. Being of the same political family, they are in a position to compel the president to activate his powers as the commander - in - chief to smoke the insurgents out...”

The above assertions portrayed the instances of little narrative strategy. Expressions such as “three weeks after April 14 midnight abduction, the nation’s security apparatus is still wallowing in helplessness”, “Worse is the blame game going on among the political leadership”, “A serious matter like this should not be trivialized under any guise”, “...there

has been insensitive and uncharitable doubt standard on the part of the government”, “Crying like ordinary folks to seek presidential intervention or pandering to public sentiment is not enough”, “president to activate his powers as the commander -in-chief”. The above examples show that the journalist has kin interest in the rescue mission thereby pointing the short comings of the government and challenging them to do more in the rescue saga.

## **6. Discussion**

The analysis of the forms and functions of discourse reports of BBOG Campaign in Nigeria newspapers has revealed different structural organization of Newspaper discourse. The analysis of the schematic directions of the discourse reports of BBOG campaign in the Nigerian newspapers revealed that criticism and narration are the major direction of the reports. This is not surprising because of the expectation of government as protectors of the weak and vulnerable especially during the period conflicts. Editors and writers are likely to frame news stories to conform to this expectation and criticize authorities when they are deemed to fall short of the expectations. This finding is in consonants with the view of Rodin and Steinberg (2003) that press are active participants in public discourse, because they do not only report public events but shaped those events as well in order to meet their desired objectives. Also, the findings agreed with Mahmood, Javed and Mahmood (2011) that editors are politically inclined in their reportage. This study revealed that in some instances reports of BBOG campaign in Nigeria reflected the view of the society about the protest campaign while their political inclination kept in view but in most cases reverse are the case. For journalist the stories about BBOG campaign is also newsworthy and therefore is a goldmine to generate more readers, sales and advertisers.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the thirteen articles in the study geared toward agitating for support of the campaigners on the rescue of the abducted Chibok school girls. Indeed, press in their reportage demonstrated anxieties, distress and activism among others to arouse public interest in order to compel the president and security agencies to intensify efforts in the rescue mission of the abducted school girls. The journalists as human beings display emphathise with those affected in the abduction saga even if they have to do their jobs.

Thirdly, the analysis of the discursive strategies of the discourse report of BBOG campaign in Nigeria newspapers revealed five discursive strategies in legitimating or de-legitimizing the campaign discourse. These strategies are; narrativisation, rationalization, argumentation, authorization and little narratives. The findings agreed again with the view of Rodin and Steinberg (2003) that journalists do not only report events of civil society and public discourse but they also shape the events as well to suit their view points. In this regard, instances were seen in which reporters argued, rationalized, authorized to polish their view points.

Rationalisation marked the highest discursive strategy used by the reporters in legitimating the campaign discourse with five out of the fifteen articles equivalent to 33.3% of the total articles in the corpus. The press in these reports used rationalization strategy to give reasons behind their stories to authenticate their information. The strategy gives rational judgments for legitimacy of the campaign activities for the release of the abducted schoolgirls. Support for the campaign was seen normal because government’s major function is the protection of life and property and there is the general perception the government of the was not living up to

expectation. So, Nigerian journalist feel they have a duty to expose what is wrong in managing the crisis.

Authorization strategy was depicted in three of the fifteen articles, equivalent to 20 %. Authorization strategy gives different voice of the stakeholders concerned as an authority, through expressing their view-points on events of the campaign. Indeed, some voices are presented as an authority either from the campaigners or the government official to legitimate or de-legitimate the story of the campaign activities for the release of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls. The security agencies were the principal authorities against the BBOG campaign and were given prominence in the report. However, some authorities too supported the campaigns. Hence, the relatively high level of authorisation as a discourse strategy.

Argumentation strategy aimed at decreasing or increasing the acceptability of an action. The strategy reflected in three of the fifteen articles equivalent to 20% of the corpus. Thus, text 1 argued for the group while text 6 and 10 argued against the group, that they are politically motivated and accused of being sponsored by opposition groups.

Narrativisation is a strategy used by the media practitioners in narrating the story of an event with the view of informing the public about an issue through an entertaining tone by relating the background information, and the current situation of the event to give an insight on certain action of the parties involved. Therefore, text 2, 3, 8, and 15 equivalent to 26% depicted instances of narrativisation strategies.

Little narrative is another strategy which was depicted once, in text 4 equivalent to 6.7% of the total article under study. The strategy aimed at challenging the political wrongs of the government. In this study, Nigerian newspapers challenged the authority to redirect their focus on the insurgents and shouldered its responsibilities of protecting lives and properties of its citizens. This was shown from the linguistic choice of the reporters in addressing the government of Nigeria on their effort to deprive the group BBOG from exercising their civic right of peaceful demonstration.

Therefore, it is sufficient to conclude with the view of Van Dijk, (1991) that success or failure of the press argument often rest on the use of rhetorical tropes; which are deviations from the ordinary and principal signification of words which are purposely used to denote-connote something different from their ordinary meanings. According to him such tropes are used strategically to describe things in order to present to the audience some non-obligatory additional structure in text that may draw attention and may therefore indirectly emphasize specific meaning as in these reports of the campaign of BBOG in Nigeria.

Therefore, this result coincides with the view held by Curran (2005) thus; it can be argued that, investigative journalism in Nigeria to some extent safeguard public interests and uphold democracy by uncovering obscured truths, and exposing immoral or illegal practices and defending victims of injustice in an event. However, it is not only investigative journalism that can accomplish this as the reports of BBOG campaigns have shown. Some campaigns can also be reflected in the news in such a way that it can safeguard public interest.

## **Conclusion and recommendations**

This study investigated the form and functions of discourse reports of BBOG Campaign in Nigerian newspapers. The aim is to establish by means of critical discourse analysis the

schematic structure, the directions, the discursive strategies and the socio-political condition (context) governing the production of the discourse reports by the Nigerian newspapers. It is concluded that Nigerian newspaper journalists to some extent sided with the campaigners whose activities were largely legitimate (in adding pressure to free the girls) even if political. The report clearly indicated the Nigerian newspaper reports of the BBOG campaign largely amplified the criticisms of the group and rationalised it to justify journalists’ professional responsibility as well as attack a government perceived to be weak. Even though not all Nigeria newspapers were studied as some might not be blunt with their criticism due their closeness with the government as some of the mediums are owned by politicians close to those in power.

While, the BBOG campaigners aimed at exposing the inabilities and shortcomings of the then federal government under President Goodluck Jonathan in the rescue saga, the government (which was voted out of power) on the other hand, was more concerned with protecting its image in the eyes of the world, thereby threatening and intimidating the campaigners for their agitation. Analyses of the text of the report showed the newspaper journalists took side with the BBOG group and were critical of government and rationalised the campaign. It is therefore recommended that other researchers can go beyond the print media to incorporate both broadcast (radio and television) and the new media (Facebook, Twitters, etc) on how they covered the BBOG campaign. Comparative analysis can also be embarked upon to decipher the style of each media outlet to reveal their different patterns toward the campaign reports of the abducted Chibok school girls in Nigeria.

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## **An Analysis of Students' Knowledge in Spelling: A Case of a Technical University in Ghana**

Eli Ayawo Atatsi<sup>50</sup> and Benjamin Amoakohene<sup>51</sup>

### **Abstract**

High proficiency level in spelling is considered to be an important literacy skill writers need to be able to establish shared meaning with their readers. However, the Applied Linguistic literature reveals that spelling errors dominantly plague the essays of students who speak English as Second Language (ESL). In lieu with this, this study sheds light on students' knowledge in spelling in a Technical University in Ghana. The participants for the study involve 275 students who were randomly selected from three academic levels. The random sampling procedure was further used by the researchers to select 30 English words out of 50 words that have been compiled by the Communicative Skills Unit as the most consistent misspelled words in the written English essays of students of the Technical University over a period of four years. The respondents were further tested on how well they could spell those words. The findings confirm three main types of spelling errors: "insertion errors", "substitution errors" and "transposition errors". The findings further reveal that the students' inability to correctly spell most of the words that were dictated to them is a result of their unfamiliarity with the words, their inability to account for the right pronunciation associated with those words that were dictated to them as well as the failure of students to edit their work after the spelling exercise. It is also confirmed that the academic levels of the students do not have a significant influence on their performance in the knowledge of spelling.

### **Keywords**

Spelling errors, Transposition errors, Insertion errors, Substitution errors

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## Introduction

The emergence and the use of English as a medium of instruction in the Ghanaian educational scene dates back to the colonization of Gold Coast, now Ghana (Sackey, 1997). Since then, English has assumed an influential position within the Ghanaian landscape for conducting business and as a medium of instruction at almost all the levels of education in Ghana. For example, in the education system in Ghana, with the exception of lower primary, English is the most used medium of communication and instruction across all levels. It is also considered as one of the core subjects that students must obtain a credit pass in order to progress from Junior High School (JHS) to Senior High School (SHS) and at the tertiary levels, specifically the universities, competence in English is regarded as a skill that students need in order to be able to successfully go through their respective programmes. It is therefore evident that English, which is considered as a second language within the Ghanaian context, determines largely the success of Ghanaian learners. That is, it is the foundation of academic ability of students (Lyon, 2002). Therefore, the failure of students to acquire literacy in English hinders their progress throughout individual’s years of schooling, especially at the university level where students have to go through a lot of writing tasks before they graduate (Elbro & Scarborough, 2004).

However, learning English as L2 is considered as a daunting task and as such, most scholars (Afful, 2007; Amoakohene, 2017a) advocate that much space and time should be given to the teaching and learning of English language at various levels of the academic ladder. Figueredo (2006) on the other hand, posits that, the acquisition of the rules of usage of English among English Second Language learners differs from first language learners because they (L2 learners) use the knowledge of their first language in learning to read, write, and spell in the second language. Brown (2000) views these errors as a byproduct of progress in the learning process. He further stresses that in order to master the English language, learners have to be adequately exposed to all of the four basic language skills - listening, speaking, reading and writing. However, of all the four language skills, writing has been considered to be a very complex process in that it is a skill that is not acquired by birth but rather, it is learnt (Amoakohene, 2017a). It is therefore not surprising that most non-native speakers of English find it difficult to demonstrate the craft in composing meaningful and error free texts.

James (1988) argues that errors in writing such as tenses, the use of wrong prepositions and weak vocabulary are the most common and frequent type of errors that are dominant in the written texts of both ESL/EFL learners. In Ghana, one of the most common errors that plague the essays of students at all levels of education is spelling errors (Amable, 1990). Hildreth (1962:2) argues that “spelling is a sort of draft horse of written expression without which the load of work in writing cannot be done easily”. Similarly, Smedley (1983) believes that spelling errors negatively affect the clarity of the written message, and consequently interfere with communication between the writer and the reader. Other scholars contend that spelling and reading are closely related and as such, bad spellers are usually considered to be bad readers (Koda, 2005; Randall, 2007; Fender, 2008).

An analysis of the Basic Education Certificate Examination Chief Examiners report by Owusu-Ansah (2005) in three successive years (1993, 2001, 2003) highlights spelling errors as a major problem in written grammar of students. Per this finding, Owusu-Ansah (2005) indicates that students score low marks in English as a result of wrong spelling of words that characterize their essays. Beside this, the Chief Examiner’s Report on the 2008 Basic Education Certificate Examination (B.E.C.E.) also highlights poor spelling as a major

challenge of students' written essays, which to a large extent, impedes comprehension of essays written by these students. For example, when students write "other" instead of "order", "does" instead of "thus" and "plain" instead of "plane", it affects and distorts the message they intend to establish in their written texts and as such, affects the final scores that they get in the essays they write. To add to this argument, Amable (1990) also opines from her research findings that spelling mistakes are one contributing factors to the falling standards of English in Ghana. It is therefore not surprising that Asante (2007), an Educationist in a feature in "Daily Graphic," – a popular newspapers in Ghana - on the topic: *Time to stop and think about education* reiterates the need for the educational sector to pay attention to the English Language since without its mastery, success in other subjects would be impossible. One major aspect of English that needs to be given much attention is linked to helping students gain the mastery in spelling.

Over the years, most scholars have enumerated and emphasized the importance of spelling to the literacy of students (Ehri, 2000; Ritchey, 2008; Robinson, 1990; Katzir, Kennedy, Kim, Lovett, Morris, & Wolf, 2006; Moats, 2006). This is because, poor spelling inhibits students in several ways. As evident in the Applied Linguistics literature, spelling is considered as a unique and important sub-writing skill in that a written piece of work that has series of spelling errors make it difficult for readers to decode what the writer of the text intends to communicate to them. That is, spelling errors in a text can deny both the writer and the receiver to gain shared meaning and to a large extent, distort the entire communication process (A-Shabhi, Rashid & Abdullah, 2018). This means that the ability to spell words correctly, is of great importance to language learners in that it projects their mastery of language, and good spelling creates a good impression about students' potential to perform well in their various disciplines of study. Another benefit of mastery in spelling by students is linked to the fact that it gives language learners self-concept, status and knowledge that enable them to communicate adequately in writing (Peters, 2013). The spelling competence of students is not only an indicator that they can write well but scholars such as Moats (2006), Ritchey (2008), and Mesmeh (2012) establish a significant correlation between competency in spelling and effective reading comprehension. That is, these scholars are of the view that students' ability to read fluently and comprehend whatever they read lies in their ability to spell words correctly and use the right reading skills.

In the world of work, students' knowledge in spelling plays a critical role in their success in getting a job in the labor market, a condition that makes students knowledge in spelling an integral part of the writing process especially at the tertiary level and at the Technical Universities to be specific. That is, students' inability to spell words correctly in various documents they submit for employment after graduating from school, has become a great concern among employers of late (Martin-Lacroux & Lacroux, 2017). In other words, spelling skills are considered to be integral aspect of written communication skills and as such, graduates inability to demonstrate high level of competence as far as this writing skill is concerned is an important issue for many employers since they (employers) tend to agree that these potential employees might not have adequately mastered basic writing skills (Barrington, Wright, & Casner-Lotto, 2006; Stevens, 2006). This shows that training students to acquire knowledge in spelling, specifically at the university level, should not be underestimated since it does not only help students write meaningful texts, but it goes beyond that to assist them to be good competitors in the world of work.

Hildreth (1962) argues that "spelling is a sort of draft horse of written expression without which the load of work in writing cannot be done easily" (p. 2). Similarly, Smedley (1983)

believes that spelling errors negatively affect the clarity of the written message, and consequently interfere with communication between the writer and the reader. Other scholars contend that spelling and reading are closely related and as such, bad spellers are usually considered to be bad readers (Koda, 2005; Randall, 2007; Fender, 2008).

### **1.1. Identification of the Gap in the Literature**

Writing has widely being considered as the most laborious task of all the other three writing skills – speaking, reading and listening. The difficulty that students have in writing has been related to their inability to maintain cohesion and coherent in their texts, avoid ambiguity in their essays, write essays with good preposition usage as well as show mastery in the use of punctuation marks. Aside these, one other aspect of spelling that is considered to be a huge source of challenge to students, especially ESL students, is in the area of spelling words correctly. The challenges that students have in spelling have led to an upsurge in spelling research in the past years due to the importance spelling has on literacy acquisition (Conrad, 2008; Kwong & Varnhagen, 2005; Treiman & Bourassa, 2000). Within the Ghanaian context, the situation is not different as scholars like Amable (1990), Edu-Buandoh (1996), Owusu-Ansah (2005), Twum (2011) and Dadzie & Bosiwah (2015) have all explored challenges that students within the Ghanaian context face as far as spelling of words in English are concerned. The general findings that these scholars project as the cause of these writing challenges is in line with students’ poor reading culture as well as students’ inability to correctly associate the right sounds to the corresponding words that they are tasked to spell. A critical analysis of these studies within the Ghanaian context reveal that research works on students writing, especially within the area of spelling, have focused on students the Senior High School level (Edu-Buandoh, 1996), non-Technical University setting (Antwi, 2006) and at the Junior High School Level (Dadzie & Bosiwah, 2015; Twum, 2011). Surprisingly none of these studies made use of Cook’s (1999) typology as its analytical framework. Thus, the literature reveals that despite the existence of scholarly works on spelling at the various levels of the academic ladder, the Technical Universities, within the Ghanaian context, have not been given much attention.

The purpose of this study therefore is to investigate students of a Technical University’s knowledge in spelling and further adopts Cook’s (1999) classification of errors in line with spelling to determine the type of spelling errors that normally occur in the writings of these Technical University students. Cook’s (1999) classification of errors categorizes errors into four main types which include omission, substitution, insertion, and transposition errors and this classification is seen as the most adopted model in analyzing spelling errors basically because of its comprehensive nature. From the point of view of Kasuran (2017), insertion errors occur when one additional letter is included in the spellings of words and one of the most common insertions as posited by Kasuran (2017) are known as consonant doublings, which include errors such as <gg> in \*aggreement, <ff> in \*proffessional and <ll> as in \*allready or \*carefull. Cook (1997) projects that other forms of insertion errors normally committed by L2 speakers include the insertion of <e> after <i> (as in <ie>) for sounds corresponding to /aɪ/ in misspellings such as \*priemary or \*dierect.

Omission errors on the other hand is a type of error that occurs when one letter in a sequence within a word is left out. According to Cook (1997), the most common letter omitted by L2 users is <n> when it is used within consonant clusters, such as with the misspelling \*desigs instead of design. Other instances of omission errors from Cook’s (1997: 483-484) perspective include the omission of consonants consonant in a pair of consonants, such as the omission of <c> from the consonant pairs <cq> in misspellings like \*aquisition, or the <h>

from <ch> or <gh> in misspellings such as \*scholarship or \*thought. Another common omission by L2 users is the silent word-final <e>, in misspellings such as \*morphem and \*softwar, as well as when it precedes <ly> in \*unfortunatly or \*completely.

Substitution errors on the other hand, is noted to be divided into two types which include either substitutions of single letters, or as grapheme substitutions of multiple related changes. For example, one may write \*thort instead of “thought” as well as substituting <s>, <c>, <z> and <t>, resulting in misspellings such as \*immence, \*influencial or \*amasing (Cook, 1997: 482). Cook (1999) defines transposition errors as the type of spelling errors of words where two consecutive letters change place. Cook (1997) further posits that one of the most common transposition errors occur with the letter pairs <e> and <i>, producing errors such as \*concieved, \*acheived or \*foreigner (p. 484).

Given that knowledge on spelling errors of Technical University students in Ghana has remained patchy and anecdotal, this study is essential as its findings will provide useful knowledge on the state of spellings among Technical University students in Ghana. It is anticipated that results of the study will have useful practical implications as policies and strategies are implemented to improve the spellings of students.

## **1. Literature Review**

From the Applied Linguistic literature, it has been noticed that the word “spelling” lacks unanimous conceptual clarification. That is, most scholars have defined this term from different points of view. For instance, Hornby (2000) defines spelling as the act of forming words correctly from individual letters. Hodges (1984) also conceptualizes spelling as a process of converting oral language to visual form by placing graphic symbols on some writing surface. Similar to the definition of Hodges (1984), Wolff (1958) states that spelling is an act of seeing or hearing accurately what may be written or spoken, and translating that visual or aural image into motor activity. That is, spelling as “the ability to produce words, orally or in a written format, by positioning letters in a precise order” (Nahari and Alfadda, 2016, p.3).

Pijper (2003) is also of the view that spelling involves the integration of several skills which include knowledge of phonological representation, grammatical and semantic knowledge, as well as the formulation of analogies with words in visual memory. Young (2000) on the other hand, gives a more comprehensive pedagogy of spelling to include phonetics, syllabication, prefixes, suffixes, rules for plurals and possessive as well as adding suffixes, learning to pronounce words correctly to spell correctly and learning the basic sight words. That is, spelling errors occur if there are series of letters that represents no correctly spelled word of the same language (such as "liek" for "like") or a correct spelling of another word (Al-Jarf, 2008; Mifflin, 2007).

### **1.1. Types of Spelling Errors**

Several categorization of spelling errors exist in the literature. Ramadan (1986) identifies morphemic, intra-morphemic, and splits as three main categories of spelling errors from a written composition of 200 students. Ramadan (1986) further classifies the morphemic errors into five types: inflection errors, omissions errors, phonetic errors, residue, and derivation errors. The second group of errors, intra-morphemic errors, is divided into four types: articulation errors, syllable omission or reduction, lexical errors, and ambiguous

correspondence errors. The third category, splits, contains two subcategories: compounds and pseudo-compound.

Al-Bakri (1998) on the other hand identifies seven types of errors after he investigated spelling errors of English majors in the Yarmouk University in Jordan. These errors as posited by Al-Bakri include substitution, insertion, omission, segmentation, pronunciation, unclassified errors and miscellaneous. Based on an analysis of errors in the writing of learners of English from a range of countries, Cook (1999) also concludes that English spelling errors can be classified into four main types of spelling errors: omission, substitution, transposition and insertion errors. This classification has widely been used in the literature as a framework to analyze spellings challenges of students from different geographical settings and at different levels of the academic ladder. Some studies that have employed Cook’s (1999) model include Allaith (2009), Subhi & Nabeel (2015), Golshan & Reigani (2015) and Othman (2018). A study of spelling errors of 43 EFL undergraduate Jordanian students writing by Al-zuoud and Kabilan (2013) confirm similar patterns of errors in line with Cook’s (1999) classification of errors and these include omission, substitution, insertion, and transposition errors. Thus, the findings reveal that majority of the students’ spelling challenges are linked to substitution and omission errors. Closely related to the above studies, Al- Karaki (2005) in his exploration of spelling errors made by students of Alkarak Directorate of Education, identifies six types of spelling in the students written essays and these spelling errors include addition, omission, substitution, segmentation, disordering, and miscellaneous. Coupled with this, most spelling errors identified in the students learning are related to omission, substitution and addition errors. The findings further confirm that the higher the academic level of students, the fewer the spelling errors they commit.

Al-Jabri (2006) also highlights omission, substitution, transposition and insertion errors as the spelling error category that plague the written essays of 114 Omani fifth-grade students in two rural schools. He further stresses that the omission and substitution errors are more dominant in the writings of the focused group for the study whilst transposition and insertion errors were less frequent. Also, Alhaisoni et al. (2015) findings on spelling errors on 122 EFL undergraduate students at the University of Ha’il in Saudi Arabia confirm wrong use of vowels and pronunciation as the most dominant forms of errors in the essays of students. The findings indicate that spelling errors occur as a result of anomalies existing in L2 as well as L1 interference.

Dadzie & Bosiwah (2015), accounts for six different types of errors in the essays of selected Junior High School students in the Cape Coast Metropolis of Ghana by analyzing the essays of sixty students from selected Junior High schools, Dadzie & Bosiwah (2015) spotlight omission, addition, substitution, inversion, pronunciation and miscellaneous as the dominant errors that plague the essays of the selected students. However, they highlight that the frequency and the types of errors vary across the schools that were selected for their study.

## **1.2. Causes of Spelling Errors**

Results of empirical studies regarding misspelling of words among students reveal several causes. A stream of studies in the literature report irregularities of the English spelling system as the main cause of spelling errors (Smith, 1973; Bahloul, 2007; Al-Hassan, 2011; Jayousi, 2011). Smith (1973) argues that in addition to the 26 letters of the alphabets, there are additional 52 main English spelling units which double the size of the alphabets and as such, learners must get familiar with them in order to become effective writers. Other irregularities

such as silent letters contained in English words (*debt*-[det], *enough* -[ɪnʌf], *light*-[laɪt], *tongue* -[tʌŋ], and *foreign*-[fɔːrən]) and also alternative spelling in terms of the British and American (*theatre*-*theater* and *color*-*colour*) cause learners of English to find English spelling a cumbersome learning process.

Another cause that is indicated in the literature is linked to linguistic differences between English and learners' first languages (Brown 2000; Swan & Smith, 2001; Saville-Troike, 2006; Corder, 1993). Tonga et al. (2009) argue that these causes are due to the differences in orthography and morphology. With reference to orthographical depth, several scholars espouse that children whose first language is highly transparent, like that of the numerous Ghanaian languages, may use the sound-to-spelling strategy to spell English words, which may result in spelling errors (Cronnell, 1985; Durgunoglu et al., 2002; James, Scholfield, Garrett, & Griffiths, 1993; Luelsdorff, 1986). For example, spelling error analysis by Cronnell (1985) on grade 3 and 6 Spanish speaking children reveals that the focused group for the research predominantly make use of transparent spelling of Spanish in spelling English words. Some of the students spell *clean* as *clin*, *rock* as *rack*, *blouse* as *blaus*, and *once* as *ones*. Similar to the above study, Durgunoglu et al. (2002) has explored spelling errors of grade 4 Spanish children transitioned from a Spanish-English bilingual education program and the findings reveal that most of the students use spelling-sound correspondences systematically and spell the words as they hear them and evidences from the data include instances of wrong spelling such as, *reel* (*real*), *wich* (*witch*), *favret* (*favourite*). This confirms the views of scholars within the Ghanaian context like Amable (1990), Twum (2011), Dadzie & Bosiwah (2015) that one of the main challenges of students in spelling words correctly is their inability to associate the right spelling-sound correspondences to English words that they spell.

Closely related to the above mentioned causes, Brown (2000); Saville-Troike (2006) highlight the effect that the mother tongue may have on L2 acquisition. That is, most L2 learners normally transfer the rules governing the spelling of words of their respective L1 to the spelling of the L2 words. Swan and Smith (2001) believe that where the mother tongue has no equivalent form, the linguistic feature found in the target language learning is difficult and vice versa. In a study of ALEs in Saudi Arabia, Bahloul (2007) attributes the errors that were identified to three main causes: intralingual, developmental, and interlingual. Intralingual errors are caused by the spelling system of the target language and they include monographicization, graphemic unification, and phoneme/grapheme matching. Developmental errors on the other hand, are as a result of learners' developmental stages and it comprises metathesis, cluster simplification, epenthesis syllable simplification and syllable truncation and assimilation. The final cause, intralingual errors, are caused by the interference of the mother tongue. These comprised of four types of errors: consonantal replacement, vocalic transfer, nativization, and epenthesis.

## **2. Research Questions**

The study will be guided by these research questions.

1. What are the type of errors that plague the spelling of students at the Ho Technical University?
2. What are the frequencies of these errors as evident in the spelling of students at the Ho Technical University?
3. What causes these students to commit these categories of errors in their spelling of words?

### 3. Methods

The work investigates students of the Ho Technical University’s knowledge in spelling of English words. The researchers employed the qualitative research design as the research paradigm for the study. This stems from the fact that the analysis of the data is skewed towards the use of non-numerical data though there were few instances where the study makes use of frequency counts to aid the analysis of the data. The qualitative research design is deemed appropriate because the researchers aimed at profiling the nature of spelling errors in the institution under study (Punch, 2005; Jackson, 2009; Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Total samples of 275 students were selected by using the convenience sampling technique which is a nonprobability sampling procedure where members of the target population that meet certain practical criteria, such as easy accessibility, geographical proximity, availability at a given time and the willingness to participate are included for the purpose of the study (Dornyei, 2007). This approach helped the researchers to select the most accessible subjects that were studied and it is less costly in terms of time and effort (Oisín, 2007; Marshall, 1996). In order to get the needed data for the study, the students were grouped into three according to their academic year or level of education and they were given a spelling test that consisted of thirty sampled English words. These students were grouped according to their year of education so as to enable the researchers effectively compare the differences and similarities that exist in the spelling errors that the students committed in the spelling exercise. Aside these, the focus group for the study were made up of students from all the three levels (first, second and third year students) at the selected Technical University because, the writers aimed at projecting a general picture of students’ knowledge in spelling at the selected Technical University. That is, the researchers did not want to limit their study to only one level but rather wanted to involve students from across the three levels of the selected Technical University. This, to a large extent, makes the findings of the study a reflection of the performance of all students of the selected Technical University in the spelling of English words.

This test comprised three main stages. The first stage required students to listen attentively to the thirty words that were used for the study as well as their (words) related meanings without writing and this took exactly 15 minutes. In the second stage of the test, the thirty words were spoken to the respondents for them to write these words down and this stage of the data collection process also took thirty minutes. Finally, the third stage involved going over the words that were dictated to the students for them to make corrections of any word they thought they had misspelled. To ensure the right pronunciation of the words that were dictated to the students, the researchers employed a specialist in phonetics and phonology to dictate the words to the respondents in both British and American English since either of these spellings was considered as appropriate for the spelling exercise. As people who are trained to work in various firms across the world, students of Technical universities should not only know the right spelling of words as used in context but the researchers are of the view that these students should also have the competence to match the right English words to their respective pronunciation. This would not only help the students in their various areas of work after school but also enhance their classroom work since most of the notes these students take in class are dictated to them. These reasons therefore necessitated the need for the spelling exercise that was used in this study to evaluate students’ competence in spelling. Thus, these reasons called for the reason why words were selected separately for listening and writing, rather than in the form of a text which will give more information on the way listening comprehension affects spelling, and further on reading comprehension in the process of error correction. Data collected on the spelling were marked and those with errors were classified

based on Cook's (1999) classification procedure. Frequencies and percentages were used to summarize demographic information of respondents and explain the nature of the spelling errors based on Cook's (1999) typology which has effectively been used to analysed spelling errors of students from different geographical and academic backgrounds. Coupled with the aforementioned stages, the researchers further conducted an interview after the text to elicit the rationale for the wrong spelling of most of the words that were used for the spelling test.

#### **4. Results and Discussions**

Table 1, as indicated in the appendix, gives a clear picture of the percentage of words that were spelled wrongly as against the rate at which those words were spelled correctly by the students. Thus, Table 1 shows the rate at which a word was spelled wrongly or correctly across the three year groups of the Technical University students who formed part of the data set. These misspelled words confirmed Cook's (1999) classification of errors which include insertion errors, omission errors, transposition errors and substitution errors

Table 1, as evident in the appendix, reports in percentage terms the words that are spelled out correctly and incorrectly by the research participants. The findings of the study reveal that the word "citizen" has the highest correct spelling rate (97.89%) for the first year students followed by "management" (89.44%) and program(me) (87.32%). With regard to the spelling of the word "program (me)", the analysis shows that students typically made use of the American spelling (program) as against the British spelling (programme). After further discussions with the students for their choice of the American spelling over the British spelling, they highlighted that the American spelling version of words in English are very simple and they dominate most of the text books they read as well as other media platforms that they visit to search for information. However, they confirmed to the researchers that though the American brand of English makes spelling of words easy for them, they are forced to always use the British English in their writing because it is the dominant medium that their lecturers use to teach them in their various disciplines of studies.

On the other hand, the top five words that are spelled wrongly by the first year students in descending order include "conscientious" (97.89 %), "cantankerous" (95.77%), "cue" (92.96%), "frivolous" (92.25%) and "quay" (90.85%). When the researchers elicited the rationale for the wrong spelling rate of most of the words, it was confirmed from the respondents that they could not provide the right spelling of most of the words because it was their first time of hearing those words. With regard to the aforementioned five words with the highest rate of wrong spelling, 99 (69.7%) first year students confirmed that they could not spell those words correctly because that was their first time of hearing those words whilst 43 (43%) of the first year students confirmed their inability to spell most of the words especially the top five misspelled words was as a result of their ignorance of the right pronunciations of those words.

As far as the second year students are concerned, the analysis reveals that 67% (20 out of 30) words had above 60% correct spelling rate. Words like "citizen" (96.08%), "committee" (98.04%), "opaque" (96.08%), "management" (98.04%), "judgment" (100%) and "aggravate" (96.08) were noted to be the top six words that recorded the highest correct spelling rate. An interview with the students after the test revealed that they were able spell these words correctly because they were familiar with them. 88.2% of the students confirmed that their familiarity with those words led to their ability to spell the words correctly. Other students (9.8%) also confirmed that they were able to spell most of the words correctly because the

pronunciation of those words corresponds exactly to their spelling. However, three words: “quay”, “conscientious”, and “ephemeral” could not be spelt by any of the students in the second year and as such its misspelt rate was 100%. After further interrogations with the students on the reasons for their inability to spell the aforementioned three words correctly, the researchers confirmed that none of them could spell the words correctly mainly because it was their first time of hearing those words and as such, they were not familiar with the right spelling of those words that were dictated to them.

For the third year students, the findings reveal that 15 (50%) of the 30 words that were dictated to them have below 50% correct rate of spelling whilst 15 (50%) of the words have above 50% correct rate of spelling. The findings further reveal that the top five words that were spelt wrongly by the research participants in descending order are “conscientious” (100%), “cantankerous” (100%), “cue” (98.78%), “dogma” (98.78%) “frivolous” (95.12%) and “ephemeral” (95.12%). Like the second year students, the third year students’ inability to spell most of the words correctly is as a result of their ignorance with the right pronunciations of those words. “Management” and “program(me)” had correct spelling rate of 96.34% and 92.68% respectively. Similarly, “citizen” (82.93%) “accommodation” (85.37%) and “congratulation” (84.15%) have a good score of correct spelling as a result of students’ familiarity with these words. The researchers confirmed with most of the students (80%) after the test was marked that, the students’ ability to correctly spell those words were as a result of their familiarity with those words. Thus, those words were predominant in the lecture notes and text books of the students and as such they were highly familiar with the words.

**Table 2: Types of Errors Identified in the data set**

Type of Error	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
<b>Omission</b>	810	264	512
<b>Substitution</b>	125	6	209
<b>Insertion</b>	805	214	212
<b>Transposition</b>	----	49	31

Table 2 presents spelling errors analyzed according to the four categories suggested by Cook (1999). That is, from the analysis, it is confirmed that year 1 students committed more omission errors (810 times) followed by year 3 students (512 times) whilst year 2 students have the least omission errors (264 times). With regard to insertion errors, the analysis confirms that year 1 students committed more errors (805 instances), followed by year 2 students (214 instances). The analysis further reveals that year 3 students committed more substitution errors (209 instances) followed by year 1 students with 125 instances of substitution errors. As evident in Table 2, it can be deduced that year 2 students have the least substitution errors (6 instances). Regarding transposition errors, year 1 had none and year 2 had the highest of 49 whilst the year three students have 31 instances of transposition errors. Examples of these types of errors in the data are given in section 4.3. Surprisingly, the levels of the students who were examined did not significantly have an effect on how well they spelled most of the English words that they were tasked to spell. This is because, the data shows instances where the year three students committed more substitution errors than the first and second year students while some instances revealed year one students committing more omission errors than the year two and three students. From Table 2, it can also be noticed that there were no instance where the first year students committed transposition errors unlike the year 2 and three students who recorded 49 and 31 instances of transposition errors respectively.

#### 4.1. Reasons for the Respondents Inability to Spell most of the Words Correctly

This sub-section of the analysis projects the rationale behind students inability to correctly spell most of the words that were dictated to them. That is, after marking the spelling exercise that was given to the students, the researchers further organized an interview for the students to determine the reason behind their inability to spell most of the words correctly. The researchers made a conscious effort to interview all the 275 students across the three academic levels. An analysis of the interviews with the 275 respondents confirms that their inability to correctly spell most of the words that were dictated to them is linked to three main issues: students unfamiliarity with the words that were dictated to them, inability of the students to account for the right pronunciation associated to the words that were dictated to them as well as the failure of students to edit their work after the spelling exercise. Thus, on 138 instances (50.2%), the students attested to the fact that their inability to spell most of the words correctly were related to their unfamiliarity with the words that were dictated to them. This means that, the first time they heard about those words were the day they were tasked to spell them. According to the respondents, words like *queue*, *quay*, *conscientious*, *frivolous* and *cantankerous* were new to them and as such did not know the correct spelling of those words. This situation highlights the poor reading culture of the respondents, a situation that limits their knowledge in spelling most of the words in the English Language.

Across the three levels, the second most dominant reason that led to the respondents inability to correctly spell most of the words that were dictated to them is linked to their failure to edit their work after the spelling exercise. This situation shows that the post writing stage, a mandatory and important stage in the writing process, is not considered as a serious aspect of the writing process by the students. There are 97(35.3%) instances where students admitted that their failure to spell most of the words correctly is as result of not editing the words they were tasked to spell in the writing exercise. This might probably be related to the fact that most of the students are either not aware or feel lazy to go through the post writing stage so as to correct some minor errors in any writing task they may be compelled to do. It is not surprising that wrong spellings such as *pretentious* (pretentious), *fleetin* (fleeting), *solitud* (solitude), *cocious* (conscious) and *frivolos* (frivolous) are identified in the spelling exercise of the students. For instance, with regard to the spelling of the word *pretentious*, there was an omission of the letter “n” after the letter “e” in the second syllable of the word *pretentious*. Also, there is an omission of the letter “g” which should have appeared before the letter “n” in *fleeting* whereas the letter “e” which is supposed to have come after the letter “d” in *solitude* is also omitted. It is believed that if students should have taken time to thoroughly edit their work, such basic errors could have been rectified. This therefore suggests the need for language teachers, especially Communicative Skills lecturers at the Ho Technical University, to stress the importance of editing and proofreading as important aspects of the writing process as well as inculcate in students the habit of editing any text that they write.

The third reason that is noted to have caused students failure to spell most of the words accurately is identified to be students’ inability to associate the right pronunciation to the words that were dictated to them. This suggests that one challenge that most of the students at the Ho Technical University face as far as the English Language is concerned is to correctly give the right pronunciation to most of the words in the English Language. This challenge therefore accounted for the wrong spelling of most of the words that were dictated to the students. An analysis of the interview data proves that there are 97 (14.5%) instances where students confirmed to the researchers that their inability to spell most of the words that were

dictated to them is linked to the fact that they did not know the right pronunciation of some of the words that were dictated to them. For example, some of the students confirmed that they did not know the pronunciation of words like *queue*, *quay*, *cue*, *conscientious* and *ephemeral* and as such they could not provide the right spelling for these words. A word like *queue* was in some instances spelled as “qeeu” and “queue” whilst *cue* was predominantly spelt as “qay”.

## 4.2. Discussion

The omission errors occurring in the work of the Ho Technical University students is noted to be highly linked to their attempt to manipulate and associate a range of vowels and consonants combinations to form words; participants’ attempt to construct a word based on their knowledge of grapheme-phoneme relationships; the high frequency of eliminating some phonemes like /e/ s/ n /i:/ m/ and others; and omission errors being linked to the concept of interlingualism. These reflect the findings of Alhaisoni, Al-Zuoud & Gaudel (2015) on omissions in orthography. Such errors like *comtiee*, [comit]; *aventure*, [advent]; *pretetios*, [pretend] are described as errors of invented spelling (Gentry, 2000). They expose the individual's knowledge of the base or root word but there is lack of knowledge by the individual to correctly associate the vowels and consonants combinations to form the target words.

Based on the knowledge of grapheme-phoneme relations, the students omit some of the letters from the spelling due to the silent nature of that letter in pronunciation [*solitud*, *conscencious*, *pretentius*, *frivolos*] making it difficult for the students to add it in writing. For example, a word like *solitud* should have ended with the letter *e* as *solitude* whilst the letter *u* should have been introduced before the letter *s* in *frivolos*. These omissions show a lapse in the students' spelling abilities which might have accrued over the years in the education process.

Again, there was the high incidence of not adding some letters *e*, *s*, *n*, *m*, *l* and *g* to target words [e.g. *feeting*, *fletin*, *fleetin*, *phemeral*, *ephmeral*, *ephemera*, *cocious*, *consious*, *conciuous*]. This may be attributed to carelessness or confusion (see page 12). Finally, the omission errors could be caused by inter-lingual challenges as students try to impose L1 pronunciations on L2 orthography. This confirms the findings of Dadzie and Bosiwah (2015) that most errors, especially omission errors that most students commit in their written essays are as a result of L1 interference, transfer and ignorance on the side of the students.

### **Insertion Errors**

Nyamasyo (1994) describes errors of insertion as the addition of redundant letters to the word as either an act of performance or competence. This form of error was committed by most of the students and as such got most of the words spelled wrongly. That is, in spelling most of the words that comprised the text items, most of the students added redundant letters to the base word and as such led to most of the misspelled words in the data. For example, a word like *pacify* is misspelled in the data as *paccify*, *parcify*, and *parcifey* whilst *dogma* is misspelled as *dogmah*, *dogmar*, *dogmaa*, *dorgmar*, *dorgmah*. On the other hand, most of the students also spell the word *quay* as *quaey*, *quaye*, *quaey*, *quaay*. In all these instances, it could be realized that students insert letters that are not needed in the spelling of most of the words that were dictated to them. The cause could be attributed to students’ inability to make the distinction between the long and short vowels /æ/a: /ɔ: /ɔ/ in the articulation of the sounds as appears to be the case in the use of some consonants /h/k/r/. According to Chomsky (1965), such mistakes may result due to lack of attention or confusion. The contention could be that,

as second language learners of English, it could be competence related since they do not have adequate grasp of the English language judging from the number of insertion errors.

### ***Substitution errors***

Substitution errors are as a result of mispronunciation of the target word before spelling. It may be as a result of the transference of first language features into the target language or the inability to identify the right sounds and this affects the performance in the orthography, confusion, and carelessness which result to students substituting some letters for others in their quest to spell those words and students of the Ho Technical University are not exception to this source of error. For example, the data for the study reveals that the letter /k/ has been substituted for /c/ in *kantangurous*; /g/ used for /k/ in the spelling of the word *cantankerous*. This applies to other words like *pretentious* in which the 'pre' has been spelt as 'prin' (*printentious*); similarly, in *pretentious*, the letter /r/ has been used instead of the letter /n/. Other examples that can be cited from the data are the substitution of the letter /u/ for /o/ in *frivolous*; /eat/ for the /ee/ in *fleatting*; /o,c,c/ in *concanaros* as well as other omissions and insertions reveal a state of confusion in the mind of the students in the writing of these words.

### ***Transposition errors***

Transposition errors are the least of mistakes made from the data collected and instances of this kind of error could be due to carelessness and confusion on the part of the learners. With regard to the issue of confusion as a cause of most of the transposition errors, the analysis confirms that in their quest to spell the words that were dictated to them, students at some point were confused with the right number and order of syllables that constitute some of the words they were dictated to them. As a result of this, the students either omit a syllable or interchange the right order of the syllables that make up a given word. This confirms Staden (2010) view that for students to gain mastery in spelling, they should be able to know the internal structures that make up the various words in the English Language. That is, it involves their ability to blend, segment, and manipulate syllables and sounds in words (Kelman & Apel, 2004).

For instance, with a word like “magnanimous”, most of the students changed the right order at which the syllables in the word “magnanimous” should have appeared by writing it as “magninamous” where the syllable “na” should have preceded the syllable “ni” instead of it(na) coming before the syllable “ni”. The aspect of carelessness that led to most of the transposition errors are linked to students failure to take huge responsibility to edit their work after they completed the spelling task despite the fact that they were given some time to edit their work before submitting to the researchers. This source of errors was confirmed by most of the students who objectively reported to the researchers in an interview after the spelling test that they would have spelled most of the words correctly if they had edited their work thoroughly.

As evident in the Applied Linguistic literature, transposition errors occur as a result of the wrong positioning of letters in the target word. This type of error was made by the second and third year students but none of the first year students committed any error in spelling that is linked to transposition error. It is evident in the data that there are 49 instances of transposition errors from the spelling of the 30 words by the second year students whilst 31 instances of transposition errors were detected in the spelling test of the third year students. Typical instances of these source of errors in the data include the spelling of words like

*pretentious* as *pretentiuos*, *magnanimous* as *magninamous*, *ephemeral* as *epehmeral*, *gorgeous* as *gorgeuous* and *elaborate* as *elaboraet*. For instance, in the spelling of words like *pretentiuos*, the students transpose the letters *u* and *s* and as a matter of fact make the spelling of the word wrong. That is, the letter *o* should have appeared before the letter *u* as in *pretentious* but not *pretentiuos*.

## 5. Limitation and suggestion for future studies

Spelling errors recorded in this study supports Error and Contrastive Analysts claim that, learners have varied first languages so the challenges with English spelling would probably be many. However, although the data was collected from a heterogeneous ethnic group of students, much cannot be said about how their various L1 backgrounds affect their spelling competences as it was not the focus this research work. It is suggested that this could be a topic for future research. Aside this, the findings of the study is only limited to the students of the Ho Technical University and as such a clear description of the spelling challenges of student in other public universities have not been catered for in this work.

## Conclusion

From the analysis, it is evident that out of the thirty words that formed the basis of the spelling exercise, words like *citizen*, *passionate*, *accommodation*, *congratulations*, *management*, *judgement*, *elaborate*, and *correct* have the highest frequency of correct spelling since they recorded a frequency of 60 and above correct rate of spelling across the three academic levels of students who were examined. However, words like *cantankerous*, *ephemeral*, *magnanimous*, *conscientious*, *dogma*, *cue*, *quay*, *fleeting*, *frivolous* and *pretentious* were highly misspelled by the students across the three academic levels. Aside these it is confirmed after the analysis that students committed more omission errors than the other category of spelling errors that occur in the data set. Year one students have the highest rate of omission errors in the data and this is followed by the year three students whilst the year two students have the least rate of omission errors. The reasons for the high rate of omission errors in the data stems from students attempt to manipulate and associate a range of vowels and consonants combinations to form words; their attempt to construct words based on their knowledge of grapheme-phoneme relationships and their eliminating of some phonemes in the words they were required to spell. As far as the substitution errors are concerned, the analysis further confirms that the year three students record the highest rate of this error and this is followed by the year one students whilst the year two students have the least of the errors that were related to substitution errors. In addition, the analysis further confirms that transposition errors are more dominant in the spelling exercise of the year two students and the year three students occupy the second position as far as transposition errors are concerned. However, there is no instance in the data where a first year student is noted of making a transposition error in the spelling exercise.

The finding further reveals that the level of students cannot be used to predict their competence in spelling words in the English Language. This emanates from the fact that there are instances in the data that students from the third year make more errors under some categories of spelling errors that are identified in the data set than their counterparts in the first and second years. With regard to transposition errors for example, none of the first year students is noted in data for committing such category of spelling errors as compared to the

third and second year students who in some instances make errors of spelling that fall under transposition error.

Also, the students could not spell most of the words correctly mainly because most of the words were not familiar to them and they were also not aware of the right pronunciation of most of the words that were dictated to them. It was also confirmed from the analysis that the students' inability to spell most of the words correctly was as a result of their failure to edit their work after the entire spelling exercise.

## **Recommendation**

It is recommended that a second look should be taken at the syllabus of the tertiary institutions in the teaching and learning of Academic Literacy (Communicative Skills) to include topics that would enhance the spelling abilities of students so as to improve their writing skills. That is, beside the grammar based topics that normally characterize the content of most Communicative Skills programme in the various Technical universities in Ghana, students should also be introduced to a topic like phonetics and phonology. This topic, to a large extent, will equip students with the competence in associating graphemes of words in English to their related phonemes. Aside this, the introduction of phonetics and phonology in the course content of the Communicative Skills programme will help the university students, specifically the technical university students, know the distinction between short and long vowels which, to a large extent, will have a significant influence on their spelling abilities of English words. That is, with the introduction of phonetics and phonology in the course content of the Communicative Skills programme, spelling errors like insertion errors, omission errors and substitution errors in students writing will adequately be reduced if not totally eradicated. In dealing with transposition errors, it is also recommended that the teaching of spelling as an aspect of the Communicative Skills programme must be intensified with specific focus on helping students grasp the skills in breaking words correctly into their (words) corresponding syllables. That is, students should be taught the skills in breaking words into their corresponding syllables before they are spelt so as to improve their competence in spelling words that they might not be familiar with.

Another most important strategy that we recommend teachers to use in teaching spelling is to make a conscious effort to help students know the differences and similarities between the rules of spelling words in the first languages of their respective students as against the spelling rules of the target language – English. This, to a large extent, will help prevent errors like omission errors that are normally caused by inter-lingual challenges as students try to impose L1 rules of spelling on L2 orthography. Aside these, we recommend the need to develop an accredited language proficiency level of tertiary students, specifically Technical University students, by means of compulsory language assessments in which spelling is an indispensable component so as to improve the spelling of students. Since most of the students made mention of the fact that their inability to spell most of the words correctly were as a result of their failure to edit their work as well their unfamiliarity with most of the words that they were made to spell, we recommend that the Communicative Skills Units to include literature in English as part of the Communicative Skills course content. With this, students should be introduced to reading European and African novels so as to enrich their vocabulary and to a large extent, improve their writing abilities. The essence of proofreading and editing as a post writing stage, should also be stressed to the students so as to help them avoid some minor errors they mostly commit in their attempt to spell most of the English words.

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## Appendix

**Table 1: Percentage of Errors Associated with the Words**

		Year 1		Year 2		Year 3	
		Correct	Wrong	Correct	Wrong	Correct	Wrong
1	CITIZEN	97.89	2.11	96.08	3.92	82.93	17.07
2	PASSIONATE	64.79	35.21	88.24	11.76	75.61	24.39
3	ACCOMMODATION	69.01	30.99	92.16	7.84	85.37	14.63
4	AMBASSADOR	54.93	45.07	88.24	11.76	54.88	45.12
5	COMMITTEE	58.45	41.55	98.04	1.96	58.54	41.46
6	CONGRATULATIONS	78.87	21.13	92.16	7.84	84.15	15.85
7	ADVENTURER	25.35	74.65	82.35	17.65	34.15	65.85
8	OPAQUE	56.34	43.66	96.08	3.92	63.41	36.59
9	ELOQUENT	58.45	41.55	66.67	33.33	51.22	48.78
10	MINUTE	48.59	51.41	86.27	13.73	68.29	31.71
11	MANAGEMENT	89.44	10.56	98.04	1.96	96.34	3.66
12	PROGRAM(ME)	87.32	12.68	98.04	1.96	92.68	7.32
13	JUDGEMENT	83.10	16.90	100	-----	84.15	15.85
14	CONSCIOUS	15.49	84.51	60.78	39.22	26.83	73.17
15	ELABORATE	66.20	33.80	84.31	15.69	82.93	17.07
16	PACIFY	35.92	64.08	72.55	27.45	34.15	65.85
17	QUEUE	35.21	64.79	96.08	3.92	40.24	59.76
18	AGGRAVATE	40.85	59.15	66.67	33.33	51.22	48.78
19	GORGEOUS	36.62	63.38	76.47	23.53	37.80	62.20
20	QUAY	9.15	90.85	-----	100	14.63	85.37
21	FLEETING	19.01	80.99	50.98	49.02	13.41	86.59

22	CUE	7.04	92.96	13.73	86.27	1.22	98.78
23	CONSCIENTIOUS	2.11	97.89	-----	100	-----	100
24	SOLITUDE	52.11	47.89	37.25	62.75	62.20	37.80
25	DOGMA	19.01	80.99	29.41	70.59	1.22	98.78
26	PRETENTIOUS	12.68	87.32	62.75	37.25	15.85	84.15
27	FRIVOLOUS	7.75	92.25	23.53	76.47	4.88	95.12
28	CANTANKEROUS	4.23	95.77	1.96	98.04	-----	100
29	EPHEMERAL	9.15	90.85	----	100	4.88	95.12
30	MAGNANIMOUS	56.34	43.66	47.06	52.94	43.90	56.10



# **Book Review**

Book Review: Jule, A. (2018). *Speaking Up: Understanding Language and Gender*. (1 ed.) Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 144 pages. ISBN: 9781783099627

**Jule, A. (2018). *Speaking Up: Understanding Language and Gender*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 144 pages. ISBN: 9781783099627**

Tinka Schubert, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Spain

In her book, *Speaking Up: Understanding Language and Gender*, Allyson Jule reviews the basic notions that combine the study of language and those of gender and then reviews the state of the art of gender and language use in different social spheres: media and technology, education, workplace, religion, and relationships.

Therefore, she starts with a brief portrayal of feminism and its historic roots concluding that feminism nowadays is highly diverse. This implies also the danger of post-feminism focusing on the individual rather than on collective struggles for all women, and the implications of essentialist perspectives that reduce the issue to sex and gender as the same thing. Nevertheless, Jules highlights that most feminist groups share some core issues that are unique to all women such as violence against women. She thus highlights that “women and men who care about the lives of women need to work together to create a more just world”. Jules also emphasizes that feminism today is mainly endorsed by younger generations who according to Redfern and Aune define feminisms as “liberating, diverse, challenging, exciting, relevant and inclusive”.

When looking at the use of language, Jules points to the importance of language in constructing and perpetuating social reality and highlights that it can be a tool for transformation but also a tool of oppression. In this regard, the author introduces the social context as a crucial element to understand the use of language and describes the use of Critical Discourse Analysis as a method to stimulate awareness of power in language. While she mentions these approaches and their potential for transformation, the analysis mainly focuses on the construction and perpetuation of social reality rather than on the possibilities to use language to change our social reality. This is striking, especially considering that even the title and introduction to the book point to the current feminist movements of speaking up to challenge power dynamics in society, such as #metoo.

The book serves as an introduction to the correlation of gender and the use of language in the five social spheres. It portrays the different representation that the use of language allows for each gender in these spheres. In this regard, the author draws on research evidencing the influence of media on creating a gendered appearance and consumerism in line with capitalist economic interests. The messages sent out to women are much more destructive for women than those addressing men. Jules then continues to describe the complex relation of gender and the use of language in education. She points out how both the personal ideas on gender of people working in education as well as the very educational system contribute to prescribing gender roles from very early ages on to adulthood. Here she mentions the role of teachers in enforcing gender roles and behaviors by paying more attention to ‘naughty boys’ rather than to those behaving well. A closer look on how language is used to convey desire towards these ‘naughty’ behaviors versus the ‘good’ behaviors allows for further insight on the use of language and its contribution to constructing gender (Puigvert, 2016). The workplace, often defined by male predominance, is another social sphere where gender is key in making progress. But Jules not only looks into the discrimination against women, but also highlights the hostile environment towards women by stating that at least 50% of women have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace. When it comes to religion, Jules breaks with the stereotyped idea that religion and feminism are two opposite poles and emphasizes the

work that diverse religious groups or people have done to push feminism forward. However, she also points to the gender representations and the use of language in Christianity, Judaism and Islam that still portray a gender division in the practice of religion rather than in the religious texts. In some cases, these religious practices even go against feminist causes. In the last chapter *Gender and Language Use in Relationships* she focuses on the use of language in a variety of social settings and its impact on personal relationships such as friendships or family life tapping into highly relevant issues such as female friendships. All in all, the book guides the reader through the entanglements of gender and language use in social spheres that we all share and thus provides an overview of this field, especially to readers that are new to it.

Puigvert, L. (2016). "Female university students respond to gender violence through dialogic feminist gatherings". *Int. Multidiscip. J.Soc. Sci.* 5, 183–203. doi: 10.17583/rimcis.2016.2118



## **RC25 Awards**

Since their creation, RC25 awards are linked to *Language, Discourse & Society*, as all published articles are eligible to be considered by the Awards Committee. Here is a record of the articles granted and the Awards Committee composition.

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#### **Academic Excellence Award**

Anders Persson (2012), "Front- and Backstage in Social Media", *LD&S*, 1(2), 11-31.

#### **Graduate Student Award**

Not granted.

### **2014, Yokohama, XVIII ISA World Congress**

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#### **Academic Excellence Award**

Raymond Oenbring and William Fielding (2014), "Young Adults' Attitudes to Standard and Nonstandard English in an English-Creole Speaking Country: The Case of The Bahamas", *LD&S*, 3(1), 28-51.

#### **Graduate Student Award**

Nassima Neggaz (2013), "Syria's Arab Spring: Language Enrichment", *LD&S*, 2(2), 11-31.

### **2016, Vienna, Third Forum of Sociology of ISA**

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**Academic Excellence Award**

Tiffany A. Dykstra (2016), “Assemblages of Syrian suffering: Rhetorical formations of refugees in Western media”, *LD&S*, 4(1), 31-48.

**Graduate Student Award**

Tomoaki Miyazaki (2016), “The Rhetorical Use of Anecdote in Online Political Discussion”, *LD&S*, 4(1), 49-61.

**2018, Toronto, World Congress of Sociology of ISA**

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Howard Davis, Graham Day, Marta Eichsteller & Sally Baker (20), “Language and autobiographical narratives: Motivation, capital and transnational imaginations”, *LD&S*, 5(1), 53-70.

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