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Language, Discourse & Society

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Thematic issue

Language of Sustainable Development: Discourses on the Anthropocene in Literature and Cinema

This issue is guest-edited by
Stephen O. Okpadah & Osakue S. Omoera

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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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Please check the website (<http://www.language-and-society.org/journal/index.html>), RC25 Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/ISARC25/timeline?ref=page_internal) and RC25 newsletter periodically for the announcement of the new call for articles, and authors' guidelines.

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

Message from the Editors

Phyllis W. Mwangi¹
Gatitu Kiguru²

Welcome to the December 2021 Volume 9, Number 2 of *Language Discourse and Society*. This thematic issue is special as it marks the Journal's 10-year anniversary. By whichever measure, this is a momentous achievement which requires not just celebration but also reflection. The first two articles provide reflection of the journey and achievements of the journal and of Research Committee 25 of ISA. Celine-Marie Pascale retraces the growth of RC 25 in the first article, *The Past Doesn't Stay Behind Us: RC 25 in Historical Perspective*. The second article is by one of the Journal's former editors, Federico Farini. The article, *Now, where were we? Celebrating ten years of Language Discourse and Society doing what we do best: researching Language in Society* traces the development of *Language Discourse and Society*.

Thematic Section

The five articles in this section were in response to a call by Stephen O. Okpadah and Osakue S. Omoera on Language of Sustainable Development: Discourses of the Anthropocene in Literature and Cinema.

There is a raging debate in stratigraphy (the branch of geology that studies rock strata) whether the Anthropocene qualifies to be an epoch that can be incorporated into the geological timescale. The moot question is whether human activity has impacted on the planet we call home to an extent that such impact is recorded in the earth's strata. A definitive and geologically acceptable answer to this question lies in data, methods and thresholds that are beyond the scope of the articles published in this journal. The rocks are yet to speak but anything alive today can narrate the horrors of the impact of human 'civilization' on our shared home. Therefore, it could be argued that a comprehensive definition of the Anthropocene Epoch probably lies at the intersect of disciplines.

From a sociological perspective, the Anthropocene Epoch marks the pyrrhic victory of mankind over nature: we have established dominion over the rest of creation but we are yet to begin to learn to tame ourselves. We live in an age where greed and selfishness are the foundation of what we ourselves have termed as 'unsustainable' development. Despite our remarkable capacity to innovate, we have failed to create a paradise – and we wonder why. The articles in the thematic section of this issue might shed light on the 'why'. Drawn from different social contexts, the articles reveal various aspects of human struggle against oppression and discrimination by fellow man. In addition, they paint a picture of exploitation of resources for the benefit of a few and to the detriment of the majority.

Focusing on two diverse political contexts, Stephane Rodrigues Dias and Phoebe Kisubi Mbasalaki question the use of political rhetoric to sell hate in modern democratic societies. Their article, *A Study of Hate Speech in the North and South: Politicians as Communicative Agents*, pulls back the mask on online 'communities' and romanticised views of the global village. Their data from Brazil and the Netherlands shows how digital technologies have created communities

¹Department of Literature, Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Kenyatta University – Kenya
email: mwangi.phyllis@ku.ac.ke

Orcid: org/0000-0001-8226-9094

²Department of Literature, Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Kenyatta University – Kenya
email: kiguru.gatitu@ku.ac.ke

Orcid: org/0000-0002-9561-8676

that are based on discrimination and fear. Unfortunately, the ideals of such communities are easier to sell and spread now than ever before, thanks to the same technologies.

The article by Chinyere Lilian Okam and Onyekachi Peter Onuoha, titled *Revolutionary Trope and Environmental Pedagogy in Frank Arase's 'Somewhere in Africa: The Cries of Humanity' and David Attwood's 'Blood and Oil'*, focuses on films that have documented exploitation of the environment and of communities. The authors argue that the two eco-cinemas vividly capture the power plays that underlie the wanton decimation of the environment for capitalistic gains. Global multinationals have, ironically, managed to make allies of governments, who in turn facilitate the continued exploitation and displacement of local communities in the quest for control of oil resources. The films depict homelessness, hopelessness and desolation that can only be addressed by arousing the agency of the people.

The third article in the thematic section is Abdullah Qabani's *Identity Negotiation in the Arab Spring Discourse: The Egyptian Case*. The author shows the attempts of a regime to marshal discourse resources to justify and protect itself. Of interest is the fact that language is used to give legitimacy to a political elite whose stay in power was largely based on coercion. In the face of unrest that threatens the regime, language is used to create a father figure identity for the leader and a sense of shared nationhood. These attempts, however, seem not to appease the protestors.

Language of the Oppressed: Boon of Nature and Curse of Humans in the Life of a Refugee by N. Lavanya and M. Anjumkhan present the tortured life of a refugee. The oppressors who create refugees in the first place, also work hard towards the total destruction on the refugee by denying him/her access to basic human rights such as education. This is the waking reality of the Karen community refugees, whom, the authors argue, the world has learned to live without seeing or hearing them.

Oyenka Ike's *Protestations and the Search of Redress in Chimamanda Adichie's 'Purple Hibiscus' and 'Half of a Yellow Sun'* addresses the role of protest literature in demanding for an end to mindless violence and discrimination. His analysis of these two literary works also shows the need for justice, if there is to be peace. Those that have received nothing but brutality and suffering from fellow men must have redress, which, in turn, will act as a foundation of a new future.

Non-Thematic

The non-thematic sections presents variety in the topics covered by the following four articles.

Kwabena Sarfo Sarfo-Kantankah, Ebenezer Agbaglo, Frank Mensah, Jr. address a topical global issue: Covid-19. The article, *Metaphorical conceptualisation of Covid-19 in parliamentary discourse: A corpus-assisted study* looks at the use of language by Ghanaian parliamentarian to construct an identity of a new enemy and the war that needs to be waged against it.

From the field of social psychology, Claire Prendergast, Imac Maria Zambrana zoom in on an urban setting in Lebanon to show how a community can feel excluded from a neighbourhood they have called home for a long time. Working within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, the article *Relational Needs and Belonging in Conditions of Social Exclusion: A Critical Discourse Analysis* shows how physical transformational processes can be conceptualized as well-meaning by one group but exclusionary by another.

Linguistic cultural heritage of politeness strategies among the Shona and Ndebele of Zimbabwe by Tsitsi Roselene, Bwetenga Diocleciano Nhatuve uses the Politeness Theory to analyse the politeness practices among the Shona and Ndebele of Zimbabwe.

The last article '*If you ride a lame horse into a race ...*': *A Corpus-Based Analysis of Metaphors in John Mahama's Political Speeches* by Richmond Sadick Ngula, examines the use of metaphors by a prominent political leader in Ghana. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory is used to show how John Mahama used metaphors to construct a unique rhetorical style which in turn contributed to his success in politics.

Message from the Guest Editors

Language of Sustainable Development: Discourses on the Anthropocene in Literature and Cinema

Stephen O. Okpadah³
Osakue S. Omoera⁴

Global industries, multinational corporations, outrageous rise of global population, deforestation, the global oil and nuclear industries pose the ongoing challenge for sustainability of Earth's resources. Exploitation remains the main problem, and may be analyzed from Marxist, materialist and capitalist perspectives. Aerologists, deep ecologists, environmentalists, lawyers in the legal space, scientists and academics pose numerous questions about the future of humanity. Writers and activists foresee the end of the human era. In 2002, the Nobel Prize-winning atmospheric chemists, Paul Crutzen and Eugene Stoermer, resurrected the concept of the anthropocene to denote the current interval of time on earth in which many key processes are dominated by human influence (Crutzen, 2002). The birth of the anthropocene is the departure from the conditions of the Holocene epoch that nurtured the growth of human civilization (Forster, 2013).

Since 1800, the global population has risen from roughly 1 billion to 6.5 billion in 2000 and a projected 9 billion by 2050 (Roser, Ritchie and Oritz-Ospina, 2019). The duration of the anthropocene is now arguably the most important question of our age—scientifically, socially and politically. We cannot think of a greater or more urgent challenge. Socio-cultural products (anthropocene-literatures and anthropocene-films) may be viewed as futuristic telescopes to arrive at the concept of what we term postearth—the product of the robbery of the earth by humans as they begin to recreate and reshape it. By postearth, we mean the condition of the Planet Earth as a result of the shift in its climatic condition(s). Creative writers and filmmakers have engaged the anthropocene in their works. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, a novel in the field of the Environmental Humanities, and James Cameron's *Avatar*, a film located in the Biocentric discourse, capture the profundity of the anthropogenic exercise. Despite the growing body of studies on the anthropocene or, simply put, the climate conundrum in the global academia, journals, dedicated solely to publishing essays on the intersection of literature, performances, film and the environmental discourse are very few. This brought to bear the need to engage in the conversation on environmental crisis in the thematic section of this issue of *Language, Discourse and Society*.

More than sixty submissions were received within the period of the Call for Papers. However, only five were able to make it through the very high standard of peer review mechanism of the journal. The discourses offer a clear insight into the upsurge in protest culture, exploitation, power and environmental justice in the global academia and attests to the paradigm shift from the positivist to the constructivist, and from a Humancentric view of existence into an Ecocentric epistemology.

The focus of the thematic section of this issue is the language that has been used by artists to communicate the anthropocene. The section also explores how creative artists have been able to use their works as pedagogical tools to echo the threat of the Anthropocene to the

³Department of Theatre and Performance Studies, University of Warwick, United Kingdom.
email: Stephen.Okpadah@warwick.ac.uk Orcid: org/0000-0002-6804-3395

⁴Federal University Otuoke, Nigeria email: osakueso@fuotuo.ke.edu.ng Orcid: org/0000-0003-1086-7874

sustenance of Planet Earth. In the lens of ecocriticism, Chinyere Lilian Okam and Onyekachi Peter Onuoha interrogate Frank Rajah Arase's *Somewhere in Africa: The Cries of Humanity* and David Oyelowo's *Blood and Oil*. Their article, ***Revolutionary Trope and Environmental Pedagogy in Arase's Somewhere in Africa: the Cries of Humanity and Oyelowo's Blood and Oil*** examines critically the revolutionary dimension(s) of environmental pedagogy. In *Language of the Oppressed: Boon of Nature and Curse of Humans in the Life of a Refugee*, N. Lavanya and Anjum Khan investigate the role of humans in the destruction of nature and co-humans. The research, which is an analysis of Zoya Phan's *Little Daughter*, examines the destructive tendencies of the anthropocentric activities of humans. Put together, all the articles address pressing issues of environment in a world that is beset by pandemics, corruption, climate change, and unprecedented migrations that appear to put all humanity in a developmental crossroads that must be confronted head-on if we ever hope to get out of the woods for the sake of our common humanity and sustainable development.

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The Past Doesn't Stay Behind Us: RC 25 in Historical Perspective by Celine-Marie Pascale⁵

The International Sociology Association established “Research Committee 25, Sociolinguists” in the [late 1960s](#). When the RC was founded, it filled a need among linguists from around the world who had faced limited conference opportunities. Sandi Michele de Oliveira, a linguist by training, joined the RC in the 1990s and explained that at the time: “the term ‘sociolinguistics’ encompassed the broad range of studies that brought together issues of language and society. By contrast, the term ‘language and society’ was associated more specifically with the field of anthropology.”

Although most of the bulletins from the early years have gone the way of 3.5” diskettes, Sandi was able to locate a link to an ISA bulletin [included here](#) to give everyone a sense of the times. At one point in the early development the RC had a print journal as well as a newsletter regarding events, grant opportunities and calls for articles. Sandi served for several years on the executive board with then-president Dede Boden. Sandi and Max Travers later stepped in as acting co-presidents when Dede Boden died in 2001; and in 2002, Sandi was elected president of the RC. When I arrived in 2006, for the XVI World Congress held in Durban, South Africa, the RC was under the leadership of its [10th executive board](#).

As you likely know from experience, a World Congress is an extraordinary experience that draws about 5,000 scholars from around the globe. Durban, less than 10 years from the end of apartheid, was a vibrant city in transition. Located, on the eastern edge of South Africa’s KwaZulu-Natal province, the city is home to beautiful beaches and world-famous botanical gardens. Colonial, African, and Indian influences seemed to shape every aspect of this industrial city. Unfortunately, in 2006 the remnants of apartheid never seemed to be far behind. Conference attendees were sternly warned about violence and armed police seemed to be everywhere.

I remember going with a small group of colleagues one afternoon to visit a restaurant said to serve as an informal LGBT community center. As we walked back to the hotel, police stopped us and forced us into the back of their windowless van. Nervous glances among us escalated as the police ignored all our questions. The van itself, with built-in restraints, was terrifying. When the van stopped, we had no idea where we were. Police brusquely released everyone and admonished us never to return to that neighborhood where they found us. I was too nervous to look around until after the police left. Then I realized that we were standing in front of the ISA conference hotel. Fresh from that adrenaline rush, I walked into my first RC 25 business meeting with the [executive board](#). Then-president Sandi Michele de Oliveira, Max Travers (treasurer), Isabella Paoletti (newsletter editor), and long-time RC member Roland Terborg were engaged in a deep debate over the precarious future of the RC.

Over the years, RC25 membership had steadily declined. Sandi noted changes within the discipline of linguistics that affected the RC membership. “As sociolinguistics became more embedded within the discipline of linguistics, sociolinguists had greater conference opportunities and less interest in the RC.” It was also true that by 2006 few of the linguists who were members of RC 25 had joined the ISA. This had a big impact on the RC, since the ISA allocates RC sessions and funding based on ISA membership. In addition, given that the ISA is a sociology conference, few ISA members had interest in attending RC sessions that did not

⁵ Prof. Celine-Marie Pascale, PhD, American University in Washington, D.C. Founding member of the RC25 ISA.

take up sociology. The overall result was that by 2006, RC 25 had grown small and insular. It could no longer sustain itself.

As I recall the 2006 business meeting, discussion centered on the dissolution of the RC. In hopes of saving the RC Sandi made the bold suggestion: change the name to Language & Society. I remember that suggestion being met first by silence and then by resistance. There seemed to be little interest in reinventing the RC. Yet Roland Terborg and Sandi made persuasive arguments that a name change would give the RC a chance to grow. In that meeting, it was easy for me to see how the name change would enable the RC to engage more actively with the ISA membership and I enthusiastically joined their efforts. By the end of the business meeting the board voted to officially change the name to Language & Society. That year, Sandi and I were elected as co-presidents to shepherd the transition from 2006-2010 along with Roland Terborg, Paramasivam Muthusamy, and Ilkka Arminen (vice presidents), Jenny Perry (secretary), Isabella Paoletti (newsletter editor) and Melanie Heath (treasurer).

In 2008, the ISA held its First World Forum in Barcelona, Spain. To prepare for this conference, I poured over past ISA conference programs to develop a call for sessions that would draw sociologists as presenters and also generate interest among ISA members in RC 25 scholarship. Isabella and I organized the RC 25 program, which included over 100 papers in 20 sessions. We also developed two joint sessions: one with TG03, Human Rights & Global Justice and another with RC 05, Racism, Nationalism, Indigeneity and Ethnicity. That year the RC sessions included presentations by sociolinguistics, sociologists, as well as communication and gender studies scholars all focused on issues of interest to other members of the ISA. Barcelona was an exciting conference. Our membership grew to include scholars from 24 countries from Finland to Brazil, from the United States to Malaysia. The enthusiasm of the moment carried the RC as we celebrated over a collective dinner with 44 scholars. The RC 25 dinner reception was so popular that became a tradition for all RC conferences.

As is always the case, scholars roamed city shopping on Las Ramblas, visiting museums, and of course touring La Sagrada Família. The ISA had warned participants of street crime. Even so, for some of our members, Barcelona was a difficult experience marred by the theft: wallets, passports, and cameras seemed to melt into air. Sometimes it was the work of pick pockets; sometimes we encountered more elaborate schemes with thieves posing as immigration officials. Yet we bonded over the experiences, good and bad, as we went on to rebuild the RC as an intellectual home for scholars studying language and society.

Elections for the 2010-2014 cycle brought the RC a new board. With gratitude we bid farewell to the outgoing board and welcomed a new one: Celine-Marie Pascale (president); Ilkka Arminen (vice-president); Taiwo Abioye (membership), Melanie Heath (treasurer) Daniela Landert (webmaster) and Federico Farini (newsletter editor). Later that year, when Ilkka stepped down Amado Alarcón completed the term as the RC vice-president. As a new board we faced daunting tasks that included responsibility for institutionalizing the transition while also organizing conference.

The work of the new board was an intensive process that lasted for years. We prepared for our first conference the XVII World Congress in Gothenburg, Sweden, 2010, by strategizing how to develop sessions that would draw sociological papers and significant ISA audiences, as well as how to ensure that every session had a full panel, while also building relationships with other RCs through joint sessions. In Gothenburg, our program included 128 scholars who participated in 16 sessions; one joint session with RC 32 Women, Gender & Society, a business meeting, and a dinner reception for members.

Despite this success, the transition from linguistics to sociological studies of language was challenging. It was clear to the executive board that not all papers in our sessions actually *focused* on language. Consequently, we worked to develop structures to codify and differentiate the focus of RC 25. We needed to be distinct from the more familiar work of linguistics and

qualitative interviews. This effort required a clear statement of what it means to study language—to look at language, not through it. We developed epistemic guidelines for organizers, a review panel for proposals, and new web content. The board also revised the RC structure and bylaws, which were passed by a general membership vote.

As part of this effort to revitalize the RC, the executive board turned its attention to the newsletter. For eight years Isabella Paoletti, with the assistance of Federico Farini, had capably produced a compilation of news, announcements, and original scholarship. In 2010, the board agreed we had grown robust enough to be able to support both a newsletter and a journal. Federico Farini's leadership skillfully guided this transformation (read more about this on page 13). At that same executive board business meeting, Stéphanie Cassilde, who was then new to RC 25, agreed to work with the board to develop criteria for faculty and student awards and then to work with Federico to link the awards to the newly developing journal. We worked intently for hours at that meeting. When the meeting concluded at 22:30 (10:30 pm), we walk out into Sweden's bright sunlight where the day seemed to start all over again with an enormous meal and dancing at local clubs. By 2011, the RC had grown to 175 members, making it among the largest in the ISA.

The Second World Forum took us to Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 2012. World Forums tend to be considerably smaller than World Congresses and the was the case in Buenos Aires for the ISA and for RC 25. Amado Alarcón and I organized RC25 sessions at the conference which included 12 regular sessions with 68 scholars, one joint session with RC14, Sociology of Communication, Knowledge & Culture, our business meeting, shared meals, a reception with awards, and a working meeting for the RC 25 journal editors and authors. In Buenos Aires, scholars made concerted and consistent efforts to address linguistic inequities by providing slides in Spanish as well as English. This was new in my experience of the ISA and a welcome change for all. Bilingual presentations helped to facilitate rich conversations among audience members.

Of course, every conference seems to have its own set of crises. In Buenos Aires, it was toilet paper. The ISA had not understood that it was to provide for the cost of toilet paper at the conference. We arrived to find empty toilet paper dispensers in every single restroom. Ultimately, the crisis (and the panic that ensued) contributed to interesting conversations among strangers and resolved in just a few days.

Buenos Aires is a city with a rich nightlife—if you know where to find it! In search of tango, RC members roamed the winding streets late into the night getting lost more often than I can remember doing in any city. Was it the remarkable local wine or the fact that life in tango clubs only start in the small hours of the morning? We never knew, but eventually we found our way. That year we made new relationships with South American colleagues that have endured through the years.

In 2014, Amado and I again organized the RC 25 program, this time for Yokohama, Japan. This program included 125 participants across 13 regular and two joint sessions (RC 30, Sociology of Work and RC 32 Women, Gender & Society). As usual we also held a business meeting and a reception. It was an honor to have served the RC for eight years and time to step down. Our regular election cycle of 2014 once again concluded with gratitude as we bid farewell to outgoing board members and welcomed new ones: Amado Alarcón (president) Federico Farini (vice-president) Stéphanie Cassilde (secretary), Nadezhda Georgieva-Stankova (treasurer), Trinidad Valle (newsletter editor), Keiji Fujiyoshi (webmaster). Notably this was the first board transition for Language & Society. Many people understood the success of this transition as evidence that the structures and expectations that we had established for Language & Society were working. Then, again on schedule, we welcomed a new board in 2018 presided over by Stéphanie Cassilde (president), Keiji Fujiyoshi (vice-president), Mark Fifer Seilhamer (treasurer), Vivian De Melo Resende (secretary), Anna Odrowaz-Coates (newsletter editor) and

Maud Mazaniellow-Chezol (webmaster). Under Stéphanie's leadership, the RC has increased its mandate to build a more globally inclusive globally community. Transitions between executive boards always have tested RC structures and community. Still, we had not yet faced the ultimate test of our community and for the ISA itself: a global pandemic. The executive board faced the pandemic with equal measures of effort, vision, and creativity. Like so many RC members, I am deeply indebted to them for all they have done to maintain the intellectual home of RC 25, *Language & Society* for scholars around the globe.

It has been professionally and personally gratifying to have been a part of the effort to establish RC 25 as a vibrant source of sociological studies of language. We have developed and maintained vibrant conference programs, an international journal, competitive awards for scholarship, and a valuable newsletter. I will be forever grateful to the linguists who first organized the RC and to their vision that enabled them to pass the baton to sociologists. It is easy for me to imagine how much poorer my career would have been without my colleagues in RC25. I know I am not alone. At every conference—sometimes over espresso, sometimes over wine— I've listened to scholars talk about the importance of the RC to their professional careers. While circumstances are improving, for much of my career very few national sociology associations have valued the study of language & society. To the extent that we have gained ground, I believe it is because RC25 provided an intellectual lifeline to many. And in turn, the presence of these scholars in conferences, in meetings, as journal authors and newsletter contributors that makes the RC possible. It exists because we exist. And in profound ways, we exist because it exists.

Now, where were we? Celebrating ten years of *Language Discourse and Society* doing what we do best: researching *Language in Society* by Federico Farini⁶ [Former Journal's Editor 2010-2016]

1. Preamble, and a celebration

Sometimes in 2008, I was a fresh Doctor in Philosophy, eager to share the results of my research on the intersection between educational communication and the promotion of children's agency, at the time still an innovative concept. I was firmly convinced that my research, if heard outside of the narrow circle of my home institution, the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, was going to make a difference. I was determined to the point to knock at the door of what appeared to me a global beacon of academic excellence for the study of language in society to propose my research for publication. By December 2008, my first academic article was accepted by the ISA Research Committee 25, *Language and Society*, for the RC25 Newsletter.

I was not aware of course that, as my article was being published, the RC25 was reflecting on the best way to promote sociological research on language in society. The 2010 ISA World Congress in Gothenburg became an opportunity to accelerate the development of the Newsletter in something new, and bigger. From my perspective, the World Congress was my the context of my first engagement with the life of RC25, to which I got closer throughout the review and editing process of the article between 2008 and 2009. As experiences taught me, the year leading to a World Congress is often a year of change for academic bodies. Possibly, such a landmark event invites reflection, possibly a four-years tenure lends itself to be seen as the ideal period for engaging with academic leadership within a research group. Un-sociological wild speculations aside, as I was leaving the RC25 Business Meeting at the 2010 ISA World Congress I was part of that change, as the new-newsletter editor.

My vision was quite clear: the newsletter had been a welcoming for several excellent and original piece of academic work. The Newsletter was working well as a platform for sharing research. Because it was working well, change was needed. The steady flow of journal-quality proposals to the Newsletter was telling me that for journal-quality articles, a journal was indeed needed. With the support of the RC25 Committee for the term 2010-2014, I happily spent many hours, then days, then weeks in designing and developing a brand-new journal as the home for sociological research in language and society. For a while I held a quite demanding double role as Newsletter editor, collecting member's news, linking members and sharing opportunities arising from the ISA and beyond, and Journal's editor until I could focus on the launch of the first issue of the Journal. December 2011 saw the first issue of *Language, Discourse and Society*. I would like to pay tribute to my colleague in the first Editorial Board of the Journal: Marta Soler-Gallart, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain; Celine-Marie Pascale, American University, USA; Amado Alarcon, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Spain; Melanie Heath, McMaster University, Canada; Taiwo Abioye, Covenant University, Nigeria; Daniela Landert, Universität Zürich, Switzerland (affiliations were valid as for 2011). I had the privilege to oversee a tumultuous development of *Language, Discourse and Society* over the following years, until I left the editorship in more than capable hands in 2016. I was delighted to see that the Journal has been continuously improving, claiming a prominent place in the global

⁶ Prof. Federico Farini, Ph.D. Centre for Education and Research; Centre for Psychology and Social Sciences University of Northampton, United Kingdom. Former *Language and Society* Editor, 2010-2016.

academic debate. My warmest appreciation to the current editor, Prof. Anna Odrowaz-Coates (Maria Grzegorzewska University, Poland) as well as to the editor who steered *Language Discourse and Society*: Stéphanie Cassilde, now President of the RC25, between 2016 and 2019 (Ronin Institute, Belgium) and Natalie Byfield, in the period 2019-2020 (St. John's University, USA).

I am glad to have the chance to write about the motivation and the dedication that supported the success of the journal. A success that could not to be taken for granted back in 2010. It could not be taken for granted that *Language Discourse and Society* was going to be published at all. The unique combination of individual talents and shared ambition in the RC25 Committee made the journal possible. Personally, it was a combination of determination to succeed and a few sleepless nights that pushed the journal through the most delicate times, when proposals come in slowly and reviewers are not an extremely rare commodity.

Unlike life, narrating life allows to turn back time. Winter of 2009. My first contribution to the academic debate on language in society is now published in one of the last issues of the original format of the ISA RC25 Newsletter. The article discussed some of the results of my doctoral research. The research was dedicated to the study of adult-children communication in educational context and the article focused, with a strong Conversation Analytical accent, on the adults' use of questions to pursue their educational agenda. Fast forward in time, more than 10 years later and 10 years from the first issue of *Language Discourse and Society*, I would like to celebrate an anniversary that transforms the history of journal in a tradition with another article that cuts through the years to dialogue with the contribution from which, after all, *Language Discourse and Society* was born. I am presenting now to share fresh research where a prominent theme, albeit not the only one, is the use of questions in educational interaction. Mirroring the role of *Language Discourse and Society* in liberating intellectual energies and supporting the voices of academic in a global dialogue, the article considers the use of questions, among others actions-in-interaction, to support children's agency towards dialogic teaching and learning. Incidentally, the article is also a possibility to celebrate a successful action-research project that embodies the very essence of the RC25 as it is animated by the idea that through language, individuals not only (and I dare say not so often) produce a photographic reproduction of reality. Through language, individuals construct their social worlds, the meaning of their experiences and position themselves and others in terms of status, rights and agency, in the local contexts of the interaction and beyond.

2. Introduction to the article

This article discusses the aims, methodology and findings of SHARMED (Shared Memories and Dialogue), a project of pedagogical innovation funded by the Erasmus+ programme, delivered by University of Suffolk (UK), University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Italy) and Universität Jena (Germany) between 2016 and 2018. SHARMED involved 48 classes in Germany, Italy and UK, working with 7-12 years old children, from both migrant and non-migrant backgrounds.

SHARMED aimed (1) to promote new experiences of teaching and learning, with specific consideration for respect of cultural differences and promotion of intercultural dialogue, (2) to foster equity in participants' contributions to classroom interaction, and (3) to enhance empowerment and recognition of children's contributions, responding to the need to innovate traditional ways of dealing with different perspectives (Farini, 2019).

Research on adult-children interactions has highlighted some mitigation of hierarchical forms of authority, based on interactive facilitation of children's agency. Facilitation can be a form of communication that enhances empowerment and recognition of children's contributions. The design of SHARMED was based on Project Based Workshops (PBW; Mitchell et al., 2008), where children's were invited to share narratives related to photographs of their choice

important for their memories. Children's guardians were invited to help children's selection of photographs as well providing written consent for their children's inclusion in SHARMED. Teachers were invited to collaborate in the project and were key to the success of the project, particularly by supporting and motivating children and their parents. Facilitation was utilised to promote the production and dialogical exchange of narrative. This contribution focuses on how facilitation was implemented in PBW by discussing examples from SHARMED activities.

3. What I mean when I write stuff: theoretical background

3.1 Intercultural communication and cultural identity

Several studies on intercultural education use 'multicultural classroom' to describe the presence of participants from a variety of cultural backgrounds (Mahon & Cushner 2012). These studies discuss a variety of ways for handling cultural meanings and identity (Gundara & Portera 2008; Gundara 2000; Mahon & Cushner 2012) associating identity with membership of cultural groups (Hofstede 1980; Schell 2009; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009). This is an essentialist perspective which "presents people's individual behaviour as entirely defined and constrained by the cultures in which they live so that the stereotype becomes the essence of who they are" (Holliday 2011: 4). Essentialism takes for granted that cultural identities are determined before intercultural communication (Baraldi 2015). The essentialist ideology is based on 'othering', which is a process whereby the western culture attempts to legitimise its hegemony at the expenses of 'others' (Holliday 2011). Within an essentialist paradigm dialogue is a way of enriching acknowledgment of difference among predefined cultural identities (Alred, Byram, & Fleming 2003; Grant & Portera 2011; Guilerhme 2012; Portera 2008).

Differently from essentialism, the view embraced by SHARMED values the prefix 'inter' of inter-cultural acknowledging the importance of relationships and communication, therefore warning against an essentialist representation of cultural identity (Byrd Clark & Dervin 2014). SHARMED sees identify as fluid, malleable and contingently constructed in communication (Dervin & Liddicoat 2013; Piller 2007, 2011; Tupas 2014).

In line with previous research, SHARMED argues that the primacy of cultural identity can be replaced with the idea of a construction of hybrid identity (Jackson 2014; Kramsch & Uryu 2012), where identity is negotiated in communication processes, also based on the exchange of the narratives related to personal and cultural trajectories (Holliday & Amadasi, 2020).

Hybridity is conceived as the outcome of a complex intertwining of narratives and interactions designed to "open up many possibilities for how narratives can intertwine and express themselves" (Holliday & Amadasi 2020: 11). In this anti-essentialist perspective, classrooms are the setting for sharing narratives about personal cultural trajectories - the production of 'small cultures' (Holliday 1999). According to Holliday (2013: 3) "cultural environments which are located in proximity to the people concerned". Thus, in SHARMED, the classroom is 'multicultural' since it constructs a variety of small cultures rather than being the sum of individuals with different, predefined cultural identities. In this context, communication is intercultural when it produces narratives of cultural varieties.

3.2 Narratives

SHARMED recognises narratives as social constructions where the experiences are interpreted and 'storied' in different ways (Fisher 1987). In the telling of their narratives, participants "create and recreate" their past in the light of their "present needs and concerns" (Norrick 2007: 139). For SHARMED, the construction of narratives based on autobiographical memory provided the opportunity to share and negotiate meanings and identity of participants (Bamberg 2011). Norrick (2007) argues that narratives are produced in the interaction. Firstly, each participant contributes to constructing and negotiating a narrative in interactions as teller, co-

teller, listener, or elicitor of new narratives. Secondly, narratives can receive different comments from different participants. The production of narratives, thus, do not concern only their contents but also the rights associated with narrating.

In SHARMED, the construction of narratives used photographs as a pivot. Narratives can focus on both the image in photographs and the situations and circumstances behind and beyond photographs (Baraldi & Iervese 2017). The construction of narratives was seen as an opportunity for children to connect the image channelled by a photograph with insights about situations and circumstances that lie behind the image, exploring social and cultural contexts of photographs as well as constructing and sharing new stories linked to images.

SHARMED understood photography as a technology for documenting life and a powerful medium for social engagement and collaboration. Photographs were not only utilised to trigger children's responses, but they were also seen as a resource for facilitation to promote classroom dialogue in a range of conversations through, about and with photographs.

3.3 Facilitation

For SHARMED it was essential that children's voices were promoted through a non-hierarchical form of interaction. For this purpose, a method of facilitation was designed to promote personalised versions of cultural meanings, enabling the creation of small cultures through dialogic negotiation based on enhanced children's agency.

The concept of children's agency is popular in childhood studies (James 2009; James & James 2008; Oswell 2013) where agency is identified when children show the availability of choices that are consequential because they can open different courses of action (Harré & van Langhenove, 1989). In line with childhood studies, SHARMED recognised children's agency as a form of active participation enhanced through the availability of choices of action that can bring about change for all participants in the social encounter (Baraldi 2014a).

It is important to emphasise that children's active participation can happen anytime in communication; however, the achievement of agency needs the promotion of children's choices. Enhancement of children's agency and recognition of a children's right to construct their own narratives contribute to the upgrade of their epistemic authority, that is, their authority to produce valid knowledge (Heritage & Raymond 2005).

Attribution of agency depends on social conditions and structures (Bjerke 2011; James 2009; Leonard 2016; Moosa-Mitha 2005) and structural limitations can be particularly inhibitive for children's agency (Alanen 2009). The nature of adult-children interactions is therefore a crucial variable for the enhancement of agency.

With regard to educational contexts, research on teacher-children interaction has highlighted some methods to enhance children's active participation in education that are related to teachers' actions (e.g. Mercer & Littleton 2007; O'Connor & Michael 1996; Walsh 2011). Several recent studies show that facilitation is achieved in specific interactions, including organized sequences of adults' actions that enhance children's agency, and children's actions that display agency (Baraldi 2014a, 2014b; Baraldi & Iervese 2017), highlighting the effectiveness of facilitation of children's agency (Baraldi 2014a, 2014b; Baraldi & Iervese 2017; Hendry 2009; Wyness 2013).

Facilitation of the production of narratives as a way to promote children's in the context of educational PBW is based on a vision of children as agents who can choose if, when, how and with whom narrating their perspectives and experiences, while their choice can influence the social situations where they are involved.

In facilitation, adults' active listening supports children's self-expression, takes children's views into account, involves them in decision-making processes and shares power and responsibility with them (Sakr & Scollan, 2019; Shier 2001; Wyness 2013). Facilitation thus enhances the conditions for dialogue as a specific form of communication that "implies that

each party makes a step in the direction of the other”, without expecting that “that they reach a shared position or even mutual warm feelings” (Wierbizka 2006: 692). In adults-children interactions, dialogue is “the starting point, whereby children are consulted and listened to”, ensuring that “their ideas are taken seriously” (Matthews 2003: 268). Facilitation can also enable the construction of narratives that represent an alternative to established ones (Winslade & Williams 2012), for instance concerning identity therefore enhancing hybridisation through dialogue.

4. What happened in the classrooms: methodology of an action-research

SHARMED methodology was implemented in schools across the three European countries. The participating classes were chosen by the schools, according to teachers’ interest and the inclusion of children with migrant backgrounds. SHARMED activities were centered on the collection of two sets of photographs: the first set included photograph collected from family or children’s personal archives (digital or printed formats); the second set included photographs taken by the children first-hand.

The project activities were centered around series of four PBWs, facilitated by experts. As an educational methodology, PBW are characterized by (a) children’s work on important knowledge and skills, originated from their memories; (b) children’s engagement in an extended process of coordination of different perspectives and developing “shared narratives”. In the course of the first two PBWs, children were invited to describe and discuss the first set of photographs, initially within small groups, subsequently with the whole classroom. Triggered by the photographs, both personal narratives and dialogue were enhanced through the interaction between children and facilitators. In the third PBW, children were invited to describe the photographs in a written form, guided by some loose guidelines. These descriptions provided useful information to better understand the meaning of photographs for children. The fourth and last PBW was dedicated to children’s presentations of the second set of photographs. This meeting was rather similar to the first one, although children were asked to make short video-recordings to describe the photographs they took, supported by the facilitators where necessary. The aim of video-recorded descriptions was to further support children’s autonomy, in line with an upgraded role as authors of the photograph.

Activities in the PBW were evaluated combining participants’ views and analysis of interactions. As the first form of evaluation, participants’ view on the activities were promoted by distributing pre-test and post-test questionnaires, as well as using a final focus group. Audio-recorded interviews were administered to teachers and facilitators. The second evaluation strategy concerned the analysis of interactions; half of the activities in the classrooms were video-recorded, and the recordings were transcribed and analysed to understand the efficacy of the facilitation in promoting innovative education.

Throughout all its phases, the research followed the key-principles of ethical research, securing the emotional well-being, physical well-being, rights, dignity and personal values of research participants. Procedures were in place for the management of any form of data produced in the research.

This contribution analyses the facilitative methodology utilised in SHARMED. The analysis concerns the evaluative research of PBW that was interested in how facilitation can promote children’s agency as authors of narratives as well as constructors and negotiators of identities. The data discussed in this section concerns the evaluation of interactions, that is, the development of facilitation as a methodology to promote dialogic communication within PBWs.

Our analysis of SHARMED activities has highlighted different styles of facilitation. Differences may relate to the type of settings, including the specific national school systems as well as to different ways of communicating in specific classroom contexts. Differences can

also depend on facilitators' styles. With the support of examples taken from video-recorded and transcribed interactions during PBW, two highly successful forms of facilitation, both characterised by a great variety of supporting and enhancing actions, will be discussed.

The first form of facilitation is particularly important in Italian PBW, characterised by the combination of questions and prevalently expanded feedback, developed across several turns of talk. This is a rich form of facilitation, implying a continuous enhancement and support of narratives' variety and unpredictability. This form of facilitation appears to be very effective in enhancing expansions of personal stories, therefore promoting a great number of narratives that whilst often linked to the same photographs developed without a precise order.

Second form of facilitation was mainly observed in PBW in England and it is characterised by extended complex turns. Facilitative actions such as expanded feedback, comments, personal stories and appreciations, are frequently combined in the same turn. Comments and appreciations are particularly used. This form of facilitation supports the production of narratives through complex turns that function as connectors between different narratives. This form of facilitation is very effective in enhancing interlacements of narratives in ordered sequences of contributions.

5. Presenting and discussing results

5.1 Facilitation as combination of questions and expanded feedback.

The form of facilitation discussed in this section is often centred around on what Ian Hutchby (2007) defines Question Answer Formulation sequence (QAF). In QAF sequences "formulations" are the third-turn that follows a question-answer dyad: the participant who initiates the sequence with a question continues it with a formulation that summarizes, makes explicit or develops the "gist" of the answer provided in the second-turn position. Formulations: (1) "advance the prior report by finding a point in the prior utterance and thus shifting its focus" (Heritage 1985, 104), (2) project a direction for subsequent turns by inviting new responses from answerers (Huchby 2007) thus (3) making interlocutors' decisions in the next turn relevant, as either confirmation or disconfirmation (Heritage and Watson 1979).

In SHARMED PBW formulations were used as a specific form of feedback to children's answers to facilitators' questions. Questions were used to enhance children's narratives and formulation were used to make explicit the meaning or implications of the narrative as well to support its further development.

As a facilitative action, formulation is neither an evaluation of children's answers nor a form of "active listening" (Rogers and Farson 1987). It is not an evaluation because it aims to promote children's active participation rather than assessing children's learning by distinguishing between correct and incorrect answers. Formulation is not mere active listening because it does not aim to "reflect" the content of children's utterances; rather it aims to enhance the gist of children's narratives. Nevertheless, formulations can be integrated in active listening: QAF sequences are produced in longer and complex sequences where active listening, for example actions of repetition, minimal feedback and short comments is also produced.

The analysis of video-recorded interactions indicates two types of formulation used by the two facilitators employed in the PBWs in Italy: 1) explications; 2) developments.

Formulations as explications make the gist of the children's utterances explicit for the facilitator and the classmates. This is useful for mutual understanding and possible development of narratives and co-telling. Extracts 1 and 2 represent this type of FAQ sequence.

Example 1 concerns a photograph taken in Nigeria, where the child is portrayed with a woman and a man who wear traditional attires. In extract 1, turn 1, the facilitator why the photograph, was taken; the question is followed by a short explanation that refers to the special dresses pictured in it. The child's answer about the meaning of the dresses is provided over three turns (turns 2, 4 and 6). After two minimal feedback showing active listening (turns 3 and 5), in turn

7 the facilitator makes the gist of child's answer explicit with a formulation concerning the meaning of the dresses, introduced by an explanation showing surprise (Aston, 1987). The formulation is confirmed by the child using non-verbal communication (turn 8).

- 1.
1. FAC: but: for what reason was the photo taken? Because I see that you have the same special dresses what tell us what does it mean
2. F1: eh that: we are united, which is not true because that is not my father but my uncle,
3. FAC: yes
4. F1: e: (.) wearing dresses made of the same tissue
5. FAC: yes
6. F1: It seems that we are one
7. FAC: Ah the idea that you have the same dress the same: tissue it's union
8. F1: ((nods))

Example 2 is part of the same interaction but shows a more complex use of formulations as explications. The child is explaining why her father was not at the wedding. He was living in Italy and he could not go back to Nigeria to get married. In turn 1, the facilitator asks the reason of the child's father's immigration, and in turn 3 he asks where the man used to live in Italy. After the child's minima answers, the facilitator formulates the gist of the conversation. In this case, the child does not confirm the formulation only; she also adds a comment about the replacement of his father at the wedding (turn 6). This projects a new facilitator's formulation to propose an explication of the apparently "strange" situation. After a new minimal confirmation of the formulation, the facilitator provides a third formulation to conclude the explication, clarifying the meaning of the photograph, portraying the child's uncle marrying the child's mother as a proxy of the father. It is interesting to note how narrative oscillates between the event pictured in the photograph and the story of migration of the child's father: narratives about the image are intertwined with narrative about the story underpinning the image.

- 2.
1. FAC: And why did he came here? To looking for job?
2. F1: Yes
3. FAC: And do you know where did he live?
4. F1: In ((city))
5. FAC: in ((city)) ok and the wedding between you dad and you mum took place without you dad,
6. F1: ((nods)) but there was someone who took his place
7. FAC: So ((points at the photo)) e he took your father's place she didn't marry your uncle
8. F1: no
9. FAC: They needed a male figure
10. F1: ((nods))

The second type of formulations observed in Italian PBW proposes developments of the gist of the children's utterances beyond their immediate meaning. This type of formulations is riskier because facilitators may of course mis-interpret the implications of children's contributions. Nevertheless, formulations as developments are actions that can fruitfully propose the art of interpretation to the narrating child and the classroom. Moreover, children's possible rejections of facilitators' interpretation are not a problem for facilitation; rather, rejections invite clarification and, through clarification, they promote further developments of narratives.

Examples 3 and 4 illustrate formulations as developments. In example 3, turn 1 and turn 3, the facilitator asks the reason of the child's choice of photograph. In turn 1 he asks the questions

which is rephrased in turn 3, without leaving time to F2 to complete the answer, only initiates in turn 2. The child provides a minimal negative answer to the second question in turn 4, and the facilitator asks a third question in turn 5. The child provides a new minimal answer and starts to add something; however, F2 appears somehow hesitant. The facilitator does not pursue the completion of the turn, allowing F2 time to complete her answer, which comes after five seconds. After that, the facilitator develops the child's answer to include a discussion of the meaning of Saint Valentine, in this way connecting the image of flowers with their symbolic meaning. The child confirms the facilitator's formulation as development in non-verbal way.

3.

1. FAC: And how was that you chose to bring us just this picture=

2. F2: e: because:

3. FAC: I mean this picture gift that your uncle did to your aunt is one thing that you too liked?

4. F2: Yes

5. FAC: Because you like flowers?

6. F2: ((nods)) and (5.0) I took the picture because it was the day of Saint Valentine

7. FAC: Which is the day of lovers

8. F2: ((nods))

Example 4 illustrates the rejection of a formulation as development. The sequence reported follows a child's long narrative concerning his grandfathers, supported by several turns where the facilitator provides minimal feedback to show active listening.

In turn 1, the story of one of the child's grandfathers comes to end with his death during combat in WWII. In turn 2, the facilitator displays keen interest in the story, following that form of appreciation with a formulation which develops the narrative by inferring possible consequences of the child's grandfathers untimely death. After the child's confirmation, the facilitator produces a second formulation as development to suggest that the child's grandmothers died before the child's birth (turn 4). However, the child's rejects this interpretation, showing agency by choosing to use the rejection of the formulation as the foundation of a narrative about his grans grandmothers. Although rejected in its content, the formulation as development in turn 4 still successfully promotes M1 access to the status of author of knowledge in turn 5. In this form of facilitation, narratives are co-constructed through the interlaced contributions of facilitators and children. If facilitators' actions are perceived by children as forms of personalised participation they enhance children's agency, even when it is displayed in form of contradiction of the facilitator's view.

4.

1. M1: And he sank with the whole submarine

2. FAC: Wow! And so the grandmothers remained alone

3. M1: Yes

4. FAC: That however you didn't know

5. M1: No no these ones are still there well my grandmother that of the one who died in the submarine died this year

This form of facilitation is based on a variety of supporting g actions that h are provided across several discrete turns of talk. Example 5 invites to appreciate the complexity of this form of facilitation, showing the facilitator supporting of an emotionally intense narrative by combining questions, formulations (both as explications and developments) and continuers. Before this example, M2 had already share about his parents' separation and revealed that his father found a new fiancée, who M2 does not like much.

In turn 1, the facilitator asks a focused question to check whether M2 really dislikes his fathers' new fiancée, which is replied positively by the child. In turn 5 a formulation infers that M2's

judgement is not based on actual knowledge of the woman (turn 5); the formulation is rejected by the child. The facilitator repairs the misunderstanding producing another formulation as an explication (turn 7). M2 confirms the second formulation, adding further information about his parents.

In the next phase of the interaction, the facilitator supports the narrative through a two-parts formulation as development (turns 9 and 11), a continuer (turn 13) and another formulation as development (turn 15). The story becomes very intimate and emotional, as suggested by F3's exclamation in turn 17.

The facilitator continues to support the ongoing narrative using more formulations as developments (turns 19 and 21) that do not only invite M2 to continue the narrative but also display the facilitator's access to the role of co-teller. In turn 21, a new formulation as development leads to a shift in topic, that moves from M2's parents to the photograph itself. The facilitator investigates if M2's mother is aware of the child's choice to bring the photograph to the PBW (turn 25). M2's answer is linked by the facilitator to two further formulations as developments regarding M2's mother attitude (turn 27 and 31). Both formulations, however, are rejected by M2. These rejections are followed by the facilitator's active listening (turns 33 and 35) of M2's narrative. In turn 37, the facilitator proposes a formulation as development using an interrogative format, reacted by M2 with a somehow contradictory statement about his mother's feelings (turns 36 and 38). In turn 39, the facilitator tries to repair the partial confusion in the interaction with a last formulation as development, which is confirmed by M2 in turn 40.

5.

1. FAC: Because you may not like her?

2. M2: mh ((shaking his head))

3. ?: h

4. M2: I and my brother don't like her at all [a

5. FAC: [but you don't know her yet

6. M2: eh: actually I know her

7. FAC: Ah so you know who she is

8. M2: Y:es that: that ac- that actually they were g- they were alright together only that:

sometimes when my father was taking was losing control because he to- he was taking lots of medicines for something that I don't [know

9. FAC: [and they make him strange

10. M2: eh? [he, my mother

11. FAC: [those medicines

12. M2: One she threw the medicines out

13. FAC: ah

14. M2: and: he m: one day in the following days after he started shouting at her, beating [her,

15. FAC: [because

he could not find the medi[cines

16. M2 [eh

17. F3: [oh my god

18. M2: Yes and then and my bro- and my father no I mean my mother a: she was: ((makes an horizontal gesture with the hands)) she was going

19. FAC: I mean she didn't agree with this behaviour

20. M2: no

21. FAC: Mh so you keep this photo

- (..)
22. M2: I ke- [I: kept it in my mother kept it in a red box with glitters
23. FAC: [or or ((after)) yes
24. M2: And: th- then I took it because it reminds my of that
25. FAC: But your mum gave it to – does she know that you were bringing this photo?
26. M2: Yes ((nods))
27. FAC: And so your mum cares about this photo
28. M2: e: actually not ((shakes head))
29. FAC: no?
30. M2: No be- because she can't stand my father anymore and so she: she just – in fact she put it away it from my drawers
31. FAC: She took it off it from from the album
32. M2: Y:es no it's not an album it was a photo frame
33. FAC: eh
34. M2: It's not an album a photo frame the: I don't know the name
35. FAC: Yes yes a photo frame
36. M2: And then and then she put it away in one of my drawers in my bedroom
37. FAC: But then did she want you to keep it?
38. M2: She didn't want to throw it away but she wanted to keep it because it's because mum says that l- she is not in love with dad but she loves him very much
39. FAC: Because after all [they hav- have did some important things [in their life together
40. M2: [((nods)) [together yes ((nods))

5.2 Facilitation as production of extended complex turns

In this form of facilitation actions such as expanded feedback, comments, personals stories and appreciations are frequently combined in single complex turns that connect more stories. This form of facilitation appears to enhance orderly interlacements of narratives. Complex turns of talk are pivot for the promotion of children's authorship of narratives. Within complex turns, facilitators' comments and appreciations are particularly common; the personal commitment of the facilitator creates favourable conditions for children's participation.

Example 6 illustrates how an extended and complex turn works as a pivot for the development of dialogue. In turn 2, the facilitator displays engagement and appreciation for the long story narratives produced by M1 in turn 1. The display of appreciation that acknowledges M1's legitimate status as author of knowledge, therefore upgrading his epistemic status. Turn 2 is complex not because of its length, but because it includes more actions. The appreciation is followed by the facilitator with several actions: a clarification, a question addressed to another child, a comment on sharing memories, a repetition of part of M1's turn to repeat appreciation of it. In the final part of turn 2, the facilitator emphasises the connections between different stories produced in the PBW. The complex turn 2 appears to promote M1's agency; this is suggested by turn 3 in the example, where the child displays choice and autonomy by constructing an unpredictable development of a possible implication of the facilitator's previous contribution.

6.

1. M1: When I went to Chessingtons, I was really scared of the rides and my brother forced me to go on this ride, he kept forcing me, forcing and my uncle kept forcing me (..) they didn't go themselves because they were both scared but then I said come on, why are you both forcing me to go and come yourselves and then they came along (..) and there was this ride that was really dangerous because you had to stand up and lean against this tiny part and it had this

tiny belt and it kept going up and down and like this ((does hand gesture; child sitting near him makes same gesture)) and I was on and then after my brother forced me to go on another ride and I was really scared of it because I thought there was snakes there but there weren't, there were electric snakes and everything was ghost pictures and I thought there were real ghosts and I said I don't want to go and I said and I sat next to my uncle and my uncle was on the safer side and I told him to move to move here I said it's better because I wanted to move to the safer side but then we had to see the scary part and we had a gun to us, a fake gun just like with a light and then I picked up the gun and then I shot it, I kept shooting the monsters (..) it didn't make a noise and I thought it was a real gun and then I started screaming but then I realised (..) and at the end of the ride before the train stopped I took off my belt and ran outside before it stopping ((class giggles))

2. FAC: Wow, so you went to Chessingtons and someone here (..) you went to Chessingtons? ((indicates another child)) so you guys share a memory as well, so you have a shared something (..) and you have (..) um your uncle did I hear right, your uncle went on a ride with you and your uncle went on a ride with you (..) wow, so there's a connection there ((indicates children)) like a triangle

3. M1: It's kind of like a rollercoaster

Similarly to turn 1 of example 6, the first unit of facilitator's turn 2 of example 7 is utilised to display appreciation for M2's story in turn 1, upgrading the child's epistemic status as author of valid knowledge, which is an essential aspect of agency. The second part of the turn advances a possible explanation of the child cousin's behaviour. Again, this displays engagement in the child's contribution, supporting his agency. M2 is thus supported in his access to authorship of narratives, also the facilitator's focused question in turn 4. The question concerns a detail in M2's narrative. Nevertheless, it is an important action of active listening. Turn 6 channels a second question from the facilitator to M2. This time the question concerns M2's feelings and an open format is chosen to allow as much space as possible to the child's reaction. Turn 8 is a complex turn as it includes two actions: the first action is a formulation that summarises the gist of M2's narratives in the previous turn 7. The second action is a question based on the child's narrative which is therefore acknowledged as a valid foundation for the development of the interaction, again upgrading the epistemic status of M2. In turn 10, the facilitator produces a short personal story followed. Personal stories are an important action of facilitation, because they display facilitator's willingness to engage with children based on interpersonal relationship rather than role hierarchy. Sharing personal stories is for the facilitator a way to show trust in children and can be seen as role-modelling to promote expectations of personal expression.

Turn 14 is another complex turn, composed by an initial comment on M2's contribution and a subsequent invitation to talk to other children, to extend the area of active participation by linking new narratives to the ongoing one. F2 takes the floor, following this invitation (turn 15). Turn 16 is functionally equivalent of turn 10, because a short story based on childhood's memory displays facilitator's personal engagement in the conversation. Facilitation appears to be successful, supporting the interlacement of narratives between turns 17 and 22, with the active participation of several children. Turn 23 is another complex turn. The first action is a comment on memories of scaring situations or fears that display the facilitator's interest and attention to the contributions of children, again upgrading their epistemic status. The second action is a personal story introduced by a question. The interaction is a context of agency: this is demonstrated by turn 24. Although the facilitator uses the last part of the complex turn 23 to introduce a shift of topic, F3 takes the personal initiative to produce another narrative. Turn 25 is the last complex turn in the interaction. Initially the facilitator comments on scary stories, followed by a commitment to return to the topic in the next PBW, the appreciation for

children's contributions and gratitude to children for their participation. These three successive actions in turn 25 converge in supporting children's epistemic status and in reinforcing expectations of active participation.

7.

1. M2: On that day, I met one of my cousins (?) and he came to the wedding. He didn't like me that much but like whenever I got closer he'd scratch me on my face.

2. FAC: Oh wow, some cousins might do that sometimes when they're younger.

3. M2: And there was (..) I can remember that my oldest cousin he used to play cricket, he made this rumour that he met one of the famous players, a cricket famous player and then I got into him and he made me do stuff, like he made me do stuff that I didn't want to do, like go to the shops (?) and he would show me a picture of when I was a baby and it made me feel embarrassed.

4. FAC: Were you very small?

5. M2: yeah

6. FAC: And what do you (..) when you look back at this picture how does it make you kind of feel, like to think of the time together with family, generations?

7. M2: We're apart now, we're in different countries. My other cousin (?) like sometimes I cry about it because I never met them. I meet my grandparents every five years. When I met them this year, last year, I was so emotional and I kept sort of like following them and slept with them, but when I was leaving they cried their hearts out.

8. FAC: They didn't want to leave you, yes. Can I ask why you slept with them - was it to feel close to them and to get in with them?

9. M2: Yeah.

10. FAC: I used to sleep with my grandma when I was little.

11. M2: My grandma she's (..) well, when I was in Afghanistan, we have this house, my cousin told me it was haunted and in one of the [unclear] they put their hands (?) in one of the pictures and told me like there's a ghost and a hand appeared.

12. FAC: So, you want to sleep with your grandma to be safe?

13. M2: ((Gesticulates with hands)) (?) in the new house we had (..) my brother even told me as a child stories, scary stories that because they had like plastic bags covering their balcony (?) and she told me that, she told me they were covering that up because the ghost doesn't like coming through the balcony.

14. FAC: So, lots of scary stories about ghosts. Did anybody else get told stories about ghosts from their grandparents or siblings or their cousins?

15. F2 ((Standing up, hands of chair of girl in front)): My cousin, my cousin told me when I was in my Nan's house, and all of my cousins were there, and at night when we were all sleeping my eldest cousin told us this scary story and then when we went to sleep I just couldn't stop thinking about it. Yeah, it gets quite scary doesn't it when you hear (..) especially at night time, things get a bit scary at night time when the lights off, doesn't it.

16. FAC: I know I get a bit scared sometimes. I have to put a cheeky light on to make me feel a bit safer, so I can see what's going on.

17. M3: When I was at my cousin's house, he told my brother because he lived opposite a forest, and he told my brother that there was a man called the Bear Man in the forest, when he was like little. So, then when he went outside and it was dark he started crying. And there was this other time, it was like maybe a month ago. My sister she hates Michael Jackson because the rumour of everything that he did, and then he was sitting next to the window when it was dark outside and my cousin he put the music on and he screamed, and he said like it was Michael Jackson behind her and she got so scared.

18. FAC: So, she was really freaked out

19. M3: Yes and she's like 13, so

20. FAC: so, some more scary stories.

21. M4: So, basically when I was about five or six when I was sleeping in my bed and they said to me there's a man underneath your bed. There was a phone, it was ringing and I just jumped and ran to my mum and said mummy, mummy there's a man under my bed. And then I had to sleep with my mum because I was scared and then when I was asleep and she took me in the bed

22. M5: ((smiles)) So, when I was really young my dad used to make up these, not scary ones, but about the snake who used to come to our house, he said that it was going to come for me, so I stayed next to him every single time and as I grew up I didn't really believe him at the time.

23. FAC: Yeah, isn't it funny how we get these memories and these fears and you don't know whether to believe them or not, it's a bit scary. Did anybody ever think there was somebody in their wardrobe? Sometimes, when I was a little girl, I used to look in my wardrobe to make sure there was nobody in there, there was never anybody in there but I used to get scared sometimes. I'll come back and see you next week, if that's okay.

24. F3: When I was little, my auntie, because I had like these two wardrobes next to my bed either side, it had murals on it, so my auntie said it was (?). So, when I was sleeping I used to leave the cupboards open, they faced me. So, when I go to bed I used to look at the mirrors and I would scream and go under the duvet and get my torch out and see if there's anything there and go back to bed (?) see it again (..) my duvet.

25. FAC: Do you know what I think a lot of people do that sometimes, get a little bit jeebie when the light goes off. I think we can talk about this next time I come back, this is a huge area that you're sharing, all of these kind of haunted stories, all from this picture. How did we know that we were going to start talking about hauntings and ghost stories all from a picture like this. Your memories are just so vast and the emotion of your picture that you began to tell us really shared lots of things. So, thank you so much and if you would like to bring in some pictures for next week and if you've taken a picture that would be great to bring that in, okay. So, thank you so much and shall we say thank you very much for sharing today, thank you, well done guys, thank you, thank you and thank you for the videotaping ((Applause)) So, who would like to bring in some pictures next week?

26. M?: Me.

27. FAC: Bring them all in then, I'll look forward to seeing them, thank you.

6. The outcomes of the research: some reflections and a conclusion

The two types of facilitation discussed in the previous sections, are based on facilitators' intense activity of co-construction of narratives. The difference between the two forms of facilitation relates to contingency of turn-by-turn co-construction (first form of facilitation) and ordered sequence of more complex turns and narratives (second form of facilitation).

The first form of facilitation is effective in enhancing expansions of personal stories, promoting a community of dialogue based on several discrete contributions, often linked to the same photograph and developing contingently. Dialogue between children on the same photograph or topic and individual, unpredictable contributions are facilitated.

The second form of facilitation is effective in enhancing a community of dialogue through interlacements of narratives, produced over one or more turns in orderly sequences that develops from the facilitator's extended and complex contributions.

Examples 1-7 do not aim to represent the complexity of facilitation in the context of SHARMED PBW. However, they aim to show that facilitation is a flexible methodology that can adapt locally to different school systems, class demographic and ways of communicating in the specific classroom contexts. The examples discussed also aim to acknowledge the importance of facilitators' styles. Forms of facilitation are different in different situations and

it can be expected for facilitation to be influenced by individual style as much as the cultural contexts of facilitators' work.

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Original Articles

**Language of Sustainable Development Discourses of the end of the
Anthropocene in Literature and Cinema
guest-edited by Stephen Ogheneruro Okpadah & Osakue S. Omoera**

A Study of Hate Speech in the North and South: Politicians as Communicative Agents

Stéphane Rodrigues Dias⁷ Phoebe Kisubi Mbasalaki⁸

Abstract

Hate speech as a political tool of extremism has been on the rise in the Global North and Global South. Its appeal gains audience, support, and strength every day in numerous countries. The geographical spaces may be different, but the geopolitical social locations of groups, members, and individuals reveal similar inequalities and aggressions. Considering this context, we intend to contribute with an assessment of hate speech via a case study - a politician's statements in the Netherlands with a brief parallel with a Brazilian scenario. Centrally, our paper approaches two different domains of hate speech. One domain of hate speech is its discursive framing, taken as a major source of representations, and the other is its interpretation in the context of legal systems. Agency is what connects the two domains. That is, we will address institutional agents and legal interpretation of politicians' speeches. To have an understanding of the subject matter, we need to understand the collective representations involved. In simple terms, we connect (legal) interpretation and (collective) representation to deal with hate speech cases performed by agents. These agents are addressed in hate speech laws both within the Netherlands and within the UN - also considering speech aggression in the Brazilian political scenario. Finally, addressing the agents and the framed speech acts involved seem to be relevant steps to broaden our understanding of the criminalization of hate speech and its propagation inside human societies, observing that we can resignify our frames and the agents around us as part of a bigger community.

Keywords

Hate Speech, Political Agents, Communicative Agency, Extremism, Islamophobia

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⁷Federal Institute of Education, Science, and Technology Uruguaiana, Brazil, Email: stephane.dias@iffarroupilha.edu.br Orcid: orcid.org/0000-0002-5519-125

⁸African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town, South Africa, Email: phoebe.mbasalaki@uct.ac.za Orcid: orcid.org/0000-0003-2538-8198

Introduction

The Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino, observed a remarkable surge in anti-Asian hate crimes in some largest cities in the U.S. in 2020, especially in NYC, LA, and Boston, places considered to be progressive, diverse and open. The numbers (an increase of 149% compared to the previous year) and the dates of the first spike (March and April) point to a growing trend of discrimination against a specific group (Asians) during the coronavirus pandemic. Likewise, Stop AAPI Hate released a national report revealing a remarkable number of incidents of anti-Asian discrimination, 9,081 from March 2020 to June 2021. Considering AAPI (Asian American and Pacific Islander) women’s experiences of discrimination and violence, the numbers released by AAPI Hate from March 2020 to March 2021 are equally revealing. On the other hand, a study entitled Report to the Nation: Anti-Asian Prejudice & Hate Crime analyses that this rise occurred at the same time that 15 major U.S. cities had a 7% decline in overall hate crimes. The sanitarian context of the moment and the imposed isolation seem to explain the last numbers, and the geopolitical discourse around it seems to explain the first ones. Unfortunately, this scenario is not local or historically marked, and verbal violence figures as a central type of violence produced by racial intolerance. Within geopolitics, imbued in power relations in a Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1998), people, groups, countries are framed as less developed as well as fragile/unstable democratic structures, while the others are cast as developed with superior democratic structures. Our entry point into this conversation is through discrimination based on migration, specifically migration of Moroccans to the Netherlands, and gender/sexuality privilege, framed by masculine, racial, and heterosexual privilege in entanglement with political (and religious) extremism in Brazil. Unfortunately, these two cases are representative of a global phenomenon. By observing hate speech spewed out openly by prominent political figures, we suggest that far-right-wing politics in the Netherlands and the Americas has thrived and sores on the wings of hate speech - in the Netherlands as an expression of racism and Islamophobia; and in the Americas as an expression of misogyny and/or homophobia. These examples serve just as an illustration of a more general phenomenon - our main concern - of hate speech, which is created by framed representations and used, spread, and interpreted by (institutional) agents. Furthermore, we are interested in addressing institutional agents and the legal interpretation that surrounds the notion of hate speech, which has a representational nature. For that, we will address two legal contexts, of the Netherlands and the UN, having politicians’ hate speech as illustrative cases. Thus, the analysis will be centered around the notions of speech acts and practical agency, considering the collective recognition and necessary deontology involved. We hope that this study can contribute to the understanding of hate speech and its regulation.

1. Setting the stage

One could argue we are currently living in a globalized world – a global village if you like Marshall McLuhan's terminology, yet the walls seem to be closing in for some, as evidenced by the ethnic-nationalist so-called populist political leadership in the U.S. and Europe. The hate speech spewed by political leaders in the Americas draws on similar tactics that far-right-wing politics in the Netherlands - and Europe in general. We observe a kind of politics that encompasses inciting racism, misogyny, homophobia, and islamophobia, among other discriminations. This at least seems to be the case in the Netherlands, where a renowned anti-immigration and anti-Islam politician (hereafter referred to as Politician X) rose to fame on the wings of the inflammatory film Fitna. His popularity rose, noting he led his party – party

Y – to second position in the 2017 general elections in the Netherlands. This was after a hate speech trial that took place in November 2016, which contributed to his popularity for the 2017 general elections, where he led the opinion polls before the elections in March of that year. He gained 5 seats in the house of representatives but was locked out of forming coalitions with the leading party Y, as well as other main parties that disavowed his political manifesto and party. His popularity could be framed within two main trajectories, his manifesto for the 2017 general elections as well as eruptions relating to hate speech. Part of his manifesto, propaganda, and pledges for the national elections scheduled for March 2017 included closing the Netherlands' borders, shutting down mosques, and leaving the euro and EU. Considering the national and international appeal of this kind of speech and its legal consequences, the phenomenon deserves our attention.

We observe a similar scenario in Brazil. In February 2021 a congressman was arrested after releasing a video attacking the ministers of the Supreme Court and apologies for dictatorship. In August 2020, the head of government told a journalist “Minha vontade é encher sua boca com uma porrada, tá? Seu safado”. A few months earlier, in February, the same politician said to a female journalist that she “queria um furo. Ela queria dar o furo, tá?... a qualquer preço contra mim”. Some months earlier the same journalist was insulted in a similar fashion by a member of parliament in Brazil's lower house of Congress. In both cases, the politicians insulted her with sexual innuendo. This type of aggression against female journalists is representative of an increase in misogynistic narratives worldwide, “designed to damage their personal reputations” and to spread a “malicious misrepresentation”.

1.1. Aggression via acts of speech

The notion of speech act can be traced back to J. L. Austin (1962) and it involves two main assumptions or intuitions. One is that people can use language performatively, i.e. to do things, such as to order food, request information, and apologize. That is, by saying “I'd like to have a cup of coffee”, in certain circumstances, people are not merely stating what they want to have, they are doing something else, they are ordering a cup of coffee; and when they utter “I am sorry”, in specific conditions, they are not necessarily stating something regarding their feelings but doing something else, apologizing. On the other hand, the other intuition focuses on language itself, pointing out that the natural language machinery has a representational power, such as to convey information - which can be framed within discourse. So, those commands, requests, wishes, and promises depend on this machinery to be articulated.

Even though these were not new assumptions for philosophers and grammarians at the time, Austin (1962) started a new look at performative sentences or utterances, connecting features of a theory of language with features of a theory of action. His approach of performatives intended to describe and explain the conditions under which “the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action,” or, in other words, cases when “to say something is to do something; or in which by saying or in saying something we are doing something” (1962: 12).

The aspects he addressed touch precisely on social representations, considering the relation between linguistic representation and conversational circumstances, conventions, and other local pressures applied to performances. Aside from the many complexities each point of this theoretical work invokes (please see Green, 2017 (2007)), it has set the stage for a substantial contribution to the analysis of language (semantics/pragmatics) and discourse.

Further developments of these ideas led to proposals on collective intentionality, especially in Searle (1990, 1995, 2008, 2010). These developments have focused on human beings as bearers of deontologies, such as rights and obligations. For Searle (2009), these deontic relations exist because the above-mentioned natural language representational power, which makes it possible for humans to think of someone as being in a social role or function, in certain circumstances (please see Dias, 2016; Dias and Müller, 2017, for more on this point). That is, humans can

collectively assign or recognize the assignment of some special function to an entity, under certain conditions, such that we can represent some people as politicians, some pieces of paper as votes, and a building as the House of Representatives. And more importantly, people can act based on such collective representations. As a consequence, according to Searle's proposal, these creations of functions also create rights, entitlements, duties, requirements, and other deontic relations. This is extremely insightful for our understanding of peoples' actions and representations. Furthermore, this could also have serious consequences in defining what is 'normal', who belongs, and therefore who is excluded. According to Hall (2010), these terms are deeply inscribed in relations of power where meaning is often organized into sharply opposed binaries or opposites; such as male/female, black/white, rich/poor, gay/straight, Global North/Global South, citizen/migrant. These binaries or opposites are imbued in power relations, which thrive on hierarchization, that is intersectional as evidenced in race, class, gender, sexuality and religious differences manifest in many discursive frames. It is not surprising that in discourse these opposites are explicitly or implicitly manipulated for the purpose of verbal aggression. But it is surprising - or frightening - that, in current times, social actors with a high deontic charge use prerogatives and official instruments to act through language in this way. This aspect - agency - is also crucial for understanding speech aggression, since language, discourse, action, and representation depend on people's brains, and, more simply, on people.

2. The Agents at Stake

As assumed, language is a core element of mental representations; representations are the mental support for the existence of institutions, and institutions play a key role in social reality (Searle, 2009). Now we can add that human beings have created a special type of institution: one that can itself be the bearer of deontic powers; one that has an independent social identity in the world, and therefore has rights, duties, and other deontic powers. This is crucial in our society, from south to north, from east to west. Very importantly, these agents can act through people in institutional roles. Again, these institutions and their members have specific deontology (see Dias, 2016; Dias and Müller, 2017). So, we must call attention to the fact that the United Nations, the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, and the Netherlands, for instance, as such, have a different type of status than, for example, the Dutch Criminal Code or American Dollar, which cannot be held responsible, be punished or absolved for any act. On the other hand, all of them fall under legal codes, terms, charters, contracts that may regulate their social existence. And such complex entities and relations allow us to increase our social life as human beings in terms of health, security, and a richer intellectual environment. Let us now focus on their agency status.

By 'agent', we identify any being or entity, human or not, that can enter into deontic power relations as bearers of the powers (rights, responsibilities, duties, requirements, and so on). And we take these agents as divided into three main types or categories: individuals, members of groups, and institutional groups. Accordingly, institutional groups are taken as collective entities that can act and be held responsible. It means that the entity can be composed by many other agents but the final output (act) is assigned to the single body, which may not translate into anyone else but the institution or group itself (e.g. companies, parties, or institutes, which also may enter into deontic relations as individuals or members). The category also comprises representatives, who can act on behalf of the group. Located in the second category, members have collective commitments inside groups/institutions, and their acts depend on and are regulated/restricted inside these groups. The first category comprises individuals, that is, someone whose agency status, or acts, is not directly committed to any institution or group.

All of these agents can act via speech and can be identified as acting. The above-mentioned assumptions are relevant both for the description and the explanation of central aspects of the phenomenon of hate speech. Centrally, institutional entitlements are what make it sensible for “the Dutch police” to receive “criminal complaints” against a “member of the Parliament,” or a “judge” to “judge” the “comments” as an “attack” on the “journalist’s honor.”

In the Brazilian judiciary system, for instance, there is an understanding of a special category of crimes as “acts committed during the exercise of a political mandate” and related only to that political function. As a result of this and other deontic relations, the same individual can be, as some are, judged by different courts and instances, each one addressing each function and/or mandate, i.e. their agency status (representation), such that the same person act qua different agents.

2.1. Agency and Hate Speech

As our next step, we will mainly argue that the basis of hate speech, and its legal interpretation, rests upon the social representation that can be traced back to three general categories of agents. As a consequence, the status of a crime, such as a speech crime, depends on legislation that ascribes this status to a certain type of behavior, or product of behavior, of an agent, and within jurisprudence boundaries (a ‘context’, or another status), thus defining the circumstances for the appropriate invocation of this type of conduct as a criminalizable act.

However, things can get more complicated, since there are codes whose boundaries and hierarchies are controversial or fuzzy. To clarify the point, we can think of human rights or war crimes. Should national codes be superior to the international ones, or the other way around? Even though it may have a simple answer, it also asks for interpretation, agreements, and resolutions made by international and national institutions, or agents.

2.2. The Netherland’s Case

At this point, we should consider that collectively recognition (of many agents) and legal status go together. Let us see how it works. Considering these previous points and taking into account the approach offered by Dias (2016), Dias and Müller (2017), and Dias and Silveira (2018), let us focus on the agency at stake. The agents involved in the Netherlands' case are the following ones:

As institutions/groups: UN Human Rights Committee (CCPR), Islam, the International Criminal Court (ICC), Marrocco, the Netherlands, the Dutch Police, Parties Y and Z, the European Parliament, the Amsterdam Court of Appeal and District Court, and the House of Representatives (Tweede Kamer).

As Members: members of the parliament and the political parties above-mentioned, Moroccans as immigrants in the Netherlands, Netherlanders (ethnic group members), the Dutch (citizens), Muslims.

As individuals: all human beings, as addressed by the UN Human Rights Declaration.

The following sections of our paper will then address this case study, to be finally related to the Brazilian context.

3. Speech Aggression in the Netherlands

We have mentioned the so-called global world, in which individuals are tied up by the media and by geopolitical and economic relations, which derive, or frame, an idea of us as world citizens and somewhat interconnected through global relations and discourses. Legal systems, though, define who are citizens according to geopolitical boundaries, such that someone can count as a citizen of a particular nation. Thus, both the term and the legal concept of ‘citizen’ refer to geopolitical relations.

Let us illustrate this point. Since our focus here resides on the phenomenon of hate speech - in many cases disputing the narrative of freedom of speech -, and since our case study relates to a sense of nationality as a core element, both legal and social representations converge. First, we must consider events that are relevant to clarify this idea. Below is a chronological evolution of these events.

Dutch politician X on charges of insulting the Netherlands' Muslim immigrants, as well as inciting hatred, discrimination, and violence against them.

Politician X, “during a 2006 public interview, said that the violent nature of the behavior of Moroccan youths in the country directly arises ‘from their religion and culture. [para. 2.7]’

“In February 2007, he warned against the Islamization of the country and said, ‘[w]e had enough. The borders are closed, no more Islamic people coming to the Netherlands, a lot of Muslims exiting the Netherlands, denaturalization of Islamic criminals.’ [para. 2.]”

“...[politician X] expressed his remorse for the country’s refusal to stop ‘the Islamic invasion in the Netherlands,’ referring to Muslim immigrants as ‘cowards. Frightened people who have been born cowardly and who will die cowardly.’ [para. 2.7]”

“In November 2009, the court ordered the prosecution of [politician X] on charges of ‘insult of a group for reasons of race or religion’ under section 137c of the Criminal Code and ‘incitement to hatred and discrimination on grounds of religion or race’ under section 137d of the Code.”

“(…) the definition of criminal incitement on the grounds of race or religion of a particular group. In its verdict of June 23, 2011, the Amsterdam District Court held that the elements of the indictment could not be proven and acquitted [politician X] of all charges.”

“three affected Dutch-Moroccans (Complainants) submitted an individual communication to the UN Human Rights Committee, the monitoring body of the ICCPR. They alleged that the acquittal of [politician X] violated their rights under Articles 2(3), 14(1), 17, 20(2), 26, and 27 of the ICCPR.”

“Articles 20(2) and 26 the ICCPR respectively protect the right of individuals and members of groups to be free from hatred and discrimination by requiring State Parties to prohibit by law certain conduct and expression.”

“With regard to their separate claims on the basis of Articles 20(2) and 26, the Complainants argued that even though the prohibition against incitement to religious hatred and discrimination is fully implemented in the Dutch Criminal Code, the acquittal at issue substantially deviated from the domestic jurisprudence that has shown a less tolerant approach to hate speech. They submitted that the court separately examined the effects of [politician X’s statements], rather than looking at their cumulative effects. They also argued that the court erred in emphasizing the distinction between criticizing Islam and humiliating Muslims, saying that the connection between the two was common in [politician X’s statements]. In addition, they argued that the acquittal created a general and absolute exception for public debate as a crime of incitement to hatred and discrimination by giving priority to [politician X’s freedom of expression] and failing to protect the victims from increasing racism and hatred against Muslims.”

“[Politician X], leader of [the party Y], was convicted for statements made to a café full of supporters on 19 March 2014. He asked whether those assembled wanted “more or fewer Moroccans” in the Netherlands, and responded to chants of “fewer”. Politician X then promised to “take care of that”. The rally was broadcast on television.”

“The conviction was under two provisions of the Dutch Criminal Code: for intentionally making an insulting statement about a group of persons because of their race (Section 137(c)), and for inciting discrimination against a group because of their race (Section 137(d)). [Politician X] was cleared of inciting hatred against persons because of their race, which is also

contained in Section 137(d). He was also acquitted under both provisions for similar remarks made in a TV interview on 12 March 2014.”

The first point is that (4) - (14) involves public statements manifested by a political figure, whose public speech acts are regulated by law. The line between speech acts that can be criminalized and the ones that are considered protected by the freedom of speech regulations sometimes is not clear, but sometimes it is. Clear cases, for instance, involve racism or apologies to Nazism in the Brazilian law . But there is a spectrum of acts of hate speech and discrimination, both online and offline. So, how does speech become subject to law jurisdiction? As we have discussed, speech acts can be addressed as intentional acts, and intentional acts, such as acts of speech, are included in law codes that regulate civil behavior. The Dutch penal code, in particular, prohibits both insulting a group (article 137c) and inciting hatred, discrimination, or violence (article 137d). The definition of the offenses is outlined in the penal code as follows:

Article 137c: He who publicly, orally, in writing or graphically, intentionally expresses himself insultingly regarding a group of people because of their race, their religion or their life philosophy, their heterosexual or homosexual orientation or their physical, psychological or mental disability, shall be punished by imprisonment of no more than a year or a monetary penalty of the third category. (italics emphasis added)

Article 137d: He who publicly, orally, in writing or graphically, incites hatred against, discrimination of or violent action against person or belongings of people because of their race, their religion or their life philosophy, their gender, their heterosexual or homosexual orientation, or their physical, psychological or mental disability, shall be punished by imprisonment of no more than a year or a monetary penalty of the third category. (italics emphasis added)

Again, we have descriptions directed to “group of people”, “person”, and “belongings of people”. And acts directed at each of these types of agents may evocate particular representations of social features. Let us now address the very act of “expressing himself insultingly” or discriminating. One can discriminate against a person, members, or a group of people who share a specific feature - or against an institution, or ideology, such as a religion or movement - in many forms. One of the forms is by the use of assertions of the type “this is y”, where ‘y’ is a variable placed by any negative frame (we will clarify the concept in the next section) and where the act is meant to offend x, as well as the agent is aware they are offending x, as we may analyze now. The emphasis here is on the offense that is imbricated in connotations and experiences of ‘privilege’ - from the offender - and ‘oppression’ of the person/group that has been offended. The symbolic and material violence of this is unpacked in the proceeding section through the ripple effects of these aggressions at individual and group levels through discursive prisms. Before that, let us think about agency a little more.

3.1. The Agents and their Acts

Again, terms like ‘individuals’, ‘members of groups,’ and ‘groups’ appear in the legal queries, and this is an important aspect to be considered, we claim. Our case-study targets a group identity, involving “group defamation” and “incitement to hatred or discrimination” against a group, which are crimes according to articles 137c and 137d of the Dutch criminal code, so they are not under the civil right of freedom of speech.

Indeed, we note that hate speech plays out both at the individual and group levels. The proper definition of hate speech involves a verbal attack on groups or group members. The ones who use this type of speech can themselves play as members of some specific group or as representatives of a group/organization. We assume this as a crucial feature not only to define

the phenomenon in legal terms but also to understand the commitments among these agents (inside a party, for instance), as well as their reasons and judgments.

Let us also consider the following:

“ARTICLE 19 considers that [politician X’s’ comments] on 19 March 2014 were insulting towards Moroccans, and may correctly be identified as “hate speech”. However, we do not consider that insult laws, including those criminalizing insults against a group, can be justified under international human rights law. We recall that while all “hate speech” raises concerns in terms of intolerance and discrimination, not all “hate speech” may legitimately be restricted by the state.” The central argument is the following:

“Insult laws, and the conviction of Wilders for insult, run contrary to the principle that freedom of expression encompasses statements that are deeply offensive to individuals or groups, including even expression that may be discriminatory or considered “hate speech”. Though freedom of expression may be limited to “protect the right of others”, there is no right to be protected from insulting or offensive ideas or opinions. Permitting restrictions on expression that harm individuals’ feelings is a dangerously subjective exercise that endangers shutting down a broad range of discussion on matters in the public interest.”

We must consider that the claim that “there is no right to be protected from insulting or offensive ideas or opinions” is challenged by many law codes when it concerns moral damages. And the attack is not only on individuals’ feelings, it goes beyond that, as we have discussed.

“Article 20(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) requires states to prohibit only severe forms of ‘hate speech’, specifically “any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to hostility, discrimination or violence.” “The Rabat Plan of Action gives UN-backed expert guidance on how states should interpret and implement this obligation. Importantly, it makes clear that the criminal law should only be used in the most extreme cases and as a last resort. It sets out a six-factor test to assist judges to make a case-by-case analysis of whether this high threshold has been met. The Hague District Court found Wilders guilty of incitement to discrimination, and acquitted him of incitement to hatred.”

Unfortunately, severe forms of hate speech are themselves the last stage of this type of aggression.

“In ARTICLE 19’s view, the Hague District Court gave too broad a reading to Section 137(d) of the Dutch Criminal Code in relation to the incitement to discrimination. The decision accords too much weight to the content of the expression and its incendiary delivery, assuming without detailed analysis that the discriminatory nature of expression would incite others to illegal acts of discrimination. Inadequate consideration is given to other relevant and important contextual factors, including the speaker’s intent to incite illegal discrimination, the context of a broad public debate on issues around immigration and integration, and the likelihood of people being encouraged to engage in imminent unlawful acts against the target group. A closer analysis of these factors should have led to an acquittal on the incitement to discrimination charge also.”

“ARTICLE 19 considers that politicians and candidates for public office are under an ethical duty to avoid making statements that might promote discrimination or undermine equality.

However, this is best achieved through systems of self-regulation, and not through the blunt tool of the criminal law.”

Regarding the ethical duty of these agents, we are in accordance. And this is another example of the centrality of the idea of communicative agency and their agents.

“In many parts of the world, we see vague “hate speech” laws abused to target individuals with minority and dissenting opinions, including human rights defenders. Even where targeted against advocates of discriminatory hatred, criminal prosecutions pose a dual danger. Where an individual is convicted, the speaker may present themselves as a “martyr” persecuted for speaking the truth, using the platform a conviction provides to spread their hateful ideas even further. Where acquitted, the speaker may present their hateful views as vindicated by the courts. There is little evidence that criminal prosecutions are effective in addressing intolerance or in promoting greater inclusion.”

It seems necessary to point out that criminal prosecutions are not educational methods to address intolerance or to foster inclusion, that is not their function. Other measures must be included in the countries’ agenda for that aim.

“ARTICLE 19 therefore considers that censoring or punishing offensive and discriminatory expression is often counter-productive to the stated aim of hate speech laws to promote equality: it fails to address the underlying social roots of the kind of prejudice that drive “hate speech”. In most instances, we believe equality is better promoted through positive measures to increase space for counter-speech, rather than by shutting down space for debate and engagement.”

Again, addressing the underlying social roots of prejudice and promoting equality are obtained by a conjunction of methods, not by official regulation of hostile behavior.

“Governments have an obligation to prohibit hate speech and incitement. And restrictions can also be justified if they protect specific public interest or the rights and reputations of others. Any restrictions on freedom of speech and freedom of expression must be set out in laws that must in turn be clear and concise so everyone can understand them. People imposing the restrictions (whether they are governments, employers or anyone else) must be able to demonstrate the need for them, and they must be proportionate.”

Governments create their own obligations in their constitutions and they also follow international agreements. Therefore, addressing the absence of obligations of this type of agent is addressing regulations created by each nation considering contextual needs.

4. Discourse, Concepts and their Mappings

Regarding the discursive frame, we begin by defining it and contextualizing it inside a certain perspective. The concepts of ‘frame’ and ‘framing’ can be traced back to different areas of expertise and to people such as Gregory Bateson (1972), Ervin Goffman (1974), and George Lakoff (2004).

Centrally, a frame has been mainly approached either as a cognitive object, conceived as a structure of thought (given a concept or a set of concepts associated to an object or event and evoked in certain circumstances), or as a linguistic/discursive object, formulated as a structure of language (given morphological units, lexicon, and sentences evoked in discourse). The way to create or evoke those structures in communication is at stake when studying framing effects.

Concerning the production and the spread of hate speech (as already defined) towards a specific class of agents, we may observe the concepts and their mappings evoked in discourse that create this effect. And we can do that by tracing this process back to two structural characteristics that have developed in Europe since the 1980s, as articulated by Sniderman et al. (2002) in their seminal book “The Outsider,” where they articulate a deep strain of intolerance of immigrants/foreigners, and the emergence of at least one political party committed to mobilizing public resentment of immigrants/foreigners.

To this, a third characteristic is added by others (such as Mazzoleni et al., 1999), who posit what consolidates the negative characteristics of migrants, widening the scope of fear to the media and their role in mobilizing fear.

Sam Cherribi (2011) posits another dimension, that of the populist media’s coverage (of Islam in Europe and the US) may be the primary factor in creating ‘Islamophobia,’ as an aversion against Islamic institutions and their members. In particular, there is a correlation between anti-Islam sentiments and the amount of crime coverage in the news especially with regards to so-called terrorist events. This makes the distrust in Muslims normalized and institutionalized.

The general phenomenon, not only targeting a religion, was certainly evidenced in three main campaigns – in the UK with Brexit, in the US 2016 presidential elections, and in the 2018 Brazilian presidential elections –, which included communicative strategies involving homophobia, xenophobia, islamophobia, misogyny, and/or racism, among other discriminations, in a way that became a normalized narrative within societies’ imagination.

The latter rings true for politician X in the Netherlands, who gained popularity on the wings of islamophobia. One of the tactics deployed by politician X drew on Jabir Puar’s notion of homonationalism sentiments, by pitting the Netherlands as progressive on grounds of sexuality (homosexuality) while casting Moroccan (who are mostly Muslim) migrants as homophobic.

These campaigns and rhetoric have seen a rise in verbal attacks toward individuals, group members, entire communities, and their institutions. It appears as if this prevailing Islamophobic discourse has given certain members in communities and institutions – mostly white nationalists (which we can take as the privileged in these frames) – the carte blanche as individuals, members, and representatives to incite targeting Muslim communities (which we can take as the oppressed in these frames). And these agents may have some representational, political, or even legal freedom to act accordingly, especially when argumentatively conflating hate speech with freedom of speech.

Following on, we interrogate this from framing hate speech historically in the Netherlands to presenting occurrences of it at an individual, group, and institutional level.

4.1. Frame, Agency, and Hatred Speech

Now we can identify a common narrative structure of hate speech built inside political institutions and used by groups and representatives. This narrative is precisely framed in and spread on the media side to side with historical facts, helping to present or reinforce the meanings conveyed by it.

Moreover, these frames may turn out to be used as content of hate speech, i. e. they may convey negative images of groups and their members.

It is fair to say that discourse against Islam in the Netherlands is not a recent occurrence, although it has progressively increased post 9/11. We must highlight the key role media plays in this kind of phenomenon of (dissemination of) speech aggression towards certain social entities.

Specifically, the Netherlands has a long history of immigration. Moreover, the Netherlands has had a history of mostly Moroccan (and Turkish) migrants, and both refugees and economic

migrants have come to the country in large numbers. According to Focus Migration, currently, almost 20% of the Dutch population are immigrants or children of immigrant parents (Meeteren et al., 2013).

Interestingly enough for the analysis of discursive frames, for a long time, the Dutch community took pride in the fact that many people came to their country because of its relative tolerance towards other cultures and religions. Immigrants who came after the Second World War, as guest workers or from former colonies, were initially encouraged to maintain their own cultures, even after it became clear they would stay in the Netherlands permanently. Shortly after that period, in the 1960s and 70s, Turks and Moroccans came to the Netherlands in large numbers. Earlier arrivals consisted of guest workers, whose recruitment and admission were governed by a bilateral treaty signed in 1969. However, the guests did not return home (ibid.). From the 1970s, the number arriving under family reunification schemes became more significant. Access to citizenship was easy, and the pressure to assimilate was low. For immigrants who were not proficient in Dutch, many government services and documents were provided in their mother tongues (ibid.).

The tipping point came about in the late 1990s, with the tightening of immigration policies in the Netherlands, with 9/11 catapulting this into a downward spiral of Islamophobic acts. The mass Syrian refugee migration in 2015 re-awakened these sentiments at an individual and group level as a result of institutional discourses related to group membership.

The following sections will analyze these discourse frames, which are placed in space and time conveyed by and towards agents.

4.2. Islamophobia

Acts of islamophobia are acts, verbal or not, against people who profess the Islamic faith, as part of the Islamic community and institutions. Acts that fall under this description are on the rise in the Netherlands. The mass refugee migration from Syria and other countries at war to Europe in 2015 has been seen as a major justification for certain kinds of claims against the whole Islamic population – which are rhetorically framed as ‘invasion of Europe by Islam/Muslims.’ Before the Syrian refugee crisis, and during the 2014 municipal elections in The Hague, politician X told the Dutch national broadcaster NOS that he hoped the city’s residents would “vote for a more safe and social city and if it would be possible fewer Moroccans.” as pointed out in Section 3 on speech aggression, at a rally a week later, he asked, “Do you want more or fewer Moroccans in this city and in the Netherlands?” The audience responded by chanting, “Fewer, fewer!” politician X responded, “Well, we’ll arrange that, then.”

Politician X was then charged with offending members of a group based on their race/religion, as well as with hate speech and discrimination. The three-week trial was triggered when police received 6,400 complaints about remarks he made during a municipal election campaign in The Hague (ibid.). He denied inciting racial hatred and denounced the trial as an attempt to suppress freedom of speech. He refused to attend the trial in person and, instead, he issued a series of inflammatory posts on Twitter, saying the Netherlands has a “huge problem with Moroccans” — an echo of the denunciations he made in 2014 that are at the center of the hate-speech charges. In one of those tweets he says:

NL has [a] huge problem with Moroccans.

To be silent about it is cowardly.

43% of Dutch want fewer Moroccans.

No verdict will change that.

9:18 AM - 31 Oct 2016 (NY Times 2016: ibid.)

At the trial, prosecutors took testimony from Dutch-Moroccans who said his comments made them feel like “third-rate citizens”. Politician X was then found guilty but no penalty was imposed. Already in 2011, politician X was acquitted for the hate speech charge as discussed in section 5 on speech aggressions.

In her groundbreaking work on race relations in the Netherlands, Gloria Wekker (2016) foregrounds a dominant way in which the Dutch think of themselves, as being a small, but just, ethical nation; color-blind, thus free of racism; as being inherently on the moral and ethical high ground, thus a guiding light to other folks and nations. Wekker frames Dutch racism through what she posits as ‘white innocence’, which she argues out in several avenues, one of them being: “innocence, furthermore, enables the safe position of having license to utter the most racist statements, while in the next sentence saying that it was a joke or was not meant as racists” (ibid:17) – or as freedom of speech, we add. She adds that the claim of innocence, however, is a double-edged sword: it contains not-knowing, but also not wanting to know, capturing what philosopher Charles W. Mills (1997, 2007) described as the epistemology of ignorance. Succinctly stated, “the epistemology of ignorance is part of a white supremacist state in which the human race is racially divided into full persons and sub-persons. Even though — or, more accurately, precisely because — they tend not to understand the racist world in which they live, white people are able to fully benefit from its racial hierarchies, ontologies and economies” (Sullivan and Tuana, 2007: 2).

We argue that such rhetoric can be framed on a social status narrative filled with Western privileges and economic capital allowances. From an intersectional point of view, they all lay on the privileged side of a network of privileges made possible by a collective intentionality mechanism (think about white supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism), which in combination brews up and places them in a powerful position, where there is seemingly no accountability. As evidenced in the case of politician X whose islamophobic sentiments abide in the present. After contextualizing the discourse frames conveyed in the charges, we will address some practical consequences of negatively-framed acts, inside the levels of the agency involved, which is also central for us to understand the legal apparatus regarding hate crimes and their social relevance.

4.3. How does Hate Speech Affect each Agency Level?

Having discussed how hate speech plays out at a discursive level, it is important to pay some attention to how this spills into institutions, their members, and individuals. Here we also make a point about structural inequality - where a group of people has an attribution of an unequal status compared to others. In this case, Muslims in Europe, for example, occupy a disadvantageous status, as will be discussed below.

Firstly, the Netherlands and Europe at large are witnessing a wave of aversion to public Islam. Take for instance sexual politics which has become entangled with anti-muslim discourse where the Muslim ‘other’ has been recast as backward and homophobic in contrast to the sexually liberated free modern Dutch/European - a cast within Orientalist narratives that underwrite the superiority of European secular modernity. Gay rights discourses have thus offered a language for the critique of Islam (Mepschen et al., 2010). According to Mepschen et al. (ibid), most Dutch feel that Muslim migrants threaten the national identity, and 50% feel the admission of immigrants has been the country’s biggest mistake because they consider Islam incompatible with Dutch Jewish-Christian and humanist traditions.

It is important to point out that The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) argues that Muslims in the Netherlands are ‘the subject of stereotyping, stigmatizing

and sometimes outright racist political discourse and of biased media portrayal, and have been disproportionately targeted by security and other policies' (ECRI, 2008:36).

Against this backdrop, some current political discourse in the Netherlands, therefore, casts immigrants as "problems", in particular Muslim migrants. And there is more to be said practical consequences, since police statistics show that over 10% of Antillean and Moroccan boys aged 12-17 have been suspected of a crime, compared to only 2% of autochtonen and 5.2% of Turkish boys. Of men aged 18-24, 17.8% of Moroccans and 13.0% of Antilleans have been a suspect in a crime, compared to 3.8% of the autochtoon Dutch population .

In the same country, non-Western allochtoon groups are generally in a disadvantaged socio-economic position. Of the four largest non-Western immigrant groups, the Turks and Moroccans are the most disadvantaged: they exhibit low labor market participation, high unemployment, and welfare dependency rates, and relatively poor school results, even among the second generation. In 2006, only 38.7% of Moroccans and 43.9% of Turks aged 15-64 had a job. Unemployment was 17.2% among Moroccans and 15.1% among Turks, about four times the level among autochtoon Dutch: 4.3%. Almost 30% of Turks and Moroccans receive social security benefits, compared to 13% of the autochtoon Dutch population (ibid).

Though this kind of statistics is problematic for several reasons, including racial profiling by the police, it is often referred to in debates surrounding the immigrant population. And this phenomenon is related, to some extent, to the one regarding hate speech since racial profiling occurs when a person is treated as a suspect based on his ethnicity, nationality, or religion, instead of on evidence of criminal behavior. So, it may be taken as a symptom of nations' acceptability of discourses of race and Islamophobia, which are inextricably tied to the normalized practices of racism, islamophobia, and white supremacy (Hooks, 2013). The statistics we bring here are a reflection of systemic racism and islamophobia in the Netherlands, like in many other countries, as a manifestation of, for instance, everyday racism. It is within this political climate that we have seen an escalation and normalization of negatively-framed discourses and hate speech. Now let us consider a Brazilian case.

4.4. A Parallel with Brazil's Cases of Speech Aggression

Considering hate speech as an illustrative case of discrimination based on human and cultural features, we should also note that discrimination is intersectional because of social categorizations such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and religion, as they apply to a given individual or group, and because they involve interdependent systems of framed interpretations resulting in social disadvantage, privilege, and oppression. And Brazil is not different from the Netherlands in incubating discrimination among citizens. Like the Netherlands, over the last decade, Brazil has also seen a rise in intolerance and aggression in the public sphere and citizens' political life. The presidential elections were a milestone in this regard; from verbal to physical aggression and deaths - the first inciting the last ones. This public discourse brought to life hate and fear. In particular, one politician's narratives stood out in terms of popularity. Let's analyze a case in which the politician in discussion here was tried and convicted.

Politician Z has a long history in Brazilian political life as a member of the Chamber of Deputies. In 2003, in the halls of Congress he said to a congresswoman that "I would never rape you because you don't deserve it" (our translation) - in addition, he pushed her and call her "slut" (our translation) some moments later.

In 2014, the same politician repeated his speech aggression towards the same congresswoman, saying on the tribune "you called me a rapist and I told you that I wouldn't rape you because you don't deserve it" (our translation). At the time, a state congresswoman published on her

social networks that congresswomen are often offended in Congress and that the institution does nothing about, naming 4 woman politicians insulted, her included.

Also at the time internet users created an online petition calling for the deputy’s impeachment. “The deputy already has in his history aggressions, insults, and hate speeches against progressive deputies, we can no longer accept any pileup. This is parliamentary decorum! (...)” (our translation).

When explaining the speech to a newspaper in 2014, politician Z declared: “She doesn’t deserve [to be raped] because she’s really bad, because she’s really ugly, she’s not my type, I would never rape her. I’m not a rapist, but if I were, I wouldn’t rape (her) because she doesn’t deserve it” (our translation).

(23)-(26) are illustrative of the general behavior we are addressing here and are referent to speech aggression towards a congresswoman directed at her as a woman. In her view, “He, in fact, attacks all women [with his speech] (...)” (our translation). First, we need to point out that this evocation of a framed representation of women as a target of sexual violence has a misogynistic character. As argued by Kate Manne, in her *Down Girl: The Logic of Misogyny* (2018:33), the targets of this hostility against women encompass particular women and particular kinds of women. So, a misogynistic act may be directed at a specific individual or member of a group. The High Commissioner for Human Rights also has expressed alarm “at the often extraordinarily negative portrayal in many countries of migrants, but also of minority groups by the media, politicians and other actors in the society” (2013:3). In Brazil, women represent a social minority and, according to a Datafolha Institute survey, commissioned by the Brazilian Public Security Forum – FBSP, “About 17 million women suffered physical, psychological or sexual violence in Brazil in 2020” (Brazilian Institute of Family Law, online) (we may add that the number did not change considerably from the previous year). Thus, the speech of a political leader has even more social impact when expressed in a country where so many women suffer violence . Moreover, the framed representations evoked by discourses of this type are easily identified in the public sphere. Like in the case of Islamophobia in the Netherlands, we locate this in the discursive framework of toxic masculinity (rooted in entitlement that is pervasive within the masculine domain in Brazil), in its intersection with whiteness. As feminists argue, against this backdrop, women are cast as objects - in the case being discussed here - one who can be (deserving) of rape. Within there, we find pre-emptying threats to power and status in order to control and exploit. Violence then becomes the language that enforces gendered relegation of women to the margins. And hate speech, such as that deployed by Politician Z, falls within the spectrum of violence against women in Brazil. Unfortunately, this was not an isolated case. Politician Z has been ordered to indemnify the journalist mentioned in section 1 for moral damages. The decision in March of this year was made by judge I, from the 19th Civil Court of São Paulo . In 2015, before the start of the impeachment rite of a former female president, when asked about when he thought her term would end, he replied: “I hope it ends today, with a heart attack or cancer, anyway. (...)” (our translation). We will limit ourselves to mentioning only these cases. For his speech in 2014, the Attorney General’s Office (PGR) denounced him to the Federal Supreme Court for inciting rape. After analysis, the Supreme made him the defendant. Politician Z was then sentenced by the Federal District Court of Justice in 2015 to pay her compensation of ten thousand reais for moral damages, but he appealed. The Third Panel of the Superior Court of Justice (STJ), in its turn, unanimously upheld the deputy’s conviction for the offenses directed at the congresswoman - and according to her, “We [Brazilian women] had the courage to face a parliamentarian, a public authority, who uses public space to foment violence. It is not a victory

for one or the other, it is for all of us” (we may add that the case had reached the House Ethics Council but was shelved with the end of his term, and he was re-elected).

For our analysis, it is important to observe that during the trial, the rapporteur of the case, Minister N, claimed that by saying that the congresswoman did not ‘deserve to be raped’, the deputy “attributed to the crime the quality of a prize, of benefit to the victim” (our translation). Furthermore, she claimed, “The expression ‘doesn’t deserve to be raped’ is a vile expression that belittles the dignity of any woman, as if brutal violence could be considered a boon, something good to happen to a woman.” Another important fact is that the minister challenged the defense’s thesis that he could not be held responsible due to parliamentary immunity (according to Article 53 of the Brazilian Constitution, “Deputies and Senators are inviolable, civilly and criminally, for any of their opinions, words, and votes.” (our translation)). That is to say that the speech - according to this claim by the defense - was a political act, that is, made by a politician as such. This kind of political act is itself problematic. However, in the minister’s understanding, the speech had no relationship with the parliamentary function, thus moving away from parliamentary immunity. Again, the agencies involved are crucial to the analysis of the act, considering the relevance and repercussion.

As we have discussed, the status of a crime, such as a speech crime, depends on legislation that ascribes this status to a certain behavior of an agent, and within jurisprudence boundaries, thus defining the circumstances for the appropriate invocation of this type of conduct as a criminalizable act. First, the case was judged by specific spheres due to the fact that they were members of Congress. As stated by the constitution, the defendant is judged in the Federal Court of Justice under conditions consistent with a constitutionally regulated parliamentary mandate. He was then sentenced accordingly, given the moral damages identified in his speech act. Crucially, these damages can be associated both with her image as an individual woman and as a woman politician. And this type of attack on women’s moral representation can be identified as misogynistic - remembering that violent misogyny is one of the reasons the UN launched the United Nations Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech. Also, just as in the Netherland’s Case, we note that hate speech plays out both at the individual and group levels, even though the widely accepted definition of hate speech involves the verbal attack on groups or group members. As noted, politicians are key social agents, since they are representatives of relevant decision-making groups in society - thus, what these agents propagate has a real impact on their communities, on individuals, groups, institutions, and their members. Therefore, if they propagate hate speech as political rhetoric of discrimination and prejudice, they need to review their acts as agents of power, from north to south. And, since hate speech can be and in many cases is expressed as a political persuasive tool of extremism (fostering aggression and violence among citizens and among political actors) we need to address the problem, its causes, and the means to banish it from our societies.

Conclusion

We are far off from ‘creating’ a strong sense of a global community even in this digital/ technological era. At the same time, there is prevailing rhetoric that ‘sells’ an image of a big online community, and of closeness, something that exponentially ‘grew’ with the Covid Pandemic. At some point during the Covid Pandemic when it seemed like the ‘whole world was under lockdown’, digital forms of communication dominated. Yet, we also consume the reinforcement of discursive frames of fear and destruction concerning groups of our society who are marginalized by being targets of these precise acts. In the different moments of our

history, in different parts of the world, similar frames have been created putting different groups of our society against each other. But nowadays there is information and technical machinery to understand the mechanisms of manipulation and spread of hate speech towards groups, group members, and individuals, since we can analyze their content, how they are deployed as acts - criminalizable or not -, and sometimes their use as a strategy of manipulation of the public opinion. This is one of the main practical uses of hate speech, given its potential for inciting action inside and across groups. When we listen to structures like “These Muslims destroyed Sweden”, “These people from the Northeast of Brazil have polluted São Paulo”, “Haitians will ruin our country”, “the Mexicans will devastate the US and our job market”, “These Syrians will detonate Germany”, we need to understand what these acts mean discursively, as acts. Such as, what is the point of saying this or deploying such a statement? This deployment is used as a reason to say something else and do something else. People vote for political acts and behave differently given the assumptions conveyed by such structures. That is, these structures are not merely language used as acts of free speech. The bigger picture of understanding their content requires us to think of ourselves as both a world community as well as minor (political) communities - in this case, how different parts of the globe bleed into each other. Structures of the type of “This x is y” where ‘x’ is a variable that can be filled by any ethnic or any other social group identification need to be observed in a discursive and action framework. We can resignify ‘x’ as part of a bigger community that has geographical and social movements of groups, with potential contributions and strategic limits. Discussing causes (what makes these groups leave their homes and come to this land? Why are these journalists saying what they are saying? Why is this group behaving like this?), requirements, possible contributions, and limits are socially relevant, differently of using discursive frames without further thought. It is not employing hate speech that we fix wrong political decisions since hate speech tends to foster more hate, discrimination, and inequality. As individuals, we behave by common patterns and we impact society. As members, we can adjust our groups’ behavior. As groups, we can make a huge impact. And politicians are not representatives of hate, that is not their duty. Fostering extremism is not part of their functions as political leaders of their communities. And we are all humans. So, a relevant path is to reframe our discourse to better fit the empathetic angels of our nature

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Revolutionary Trope and Environmental Pedagogy in Frank Arase's Somewhere in Africa: The Cries of Humanity and David Attwood's Blood and Oil

Chinyere Lilian Okam⁹ Onyekachi Peter Onuoha¹⁰

Abstract

The dehumanisation and exploitation of the environment of the Niger Delta has become a template for fear of the end of human existence. This has driven an increased interest in studies about Anthropocene. From the 1980s, Robert Buell and Adrian Ivakhiv have advanced what Smith Kopnina terms *The Environmental Condition* to the frontiers of global scholarship thereby greening the humanities. Scholars in environmental studies like Bill McGuire have decried the rising level of floods, the ignorance of the destruction of the environment and the possibility of an apocalypse. Creative writers and dramatic artistes alike, including film makers from Africa and beyond have engaged in the exploration of environmental interests focusing on its degenerating condition, often depicting how people could take social action towards liberating themselves and their environment from oppressive chains. The study aims to interrogate how these stated eco-critical aims have been achieved in selected movies. Through the concept of anthropocene and eco-criticism, the paper undertakes a content analysis of Frank Rajah Arase's *Somewhere in Africa: The cries of Humanity* and David Attwood's *Blood and Oil* to explore these concerns.

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Keywords

Eco-capitalism, Eco-criticism, Language, Memory, Revolutionary praxis, Environmental pedagogy

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⁹ Department of Theatre and Media Studies, University of Calabar, Nigeria
Email: clookam@gmail.com, chinyere.okam@unical.edu.ng

Orcid: 0000-0001-5408-8608

¹⁰ Department of English and Literary Studies, University of Calabar, Nigeria
Email: onyekachidara@gmail.com, onyekachidara@unical.edu.ng

Orcid: 0000-0002-2145-8139

Introduction

From the inception of modern society, capitalism has remained a key player in the struggle for resource control and its detritus impact on its derivative space. Angus (2016) identifies the contributory role of capitalism to environmental degradation and its capacity to adopt a scorched earth principle to achieve its goals. Smith acknowledges capitalism's power to negatively impact on humans and the ecosystem through the imposition of big units of green house emissions implying that "big job cuts across industrialised economies around the world" (2014:14). Chinyere Nwahunanya chronicling the capitalist mood of exploitation of the Niger Delta and the effect on the environment submits that:

"...the uncontrolled decimation of aquatic life and the flora and fauna of the region has lost its human population to massive emigration, with the consequence that the erstwhile vibrant fully employed farmers and fisher-folk that peopled the area have become migrant labour seeking nonexistent jobs in the sprawling cities"(20011: xiii).

Capitalist exploration of fossil fuel in the Niger Delta and eternal gas flaring have intensified the poisoning of the Niger Delta environment and accelerated the forced migration of its people from their ancestral homes to urban landscapes where existential survival is not guaranteed. This statement illustrates the impracticality of caution in the exploration of fossil fuel and the emission of carbon into the atmosphere thereby laying the structure for the occurrence of anthropocene in our land.

For decades now the Niger Delta has floundered under the heavy weight of capitalist speculators exploiting its precious fossil fuels without reflection on the future of the constituency of that region. Scholars have attempted in various ways to describe this phenomenon notably through the concept of anthropocene. Ian Angus in describing the anthropocene process submits that: "the anthropocene, viewed as a new geological epoch displacing the Holocene epoch of the last 10,000 to 12,000 years, represents what has been called an "anthropogenic rift"...((2016:9). Although the foregoing gives historical framing of the concept of anthropocene, Angus further defines it as standing "... for the notion that human beings have become the primary emergent geological force affecting the future of the earth system. ..."(2016: 9). The capitalist system accounted for within the framework of Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century and nuclear weapon testing as noted by Angus accelerates human impacts on the environment with the attendant consequences of anthropocene as a gradual birth of man's decimation of the environment. Angus(2016) and Nwahunanya(2011) concur that the capitalist system in its inordinate drive for profit destroys both human and ecological systems thereby speeding the dawn of the anthropocene age. William Vincent Fisher implicates capitalism within the framework of industrialization thus:

...growing awareness has arisen concerning the role industrialisation has played in ecological destruction and its potential verifications for environmental and social sustainability. Over the course of the last century the natural science literature surrounding ecological destruction has reached a crescendo and warns of due consequence if left unaddressed.(2014:1).

Science, and lately literature, has been at the forefront of the strategic re-imagining of the environment and the reversal of the capitalist impact on it through the premise of memory and the creative engagement of historical effects of capitalism on the environment best exemplified by the referential films used in this paper as case studies. Eco-film is a theoretical approach that highlights the expanding nature of dramatic arts and by extension film. David Ingram (2013) in x-raying the functionality of eco-criticism and eco-film describes eco-film as a film with a conceptual content which more or less explicitly promotes ecological ideas and ecological sensibility. The creative piece, David Attwood's *Blood and Oil* fulfils the key requirement of the classification of text as Anthropocene's engagement in eco-cinematic images as a result of capitalist decimation of the environment captured in the world of the eco-cinematic representation within the secondary world of the text. Cinematography plays a vital role in conceptualising capitalism through the framework of

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film studies. Through motion pictures man is granted access to the world of re-enactment of memory and remembering as a process of witnessing against capitalism and its agents i.e. the multinationals, the Nigerian government and Niger Delta elites who form the capitalist trinity in the balkanization of the Niger Delta environment. Scott Macdonald in accounting for the functionality of film notes that “...film events, might play a small but useful role in helping viewers become more mindful of the implications of their more conventional cinematic experiences, and more particular not only in their engagement, but in their efforts to guide inevitable environment change in directions that nurture a more healthy planet.”(2013: 52) The emphasis on the human experiences through motion pictures reveals the effects of human actions on the organic environment as portrayed in *Blood and Oil* which succinctly highlights the effect of oil spillage and gas flaring on the Niger Delta environment and its people.

David Ingram foregrounding the role of eco-film is of the opinion that: “An important aim of eco-film criticism has been to promote a better and more urgent understanding of environmental issues in the culture of arts and humanities”(2013: 59). Consequently, the foregoing clearly highlights the literary and discursive temperament of this paper. Ingram observes that film theory is useful in exploring the aesthetic assumptions that have shaped such criticism. He concludes that the ‘aesthetics’ of capitalist decimation of the environment and environmental degradation becomes an aesthetic engagement through which eco-film is interrogated. Andrew Hageman reviewing the function of cinema affirms it as “an aesthetic means to shaping ecological perceptions and actions”(2013: 82). Eco-cinema is an aesthetic means of shaping the perceptions and actions of the multinationals and the Nigerian government in regards to the effect of capitalist exploration of oil in the Niger Delta. Fisher further implicates the role of eco-cinematic images to raise consciousness “concerning anthropogenic ecological destruction and the need to alter human interaction with the planet...”(2014:1). *Blood and Oil* is an advocacy driven awareness of the effect of oil exploration in the Niger Delta and its attendant contribution to anthropocene on the global scale. Taiwo Afolabi and Stephen Okpadah view dramatic depiction from the premise of the politics of representation which eco-cinematography is implicated in. They note that: “Media representation is an essential example in discourses on the politics of representation because it reifies the notion that meaning is constantly changing.” (2019: 79). The evolutionary nature of meaning is a counter narrative to the Western bogus claim of colonial development in Africa. *Blood and Oil* gives a new perspective to the issue of the Niger Delta through the emphasis on remembering as a witness against the Nigerian government and the multinationals.

Afolabi and Okpadah (2019:80) affirm that: “the politics of representation recognizes the role an individual plays when it comes to receiving and making and appropriates socio-cultural and political nuances that influence meaning making process, hence is constantly changing”. Frank Arase’s *Somewhere in Africa...* highlights how dictatorial rulers disrupt the people of the human ecosystem as a result of self-deceit and the effect on the human society. *Somewhere in Africa...* is a narrative of inequality, brutalisation and exploitation of the masses by the oppressor. Servaes Jan in accounting for inequality notes that: "The social consequences of social inequality are derived mainly from the social relationship that exists between individuals based on class or rank, and in relation to access to and location of all forms of capital (social, cultural, material). Embedded in the description are issues of power, freedom, marginalisation, exclusion..." (2016: xvii). The military government of Mumbasa exploits the people and the land just as the Niger Delta scenario. Mumbasa’s totalitarian regime is a form of capitalist system for the benefit of a few feeding off the heritage of the majority. Mrs Archibong prepares the students for the future by inculcating revolutionary tendencies in them so they can resist the totalitarian government.

Atanda Yemi (2016:253) is of the opinion that the dialects of revolution "... is the dramatic search for a just society. It remains a veritable source of criticism in order to understand the inherent values in any given ideology". Through pedagogy Mrs Archibong creatively envisions a just society for her child and pupils to flourish. This struggle for a just society is referred to by Karl Marx et al (2012) as the struggle between social classes. The juxtaposition of the referential pieces, *Blood and Oil* and *Somewhere in Africa...* in this study is to highlight the fact that Eco-criticism is not solely about the human habitual space, but it also includes the habitants and prominent concerns which could affect their environment in diverse ways. This includes the social action of their communities and how their existential struggles challenge the suffocating values instilled by capitalist forces around them and the establishment. Humanity implies freedom to voice concerns and interrogate realities, and any denial of such is an attempt to stifle people's voices. Correlation praxis would be adopted for the purpose of this discussion; significantly the Environmental Praxical Pedagogy as a revolutionary trope. The major objective is to iterate the key issues impelling people towards the practical use of the knowledge of their world to find possible solutions to environmental challenges.

1. Conceptualising Environmental Pedagogy as Praxis

The care of the environment is an integral culture of any group of people in a spatial context. Thus some ethical values are needed to cultivate a sense of responsibility to the environment. Environmental pedagogy entails the application of environmental ethics-the practical value relationship humans have with their non-human elements. An understanding of the environment is needed for a good environmental pedagogy. Innocent I. Asouzu defines environment as:

the totality of the world in which our being unfolds such that

the actual scope of our environment is something that can be continually accounted for as our life unfolds...environment refers to all the facts and realities which, when taken together play a role in shaping our consciousness in particular ways and in relation to other things and these other things in relation to ourselves(2007:282).

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Good environmental education entails awareness of our obligation to the environment, what it surrounds, the roles of others, and avoiding ways of not stepping on the other. Goralnik et. al suggest that it is not just educating students with content knowledge-let there be a shift from subject mastery to personal development. "The focus should be the role each individual plays in a larger social and ecological system and on both personal and institutional responsibility.From this knowledge, environmental pedagogy should be taken as praxis- the progression of cognitive, affective, physical development"(2012:418).In this sense environmental education is concrete- a structure which is challenging, interactive, critical, emotional and of course engaging since praxis is " reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed" (Freire, 1970:38). Therefore there is need for accurate knowledge of the environment which comes through learning, in this sense beginning with a teacher (a revolutionary leader) for our understanding of the environment.

Struggle activism challenges values upheld by the environment and what it surrounds. For this to happen there is need for freedom to voice concerns and interrogate realities and idealities responsibly. Such examples could be gleaned from the protest drama of the Kamirithu theatre group representing Kenyan workers and peasants waking up to their responsibilities by opposing the neocolonial comprador ruling class (wa Thiong'o , 1983). Therefore, for an environmental pedagogy to be praxis, learning, leadership, action, and in some situation, counter action are required since it is often about how to interact with hierarchies defined by eco-capitalism. Although this is often conflictual, but in agreement with Lewis Coser's reference to Dewey's definition of conflict as 'gadfly', it stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates us to invention. It shocks out of sheep-like passivity, and sets at noting and conniving. Conflict is a sine qua non of reflection and ingenuity (qtd in Okam, 2018:55). Strong foundation is maintained by the way man confronts issues in his environment and the ones affecting him. This empowerment is what environmental pedagogy that is supported by praxis creates.

Foluke Ogunleye, sees this kind of pedagogy as producing a theatre of reciprocal violence- a theatre that functions as a tool of re-socialization; “a re-socialization approach through the process of attrition in order ' to destroy 'en-caging' propensities of long held fallacies ...by raising our collective voices, male and female through theatre and media”(, 2015: 2).The two films under study, *Blood and Oil*, and *Somewhere in Africa...*, highlight how creative works deal with the plight of the environment and the people,, especially rural dwellers,and how the voiceless respond in such conflicted circumstances? The focus is on how best to communicate and engender a positive environment and society, and how military and civilian leaders cocooned in the web of capitalism handle protests used as tropes to create an enabling environment for the people. The explication of critical issues highlighted in the study will be undertaken through the analysis of Revolutionary trope and Environmental pedagogy in the two films.

2. Revolutionary Trope and Environmental Praxical pedagogy in David Attwood's *Blood and Oil*

The struggle for resource control and power has been one of the spawns of conflict translating to displacement and destruction in Africa. The capitalist system in Nigeria and the complicit Nigerian government have collectively subjugated the Niger Delta populace. Nwahunanya (2011: xvi) submits that; “As the land bleeds oil, so the people bleed tears in their abject poverty, and real blood as they fall under constant assault of government agents sent to silence their protests.” The environment bleeds as a result of the damage that the exploration of fossil fuel and the gas flaring cause to that environment and the people’s attempt to resist such decimation leadsto their termination by armed agents of the Nigerian government. Dramatists and other creative writers through memory and re-imagining engage in environmental pedagogy, using art to confront social illsto ensure the survival of the human and ecological system in the Niger Delta.

Boberdeau (2018), in affirming the role of eco-cinematography, is of the opinion that today’s eco-cinematic images continue to raise questions of scale and visuality. Filmmakers and viewers in the anthropocene are engaging with the scalar aesthetics in new ways. *Blood and Oil* is a historical cinematographical adaptation of Oloibiri history to prick the conscience of society and to witness against oppressive leadership and multinational corporations that stifle the existence of the people as a result of their activities in Niger Delta communities. Best Ugala states that:

In the Niger Detla, poverty and neglect are glaring. There are no schools, no health facilities, no roads, no electricity, and no potable water. Oil spillage has destroyed their agrarian and aquatic life. The ocean continues to claim the little land as against the reclamation of land from the ocean going on in the other coastal regions(2009: 65).

Oloibiri is used in the movie as a metaphor for the abuse and subjugation of the Niger Delta in a cinematographic depiction of the plight of the environment and the people of the Niger Delta. *Blood and Oil* opens with the lamentation of the people of Oloibiri over to bury their dead and this awakens the curiosity of the viewers to find out what led to the mourning and lamentation in the host community. This lamentation is induced by a condition Psalms Chinaka blames successive governments that “... paid insignificant attention to the living conditions of the people of the region which has culminated into series of crimes... widespread scourging of the vegetation by gas...” (2011: 27). The failure of government and multinationals is keyto the people’s agitation to reclaim their land and in the ensuing struggles result in the loss of lives of their brothers.

Through cinematography the Niger Delta people are portrayed as bearing witness against the Nigerian government and multinational corporations in Nigeria who conspired to loot them to the barest. The

cinematography takes us back to the early days of oil prospecting in Oloibiri in the early 1960s. Through the memory of Timipre Donbra, the film director re-imagines the plight of the people of the Niger Delta as Donbra frequently fills the gaps of the narrative through flashbacks as re-enactment of memory, a process of witnessing and enlightenment about the roots of the calamity afflicting the Niger Delta people using Oloibiri as illustrative metaphor. *Blood and Oil* is a protest cinematography; the use of motion pictures and sounds to highlight the plight of the people and to resist silence solicited by the establishment's failure. Nwahunanya's submission makes a case for protest literature, which cinematography is implicated in, thus:

...protest literature arises in societies where there are anomalies in the socio-political and economic structures put in place by the ruling class to drive their dominant ideology. In the Niger Delta, as in other parts of the world, protest is employed to draw external attention to the anomalies that must be addressed if the society must function without stress. (2011: 38).

The Niger Delta, as depicted in *Oloibiri*, is a protest narrative against the government as a result of the decimation of Oloibiri flora and fauna. For instance, Donbra while answering the Doctor who asked him how he felt about the situation, responded:

Another company has commenced oil exploration in Otuka's kingdom" and the doctor asked, "Why worry about another village." "Why worry? We are one people, when larch destroyed Oloibiri's rivers and lands..." And the lady asked, "what hurts you most in all of this?"...

Nwahunanya collaborates the foregoing thus: "The impact of the flora and fauna has a direct effect on the human population who have suffered denial of sources of livelihood from environmental degradation, water pollution" (2011: 45). When a people's survival which is dependent on lands and rivers that are no longer in existence, they are denied a measurable essence of life and well being offered by that land, but which is now polluted by the activities of multinational corporations. After the visual of a boy fetching water from a polluted water body is shown, Donbra continues his witnessing noting that: "oil spillage, oil exploration, our nephews turned kidnappers, if I had protested and held my ground in the sixties all these would not be happening". Through memory recollection Donbra takes responsibility for docility against the multinationals and the Nigerian government. He assumes responsibility for the plight of the Niger Delta saying that; "I have let my community down, I would have fought..." Donbra's feelings arising from the premise of memory of hurt and the effect of the oil exploration on the Niger Delta environment, are an attribute implicated in Allwell A. Onukaogu and Ezechi Onyerionwu's submission that: "The crisis situation in the Niger Delta has emanated from the dissatisfaction of the region over a number of issues that are associated with oil exploration, and can be said to be as old as the trade itself." (2011:51).

Singer views capitalism's approach to the environment as "contradicting and exclusionary in nature than its pseudo attempts at ecological sustainability..." (2010: 128). The movie's plot through flashback takes us back to Huston bemoaning the instigators of the carnage wrecked on the Niger Delta environment. Those at Huston through Foreshaw Limited make money from the destruction of their environment in collaboration with Nigerians who are in the minority and are beneficiaries of the environmental carnage unfolding in the Niger Delta. The manager of Foreshaw Limited informs Huston's investors of the establishment of twelve oil wells and the ongoing process to establish a bigger one: a new well that will produce eight thousand barrels daily without any attention paid to the environmental degradation in Niger Delta. The host of Huston's investors' conference informs that the project is worth over three hundred million dollars annually as returns on investment. The spokesperson concludes that the adventure has just begun and called for a toast to Foreshaw Limited. Oil exploration becomes a metaphor for the exploitation of the masses in the Niger Delta region. Martins Uze E. Tugbikorowei & Ifeanyi Ogu-Raphael highlight the effect of such oil exploration thus: "...rivers are polluted, farmlands destroyed, the flora and fauna of the environment annihilated, acid rain falls, health problems afflict the people, and a whole lot of other consequences" (2010: 113).

As Tugbikorowei and Ogu-Raphael (2010) observe, the punishment is brought home because the communities where oil exploitation is carried out live in Stone Age habitats while the quarters housing the oil workers are very much comfortable and comply with 21st century standards.

Foreshaw Limited's bid to be different, lends credence to the ruinous role of other multinational corporations that have exploited the resources of the environment and dehumanized the masses. The contaminated river is highlighted as a critical symbol of environmental degradation. Bum's mother accosts her son illustrating how the capitalist society conditions the educated ones among them. She asks “What happened to my boy? A son who made first class in geology and secured a good job? What happened to you?” In response he informs her that her son died because the elders of the land failed him leaving Bum weeping at the forlorn outlook of the future generation. The consequential failure of the community elders and the Nigerian government propels Bum to resist the state and the multinationals. Tugbikorowei & Ogu-Raphael (2010: 120) see the resistance of the Niger Delta people as economically motivated. However, beyond the foregoing the decimation of the environment, the attendant health challenges posed on the environment is one of the major factors necessitating resistance. The people's actions are motivated by what W. Steffen et al acknowledge as follows:

...the Earth itself is a single system with which the biosphere is an active, essential component. Secondly, human activities are now so pervasive and profound in their consequences that they affect the Earth at a global scale in complex, interactive and apparently accurately ways...(2005: 1)

It is this attempt to stop the capitalist effect on the disruption of the order in the biosphere that made the people of the Niger Delta to resist such exploitation and to use the environmental cinematographic as resistance narrative. Although the ending of the movie indicates that violence is not the solution to the Niger Delta problem, however, it collaborates Serves Storm's (2011) position that; “...air and ocean temperature are rising, oceans are acidifying and melting, the sea level is rising and natural disaster are occurring frequently and more intently.” The foregoing effect is also seen in Timipre's attempt to prevent a child from consuming water from the polluted river laid waste by the activities of the multinationals in Oloibiri.. Stephen Rust and Salima Monani accounting for the focus of eco-critical perspectives on the environment note that:

... environment is not just the organic world, or the laws of nature to which Kant counterposed the powers of human reason in the struggle for freedom, or that nature from which Marx thought we were condemned to wrest our survival; it is the whole habitat which encircles us, the physical world entangled with the cultural. It is an ecology of connections that we negotiate to make our meanings and our livings. In this habitat, cinema is a form of negotiation that is itself ecological placed as it consumes the entangled world around it, and in turn is itself consumed.(2013:13).

The above statement illustrates the symbiotic relationship between man and his environment and what the cinema does is to highlight this negotiation and in some ways highlight the exploitative trends within the structures of such negotiation.

Rust and Monani make a case for the all engaging nature of cinematic text thus: “...cinematic experience is in specially embedded webs. Cinematic texts, with their audiovisual presentations of individuals and their habitats, affect our imaginations of the world around us, and thus, potentially our actions toward this world.”(2013:14). Cinematic text such as *Blood and Oil* intimates the masses of the extent of the damage oil exploration on the people of Niger Delta and their environment. Rust and Monani went further to affirm that; “...cinema provides windows into how we imagine this state of affairs and how we act with or against it.”(2013:15). This is implicated in *Blood and Oil* in the sense that through cinematography we are further brought in to share in the plights of the people of the Niger Delta. The promise of multinationals to clean up oil spills from the waters of Oloibiri is still

a lip service. Bum's mother's intense encounter with Bum re-ignites her traumatic turn with her husband during the town hall meeting with the Whiteman and a representative of the multinationals. They suggest that they have brought development and employment to the community to which Timipre counters that they are employed as cooks and cleaners. After reminiscing about the past, Timipre asks his wife; "Do you remember when oil was found in Oloibiri?" and she replied: "We all jumped like monkeys". This illustrates that the discovery of oil in Oloibiri was welcomed with initial excitement but sadly transformed in the face of its destruction on the people's well being. Timipre through flashback seems to counter his son's narrative that the elders failed his people. The foregoing emphasizes Wood Roberdeau's submission thus: "Eco-cinematic moving image continues to raise questions of scale and visuality. In many ways, it acts as both mirror and prism for subjective circumstance and situations that are then prosecuted towards more objective concerns." (2018: 75). This is replicated in Timipre's attempts to renegotiate memories and his present reality.

Timipre is at the forefront seeking complete involvement of his people in the exploration of oil in their land. Through Bum's mother, we are made to see the effect of environmental degradation. The people suffer from different illnesses as a result of the pollution of their environment and their source of water and food. Through cinematographic re-imagining *Blood and Oil* accounts for the insecurity in the Niger Delta as a result of the failures of multinationals to clean up of Oloibiri and other communities that are affected by the actions of the multinationals. Chris Onyema collaborates the foregoing thus; "...oil pollution devastates the land and waterscape, gas flaring emits flames of inferno that toxicify the air." (2011: 201). The environment, consisting of flora and fauna is laid to waste to the extent that Oloibiri citizen have no other alternative than to migrate to Port Harcourt to survive. Timipre, through his account holds Leech Petroleum, which sounds like Shell, culpable. Timipre, informs that Leech petroleum has banned all manner of fishing activities, an emblematic action regarding the destruction of the environment. Enajite Eseoghene Ojaruega emphasizes the effect of oil exploitation highlighted in Timipre's temperament thus: "The debacle caused by oil exploration and exploitation activities in Nigeria's Delta region has attracted much attention within and outside the annals of literature..." (2011: 495). The affected river has different levels of carcinogenic agents. The affected river brought death and hardship upon the people of Oloibiri as depicted within the world of the narrative. Roberdeau (2018) suggests that in *Blood and Oil* the camera's ability to connect with such effects often delivers an aesthetic impact of discomfiting scale that arguably becomes the most accessible way for perceivers to grasp the crises and welcome the nuances of the lived environment today. The framing of *Blood and Oil* achieves eco-film aesthetics.

Adrian Ivakhiv is of the opinion that; "Cinema...is a machine that produces or discloses worlds. This machine is, at once, anthropomorphic in that it produces a cinematic version of or resemblance to the human, thereby generating an apparent social or 'subject world'..." and this is clearly highlighted in *Blood and Oil*. Timipre suffers from posttraumatic disorder as a result of his experiences relating with the contaminated environment and how the environment has killed his loved ones. The Oloibiri tragedy haunts the elders and makes the young surviving ones to disregard the elders. In Bum's words: "You would have spared him, he is just a victim like all of us". Timipre commenting about the Director of Foreshaw Explorations notes; "His greed brought him grief, it is his business...This is not about your regret. This is about saving a life"

Gunpowder, known as Bum, in his attempt to fight for his people and reclaim their land while advocating for the resuscitation of Oloibiri becomes a terror unto the people. Through memory the characters expose the viewers to a world which Sean avers as "an environmentalism that figures class, poverty, inequality, pestilence..." (Cubitt (2017: 317). This illustrates how class affects environmental protection and the search for the Whiteman as revealed by Bum's dialogue. "Oloibiri I am looking for a Whiteman, if you have him, bring him to me but if I find him, plenty trouble. Oloibiri, you know I don't like to knock."

Timipre sarcastically addresses his son as “god avenging angel” while Bum retorts that: “My mother prefers to call me the god of Oloibiri”. Timipre describes his son as “god twisted all over” while Bum derisively replies him that he is still better than an activist who never made it infuriating his father to send him packing.

Bum believes he is the creation of his father’s lousy generation, a timid bunch cheering while their lands were sapped dry. His father, on the other hand, insists he didn’t cheer but fought as gallantly as he could. The foregoing frames the narrative of a character attempting to contend with self through memory and witnessing as a frame of making a case for the environment. Sean Cubitt sees framing as important for eco-critics thus; “...this concept of framing is of special importance to eco-critics since matters of points of view and vision are so dramatically at stake in works grappling with environmental and interspecies issues. Framing and the aesthetics of the image within a frame, shape how artists and their audience perceive the environment”(2016: 17).

In the framing of eco-film, voice over plays a very important role as in the excerpt above. Motion pictures help foreground environmental discourse within the frame of eco-film. Voicing aids the foregrounding of environmental discourse as could be gleaned in Bum’s accusation of Timipre as a coward who fled to England executed with the cinematic frame. Bum’s boys threaten to kill him but are stopped by Bum who prefers him being kept alive to witness the Oloibiri of his designs. Bum taunts Timipre over his traumatized state when he returned to Oloibiri in 1978 to see the rot occasioned by large oil spills that had destroyed it. Pointing his gun at Timipre’s head he declares that: “My bullets will not end your pains.” This reference to historical memory to advance the plot of *Blood and Oil* occurs within cinematic frame. Adrian Ivakhiv notes that: “In addition to visual images, written inscriptions or audio aspects add verbal effects that also facilitate framing of the environment. Soundscape in film often plays a crucial role in reflecting the relationships between human and non-human beings”(2013:22). Timipre, in assisting the Whiteman to escape from environmental activists who have taken up arms against the state and the multinationals, bears witness against Foreshaw’s exploration services and frames the environmental discourse. He accuses them of siphoning oil to send it to their country to build a better future while Oloibirilives are messed up with important chiefs given hush money while the oil and rivers are messed up with no single drop of drinking water in sight.

Through the eco-film approach, *Blood and Oil* puts the “Whiteman”, a representation of capitalism, on trial through the use of environmental facts weighted against him. Sean Cubitt (2017: 2) notes that: “...film as a 'living medium'”, enables the viewers to see live portrayal of historical events within the frame of time which Adrian Ivakhiv links to the cinema as a means of narrowing the gap between cinematic time and real time (or in terms, ecological time), which facilitates the depictions of “enfoldment of objects or processes within other processes...”(2013:21). In this narrowing and framing audio-visual plays an important role in the conception of the people’s continuous historical memory. Through audio-visual witnessing and remembering, the Whiteman is allowed to defend capitalism and its effect on the environment. Responding to Timipre’s accusations drawn from environmental facts and remembering, the Whiteman declares: “I didn’t come to steal from you. I came here to learn how my company could treat your community with respect. On my way here people innocent of this exploitation died. It takes two people to screw. So get screwed.” The Whiteman also lays the blame at the feet of the host community making a case for capitalism and its insistence to better the lives of the host community amidst the decimation of the environment. The excerpted interaction between Timipre and the Whiteman foregrounds what Sean Cubitt refers to as “mediation names the material processes connecting human and nonhuman events...”(2017: 2).

Hostage taking in *Blood and Oil* becomes a metaphor of resistance to stop continuous oil exploration in the Niger Delta. Cubit further notes that:

an environment and its inhabitants co-evolve. A species does not discover an environment waiting for it. It co-creates that environment by acting in it, eating, excreting, building, reproducing, and dying. Ecology is a science of relations and mediations in which innumerable interactions must constantly recreate the end points 'environment' and 'inhabitant'(2017: 9).

It is this interaction that makes Bum to suggest that it is preferable for him to mingle his blood with other traitors in Oloibiri's oil wells, being more concerned about the role of Oloibiri's elders, their corruption, their greed and compensation culture. The conversation between Bum and Timipre holds certain self-assessment within the narrative structure viz,

Timipre: I fought for Oloibiri, I never demanded a bribe.

Bum: You're worse than those who took bribe because you ran, you jumped shell.

Remembering also indicts the beneficiaries of capitalism. Bum holds Timipre to account as an extended means of holding the older generation to account pertaining the decimation and exploitation of the environment. Stephen Rust et al in substantiating this interconnectivity note that; "...media, society, and the environment are inextricably entangled together, both in how media texts represent the environment ... and in the inevitable ways that media texts and systems are materially embedded in natural resource use and abuse." (2016: 2). Characters' interactions facilitate this entanglement and highlight abuse and the exploitation of the environment for pecuniary gains. Rust et al further note that: "...the frame plays a key role not only in demarcating physical and visual space, but creates the basic units-shots, panels-by which time is rendered legible."(2016: 21). Indeed, human beings' actions and interactions aid eco-film framing. The subsequent death of Bum signals the continuous exploitation of the Niger Delta region without any tangible solutions to their problems.

3. Revolutionary Trope and Environmental Pedagogy in Frank Rajah Arase's Somewhere in Africa

Somewhere in Africa opens in a classroom as Mrs. Archibong teaches her students about the importance of national consciousness and freedom in the society. She appropriates from national and world philosophies based on better societies and collective existences of people in a democratized space. Her teaching somehow implicates military intervention in the political process and the disruption of democratic rules. Through Mrs. Archibong's actions and teaching methods she stokes the political aspirations of the young and the desire to resist totalitarian governance. Through the language of praxis and pedagogy Mrs Archibong communicates revolutionary aesthetics to her students. Chinua Achebe (1962:1) notes that: "No man can understand another language which he does not speak... and by language we do not mean verbal craft but a cultural view" (1). The emotion that stirs revolution is what Mrs Archibong communicated to her students as she weaponizes the classroom as an environment of resistance. The students come to see themselves as having the competence to salvage their environment by engaging in actions beyond what they are taught and beyond what those before them did. Mrs Achibong, by virtue of her education and wide reading, belongs to a revolutionary generation that questions dictatorship and bad administration in Africa. She utilizes cultural action for freedom and education for critical consciousness in her attempt to prepare her students for the future. She starts her classes by invoking the revolutionary spirits in her students thus:

There was once a land unknown

A people unseen

A destiny unborn

Trees like hills

Towering to the skies

Mountains like fountains

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Welling to the heavens
The sun
Glowing like a river of gold
Across the horizon
And the fields?
Green
As green could ever be
Kimbala land was indeed
A land of hope
A land of dreams
A land of pearls
And treasures
A beautiful land of freedom
Then came the hovering cloud of darkness
The mist of sorrow and the fog of death
Man became an enemy to man and like scavenging beasts
We dug ourselves
A grave which we buried our honour
Military leader: honour to our country
Mrs. Archibong: Our esteem!
Military leader: Esteem for our leaders!
Mrs Archibong: Our loyalty
Military leader: “loyalty to me!”

At the end of the poem the democratic government is overthrown through a coup d'état and the military leader takes over power. Through the process of remembering and witnessing to the students, Mrs Archibong chronicles the history of the people of Kimbala as a revolutionary trope to incite the students to resisting dictatorship. Mrs Archibong uses the classroom as a theatre for revolution. Chima Julius Osakwe in accounting for the functionality of theatre notes that; “...theatre has served as an instrument of socio-political revolution around the world”(2014:2). Consequently, in Africa, the classrooms and the lecture halls are becoming theatres for knowledge revolution and by extension civic revolution as seen during the 1978 Ali must go protest amongst others in Nigeria. Gloria Eme Worugji in her review of revolution which implicates this discourse argues that “Revolution and change are like twin brothers. The quest for change often leads to revolt. In most societies of the world, especially in Africa and Nigeria, failure to recognise, understand and accept positive change leads to several recorded causes of revolt”(2015: 90).

The quest for change of government from a totalitarian government motivates Mrs Archibong to prepare the students psychologically for the grim task of resistance ahead. This is what is called the dominative power of praxis, as through cognitive elements and emotional stirring, the consciousness of the students are aroused since there would always be a desire, a nudge to put into action what is learnt, felt and seen despite the repression that is imminent. Jeff Conant is of the opinion that: “Stories of resistance of course, help to strengthen resistance, rooting it more deeply in belief and in practice, and thus sustaining it.”(2010: 11). From Mrs Archibong’s interactions with the students she sows the seed of the future and revolution in them to resist totalitarian government in their society. The foregoing seems to suggest that the older generation keeps selling their dreams of a better society to the younger generation as highlighted in the interaction between Frank Leuma and Mr. Archibong. Mr & Mrs Archibong make effective use of revolutionary language to communicate resistance to bad government by the younger generation. However, although the dreams are sold to the youths, they

have the desire to prove themselves and the handover dreams seem to be of compounded motivation. Frank Leuma notes when Dr. Archibong asks him what he knows about governance:

Leuma affirms from the little he knows that elected public officials ought not to defraud the citizenry by betraying the trust reposed on them. He could not come to terms why most African nations wallowed endlessly in the vicious cycle of poverty, suffering in the midst of plenty. Dr and Mrs Archibong through their actions set the stage for revolution by weaponizing journalism and education. Though Dr. Archibong did not answer the questions that were put to him by Mr. Frank, but he succeeded in giving Frank a course to live and die for. The foregoing highlights the power of knowledge acquisition through its communicative importance in the classroom and non formal settings. Mrs. Archibong keeps fiddling with revolution tropes through a collaborative storytelling technique thus:

Education is human rights with immense power to transform. On its foundation rests the cornerstone of freedom, democracy and sustainable human reform. During my life time, I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against the white dominations and I have fought against the black dominations. I have cherished a democratic and a free society in which all persons will live together in harmony and also with equal opportunities .It's an idea which I hope to live for and to achieve and if need be, it is an ideal which I wish to die for. I am not bound to win but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed but I am bound to live by the light that I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right and stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong.

The constant impartation of revolutionary lines during classes indoctrinates the students to the extent that they decide to resist a totalitarian government with their bare hands. Mrs Archibong continues her revolutionary lines with the students sometimes responding alongside her as a preparatory motif thus:

Mrs Archibong: "The independence of our country is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa". Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

"In the end we will not remember the words, the pain, torture, maltreatment of our enemies but the silence of our friends." Martin Luther King Jr.

"As you talk to a man in a language that he understands that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language that goes to his heart." Nelson Mandela.

"Change does not role on the wheels of inevitability but comes through continuous struggles and so we must straighten our backs and work for our freedom. A man can't ride you unless your back is bent." She continues

"I am not interested in picking up crumbs of compassion thrown from the table of a man who considers himself my master. I want a full menu of rights."

The call and response rendition of spoken word poetry which foregrounds the core of dictatorship highlights the fact that military leaders and the masses have different realities and their perceptions of realities are quite different. Through cinematography Somewhere in Africa clearly highlights the effect of military intervention in politics and how soldiers kill each other in a high level Russian roulette to become the commander. Through re-imagining of President Gabiza's overthrow, the film highlights the effect of military intervention in politics. Mumbasa like other African dictators sees himself as a god. Within the plot development of the narrative Mrs Archibong could be clearly seen handing over the baton to the younger generation as she fights with them till death. This is collaborated by Worugji (2015: 91) when she submits that; "The attempt yearning for freedom and development is the beginning of awareness on all that see their position as being trampled on." This is what Mrs Archibong portrayed all through the duration of the movie. A revolutionary trajectory where the students through participation develop capability (Okam, 2019) to move from sympathy

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to empathy, moving away from what they have been told to an emergent revolutionary realisation through a praxical pedagogical engagement.

Mumbasa takes over government through the power of the gun and in pretence of fixing the country while he is indeed ordering himself be a god. Through his speech he re-enacts the totalitarian tendency of absolute leaders in Africa, thus;

Mumbasa: Does God know how much a litter of petrol cost? No but you do and I do, does he know what it takes to lack potable water and to die of cholera! No but you do and I do, does he know what your people are going through Gabiza? No but you do and I do, the people are screaming on top of their lungs help us Mumbasa. Listen to the name, Mumbasa help us, they are calling for me. I will have to help them and you don't have a choice, they are my people and I am their God.

Gabiza: You are nothing Mumbasa. Nothing! Nothing but senseless, heartless, ambitious soldier.

Mumbasa: You're nothing but a fool to think that democracy has come to stay in Africa. You are a fool to think that the military and the soldiers will stand by and watch you complete your term as President.

Through his words and actions, Mumbasa sets the stage for resistance within his society through peaceful protest organised by minors who have been indoctrinated by Mrs Archibong. Justin Adamu commenting on protest submits that; “...protests...in some cases, is a result of political leaders unwilling to relinquish power when defeated in an election.”(2017: 710). Mumbasa does not win any election but forcefully takes over government, killing those associated with the previous government as highlighted in his broadcast. His military opponents are all executed as directed by the military ruler, bringing sorrow and sadness to the affected families. After their execution, Mumbasa declares that those executed were found to be threats to national security. This cold approach prompts Mrs Archibong's students indoctrinated by her to take to the streets in protest. However, their non violent approach to resolving dictatorial concerns in their country actually succeeds in toppling tyranny at the end of the day at the cost of their lives.

Conclusion

Analysing the concept of revolutionary trope demands pre requisite focusing on dramatic characters whose core activities primarily frame the aesthetics of revolution. This paper's contribution to this special issue is grounded in Anthropocene, and how the two films interrogate the political implications of the capitalist romance with the multinational corporations whose activities obviously destroy the environment. From a phenomenal perspective, the film, *Blood and Oil* plays to Attwood's strength as a film maker who has immense knowledge about the grim realities that Niger-Delta people face on a daily basis. The filmscape continues to evolve in support of the vital issues of environmental depletion and the precariousness of the people's ordeal as captured in their protest. In the end, the viewer could ask why Timipre chose to take sides with Foreshaw Limited which represents the capitalist forces against his people. The obvious answer is that violence endangers the environment more than it protects it. A Theatre of reciprocal violence, is suggested to challenge vice, expose the ills against the land and communicate important messages to the targeted citizenry. It is a strategic approach in response to a repressive government that perceives protest as an attack on the establishment as exemplified in *Somewhere in Africa*.

Praxical pedagogy does not always translate to violence as it is never against the law of the land for people to affectively handle their cognitive issues. This leads us to the question, what is the end product of the revolt that took Bum's life? Bum lacked the awareness of his obligation to the environment and the surrounding social forces. Confronting violence with armed violence is inimical and can only breed more violence therefore Donba's action in saving the life of the oppressor is a salient protest against the futile efforts of the youths led by Bum and also a key process encouraging a context of negotiation. Despite the damage done to the environment through the spillage and gas

flaring, the armed conflict approach results to a non presupposition aftermath. Worthy of emulation is the approach exercised by Donba and Mrs Archibong and the students through armless protestation, thus percolating the context of re-socialisation for positive change. This is in tandem with Ogunleye's theatre of reciprocal violence(qtd in Okam, 2018) - a contestation, protestation and praxis put up to resist anarchy through dialogue in order to transform to a better society. The end product is that peace works through a deliberate unbundling of social issues through informed dialogue seasoned with memory and remembering.

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Identity Negotiation in the Arab Spring Discourse: the Egyptian Case

Abdullah Qabani¹¹

Abstract

In both Eastern and Western traditions, political discourse and its relation to identity have been studied. The focus of this paper is the construction of identity and self-presentation strategies in the discourse of Mubarak of Egypt during the time known as "the Arab Spring". This study aims to answer questions about how Mubarak constructs the various identities evident in his discourse, what kinds of resources are brought into effect, and how the multiple identities contribute to the aims of political discourse in general. While Mubarak recruited the considerable coercive power at his disposal, at the same time, he sought the power of discourse to construct and defend his legacy. Furthermore, he used the power of discourse to project his account of the external interference in domestic affairs and to recruit shared identities (based on nationalism).

Keywords

Arab Spring, Identity, Mubarak, Egypt, Tahrir Square, Discourse analysis, Power

11. Abdullah Qabani King Abdulaziz University, Email: baqabani@kau.edu.sa_Orcid: 0000-0003-4468-3758

Introduction

On the 18th of December 2010, a Tunisian street hawker from a very modest social background, named Mohammed Bouazizi, self-immolated in public. The motivating reason was that the Tunisian police had confiscated his food cart and physically assaulted him when he tried to get it back. At that time, this modest regular man did not know that by his excruciating death, he would give birth to a series of protests that would be described as the most radical revolution in late modern Middle Eastern history. After Bouazizi burnt himself to death, the streets of Tunisia were flooded with people pressuring the regime of President Ben Ali to step down and put an end to his long rein, which had lasted almost 30 years. The fever of revolution spread quickly into Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria. Consequently, the term “Arab Spring” returned to popular discourse after having been used in the past to refer to different events, especially in reference to a short-lived flowering of Middle Eastern democracy movements back in 2005 (Keating, 2011).

During the Arab Spring, many speeches were delivered by the presidents and the leaders of the affected countries. Their purpose was to attempt to quell the uprisings, which threatened their power. Many studies have tackled the notion of the Arab Spring from various points of view. There have been studies concerned with the Arab Spring from a legal point of view, such as the study done by Panara and Wilson (2013). In their book, they present the notion of Arab Spring to the world by discussing critical issues from different angles within the international law domain, such as the right to democracy, the recognition of newly installed governments, human rights and international troops involvement for humanitarian purposes. Further studies of the Arab Spring have focused on issues such as democracy, security, gender, colonialism, international relations, communication and media.

However, studies tackling the issue from a linguistic angle have been very few. The speeches delivered by the heads of state in the Arab Spring countries have been neglected by Western studies and also by Arabic studies. Almost all the studies of speeches delivered by the presidents in the countries of Arab Spring have considered speech extracts in contexts unrelated to linguistics. One of the studies that gives a partial linguistic account to some of the speeches delivered during the Arab Spring is Laremont (2013).

The main aim of this paper is to bridge the gap by analyzing two of Mubarak’s speeches following the norms of linguistics and CDA. This paper is going to particularly target how identity is constructed and defended and its significance to Mubarak’s aims and image.

The two speeches of this study were delivered by Mubarak of Egypt. The first one was delivered on the 28th of January 2011 and the second one, which was given just one day before he left the presidency, was on the 10th February 2011. Mubarak gave three speeches during the uprisings before he left authority and the ones we picked here are the first and the last.

1. Questions of Interest

Through applying the mixed-method approach, discussed in a later section, the following questions are looked at and discussed:

- 1- Through quantitative measures, what are the most used pronouns by Mubarak to construct identity?

- 2- What type of identity categories are drawn upon by Mubarak to present himself when constructing arguments?
- 3- Did Mubarak succeed in attracting people's attention and consent by 'googling' different types of identities?

The three questions above are the frame that is going to govern the study and limit it. The answer to the first two questions are needed to answer the third question, which needs quantitative data and an understanding of the society in which the texts were produced.

2. What Do we Already Know?

It is suggested that identity is the way in which different people realize their relationship to the space around them and how that relationship is positioned across time and space (Norton, 1997). The definition just presented is broad and revolves around the individual and his or her perception of self in the whole outer around. The second definition that we are going to look at comes from the Social Identity Theory. According to this theory, identity or social identity is defined as a person's self-concept that they enjoy or are entitled to because of their affiliation with or because of their position in a specific social group (Turner & Oakes, 1986). In this definition, there is a clear link between the self-perception and the rights that the self can have or enjoy within a society because of certain structures within the society. The just presented definition gives us a hint that a satisfactory definition of identity is problematic as the term fits in and covers a wide range of phenomena such as group affiliations, nations socio-historical belief systems and subject position (Schwartz, Luyckx, & Vignoles, 2011). Due to the dynamic and flexible nature of the term identity, this article will narrow down to how a member of a given society perceive him/herself within the society and the manifestations of that perception in the language.

However, there is also need to determined how the self or identity is constructed in discourse in general and in political discourse in particular. It is suggested that when people talk, they either consciously or unconsciously put forward who they are through evaluating an object or positioning the self between or among other subjects. Furthermore, when people talk, they align with others and affiliate with them (Johnstone, 2009). When people speak to position the self, they express their emotions, attitudes and opinions and take a stance (Johnstone, 2009). Stance is suggested to be one of the linguistics strategies of building and constructing identity (Bucholtz, 2010). Stance is a public act by a social individual achieved through the evaluation of an object or positioning the self with other subjects respectful to any salient features in the sociocultural field (Du Bois, 2007). Thus, identity could be put forward by means of taking a stance, which is one of the linguist strategies of expressing the self. Furthermore, we generally know what identity is and what it revolves around. Following are some ideas, insights and studies about identity in general and identity and political discourse.

As discussed above, identity has been studied in relation to discourse within the Western context for different purposes. However, it could be noticed that the studies about identity within social sciences fall into three main categories. The first category is the sociological studies or the studies that tackle identity from a sociological point of view. In these studies, identity is questioned and discussed in relation to race, social class, gender and ethnicity. One of the most recent studies that tackles the

question of identity is the study by Masood and Khan (2018). In this study, the researchers, among other factors, discuss how the marginalization of certain sections of the society because of their shared identity or endangering their identity could lead to the rise of negative emotions in groups against other groups, which in the end will create an avoidance-oriented mindset. This study is mentioned here to show how the question of identity can be discussed in many different contexts. . Within the same study, we find a discussion about Pakistani society, the background of the society and also a discussion of the socio-historic and economic aspects of the society. Why do we find discussions about all of these aspects in a study on identity? The answer is that identity is a changing aspect of humanity. Identity is never stable. It interacts with the surroundings all the time as suggested by Wodak, De Cillia, and Reisigl (2009). Thus, to fully understand the notion of identity, there is need to study identity within a certain context holistically, something that is not easy to do. Otherwise, we need to study it with certain societal angles in mind, which is an option all studies about identity have taken.

The second category under which we can find studies of identity within social science is psychology. Identity has been a hot topic for psychologists as suggested by Stets and Burke (2000). This interest in identity by psychologists emerges from the eagerness of scholars in this field to understand individuals and how they interact with individuals of the same society by taking into consideration the societal constraints (Stets & Burke, 2000). The psychological literature about identity is vast and therefore it is difficult to discuss its nature and categorization here. One study will be presented and discussed to give an idea about how identity was tackled within psychology. This study was conducted by Vanheule and Verhaeghe (2009). In this published study, the writers discussed and examined how identity can be built and developed. Further, they discussed how the idea of the self is influenced by the interchange of forces inside the mind and the body. This study adopted three approaches. These approaches are Freud’s topological views¹² on the mental apparatus; Lacan’s theory on the mirror stage¹³, his optical model of the ideals of the subject, and his theory on the object *a*; and the theory of Fonagy and colleagues¹⁴ on how the self develops and how affect regulation happens in the context of attachment relationships. The authors mainly outline similarities and differences in how identity is looked at within the perspectives of Freud, Fonagy and Lacan. Further, they discuss clinical implications in light of these approaches or theories that looked at identity. By reading this study, we can support the initial suggestion that identity is a vast topic to the degree that we have three psychological theories within one study that tackles identity.

The third category under which we can find studies of identity within social science is discursive studies or discourse analysis studies. The studies that raise the question of identity within discourse are many. However, there are not many studies that raise the question of identity when it comes to the Arab Spring in general and the political speeches of Arab Spring leaders in particular. There is even a dearth in the studies that studied the political speeches of the Arab Spring, let alone the topic of identity. The lack of studies could be explained through three points. The first point is that it is only in recent years that academic attention has been given to critical discourse analysis of political

¹² For further discussion and presentation of Freud's topological views, please refer to the work of Dalzell (2018).

¹³ For further discussion and presentation of Lacan’s theory on the mirror stage please refer to the work of Jacques Lacan (1953)(Miller, Vandome, &McBrewster, 2011). For further discussion on the work of Lacan and his different theories please refer to J. Lacan (2018) and Harari (2004).

¹⁴ For some discussion on the work of Fonagy and his colleagues, please refer to the work of Fonagy and Target (2000) and (Target & Fonagy, 1996)

speeches in the Arabic context (Mazid, 2015). The second point is the authoritative and controlling power of the security apparatus in these countries, where all media and communication means are controlled. For example, in Egypt, there is the 2915 presidential decree. This decree dictates that researchers should satisfy certain conditions before they can conduct research in social sciences (Yakoot, 2017).

Further, there is the Egyptian Universities Law, which was issued in 1979. This law gives presidents of universities unprecedented and unjustified control on the students' academic and political activities (Yakoot, 2017). It is not surprising to know that even the first Arabic studies in the field were done and conducted after the deliverers of the speeches left power or passed away, as suggested by Qabani, 2017b in the review of his study. The third point relates to the Arabic culture, where criticism is not always welcome because it correlates with the idea of deconstructing rather than constructing in general (Mazid, 2015). The word "criticism" in Arabic is always linked to harsh words and attracts backlash (Mazid, 2014). There also could be other factors and reasons for the lack of critical discourse analysis of political speeches, which may be cultural and societal. More research is needed to determine these reasons and factors. It could be seen that all of the studies, whether sociological, psychological or discourse regarding identity, tackle the same thing and that is the identity of the individuals and their interaction with the surroundings. However, these studies differ in two things. The first thing is the methods of enquiry and the second the results or the conclusions.

Since identity, as stated in the study of Wodak et al. (2009), is never stable and interacts with the context and the environment around it, the methodologies that are used to analyze it are also different and follow different theories, whether societal or linguistic, to get results and answers. In general, the questions of the research dictates the methods as in the following studies.

Van De Mierop (2008) study revolves around the way speakers construct their identities as representatives of their companies (institutional identity construction) in relation to the way they "project" an identity onto their audiences. In the methodology of the paper, an integrative analysis of different elements that contribute to identity construction is deemed necessary because of the nature of identity and the questions raised. The researcher used the three-level analysis suggested by (De Fina, 2003). After the application of the three levels of analysis, it has been found out that the institutional we-form is used quite consistently in the speech and a further connotation is attributed to it by means of the speaker's categorization of his company as an older player in the field. This entails a category entitlement, which obviates the need to ask how the person knows; instead, simply being a member of some category. It could be concluded here that pronouns are deciders of the identity and conclusions about identity and face could be reached by analyzing pronouns and linking them to society and market following different theories.

In the study of El Saj (2012) the researcher analyzed the pronoun system of the interview of Opra Winfrey with queen Rania of Jordan. The main aim of the paper was to explore the use of subjects in Oprah Winfrey hosting Queen Rania of Jordan. Subjects were examined following the Hallidiayn analysis approach, focusing on speech function (Michael Halliday, 1978). The transcript of the episode was analyzed to investigate the personal pronouns used by Oprah and her guest throughout the conversation. The results suggest that by using pronouns, Oprah Winfrey manages to represent herself and others, proving that the choice of words, specifically pronouns, is one of the main factors in maintaining a good interchange in a conversation activity. In this study, in addition to

the Halliday approach, the researcher had to use another cross-cultural approach proposed by Hofstede or Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions (Hofstede & Hofstede, 1991). To give an example of the findings in this paper, it could be seen that when a quantitative analysis of the pronoun *we* was provided, the researcher applied the cultural dimension Hofstede on the raw data and reached the conclusion that the Queen (who is an Arab), used *we* 25 times. According to Hofstede & Hofstede (1991) the Queen belongs to the high collectivist culture, where people use the group as the unit of analysis, and they think of themselves as interdependent with their in-group (family, co-workers, tribe, country). As the Queen, therefore, Rania gives priority to her family, her people and country by giving priority to educated women in her country and empowering them. Two things could be of significance to this study. The first one is that the raw data or the quantitative data may not have so much to say in regard to identity. The second thing is we need a social theory to make the connection between the raw linguistic data and the community in which the speech or data was collected or delivered. By utilizing the tools of linguistics and the tools of social theories we may be able to decide on identity and identity juggling in different societies.

It is stated above that to get some answers when it comes to identity, we need to look at it from certain societal angles. In this study, we are going to look at identity and political discourse in terms of their relation to each other. In the field of politics or within the political domain, language plays a significant role in expressing political ideologies, beliefs and the heavily interrelated construction of identity and group relations (Schaffner, 1996). Schaffner (1996) further suggests that every action in the political domain is prepared, guided controlled, and influenced by language. So, to understand the suggestions of Schaffner (1996) clearly, we can say that identity and how it is constructed is embedded within language and to understand it in the political context, we need to analyze language with a link to society.

3. Methodology

In this paper two speeches delivered by Mubarak during the unrest in Egypt in 2011 will be analyzed. The two speeches were collected and transcribed from the televised speeches. The speeches were aired live on the national TV of Egypt on the 28th of January 2011 and the second one, which was given just one day before Mubarak left the presidency, was aired on the 10th February 2011.

The thrust of this paper is the concept of register as seen by the theory of SFL. The component of tenor as described in SFL will be particularly utilized in this paper to discuss identity and how it is presented in the discourse of Mubarak. Tenor is a term used in SFL to refer to the participants in the discourse and their relationship to each other. Tenor refers to “*who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their status and roles: what kinds of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relations of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relations in which they are involved*” (Halliday 1985: 12). Another definition suggests that tenor is “*the negotiation of social relationship among participants*” (Martin, 1992, p. 523). The relationship between the interactants as represented in the language of the situation could be identified with different roles depending on what roles are available in the society such as father / son, teacher / student and customer / salesperson. (Eggins, 2004). The dimensions of tenor include, not only the relationship between the interactants, but also their degree

of “social distance” (Hasan 1985), that is, whether there is a shared history between them or not (Michale Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). However, since social roles have a cultural context, it seems obvious to suggest that role relationships are sensitive to cultural environment. For example, to take the relationship between a student and a teacher in Western cultures, it is very common for students, especially at higher education level, to address their teacher by his/her first name or “Mr.-Mrs. + Last name”, and that would be a common or unmarked indication of how language is used when analyzing tenor in language situations that include a student and his/her teacher. In other words, in this context in Western societies the use of the vocative is reciprocal. However, in Eastern cultures, especially Asia and parts of Africa, vocative use is non-reciprocal between a student and his teacher. It is very unusual to find a student call his/her teacher by his/her first name. I am not suggesting here that the continuum of power does not exist or is totally equal between a student and his teacher in western culture, but what is suggested here is that the distance between a student and his teacher in an eastern culture is higher and more formal. By applying the norms of tenor on the discourse in hand here, we will be more likely to understand how Mubarak constructed his identity and the way he wanted others to perceive him in terms of identity.

Before going into the analysis of the discourse, some quantitative data will be presented. This data will show the frequency of appearance of the pronouns that refer to identity in the speeches, after that the data will be discussed and linked to the society in which it was originated. The link of discourse to the society in which it was originated in will be done through the work of Max Weber (1958) and M. Weber, Owen, Strong, and Livingstone (2004). Max Weber (1958) suggests that there are three types of authority in any society and these types are the traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal-rational authority. For example, Followers accept the power of charismatic authority because they are drawn to the leader’s personal qualities. The appeal of a charismatic leader can be extraordinary, and can inspire followers to make unusual sacrifices or to persevere in the midst of great hardship and persecution. Mubarak through identifying himself s a leader in his speeches appealed to this type of authority as we will see in the discussion.

4. Discussion

4.1. Quantitative Analysis

It can be seen from Figure 1 below that Mubarak represented himself or identified himself in different ways in his speeches. He used different types of pronouns to manipulate how people would look at him and his actions.



Figure 1-Mubarak use of subjective personal pronouns

In the first speech Mubarak used the singular first person pronoun “I” to refer to himself 28 times. The occurrence of the singular first person pronoun “I” increased in the second speech. Mubarak used the singular first person pronoun “I” 59 times in the second speech. This is an increase of almost 100 % from the first speech. It is suggested that the singular first person pronoun “I” is primarily used in speaking and writing to represent the self or the person delivering speaking or writing.

The first person plural pronoun “we” was used in the first speech by Mubarak 15 times and in the second speech it was used 17 times. As can be seen from the numbers, there is almost no difference between the first and the second speeches with regard to the use of the first person plural pronoun “we”,. “We” is used as the subject of a verb. A speaker or writer uses “we” to refer both to himself or herself and to one or more other people as a group. Further, in many discourse analysis studies on identity, inclusivity, hegemony and manipulation an analysis of the pronoun “we” is always present as its use in the discourse can invoke different meanings and different perceptions of different topics. For example, with regard the role of the pronoun “we” in the syntax of hegemony it was noted:

“We’ is an important feature of the syntax of hegemony, for it can provide a handy rhetorical device for presenting sectional interests as if they were universal ones. ‘We’, the sectional interest, invoke an ‘all of us’, for whom ‘we’ claim to speak. Hegemonic discourse is marked by such elisions of ‘we’s. [...] Political speakers routinely elide first person plurals: we the speaker and audience, we the party, we the government, we the nation, we the right-thinking people, we the Western world, we the universal audience – they all slide together. The boundaries between one ‘we’ and another one are routinely and rhetorically entangled, as speakers skillfully portray a harmonious world, in which all ‘we’s speak with one voice – the speaker’s own voice”. (Billig, 1995: 166).

The last pronoun of interest in this study is the pronoun “he” or the third person singular pronoun “he”. It was used only once in the first speech by Mubarak. Even though this pronoun is used to refer to a singular male entity, Mubarak employed it to serve the purpose of self-identification as we will be seen in the coming discussion.

4.2. Pronouns and Identity Analysis

Before going into the analysis of identity or how Mubarak identified himself, we will discuss the first and the second speeches Mubarak delivered in terms of topics. Knowing the topics and the concerns Mubarak raised in his speeches will help in the discussion of the identities and will help in linking identities to the context.

The first speech of Mubarak during the protests revolved around three topics and those topics are the protests, the efficiency of the government and its resignation and lastly political reforms. Mubarak started his first speech by stating that Egypt was going through critical times that were testing Egypt and its people which could sweep them into the unknown. Mubarak further stated that the country was passing through difficult times and tough experiences which began with noble youths and citizens who practice their rights to peaceful demonstrations and protests, expressing their concerns and aspirations but they were quickly exploited by those who sought to spread chaos and violence, confrontation and to violate the constitutional legitimacy and to attack it.

Mubarak stressed on the necessity of irreversible reforms. He stressed that new steps that affirm and respect the independence of the judiciary system, democracy and freedoms would be taken. Further, he said that new steps to tackle unemployment and improve the standard of living and services would be taken and new steps to support the poor and those with limited income would also take place. Mubarak claimed that these choices and goals would determine the fate and future of Egypt and Egyptians.

In the closing statements of his speech, Mubarak made it clear that he had asked the government to step down and tender their resignation to the president. Mubarak inferred that by doing so, he had abdicated his responsibility and duty of keeping Egypt and the citizen safe. He also gave the people a time frame of when the new government would be formed and when it would attend to its duties.

The second speech of Mubarak revolves around three main topics and these topics are the protests, his service to the country and the actions that needed to be taken so that Egypt stays a peaceful united country. Mubarak started his speech by saluting those who are protesting in Tahrir square and everywhere in Egypt. He moved on after that to assure people that those who were killed during the unrest would be avenged and assured people that he would not relent in harshly punishing those responsible. He further said that he would hold those who persecuted the youth accountable with the maximum deterrent sentences.

Mubarak clarified that the mistakes can be made in any political system and in any state. But, the most important is to recognize them and correct them as soon as possible and bring to account those who have committed them. He told people that as a president he found no shame in listening to the people and interacting with them and that the big shame and embarrassment, would be listening to foreign dictatorship whatever may be the source or pretext.

Mubarak stressed that he and his government started building a constructive national dialogue, including the Egyptian youths who led the calls for change, and all political forces. This dialogue has resulted in a tentative agreement of opinions and positions, putting our feet at the start of the right track to get out of the crisis and must continue to take it from the broad lines on what has been agreed upon to a clear road map and with a fixed agenda. Mubarak also gave details on some amendments which aim to ease the conditions for presidential nominations, and the fixing of limited terms of presidency to ensure the rotation of power, and the strengthening of the regulations of elections oversight to guarantee their freedom and fairness.

Mubarak reminded people that he was once a soldier who served Egypt in all of its wars. He stressed that he was there in times of victory and in times of defeat. He was there during the sacred war of October and he was there when the Egyptian flag flew proudly on Sini. He moved then to express his sorrow that his people were being ungrateful for all of his sacrifices and asking him to leave his position as a president of the country. Mubarak said that he understood the ground upon which his people were asking him to leave power and said that Egypt was above all and he would leave power because of Egypt, which would remain immortal with its dignified people with their heads held high.

As can be seen from the discussion above on the two speeches , the topics are to a large extent the same in both of the speeches and what concerned Mubarak during the unrest did not change much in the time between the two speeches. Mubarak’s main concerns were the protests, the shape of his government and his picture or image in front of the people as suggested in the beginning of the discussion of the topics of the two speeches. Now we move on to the discussion of how Mubarak manipulated different identities in his two speeches and the reasons behind this manipulation.

In the first speech, Mubarak identified himself using the pronoun “I” 28 times and 59 times in the second speech. The pronoun “I” characteristically excludes the addressee. When a speaker uses the pronoun “I” an indication is given that the speaker or the addresser is responsible for the action or the talk that is being delivered. It is suggested that the pronoun “I” is used in political discourse by speakers also to show the authority of the speaker and it can be a way to show compassion with the audience and to narrate a story (Bramley, 2001). Further, the pronoun “I” is used in political discourse to express opinion as it makes the speech more subjective. However, because of the issue of subjectivity it makes this pronoun an avoidable one sometimes by politicians as suggested by Pennycook (1994). When used in political discourse the pronoun “I “ is suggested to have other uses such as giving a sense of here and now, suggesting that “I” comprehending the here and now. “I” can also be used to create a relationship with the addressees, because using “I” makes the speech seem as if it is on a more personal level. “I” might also be used to show commitment to the addressees and personal involvement in issues of concerns. “I” gives the speaker a personal voice that distances him from others. This means that it cannot always be expected that the other members of his government, for example, agree with the opinion of the speaker when the pronoun “I” is used (Bramley, 2001). Personal involvement is shown when the pronoun “I” is used, which is especially useful when positive news is delivered. The disadvantage is that it is obvious who is to be blamed when something goes wrong. It can also be seen as a try of the speaker to place himself above or outside the shared responsibility of his government of colleagues (Beard, 2000).

As per the discussion above, Mubarak in general excluded the addressees and put himself in a higher exclusive position. He inferred that he is responsible for and aware of his actions and the talk he was delivering 28 times in the first speech and 59 times in the second speech. He inferred that he is responsible for his actions as a president and that he is taking actions that are self-dictated as can be seen from the examples below 1, 2 and 3 below:

Example 1	لَقَدْ تَابَعْتُ أَوَّلَ بِأَوَّلِ التَّظَاهُرَاتِ
	I have been closely monitoring the demonstrations

Example 2	ثُمَّ تَابَعْتُ مُحَاوَلَاتِ الْبَعْضِ
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	I then followed the attempts by some
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Example 3	إنني كرئيس للجمهورية I am the President of Egypt
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In his first speech, Mubarak excluded himself from his audience and wanted to be identified as the president of Egypt. That is why the use of the pronoun “I” is higher in number than any other pronoun. By using the pronoun ‘I’ Mubarak appealed to the legal base of power. Legal base of power or legal base of authority as per Weber (2014) is derived from law and is based on the belief in the legitimacy of a society’s laws and rules and in the right of leaders to act under these rules to make decisions and set policy. This form of authority is a symbol of modern democracies, where power is given to people elected by eligible voters, and the rules for using that power are usually set forth in a constitution, an agreement, or another written document. By using the pronoun “I” Mubarak wanted to further say that I am the president and that I am able to act through my position as a president and that all of the actions are mandated by my legitimate position as a president. Through his speech, Mubarak also showed that he was involved in the daily matters of the people’s lives and wanted to be identified as such as seen from examples 4, 5 and 6.

Example 4	وإنني إذ أُنحازُ كُلَّ الانحيازِ لِحُرِّيَّةِ الْمُواطِنِينَ، فِي إِبداءِ آرائِهِمْ، أَمْسَلُ بِذَاتِ الْقَدْرِ When I truly take the side of citizens' freedoms , when they express their views, I similarly stand firm
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Example 5	إنني أعي هذه التطلعات المشروعة للشعب I am fully aware of these lawful aspirations of the Egyptian people
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Example 6	وسوف أظلُّ للفقراءِ مِنْ أبناءِ الشَّعبِ عَلَى الدَّوامِ and I will always be on the side of the poor of the sons of the people
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The three examples above show clearly that Mubarak wanted to be identified as the concerned , the close one and the one who is companionate. He used the right tool for that which is the pronoun “I”. The use of the pronoun “I” also served the purpose of identifying himself as the one who is supported by a legacy of his own making and as one who is not an ordinary man as could be seen from examples 7, 8, 9 and 10.

Example 7	اني لا اتحدتْ لَكُمْ كرئيس للجمهورية فَحَسْبِ وَإِنَّمَا كَمِصْرِي شَاءَتِ الْأَقْدَارُ أَنْ يَتَحَمَّلَ مَسْئُولِيَّةَ هَذَا الْوَطَنِ وَأَمْضِي حَيَاتَهُ مِنْ أَجْلِهِ، حَرْبًا وَسَلَامًا I address you today, not only as the president of the republic, but also as an Egyptian whoses destiny dictates that he shoulders the responsibility of this country and who has spent his life for it in times of war and peace.
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Example 8	لَقَدْ كُنْتُ شَابًا مِثْلَ شَبَابِ مِصْرَ الْآنَ عِنْدَمَا تَعَلَّمْتُ شَرَفَ الْعَسْكَرِيَّةِ الْمِصْرِيَّةِ وَالْوَلَاءَ لِلْوَطَنِ وَالْتَضَاجِيَةَ مِنْ أَجْلِهِ
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	I was exactly like the Egyptian youth today, when I got taught the Egyptian military code ,loyalty to the country and making sacrifices for it.
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Example 9	أَفْنَيْتُ عُمْرِي دِفَاعاً عَنِ أَرْضِهِ وَسَيَادَتِهِ
	I have given away my life safeguarding its land and sovereignty

Example 10	شَهِدْتُ حُرُوبَهُ بِهَزَائِمِهَا وَإِنْتِصَارَاتِهَا
	I witnessed its wars, victories and defeats

Mubarak used the pronoun “I” to serve the purpose of identifying himself as the one who is supported by a legacy of his own making and as one who is not an ordinary man. He does this in the second speech more than in the first one, which shows how much he was hurt by the unrelenting and sustained protests. Mubarak clearly states this (Example 11) exactly after 13 instances of using the pronoun “I” to clear his name and remind people of his legacy.

Example 11	وَيَحْزُنُ فِي نَفْسِي مَا أَلْقِيهِ الْيَوْمَ مِنْ بَعْضِ بَنِي وَطَنِي
	and it aches me so hard what I see, from some of the sons of my country.

Mubarak tried to be closer to the people in the second speech more than the first one. The excessive use of the pronoun “I” in the second speech suggests an appeal to the traditional authority. Max Weber (1958) suggests that traditional authority is power that is deep-rooted in traditional, or long-standing, beliefs and practices of a society. It exists and is allocated to particular individuals because of that society’s customs and traditions. Individuals enjoy traditional authority for two reasons. The first is inheritance, as certain individuals are granted traditional authority because they are the descendants of people who already exercise traditional authority. The second reason individuals enjoy traditional authority is religious. Some people in some societies believe that there are certain people within their society who are destined to lead their society. Traditional authority is common in many preindustrial societies, where tradition and custom are so important, but also in more modern monarchies, where a king, queen, or prince enjoys power because she or he is a descendant of a royale family (Sharabi, 1992).

In his speeches, especially the second one, and through incorporating the pronoun “I” Mubarak tried to let people feel ashamed and look like the ones who are opposing their father, a taboo in any Arab community (Sharabi, 1975), (Sharabi, 1992) and (Qabani, 2017). Mubarak started the second speech by saying that he was addressing his sons and daughters as could be seen in example 12. Sharabi (1992) suggests modernity (democracy, states of institutions and equal rights) contrasts with patriarchy (the form of traditional society, where the authority is in the hands of the father). The concept of neopatriarchy describes the conditions of patriarchy in Arab society that have not been displaced or comprehensively modernized. Instead, they have only been reinforced and sustained in distorted, somewhat modernized forms. The neopatriarchal state, regardless of modern institution building and legislation reflective of modern ideas, “*is in many ways no more than a modernized version of the traditional patriarchal sultanate*” (Sharabi: 7). When a head of state sees himself as a father, he

will employ certain strategies to keep control of the people and to show his feelings as well. These strategies will help to understand further the bases of legitimacy directly in relation to Arab societies. Mubarak tried in many instances in his speech to remind people that he is a father and that they are disobeying him through the use of the pronoun “I”. This process is referred to in literature as defending the asymmetry and it requires constant fortification (Qabani, 2017). Mubarak deepened the image of the father who was betrayed by his sons and daughters by using the pronoun “I” excessively as discussed.

Example 12	الأبناء شَبَابَ مِصْرَ وَشَابَاتِهَا My sons, the male and female youths of Egypt
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What follows is a discussion of another pronoun Mubarak used to identify himself which is the pronoun “we”. This pronoun was used in the first speech 15 times and 17 times in the second speech.. As can be seen from the frequency of use of the first person plural pronoun “we”, there is almost no difference between the first and the second speeches. In his speeches, Mubarak used this pronoun to be identified as one who shares responsibility with others, yet he is the powerful one in the group as seen in example 13. In example 13, he uses the pronoun “we” and does not exclude himself from the group he was addressing; rather he saw himself taking the lead in this group. We see this clearly in the topics he raised later in the speech after saying that himself and the nation faced many difficult times. Mubarak talked about some actions he took in the name of the nation such as political reform, democracy and facing unemployment. He raised all these issues without even mentioning the government even once.

Example 13	لَقَدْ اجْتَرْنَا مَعاً مِنْ قَبْلُ أَوْقَاتاً صَعْبَةً، تَعَلَّبْنَا عَلَيْهَا، عِنْدَمَا وَاجَهْنَاهَا كَأُمَّةٍ وَاجِدَةٍ وَشَعْبٍ وَاجِدٍ We have traversed hard times; we mounted them when we stood up to them as one people, one nation.
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The second speech is not different from the first one in terms of the use of the pronoun “we”.e. Mubarak did not exclude himself from the people or the nation but saw himself as a leader or a father of the nation who should be obeyed and as one who traditionally has the right to act in the name of the nation as seen from example 14. Even though Mubarak urged all political parties and the people to negotiate and put the safety of Egypt above all, he did not want people to neglect or forget his leading role in the future of Egypt or in the political future of Egypt (see example 15).

Example 14	وَعَلَيْنَا أَنْ نُوَاصِلَ الْجَوَارِ الْوَطَنِيَّ الَّذِي بَدَأْنَاهُ بِرُوحِ الْفَرِيقِ وَلَيْسَ الْفُرْقَاءُ، وَبَعِيداً عَنِ الْخِلَافِ وَالتَّنَاحُرِ we have to carry on the national dialogue that we have already started with the spirit of a team and away from any sense of animosity and any sense of differences and opposition.
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Example 15	وَلَيْسَ أَمَاناً مِنْ سَبِيلٍ لِنَحْقِيقَهَا سِوَى بِالْوَعْيِ وَالْعَمَلِ وَالْكَفَاحِ، لِنَحْفَظَ عَلَى مَا حَقَّقْنَاهُ وَنُبْنِي عَلَيْهِ There is no way in front of us so that they get accomplished except with awareness, work and struggle, so that we preserve what we have built and we add to it.
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The last pronoun looked at in terms of identity is the pronoun “he”. Mubarak uses the pronoun “he” the least in the two speeches. Nevertheless, it played an important role in the two speeches. He identified himself by the use of the pronoun “he” once in the first speech. Mubarak identifies himself using the pronoun “he” even though he is the speaker to assert his position as a president and convey that he is down to earth and not a narcissistic president as is evident in example 16. The act of referring to oneself in the third person singular is referred to in the literature as illeism (Garner, 2016). Illeism is conceived differently in different disciplines. For example, the use of illeism is looked at differently in psychology than it is looked at in the field of linguistics. In the field of politics, illeism is not only different but also complicated as per Elledge (2017). Research suggests that politicians who are narcissist usually resort to illeism when they talk (Mpofu, 2020). However, recent research of illeism and human behavior does not find an obvious link between illeism and narcissism (Huang & Jaszczolt, 2018). It is suggested within research that people in high offices refer to themselves in the third person singular to assert their position in the office or their position on the top of the hierarchy. Further, people also talk in the third person to assert or show their social weight in the construction of the society or the family (Huang & Jaszczolt, 2018). Mubarak tried to do both by identifying himself in the third person singular. Mubarak wanted to assert his position as a president and to let people feel embarrassed and ashamed as they protested against their father or because they challenged his traditional authority as discussed earlier.

Example	وإنما كمصري شاءت الأقدار أن يتحمل مسؤولية هذا الوطن
16 but also as an Egyptian whose destiny dictates that he shoulder the responsibility of this country

Conclusion

In general different pronouns serve different political and social purposes when it comes to political discourse as discussed in this paper. In order for us to understand the rhetorical, social or political consequences of different pronouns, we need an understanding of the social and political surroundings that made and fortified the discourse. In this paper, the use of pronouns *we* demonstrated how Mubarak wanted to be identified and be looked at. He juggled different identities depending on what he was talking about or depending on the way he wanted people to perceive him in relation to a certain topic.

It was noted in the two speeches analysed here that when Mubarak wanted to be identified as one who takes actions or when he wanted talk about topics of change, he used the pronoun “I”. However, when he wanted to be identified as one who shares with others or talks about topics in which he blames people, he used the pronoun “we” as seen in examples 17 and 18. When Mubarak expressed his sorrow and wanted to be identified as a victim, he used the pronoun “I” more, which supports the view that the pronoun “I” serves subjective purposes (Pennycook, 1994).

In his quest to stop the sweeping protest against him, Mubarak used the same tools that he had used for years to quell any objections or uprisings against him.. He did not change the way he identified himself to the people. Rather, he treated the uprising or protests like any other protest. It is suggested that after giving his last speech on the 10th February 2011, 64.4% out of 3000 people felt positive

about Mubarak stepping down (Hearst, 2011). This big number of pro-stepping down of Mubarak suggests a change in the way Egyptians think about politics and the authority of the father to use the term of (Sharabi, 1992). In another survey that targeted the opinions of the protestors in Tahrir Square after the first speech by Mubarak, 72.3% of the surveyed people said that what Mubarak said was expected (Hassan, 2015). These two last references suggest that Mubarak misread his people and relied heavily on his pre-built identities to face the new situation.

Another aspect of society Mubarak misread was the new authority in the field of uprisings and that is the media. It is suggested that media in all of its forms paves the way to the political change (el-Nawawy & Khamis, 2016). Media was used and followed by protesters in the Egyptian revolution in an unprecedented way, to the degree that some referred to it as the revolution of the media (Abdulla & Peace, 2014). By identifying himself in a classic way, Mubarak ignored totally the modern and new player in the game or maybe underestimated the power of the new comer into the field of revolutions. If Mubarak had paid attention to the media and identified himself creatively to the media, things could have turned out differently for him.

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Language of the Oppressed: Boon of Nature and Curse of Humans in the Life of a Refugee

N. Lavanya¹⁵ M. Anjumkhan¹⁶

Abstract

Refugees all over the world are pushed to a situation of being afraid to use their cultural identities as a result of the cruelty of oppression. Language is central in the identification of the oppressed group and this in turn, enhances the fear of using their language in public. Nature has always been a greater element than humankind, in treating all living things in the world with love and respect. Using silence as its language of communication, it provides itself in abundance to everyone and never discriminates anyone. This essay focuses on comparing and differentiating the life of refugees as a result of love existing in nature and hatred present in humankind, with reference to the memoir 'Little Daughter' by Zoya Phan. The memoir is analysed with an anthropogenic view of how a human with power and superiority can play a major role in destroying nature as well as other humans. It explains how the power of nature takes humans towards equality but, the power of humans is a trip towards destruction caused due to discrimination. The theoretical framework is constructed based on the essay 'That Which You Are Denying Us' by Lyndsey Stonebridge, which explains the refugees' problems of being voiceless ones with no right to any language. The essay is categorized under three sub-headings 'Life of the oppressed', 'Love of nature' and 'Language of the voiceless' to examine the effect of language restriction, equality in nature and the use of English as the language of liberation by the refugees with reference to the select memoir.

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Keywords

Refugees, Oppression, Language, Nature, English

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¹⁵ Avinashilingam Institute for Home Science and Higher Education for Women, Email: lavanvimalviji@gmail.com, Orcid: 0000-0002-9058-1931

¹⁶ Avinashilingam Institute for Home Science and Higher Education for Women, Email: anjumkhan_eng@avinuty.ac.in, Orcid ID: 0000-0003-2594-721X

Introduction

Little Daughter by Zoya Phan is a memoir that explains the plight of the Karen community refugees who were chased away from Myanmar because of the hatred that existed on them for centuries. There is a common notion that the Karen- Burmese conflict started in Burma, since the first dictator came to power in 1962 or in 1988, when the students protesting in the streets were massacred by an even more brutal dictatorship (Phan, 2009). These are cruel incidents that came to light during the fight but, the troubles between the two groups were always there for centuries and heated more since the day of their independence from the British government. During the British rule, the Karen were friendly with the colonizers which turned out to be the fact that made the Burmese people hate them much more than they already did. The problems increased when most of the Karen people chose to turn into Christians. This hatred kept on increasing until the oppressors took all measures to ruin the daily life of the Karen and chased them away from the land that they thought belonged only to them. Being one of the minority groups in the country, the Karen were not able to keep on fighting for their rights. Torture, troubles and fear turned out to be the elements of their everyday life and they had no other choice but to run away from them, at one point of their life.

A full understanding of the process of migration requires not only the analysis of the migrant's role in the country of origin or destination. Rather, it is inextricable from the broader political context, including social, economic and political factors, which establish structures within which migration takes place (Dzankic: 164).

The essay focuses on elaborating all the troubles that the Karen community has gone through in Burma, because of the hatred transmitted through generations of anger and vengeance. The essay aims at examining the pain of the Karen refugees gone through as being the oppressed ones in the society; the problems of dominance and power in the hands of a human in killing humanity and equality; Nature as a much better being than humans in spreading love and peace; the problems of refugees as the voiceless ones in the society and language as a tool of oppression and liberation.

1. Life of the Oppressed

Zoya Phan's *The Little Daughter*, is a memoir that details the pain of the Karen refugees who were made refugees by the power of the state. Zoya's story of her life was a narration of a fight between life and death, as the refugees were never privileged enough to live without fear and danger. “Millions of forcibly displaced people living in and outside camps seek to support themselves and their families often with minimal humanitarian assistance, and in the face of active resistance by governments and citizens of host countries” (Jacobsen 99). Along with the pain, sorrow, fear, sufferings and trauma, Zoya also narrates the fight and the rebellious attitude that made them survivors. Individuals are usually oppressed by the dominant ones in the society, based on their race, religion, culture, gender, caste and so many other things that are considered inferior to them. Oppression occurs, when the powerful ones in the society decide to use the attained power in a wrong way and destroy the life of the groups of people that they hate. In case of the Karen refugees, this oppression turns out to be an act that makes their daily

life, a living hell. They live a life of denied necessities for centuries and to make it worst, they are brutally killed if they were not able to run away from their country. Just because they belong to one of the minority community that is not in the good books of the dominant one, they are destined to live a life that treats them like beggars and they are pushed to a situation of depending on others for their basic rights, needs and necessities.

The Burmese leaders in power, implemented rules that made the minority communities depend on them to lead a life. The Karen refugees mentioned in the select memoir are living a life in which, they are grateful to God for just staying alive amidst struggles as the act of killing has been normalised in the country. There are barriers to lead a life and also to run away from the country, which makes 'death' one of the few good options that they have in their life. The biased rules of the government made it very difficult for the Karen and other minority communities. "The Four Cuts policy was brutally simple: it would cut off all supplies, information, recruits and food to the Karen resistance" (Phan, 2009). All the sources to earn a living, was cut off by the government and, people were busy solving their problems of starvation and escaping from death that they had no time or energy to fight back for their rights. All the resistance fighters who rebelled in spite of troubles were also brutally killed then and there. Cruel dictatorship ruled the lives of the innocent citizens of the country.

The brutality of the oppression had no limits, as there was not anyone to question the evilness of the situation. "Attacks escalated, with Karen villages being burned, villagers shot and women raped" (Phan, 2009). The Karen people were not treated like fellow human beings and were tortured worse than animals. The Burmese rulers, army and all the prejudiced citizens in the society, kept on hurting the minority groups both physically and mentally. They were pushed to a situation of leaving the land they love the most, in order to stay alive. The Karen people were denied the citizenship to the only country that they have lived in, for centuries and to add to their struggles they had no right to live and their life was at threat each and every minute they lived there. "My brothers and sisters and I loved our home, and we just tried to convince ourselves that we would never have to run away" (Phan, 2009). Phan and her siblings convinced themselves that they need not leave their home of love but, were also aware of the fact that they were in utmost danger only at their own home. "Studies of the experience of refugees have, to date, focused upon the significant traumatic experiences experienced by people from refugee backgrounds, including physical violence, rape, torture and the death of loved ones" (Rosbrook 156). Their life moved in all the dangerous ways that the humans in power have designed them to be.

'Fear' is something that has always been induced in the life of the refugees all over the world. This constant fear is gradually accompanied by trauma of losing everything that they loved in their life. There was a constant fear of death, as their lives were always at gun point. Zoya and her family had a peaceful life until the first bomb attack occurred in their village. After the attack, every minute of their life was a living hell as they were expecting the next attack very soon. Sometimes there were no attacks but, all the people hid themselves for a long time fearing an attack and came back only after the aircrafts went far away. "Sometimes we were stuck in the shelter all day long, wishing we could be playing out in the sunshine" (Phan, 2009). Many

of the Karen people lived a life that was nothing better than death, as they were treated in brutal ways that were much cruel punishments than death. “Karen women who had been gang-raped and killed in the most disgusting ways imaginable; farmers shot in the stomach for no reason, and left to die in their fields; villagers working as porter-slaves and left to a slow and lingering death” (Phan, 2009). These brutal treatments made the refugees run away from their only home to an unknown land, while the home they loved was burning behind. “The village was gripped by an echoing silence. Everyone stared at the vision of the inferno” (Phan, 2009). The trauma of the refugees follows them till their grave and, only the ones who have experienced it can feel their real pain of death, oppression, helplessness and survival amidst the chaos.

2. Love of Nature

The Karen refugees have always gone through troubles because of the discrimination created and enforced on them, by the fellow human beings who consider themselves as the superior ones in the society. When Zoya Phan narrates her story of suppression and humiliation, she is not able to leave out the happy narration of her innocent childhood too. Though her parents were aware of the upcoming danger, the family enjoys a peaceful life amidst nature, in their village named Manerplaw. Their life is interlinked with nature and living in a village near the forest, they are dependent on the natural resources for their daily life. There is a lovely relationship between the Karen people and Nature and they exchange enormous love with each other. Zoya grows up looking at her father who loves his flower garden as much as he loves his kids. Her mother is more interested in her vegetable garden that helps them in killing their everyday hunger. Zoya and her family treated nature like family and the nature also provided, nurtured and protected them like a mother does her children. “An important ongoing division in geographical research in the area of forced migration exists between critical and applied policy research” (Collyer 113). It is necessary to have a detailed geographical analysis of the refugee’s homeland and the migrated land to understand their physical and mental problems of displacement.

Zoya and her siblings had no fear for the forest since their childhood. They enjoyed themselves in the forest and that was a phase of life in which they had nothing to worry about. “Once I had learned to swim properly, I used to love playing in the river and resting on the riverside beach. Say Say would climb on top of one of the giant water buffaloes, which wallowed in the shallows, and start dancing on their horns” (Phan, 2009). Nature, unlike humans has the ability to shower love on everyone, with no superiority or discrimination. Nature has no intentions of harming or hurting anyone and also has high level of tolerance. It is the humans, whose greed ends up hurting the other living beings in the environment. The war, by destroying nature affected the humans, and by destroying humans affected the nature that always loved them. “The enemy had destroyed his flower gardens at Manerplaw, and in the village, and that must have pained my father. For if someone destroys your love it really hurts” (Phan, 2009). The fact that Zoya’s parents were animists, help them in connecting deeper with nature than the other humans.

The happiest phase of the lives of Karen refugees were at their home, when they were surrounded by nature. The Karen lived a life that was inseparable from nature. They did not

even have a clock, as the cock and the sun showed them the time. “The cockerel was known to us as the Karen clock” (Phan, 2009). Bamboo was the grass that was of much use to them as it was available in abundance and provided shelter and was also very useful to them in many other ways. “Bamboo is the heart of the Karen people” (Phan, 2009). Even the traditional dance of the Karen People is Bamboo dance in which bamboo sticks are used. The children even had an elephant growing up with them, in the village which they called by its name. The Karen lifestyle and culture was bound with nature and so was its food habit that has rice and fish paste as the staple food, which was cooked in firewood.

The food habits of the Karen bring them even more close to nature and show that they also have the traits of nature like equity, impartiality and tolerance. It is these traits of the people that make them good friends of nature. The Karen people do not avoid any food as inedible ones and they make use of all the sources that the nature gives them. At times of the brutal rules implemented, the starving families were reduced to eating the flesh of banana trees (Phan, 2009). When a Karen family built the roof of their house, many others in the community joined in helping them and they were served with pumpkin and chicken curry as a thank you gift. The journey to the mango grove has always been a happy event in the life of the girls in the village. It is the cruelty of humankind that destroys the love and peace of both fellow human beings and the nature, as the war troubled them both. “Everyone was worried. Even the trees, the river and the very earth seemed worried” (Phan, 2009).

3. Language of the Voiceless

The refugees are ruled by fear and the first thing that fear gives them is ‘silence’. Fear made them dumb and that became the ultimate achievement of the oppressors. The situation of not being able to talk or talk back against their pathetic situation, made them weaker and weaker. Lyndsey Stonebridge, in her essay *That Which You are Denying Us* focuses on the problems of the denied right to speak, in the life of the refugees. She mentions the incident at Woomera detention camp, where the refugees sewed their lips together to protest against their state of voicelessness (Stonebridge, 2014). This shows the extent to which, denied right to speak can take a human being. Their troubles are unheard and it is pathetic that many refugees die with no chance to talk for themselves. The problems gone through by the refugees are unknown to the outside world as their voice never escape the fence of the camps. “The study of language is not simply a linguistic exercise, but is an “ideological enterprise” in which language is used as a signifier for deeper anxieties surrounding race and ethnicity” (Bloch 2). Language is more than just means of communication and when it comes to oppression, it is important to note the politics behind restrictions on a language.

The oppressors all over the world make sure that the right to education is denied to the oppressed, as it is good education that would train the rebels to speak up for themselves. “Education is a way for refugees to become integrated in a new culture and is a process involving social inclusion through which they become accepted in a society” (Thomas 195). Though many of them struggle hard to get educated, there are enormous barriers in their way of knowledge. “There continue to be several obstacles for migrant and stateless children

to access state schools. The most important one is financial” (Nawarat 958). When all the possibilities of learning a language are broken, there are no ways of voicing out one’s opinion, even when there is an opinion. Language is used to show one’s power in many parts of the world but, when used wisely, the very language can be used against the oppressors to break the hierarchy. “The power of language is not only a power over others, made possible through language; it is also the even more pervasive power that language wields over the speakers themselves” (Kadt, 1993). English is a global language that has the generosity to accept words from other languages and keep on changing itself over time, according to the needs of the speaker. English language, because of globalisation has many benefits attached to it even in many countries where it is not the official language. “Kapur and Chakraborty (2008) suggest that English is increasingly valued in the labour market in this era of globalisation. They estimate the returns to English skills in the Indian economy and find that individuals who are more likely to have training in English earn significantly higher relative wages and better occupational outcomes even for the same level of overall education” (Saraithong & Chanchaoenchai, 2013). Zoya realizes the importance of English and wisely uses it as a tool to make her oppressed voice reach as many people as possible. In a world where she was restricted from speaking her own language, she cleverly chooses English as her language of liberation which would eventually liberate her people to talk in whatever language they want to use.

Stonebridge explains the depth of being voiceless and argues that it is the prime cause for the trauma of the refugees. Only if the refugees are able to talk their problems out aloud, they would be able to vent out their suppressed emotions. “Losing one’s language is not only to be denied a linguistic anchorage to nation and tradition, it also means losing the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, the unaffected expression of feelings” (Stonebridge 115). Zoya understands the power of voice very well from her father, who is a resistance fighter. She admires the way her father fearlessly points out the mistakes of the dictators in power. She loves the way in which her father stands and talks for their rights in a calm but, brave voice. “He’s so strong when he speaks like that! I never realized” (Phan, 2009). This inspiration gives her the strength to speak for their voiceless minority community people, who were tortured and chased away from home. She conquers fear and stands there as a warrior, who is brave enough to speak the unspoken truth. Her act of choosing to write the book in English shows her thoughts to reach wider range of people, including her oppressors. She has chosen English as the language of liberation and has decided to fight with no fear that could stop her until she achieves equality.

4. Present Situation of Refugees

The most important fact that should be noted about the refugee crisis is that the refugees all over world are facing troubles and inhuman treatments that have not at all changed over a long period of time until now. The hatred and prejudices plotted against the refugees have not had many positive changes even after researches, articles and news reports focussing on the dark side that has been hidden for decades. The oppressed ones who are chased away from home, cross the border, stay at refugee camps and a few of them manage to stay in another country

that accepts them and take care of their basic needs. Despite the place they are struck in, all the refugees face troubles of being homeless and losing their self- respect. “The socio-political exclusion at an individual level may result into an interiorisation of feelings of rejection by the society and feelings of guilt for not being good enough for the new society” (Bareka 87). “Prior to coming to the USA, people described common health problems as dizziness, headaches, dysentery, influenza, vomiting and diarrhea, asthma in children, whooping cough, “cold on the lungs” and cancer. Most of the accounts of being diagnosed with hypertension or diabetes related to medical care provided in refugee camps” (Rosebrook and Robert 159). The sufferings, pain, distress, health issues and trauma of being a refugee do not leave them till death. It is due to lack of humanity and equality in humans, unlike in nature that has not changed the situation of refugees till date. Though there are people human enough to offer helping hands, there are not many people who are human enough to stop all the discrimination and brutality.

It is a situation of immense pain that many people belonging to the minority communities are still living in Myanmar under the same situation which killed millions of people and chased groups of people away. Many countries that lent a helping hand have also stopped the acceptance of refugees at a certain period of time. “International migration is now a normal feature of contemporary societies: a global phenomenon of flows and counter-flows; geographical fluidity rather than population shifts; ongoing daily processes, not unique events” (O’Reilly 25). The condition of the life of refugees is getting worse than in the past. There are many researches that investigate the under-represented realities of people immersed in the daily challenges and constraints of growing up without legal documentation in Thailand. “A 2009 survey found that migrant children around Mae Sot suffer from malnutrition rates greatly higher than both Thai children and children in the refugee camps” (Johnson 3). The refugees are facing troubles not only in their homeland but are affected by their suppression at home, wherever they go on to lead a life. It is acceptance at home that can end all their troubles.

Conclusion

The essay studies the different ways in which the Karen were oppressed by the state and how the fact that they were being voiceless affected them the most of all the troubles that they have gone through. With reference to the select memoir, it also explains how nature is a superior being than humans, which uses silence as its language to promote love, peace and equality. Though Zoya’s life had all the troubles created by human beings in it, it was her memories of happiness with nature, safety given by nature and natural resources that was available when needed, that made her survive all the troubles. It is this trait of nature that all humans should learn to make this world a better place. This essay has also explored on how a language can be used as the voice to shout out the rights of the voiceless.

Oppressors all over the world work strive to cling to power while the oppressed struggle to engineer equality. This greed of the oppressors results in creating toxic environments throughout the world. This in turn affects the well-being of all the organisms in the universe.

The main problem in the situation is that the oppressors do not have any guilt attached to their misdeeds. They should learn from nature that the power that they have is to be shared and not to be cherished by one group of people. It is love that can end the wars and create a peaceful environment like the forest in which Zoya spent her childhood. Nobody should be denied the right to speak, and everybody should have the courage to voice out the things that could liberate them, even if that would cause their life, for voiceless life is not a life worth living.

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Protestation and the Search for Redress in Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and *Half of a Yellow Sun*

Onyeka Ike¹⁷

Abstract

This study evaluates Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and *Half of a Yellow Sun* as vociferous protestations and call for redress concerning diverse forms of historical and contemporary misrule, inequalities and injustices in the Nigerian society and beyond. Thus Adichie is not just a feminist but also a humanist who is genuinely concerned with the predicaments of the subaltern in the hands of their powerful oppressors. Using New Historicism as a theoretical parameter, the study posits that several factors that resulted to conflict situations and discontent in the past in certain societies are still prevalent in contemporary times, hence the continuous agitations from various ethnic nationalities and sections of such domains, particularly in Nigeria, Adichie's country of birth. This demonstrates that injustice and oppression perpetrated anywhere can only be laid to rest when they are sincerely redressed with nothing else but justice. The study, therefore, avers that several unresolved historical injustices and ills raised in the novels be resolutely redressed by the contemporary leaderships in those jurisdictions, and where necessary make appropriate reparations, restitution or tender decisive apologies. Doing so in the right manner will invariably contribute to global peace and stability. This implies that for lasting peace to reign in the concerned domains, several issues bordering on historical and modern-day injustices, misrule, human rights abuses, ethnic, racial and religious rivalry, etc., of which the novelist has consistently raised eloquent protestations through her fictions under study should be given serious positive attention and redress in the interest of all.

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Keywords

Protest, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Nigeria, Literature, Injustice

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¹⁷ Department of English and Communication Studies, Federal University Otuoke, Nigeria, Email: onyeka_ike@yahoo.com, Orcid: 0000-0002-1920-8720

Introduction

Protest literature is any piece of artistic creation or writing which overtly or covertly denounces any perceived unjust situation in society. Every society has one issue or the other which negatively affects the well-being of its citizens. Such issues can be socioeconomic, sociopolitical, cultural or even religious in nature. Protest literature, therefore, directly or indirectly, demonstrates displeasure or resentment against such unjust economic, social, cultural or religious condition in order to elicit positive change from the institutions of society that may be responsible for the perpetration of such practices which often border on injustice and inequality. Simply put, protest literature is an artistic approach through which creative artists revolt against injustices or inequalities existing in their society in order to ensure the enthronement of justice and equity for all. It is a writer’s unique way of raising placards through the construction of ideologies which raises social consciousness against perceived social evils, and consequently arouses the people for actions intended to bring about positive development. In articulating the foreword to *American Protest Literature*, Stauffer (2006, p.xiii) states:

I define protest literature broadly to mean the uses of language to transform the self and change society. By language I refer not only to words, but to visual art, music and film. Protest literature functions as catalyst, guide or mirror of social change. It not only critiques some aspects of society, but also suggests, either implicitly or explicitly, a solution to society’s ills.

Implicit in Stauffer’s definition is the firm notion that protest literature should not just point out societal ills and oppose them but should also proffer meaningful solutions to such problems. This means that raising alarm and condemning perceived evils in society is one side of the coin while proffering or suggesting reasonable solutions constitute the other. The ultimate purpose of both efforts is to ensure that orderliness, equity, stability and justice are enshrined in a society’s code of conduct in order to attract sustainable development and progress for all. Akingbe (2012, p.1) concurs to Stauffer’s perception of protest literature when he states:

Protest literature may be defined as a sub-category of literature in which the works espouse protest explicitly, either as a major theme, a recurring motif, an overarching metaphor, or as a structuring device. It is a literature which is characterised by the existence of a clearly-defined viewpoint, strong moral convictions, an often-strident tone, a pronounced sense of outrage, a clear perception of the issues at stake, and a usually optimistic belief in the ultimate triumph of justice. Protest literature does not necessarily utilize techniques which are radically different from those of other categories of literature. However, they often combine such techniques in such a way as to produce effects that are peculiar to the sub-category. The techniques might include a strong emphasis on realism, the use of demilitarization strategies, the liberal development of satire, irony and paradox, the utilization of anti-heroic characters, as well as unique methods of plot construction, structure and narrative perspectives. Its effects can

include pity, anger, disgust and awareness. Because the main aim of protest literature is that of increasing awareness of the audience, many works within the sub-category use techniques of demystification that are designed to unsettle long-held assumptions and attitudes in the audience.

Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and *Half of a Yellow Sun* aptly fit into quite a number of these calibrations and yardsticks for determining whether a piece of literary work can be categorized as protest literature. It is noteworthy, however, to state that protest literature is not limited to the novelistic art alone but indeed encompasses all literary genres. This implies that it is actually content and not necessarily form that determines this significant categorization. For Abdullah (2018, p.2),

Protest literature has existed in different forms throughout literary history. Many of the important writers over the ages have utilized their expertise to awakening the societies to injustices locally and universally. They have in its spectrum some of the most instigating thoughts to provoke the emotions, besides such writings focus on the struggles of individuals against social injustice. In other words, protest art is the art that concentrates on disavowing the society's drawbacks and art that either supports or opposes some types of political or social amendments.

The aforestated novels do not just portray a myriad of "society's drawbacks," particularly and profoundly the Nigerian society, but equally demonstrate her opposition to them as well as her altruistic desire for the necessary "political and social amendments" which, again, Akingbe (2012, p.2) concurs is one of the cardinal intentions of protest literature. One of the ways in which protest literature can be understood is by assessing its aims, its features and its techniques. Regardless of differences of culture, time and place, all protest literature seeks a three-fold objective: to testify, to indict and to seek redress. In testifying, protest literature consciously aims to remember and commemorate acts of injustices perpetrated against particular persons or groups. The act of remembrance to honour those who suffered, celebrates those who endured, and enables future generations to have a proper understanding of their roots. The act of indictment is a central purpose of protest literature, and in doing so it exposes those implicated in acts of oppression and injustice, identifies, analyses and characterizes the acts of oppression of which they are guilty, as well as outlining the social, political and economic factors which facilitate such oppression. It is a crucial aspect of the goals of protest literature to symbolically or literally 'name' injustice and its perpetrators so that they stand condemned by all right-thinking people. In seeking redress, protest literature seeks to end the injustices it portrays, as well as the punishment of perpetrators and provision of restitution to the victims. Such restitution is often physical and psychological because it seeks to comprehensively repair the damage inflicted upon individuals, institutions and society as a whole over a sustained period of time.

Akingbe’s calibrations and notations as stated above, apart from concurring to Abdullah’s observations, also emphasizes the multi-faceted nature and appearances of protest literature, indicating that there is no unilateral, straight-jacket approach to it. However, the underlining element remains the content of protest it carries; the societal ills it unravels as well as the language with which such issues are addressed either symbolically or literally, and then the underlying intentions. Again, in her “History of Protest Literature in India: Trails from the Bhakti Literature,” Oza (2020, p.2) succinctly maintains that “the literary protest is multi-dimensional as it upholds certain values in a specific environment and is concerned with the ironies, contradictions, and paradoxes inherent in the expression of dissent, protest and freeform.” Oza’s perception of protest literature as a veritable tool or agency that contributes in “upholding certain values in a specific environment” or society is corroborated by Hasso (2020, p.1) in her “Social Protest in Art” when she states:

Artists play a major role in illuminating, challenging and critiquing injustices that impact... Artists provide a voice for the voiceless and have the ability to reach the masses through their vision. Human rights art has utilized direct messages during more tolerant eras, or has been embedded allegorically when imagery was strictly controlled. Artists inform our understanding of...aesthetics as a set of values...

By “illuminating,” “challenging” and “critiquing” societal ills and injustices, protest literature figuratively or literally projects the right and acceptable values, and arouses people for the necessary actions that can entrench and sustain such values in society. This is one of the significant contributions creative writers make in the development of societies across the globe. It, therefore, implies that apart from being an effective tool for education and entertainment, literature in the context of protest can also serve as a revolutionary medium with great potential to alter undesirable status quo. This study focuses on evaluating the protest content of Adichie’s aforementioned novels, particularly as it concerns certain sociopolitical and sociohistorical injustices.

Theoretical Parameter

This study adopts New Historicism as its theoretical template. Although it is widely acknowledged that the writings of Michel Foucault largely influenced quite a number of New Historicists, it was Stephen Greenblatt who eventually coined the term in 1980. Bressler (1999, p.238-240) who prefers to refer to the theory as “cultural poetics” vividly captures the development of the theory as well as the forces that influenced it thus:

Although the assumptions of cultural poetics and its accompanying practice have been used by critics for several decades, the beginning of New Historicism dates to 1979-80 with the publication of several essays and texts such as ... Renaissance Self-Fashioning by Renaissance scholar Stephen Greenblatt, and a variety of works by Louis Montrose, Jonathan Dollimore, and others. What New Criticism (which preceded New Historicism) did not

provide for Greenblatt and other critics was an attempt to understand literature from a historical perspective. From a New Critical perspective the text was what mattered, not its historical context. Consideration of any given text as the result of any historical phenomenon was devalued or silenced. Upon reading sociological and cultural studies by Michel Foucault, Greenblatt and other critics admired and emulated Foucault's tireless questioning of the nature of literature, history, culture and society; like Foucault they refused to accept the traditional well-worn answers. From the Marxist scholars (George Lukacs, Walter Benjamin, Raymond Williams and others) they learned that history is shaped by people who live it, and they accepted the Marxist idea of the interconnectedness of all life.

New Historicism like formalism and their critics not only recognizes the importance of the literary text but also analyzes the text with an eye on history, culture and socio-economic developments within the context of the literary work. It is this sort of focus and approach that prompts Brannigan (1998, p.6) to state that “New Historicism is a mode of critical interpretation which privileges power relations as the most important context for texts of all kinds.” In other words, it does not subscribe to the text-only approach earlier pursued by formalism, structuralism and indeed other related critical approaches which focus only on the form and content of a literary text.

Issues and Discussions

In *Purple Hibiscus*, Adichie's representations of the character of “Big Oga” otherwise referred to as the Head of State and the cruelties associated with his style of governance is a protestation against military despotism. Soon after Big Oga takes over the reigns of power through a coup d'état, the nation is set on a trajectory of chaos, suppression, pandemonium and forlornly as the major concern of the military government is how to remain in power at all costs, at the expense of development and progress in the nation. When Eugene condemns the idea of military men ruling Nigeria because he believes that they are “power drunk” (p.24), and that “...what we Nigerians needed was a renewed democracy” (p.25), the junta at first tries to bribe him to submission. And when he refuses to succumb, they begin to “threaten his businesses” and to ensure that his *Standard* newspaper “lost advertising” (p.5). This, however, does not deter Eugene as the *Standard* remains “...more critical, more questioning than it used to be” (p.27). As a result, the junta adopts more stringent and cruel measures of caging the opposition. Ade Coker, the editor-in-chief of *the Standard* is serially apprehended and tortured as Kambili says, “...the wife of Papa's editor. She was crying. I could hear her because my room was directly above the living room and because I had never heard crying that loud before” (p.37). In his criticism of the junta on one of such occasions of arrests, Ade has written “...about how the Head of State and his wife had paid people to transport heroin abroad, a story that questioned the recent execution of three men and who the real drug barons were” (p.38). Eugene also goes spiritual in his fights against military despotism when he “prayed” and “added long passages urging God to bring about the downfall of the Godless men ruling our country” (p.43). Yet, the Godlessness of the junta is further demonstrated in the way and

manner civilians in a market at Enugu, particularly women are being humiliated and the symbol of their coverage and glory, their wrapper, stripped from their bodies by soldiers being portrayed as agents of the junta. Kambili observes the situation thus:

As we left the market with our sandals...soldiers were milling around. Market women were shouting, and many had both hands placed on their heads, in the way that people do to show despair or shock. A woman lay in the dirt, wailing, tearing at her short afro. Her wrapper had come undone and her white underwear showed. (*PH*, P.44)

By the portrayal of a woman’s wrapper coming “undone” and her “underwear showing,” Adichie is protesting against the mindless and barbaric humiliation of innocent civilians by military authorities upon their usurpation of political power via the route of coup d’etat. Thus military dictators are indeed portrayed as “Godless men” whose downfall should be prayed and desired for. The despicable imagery of the shocked and “wailing” market women is similar to that seen in the funeral of an only son who dies untimely. Adichie deploys this to show the level of injury, humiliation, sorrow and pain military dictatorship can inflict on the masses of a nation. The concept and imagery of a woman’s wrapper coming “undone” and consequently exposing her white underwear also comes to the fore. A woman’s wrapper symbolizes the coverage for her nakedness and bestows a kind of dignity, glory and honour on her whenever she ties it on her body. But when she is stripped of her wrapper as it is the case in the above cited passage, the opposite is the result. By the deployment of this imagery, Adichie suggests that military dictatorship has stripped Nigeria naked over the years, taken away her glory, denied her of realizing her great potentials and of taking her rightful position among the comity of nations hence her advocacy for “a renewed democracy” (p.25) as a solution. Kambili, again observes the unjustifiable maltreatment of civilians in the market-place by soldiers upon seizing political power.

As we hurried past, ...I saw the soldier raise a whip in the air. The whip was long. It curled in the air before it landed on the woman’s shoulder. Another soldier was kicking down trays of fruits, squashing papayas with his boots and laughing. I thought about the woman lying in the dirt as we drove home. I wished I could have gone over and helped her up, cleaned the red mud from her wrapper. (*PH*, p.44)

The observation that the “...soldier was...squashing papayas with his boots and laughing” indicates that soldiers in their arrogant display of bravado and power against defenseless civilians are usually remorseless and unrepentant. By this portrayal, Adichie suggests that military men, when in power, are usually unsympathetic concerning the pains and plights of the people they rule, rather, they take pleasure in inflicting injuries and losses on them. Thus while the soldier was laughing and “kicking down trays of fruits, squashing papayas with his boots” right in the marketplace, the market women are seen to be helplessly wailing without attracting any iota of mercy from their oppressors. Of course, the “trays of fruits” being kicked down as well as the “papayas” being squashed with boots represent the means of livelihood of the people. The destruction of the means of livelihood of the people implies more hunger and

poverty in the land. Kambili will later observe the debilitating poverty in the land when her father follows her to her school, Daughters of the Immaculate Heart Secondary School and she states: “Hawkers, girls much younger than I, defied the school gate men, edging closer and closer to the cars to offer peeled oranges..., their moth-eaten blouses slipping off their shoulders” (p.45). Not only are the young girls out of school as a result of poverty, the blouses they wear are described to be moth-eaten. These are the possible consequences of the actions of the soldiers on the lives of citizens as demonstrated. Yet one of the soldiers is ‘laughing’ while doing so. Adichie uses such portrayals to advance cogent reasons capable of convincing readers that democratization is better than militarization.

The economic policy of the military government spearheaded by Big Oga brings untold hardship and poverty to the people. There is also a high level of unemployment such that a female supervisee at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka is compelled to ask a rhetorical question to Aunty Ifeoma, her supervisor, “What is the use of a degree when we cannot find a job after graduation?” (p.75). Aunty Ifeoma squarely places the problems at the doorstep of the military ruler when she says:

Look what this military tyrant is doing to our country. We have not had fuel for three months in Nsukka. I spent the night in petrol station last week, waiting for fuel. And at the end, the fuel did not come. We just called off another strike, even though no lecturer has been paid for the last two months. Ifukwa, people are leaving the country. (PH, p.76)

In addition to the issues of poverty, unemployment and hardship associated with fuel scarcity in a nation that constantly ranks as either the fifth or sixth largest oil producer on planet earth, Aunty Ifeoma equally raises her placard of disgust concerning the instability in the education sector; a direct consequence of incessant strike actions by university lecturers whose salaries are not usually paid as and when due by the government. Then there is the expression of resentment against the phenomenon of brain drain in the country. Adichie clearly uses the instrumentality of literature to discountenance and challenge such “drawbacks” in the Nigerian society and to seek for appropriate redress.

When Kambili visits Aunty Ifeoma at Nsukka with Jaja, and uses their convenience, and then reports, “Aunty, there is no water to flush the toilet” (p.121), Aunty Ifeoma seizes the opportunity to raise a voice of protest against non-availability of a vital social amenity like water on campus, even for university staff. She says,

Our water runs only in the morning, o di egwu. So we don't flush when we urinate, only when there is actually something to flush. Or sometimes, when the water does not run for a few days, we just close the lid until everybody has gone and then we flush with one bucket. It saves water. (PH, p.121)

Of course, Obiora says that “the university is a microcosm for Nigeria,” which also implies that the occurrences in the university are a reflection of what is happening all over the country. It does not take long before the “no light, no water” (p.131) situation on campus sparks off a

violent protest by the students of the university, resulting to massive vandalization and burning down of university properties. The vice chancellor and his wife survive the anger of the students only when they are smuggled out of the scene in the boot of a car.

Furthermore, Adichie’s representations of the ordeals of Ade Coker, the editor-in-chief of the *Standard* newspaper and a character mirroring the experiences of the historical character of Dele Giwa in the hands of the Nigerian military government of the middle eighties can be seen as a protestation against press freedom and fundamental human rights which are recklessly abused here and there by the military authorities depicted in the novel. The same can be said of the character NwankitiOgechi – a notable pro-democracy activist who like Ade is unjustly arrested, tortured and detained for no other reason than that they are canvassing for the enthronement of democratic ideas in the country as opposed to military dictatorship. To borrow the word of Eugene Achike, Big Oga’s “Godlessness” (p.43) reaches a crescendo when upon the refusal of the two men to back down from opposing and criticizing his military government he decides to nail them once and for all. While NwankitiOgechi a character mirroring the experiences of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Ogoni environmental and pro-democracy activist, is kidnapped and murdered by soldiers “in a bush in Minna” (p.198), Ade is wasted in his own house with a letter bomb “when he opened the package – a package everybody would have known was from the Head of State even if his wife Yawande had not said that Ade looked at the envelope and said “It has the State House Seal before he opened it” (p.202).

In Half of a Yellow Sun, Adichie continues to criticize and challenge the actions and inactions of men in positions of power, and how such contribute to the ills of society hence the need for positive change. Her portrayal of the character of Chief Okonji, Nigeria’s Finance Minister, and her desperation and offers to have Olanna as his mistress is a serious indictment to the political class. Chief Okonji’s amorous proclivities in the novel does not seem to have any control or limit whatsoever, despite the high office he occupies. Of course, such form of behavior does not speak well of a public office holder in the exalted capacity of a Finance Minister. In order to have just one lady as a mistress, the Chief throws dignity, caution and principles to the wind and is prepared to use the influences of his exalted office to do anything that can please her in order for her to succumb to his amorous advances. This is why in reference to some expatriates who are looking for landed property to acquire in the country, perhaps for industrialization or any other form of economic development which, of course, will be of benefit to the country, the minister in his determined effort to lure Olanna to become his mistress says, “...I can arrange for them to buy from your father at five or six times the price” (p.33). When Olanna gives the excuse that she will not be at the “cocktail party at Ikoyi hotel” where she is supposed to meet the expatriates because she will be busy doing her “St. Vincent de Paul charity drive” (p.33) same day, the Chief insists, “I just can’t keep you out of my mind” (p.33). Then he goes on to make some other mouthwatering offers in order to have the lady for himself at all costs: “Look, you don’t have to work at the ministry. I can appoint you to a board, any board you want, and I will furnish a flat for you wherever you want” (p.33). With the level of Chief Okonji’s desperation to have Olanna as his mistress, one really wonders if he will not accept to walk naked in the streets of “Ikoyi” if Olanna demands for such as a way of settling

her to acquiescence. Adichie uses this portrayal to indict and to suggest that such a form of behaviour is quite condemnable for a high-ranking public office holder of Chief Okonji's status. It is also a revelation of some of the shoddy deals which some highly placed individuals in society, with the influences of their mighty and exalted offices, are usually willing to commit themselves to. These are things that do not really worth it, at least not for the people on whose behalf they occupy such important offices.

Adichie also presents tribalism as a huge retrogressive factor in the Nigerian nation when the narrator reveals some of the issues at stake in the nation, even from the early sixties, on the occasion of Olanna's visit to his relatives, the Mbaezis, in Kano. "Or he would tell her about politics: what the Igbo Union was...protesting, discussing... She still remembered the meeting where irritated men and women talked about the northern schools not admitting Igbo Children" (p.38). It is a situation whereby the politics of ethnicity, sectionalism and tribalism degenerates to the point that some schools are tagged "northern schools" and meant to be attended exclusively by pupils and students from that region of the country. There is no cogent reason advanced in the novel on why "northern schools" refuses to admit Igbo children residing in the north other than the unhealthy sentiments associated with tribalism and sectionalism. Adichie's representation of this factor in the novel is a vociferous protestation and criticism of a vice which has contributed in no small measure in enthroning mediocrity as opposed to merit and excellence in various sectors of the economy of the nation till today. In Nigeria today, people are still being rated not on the basis of the content of their character or merit, rather, acceptance or rejection is largely based on the tribe an individual comes from. This is why tribe and tongue, which certainly differ, seem to, sometimes, unfortunately be the fundamental determinants of what one gets or does not get in terms of critical and sensitive positions in the Nigerian state. This is the kind of situation being protested against and portrayed in the novel as a road that leads to nowhere else other than chaos and acrimony. Adichie highlights ethnic prejudice or tribalism as a strong precursory factor that contributed in no small measure in plunging the nation into the furnace called the Nigerian Civil War.

Again, although Olanna "knew how much" mohammed "loved her" (p.45) and she of course also loves him, the major barriers that stand against their passionate desire to marry each other are tribe and religion. Arize voices out the sentiment when she tells Olanna, "If only Mohammed was an Igbo man, I have never seen a more handsome man" (P.42). Mohammed's mother in turn is afraid that her beloved son will marry an "Igbo woman... who would taint the lineage with infidel blood" (P.46) and so she discourages the relationship by all means. Mohammed's assertions to Olanna, "I would have married you anyhow, and she knew it. Her preference did not matter" (P.46) become inconsequential in the end. Tribalism is so conspicuous and palpable in the entire nation to the extent that some expatriates such as Richard, Susan and other "ex-colonial administrators, and business people from John Holt and Kingsway and GB Olivant and Shell-BP and United African Company" (p.53) during discussions in their "all-expatriate parties" will often wonder "how tribal Nigeria politics was, and perhaps these chaps were not quite so ready to rule themselves after all" (P.53).

There is also a vehement protest against the politically-motivated killings of the Tiv people just because their political leaders, even in reality, opted to identify with a political party in opposition to the central parliamentary government of Prime Minister Balewa, the party that was equally in control of the Northern Regional Government at the historical time. It is during the usually heated debates of some Nsukka University intellectuals at Odenigbo’s house that Odenigbo says, “... but to send the army to kill in the name of order? There are Tiv people lying dead for nothing. For nothing! Balewa has lost his mind!” (p.91). Adichie, by this protestation, believes that the Prime Minister’s action of giving arbitrary order to the nation’s military to silence opposition in that manner is a dangerous kind of politicking and is, therefore, condemnable.

Adichie also reminisces on different forms of racial segregation and subjugation as acts of injustices which the global community needs to redress and possibly make those implicated in the oppression to make some reparations when Odenigbo says, “They are dehumanizing blacks in South Africa and Rhodesia, they fermented what happened in the Congo, they won’t let American blacks vote, they won’t let Australian Aborigines vote...” (p.110). But before the plural pronoun “they” is introduced into the sentence, Odenigbo has clearly identified the perpetrators of the oppression when he says, “We are living in a time of great white evil” (p.110). Although apartheid seemed to have reduced in intensity in those nations, the scars and wounds they inflicted on their victims are still very fresh even in contemporary times and might really need a more decisive and sincere conciliatory approach by government as well as the identified oppressors for a lasting healing to take place.

The verbatim intertextual representation of Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu’s historic coup speech (p.123-124) is an obvious protestation against certain vices that, like canker-worm, have eaten deep into the fabrics of Nigeria’s political leadership over the years, and a clarion call for national political renewal. Such vices as identifiable in the speech include corruption, internal strife, bribery, tribalism, nepotism, etc. Nzeogwu’s tone in the speech signifies a clarion call for pragmatic and revolutionary changes in all facets of national life; a call for responsible and accountable leaderships at all strata of national existence. This signification is in conformity with one of the aims of protest literature which is to seek redress. Nzeogwu has, in the speech, indicted the Nigerian political class and squarely placed culpability for the various issues plaguing the nation on their shoulders, blaming them for their lack of sincerity, patriotism and altruism, which is why they brazenly manifest all manners of corrupt practices. Thus, as far as the character of Nzeogwu is concerned, the travails of the nation are on account of failure of leadership.

When Adichie’s literary searchlight turns to issues that relate to the pogrom and massacre of South-easterners in Northern and Western Nigeria soon after the July 29, 1966 counter coup spearheaded by the character Gowon, just as it is equally true in historical reality, one perceives the author’s lamentation and condemnation of those mindless killings. In Kano, Olanna shockingly observes the massacre of the entire family members of her maternal uncle, Mbaezi (p.147), the very family she has visited in the ancient city. Her escape from the destruction is

on account of her stepping out from the Mbaezi's compound to visit her friend, Mohammed, completely unaware that death would visit her uncle, aunt and cousins in such a gruesome manner. Her survival from the massacre is owed to Mohammed's benevolence and determination to shield and drive her to safety "until he parked at the train station and shoved her onto a crowded train" (p.148). But while Olanna nurses her pains, the assailants gloat over the killings thus: "We finished the whole family. It was Allah's will!" (p.48). Mohammed, however, maintains that "Allah does not allow this. Allah will not forgive them. Allah will not forgive the people who have made them do this. Allah will never forgive this" (p.48). The assailants equally storm the Kano Airport demanding for more blood: "*Ina nyamiri!* Where are the Igbo people? Who is Igbo here? Where are the infidels?" (p.152). It is in this situation that Nnaemeka is identified and "the rifle went off and Nnaemeka's chest blew open, a splattering red mass" (p.153). Then there are "more shots, more shouts of 'Nyamiri' and 'Araba, araba!'" (p.153). The shots and killings continued unabated and culminated in a thirty-months fratricidal civil war vividly represented in the novel as its main thematic pre-occupation. In conformity with typical portrayals in protest literature, Adichie names, implicates and indicts most of the notable actors in the war for their ignoble roles and contributions to the monumental loss of lives of innocent children, women and men throughout the period. While the character Gowon is indicted for being the principal beneficiary of the July counter coup which enthrones him as Head of State, a development which triggers off the pogroms and massacres, and for reneging on the historical Aburi Accord (p.159) which could have ultimately halted the civil war, Ojukwu is implicated in his declaration of a Biafran State he is ill-prepared, ill-equipped to defend (p.161-162). In the same vein, Colonel Madu, a Biafran officer, indicts foreign powers which collaborates in various forms to suppress and silence Biafra when he speaks to Richard, a British writer and researcher thus:

The world has to know the truth of what is happening, because they simply cannot remain silent while we die. You can tell them...even though Nigerian MiG-Seventeens, 11-Twenty-eights, and L-Twenty-nine Delfins flown by Russians and Egyptians are bombing us everyday, and how some of them are using transport planes and just crudely rolling out bombs to kill women and children, and how the British and the Soviets are in an unholy alliance giving more and more arms to Nigeria, and how our relief flights come in at night with no lights because the Nigerians will shoot them down during the day. (Half, p.305)

Colonel Madu's protestation comes on the heels of massive and indiscriminate bombings of both military and civilian targets in the Biafran enclave during the civil war. Although he does not consider targeting the Biafran Armed Forces as being abnormal in such a war situation, he considers the indiscriminate bombings of innocent civilians, particularly women and children by Nigerian military forces, as completely absurd and unconventional, hence the outcry for international attention and redress. When Richard eventually accedes to write about the various atrocities being committed against civilians in the Biafran enclave, "he described the Holy Trinity Catholic Church, where soldiers of the Nigerian Second Division first defecated on the alter before killing two hundred civilians" (p.305). Then he quotes "a calm eyewitness" who observes that "the vandals are people who shit on God" (p.305). The war crimes being

committed against defenseless worshipers at the Holy Trinity Catholic Church is comparable in scale to what happened at Asaba. A man who hails from the town narrates the horrendous occurrence thus:

I am from Asaba and I got word from our hometown this morning. The vandals took our town many weeks ago and they announced that all the indigenes should come out and say ‘One Nigeria’ and they would give them rice. So people came out of hiding and said ‘One Nigeria’ and the vandals shot them, men, women and children. Everyone. There is nobody left in the Njokamma family. Nobody left. (Half, p.384)

On narrating the matter to Alice who hails from the same Asaba and to other refugees in their camp at Umuahia, just before Umuahia equally falls into the hands of Federal forces, Alice

...threw herself on the ground. Rolling this way and that... Alice was lying on her back, rubbing her head frantically against the ground, mourning. Clumps of sand were in her hair. She jumped up and ran towards the road... She jerked away and threw herself down again, her lips pulled back, her teeth bared... She rolled on the ground with such force that the stones cut her skin in tiny red gashes. (Half, p.384)

The kind of anguish expressed by Alice upon the receipt of the news of the massacre of her kinsmen and women is still being felt in Asaba till today on account of that horrendous historical incident which is said to have claimed the lives of over seven hundred Asaba indigenes (SaharaReporters, 2020). Reminiscing on the incident in their report titled “Nigerian Army Promotes 81 Division Commander, Ahmed Taiwo, who claimed No Killing Occurred At Lekki Toll Gate Despite Evidence,” the news agency states:

Despite video evidence that so many protesters were killed, Brigadier-General Taiwo, who has been representing the army at the sitting of the Judicial Panel of Inquiry set up by the Lagos State Government to unravel the mystery behind the incident, claimed no one was killed. The Nigerian Army Council has approved the promotion of 421 senior officers from various ranks to the next higher rank... Among the Brigadier-Generals promoted to the rank of Major-General is Ahmed Ibrahim Taiwo, Commander of 81 Division of the Nigerian Army, the unit of the army that sent troops to Lekki Toll Gate in Lagos on the evening of October 20, 2020 to disperse peaceful protesters... Taiwo is son of a former military governor of Kwara State, Colonel Ibrahim Taiwo, famous for the massacre of over 700 persons in Asaba, Delta State, during the civil war. (SaharaReporters, 2020)

The historic massacre which started on 5th October, 1967 is equally attested to by Wikipedia which avers:

The Asaba Massacre occurred in early October 1967, during the Biafran war, fought over the secession of Biafra (predominantly Igbo, former Eastern Region of Nigeria). The Federal troops entered Asaba around 5 October, and began ransacking houses and killing civilians, claiming they were Biafran

sympathizers. Several hundreds may have been killed individually and in groups at various locations in the town. Leaders summoned the towns people to assemble on the morning of 7 October, hoping to end the violence through a show of support for "One Nigeria." Hundreds of men, women and children, men wearing the ceremonial akwaocha (white) attire paraded along the main street, singing, dancing and chanting "One Nigeria" ...and gathered in an open square at Ogbe-Osowa village. Federal troops revealed machine guns, and orders were given ...by Second-in-command, Major Ibrahim Taiwo, to open fire. It is estimated that more than 700 men and boys were killed, some as young as 12 years old, in addition to many more killed in the preceding days. ("Asaba Massacre")

For Silverman (2020),

Federal Government troops...entered the town and, over three days, massacred at least a thousand people. The town was left in ruins and the survivors traumatised. The events of the terrible time remain close to people's hearts. The massacre is still little acknowledged and a highly sensitive issue... The Asaba massacre was the single worst atrocity of the civil war. It is part of local folk memory. Campaigners believe it is time that the massacre was officially memorialized.

One of the major actors implicated by historical evidence in the Asaba massacre was Major Ibrahim Taiwo who purportedly gave the order for the killings when Federal troops gained entrance to the town. Taiwo was the second-in-command of Nigeria's Second Division at the material time. Coincidentally, in 2020, fifty-three years later, in the same month of October, Taiwo's son, Ahmed Ibrahim Taiwo is the commander of Nigeria's 81 Division, the unit that purportedly sent troops involved in the massacre of peaceful #EndSARS protesters at Lekki Toll Gate in Lagos.

Adichie intertextually represents the horrendous Asaba Massacre as a historic injustice seeking for redress in contemporary Nigeria. Just as the man who narrates the incident in a refugee camp at Umuahia during the civil war states that "there is nobody left in the Njokamma family. Nobody left" (p.384), several families and lineages in historical reality were completely wiped out in that incident. Hearts are still bleeding in Asaba on account of the occurrence till today, yet there does not seem to be any form of significant national effort for any kind of placation, redress or reparation hence the protestation in Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*. At the climax of Alice's grief on the incident, she says, "What am I doing still alive? They should come and kill me now! I said they should come and kill me!" (p.384). This is the kind of nightmare many persons and families are still having till today on account of the loss of their fathers, breadwinners, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, uncles, aunties, neighbours, kinsmen and women in the historic Asaba massacre. In a just society, there would have been a kind of significant reparation or the perpetrators would have faced charges of war crimes.

Conclusion

Adichie deploys the veritable instrumentality of her creative endeavours as vehement protestations and calls for redress on a myriad of perceived injustices perpetrated in history against certain individuals, groups and nations, particularly in Africa where several unpalatable narratives on ethnic conflicts, colonialism and neocolonialism still subsist. Her dutiful and creative interrogation and interpretations of certain historical circumstances in the fictions reveal that certain societies even in contemporary times have not really made significant progress or triumphed over some unsavoury situations that characterised them in the past. The author believes that such situations revolving around human rights abuses, bad governance, corruption, ethnic and religious prejudices and many more which still prevails in the society should be resolutely addressed if a meaningful level of sustainable development must be attained. The study recommends that all wrong values that give rise to disunity, violence, agitations and tensions of all kinds within the Nigerian State and other cited domains be resolutely addressed by the relevant governments.

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Non-Thematic

Metaphorical conceptualisation of Covid-19 in parliamentary discourse: A corpus-assisted study

Kwabena Sarfo Sarfo-Kantankah¹⁸ Ebenezer Agbaglo¹⁹ Frank Mensah, Jr.²⁰

Abstract

Ever since the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic, several parliaments around the world have had to completely or partially close down, yet parliaments perform key roles in fashioning out laws and policies for the fight against the disease. To this end, the views of parliamentarians about the pandemic and its related issues are crucial for legislation and control of the disease, yet studies have hardly examined the views and the discourses of parliamentarians around the Covid-19 pandemic. Employing a corpus-assisted methodological approach and conceptual metaphor theory, this study examines the discourses of Ghanaian parliamentarians around the disease in order to explore how the parliamentarians metaphorically construct the pandemic. The study finds that the Covid-19 pandemic is metaphorically constructed as an enemy and the fight against it construed as war. Being a war, it entails several constituent elements without which the war will be unsuccessful, including the soldiers of the war (medical workers, frontline workers, government, parliament), who need weapons (medical tools, personal protective equipment, vaccine) to battle Covid-19 on the battlefield (Ghana, hospitals, treatment centres) to avoid/reduce the number of casualties/victims (Ghanaians, economy, society) by putting in place certain strategies (creation of a Covid-19 fund, protocols, quarantine). The study contributes to the ongoing discourses aimed at understanding the global experiences of the Covid-19 pandemic as well as an understanding that aspects of metaphor that reflect natural kinds of experience may be universal.

Keywords

Metaphorical Conceptualisation, Covid-19, Coronavirus, Parliamentary Discourse, Corpus-Assisted Study, Metaphor of War, Metaphor of Violence

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¹⁸ Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5662-2886>, esarfo@ucc.edu.gh

¹⁹ Demonstrator, Department of English, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4720-0662>, ebengola@gmail.com

²⁰ Demonstrator, Department of English, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, jfm4790@gmail.com

Introduction

The advent of the Covid-19 pandemic has led to several policy directions by governments the world over, including both advanced economies and developing ones.

According to Alon, Kim, Lagakos and VanVuren “[a]s COVID-19 made its way to less-developed countries, policy makers there largely followed suit with similarly sweeping lockdowns ... [y]et it quickly became clear that policy responses in the developing world could not just mimic those of the west” (Alon, Kim, Lagakos and VanVuren, 2020: 1). Notwithstanding the challenges with the developing world, governments have made several policy decisions to combat the pandemic. In making such decisions, parliaments have played major roles, including the passage of laws to allow governments to borrow and vote money to meet the financial demands posed by the disease. Since parliaments the world over perform similar functions including legislation and oversight, studying parliamentary reactions to the pandemic can provide a global appreciation of the disease. Our view is that understanding country-specific parliamentary discourses around the Covid-19 pandemic will help appreciate the universal experiences of the pandemic, hence our interest in highlighting the Ghanaian parliamentary experience of the pandemic.

On the 21st of January, 2020, the Government of Ghana (GoG) (Government of Ghana, 2020a), through the Health Ministry, issued a press statement announcing the outbreak of the Coronavirus disease in China. The Government further announced measures put in place to forestall any outbreak of the disease in Ghana. The measures included: (1) alert messages sent to all the regions in Ghana on the outbreak in addition to guidance information on the disease; (2) enhanced surveillance at points of entry especially the Kotoka International Airport; (3) an in-country capacity to diagnose 2019-nCoV by the Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research; and (4) the screening of passengers from China. The statement further stated some prevention protocols, including regular handwashing, hand rubbing with alcohol, social and physical distancing. On 12th March, 2020, Ghana recorded the first two cases of Covid-19 in Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2020b). By 15th March, 2020, Ghana had recorded six (6) cases, which led to the GoG announcing the closure of universities, senior high schools and basic schools by 16th March 2020 together with enhanced protocols at all businesses and other workplaces, and establishments such as supermarkets, shopping malls and transport yards. On 28th March, GoG announced a 14-day partial lockdown in some areas of the country, beginning 30th March, 2020, at a point when 141 cases with five (5) deaths had been recorded (Afriyie, Asare, Amponsah and Godman, 2020). The World Health Organization (WHO) declared Covid-19 a global pandemic on 11th March, 2020, by which time the disease had become a public health emergency in Ghana needing urgent attention. The President of the Republic of Ghana gave two-weekly updates on measures taken to combat the disease.

While there have been several measures aimed at fighting the Covid-19 outbreak in Ghana, one body that needed to perform a very crucial role was the Parliament of Ghana. For instance, it was Parliament that passed the law to make the restrictions act possible so that the GoG could enforce the lockdown. It was Parliament’s duty to pass legislation to make it possible for the GoG to borrow money to fight the pandemic, as it had had serious financial implications for the GoG. But for parliaments to support the government in passing laws to tackle the pandemic demands a certain understanding of the pandemic by parliamentarians.

Even though several studies have examined discourses around Covid-19 (cf. Al Husain, 2020; Ivić and Petrović, 2020; Nor and Zulcafli, 2020; Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020; Luporini, 2021), with some adopting corpus-linguistic methodological approaches (see Almázan-Ruiz and Orrequia-Barea, 2020; Joharry and Turiman, 2020; Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020), studies have hardly looked at the Covid-19 pandemic from a parliamentary discourse perspective. This is surprising considering that parliament is central to an effective management of the disease.

Again, while a few of the studies have examined discourses around Covid-19 through metaphorical standpoints, in an attempt to provide some understanding of people's experience of the disease (see Al Husain, 2020; Ivić and Petrović, 2020; Tisdall, 2020; Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020; Luporini, 2021), we are yet to fully explore the extent to which the metaphorical conceptualisation of Covid-19 provides a global understanding and experience of the disease. This study, thus, explores the conceptual metaphor discourses of Ghanaian parliamentarians around the Covid-19 pandemic in order to:

Contribute to the ongoing discourses aimed at understanding the global experience of the Covid-19 pandemic;

Contribute to the understanding that aspects of metaphor that reflect natural kinds of experience may be universal, since conceptual metaphors can demonstrate some universality of languages and cultures (Kovecses, 2010).

The rest of the paper begins with a review of relevant studies on Covid-19 and a discussion of conceptual metaphor theory, in order to position the paper within the existing literature and theory. This is followed by a description of data and methods, analysis and discussion, and then conclusion.

1. Studies on Covid-19

On December 31, 2019, the Chinese government drew the attention of the World Health Organisation (WHO) to pneumonia cases in Wuhan City in China. The cause was reportedly unknown and the disease was first named 2019-nCoV and then coronavirus (COVID-19) (Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020). Since then, the disease has spread quickly throughout China and to the rest of the world, affecting millions of people and killing many individuals (Dong and Gardner, 2020). Because of the pandemic's effect on people's health and countries' economies, governments all over the world are struggling to find ways to control the disease and minimize its negative effects (Dong and Gardner, 2020). Measures adopted by governments to control the spread of the disease include shutting down of schools and locking down of cities (Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020). The disease has also engendered research, predominantly from the field of public health and medicine (Mukumbang, 2020; Singleton and Soffin, 2020; Xue, Chen, Chen, Zheng, Li and Zhu, 2020), attempting to come up with a vaccine that can deal with the disease and also to recommend ways of boosting the immune system against the disease (Prajapat, Sarma, Shekhar, Avti, Sinha, Kaur, and Medhi, 2020) and dealing with anxiety that comes with the disease (Kumar and Somani 2020).

Aside from studies that have investigated the matter from public health perspectives, a few studies have examined coronavirus discourse from linguistic perspectives (Bischetti, Canal and Bambini 2021; Chen 2020; Essam and Abdo 2020; Muñoz, Díaz and Ibáñez, 2020; Zhang and Wu, 2020; Zhu, 2020), with the focus largely being on social media language related to coronavirus. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Zhu (Zhu, 2020), for instance, traced the reception and contextualization of the term, Chinese Virus, on Weibo, a Chinese social media platform. The study revealed that responses to the term fell into five linguistic categories (acronym, transliteration, coinage, verbal repetition and others), noting that these linguistic forms served functions such as insults, return insults, and resisting the power asymmetry between English and Chinese. Relying on data from press conferences, news media, and YouTube, Chen (Chen, 2020) similarly used Van Leeuwen's (Van Leeuwen, 2008) social actor analysis to examine the linguistic strategies used in disseminating public health information in multilingual communities in Taiwan, which focused on social inclusion and exclusion in collaborative efforts at combating the pandemic.

Diverging significantly from the social media focus of linguistic research on the coronavirus disease, Joharry and Turiman (Joharry and Turiman, 2020) used a corpus-assisted discourse

analytical approach to examine the discourses around coronavirus, as expressed in public letters to the editor in Malaysia. Also relying on corpus linguistic methods, Almázan-Ruiz and Orrequia-Barea (Almázan-Ruiz and Orrequia-Barea, 2020) analysed the headlines of UK newspapers related to coronavirus and found, among other things, that the dominant illocution in the corpus was warning. Sardinha (Sardinha, 2020) examined the discourses surrounding the disease, using coronavirus corpus as data. Chatti (Chatti, 2021) employed corpus-linguistic methods to study the military framing of Covid-19 in Tunisia. Other linguistic studies have focused on communication challenges in the coronavirus pandemic (Marler and Ditton, 2021; Piller, Zhang and Li, 2020; Zhang and Wu, 2020). From a communication perspective, Chatti (Chatti, 2021: 34) has noted that, while warfare metaphors allowed political and medical authorities to galvanise efforts and legitimise actions, there were questions about their conceptual significance and communicative relevance, as the “[f]ear-driven responses related to war imagery might evoke a distorted conception of the pandemic, negatively influencing prevention and treatment”. Some studies also focused on the conduct of English language test during the pandemic (Clark, Spiby and Tasviri, 2020; Green and Lung, 2020; Ockey et al., 2020).

While the aforementioned studies are insightful in revealing the linguistic aspects of the coronavirus pandemic, we still know very little about the discourses of the pandemic in the context of Africa, given that previous studies have largely focused on Asia (Chen, 2020; Zhang and Wu, 2020; Zhu, 2020), Europe (Bischetti et al., 2021; Shymko and Babadzhanova, 2020), and North America (Ockey et al., 2020), except for Chatti’s (Chatti, 2021) military framing of Covid-19, which was conducted in Tunisia. This is surprising given that African countries were considered vulnerable to the pandemic, with Ghana among the least resilient (Gilbert et al., 2020; Raga and Velde, 2020). Besides, studies have not investigated the language of coronavirus from the policymakers’ perspective. It is against this background that the present study examines the discourses of the Covid-19 pandemic in the Parliament of Ghana, a West African country, with the view of revealing how the problem of coronavirus is discussed in the selected parliament. Our focus on parliament is significant, given that the fate of the country in times of the coronavirus is largely dependent on the decisions taken by Parliament in respect of combating the spread of the virus.

2. Theory: conceptual metaphor, the metaphor of war and violence

Study is grounded in the theory of conceptual metaphor, with a slant towards the metaphors of war, illness and violence. Conceptually, Lakoff and Johnsen (Lakoff and Johnsen, 1980, 2003: 5) define metaphor as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another, which means mapping one conceptual domain to another domain or regarding one thing as a symbol of another.

Such a mapping usually creates incongruity or semantic tension at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels (Charteris-Black, 2004). Metaphor also means talking and potentially thinking about one thing in terms of another because of a perceived similarity between the two (Semino, Demjén, Demmen, Koller, Payne, Hardie and Rayson, 2017). For example, life may be conceived of in terms of war: Life is war, where, cognitively, life is thought of as a struggle, a prolonged fight. According to Lakoff and Johnsen (Lakoff and Johnsen, 2003: 157):

Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience. A given metaphor may be the only way to highlight and coherently organize exactly those aspects of our experience. Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the

metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies.

Semino et al. (Semino et al., 2017) state that metaphors are used to talk about abstract, complex, subjective and sensitive experiences (for example, illness, death and the emotions around them) in terms of more concrete, simpler, less subjective and less sensitive ones.

Within the last four decades, research has shown that illnesses conjure several metaphors that see those illnesses as danger and destruction (cf. Sontag 1978, 1989; Skott, 2002; Reisfield and Wilson, 2004; Semino et al., 2017). A disease treatment may be considered as war (Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020), as in: Disease Treatment is War, or Treating Disease is Waging War (EN MetaNet Wiki, 2013). An EN MetaNet Wiki (EN MetaNet Wiki, 2013) detailed analysis of Disease Treatment as War shows that the disease is considered as the enemy being fought against, medical professionals as the army, doctors as generals, body as the battlefield, medical tools and medicines as weapons, and applying treatment as fighting. Addressing a social problem can also be perceived as war (EN MetaNet Wiki 2013) and since the Covid-19 is a public health crisis, the fight against it can be considered as war. The use of metaphorical language in describing Covid-19 in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse demonstrates the concept of war, a way of seeing social reality of challenges, which calls for policy actions and strategies for handling the threat imposed by the disease (cf. Lakoff and Johnsen, 2003). Thus, the language of MPs describing the pandemic invokes the metaphors of war, illness and violence. The foregoing is what informs the current study.

3. Data and methods

The data for this study are a corpus of 3,079,768 tokens/running words of Ghanaian parliamentary Hansards, which were downloaded from the website of the Parliament of Ghana (<https://www.parliament.gh>). The data cover January 2020 through December 2020. The period covers the time when discussions of the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak emerged in Ghana, January, through March when the pandemic peaked leading to the suspension and closure, by the Government of Ghana, of all public gatherings, including conferences, workshops, funerals, festivals, political rallies, sporting events and religious activities, universities, senior high schools, and basic schools, among others, to December 2020, when the spread of the pandemic had slowed and largely been controlled. The period also coincides with the final year of the life of the Seventh Parliament of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, which was dissolved on midnight of 6th January, 2021.

The study employs a corpus-linguistic methodological approach, a computer-aided analysis of very extensive, electronically-stored collections of transcribed utterances or written texts (Baker, 2010; McEnery and Hardie, 2012). Through Wordsmith Tools (Scott, 2012) the study uses concordances and collocates to examine in context identifiable topics and themes relating to Covid-19. Concordance is “a list of all attestations (or hits) of a particular search word or phrase, presented with a user-defined amount of context to the left and right of the search word or phrase” (Wulff and Baker, 2020: 161). The purpose is to identify which important features and discourse themes characterize the data, with reference to Covid-19. First, the Hansards were converted to .txt documents to make them Wordsmith-readable and all headers and unwanted texts deleted. Second, we ran concordances of the search term Covid and generated all the instances of the occurrence of Covid-19, which led to the generation of 1,201 concordance lines, as in Figure 1, which is the first 25 concordance lines. We then did a qualitative analysis using the concept of semantic prosody, “a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates” (Louw, 2000: 57) or a form of evaluative meaning which “spread[s] over a unit of language which potentially goes well beyond the single orthographic

word and is much less evident to the naked eye” (Partington, 2004: 131-132). The concordance and semantic prosody analysis allows us to identify the thematic categories that characterise MPs’ discourse around Covid-19.

The corpus-methodological analysis is a lead up to the identification and discussion of the metaphors used to describe Covid-19. The identification of the metaphorical expressions is informed by Charteris-Black’s (Charteris-Black, 2004) criterion for identifying metaphors, namely: the presence of incongruity or semantic tension – either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels – resulting from a shift in domain use. We then examine the conceptual metaphors following Lakoff and Johnsen’ (Lakoff and Johnsen, 2003) conceptual metaphor analysis.

4. Analysis and discussion

This section is divided into three. Section 4.1 identifies the patterns and themes around Covid-19. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 analyse and discuss the use of metaphorical language in MPs’ discursive construction of the Covid-19 pandemic.

4.1 Identifying patterns and themes around Covid-19

This section identifies the patterns of collocates that indicate how MPs talk about Covid-19, using Figures 1 and 2 as illustrations. In the middle of Figure 1 is the search term COVID-19, which is highlighted.

At the left and right sides of COVID-19 are two windows of specified amount of words. These words form the context words which give us information about what is said about COVID-19. By observing the context words, we can glean some information about what is being said about COVID-19. For example, we learn about something being done to tackle COVID-19 (as in: help address, Line 1; to deal with, Line 4; assist the country in tackling, Line 11; the efforts of Government to combat, Line 13; to continue with the fight against, Line 23; to combat, Line 25; etc.). We also learn about establishing a fund and financial commitments (An act to establish ... National Trust Fund, Line 3; have spent a lot of money, Line 6; all these amounts, Line 10; to finance the Ghana, Line 14) and tests (tests, test, Lines 9, 20). We know that COVID-19 is described as a pandemic, which appears nine times. Considering verbal phrases such as to help address, to deal with, to combat, to assist ... in tackling, to continue with the fight against, to combat gives us a sense of what is being done to handle COVID-19.

Figure 1: A screenshot of the first 25 of 1,201 concordance lines.

It must be noted that the context window can be widened and/or the concordance display sorted according to the words in the left and/or right-hand context (for a detailed analysis of how to read concordances, see Wulff and Baker, 2020). In other words, there are several ways in which the concordance lines can be manipulated to observe the context words in order to explore various meaningful patterns. Thus, another way to observe the concordance lines and identify the most salient thematic issues is to examine the patterns of the collocates, that is, words that typically co-occur with Covid-19, as shown in Figure 2. The salient collocates, with their number of occurrence, from L1-L5 are: L1 – Ghana 25, combat 07, novel 06, disease 05; L2 – impact 39, fight 31, combat 15, spread 13, cases 12, CSM 11, Ghana 10, fighting 10, exposed 9; L3 – finance 19, impact 17, outbreak 11, impacted 10, systems 9, result 8, due 7, establishment 7, affected 7, implementation 7, posed 7; L4 – food 11, government 9, situation 6; L5 – government 16, million 8, afflicted 8, Ghana 6, health 6. The salient R1-R5 collocates are: R1 – year 2, related 2; R2 – National 53, Emergency 37, related 32, response 09, protocols 9, cases 8, Alleviation 8,

patients 8, virus 8; R3 – Trust 54, preparedness 25, response 11, expenditure 11, pandemic 9; R4 – Fund 52, assist 10, programme 9; R5 – Bill 30, response 1, health 8.

Figure 2: First 25 patterns of the collocates of Covid-19.

The above-mentioned collocates can be grouped into two major thematic categories, namely: (1) Covid-19 as a threat and crisis and its impact: emergency, spread, outbreak, cases, pandemic, impact(ed), affected, expenditure, etc.; and (2) Fight against Covid-19, including what is being done, the means and agents: fight(ing) (against), combat, response, protocols, alleviation, trust (fund), preparedness, response, assist, government, etc. These two themes are analysed and discussed in the next two sections.

4.2. Covid-19 as an enemy, a threat, a crisis, an invasion, a weapon

The Covid-19 pandemic is discursively and metaphorically constructed as an enemy, an invader, a threat and a crisis, with an overwhelming impact. Simply put, Covid-19 can be conceptualised as an invasion (Covid-19 is an invasion).

Goatly (Goatly, 2007) has noted that every disease can be constructed as an attack by invaders, that is, viruses or bacteria, or foreign bodies from outside. In other words, the pandemic has invaded Ghana and may strike or cause illnesses and death, and so the country must defend itself, fight and combat the pandemic by every means possible. For example, the Speaker of Parliament describes Covid-19 as the invisible enemy: “[w]e shall face every emergency, respond to every call to duty and never draw back as we support the Executive in the work of Ghana and for Ghana against the invisible enemy, COVID-19” (19 May 2020/Col.007), which is ready to destroy and/or to kill. Consider the following examples (note: italicised and/or underlined are mine; they indicate the focus of discussion).

(1) Mr Ben Abdallah Banda (MP, Offinso South):

The Committee deliberated on the urgency of the Bill on the basis of the Memorandum accompanying the Bill and the devastating threats posed by the COVID-19 pandemic ... The Committee has duly considered the urgency of the Bill in the light of the monumental threats posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and the urgent need to pass the Bill to give effect to the temporary measures announced by the President to combat the pandemic.

(19 March 2020/Col.237-238)

(2) Dr Mark Assiebey-Yeboah (Chairman, Finance Committee/MP, New Juaben South):

... the devastating impact of COVID-19 pandemic on revenue performance implies that the national budget is less able to support demand for additional financing toward combatting the COVID-19.

(7 Nov 2020/Col.153)

(3) Dr Bernard Okoe Boye (Deputy Minister for Health/MP, Ledzokuku):

Ghana’s mortality rate, deducing from the statistics, is 0.5 per cent. This means that for every thousand cases of COVID-19, Ghana could record five deaths. Although COVID-19 is regrettable and unfortunate, it is important to note that Ghana’s COVID-19 death rate remains one of the lowest in the world. The more efficient the management of COVID19 in the country, the lower the mortality rate.

(20 July 2020/Col.006)

In examples 1 and 2, Covid-19 is constructed as posing a devastating and monumental threat and having a devastating impact. The talk of the threat and impact of Covid-19 conceptually and

cognitively (cf. Charteris-Black, 2004) perceives Covid-19 as a weapon. Al-Mwzaiji (Al-Mwzaiji, 2021) observes that the coronavirus was considered by some people as a biological weapon, which, in Craig’s (Craig, 2020) term can inflict greater and even lethal damage. According to Al Husain (Al Husain, 2020; see also EN MetaNet Wiki, 2013; Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020), the metaphor of weapon is often used in health-related topics, where, for example, treatment is considered as fighting and medical tools represent the armour and weapons of patients. However, we consider the disease itself as a weapon (cf. Semino et al., 2017; Al-Mwzaiji, 2021). Al Husain (Al Husain, 2020) states that the disease itself became “a new weapon to win political battles”. The metaphorical weaponisation of diseases has been acknowledged in discourses about diseases (Craig, 2020). Semino et al. (Semino et al., 2017: 62) have noted that, in the case of cancer fighting a patient, “cancer can be described as ‘attacking from inside’ and ‘invading’ the body”. In the same way, we can describe Covid-19 as ‘attacking’ and ‘invading’ Ghana(ians). Constructing Covid-19 in terms of threat, impact and devastation suggests crisis, danger and an emergency, which demands immediate action. A weapon implies destruction and violence. Thus, we can conceptually regard Covid-19 as a weapon (Covid-19 is a weapon), which can be syllogistically explained as:

A weapon is a destroyer/destructive agent.

Covid-19 is a weapon.

Covid-19 is a destroyer/destructive agent.

As a weapon, Covid-19 has targets (victims) to destroy, which are socio-economic and humans, including the destruction of and impact on public gathering, households, businesses, the financial services, employment, job creation, revenue collection, among others, with death being the possible end scenario (cf. Al Husain, 2020). As a weapon, Covid-19 is destroying/killing Ghana(ians) (that is, Ghanaians are victims; see example 3: deaths, death rate and mortality rate). In this sense, Covid-19 can also be considered as an enemy who has declared war against Ghana(ians). Also, the use of a weapon can be considered as an act of war/aggression. Thus, we can generally represent the discussion so far as: Covid-19 is an ENEMY who has declared WAR against us, an invasion, to destroy us and we must FIGHT back (cf. Al Husain, 2020; Chatti, 2021). In the next section, we discuss the concept of the metaphor of war as observed in our data.

4.3 The metaphor of war against Covid-19, the enemy

The fight against Covid-19 is metaphorically constructed as a war. The war metaphor portrays Covid-19 as an enemy (as noted earlier), and the enemy must be fought against.

Lakoff and Johnsen (Lakoff and Johnsen, 2003: 266) have noted that a metaphor has “two domains: the target domain, which is constituted by the immediate subject matter, and the source domain, in which important metaphorical reasoning takes place and that provides the source concepts used in that reasoning”. Putting Lakoff and Johnsen’s explanation in our discussion here, we will say that in everyday sense, a war entails enemies, armies/soldiers, armoury/weapons, battlefield, casualties/victims and strategies for executing the war (source domain). If we metaphorically project this entailment/source domain concept onto the fight against Covid-19 (our target domain), we should be able to identify the analogues of the above-mentioned elements of war. In other words, “[c]ertain aspects of the source and those of the target are brought into correspondence with each other in such a way that constituent elements of the source correspond to constituent elements of the target” (Kovecses, 2010: 121). This way, we can consider war as a hostile encounter between two enemies, Ghana and Covid-19. A war demands soldiers (frontline workers, medical personnel) and the soldiers require weapons (medical tools, personal protective equipment (PPE, nose masks, hand sanitisers, vaccine)). Ghana is considered as the battlefield, with casualties/victims being Ghanaians, the economy and

social relations. The strategy for executing the war includes creation of a Covid-19 fund to fight the pandemic, quarantine, social distancing, nose masking and other protocols. These are discussed in turn.

Ghana and Covid-19 are enemies at war. As noted in example (4) the country is said to be in abnormal times and that the state needs to fight the Covid-19 pandemic. The implication is that the state is at war, in a hostile encounter, with Covid-19. Covid-19 is constructed as the enemy to fight.

(4) Mr Joe Osei-Owusu (Chairman of Appointments Committee and MP, Bekwai):

The nominee acknowledged that the country is not in normal times and that the State will have to deploy all the forces at its disposal to fight the COVID-19 pandemic.

(20 May 2020/Col.101-104)

By trying to keep Covid-19, the enemy, at bay, the country/state can be conceptualised as a container, as exemplified in (5). Ghana is a container from which Covid-19 must be kept away. The container metaphor captures “the notion of a bounded area protecting what is within from external danger” (Charteris-Black, 2006: 563), or “a spatial containment schema which grounds conceptualizations of one’s country as a closed container that can be sealed or penetrated” (Chilton 2004: 118). The notion of Ghana as a bounded area away from which Covid-19 must be kept is contained in such expressions as (5): the various points and indeed ports of entry – the airports and our seaports, land, sea and air and by road to Ghana, the border at Aflao and route. In one instance, Mr Bedzrah (MP, Ho West) wanted to know what the Ministry of the Interior was doing to protect people who had property across the border so that “they do not contract the virus from across the border into the country” (3 June 2020/Col.012). In this way Covid-19 is seen as an external force that threatens the security of Ghana. The container metaphor has been recognised as being pervasive in political discourse and communication, especially when talking about the security of nations (see Charteris-Black, 2006). The implication is that if the borders are not secured in the war against Covid-19, the country’s security is at risk.

(5) Majority Leader (Mr Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu):

Again, the Hon Minister has indicated to us the preparations they are doing at the various points and indeed ports of entry – the airports and our seaports. In Ghana, those of them who enter the country by land far outnumber those who come by sea and air.... Mr Speaker, I understand some of the Chinese are dropping in Nigeria and coming by road to Ghana. If that is the truth, then we should also be careful at the border at Aflao and institute measures to ensure that there is no transmission by that route. Mr Speaker, the mingling of immigrants at the border at Aflao sometimes is rather too heavy and that could facilitate the early and easy transmission of the disease.

(4 Feb 2020/Col.065-066)

The container metaphor construes countries as entities which must be protected from penetration and occupation by outsiders by refusing them illegal entry. It, thus, invokes the notion of Covid-19 as a foreign disease being spread by immigrants from China who are crossing borders: some of the Chinese are dropping in Nigeria and coming by road to Ghana and the mingling of immigrants at the border at Aflao ... could facilitate the early and easy transmission of the disease (5). The assumption is that if Ghana loses control of illegal immigration, Covid-19 will penetrate her borders and infect Ghanaians. As noted by Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black, 2006: 576) “the concept of a loss of control can be equated to the perforation of a container and penetration of a bounded area, hence in rhetorical terms loss of control arouses the emotion of fear of external dangers”. It is such representation of fear that moves power bearers into action (cf. Al-Ghamdi, 2021; Chatti, 2021), echoing Tisdall’s (Tisdall, 2020) view that using metaphors of war breeds fear and anxiety, divides communities, compromises democracies, generates a turf war between

countries, creates global confrontation and may legitimize the use of actual military actions. To this end, the Minister for the Interior/MP for Lawra noted that the Ghana Immigration Service had “among other actions taken, been sensitising border communities to cooperate to prevent illegal entry” (3 June 2020/Col.008-010). In a study of public discourses around Covid-19, Ivić and Petrović (Ivić and Petrović, 2020) noted that the Covid-19 pandemic had contributed to the rise of xenophobia and discrimination as a result of other people being perceived as carriers of the disease, thereby portraying Covid-19 as a foreign virus and leading to binary oppositions such as we/they, self/other, citizen/foreigner, among others. Al Husain (Al Husain, 2020) makes a similar observation when coronavirus is seen as a Chinese virus, while Koba (Koba, 2021) notes that the Covid-19 pandemic generated hate-related discourses against Asian Americans, especially the Chinese. Similarly, due to the Covid-19 outbreak, Ghanaian MPs see citizens of other countries through the lens of othering (cf. Ivić and Petrović, 2020; Koba, 2021), which resonates with the view that a war frame usage breeds fear and anxiety and divides communities (Tisdall, 2020; Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020; Chatti, 2021).

Medical personnel and other frontline workers, government and parliament are army/soldiers. As armies and soldiers are the ones mandated to prevent enemies from invading a country (the container), those fighting against the Covid-19 pandemic may be considered as the army or soldiers, that is, the State will have to deploy all the forces at its disposal (example (4)). The expression, the State will have to deploy all the forces at its disposal, is itself metaphorical, where forces has a military strength connotation. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED online) (Oxford English Dictionary, 2021, see also Microsoft Encarta Dictionary, 2009) defines forces as the troops or soldiers composing the fighting strength of a kingdom or of a commander in the field; a body of police or policemen considered collectively; a group organised to fight; a group of people working together for a particular purpose; or the power and might of the state, etc. Deploying all the forces against Covid-19 means using all the available resources, medical personnel and other frontline workers, etc., to fight against the disease. Frontline workers, which became a jargon during the outbreak of Covid-19, was defined by Parliament as “any health worker who has been involved in the management of a confirmed case of COVID-19” (20 July 2020/Col.017-018). The frontline workers can, therefore, be considered in military terms as the commanders in the field (cf. OED, 2021), as, for example, Britain’s chief medical advisor being described as the “the ‘man with our lives in his hands’” (Tisdall, 2020: n.p.) and healthcare professionals, especially nurses, around the world willing to risk their lives to save others described as superheroes (Einboden, 2020) and warriors (Craig, 2020).

Medical equipment/tools are weapons. In the physical world, armies/soldiers require weapons (cf. Al Husain, 2020) to be able to successfully engage in a war. As part of the means of dealing with the pandemic, the Government of Ghana established a fund known as the Covid-19 Emergency Response Fund, part of which was to be used to procure additional PPEs [personal protective equipment] and medical equipment, and to equip testing centres and prepare treatment centres for the COVID-19 patients and to revamp emergency and critical care units in existing hospitals to expand capacity to deal with any upsurge in the virus (7 Nov 2020/Col.156). Weaponisation as part of the metaphor of war discourse around Covid-19 has been recognised in the literature (Al Husain, 2020; Ivić and Petrović, 2020; Nor and Zulcafli, 2020; Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020; Chatti, 2021), which affirms the commonalities in the global discourses around the pandemic. The metaphor of weapon evokes utility, protection, defence and battle readiness, in the sense in which the presence and attention of medical officers around a patient brings respite to the patient. At the peak of the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, Mahbubani (Mahbubani, 2020) described the choices made by doctors as to which patient to give medical attention as reminiscent of the choices made on a battlefield.

Ghana, hospitals, treatment centres are battlefields. In the war between Ghana and Covid-19, Ghana is considered as the battlefield, which either of the two wants to take control of. While

Covid-19 threatens to take over Ghana and kill everybody, the soldiers are trying to keep it in check. Dr Assibey-Yeboah notes that “[p]art of the facility will also be applied to revamp emergency and critical care units in existing hospitals to expand capacity to deal with any upsurge in the virus”. In healthcare circles, battle and battlefield metaphors are said to be common linguistic resources used to describe the struggles patients go through as they fight or battle various illnesses (Reisfield and Wilson, 2004; Potts and Semino, 2017). Often, the body is seen as the battlefield in the fight against cancer, suggesting the presence of the disease inside the patient’s body (Semino et al., 2017). The battle/battlefield metaphor connotes violence, where the disease violently fights the patient’s body. Similarly, while the battlefield metaphor indicates the struggle Ghana (led by frontline workers) is going through to respond to the threat posed by Covid-19, hospitals and treatment centres are considered as the battlefield where Covid-19 is engaged in a battle to protect the potential casualties or victims of the Covid-19 attack.

Ghanaians, the economy and social relations are casualties/victims. The casualties/victims of the Covid-19 war are Ghanaians, the economy and social relations, as, for example, the needy and vulnerable persons (example 6). Between January 2020 and December 2020, the period covered by the data for this research, Ghana recorded 54,286 cases with 333 deaths (World Health Organisation, 2020) and about 946 active cases (Myjoyonline, 2020). And as of today 18th May 2021, Ghana has 93,390 cases, 91,200 recoveries, about 1,308 active cases and 783 deaths (World Health Organisation, 2021). The pandemic has also had serious economic consequences for Ghana. According to Aduhene and Osei-Assibey (Aduhene and Osei-Assibey, 2021) within the first two months of the outbreak of Covid-19 in Ghana, an estimated 42,000 people lost their jobs, with the tourism and hospitality sector alone losing \$171 million dollars in three months and the healthcare system being overwhelmed by the number of increasing cases. In the budget statement and economic policy of the Government of Ghana for the 2021 financial year, the Minister of Finance stated that the outbreak of the pandemic led to “a sudden shortfall in Government revenues amounting to GH¢13.6billion” and “an unexpected and unavoidable rise in expenditures of GH¢11.7billion”, with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) stating that the COVID-19 pandemic had upended the economies of over 150 countries and was the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression in the 1930s (Ministry of Finance, 2021). The advent of Covid-19 broke social relations. The Imposition of Restrictions Act, 2020 (Act 1012) gave the President of Ghana the power to impose certain restrictions and other measures by an Executive Instrument intended to stop the importation of the virus and to contain its spread. The social and physical distancing protocols and the wearing of nose masks affected the way Ghanaians socially related. It affected the greeting culture of Ghanaians as they could not shake hands anymore (handshaking is/was a well-cherished Ghanaian way of greeting). The pandemic led to the Government of Ghana suspending and/or closing all public gatherings, including conferences, workshops, funerals, festivals, political rallies, sporting events and religious activities, universities, senior high and basic schools (cf. Aduhene and Osei-Assibey, 2020). This is similar to what Al Husain (Al Husain, 2020) notes happened in other places around the world. The creation of a Covid-19 fund, quarantine, social distancing, nose masking and other protocols are strategies. Winning a war demands well-planned and well-executed strategies. To contain the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Government of Ghana outlined and implemented several strategies. This included the establishment of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) National Trust Fund to complement the efforts of Government in the fight against COVID-19 (2 April 2020/Col.212), the Imposition of Restrictions Act, 2020 (Act 1012) ... to impose certain restrictions and several other measures such as the declaration of COVID – 19 as a public health emergency, the closure of our borders, mandatory quarantine for fourteen days, testing of persons who entered the country from 2nd March, 2020, and the treatment of persons who tested positive for COVID–19 and other restrictions of movement of persons, including a partial lockdown (2 April 2020/Col.024-025).

The foregoing discussion can be conceptually represented in a mapping of source-target domain as shown in Figure 3.

Fig. 3

Source domain	Target Domain
WAR	COVID-19 OUTBREAK
Enemy	Covid-19
Army/Soldiers	Frontline workers, government, parliament
Weapons	medical tools, PPE, vaccine
Battlefield	Ghana, hospitals, treatment centres
Casualties/Victims	Ghanaians, economy, society
Strategy	Covid-19 fund, protocols, quarantine

The mapping of source-target domain is similar to those found by Al Husain (Al Husain, 2020), Ivić and Petrović (Ivić and Petrović, 2020), Nor and Zulcafli (Nor and Zulcafli, 2020), Wicke and Bolognesi (Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020), Chatti (Chatti, 2021) and Luporini (Luporini, 2021), which demonstrates similar metaphors and descriptions of the pandemic across the globe.

Conclusion

This paper sought to examine the metaphorical conceptualisation of the Covid-19 pandemic in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse, a leading African democracy. The analysis and discussion shows that, in the discourses of parliamentarians, the Covid-19 pandemic is metaphorically conceptualised as an enemy that needs to be fought against. The pandemic is also conceptualised as a weapon that poses a huge threat to the Ghanaian society. The fight against Covid-19 is metaphorically construed as a war. And being a war entails several constituent elements without which the war will be unsuccessful. These include the soldiers of the war (medical workers, frontline workers, government, parliament), who need weapons (medical tools, PPE, vaccine) to battle Covid-19 on the battlefield (Ghana, hospitals, treatment centres) to avoid/reduce the number of casualties/victims (Ghanaians, economy, society) by putting in place certain strategies (creation of a Covid-19 fund, protocols, quarantine). In the overall discussion, the following conceptual metaphors were identified, namely: Covid-19 is an enemy, a threat, a crisis; Covid-19 is a weapon; Ghana is a container; Covid-19 is a war. These are similar to the findings of other studies such as Al Husain (Al Husain, 2020), Ivić and Petrović (Ivić and Petrović, 2020), Nor and Zulcafli (Nor and Zulcafli, 2020), Wicke and Bolognesi (Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020) Chatti (Chatti, 2021) and Luporini (Luporini, 2021) who found comparable conceptualisations of the Covid-19 pandemic. These similarities point to how studies of discourses of different cultures' experiences of the same or similar phenomenon can lead to an understanding of the universality (or otherwise) of metaphors in particular and languages in general.

The study contributes to the ongoing discourses aimed at understanding the global experience of the Covid-19 pandemic as well as an understanding that aspects of metaphor that reflect natural kinds of experience may be universal (see Lakoff and Johnsen, 2003; Kovecses, 2010). The implication is that the description of the same natural occurrences across the world can contribute to our understanding of how similarly or differently people experience the same phenomenon across cultures and how human feelings and language are related or unrelated.

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Relational Needs and Belonging in Conditions of Social Exclusion: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Claire Prendergast²¹ Imac Maria Zambrana²²

Abstract

Individuals and groups can experience different forms of social exclusion across multiple domains of social life. Owing to its multivariate nature, a generalized approach to studying exclusion has been adopted in empirical work within the field of social psychology. As such, the relational needs thwarted by various forms of exclusion tend to be accounted for by the generalized construct, the *need to belong*. To increase the specification of these aspects in exclusion research, the interdisciplinary approach of critical discourse analysis and related analytic tools, such as the discursive construction of identity, are used to perform a contextual and systemic analyses of the relational needs implicated in conditions of everyday exclusion. In the discourse of a sample population in Beirut, Lebanon, we aimed to show how distinct relational needs such as *acceptance* and *fitting in* can be disentangled from one another, and from the term *belonging*, as a higher-order concept, disambiguated in natural language. Semi-structured interviews conducted using the language of belonging methodology involved images of socio-political importance as triggers for talk that generated rich data for critical discourse analysis. This resulted in a contextual analysis of sectarianism as exclusionary and a thematic analysis of other experiences of exclusion linked to gentrification, geopolitical division and globalization. Our findings suggest that, as hypothesised, individuals employ distinct terminology when alluding to different experiences of exclusion. This illustrates the benefits of interdisciplinary methods in accounting for social phenomena more fully, and highlights the need for increased specification of generalized constructs in future empirical work on social exclusion in social psychology.

Keywords

Social Exclusion, Relational Needs, Belonging, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discursive Construction of Identity

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²¹ University of Oslo, Norway, <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5173-1562>, claire.prendergast@ifikk.uio.no.

²² University of Oslo, Norway, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5904-1777>, i.m.zambrana@isp.uio.no.

Introduction

Social exclusion is a complex social phenomenon. Individuals and groups can be excluded in many different ways and for many different reasons. Moreover, exclusion operates on different levels of social experience, within and between individuals, communities, institutions, nation states and global regions (Mathieson et al., 2008) and as such, through various socio-political processes (e.g. sectarianism, gentrification, geopolitical division and globalization).

While some conceptual and theoretical frameworks exist that seek to encapsulate its many dimensions, both in terms of why it happens, such as Abrams, Hogg and Marques' (Abrams, Hogg and Marques, 2005) framework for inclusion and exclusion, and how we cope with the experience, such as Richman and Leary's (Richman and Leary, 2009) multi-motive model, social psychologists have primarily been focused on finding out how individuals and groups respond to such social treatment in experimental settings. Thus, to test its effects empirically, 'social exclusion' has been modelled in a generalized way through the use of exclusion paradigms such as cyberball. This experimental manipulation involves taking part in a virtual ball-tossing game during which participants stop receiving passes from other players (Williams and Jarvis, 2006) and it thus acts as a proxy for the experience of exclusion. In addition, generalized accounts of the underlying relational needs that play a role in shaping how individuals respond in the experimental setting to such paradigms have been offered. Notably, a universal need to belong construct has been cited as the main driver of responses (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). Others have posited a more nuanced account of responses such as the Need Threat Model including belonging, self-esteem, control and meaningful existence (Williams, 2009).

While a generalized approach to exclusion research cuts through some of the complexity of investigating the phenomenon empirically, it has also resulted in a body of literature within the field of social psychology that can be difficult to navigate and interpret in an ecologically valid way. For example, meta-analytic reports have outlined inconsistencies across findings from hundreds of exclusion studies within the field (Blackhart et al., 2009; Gerber and Wheeler, 2009; Hartgerink et al., 2015). More qualitative work is thus needed to inform and improve empirical methods used in future experimental studies within the field of social psychology, as well as to address the ecological validity of the results.

In the present study, our aim was to increase the specification of the generalized construct of need to belong by parsing out distinct relational needs (i.e. the need for acceptance and the need to fit in) from the higher-order concept of belonging (i.e. a deep and meaningful connection to a group or place). We in turn show how these distinct relational needs are differentially implicated in conditions of social exclusion as brought about by exclusionary acts categorised as either explicit or implicit exclusion. The interdisciplinary approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA; van Dijk, 2015) is employed to model the phenomenon of social exclusion in a systemic way through multi-level analysis of everyday discourse and further analyse how this discourse reinforces such exclusionary conditions. Our research questions were thus: Can an interdisciplinary approach such as CDA and associated discourse analytic tools help to distinguish between the relational needs of acceptance and fitting in and the higher-order concept of belonging as implicated in everyday experiences of social exclusion? And, as individuals allude to their own relational needs, do they simultaneously set up or perpetuate conditions of explicit and implicit exclusion?

Beirut, Lebanon, was chosen as the location to conduct our study due to social identities that are based on religious sect. While other markers of social identity may serve to include and exclude individuals in Beirut, even within their own religious sect, or indeed in any society, the multiplicity of religious sects living in proximity in Beirut makes the Lebanese capital an interesting social setting to conduct this type of exclusion research. Due to the spatial organization of the city, residents in Beirut navigate and negotiate sectarian social boundaries on a daily basis. Since social exclusion, on the societal level, has been linked to maintenance of group identity (e.g. ‘us’ vs. ‘them’), the choice of religious sect as a social category made Beirut an appropriate context for studying the phenomenon. Thus, our contextual analysis of the data is based on the exclusionary theme of sectarianism. However, religious sect only played a small moderating role in our analysis of the other exclusionary themes found in the data which became the focus of our analysis.

To achieve our research aims, we illustrate how everyday experiences of exclusion can be specified and distinguished (e.g., ‘social marginalization’ as distinct from ‘social alienation’). This is also the case for the underlying drivers of responses (i.e. the relational needs) that are implicated in different conditions of exclusion. These social needs are herein referred to as *acceptance* and *fitting in* and are specified externally through explicit acts of exclusion that are active and direct and internally through implicit forms of exclusion that are passive and indirect, respectively. Since these basic needs are often conflated with the higher-order concept of *belonging* in the social psychological literature on exclusion, we sought to disentangle the terms from one another and disambiguate the referent term through the analysis of discursive strategies used by the study informants. We expected that this would in turn shed light on the dynamic interplay of these relational needs with different exclusionary events as they occur in everyday social life.

1. States of social exclusion as brought about by distinct forms

First, we turn our attention toward the terms used to refer to some distinct conditions of social exclusion and offer the following definitions.

‘Disenfranchisement’, as linked to sectarianism, is related primarily to a lack of political representation for an individual or group, who do not *fit in* due to lack of shared beliefs and values with majority members.

‘Social marginalization’ refers to a condition in which individuals or groups are not *accepted* by majority group members or society in general and, therefore, do not have equal access to resources. *Non-acceptance* is usually signalled through explicit forms of social exclusion that are externally cued in social arenas.

‘Social alienation’, on the other hand, refers to a state where one does not feel a deep-rooted sense of *belonging* in society - an internalized state of social exclusion that is shaped and reshaped over time by implicit forms of exclusion that signal *lack of fit* and *belonging*. Our work seeks to document the subtle differences between these states of exclusion and their associated forms of exclusion as well as the relational needs that feed into them, which have largely been overlooked in empirical work on exclusion to date. Here, we draw particular attention to these aspects since exclusionary processes can be layered and sometimes ambiguous, and thus not easily manipulated in the laboratory setting.

1.1. Basic relational needs implicated in conditions of exclusion

The relational needs that are thought to underpin human responses to exclusion have also been generalized into a composite self-report measure known as *the need to belong*, defined as a fundamental human motivation for interpersonal *acceptance* and *belonging* (Baumeister and Leary, 1995).

However, from this general definition, and again focusing on lexical meaning, it is possible to distinguish *acceptance*, that is externally specified by the group, for instance, to achieve shared benefit-related goals, from *belonging*, a higher-order relational concept linked to a deeply rooted, complex and meaningful connection to a group or place. What's more, the term *belonging* is a polyseme in the social psychological literature. Aside from constituting a higher-order concept, as referred to above, it is also used to refer to simple group membership, i.e. 'to be part of' or 'to be a member of' a group, and to denote a state of 'unconditional acceptance' externally specified by the group (Baumeister and Leary, 1995: 510). These initial distinctions in terminology and the ambiguity surrounding their interpretation highlights the need for increased specification of the terms employed in social exclusion research.

With this goal in mind, we propose that two basic relational needs, the need for *acceptance* and the need to *fit in* are implicated in different ways when individuals are faced with the threat or experience of distinct forms of social exclusion (i.e. explicit or implicit) and propose the following definitions for these terms. The need for *acceptance* can be understood as a drive to meet a social norm in order to ensure access to group resources and is most commonly thwarted by explicit forms of exclusion that deny such access externally. The need to *fit in*, on the other hand, is linked to an individual having social value within a group and implicit forms of exclusion often frustrate this need by reducing an individual's sense of self-worth internally. Often, *lack of fit* is assessed through a comparison of the individual and target group characteristics, a process in line with Festinger's (Festinger, 1954) social comparison theory.

The need for *acceptance* and the need to *fit in*, as mediators in everyday social relations, likely feed into higher-order cognitive processes such as *belonging* that is experiential, and shaped (and reshaped) over time. Herein, we show that the two basic relational needs and the higher order cognitive process of *belonging*, can be extrapolated from everyday discourse as distinct referent terms, and thus disentangled from one another. This shows that, contextually, they are differentially affected by explicit and implicit forms of social exclusion leading to states of exclusion that can in turn be understood as distinct.

2. Methodology

We used interdisciplinary approaches and analytic tools to conduct our research. Firstly, the discourse was recorded through semi-structured interviews using images of socio-political importance as triggers for talk in line with Meinhof and Galasiński's (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005) 'language of belonging' methodology (see Section 3.3. for more details). Informants are thus less likely to exhibit 'performance bias' as they are unaware of the specific aims of the study taking place and are only informed of the general topic of the research.

Secondly, critical discourse analysis (CDA; van Dijk, 2008, 2014, 2015) was used to analyse the data. CDA treats discourse as social practice, and therefore as embedded in the social context. We thus conceptualized exclusion as a social issue within society at large, according to CDA's socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 2014), and worked firstly in a top-down manner to deconstruct component parts of the societal frames that we uncovered in our contextual and thematic analysis. We then made use of the tenets of CDA to explore how everyday discourse can expose the workings of the relational needs of social actors (a bottom-up approach) and also serve to perpetuate and reinforce explicit, active and direct, as well as implicit, passive and indirect forms of exclusion on the group and individual level, according to these basic relational needs.

Finally, since social identity, specifically the processes of social identification (and disidentification), are rarely factored into social psychological reports on exclusion, we looked to the discursive construction of identity, as delineated by Wodak et al. (2009), and reconciled this approach with reference to the relational needs we specify herein.

2.1. The Language of Belonging

The language of belonging, a comprehensive study by Meinhof and Galasiński (2005) outlines a specific methodology for collecting discourse data centred around social relations.

Crucially, this work presents a method of data collection which involves interviews that allow for semi-structured, yet free-flowing conversation by opting to use images as triggers for talk. Directed thematic questions that involve key concepts of the research are thus kept to a minimum, making the data generated more representative of everyday discourse from which it is possible to extrapolate references to the key concepts through the processes of narrativization (and content entry points such as time, place and social relations, similar to the parameters of CDA).

In this study, we adopted this method of data collection by showing study participants images that were of historical and socio-political importance in the local context in Beirut, Lebanon and by inviting them to discuss these images freely in their own terms.

2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

A triangulated approach spanning the domains of history, politics and culture, CDA conceptualizes individuals as social actors whose social and personal cognitions constitute the bridge between the macro- (e.g. political structures), meso- (e.g. cultural narratives) and micro- (e.g. individual experiences) levels of social experience (van Dijk, 2015).

CDA, thus, provides a systemic solution to the analysis of complex social problems through its ability to deconstruct social phenomena into their component levels in this way, while offering a unifying context through which the connection and interaction between these dynamic parts can be understood.

2.3. The Discursive Construction of Identity

Analytic techniques offered by Wodak et al. (Wodak et al., 2009) enable thematic and grammatical analyses of discourse that can illustrate the dynamic shifts between identity construction that, in our case, directly and indirectly allude to, and even set up, conditions of social exclusion.

In discourse, individuals typically use constructive strategies, perpetuation and justification strategies, transformation strategies and dismantling strategies that expose the relationships between social structures and their own 'positioning' in the social context (Wodak et al., 2009). In the most obvious ways, discursive strategies that are contrastive, for instance, can be used to set up psychological boundaries between different groups (e.g. 'we', the ingroup vs. 'they', the outgroup) and can also facilitate group synchrony through the reinforcement of shared social representations (e.g. rhetoric or narrative) that serve to strengthen the identity of the ingroup members (Freake et al., 2010). However, these identities can shift according to the levels of analysis and contexts that are selected in a given discourse, and are reproduced interactionally and dynamically in everyday conversations (van Dijk, 2015) making specific case studies, such as the present study, important in understanding how different contexts may bring about different effects. Though not exhaustive, Wodak et al., (Wodak et al., 2009) offers a topos of discursive strategies of identity with categories of linguistic means and expressions that can be taken to underpin these strategies.

2.4. Context of the Discourse

We collected our data in Beirut, Lebanon. Beirut city has a rich historical, socio-political and cultural context (for a comprehensive account of this social context see: Llewellyn, 2010). Its selection as a location for data collection was based on the inherent multiplicity of social groups present, most notably defined by religious sect, and of which there are 18 recognised in total, that live side by side in the city. More generally, the Lebanese national identity is thought to be hybrid and fluid owing to a long history of sectarianism and socio-political unrest (Kassir and Fisk, 2010), making its capital, Beirut, a rich territory for exploring the strategies that can be deployed in discourse to construct multiple identities, and ultimately expose the often deemed necessary processes of social exclusion that permeate everyday social life. While our data was collected in 2017, the content of our study pertaining to access to resources (such as basic services including water and electricity in the city) is related to the more recent and ongoing wave of large-scale protests taking place in the city since late 2019, due to widespread distrust of political powers.

3. Data & Analysis

3.1. Participants

Overall, 21 informants were approached at random and interviewed in Beirut in June 2017. Interviews were recorded with an audio device and took place in public spaces including cafes, park benches, shopping squares, inside shops and on a university campus in diverse areas of the city.

The study content and data management protocol were approved by the national data protection service in Norway (NSD) and all data was anonymized. Explicit informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to the interview and 20 participants completed the interview with interview times ranging from 11 to 52 minutes, 440 minutes overall. Eleven of the interviews were conducted in English (non-native speakers), while 7 were carried out in Arabic, and 1 interview was held in French with two informants of the same demographic at the same time. Verbatim audio transcription was completed by the primary researcher (PR), the research assistant (RA) and one additional translator who provided a second transcript and translation of the Arabic interviews in English. The transcripts of the additional translator were included in the analysis.

Basic demographic information was recorded by the research assistant. Age, gender and religious sect of the participants is shown in Table 1 and Figure 1 of Appendix 1.

While we approached individuals at random in public spaces such as those listed above, we kept track of the representation of different age groups and gender, and aimed to sample from areas where finding individuals of a particular religious sect would be more probable to ensure an overall representative sample of the population of Beirut city, where representative is taken to mean a balanced sample across one or more of the demographic categories we recorded (e.g. age, gender or religious sect).

3.2. Data Collection

We conducted semi-structured interviews, anchoring the context of the discourse in images of places, people, events and objects that were presented to participants, according to the language of belonging methodology (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005).

At the outset of the interviews, participants were informed that the study was about identity and belonging. They were then shown 6 images in the same order and given the instruction to talk freely about what they saw represented in the image and to discuss what the image meant to them personally, or if they had any specific memories related to what was depicted in the image. For the most part, individuals spoke freely after the initial instruction. We used verbal prompts that were pre-set in an interview guide provided in Appendix 2, when necessary to encourage individuals to elaborate on their responses such as, “Please elaborate on your last point”. Finally, participants were asked to select one image from the six images that spoke to them the most.

3.3. Image selection

The 6 images used as triggers for talk were selected from a total of 23 potential images that had been sourced on Google Search Engine of local places, iconic figures and various social and political events in Beirut, Lebanon.

Initial image sourcing was conducted by the primary researcher through related keyword searches and final image selection was made by the local research assistant, together with a local visual artist, according to criteria set out by the language of belonging methodology (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005):

1. Photographs had to index places that would be recognizable to participants.

2. Photographs had to index pre-war Beirut and post-war contemporary Beirut as two distinct periods in time.

3. Photographs had to have a certain symbolic and/or an emotional significance in indexing key aspects of the historical, socio-political and cultural context.

The final 6 images selected were,

Image 1: A photograph of the famous Hotel Saint Georges from 1945 (pre-war era).

Image 2: A photograph of the mural of an iconic Lebanese singer, Sabah, displayed on the wall of a well-known cafe corner of Hamra Street (Ras Beirut).

Image 3: A photograph of the colourful "I <3 Beirut" sign that is placed in the newly gentrified Beirut Souks downtown area.

Image 4: A photograph of a celebration for the election of President Michel Aoun with supporters waving Lebanese, Free Patriotic Movement and Hezbollah flags together in Beirut's Martyrs' Square on October 31, 2016.

Image 5: A photograph of the 'You Stink' protesters, a social movement whereby youth of all religious sects gathered together to primarily protest improper waste management by the government but also with an agenda to highlight political corruption and sectarianism on September 20, 2015.

Image 6: A photograph of 8 Filipina women in their native dress performing the Habanera Botolena dance in celebration of The Philippine's Independence Day outside St. Joseph's Church in Beirut on June 7, 2015.

3.4. Analyses

All transcripts were first coded thematically. This entailed the extrapolation of common and shared exclusionary themes in the discourse of participants, that were encoded in the images, and spanned multiple domains of social life.

We were able to tap numerous parameters for the external and internal specification of *acceptance*, *fitting in* and *belonging* in the data that could be further linked to explicit and implicit forms of social exclusion. Consistent with CDA theory, the images presented to participants served to activate socio-cognitive schemas that were recurrent in the discourse and formed the basis for the analyses. The following is a summary of the shared references and thus main themes that emerged in the discourse of the participants.

The data generated around Image 1 brought the schema of the old heritage sites of Beirut and the 'golden ages' before the war, that elicited the common theme of gentrification of these areas.

Image 2 generated a shared schema for iconism with the focus being on Sabah (as represented in the image) or a preference for her more conservative and melancholic counterpart, Fairuz, according to participant's alignment with their values, as well as Hamra being the city's "melting pot", alluding to the common theme of geopolitical divisions.

Image 3 activated schemas for the new and "modernized" aspects of Beirut, exposing common themes of gentrification, globalization, economic disparity and a disconnect between the old and the new.

Image 4 elicited a statement of unconditional respect for a Presidential figure from many participants, yet engendered confusion over the "blend" of flags shown in the image alluding to the theme of sectarianism.

Image 5 brought up the need for social activism in relation to the supply of basic services leading to the theme of solidarity and social movements as anti-sectarian, yet nevertheless as politicized.

Image 6 was approached with a ‘why not’ attitude by most participants in relation to the schema of social and national celebration, but generated concerns and justifications in relation to how domestic workers are treated in the Lebanese context, together with Lebanese immigration policies, referring again to geopolitical divisions. These socio-cognitive schemas were moderated by age, nationality and religious sect, where age intersected with old and new elements of the images and nationality and religious sect implied not having direct experience with what was represented in some of the images due to cultural and socioeconomic reasons, and historically due to the city’s East-West divide between Christians and Muslims.

The data generated was extremely rich. We first present an analysis of sectarian context in which the data was collected. This is followed by an analysis of main recurrent exclusionary themes in the data that pointed to the everyday processes of exclusion and the underlying relational needs that feed into them, as per our research aims. These were gentrification (‘old’ vs. ‘new’), geopolitical division and globalization (‘us’ vs. ‘them’ and ‘here’ vs. ‘over there’). One analytic aspect of the discursive construction of identity, namely contrastive strategies, formed the basis of our analyses. Contrastive strategies were commonly employed by participants to position themselves socially through the use of personal deixis related to groups (‘us’ vs. ‘them’), the temporal topos of comparison (‘then’ vs. ‘now’) and also spatial topos of difference (‘here’ vs. ‘over there’), at varying levels of discourse.

This approach further enabled us to uncover discursive strategies that pointed to the relational needs of *acceptance* and *fitting in*, and the higher-order concept of *belonging*, as they are implicated by different forms of social exclusion in everyday life in Beirut.

3.4.1 Sectarian Context

In the words of one informant, sectarianism seems to be a *raison d’être* (002) for some individuals and groups in Beirut, an expression in French which means the purpose for someone or something's existence.

Indeed, sectarianism appears to be inherent to the Lebanese way of life; the political elite push for and support sectarian identities within Lebanon to uphold economic and ideological hegemony that serves the higher sectarian classes and leaves many without political representation (Salloukh et al., 2015). Interestingly, the images that invoked the concept of sectarianism most directly (Image 4 and 5), led to many of our informants, regardless of their religious sect, expressing their discontent with sectarianism as a way of life and showing concern for the lack of adequate political representation that such a system sets up and perpetuates. Statements made by some of the younger participants, in particular, who appeared to be apolitical, pointed to the widespread ‘disenfranchisement’ of individuals and groups in Beirut.

Similarly, the disconnection from politics and general anomie that these younger informants showed seemed to be owing to their own disapproval of a sectarian system that does not represent their otherwise non-sectarian approach to everyday social life.

At the micro and meso-levels of CDA, individuals spoke about their own personal positive experiences mixing with members of various other religious sects, as well as projected estimates of the level of harmony that they believe are present in everyday Beirut life. Of note in the discourse of these informants were the referential shifts that occurred as they identified (and dis-identified) with groups.

012: so you can find in this country really around 70% from the people who love to live in peace and love each other. But uh unfortunately, we... they have those people, those gangsters and they are... they are in the government.

Participant 012 shifts from “we” to “they” as he embarks on a negative appraisal of the Lebanese government that is pinpointed as being the cause of conflict between groups and therefore not part of the ‘we’ he starts out to define (i.e. the 70% of which he is seemingly part). Another participant’s transition from “the people” to “my friends” to “they” may be taken to constitute a referential shift that aims to support the strongest interpretation of the claim being made for harmony among individuals and groups, further bolstered by the use of “they all” seen later in the discourse. Contrastive strategies, including the personal deixis used, once more alluded to the misrepresentation of individuals and groups by politicians at the macro-level of CDA.

013: Now, I go every night to [inaudible]. And... And the... The people, my friends, they won't eat before I come. And on Christmas, on, on uh, Easter, they all come to me. You know?

PR: Mm-hmm

013: We don't have trouble. From... with our politician, that's it. Because they want us to be divided. They want to do uh, the business, they want to do the money... That's it.

A final informant’s discourse was peppered with linguistic hedges suggestive of psychological uncertainty “in general”, “I am only 19 years old”, but the overall message of solidarity with other sects was upheld through repeated utterances such as “not at all”, as well as the repetition of the kinds of friends from other sects that this participant has, “Christian friends and Armenian”,

008: Look the Christian people in general its true that I am only 19 years old but really I have seen a lot I have lived and dealt with different people all religions I don't have any issues with any religions not at all not at all not at all I have Christian friends and Armenian I come and go but look [inaudible]. I don't have a problem with any religion of course, because I have Christian friends and Armenian friends and everything.

Furthermore, and specifically at the meso-level of CDA, similar sentiments were shared by other informants in relation to the Lebanese people as a whole, with referential shifts tending in the opposite direction, such that the positive aspects were described in the third-person plural “they” and “their own” and a later comparison with the negatively referenced politicians, becoming “us”. It is possible that the RA’s prompt of ‘politicians’ reframes the speaker’s discourse into an addressee-inclusive ‘us’ helping the informant to assert more confidence in his claim and also pointing to the contextual effects of these processes of identification.

014: ...Uh, Beirut, it's a special place because, uh, people from Beirut, or Lebanese people, they love to live, uh, love life, uh, they forget, uh...the the bad things and move on, and they are successful in every country, in their own country, and I... I wish all the... all the... uh polit...

RA: Politicians.

014: Politicians will be like us...

Another informant attributed the conflict of division to groups and politicians indirectly through the use of symbolic representation (e.g. flags), that serve to visually demarcate group boundaries. Specifically, participant 006 reflected on a favourable future through the use of discontinuating strategies by referring to a future *present* reality that would be more representative of the harmony she would like to see between individuals and groups, but also a past reality that she claims would be written differently if the present could have been foreseen. This activity is attributed to a vague referent of ‘they’ in the discourse.

006: *it's sad that whenever a flag goes up against another flag there is division... it's evident division and I hope there comes a day when we're here when we're still alive where a present would truly represent us uh especially coming from... you know we got our independence and all these things that they told us at school about, you know, our country. If they were writing history now, it would be totally different... yeah...*

Furthermore, most informants showed support for the non-sectarian social movement, “You Stink” represented in Image 4. The students at AUB used contrastive strategies when speaking about the harmony between members of different religious sects on the campus and how this contrasted with the wider social reality outside the university grounds in Beirut city.

019: *...we should wake more on this idea... Like my feeling is that as people, we do not have... The Lebanese people do not have problem with each other. Like personally, I do not have any problem with all my friends here at AUB, regardless of their religious background, their political background or anything. I guess so on the micro level, there is, I guess, like I don't know, there's no problem between people, but then at the macro level... Yeah, the politic... Let's say the political arena, there is, there is difference...*

Participant 019 explicitly referred to her experience using the CDA terminology of micro- and macro-levels. Another young informant’s discourse was layered with speculative language “not really”, “I mean”, “I think” that pointed to the same uncertainty surrounding the politics of Lebanon and ultimately, a state of disenfranchisement.

020: *I am not really into the politics of Lebanon. I am not really into it...Uh, nor do I belong to any sect or party. Uh, I think it's, I don't know, I think all of this is stupid...Picking sects or parties, and you're just defending them, umm with all what you got and and it's not what Lebanon really is. I mean, the, the people, like in the university, when I came to university, I met people from all other sects, from all other religions, and I really found golden people that are not even in my same religion. I- I- I think this does not describe us as people....If, they just, I mean the, the university should represent like a miniature society, so I think what we have here, how we accept each other, is way beyond this. I don't really identify with this...Nor do I want to, yeah. I don't really want to even know politics of Lebanon. It's just messed up. Yeah, basically.*

Finally, across the three levels of CDA’s socio-cognitive model, it was possible to establish an overview of how macro-level processes influence meso and micro-level narratives and cognitions through discourse. However, most individuals were resisting the direct perpetuation of a sectarian system in their discourse. Motivation to enact any kind of social change was not to the fore of their discourse, exposing their disenfranchised states and this alludes to the explicit

(sectarian symbolism) and implicit forms (sectarian policies) of exclusion at play in this social context. Micro-societies such as universities, on the other hand, appear to enable individuals to achieve their needs for *acceptance* and *fitting in*, and even a contingent sense of *belonging* within a given context, showing the importance of contextual effects in shaping these needs and thus perhaps explaining the lack of motivation for social change within the wider society at the time.

3.4.2. Processes of Gentrification as Exclusionary

The theme of historical and contemporary Beirut was indexed in Image 1 and Image 3 of the study generating reflections on past and present realities for participants and social others. The downtown areas of Beirut represented in these images have been gentrified by an urban development company, Solidere, with almost complete erasure of the original architecture and infrastructures. The reconstruction of this area has been described as “neoliberal urban regeneration” (Naeff, 2018: 22) where it is also argued that the linear disconnect between past and present in such areas, as well as the superficiality of its modern facades and associated high-end consumerism, disrupts healthy identity formation and *belongingness* and acts as a disguise for latent violent social conflicts (Naeff, 2018).

We found some evidence for this claim in our data, specifically in the discourse of those disapproving of the modern reconstruction of the area. Furthermore, the regeneration of the area serves to explicitly and implicitly exclude individuals of mid to lower socio-economic status. Indeed, multiple participants used the adjective ‘expensive’ to describe the Beirut Souks (Image 3). The mismatch between consumer purchasing power and what is available for purchase in the area was evidenced through the use of personal and spatial deixis setting up distance between speaker and target referent, alluding to conditions of social marginalization,

008: “*their prices are very expensive over there*”

===

002: “*I would just tie this whole thing again with fancy Beirut which is most of these places there I mean you could not I mean a regular person couldn't shop there they're pretty expensive*”

===

009: “*honest to god I don't really like them. You can only look for the sake of looking but you can't buy anything from there...you can't...prices are obscene*”.

At the micro-level of CDA, social cognitions that are deemed personal to the individual, it could be inferred that these participants were implying they could not personally afford to shop at the Beirut Souks, with the exception of participant 002, whose recategorization of ‘you’ to ‘a regular person’ remains vague. Importantly, however, no usage of the first-person pronoun was found in the discourse of these participants and as such, a depersonalized account was given.

Perspectivation strategies thus played an important role in pointing to the externalization of processes of social exclusion through the projected mismatch between category type (e.g. expensive shop) and category selection (e.g. high-class wealthy consumer). The repetition of the adjective ‘classy’, along with the repetition of spatial deixis ‘over there’, shown in the following excerpt reinforces this interpretation,

008: *“It’s lively. The majority of the people are classy that go there you feel like how do they say like you are living [laughter] over there. It’s neat the people are classy over there you find all the classy people over there”.*

Participant 008 alludes to the external processes of *acceptance* taking place in the area, “*you feel like how do they say like you are living [laughter] over there*”. However, since no explicit act of exclusion is mentioned, it is the internal and self-assessed *lack of fit*, through comparative means in line with Festinger's (Festinger, 1954) social comparison theory, with the type of person, e.g. *classy*, that acts to exclude individuals. Perpetuation of exclusionary narratives are thus evidenced through commentaries on how the impersonal ‘you’ is oriented in the social sphere and psychological mechanisms such as depersonalization (where ‘I’ becomes the generic ‘you’), albeit unintentionally, can serve to reinforce class divisions between individuals of different socio-economic classes, while also mitigating the responsibility of the speaker (Haas et al., 2015). In this way, the speakers seemingly acknowledge their *lack of fit* in the environment on the micro-level, a discourse that then feeds into the implicit and indirect processes of exclusion taking place according to the meso- and macro-levels of CDA.

At the meso-level of CDA, referring to shared social narratives, some informants embraced the modern infrastructures of the area for their ‘newness’. They did so with temporal reference to the old, such that their discourse implied that the old was still accessible through Beirut’s history and various other referent markers such as old street names. In contrast to the proposal of Naeff (Naeff, 2018), as cited above, this suggests that complete erasure of the past has not yet been successful in altering the processes of identification.

013: ... Did you meet people that don't identify with it?

PR: Uh, yes, yeah.

013: They want the old?

PR: They want the old, yeah.

013: Yeah, I know, you know, I love it. You know why? Because the old represent Beirut.

PR: Hmm.

013: And this... The new represent us, you know? It's... It's... It's like...

RA: The new generation?

013: The new generation. Cannot stay... It's time to... To move on... I guess. Yeah.

However, the linguistic resources used to convey this seemed spontaneous and situated at the micro-level of CDA only (i.e. personal beliefs). Given the repeated use of the discourse marker, ‘*you know*’, participant 013 was likely negotiating a new interpretation of the area as the discourse unfolded (Erman, 2001). This participant had already stated that his offices were located in the area and that he spends most of his time there. Indeed, the vagueness with which he refers to an ‘*us*’, subsequently offered by the RA as ‘*the new generation*’, suggests that he may have been referring to a higher socio-economic class of which he is part.

Another participant employed a temporal discontinuating strategy as linked to the discursive transformation of identity, which was to merge past and present realities for another group of which he is not part, re-specified as ‘*old Lebanese people*’ from ‘*old people*’. Since this participant had, on the micro-level of CDA, unlike others, specifically referred to his own socio-economic exclusion from the area in the first-person, “*Especially in Beirut Souks, uh, a single bill is about \$200 or something like that. I can't pay that much. My salary is about \$900, but it's not enough*”, it is plausible that he sought to justify the redevelopment of the area for another group, so as to mitigate the negative feelings surrounding his own *lack of fit* there.

014: *Uh... I love this place and for old people, old Lebanese people, it, uh... It brings, uh old memories. But it's different, it's new but it brings old, uh... memories. Ayah Street was for fish I think or vegetables or something. Now it's for clothes.*

Other participants, however, did dismiss the gentrification of the area due to nostalgia for the old heritage sites that are deemed more characteristic of Beirut, in line with the proposal made by Naeff (Naeff, 2018),

003: *"There is no Beirut anymore. It is not Beirut as it was. It is now a concrete city. During our days it was all... not all of it but 80% green spaces ... trees and cacti and figs and berries most of it was, they say"*

Informant 003 began with a strong and existential assertion about Beirut that was gradually reduced to a transformation, a contrastive strategy between 'then' and 'now'. In addition, the shift between "our days" and the final utterance of "they say" moves the discourse from this participant's own personal mental representations at the micro-level to a diluted meso-level shared narrative of CDA and reduces the impact of the overall statement.

Another young participant explicitly referenced the processes of identification with buildings and architecture in the area. Similar to participant 003, the focus was on the superficial appearance of Beirut, 'the face', and therefore limited in its depth, not touching on the higher-order concept of *belonging*, but rather surface level attributes that serve to regulate *acceptance* only (here aligned with the processes of identification).

019: *"Umm actually, I don't l-like how Beirut now looks like. Like I, I do not really identify with the buildings. Uh I do not identify with the architecture.*

[...]

They are modern areas, but I think they do not reflect the true face of Beirut, so I do not identify with this face of Beirut".

At the macro-level of CDA, the details of political and economic agendas behind the processes of gentrification, in this case operationalised by Solidere, were present in the discourse of some informants. According to two participants, previous inhabitants of the area had been physically removed against their will for the reconstruction,

002: *again it just brings back these issues that we have now with what it is and should we keep it what it was or should we make... should we change according to what people want now. And I know partly it has to do with money, with economic powers Who's buying what in the country. The other part is I know that from some of the conversations I hear ... is that they wanna take away the little Christian part of Beirut. That's just uh some of the conversations I...and mainly from the Christian people.*

[...]

RA: *I just want to clarify what do you mean by take away from Christians? Do you mean that property wise?*

002: *No, it's not property it's belongingness because I know this area used to have kind of older Christian families in it.*

RA: *mm true*

002: *Yes um... something I didn't know before I started coming to this area. A lot um... and then now it's mainly Muslim um...and I know just like ... um I wanna be very specific when I say this because again it's just some things that I hear and I might have been*

swayed by those you know thoughts too um... It's that it used to be called Saint George, so why are you changing the name to make it something more Arabic? As opposed to... I mean Saint George is a very purely Christian name for me. I think that's the problem... The divide between...or some people who don't want it to change.

As this participant recalls what she has heard about the history of the area, her discourse descends into less certain and more speculative language, 'kind of', 'mainly', 'that I hear', 'I might have been swayed by those you know thoughts'. These forms of linguistic hedging can indicate less commitment on the part of the speaker to the message they are communicating (Lakoff, 1973). This may be partly due to the RA's clarification of what was being said, that seemed to lead to a reframing of the removal of *property* to a removal of *belongingness*. Another participant who alluded to the dispossession of property did so with less speculation, evidenced in repetition of "I know" along with "I'm sure" and "I do understand", however referring to those displaced only by the reference to "the poor" and therefore, possibly with less trepidation than that of informant 002, who started out by specifying a religious sect.

018: *I know that there's a history to it. I've never bothered looking it up.*

PR: *Sure.*

018: *But I know that there's a uh history of them kicking out the poor, so that they can build... Like, renovate the whole area.*

PR: *Yeah.*

018: *Now it looks really nice, but I'm sure that people had to pay with their homes for this.*

PR: *Yeah.*

018: *So while I do think it looks really nice and pretty, I do understand that there's a... people were hurt because of this.*

In sum, CDA of the theme of gentrification showed that low purchasing power as an individual (evidenced at the micro-level of CDA) pointed to an external cue for *lack of acceptance* in the newly gentrified area. Traditional ideals and nostalgia for architecture that are culturally shared (shown at meso-level of CDA) signalled *lack of fit* in the social environment as internally specified.

At the macro-level of CDA, and according to these informants, political powers have moved to explicitly exclude certain groups from the area to capitalize on its commercial potential. However, interestingly, young people who also fell into this overall category of *non-acceptance* and *non-fit* had, in part, reclaimed the area in terms of its functionality. Four of the younger participants talked about going to watch movies at the new cinema that is situated in the Beirut Souks (Image 3).

One of these participants also talked about seeing groups of skateboarders there regularly who have taken advantage of the concrete surfaces to practise their sport, thus benefiting from the resources of the area. Crucially, another participant used the term *belonging*, with reference to the planning company, Solidere, as a synecdoche to refer to the whole area,

015: *"Yeah, it's old town and new... Old town and now the new town, but still it's too much, it's expensive. And uh. You don't feel uh... I don't know, I, I don't belong to Solidere, I belong to Solidere just to walk, Beirut, so I go there just to walk."*

Given that this participant acknowledges feeling *belonging* to the area for the purposes of walking only, it exemplifies a case of low-level *acceptance* for this participant (i.e. no explicit exclusion), the young cinema-goers and the skateboarders, for the purposes of benefiting from the resources of the area (i.e. a nice space to walk/cinema/skateboarding), without needing to *fit in* (i.e. to share the ambient values associated with high-consumerism) and feel a contingent sense of *belonging* to the area. This interpretation is further supported by a similar account given in Larkin (Larkin, 2014) in which one informant spoke of the downtown area as cosmopolitan haven, an escape from "narrow professionalism" (Larkin, 2014: 426) experienced elsewhere in the city.

As such, we were able to disentangle the relational needs of *acceptance* and *fitting in* from the higher-order concept of *belonging* in the discourse of these participants. Furthermore, this analysis suggests that lack of *acceptance* is primarily signalled through explicit acts of exclusion (i.e. removal from the area). Lack of *fit* is signalled by implicit forms of exclusion that indirectly made individuals feel they do not fit in (i.e. low purchasing power and/or traditional values) but nevertheless allowed individuals to continue benefiting from the resources of the area (i.e. through low-level acceptance). Thus, CDA illustrates the links between everyday experiences of social exclusion that thwart the basic relational needs of *acceptance* and *fitting in* in different ways. It also provided a first indication in the data that the verb *to feel* may constitute a cluster term with *belonging*, that specifies it as a higher-order concept.

3.4.3 Geopolitical Divisions and Globalization as Exclusionary

Many cities in the world have geopolitical divisions and the world itself is often conceptualized as an East-West dichotomy. Beirut mirrors this with city bounds dividing up East and West Beirut (Monroe, 2016), but also allowing some middle-ground, Ras Beirut (the 'tip') where individuals of different religious sects come together (Llewellyn, 2010). Here, we find Hamra Street shown in Image 2 that was described as a "melting pot" for all sects and classes by some informants. However, according to two informants, even Ras Beirut was inaccessible to Christians during the war-time,

RA: He's never been to Hamra when he was young.

013: I've never been to Hamra.

RA: Because of the war.

013: Because of the war.

RA: Now he's recently getting, uh, uh, to know Hamra, and to go to Hamra.

013: Exactly...So that's... no memories of Hamra you know, for me. If you ask maybe 10 people, you have the same question from nine people...Same answer, you know....Because we never went there. We couldn't go there, you know.

Explicit reference to this participant's own ingroup only occurs in the last part of the discourse through the personal deictic 'we'. In recalling his own experience (the micro-level of CDA),

participant 013 shows some consensus bias in estimating the proportion of individuals who he believes did not have access to Hamra during the war (90% of people). Through this narrative (at the meso-level of CDA), we see the lasting effect of explicit exclusion from the area (effectuated historically at the macro-level of CDA). However, this participant upheld the area for its current diversity and *acceptance* of all sects, yet stated that he *still* felt no *belonging* there. As before, the verb ‘*to feel*’ was employed in the context of *belonging* and could be taken to signify the intended referent of the term *belonging* as a deeper, complex attachment to a group or place.

013: You can see, because Hamra is, is a mix, is a mixture of, is a mix of, uh, rich people, poor people, uh, Syrian people, beggars, uh... You can see every... You walk on the street, she's selling the rings on the floor, you can see the exchange, you know? It's something, it's nice, I like to walk in Hamra.

[...]

But not, you know, I, I still have this feeling that I don't belong unfortunately. It's very bad. It's very bad. But you feel that, you walk, but I want to go back, that's what I feel about Hamra unfortunately.

In addition, this discourse provides a second indication of the possibility of low-level *acceptance* without *belonging*. In line with our proposal, the need for *acceptance* in the face of explicit exclusion (in this case historically) can underpin everyday social relations with implications for the higher-order concept of *belonging*. This can materialize over time such that lack of acceptance, if prolonged will lead to feelings of *un-belonging* on a deeper existential level.

Other participants attributed the qualities of openness and tolerance of diversity to the area also at the micro- and meso-level of CDA,

015: They are different, they accept all the people and they are very friendly. In Hamra, you feel that you can... In Hamra, In Hamra area somehow you are abroad, you live abroad... Different part of Lebanon you feel you are living in Lebanon because there's the snob... You know the different... But in Hamra especially... You can feel all of the people around you. The cool people, the normal people, the people, uh... The easy-going.

Participant 015 spoke about Hamra in the third-person plural starting out with a vague referent, “*they*”, later reframed as “*the cool people*”, “*the normal people*” and finally “*the people*” and “*the easy-going*”. The contrastive strategy used in the discourse serves to target Hamra as the exception, not the rule, and that the need for *acceptance* can be easily met there. However, also among our informants, were individuals who spoke in opposite terms using meso-level CDA narratives about the current Hamra Street, seemingly contrasted with the past when the city was more divided. Their discontent also seemed to be due to developments such as the integration of commercial coffee shop franchises,

009: Hamra was also vibrant and during new years....It was much nicer than now. People used to walk with clarinets. Now you don't find anyone. They are hiding in coffee shops, that is to say, it doesn't have the spirit that was before... Hamra died. It doesn't have life (soul).

[...]

I swear to god here it's like there is nothing left to feel you don't even feel Ramadan [laughter] everything changed.

Participant 009's concluding statement about Ramadan may indicate that the mix of all sects and classes in the Hamra area now diffuses otherwise intensely felt markers of identity such as cultural events that are specific to particular religious sects. These markers enhance ingroup feelings of *fitting in* and therefore likely have implications for downstream *belonging*. Therefore, paradoxically, an atmosphere of inclusion established through low thresholds for social *acceptance*, actually serves to implicitly exclude others whose values do not align and who thus become alienated from the social environment. While *acceptance* is externally possible, *fitting in* that is internally specified, is thus shown to be non-contingent to *acceptance* (i.e. not related to it) in the context of this discourse.

Another participant made explicit reference to the "westernised" face of Hamra. However, a contrastive strategy used with reference to the 'local' markers of identity pushes the narrative away from one of desires for higher thresholds of *acceptance* to one of wishes for increased 'authenticity'. The traditional values thus held by this individual seemed to thwart their need to *fit in*, as internally specified, in the context of a more diverse and supposedly less 'authentic' Lebanese setting. Other reports on Hamra, such as those noted in Seidman (Seidman, 2012) that instead reflect more positively on the cosmopolitan developments of the area further support the distinction between external and internal specification, where internal specification underpins *lack of fit* when, for example, social values are not shared.

019: Like I have, like I really have some con... Not conflict. I do not like the, uh, coffee shops that exist in Hamra...Right now, yeah. I feel it's too Westernised, okay?

[...]

Here in Lebanon, you can't find local markers of identity. Like everything is, I don't know, like merged into Western, like, Western, Westernised...

In conclusion, macro-level CDA processes such as geopolitical divisions and globalization thus have implications for *acceptance*, *fitting in* and *belonging* in the local contexts in which they unfold. Though no explicit forms of exclusion are taking place in areas relating to these processes in the context of Beirut (as needs for *acceptance* can be met), implicit exclusion manifests where individuals internally assess their *lack of fit* and *un-belonging* due to unshared values with the globalized face of these areas and, as such, experience social alienation.

4. Limitations

One limitation with this research is that participants were non-native speakers of English, and as such, lexico-grammatical choices and form may not be as directly comparable to case studies involving native speakers of the English language with respect to the discursive construction of identity.

Moreover, some interviews were conducted in Arabic and translation across different and distant languages such as Arabic and English can be challenging (Akan et al., 2019). As such,

we could not be as confident about the accuracy of the data translated to English from Arabic. For instance, while both translators were given clear instructions to transcribe and translate verbatim, their transcripts differed in terms of lexico-grammatical choice and form in the English translation, even though semantically the same ideas were transmitted in the discourse.

Furthermore, while case studies with relatively small sample sizes that are large in data generation (i.e. the discourse itself), are sufficient for mining with pre-set hypotheses, as was the case for the current study, the generalizability of findings may be limited by the specific contextual aspects involved, such as the multiplicity of identities present in Beirut. As such, further cross-cultural research is necessary to draw stronger conclusions that might also include a more in-depth analysis of the complex sectarian context of Beirut, Lebanon and other more homogeneous societies. Indeed, the selection of Beirut as a location for the research was driven primarily by an interest in a social context involving sectarianism, but the data-driven approach adopted resulted in two other exclusionary themes, namely gentrification and geopolitical division and globalization, becoming the focus of the analysis in achieving our research goals (i.e. disentangling and disambiguating the terms used to refer to different relational needs in conditions of exclusion).

Conclusion

In this paper, we have demonstrated how the conceptual framework offered by CDA, along with related analytical tools, such as the discursive construction of identity, can help to expose the basic relational needs of *acceptance* and *fitting in* in discourse as they are differentially implicated in everyday conditions social exclusion.

Our contextual analysis served to elucidate that sectarianism underpins ‘disenfranchisement’, where this condition of exclusion relates primarily to lack of political representation. However, religious sect, as a social category, created more of a ‘blend’ between groups in our discourse, as opposed to a reinforcing group boundaries (‘us’ vs. ‘them’).

Concerning our research goals, by focusing on the exclusionary themes of gentrification and geopolitical division and globalization that emerged in the data, we have also shown that *belonging*, as a higher-order concept, can be disentangled from these relational needs through contingent and non-contingent instances of *belonging* (i.e. where one is not a necessary condition of the other and where either *acceptance* and/or *fitting in* are possible). Furthermore, the repeated cluster of the term ‘*belonging*’ with the verb ‘*to feel*’ is an important finding for the development of psychological assessment scales in empirical research in social psychology that can begin to consider the wording of items around the concept of *belonging* more critically in future work.

Overall, the socio-cognitive model provided by CDA allowed for a systemic overview of the complex modalities of everyday experiences of social exclusion that can, in turn, begin to facilitate increased specification and contextualization of exclusionary events in the laboratory setting and, as such, help to reconcile prior inconsistencies in the exclusion literature that have come about due to the generalization of the phenomenon in empirical work.

In sum, we were able to address our research questions with the data collected for this study with the following findings: The analysis we conducted exposed linguistic patterns that allowed us to distinguish between needs for *acceptance* and *fitting in* and to disentangle these basic

needs from the higher-order concept of *belonging*. It also enabled us to examine how these fundamental features of the relational system feed into, create and perpetuate explicit and implicit forms of social exclusion. As such, the discourse around the relational goals of individuals and groups in specific contexts as externalized or internalized, can further set up and bolster conditions under which social beings invariably experience disenfranchisement, social marginalization and social alienation.

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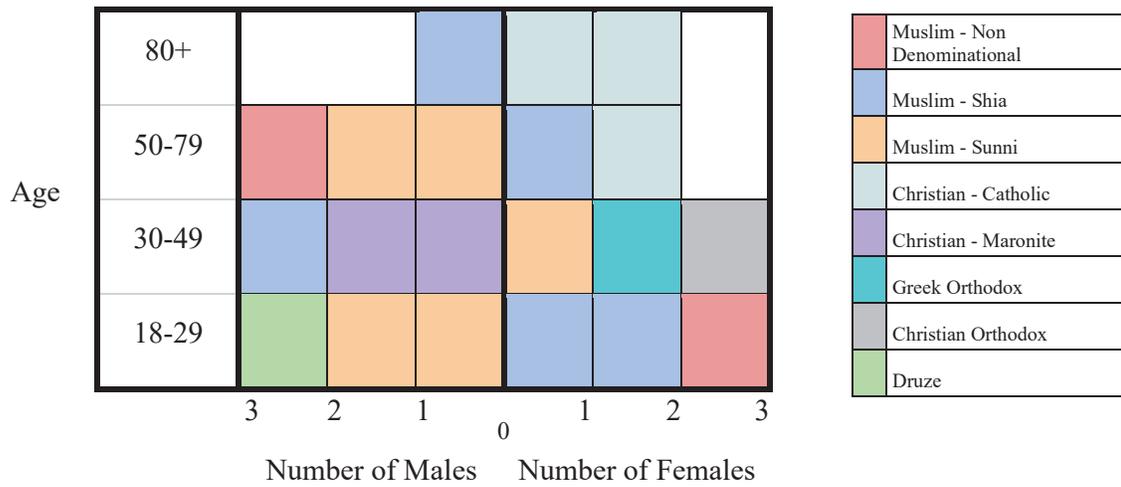
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Appendix 1**Table I** Detailed Demographic Information for Participants

Participant Number	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Nationality	Ethnicity	Religion	Language
001	80+	M	Single	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Sunni	English
002	30-49	F	Single	Lebanese	omitted	Greek Orthodox	English
003	50-79	M	Married	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Sunni	Arabic/English
004	50-79	M	Married	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Shia	English
005 withdrawn							
006	30-49	F	Single	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Sunni	English
007	30-49	M	Married	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Shia	Arabic
008	18-29	F	Married	Syrian	Arab	Muslim - Shia	Arabic
009	50-79	F	Married	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Shia	Arabic
010 (2)	80+	F	Widowed	Lebanese	French Lebanese	Christian - Catholic	French/English
011	50-79	F	Married	Sri-Lankan	Sinhalese	Christian - Catholic	English
012	50-79	M	Married	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Non-Denominational	Arabic
013	30-49	M	Married	Lebanese	Lebanese	Christian -Maronite	English
014	18-29	M	Single	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Sunni	English
015	30-49	M	Married	Lebanese	Arab Phoenician	Christian -Maronite	English
016	40-49	F	Married	Lebanese	Arab	Christian -Orthodox	Arabic
017	18-29	M	Single	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Sunni	English
018	18-29	M	Single	Lebanese	Arab	Druze	English
019	18-29	F	Single	Lebanese	Arab	Muslim - Shia	English
020	18-29	F	Single	Palestinian	Arab	Muslim Non-Denominational	English

Figure 1 Sample age, sex and religious sect



Appendix 2

Interview Guide Questions

“Do you recognize this image?”

“Please describe this image in your own terms”

“What does this image mean, if anything, to you personally?”

“Do you identify with any of the places/people represented in this image? If so, how?”

“Does seeing this image affect you in any way, positively or negatively, why?”

“Does this image conjure up specific memories that you have surrounding the events or places represented? If so, how do these memories compare or contrast with your current feelings about the event or place”

Additional prompts

“Please elaborate on your last point

“Please be more specific about what you mean when you say

Linguistic cultural heritage of politeness strategies among the Shona and Ndebele of Zimbabwe

Tsitsi Roselene Bwetenga²³ Diocleciano Nhatuve²⁴

Abstract

This paper explores sets of expectations and perceptions underlying the use or not, of a selection of words, phrases and expressions in the Shona and Ndebele languages. The study broaches Leech's (Leech 1983; 2007) politeness principle on the language of discretion as a result of silent and tacit cultural expectations in relation to interpersonal communication where using language with caution helps to protect one's words from being misquoted, dismissed, mistranslated or distorted. Through an exploration of Brown and Levinson's (Brown and Levinson, 1987) politeness theory as well as Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu's (Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu, 2007) postulations on "politeness and apology realisation", this paper seeks to derive meaning and understanding from hedges and cautious reserves in speech. The use of discreet language reflects a high degree of efficiency in social interaction as speakers take precautionary measures to protect themselves from the negative effect of their sayings or to protect themselves or their interlocutors from any harm caused by their utterances. The Shona and Ndebele languages have phrases/words like "padiki padiki" and "azikhuphi" which are indicative of the effort to conceal with a measure of politeness, the actual detail and truth surrounding an individual's life. Through an ethnographic survey of the use of hedges by Shona and Ndebele speakers, this paper will contribute towards an appreciation of the language of discretion and hedging as valuable intangible cultural heritage which helps to communicate politely, mitigate face-threats, and also to convey vagueness purposely. These play a pivotal role in expression of ideas/claims and mastery of rhetorical strategies required in conversational circumstances.

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Keywords

Politeness Strategies, Cautious Reserve, Shona, Ndebele Languages.

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23 University of Zimbabwe, Department of Languages Literature and Culture, Email: tsitsibwetenga@gmail.com ORCID 0000-0002-2172-9576.

24 University of Zimbabwe, Department of Languages Literature and Culture, Email: djrnhatuve@gmail.com ORCID 0000-0003-4749-1348.

Introduction

Politeness, keeping up appearances and saving face are consistently emerging topics where communication and human social relations are concerned. The universality of the need for politeness in language use is clearly propounded by Brown and Levinson (Brown and Levinson, 1987) who consider politeness as a fundamental aspect of human socio-communicative verbal interaction. They also opine that when interacting, all adult members of a society are aware of the need to carefully consider the expectations of the interlocutor so as to maintain good and positive communication. Mao (Mao, 1994) however critiqued Brown and Levinson’s postulations arguing that they had failed “to address discourse behaviours in other non-Western cultures where the underlying interactional focus is centred not upon individualism but upon group identity” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 452). The present chapter contends that the way in which politeness is perceived in speech is significantly culturally oriented and therefore the ways of expressing politeness are embedded with cultural nuances tied to a particular society. We illustrate in this paper that the cultural practices that underpin language use are a legacy passed down from generation to generation which are often reproduced with little critical engagement and consideration. This chapter sets out to analyse the discourse of politeness that is peculiar to the Ndebele and Shona tribes of Zimbabwe. Through analysis of the language use in these two tribal groups, this paper will strive to show the differences and similarities with which the two languages, and indeed cultures, approach cautious reserve and politeness.

The reason for targeting the Shona and Ndebele Languages in this research resides in the demographic reality of these two languages being the two most spoken native languages among the people of Zimbabwe, therefore constituting a majority representation of the Zimbabwean people and their cultures. The terms Shona and Ndebele are used in this paper to designate the two groups in Zimbabwe and also the languages which they speak.

1. Methodology

From the survey of politeness strategies by mother tongue speakers of Shona and Ndebele interesting data was drawn and analysed. Twenty respondents aged between 20 and 36 were involved. Of these, thirteen were female and 7 male. Fourteen were Shona mother tongue speakers and six were Ndebele mother tongue speakers. Respondents were randomly selected from campus students and employees at the University of Zimbabwe. Choice for the sample space was purely made on grounds of geographical proximity and accessibility for the researchers.

By use of questionnaires dispatched to the twenty mother tongue speakers of Shona and Ndebele languages who were chosen through random sampling, a survey of commonly used phrases and terms was carried out in an attempt to explore some linguistic practices which are rooted in cultural notions of what is considered polite, respectful, acceptable and unacceptable. Fourteen informants were Shona mother tongue native speakers, and six were Ndebele mother tongue native speakers. The information given by the respondents on questionnaires were the chief source of texts that were analysed in this research. Scrutiny-based techniques were used to analyse open ended questions within the questionnaire, particularly in question 11 (Can you add any other information about how you use language carefully and why, in your mother tongue?), which offered respondents the liberty to explore any area of politeness strategies that had not been addressed in earlier questions. Through qualitative open coding, and "constant comparison method" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), themes and patterns of data from written texts

were identified, compared/contrasted, and discussed in order to reach an understanding of ways of encoding politeness and caution in speech among Ndebele and Shona speakers. Finally conclusions were drawn from these examples presented.

2. Theoretical Framework

For the purposes of this research, Brown's (Brown, 2015) definition of politeness underpins the discussion around forms of language use affected by politeness theory. According to Brown, there are 'emic' (culture specific) notions tied to politeness; hence, politeness is conventionally attached to certain linguistic forms and formulaic expressions, which may be very different in different languages and cultures.

The motivations for the need to be polite are discussed in this chapter in line with Brown and Levinson's (Brown and Levinson, 1987) model of politeness categorised into face and rationality. Brown (Brown, 2015: 327) clearly underlines face as two specific human wants: "positive face (the desire to be approved of, admired, liked, and validated), and negative face (the desire to be un-imposed upon, or unimpeded in one's actions)" while rationality is "the ability to reason from communicative goals to linguistic means that would achieve these goals." This is what leads to the notion of face-threatening acts (FTAs). These are acts that risk public/social image damage to speakers' and hearers' face wants: their negative-face wants that their actions are not impeded by others and their positive-face wants that their qualities/characteristics are desirable to others.

Intercultural discourse in this paper will be explored within the framework of Leech's (Leech, 1983; 2007) politeness principle. Leech argues that human communicative behaviour is constrained by a number of politeness maxims or constraints that include amongst others modesty and agreement, and that the relative importance of these constraints can vary across cultures. Whilst there are universal politeness norms that are inherent to many languages, this paper adopts Mills' (Mills, 2003) position that appropriate politeness strategies differ from culture to culture. We therefore discuss in this paper some distinctive phenomena tied to politeness among the Shona and Ndebele, whereby the underlying motivations for courtesy are deeply rooted in specific cultural postulations embedded in the people's history, experiences and interpretation of reality thereof.

3. Literature Review

In a paper exploring the relationship between politeness and language use, Brown (Brown, 2015: 326) underscores how politeness is ubiquitous in language use, given that in the generic sense "politeness is essentially a matter of taking into account the feelings of others as to how they should be interactionally treated". This, taking account of people's feelings, encapsulates saying and doing things in a less straightforward or more elaborate manner than when one is not taking such feelings into consideration. Hence, ways of being polite probably provide probably the most pervasive source of indirectness, reasons for not saying exactly what one means, and in how people frame their communicative intentions in formulating their utterances.

In politeness research, several scholars such as Brown and Levinson (Brown and Levinson, 1987), Finegan (Finegan, 2012), Mashiri (Mashiri, 2002), Mullany (Mullany, 2012) have discussed commonly known identified ways of being polite when speaking. These include use of lexical repetitions, use of modal markers, and avoidance of some words in conversations.

Examples of lexical repetition are reduplicated routines which are used to reinforce positive politeness, such as right or okay to mark a conversational closure and to express flow of agreement among English speakers (Carter, 2004; Lindström, 2001). Bublitz (Bublitz, 1988) discusses lexical repetition by interlocutors as a way of politely supporting the first speaker’s utterance. This phenomenon is apparent in the Shona language greetings whereby to the respectful greeting *makadini* (how are you) one can give the polite response *makadini makadini* (how are you how are you). By repeating the interlocutor’s greeting, the response comes out as a polite affirmative statement that agrees with the original speaker’s greeting.

Buttery and McCarthy (Buttery and McCarthy, 2012) examine the use of the word think in conversations by English speakers as an interpersonal strategy for hedging and politeness in speech. Where one could say “this pattern should be changed”, the polite speaker is heard to say “I think this pattern could be changed”. Modal verbs, which express permission, possibility and certainty, are a common method of expressing requests politely among the Shona and Ndebele. This art of using modal verbs is proffered by Gotosa and Kadenge (Gotosa and Kadenge, 2016) who cite Mhlanga’s (Mhlanga, 2012) unpublished work on modal verbs which function as hedges in Shona; serving multiple functions which include toning down imperatives and commands. Verbs such as *taigona* (we could) *zvanga zviriri nani* (it would be better) are used by the Shona to avoid the face threatening act of commanding or openly directing someone to do something.

Harvey and Adolphs (Harvey and Adolphs, 2012) analyse modal markers and mitigating devices which help to express optionality and tentativeness in a conversation, giving the appearance of allowing addressees to choose choice to accept or decline the message of the interlocutor. Some English modal markers that are used in order to encode politeness include “may, just, approximately, around, little, and right.” Where one could say “I am going to be late”, for politeness purposes the phrase could be restructured as “I may be late”. This is so that the act of lateness is not perceived as a deliberate impolite action.

Another way of registering politeness is proposed by Cheng et al. (Cheng et al., 2008) who underscore the need to avoid words that directly show divergent thoughts in a discussion so that one chooses to say “I may have a different view towards this”, instead of plainly indicating that “I do not agree”. The modal marker may serve the role of an epistemic softener which helps make the disagreement statement less authoritative.

In the case of a speaker who bears authority such as a political leader, O’Keeffe (O’Keeffe, 2006) points out how a power role holder can downplay his/her power through use of deixis (pointing) when speaking as a politeness strategy in order to be well received by the audience. Instead of pointing out the audience as ‘you’, the pronoun ‘we’ is used instead to tactfully close the social gap between the speaker and the audience. This is true also for the Shona language where an interlocutor who is a political figure would address a gathering of supporters saying “*tinoda vanhu vakatendeka munyika*” (we want honest people in the nation); “*hatidi vanhu vane undyire vanongozvifunga*” (we do not want people who are selfish, who only think of themselves). By use of the pronoun “we”, the speaker politely includes the audience in his or her manifesto, so that the hearers appear to be part of the mission of the speaker.

According to Mashiri (Mashiri, 2002: 2) “the Shona of Zimbabwe, like other African peoples, sometimes avoid direct responses to favour-expressing speech acts in view of the dangers such responses pose to the participants’ ‘face’ as well as to social and interpersonal harmony”. Therefore, Shona speakers communicate refusals through indirect communication styles. These

indirect styles refer to politeness strategies that camouflage and conceal speakers' true intentions in terms of their wants, needs, goals and attitudes in the discourse situation. By speaking indirectly, speakers use indirect Shona expressions to put across undesirable communication such as refusal. Candor is a quality not easily received among the Shona therefore the more one uses the cautious reserve when speaking, the more acceptable one's speech is.

4. Discussion

Out of the twenty respondents, 95% (19 respondents) claimed to use discretion as a strategy of politeness. In terms of use of greetings, firstly, in the case of one's family, respondents admitted to using commonly acceptable phrases to respond to a question asking how their family members were. Instead of giving any details, the usual response would be *vapenyu havo* (Shona for "they are all alive") or *variko havo* (they are all there). In Ndebele the common statement was recorded as *bayaphila* or *baziphilele* (they are well) regardless of the actual reality surrounding one's family. Where one is not doing well and is responding to a greeting, most respondents registered their likely response as *ndiri bho* (Shona for "I am well") or *ngiyaphila* (Ndebele for "I am well"), even when they are not doing well. A possible explanation for the use of discretion here is grounded first of all in following how one is socialised without much thought to it. The main reason behind the discretion in speech for both the Shona and Ndebele mother tongue speakers put together is the notion that 'it is culturally unacceptable to disclose one's private life to anyone' (Respondent 5, question 4).

Secondly, another factor that arose as the motivation for the cautious reserve when communicating in Shona and Ndebele languages is the belief in the spirit of *ubuntu*. Using the words of Archbishop Desmond *ubuntu* is a belief that "a person is a person through other persons, that my humanity is caught up, bound up, inextricably, with yours. When I dehumanize you, I inexorably dehumanize myself" (Tutu, 2008). According to the notion of *ubuntu*, "we" matters more than "I", therefore the language of Shona and Ndebele speakers is consistently tied to the idea of bringing out peaceful social cohesion through polite and cultured language use. As one respondent put it, "language carries the culture of the society in question. Careful use of language is a necessity since one does not want to be social misfit/renegade" (Respondent 5, question 11). As it is against the philosophy of *ubuntu* for both the Ndebele and Shona cultures "to act as if one is very proud of one's achievements, hence one cannot go around telling people about these achievements" (Respondent 2, question 11).

Thirdly, an interesting reason emerged as a motivation for discretion in speech, which is the long standing historical ties of Shona and Ndebele cultures with the notion of witchcraft. Of witchcraft among African cultures, Essein (Essein, 2010: 535) says, "Witchcraft has been a prevailing belief in African culture and has continually posed problems for the people. Epidemic, diseases, natural disasters and widespread political and social destruction are often connected to witches. People exhibiting unusual personal features, extraordinary behaviour, or excessive power, in other words people who disturb the balance and harmony of power relations, which are so important in African society, are easily accused of being witches".

From the information gathered from the respondents, it is clearly evident the presence of fear of being bewitched is one main reason for discretion in speech. In response to whether they were likely to disclose detail about their achievements to others, some respondents interestingly said no, by reason of fear of being bewitched, not purely out of humility (Respondents 6, 9, 10,

18 question 5). A third of the respondents pointed out the possibility of malice and bad luck as reasons why they choose to be politely discreet when talking about their lives, achievements. Pursuant to the need to appear humble, in the Shona culture, the cautious reserve of not boasting that one appears to be doing well more than others is not so much tied to politeness and humility as it is to the longstanding history of the spirit of bad luck, jealousy and witchcraft among families. Shona proverbs exist, which underscore the need for discretion and cautious reserve when communicating with others. Instead of disclosing where one is actually going, when asked to say where s/he is going a proverb *afamba apota* (Respondent 19, question 11) (one who has just gone around the corner, is at large) is used in response to avoid saying exactly where one is headed. In order not to decline responding to the question, a polite Shona speaker tactfully uses a proverb to express discretion in his/her response.

A gripping aspect of Shona and Ndebele cultures is highlighted in the use of discretion and caution in speech based on spiritual beliefs. Clive and Peggy Kileff (Clive and Peggy Kileff, 1970: 44) underprop the presence of spirits in Shona and Ndebele belief systems in that they “believe that their lives are controlled by the ancestral spirits” (*vadzimu* in Shona and *amadlozi* in Ndebele). The Shona and Ndebele are highly spiritual. They believe in ancestral spirits as guardians of the people or a deity that protects them. This belief in deified authority is expressed by both Shona and Ndebele language responses to congratulatory messages. The common response is to allude all successes to God, the ancestors or the encompassing family spirits that help in achieving success. (Respondents 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 19 question 7). This is the root out of which stems the belief that they do not move or stay alone but there are spirits who are always with them. Caution when choosing words is therefore also tied to this belief, for if one speaks inappropriately one risks angering the spirits which may attract misfortune (Respondent 9, question 11). The conception of respecting spiritual authority is promulgated by Tatira (Tatira, 2014: 106) who claims that generally the “Shona beliefs, like many other cultural beliefs elsewhere, derive their authority from the supernatural realm which make them effective in controlling human behaviour within Shona communities”. Belief in the authority of guardian spirits or deities and their power to protect or harm breeds the fear of breach of a belief mostly triggers a supernatural punishment, not only for the offender but for the whole community where the offender resides therefore making the observance of beliefs self-mandatory.

Beyond the use of discretion due to spiritual beliefs, the use of the plural pronoun in Shona greetings is also indicative of the people’s spirituality. There is a longstanding Shona belief that the ancestral spirits are elements that always hover around their people as guardian spirits, hence the response “*tiripo hedu kana makadiniwo*” (we are well and yourselves), to the greeting “*makadini*” (how are you doing?). While it could be argued that speakers at times will be referring to themselves and their families when they use the plural, the frequent use of the plural pronoun is also tied to the Shona belief that people are always in the presence of their guardian spirits, who go with them wherever they go.

The rich cultural heritage of language discretion among the Shona and Ndebele calls to mind the ‘cautious reserve’ principle which is posited by the Confucian theory as the ability to communicate correctly and effectively as well as appropriately being discreet, prudent, and restrained. A common motivation for the use of the ‘cautious reserve’ among the Shona and the Ndebele that was proffered by the informants is the desire for positive face. Due to the need for their qualities/characteristics to be desirable/acceptable to others, most respondents indicated how they are highly likely not to correct a speaker who is erroneously saying something that they, as the hearer, are so sure to be incorrect. The fear of confrontation, of hurting another’s pride, of embarrassing another, were given as reasons for not correcting a speaker’s incorrect

statements whether in form or content (Respondents 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 14, 17 question 10). Mullany (Mullany, 2012) opines that avoidance strategies are a way of politely declining, refusing or cautiously leaving out an otherwise problematic aspect of conversation within a communication situation and this appears to be a strategy used extensively within the Shona and Ndebele circles. Instead of reaching a consensus as to what is correct within a conversation, the Shona and Ndebele find it more polite to avoid the possibility of discussing it.

The fear of being judged came out as one of the reasons behind the use of the cautious reserve among the informants. As a face threatening acts, respondents reported the careful non-use of certain expressions in both the Shona and Ndebele languages. Instead of disclosing that they were doing very well and were making it in their field of work or study, informants illustrated how they would rather downplay their very good situation by responding *tiri nani* (humble expression of “we are well”), to a greeting, instead of honestly saying the equivalent of “we are great!”. This is evident of the socialisation of humility and caniness as strategies for politeness in everyday speech. As one informant put it, “it is imprudent to show that you are doing all fine and that nothing is wrong with you. It is as if you are bragging about the gifts that are not of your own making” (a good life is thought to be a gift from the spirits) (<http://www.jpanafrican.org/docs/vol6no8/6.8-Tatira.pdf>).

In line with the use of discretion as a cultural aspect of the Shona and Ndebele languages, some informants explained how the Shona language has words that they cannot utter orally even though they are able to do so in the English language (The English language is used for comparison in this paper by reason of all the respondents being English L2 speakers). One respondent indicated how it is due to how she was socialised that she never says certain words in the Shona language (her mother tongue), but she is able to say them comfortably in the English language, for example, the male reproductive organs and related words. As Leech (Leech, 2007) posits, politeness is culture specific and therefore discretion is more important in the Shona and Ndebele languages than it is in the English language where enunciation and candour are better perceived. The articulation and directness of speech enjoyed by many English speakers would be scowled at by Shona speakers who are naturally socialised to be extremely cautious when they speak lest they cause offense to the hearers.

Interestingly, a Shona proverb is used to bespeak of the importance of discretion and the cautious reserve in speech. By saying *mugoti unopihwa anyerere* (the cooking spoon goes to the silent one), the Shona believe that a child who is not always vocalising his/her wants will have favour falling upon him (for not being a nagging child). Here is evinced the significance tied to discretion even from an early age in the Shona culture. A child, through this proverb, is taught to be more discreet and careful when communicating his/her wants and needs as this will influence the reaction of the addressee (in this case the parent). The more discreet the child, the more polite s/he will be considered, and therefore the greater the chances of receiving favour from the parent. In the same vein, reservation and hesitation are considered laudable qualities for a speaker to have. Therefore, among the Shona and Ndebele, the more pronounced and articulate one is, the less judicious his/her discourse is considered. This is because one who speaks with reservation would choose his/her words carefully and so would naturally sound more polite.

The influence of a set of acceptable language within a society of the times is revealed by 85% of the respondents' indications that socially/culturally accepted expressions of the time are their main motivator for the statements they usually use (question 9). Over and above this, it is clear how the choice to be discreet is also sanctioned by one's character beyond the societal norms

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among the Shona and Ndebele. More than half of the respondents attest to making the decision to be discreet concerning details surrounding them in most cases (11 (55%) respondents, question 8).

Conclusion

Through the discussion of discretion and the cautious reserve as politeness strategies among Shona and Ndebele speakers, this paper contributed to the appreciation of discretion among the aforementioned. It was however highlighted how discretion is not only due to the need for politesse among the Shona and Ndebele but also tied to the longstanding presence of spiritual beliefs in ancestral spirits and the possibility of witchcraft. The tendency to be discreet and inconspicuous, hesitant and modest, is therefore not merely a politeness strategy, but also a respect of the Shona and Ndebele spirituality.

The Shona and Ndebele languages have a rich intangible linguistic cultural heritage of discretion and restraint as a politeness strategy which conveys the significance of diffidence as a characteristic to possess. By speaking carefully and discreetly, with the capacity to use lexical duplications, deixis, modal markers and mitigating strategies, a Shona/ Ndebele interlocutor is highly likely to achieve healthy communication with any addressee with very little chance of a problematic communication situation. In the case of intercultural communication, because of the socialisation of reservation in speech, a Shona/Ndebele speaker would likely be even charier given his/her cultural heritage of lowering himself to a more subordinate role to that of the addressee.

While a Shona/Ndebele interlocutor may be considered as unassertive communicator by speakers from less discreet languages, for example, from much of the western cultures (Leech, 1983), it is of subsequent importance in cases where careful study of one’s communication situation is concerned. As words already uttered may be very difficult to reverse, in cases of communication where Face Threat Acts are required, the Shona/Ndebele speaker emerges an experienced communicator thanks to the legacy of language discretion through which s/he is culturally socialised. Whether it is the fear of being bewitched, judged, the spirit for *ubuntu* or mere unconscious adherence to socio-cultural norms and values, the Shona/Ndebele interlocutor has a rich sustainable intangible cultural and linguistic heritage from which to draw as s/he inconspicuously uses language to encode politeness when speaking.

It can be concluded from the above that politeness strategies among both the Shona and the Ndebele are employed using varied common means such as modals and deixis among others. The use of discretion is evinced by commonly used set expressions in given communication situations and these are borrowed from older generations in both languages, with new ones being formed over time. It is clear from the investigation how most linguistic instruments used to achieve politeness, discretion and/ or cautious reserve in both the Ndebele and Shona languages tend to draw from commonly held belief systems and societal expectations in both linguistic cultures.

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'If you ride a lame horse into a race ...': A Corpus-Based Analysis of Metaphors in John Mahama's Political Speeches

Richmond Sadick Ngula²⁵

Abstract

Studies on metaphor in political speeches have gained prominence in recent years, especially in Western political contexts where it has been shown that politicians gain the trust, confidence, and ratification of their audience when they speak persuasively (Charteris-Black, 2011, 2014). However, not much research has focused on the use of metaphors by politicians in non-Western (developing) contexts where political language is shaped by many factors that may account for variations in the use of metaphor across cultures. This paper contributes to the rhetoric of metaphor in political discourse by examining the range of (conceptual) metaphors used in the speeches of an African politician – John Mahama of Ghana. Drawing on discourse and cognitive theories of metaphor, I explore Mahama's use of metaphors in his political speeches, arguing that, as a political speaker, Mahama uses metaphor in a conscious, consistent, and conceptually structured manner that projects his ideological stance on issues of politics and governance. The study reveals that Mahama draws on many conventional metaphors but uses them in creative and unconventional ways to depict culturally relevant situations, and to convey his political ideologies to his audience. The findings in this study do not only contribute towards a better understanding of Mahama's communicative style, but also foreground the persuasive potential of metaphor for audience engagement in political discourse.

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Keywords

Metaphor, Political Speeches, John Mahama, Cognitive Rhetoric, Political Ideology, Corpus-Based Analysis

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25 University of Botswana, Communication and Study Skills Unit, CAD, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3499-4480>, ngular@ub.ac.bw

Introduction

Political speeches remain a vital genre within political discourse analysis²⁶ and they have, since the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome, been central to the study of rhetoric in language, a field primarily dealing with the art of persuading one’s audience. Even today, a political speech is regarded essentially as a rhetorical act, and political actors – most notably political leaders – are aware that to gain the trust, confidence, and ratification of their (potential) followers they must speak persuasively. In this regard, Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black, 2011, 2014) suggests that high linguistic performance does not only represent a crucial means by which politicians can successfully sell a vision, programme or ideology to the masses and electorate, especially during elections, but also serve as a useful measure of assessing their credibility and overall legitimacy.

Several studies on the discourse of political speeches by politicians have already been carried out, exploring one rhetorical/linguistic feature or another to draw attention to what might be considered as the rhetorical style(s) of specific political figures. For example, Klebanov, Diermeier and Beigman (Klebanov, Diermeier and Beigman, 2008) studied lexical cohesion in Margaret Thatcher’s speeches; Fløttum and Stenvoll (Fløttum and Stenvoll, 2009) examined some linguistic characteristics in Tony Blair’s speeches; Giordano (Giordano, 2010) looked at conflict in Hillary Clinton’s speeches; Reyes (Reyes, 2014) explored (in)formality as a persuasive tool in the speeches of George W. Bush and Barack Obama; Savoy (Savoy, 2010) conducted a lexical analysis of speeches by John McCain and Barack Obama; Mazid (Mazid, 2007) studied presuppositions in one of George W. Bush’s speeches; Allen (Allen, 2007) explores pronominal choices in the speeches of John Howard and Mark Latham; and Pietrucci (Pietrucci, 2012) looked at strategic maneuvering in one of Silvio Berlusconi’s speeches. Such studies have been profound as, through them, the researchers have been able to discover ways that political speakers “construct linguistic selves and create linguistic images of their selves” (Boussofara-Omar, 2006: 330).

One rhetorical resource that has been shown to be central in the analysis of political speeches, and other political genres, is metaphor – a tool which represents one of the first means of understanding “the ways in which political language operates” (Beard, 2000: 19). As Thompson (Thompson, 1996) sees it, not to exploit metaphor in political language is much “like a fish without water”. Semino (Semino, 2008) further argues that metaphorical choices made by politicians have rhetorical and persuasive power, and that they can also underscore certain ideological implications, among other functions.

There are studies that have explored metaphor in the speeches of political leaders, including Hugo Chávez (Moreno, 2008), Barack Obama (Cox, 2012), Silvio Berlusconi (Semino and Masci, 1996), Gordon Brown (Charteris-Black, 2004), and Tony Blair, George W. Bush and Michael Howard (Semino, 2008). Strikingly, most of these studies have centered on Western politicians, not focusing much on politicians in other parts of the world, who also (in similar or unique ways) make ubiquitous use of metaphorical language in their political speeches. Yet insights gleaned from studies on metaphor use by leaders in non-Western contexts, especially in the so-called third world countries, could be useful in understanding the extent to which (Western) theories of metaphor (e.g., the Conceptual Metaphor Theory) are applicable in other

²⁶ Political speeches are seen by some authors (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2014) as the prototypical genre in political discourse, and have a huge stake in deciding the political success or otherwise of politicians.

contexts and cultures. Also, the findings from these studies promise to facilitate comparative analysis of the use of metaphors by politicians in different parts of the world. Such findings could, for instance, throw light on how the use of metaphors by leaders in the Western world reveal ideological variations when compared with leaders in the developing world, Africa included. In this paper, I explore the use of metaphors in the political speeches of the fourth president of the fourth Republic of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama.

1. Ghanaian Politics and John Mahama

Ghana gained independence from British colonial rule in 1957 under the inspired leadership of Kwame Nkrumah who had become the Prime Minister of the new nation and later in 1960 the country's first president. Even before independence Ghana had already started to experience multiparty democracy, but the democratic system was truncated at various times in the political history of Ghana, by several military regimes that rose to political power through coup d'états. It was not until 1992 when Ghana regained considerable stability in multiparty democracy – a situation which has continued to date.

Currently, while several political parties are active in the democratic space and contest elections, Ghana is a two-party democracy, much like the UK and the USA. The two dominant political parties in Ghana now are the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP).²⁷ Relying largely on the traditional mass (and new social) media in Ghana, leading members of these two parties have over a period intensified their engagement with citizens and the electorate through their political activities, campaigns, and rallies so as to win their confidence and votes. John Dramani Mahama, whose rhetorical style as a politician this article discusses, is a well-known politician in the NDC party.

John Mahama was president of Ghana from 24 July 2012 to 7 January 2017. He unexpectedly rose to the presidency following the untimely death of the then incumbent President, John Atta Mills.²⁸ From 1996, prior to serving as president and vice president of Ghana, Mahama had been member of parliament, deputy minister and minister of state. Two reasons explain why I focus on the political rhetoric of John Mahama, specifically on his use of metaphors. The first is that I observe the consistency with which he uses striking (conceptual) metaphors to advance his political arguments, something that seems to suggest his belief in the rhetorical power and persuasiveness of metaphors in political talk. The second is that he comes across as one of Ghana's most successful politicians, being perhaps the only Ghanaian leader to have occupied nearly all the prominent political offices in Ghana – as a member of parliament, deputy minister of state, minister of state, vice president and president. It would appear, then, that his discourse, rhetorical and communication skills, particularly his consistent use of metaphors, are a key contributing factor to his charismatic leadership and political success. As Mio et al. (Mio et al.,

²⁷ These two political parties were formed in the 90s, although they have ancestral roots that can be traced to earlier political formations. Since 1992, when Ghana returned to multiparty democracy, the NDC and the NPP are the only parties that have won the presidency, and in any elections, these two parties take about 95 per cent of all electoral votes.

²⁸ As vice president of Ghana at the time Mills died, Mahama was constitutionally sworn in as president to complete Mills' term which was to end on 7 January 2013. John Mahama became the presidential candidate of the NDC for the next elections which he won and continued to be Ghana's president until 7 January 2017 when he lost the seat to the NPP's Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*. He *shot down* all of my arguments.

We see how in each of these expressions, uttered in the context of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, the more abstract notion or concept of ARGUMENT ('target' domain) which is associated with the words *claims*, *argument*, *criticisms* and *disagree*, is systematically talked about in connection with the more concrete idea of (military) WAR ('source' domain) – evidenced in the words and expressions *indefensible*, *attacked*, *every weak point*, *right on target*, *demolished*, *won* and *shoot*. Kövecses (Kövecses, 2002: 4) explains that “[t]he conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called *source domain*, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the *target domain*”. Thus, as Krennmayr (Krennmayr, 2015: 530) puts it, “metaphor in language reflects conventional thought structures in our minds”.

In Lakoff and Johnson's CMT, there is also a sense in which culture plays a major role in the way a conceptual metaphor is structured – the sociocultural context in which language is used might often shape not only what source domain is chosen to explain the target domain, but also the kinds of understanding, meaning and interpretation to be derived from the mappings of the two domains. The thrust of CMT therefore is that metaphors go beyond their manifestation in our linguistic expressions. They underline our thought processing and patterning, and very often we rely on (and use) concrete concepts that are grounded in our cultural knowledge to understand the meanings constructed in more abstract concepts.

A discourse-oriented approach to metaphor is also relevant for the present study and the analysis carried out here. Metaphor researchers recognise the discourse-oriented perspective as a language-in-use theory of metaphor. Social and contextual aspects of the use of metaphor have typically not been addressed by cognitive linguists like Lakoff and Johnson. The use of metaphor in a social context ought to be described in light of “the social aspect of human behaviours” and how “the language resources available to a language user in a particular context [tends to] influence how metaphor is formulated and what can be done with it” (Low, Todd, Deignan and Cameron, 2010: vii). This means that metaphor use in a particular discourse context might not be systemic, conventional, or tied to specific (already-known) conceptual source-target mappings but can be interpreted based on the contextual information within a specific discourse community. This makes room for sound metaphorical uses and applications by speakers [and writers] that are based on creativity and cultural awareness rather than on established conceptual conventions. It is expected that studying metaphor in political discourse from a language-in-use perspective stands to uncover nuanced, interesting, and relevant uses of metaphor by a political speaker.

The relevance of a language-in-use theory further resonates with the fact that the analysis of metaphor presented here is based on naturally occurring pieces of texts (a corpus of political speeches). The corpus methods used will not only enable us to explore how Mahama uses metaphor but will also guide us in arriving at informed conclusions and culture-specific metaphorical meanings that are ideologically sound, which hopefully will prove the originality of Mahama's political discourse.

I hope to show, then, that an applied cognitive linguistic model (a joint discourse and cognitive approach to metaphor) provides a sound basis for understanding Mahama's metaphor use in his political speeches. John Mahama's use of metaphor in his speeches is consistent, conceptually structured, and contextually apt, and he combines these to highlight a rhetorical strategy that legitimises his persona as an authentic political speaker whose ideals prioritise the masses and

their concerns (Charteris-Black, 2011). He uses interesting metaphors to explain the political issues he presents to his audience. I further argue, in this article, that Mahama’s use of metaphors aims to project a key aspect of his political ideology, which is that the field of politics – specifically democratic principles, ideals and practices – is not very easily discernible to the ordinary or lay person, and that credible politicians have a responsibility to make their followers and the electorate appreciate fully the practices and nuances associated with democratic politics and political action. It follows, then, that, as Neagu (Neagu, 2013: 10) argues, “metaphors [in political discourse in particular] surpass their role as simple rhetorical devices and become part of human conceptualization”.

3. Methodology

3.1 The Corpus

A specialised corpus of John Mahama’s political speeches, which I call the JMPS, was compiled purposely to study his use of (conceptual) metaphors. In corpus linguistics, a specialised corpus is understood to be one that targets a particular genre, text type, author or speaker, so that a corpus of political speeches delivered by a known political leader (here, John Mahama) is a good example. Because, as far as I can tell, there was no existing ‘processed’ corpus of Mahama’s speeches (although most of his speeches were accessible on-line), it was necessary to build the corpus for the present study.

The JMPS corpus is made up of 22 of Mahama’s political speeches which were collected and digitalised. The speeches were on different themes, delivered to both local and international audiences during and after his reign as president of Ghana. The speeches were collected mainly from on-line websites including John Mahama’s own website.²⁹ One of the speeches was also orthographically transcribed as it was obtained only as a video/audio transcript. In total, the JMPS is made up of 69, 922-word tokens. Even as a specialised corpus the JMPS might be seen to be a very small corpus; yet it has proven big enough to reveal interesting patterns of metaphor use by John Mahama in varied contexts, as discussed in this article. Besides, I share in the view of Koester (Koester, 2010: 67) who argues that an advantage of small, specialised corpora is that “they allow a much closer link between the corpus and the contexts in which the texts in the corpus were produced”, noting further that with such corpora an analyst tends to have “a high degree of familiarity with the context”. Table 1 is a summary of the main features of the speeches that make up JMPS.

Table 1: Summary of the features of the JMPS corpus.

Speech File	Occasion Delivered	Date	Word Tokens
JMPS01	UN Climate Change Conference	Nov. 30, 2015	699
JMPS02	71 ST Session of UN Assembly	Sept. 21, 2016	3526
JMPS03	2012 Election Victory Speech	Dec. 11, 2012	1522
JMPS04	June 3 Disaster Memorial Service	June 3, 2017	1868
JMPS05	Presidential Inaugural Address	Jan. 7, 2013	1803
JMPS06	24 th Anniversary of NDC	Mar. 1, 2017	4203
JMPS07	Nationwide Address	Aug. 15, 2012	1526

²⁹ <https://www.johnmahama.org/>

JMPS08	20 TH AU Summit Speech	Jan. 27, 2013	953
JMPS09	Senchi Economic Forum Speech	May 13, 2014	3427
JMPS10	Anti-Corruption Day Speech	Dec. 10, 2015	3454
JMPS11	Flagbearer Endorsement 2016	Nov. 22, 2015	2161
JMPS12	Mindspeak Safaricom Speech	Feb. 18, 2017	2832
JMPS13	59 th Independence Day Address	Mar. 6, 2016	1668
JMPS14	New Cape Coast Stadium Address	May 4, 2016	1041
JMPS15	2013 SONA	Feb. 21, 2013	10946
JMPS16	Last SONA	Jan. 5, 2017	3929
JMPS17	2014 SONA	Feb. 25, 2014	10212
JMPS18	Speech at Democracy and Dev. in Africa meeting	Nov. 2, 2017	5528
JMPS19	ALM Person Keynote Address	Feb. 23, 2017	2185
JMPS20	Address on Africa's Self-reliance in Security	Apr. 19, 2018	2818
JMPS21	Address to Former Appointees and other Top Party People	Apr. 2017	2349
JMPS22	NDC Manifesto Launch 2020	Sept. 2020	1272

3.2 Identification of Metaphors in the JMPS Corpus

The analysis for this study started off with the identification of metaphors and metaphorical expressions in the JMPS corpus. In studies that have explored metaphor in texts, two main types of data – corpus data and discourse data – have often been used, each of which has seen researchers develop robust metaphor extraction principles over time. So, for example, notable corpus procedures for metaphor identification have been offered by Deignan (Deignan, 1999, 2005), Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black, 2011), Stefanowitsch (Stefanowitsch, 2006), Berber Sardinha (Berber Sardinha, 2012), among others.

On the other hand, there are well-tested discourse data procedures for metaphor extraction and identification, including Steen (Steen, 2002, 2007), Cameron (Cameron, 1999, 2003), Pragglejazz Group (Pragglejazz Group, 2007), and Steen et al. (Steen et al., 2010). In this article, I use techniques in both data types, making use of corpus explication strategies suggested in Berber Sardinha (Berber Sardinha, 2012) and complementing it with aspects of what seems to be the most widely used metaphor explication procedure in the discourse data tradition – i.e., the MIP and its elaborated MIPVU version, developed by the Pragglejazz Group (Pragglejazz Group, 2007) and Steen et al. (Steen et al., 2010) respectively.

I started the search for lexical units in the JMPS corpus that could potentially be used metaphorically, relying on two strategies suggested by Berber Sardinha (Berber Sardinha, 2012) (i.e., first manually reading excerpts of the corpus, and, second, running two, three and four lexical bundle searches in the corpus). At this initial stage, I was not yet particularly focusing on the identification and classification of metaphor and non-metaphorical uses of lexical units. I was using these strategies to list metaphorically potential lexical units, although the process was already throwing up some metaphor uses in the corpus. This process was also guided by and based on words and phrases previously identified to be strong words/units to be used metaphorically (Deignan, 1995, 2005; Lazar, 2003, Semino, 2017). This initial step accords with Semino's (Semino, 2017: 3) view that an important strategy to extract metaphors

in a corpus “involves searching the data for words or phrases that are likely to be used metaphorically or to occur in close proximity to relevant uses of metaphor”.

Following this first step, I concordanced each lexical unit to identify and classify metaphor uses in the corpus using the corpus analysis tool *AntConc* (version 3.4.3) (Anthony, 2005). For each concordance query carried out on a lexical unit, the MIPVU metaphor identification procedure (Steen et al., 2010) was followed to decide whether the use of a lexical unit is metaphorical or literal. Each concordance output (of a potentially metaphorical word) was closely examined – looking at the co-text in the concordance as well as most times getting down to the text file to observe the extended context of use. A key principle in the use of the MIPVU to identify metaphors is to be certain that lexical units exhibit a disruption of semantic coherence, where the contextual meaning of a unit is clearly different from its basic sense. In order not to overly rely on my intuition regarding contextual and basic meanings of lexical units, I checked to be sure by using a corpus-based dictionary, the *Collins Cobuild Advanced Dictionary of English* (7th edition), as a reference guide. Despite that simile, metonymy and personification are tropes that share close relationships and interact with metaphor (Steen et al. 2010), they were left out of the analysis for the present paper as the scope covered here did not allow for their full treatment.

On metaphors, I originally decided to exclude the literal uses of the lexical units analyzed, but an intriguing pattern I began to observe with *build*, in particular, led me to record the literal (basic) uses as well. So, both the frequencies of clear cases of metaphor uses and the basic, literal senses of lexical units were recorded. As indicated, *build*, as used by Mahama in his speeches, recorded considerable occurrences in both its metaphorical and literal uses (with all its variants – *builds*, *built*, *building*, *buildings* recording examples). It returned a total of 61 hits (uses), out of which 40 were used metaphorically and 21 literally, as excerpts 1 to 4 show:

Excerpt 1

Over the next four years we will *build* an economy that rewards hard work and nurtures Ghanaian entrepreneurs ... (**metaphorical**). [JMPS13]

Excerpt 2

We have gone about the task of nation *building* in a serious manner placing the wellbeing of the people on top of our list of priorities (**metaphorical**). [JMPS06]

Excerpt 3

Government will *build* similar facilities in the Brong Ahafo, Eastern, Upper East, Upper West and Volta regions (**literal**). [JMPS14]

Excerpt 4

This stadium was *built* as a symbol to mark 50 years of Ghana-China diplomatic relations ... (**literal**). [JMPS14]

While I do not discuss in detail the non-metaphor uses in this article, I return to focus on the collaboration between metaphorical and literal uses of units like *build*, *grow*, and *road* in John Mahama’s speeches, as such a collaboration seems to project a certain reality that I find quite notable. Generally, the corpus analysis procedure deployed to extract metaphor uses and identify conceptual patterns in the JMPS offers support to the view held by Deignan (Deignan, 2005: 5) that “a corpus linguistic approach can contribute importantly to our understanding of metaphor”.

3.3 Concordance, Collocation, and Metaphor Variation

Beyond the linguistic analysis of metaphorical uses of lexical units in the JMPS, I also focus on a classification of the conceptual (source/target domain) mappings that specific linguistic metaphors represent.

A close analysis of concordances and collocations of specific metaphorical lexical units revealed interesting patterns of metaphor variation in different contexts. For example, different issues of concern to Mahama as a politician get metaphorically framed in different ways. The kinds of variations enabled by concordances and collocations help to reveal the defining features of Mahama’s metaphor use, his political rhetoric and his ideology on specific issues around politics. Concordance and collocation queries in corpus linguistics have the potential to highlight patterns and variations that might be missed if the analyses were to be carried out manually.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Metaphor and Literal Uses of Lexical Units in the Speeches

The analysis of the use of linguistic metaphors in the JMPS corpus, and of the conceptual metaphors the specific linguistic metaphors represent, shows that metaphors are ubiquitous in Mahama’s political speeches. Mahama systematically and pervasively deploys metaphors as a rhetorical tool to structure his arguments as a politician, often using them to explain, evaluate, and clarify the issues he speaks about. The ubiquitous use of metaphor by Mahama may suggest he is conscious of the integral role of this device in successful political talk.

Chilton (Chilton, 2004) has explained that, in political discourse, politicians often rely on metaphors as a legitimizing tool to make their audience see them as sounding right and to articulate good intentions. To begin with, Table 2 displays the lexical units with metaphorical uses in the JMPS, the frequencies of metaphorical uses for these units, and the frequencies of non-metaphor/literal uses. It should be mentioned that lexical units which were originally included in the list to be searched for but did not record any metaphor uses, or did not occur at all in the JMPS, became irrelevant to the analysis and were therefore left out.

Table 2: Lexical resources and metaphor/non metaphor uses in the corpus.

Lexical Units Searched	Freq. of Metaphor Uses (%)	Freq. of non-metaphor/literal uses
<i>accelerate</i>	3 (0.7%)	0
<i>afford</i>	5 (1.1%)	2
<i>afloat</i>	2 (0.5%)	0
<i>ailing</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>baton</i>	3 (0.7%)	0
<i>battle</i>	7 (1.6%)	0
<i>birth</i>	2 (0.5%)	4
<i>body</i>	8 (1.8%)	1
<i>bow</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>branch</i>	4 (0.9%)	0
<i>build</i>	40 (9.0%)	21

<i>burden</i>	5 (1.1%)	3
<i>chase</i>	1 (0.2%)	1
<i>clean-up</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>colour</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>combat</i>	4 (0.9%)	0
<i>cross lines</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>cure</i>	3 (0.7%)	0
<i>dark</i>	3 (0.7%)	0
<i>dawn</i>	5 (1.1%)	0
<i>die</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>divide</i>	12 (2.7%)	0
<i>doorstep</i>	3 (0.7%)	0
<i>erode</i>	2 (0.5%)	1
<i>eye</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>face</i>	7 (1.6%)	10
<i>fall</i>	15 (3.4%)	0
<i>family</i>	4 (0.9%)	22
<i>fight</i>	19 (4.3%)	0
<i>foundation</i>	7 (1.6%)	0
<i>fruition</i>	2 (0.5%)	0
<i>gap</i>	5 (1.1%)	0
<i>grow</i>	111 (25.0%)	4
<i>hand</i>	7 (1.6%)	2
<i>head</i>	21 (4.7%)	0
<i>health</i>	3 (0.7%)	0
<i>heart</i>	8 (1.8%)	0
<i>horse</i>	6 (1.4%)	0
<i>infant</i>	1 (0.2%)	1
<i>in tatters</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>invest</i>	2 (0.5%)	5
<i>lame</i>	4 (0.9%)	0
<i>light</i>	2 (0.5%)	0
<i>line up</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>maturity</i>	2 (0.5%)	0
<i>nurture</i>	1 (0.2%)	1
<i>on track</i>	10 (2.3%)	6
<i>path</i>	19 (4.3%)	0
<i>pay</i>	3 (0.7%)	10
<i>player</i>	5 (1.1%)	2
<i>race</i>	2 (0.5%)	0
<i>recover</i>	3 (0.7%)	4
<i>rebound</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>relay</i>	3 (0.7%)	0
<i>road</i>	10 (2.3%)	44
<i>root</i>	4 (0.9%)	0
<i>seed</i>	2 (0.5%)	7
<i>shoulder</i>	2 (0.5%)	0
<i>shut our doors</i>	2 (0.5%)	0

<i>sick</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>soul</i>	1 (0.2%)	1
<i>sow</i>	1 (0.2%)	0
<i>spirit</i>	12 (2.7%)	1
<i>struggle</i>	6 (1.4%)	5
<i>walk</i>	4 (0.9%)	0
<i>yield</i>	5 (1.1%)	1
Total	444	159

It emerges from the frequency analysis, as can be seen in Table 2, that the lexical units Mahama uses quite often to communicate metaphorical meanings in his speeches are GROW, BUILD, HEAD, FIGHT, and PATH, each of which records more than 4% of the total occurrences of metaphor uses found with the 66 lexical units analyzed.

Interestingly, GROW and BUILD (which also record many literal/non-metaphorical uses in his speeches, but far fewer) are the words Mahama uses most frequently to construct metaphors in his speeches. Another word, ROAD, also occurs quite frequently with both metaphor and literal uses although its metaphor uses (2.3%), compared with those of GROW and BUILD, are far less. But the pattern of metaphor and literal/non-metaphor uses of these units by Mahama, especially those occurring in the same speeches, seems intriguing and interesting. The pervasive metaphorical uses of GROW, BUILD and ROAD easily make them appear more conventional rather than creative (or novel) metaphors, thereby suggesting they may not be framing anything contextually interesting.

However, the point of interest arises in what appears to be a conscious and calculated combination of both metaphor and literal uses of these units by Mahama, as several of such combined uses occur in the same speech. They seem to characterize a unique rhetorical style adopted by Mahama to foreground the close associations between physical reality and visual perception of the political issues of concern to him. With regards to GROW specifically, as seen in Excerpts 5 and 6, Mahama literally uses it to highlight the need for people in a nation to go through the physical process of human growth happily (Excerpt 5) and then, in the same speech, he relies on the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM to metaphorically frame the need to visualize the bigger picture of economic progress by talking about the economy in terms of how it can achieve accelerated growth (Excerpt 6).

Excerpt 5

My vision for this country is to create a conducive national environment in which our children grow happily into responsible adults ... (**literal**) [JMPS15]

Excerpt 6

In partnership with the private sector, we will expand our infrastructure in a manner that will accelerate economic growth (**metaphorical**) [JMPS15]

Excerpt 7

Another policy introduced by Col. Acheampong was Operation Feed Yourself, which encouraged Ghanaians to grow what they consumed (**literal**) [JMPS12]

Excerpt 8

From seemingly out of nowhere several African countries were among the top ten fastest *growing* economies in the world (**metaphorical**) [JMPS12]

Mahama achieves a similar rhetorical effect with the lexical units BUILD and ROAD, as exemplified in Excerpts 9 to 12. In the specific case of BUILD, we can see that both its literal and metaphorical uses convey a sense of the need to not just build physical structures (literal – Excerpt 9) but also to build on successes already achieved with regards to reducing poverty (metaphorical – Excerpt 10)), both of which are crucial for advancing societal needs.

This feature of combining metaphor and literal uses of specific lexical units to discuss political issues comes across as a creative rhetorical style in Mahama’s speeches not previously discussed. Previous metaphor studies in political discourse (e.g., Koller and Semino/Semino and Koller, 2009a, 2009b; Charteris-Black, 2014; Musolff, 2017; Ahrens, 2019) have all tended to focus solely on metaphor uses – the kinds of metaphor used by politicians, and how different contextual situations might trigger the use of different metaphors.

Excerpt 9

Building domestic and regional infrastructure stimulates economic and activity and in turn spurs growth (**literal**) [JMPS19]

Excerpt 10

It is possible for Africa to *build* on the tremendous success achieved in halving poverty under the MDGs to achieve this SDG goal (**metaphorical**) [JMPS19]

Excerpt 11

We will embark on a regional *roads* improvement programme that will see significant upgrades in critical *road* infrastructure in the major agriculture regions ... (**literal**) [JMPS15]

Excerpt 12

In addition, we will begin the *road* map for converting our existing 10 public polytechnics into fully fledged technical universities (**metaphorical**) [JMPS15]

Apart from these five lexical units (i.e., GROW, BUILD, HEAD, FIGHT and PATH) whose metaphor and literal uses were very prominent in Mahama’s speeches, and which tended to account for many of the conceptual metaphors discussed in this article, the remaining 61 units on the list in Table 2 had relatively fewer metaphorical uses in the speeches. For most of these units, Mahama used them metaphorically only as no literal uses were recorded.

Although these 61 lexical units record very low metaphorical uses in the speeches, Mahama uses them in unique, culturally oriented ways that highlight how his rhetorical style uncovers aspects of his political ideology. As Neagu (Neagu, 2013: 23) has pointed out, within political discourse and in other contexts, “[s]tyles represent the discursive manifestation of identity, of individuality, of personality”. If we take, as an example, the horse race excerpt in the primary title of this paper, which is taken from a speech Mahama delivered to top party members/officials in April 2017 after his party lost the 2016 national elections, we see that Mahama was talking and thinking of electoral competition (target domain) in terms of a horse race (source domain). The words ‘horse’ and ‘race’ occur 8 times overall in the JMPS, and all the uses are in relation to the ‘electoral competition – horse race’ conceptual metaphorical mapping (no literal uses).

I will discuss the details of the ‘horse race’ metaphor in the next section, but it is important to draw attention here to its resonating value in the way Mahama uses it to connect with his audience in the context of his speech. In contemporary Ghana, the horse features in many activities including, for example, sporting activities, recreational purposes, politics, and military training and parades. In the 4th Republic of Ghanaian politics since 1992, horses have become a symbol of authority in Ghana: they are used to usher in the convoy of the head of state at very important national events such as Independence Day parades. Horse racing has also gained momentum in Ghana during this period. It would make sense, then, to assume that Mahama exploits the horse race metaphor to advance his political argument, knowing that Ghanaians are aware of the concrete activities that make use of the horse.

4.2 Conceptual Metaphors Identified in Mahama's Speeches

The linguistic expressions of metaphorical uses in Mahama’s political speeches are instantiations that provide a basis for the identification of many conceptual (target-source) mappings. These conceptual (mental) structures became apparent upon a close inspection and analysis of the patterns emerging from concordance lines of lexical units used metaphorically. Table 3 lists the conceptual metaphors identified in the Mahama speeches according to specific themes (and sub themes in some cases).

Table 3: Conceptual metaphors in the JMPS corpus.

Conceptual Metaphors in the Mahama Speeches

- POLITICS/POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS WAR
 - ELECTION IS A BATTLE
 - SOCIAL ISSUES AS WAR
 - POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AS ATHLETICS
 - POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IS A RELAY RACE
 - ELECTORAL COMPETITION IS A HORSE RACE
 - NATION-BUILDING IS A RACE
 - ACHIEVING SUCCESS AS A PLANT
 - REALISING A VISION IS A PLANT
 - WINNING POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE IS A PLANT
 - GHANA IS A PERSON
 - DEVELOPING A NATION IS A JOURNEY
 - A NON-PROGRESSIVE MIND IS EXPENSIVE/COSTLY
 - POLITICS IS BUSINESS
 - POLITICS IS AN ORGANISM
 - DEMOCRACY IS A PLANT
 - DEMOCRACY IS A TEAM SPORT
 - ECONOMY IS A BALL
 - ECONOMY IS A BUILDING
 - ECONOMY IS A PLANT
 - ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM
 - ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE
 - A WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING
-

While some of the conceptual mappings are based on several linguistic instantiations of metaphor use, others emerge from just one or two examples of metaphor use. But my concern here is not to really demonstrate that a certain number of (or all the potential) metaphorical

linguistic expressions should be counted in order to recognise a conceptual mapping (Stefanowitsch, 2006). This first study of Mahama’s use of metaphor is aimed at focusing on the vast array of conceptual metaphors underlying his use of linguistic metaphors. As I will show, and as Table 3 makes clear, Mahama makes use of a variety of source domains to talk about specific local, regional, national, and international issues or experiences (i.e., target domains) that might require political action or authority.

A cursory look at Table 3 shows that Mahama’s use of metaphor is predominant in the areas of politics and the economy, and specifically uses metaphor quite often to talk about Ghana as a nation and democracy as a system of government embraced by Ghana and many other nations globally.

The specific linguistic metaphors he uses that create these mental structures have the potential to uncover the discourses surrounding phenomena of all kinds as well as how individuals or groups of people might be perceived. Semino (Semino, 2008: 34) has suggested that texts containing metaphor uses “that are discursively systematic are particularly significant” and that “they can be seen as the reflection of the shared beliefs and assumptions of the members of particular social groups”.

Mahama’s consistent use of metaphors reflects certain ideologies that he conveys of politics, of elections, of the economy, of social life, of nation-building, and of many aspects of how politics ought to bring about prosperity and economic transformation to countries. In the remainder of this section, I offer a more detailed analysis of some of Mahama’s conceptual metaphors, with relevant corpus examples, to show how he talks and thinks of these pressing issues that confront his country and those of the international community.

4.2.1 METAPHORS FOR ELECTORAL POLITICS

The role of electoral politics in democracy is central and represents one aspect which is often marked in the talk of politicians. Metaphors are used to frame electoral success, or defeat or nuance situations that need to calm nerves and that need to be used to preserve the persuasive power politicians enjoy from the followers or electorate.

When John Mahama lost the 2016 presidential elections in Ghana, the loss came not only as a surprise but also with considerable disbelief and misunderstanding, especially among the many supporters and followers of his NDC party. It was difficult for the Party to understand why an incumbent president seeking a second term should lose the elections, as it has always been the case that first time presidents win the votes of Ghanaians to form a second term government. What followed was a general blame game in the party on who caused the political defeat of John Mahama. There was also extensive commentary and talk around who the next flagbearer of the party should be. In the heat of the arguments, Mahama (in April 2017) organised and held a meeting with top party officials, offering his own understanding of the defeat but aimed more towards calming nerves and keeping the party united. The excerpt in the title of this article, out of which the conceptual metaphor ELECTORAL COMPETITION IS A HORSE RACE is formed, is part of the speech Mahama delivered at this gathering. Mahama says:

Excerpt 13

If you *ride a lame horse* into a *race* and you *lose the race*, your priority must be to *cure the lameness of the horse* and not about who will *ride the horse* again. You have to *cure the horse* and make sure it's no longer *lame*, and once you have a *fit, healthy horse* it will throw up who the *jockey* should be [JMSP 21]

In Excerpt 13, Mahama is talking and thinking of the 2016 elections in which the NDC had participated and lost (the TARGET domain) in terms of a horse race (the SOURCE domain). Mahama suggests that the NDC went into the competition ('race') with a weak party machinery, metaphorically framed as 'a lame horse', and as a result everyone's concern, at the time he was delivering his speech, should have been directed at first curing the lameness of the horse rather than at looking for or focusing on who the next flagbearer ('the jockey') should be.

However, subsequently in the same speech, Mahama seemed to accept responsibility for the electoral defeat since he led his party into the elections. Unsurprisingly, this acceptance of responsibility also draws on a conceptual metaphor (ELECTION IS A BATTLE) that seemed to further resonate with his audience and to project him as a political leader who knows what it means to take responsibility.

Excerpt 14

Of course, as *the general who led us into battle*, I take ultimate responsibility for our losing the election, and so if it will satisfy those people *blame* me for the *loss* [JPMS 21]

In Excerpts 13 and 14, Mahama strategically draws on the source domains A HORSE RACE and A BATTLE to explain the electoral loss. He uses these domains to stir up in the minds of his audience a positive mental representation, which not only deepens the audience's understanding of the loss, but also exonerates him as not really the cause of the loss, in spite of what, in Excerpt 14, seems to suggest he accepted blame for the loss.

Indeed, Excerpt 14 only has the discourse function of calming nerves and subduing, or possibly ending, the blame game rather than really indicating true acceptance of blame for the defeat. If anything at all, the metaphor ELECTION IS A BATTLE contributes to portraying Mahama as a credible and mature leader who concedes defeat, at least in the eyes of his audience. It is the reason the conceptual (metaphorical) mapping in Excerpt 13 offers a more thorough and mentally stimulating explanation for the electoral loss, skillfully shifting the blame away from Mahama and placing it within the NDC's electoral machinery or campaign team. Here the ELECTORAL COMPETITION IS A HORSE RACE metaphor most likely wins over the hearts and minds of Mahama's audience and depicts him as a persuasive politician.

Within the context of the same 2017 speech, after using the horse race metaphor to highlight the need for the NDC's electoral machinery to be reorganized and strengthened, Mahama goes a step further. He tries to heal the wounds of the loss his Party had suffered and to enhance confidence in the NDC political fraternity. He therefore suggests that the 2016 electoral loss could be viewed as a blessing in disguise – one that has the potential to revive and reposition the party for an exciting and a victorious come back in the next election. He uses a more detailed but different framing strategy of the ELECTION IS A BATTLE conceptual metaphor we have already seen in Excerpt 14 to achieve this, as can be seen in Excerpt 15.

Excerpt 15

But often in life, outcomes like this are important to allow any organization to *regroup, refocus*, and *go back into battle*. If you *go into battle* and the *battle* is continuous and you don't have a

little break to step back and look at your *strategy* and see how to make yourself *more effective in battle*, often than not you are not as effective as you should be. [JMPS 21]

The specific use of the phrases ‘regroup’, ‘refocus’, ‘battle’, ‘strategy’, ‘little break’, ‘step back’ and ‘effective in battle’ by Mahama has the force of intuitively constructing, in the minds of his audience, a retentive awareness of the essential strategies for success in war or battle, and how they can anticipate their party’s success when this source concept is applied to the target concept of POLITICS generally or ELECTIONS in particular. Overall, Mahama’s choice of conceptual source domains, in this April 2017 speech, may seem apt and offers a useful reasoning which brings enormous clarity to the somewhat ‘ill understood’ and ‘controversial’ target political issue of the 2016 electoral loss and the matters arising from it (Chilton 2004: 67). While generally the metaphors deployed here by Mahama to discuss their loss in the 2016 elections may be seen as conventional, we see a sense in which he uses them in contextually creative and unconventional ways to project a political persona whose credibility can be vouched for by his audiences.

4.2.2 FRAMING POLITICS/POLITICAL LEADERSHIP METAPHORICALLY

Mahama metaphorically frames politics as a human being (POLITICS IS AN ORGANISM), expecting people who venture into it to be mindful of what is involved, especially in terms of how to position oneself with political opponents, and how to have a vision of politics that aims to deliver the people’s aspirations. The linguistic manifestations of this conceptual metaphor are highlighted in some of his speeches. One of these manifestations, as seen in Excerpt 16, relates to maturation in politics, as is true of humans, plants and other creatures to grow and mature.

Excerpt 16

... we have ultimately avoided violence and we should congratulate ourselves for demonstrating our *political maturity* and our clear commitment to the path of peace. [JMPS 03]

Mahama tries to demonstrate rhetorical competence and to engage his audience on the subject of political maturation by telling the Ghanaian people that they have come of age politically and must be proud of their role in the political and social systems they have helped to create. He goes on to foreground the metaphor of a growing democracy and to articulate his evaluation of his nation’s political progress to his audience.

This is a highly persuasive strategy adopted by Mahama, especially in gaining the support of the people. Mahama sounds very real and non-manipulative here and assigns his audience what seems to be a very active and participatory role. He communicates good intentions of his nation’s modest political progress which he believes constitutes the people’s own progress and therefore attributes it to them rather than to himself and to his fellow politicians despite that they (politicians) are leading the whole process. As Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black, 2011) argues, when the audience recognise that a speaker’s use of metaphors complies or resonates with their own best interests, they tend to believe in the intentions of the speaker.

Excerpt 17

We have managed to instill the respect for democratic governance into *our political and civil life* so well that, an entire generation of Ghanaians have come of age in *our* political system knowing nothing else and expecting nothing else. I believe that this will continue for

generations to come and as your president I wish to reiterate my commitment to *the growth and further consolidation of our democracy and its key institutions*. [JMPS 03]

Apart from the metaphorical framings, it is important to observe how Mahama projects the people as the owners of their political system through the repeated use of the inclusive personal pronoun 'our', thereby legitimatizing their role as key actors in the politics of the country.

There is a further metaphorical reference to POLITICS AS A GAME/BOXING by Mahama. He refers particularly to the 'political arena' which triggers a vision of the huge space within the sporting/boxing arena, encouraging the positive spirit of competition and the competition of ideas in the political governance and leadership of a country. This is encapsulated in the kind of atmosphere expected for political rivalry and competition to thrive, as Mahama hopes for in Excerpt 18. The use of the words 'decency' and 'dignity' to refer to the kind of political atmosphere he wants to see further provides a basis for his view that politics ought to be viewed more positively if political systems are the true agents of governance and development. In Excerpt 18, Mahama reminds us that, at least in the context of African politics, there is a lot that motivates people (of all walks of life) to negatively evaluate and ideologize politics as 'dirty', 'divisive', 'non progressive' 'corrupt', 'disruptive', 'dishonest', 'self-serving', etc., all of which are underlined by the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS A DIRTY GAME. Fortunately, he places the problem at the doorstep of the conduct and attitude of politicians rather than on the profession itself, as Excerpt 18 shows ('it is us politicians who make it so').

Excerpt 18

I believe there is space in the *political arena* to compete for political leadership in *an atmosphere of decency and dignity*. It is said that *politics is a dirty game*. I daresay, *it is us politicians who make it so*. [JMPS 07]

One more metaphorical depiction of politics by Mahama finds expression in source domain metaphors of business – POLITICS IS BUSINESS, a conventional metaphor that is quite common in his political speeches. Politicians are often aware of their primary role of availing enhanced social services and generating, as well as distributing, the (limited) resources and wealth of a nation to provide for the needs of the people. There is a greater sense of urgency to this in especially less developed or third world countries.

Mahama's use of the POLITICS IS BUSINESS metaphor echoes this dimension of politics, uncovered in the way his talk about political activity, such as the provision of healthcare, education, infrastructure, roads, etc., by the government to the masses, is conceived in terms of 'investment' and the 'yielding of dividends', as exemplified in Excerpts 19 and 20.

Excerpt 19

Investments in healthcare, education, power, water, roads, and sports are *yielding significant dividends* for us and are creating more employment opportunities. [JMPS02]

Excerpt 20

In August of 2013, government hosted a forum of all stakeholders in Ho in the Volta Region to deliberate on strategies for sanitising the wage bill in order to *free resources for other critical investments*, such as education, health and infrastructure. [JMPS09]

The metaphor of politics as business captures a reflective understanding which Mahama hopes will provoke the minds of his audience. This highlights a way of thinking about the kinds of

return political actors expect to see when they commit to offering social services to the people. Mahama communicates the vision that, as investments in business are expected to yield benefits in the form of profits and dividends, so are investments in healthcare, education, power, roads, infrastructure, etc. expected to yield such returns as freedom, safety, security, and a generally enhanced condition of life for the people. This expectation also finds expression in the ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE metaphor, as Mahama also talks of a vision of ‘*the acceleration of our economy ...*’ [JMPS 15] which might be considered a prerequisite for such investment returns to be achieved.

The application of this acceleration metaphor supports the investment return expectation and thus adds to Mahama’s persuasive discourse, as it is one that might easily resonate with his followers whose expectations of their leader – to improve the socioeconomic standards of the people – cannot be compromised.

4.2.3 FRAMING SOCIAL ISSUES AS WAR

In several of his political speeches Mahama draws on the widely applied conventional concept of A WAR (SOURCE domain) and maps it onto vital, concrete social issues (TARGET domains) that need political action. Here, the source domain is linguistically expressed mainly with the word ‘fight’ although other forms like ‘combat’ and ‘battle’ capture the notion. Right from the outset, we get a sense of how Mahama, as a political leader, wants social problems affecting his fellow Ghanaians, and Africans in general, to be tackled.

There seems to be a clear conviction and indication, on his part, that any serious social issue impeding the development and progress of Ghana and Africa requires the kind of ‘aggressive’ or even ‘violent’ response anyone would imagine in a fight or war situation and must therefore be confronted head on. A close inspection of the sorted concordance lines for ‘fight’ in Figure 1. brings into sharp view some of the social issues confronting Ghana and Africa, and for which Mahama talks and thinks about in his speeches using violent metaphors.

Concordance Hits 19		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	ing Corruption. We will give impetus to the fight against corruption by strengthening the anti	JM15
2	ent Act, which strengthens our hands in the fight against corruption. I must however say that	JM16
3	ur internal and international partners in the fight against corruption. Mr. Chairman, I am encou	JM10
4	2s Department. Our greatest success in the fight against corruption must be based on preventi	JM10
5	able. Systems and legislation to deepen the fight against corruption must be established. How	JM19
6	sed by Parliament. Our commitment to the fight against corruption remains unshakeable. We w	JM15
7	for the provision of humanitarian aid in the fight against Ebola. \xA0The name \x93Ghana\x94	JM13
8	tion with relevant international agencies, to fight against international terrorism, money laund	JM15
9	a moral duty to empower all Ghanaians, to fight against prejudice, poverty and inequality, a	JM11
10	cal turmoil.\xA0 But today Kenya is thriving, fighting back against all that would stand in the	JM13
11	an produce would give African agriculture a fighting chance. Mr. President, Some of the young	JM02
12	indeed want to succeed as a country in fighting corruption and crime. Just last week, Tra	JM10
13	indeed aspire to collectively and sustainably fight corruption. As a government, I assure you th	JM10
14	rruption (UNCAC) as a global instrument to fight corruption. Obviously, the significance of t	JM10
15	fearless enough to fulfil their dreams, or to fight for the liberation of their people, or to	JM05
16	rnment runs in facing up to corruption and fighting it. And in the past even though we	JM10
17	sociated with the alienation of public lands. FIGHTING NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING AND CONSUMPTION Mr.	JM15
18	by going into the infection zone to assist fight the disease. Ghana remains proud of its cont	JM02
19	our national interests. I recall the decision to fight\xA0galamsy\xA0(illegal, small scale mining)	JM18

Figure 1: Screenshot of concordance lines for ‘fight’.

The most visible and common is the fight over ‘corruption’ but also the need to fight such ills as ‘Ebola’, ‘international terrorism’, ‘poverty’, ‘crime’, ‘prejudice’, ‘inequality’, ‘narcotics’ ‘disease’, ‘galamsay’ (i.e., illegal mining), etc. In other speeches, Mahama specifically uses ‘combat’ and ‘battle’ to characterize the war against ‘narcotics’, ‘corruption’, ‘drug trafficking’ and ‘HIV/AIDS’, as exemplified in Excerpts 21 and 22.

Excerpt 21

... I request all officials engaged in tackling this menace [drug trafficking] to maintain a high sense of integrity in order to *win this battle*. [JMPS15]

Excerpt 22

It has always been a pleasure for me ... to reflect on the implementation of our national strategy and the plan that we adopted *to combat* corruption ... [JMPS10]

Mahama’s use of violent metaphors to talk about social issues, reflected and evidenced, for example, in the conceptual idea of SOCIAL ISSUES AS WAR, provides a sufficient basis for one to argue that such issues require urgent political action and need to be tackled in a confrontational manner. After all, for Mahama, the socio-economic problems in Ghana and/or on the continent are the kind that must be fought, especially when one considers that Africa is often talked about in terms of being one of the least developed and most deprived regions of the world (see, Lewis, 2008). And this might, interestingly, explain a notable contrast that can be observed between the African context and elsewhere in the use and application of confrontational/violent source metaphors. For example, research on metaphors in language in most Western cultures (see for example, Sontag, 1979; Kövecses, 2000; Gibbs and Franks, 2002; Demmen et al., 2015) has shown that violent metaphors, framed specifically in terms of Military, War, or Battle metaphors, are particularly common in the context of terminal illness experiences, most notably cancer.

That is not to say that such metaphors do not occur in other contexts of use in Western cultures but that they may be more handy and readily applicable in health communication. The kind of contrast I underscore here suggests that certain conceptual metaphors may be shared between or across cultures, and yet vary according to specific contexts of application, especially in terms of elaboration and relevance (Kövecses, 2000).

4.2.4 METAPHORS FOR THE ECONOMY

Every good politician places priority on the economy of her/his nation and their talk about this aspect of their political leadership often gives a sense of the kinds of economic institutions and incentives they hope to be able to establish to address issues of living standards. As Burgers and Ahrens (Burgers and Ahrens, 2020: 260) note, “one area of discourse especially relevant to politicians is the status of a country’s economy, as the economy is the driving factor in a country’s prosperity, and thus critical to politicians’ fates as leaders”.

Talk about the economy in developing countries such as Ghana is even more profound and relevant. Political leaders are expected to conceive of the economy in very intelligent and rhetorically appropriate ways to gain the confidence and trust of their people. In Mahama’s political discourse and rhetoric, the economy is given a prominent place and is talked about in various metaphorical ways that justify its centrality in politics, as Burgers and Ahrens remind us. In different discourse contexts, Mahama employs a variety of source domain metaphors to characterize his ideology and vision of the economy, including ECONOMY IS A PLANT, ECONOMY IS A BUILDING, ECONOMY IS A BALL, ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE and ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM.

Mahama’s metaphorical framings for the economy are conventional but they combine to highlight his focus on what national economies must deliver to the citizens. The source domain metaphors Mahama uses to describe the economy – ‘plant’, ‘building’, ‘ball’, ‘vehicle’, and ‘organism’ – together succeed in triggering relevant and well-understood knowledge in the minds of Mahama’s audience to make them better appreciate what is expected of a national economy (and the issues around it).

The use of multiple source mappings may also suggest that Mahama perceives the economic system to be so complex yet central to the business of politics. As his usual rhetorical style, he makes use of concrete and culturally relevant metaphors for effective audience engagement. Let me discuss in some detail how some of these metaphors to describe the economy project Mahama as a conscious political speaker who appreciates the role of metaphor in providing a basis for rationally thinking of the crucial issues at stake.

For instance, the metaphor ECONOMY IS A PLANT brings into mind the biological process of growth associated with plants and the benefits resulting from maturation in the growth, including food, fiber, clean air, fuels, medicines, etc. Thus, Mahama’s choice of a plant metaphor to talk about the economy, in Ghana and elsewhere, is intended to invoke a sense of economic hope – one that ultimately is expected to deliver relief in several areas. In that process, as seen in Excerpts 23 and 24, Mahama may also be seeking to sell the idea that the right strategies and steps must be followed to achieve the desired outcomes, much the same way that extreme care and appropriate nurturing procedures are necessary for plants to grow well.

Excerpt 23

We must continue to *invest* in our agricultural sector, and *grow* our economy so that it lifts the bulk of our most *crippling* financial burdens ... [JMPS05]

Excerpt 24

In partnership with the private sector, we will expand our infrastructure in a manner that will accelerate economic *growth*. [JMPS15]

The ECONOMY IS A BUILDING metaphor is also quite popular in Mahama's discourse. Here the process of ensuring that the economy succeeds to the benefit of all is presented as a physical building which brings together materials that assure a strong foundation and a solid structure in the end. In our minds, such a building should offer endless comfort to its occupants. Thus, Mahama's use of this metaphor is likely to create in the minds of his audience the image of a politician whose effort, as far as the economy is concerned, is to give Ghana a strong, robust and resilient economy to elevate the living conditions of the people, as depicted in Excerpt 25.

Excerpt 25

Over the next four years, we will *build* an economy that rewards hard work and nurtures Ghanaian entrepreneurs and businesses ... [JMPS15]

The notion of collective effort for economic success is also highlighted by the building metaphor, especially as a physical building often requires several people who might use manual and technological applications to accomplish the task, without which the building is likely to collapse in no time. If we consider that once a building collapses it suddenly disappears, we would appreciate better the need to collectively 'build' an economy that cannot collapse easily. Thus, here, Mahama rhetorically invites his audience to evaluate the whole political system in terms of how strong and resilient the economy is.

The final example I refer to here is the ECONOMY IS A BALL metaphor, derived from Excerpt 26, which is part of a keynote speech Mahama delivered in March, 2017 at the 24th Anniversary celebration of the NDC.

Excerpt 26

On 12th April, 2016 the World Bank stated that Ghana's real gross domestic product (GDP) is projected to *rebound* to 5.2% in 2016 from 3.4% in 2015, reflecting the positive impact of a more stable energy and increased contribution from the oil and gas and agricultural sectors. [JMPS06]

An 'expected economic rebound' is not so straightforward – it may eventually signal either an enhanced economy or a diminished one, although the former is the more likely. This idea of the (potential) economic rebound is underscored in the way a rebound occurs in popular sports, such as in baseball where a rebound does not necessarily result in a scoring point but a good chance for that to occur. Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black, 2000: 20) has discussed this sort of economic unpredictability in terms of the notions of 'transitoriness' and 'instability'.

In Excerpt 26, Mahama's use of 'projected', just before the metaphor, is rhetorically appropriate – it serves as a safeguard measure he adopts to be less categorical. If the expected 'rebound' does not occur, the blame, one would argue, goes to the instability of the market economy, not to Mahama. Clearly, Mahama's use of economy metaphors reveal his intentions and perceptions

of the economy in politics and uses these metaphors to capture the shared experiences with his audience.

4.3 UNCOVERING MAHAMA'S IDEOLOGIES THROUGH METAPHOR

John Mahama is a politician whose speeches are characterized by considerable metaphorical framings of the key political issues he talks about. As Table 3 depicts, he uses a vast array of (conceptual) metaphors to get his political messages across to his audience. The pervasive deployment of metaphors in his speeches underscores the fact that metaphors are an important rhetorical strategy Mahama consistently uses in his political discourse for audience engagement and persuasion.

The conventional or even creative use of (certain kinds of) metaphors, especially by politicians and political actors, has the crucial tendency of revealing important ideologies they might convey. Such ideological functions emerging from the use of metaphorical expressions have already been highlighted in earlier studies (Chilton, 2004; Semino, 2008; Díaz-Peralta, 2018). For example, Semino (Semino, 2008: 33/4) has talked about “[t]he ideological dimension of conventional patterns of metaphor” and how the use of “conventional conceptual metaphors can be seen as an important part of the shared sets of beliefs or ‘ideology’” held by the users. And according to Díaz-Peralta (Díaz-Peralta, 2018: 129), metaphors are “an important ideological instrument” in political discourse.

As can be seen in the discourse analysis of Mahama’s political speeches, presented in this paper, the way he positions himself and frames the top issues of politics he discusses foregrounds his ideological stance on these issues, which is often shared with his audience. Ideology, as van Dijk (van Dijk, 2006) points out, is a socially shared phenomenon that offers a basis for any politician to establish a collective understanding of values between themselves and their audience at any given point in time. One or two examples of how Mahama’s use of metaphors projects a conscious ideology and a bond between himself and his audience would suffice.

The metaphors of the economy, discussed quite elaborately in this paper, are a good example. Mahama’s metaphorical uses of GROW and BUILD – to specifically talk about the economy – seems to foreground his view that the economy is at the heart of any political system, especially as he visualizes it within the Ghanaian and African contexts. While economies everywhere have their own peculiar challenges, it is well known that African economies have for a long time been identified as one of the least thriving economies within the global economic system, lagging behind in the provision of infrastructure, welfare systems, social services and public goods – all of which are needed for economic development. In their place, dictatorial leadership, corruption and perverse poverty abound. Lewis (Lewis, 2008) points out that, even in new African democracies, experiences of macroeconomic growth have not yielded the much-needed prosperity and economic emancipation in these countries. Lewis (Lewis, 2008: 97) mentions Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania, among others, and notes that in these countries “economic expansion has not been accompanied by rising incomes or popular welfare” while “indicators of public well-being lag far behind strong economic performance”. It is perhaps in light of this negative representation of

African economies that Mahama’s metaphorical uses of GROW and BUILD to positively construct the Ghanaian and African economies remain ideologically relevant. His political

discourse thus evokes his strong belief that the economy is the heart and engine of national growth and prosperity.

Another of Mahama's reality, which emanates from the use of conceptual metaphors in his political speeches, is on the topic of corruption. It can be argued that Mahama constructs corruption in his political discourse as one that impedes socio-economic development and must therefore be tackled. It is the perspective he takes on corruption, through his dominant use of 'confrontational' or 'violent' conceptual metaphors, that makes his ideological position on the corruption menace apparent. These metaphors are coded linguistically in words like 'combat' (as in Excerpt 22 above), 'fight', 'battle' and 'war', and the metaphorical descriptions reinforce the kinds of action expected to be taken to tackle the matter and who are expected to take that action. Mahama's political attitude towards tackling corruption can thus be said to be underlined by a strong aggressive approach, informed by his use of these metaphors.

Importantly also, an overarching ideology that discursively manifests itself in Mahama's political speeches – one may argue – is his belief that national, regional or global politics and the issues addressed in these different contexts are extremely complex, and politicians and political leaders have a responsibility to simplify the issues and present them in vivid, clear and accessible terms to the electorate and citizens who expect to be carried along in the governance process. The wide variety of source domains Mahama (consciously) deploys in his speeches, including 'war', 'athletics', 'business', 'plant', 'relay race', 'horse race', 'ball', among others, leads to the construction of a discourse that supports this ideology. The source domain choices are also culturally relevant and thus resonate well with the expectations of the audience who, through these metaphors, are able to relate to the issues Mahama articulates in his speeches. All of this seems crucial in reducing "the rhetorical distance" (Charteris-Black, 2005: 146) between Mahama as a political speaker and his "mass audience" which in turn enhances the persuasive power of his rhetorical style. According to Walter and Helmig (Walter and Helmig, 2008), choosing contextually appropriate source domains has a great influence on the way a speaker's audience construct reality.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to argue that a key rhetorical strategy John Mahama uses in his political speeches to gain ratification from his audience is his use of metaphor. Drawing on discourse and cognitive metaphor theories, I have shown that Mahama's rhetorical style is dominated by the use of (conceptual) metaphors, which not only serve as an ammunition for his persuasive political talk, but also offers him a useful discourse strategy for effective audience engagement. Mahama's use of metaphors is conscious, consistent and conceptually structured, but more importantly has cultural and situational relevance as he often deploys conventional metaphors in unconventional and creative ways to achieve his rhetorical goals.

This study, on Mahama's use of metaphors, should open up avenues for comparative analysis of metaphor use, especially between politicians in different contexts, and to determine what factors might influence variation in the use of metaphors by different politicians, for example. While methodologically the JMPS corpus (which is approximately 70, 000 words) may be considered small, it has proven large enough to highlight and reveal patterns of metaphorical uses in the speeches of John Mahama. The analysis of Mahama's use of recurring patterns of (conceptual) metaphors presented here has provided insights into his preferred ways of framing

political issues metaphorically, his rhetorical style, political ideologies, and communicative competence, all of which may have partly contributed to his success as a Ghanaian politician.

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Book reviews

Matheson. S., Okpadah. S. and Raj. P. (eds.) (2020). *Locating Transnational Spaces: Culture, Theatre, and Cinema*. Canada: The International Association of Theatre Critics and Faculty of the Arts, Business and Science, University College of the North. 246 pages. ISBN: 978-978-56857-7-0-X

Blessing Adjeketa³⁰

Abstract

Book review of Matheson. S., Okpadah. S. and Raj. P. (eds.) (2020). *Locating Transnational Spaces: Culture, Theatre, and Cinema*, pp. 246, Book published in English. Transnationalism as an emerging field of study is covered widely in this book in the areas of literature, linguistics and performance space.

Keywords

Transnational, Culture, Cinema, Theatre, Culture, Africa, Film, Intercultural

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³⁰ Blessing Adjeketa, PhD. Department of Theatre Arts, Niger Delta University, Amasoma, Bayelsa State, Nigeria. blessing.adjeketa@gmail.com

Sue Matheson is an Associate Professor at the University College of the North, Canada. She teaches in the areas of American Film and popular culture, Canadian literature, and Children's literature. Stephen Ogheneruro Okpadah is a PhD student in Department of the Performing Arts, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. He is a Senior Research Fellow, Theatre Emissary International, Nigeria. Prayer Elmo Raj is an Assistant Professor of English, PG & Research Department of English, Pachaiyappa's College, Chennai-30.

Several books on transnationalism exist. Some include *Transnationalism and Society: An Introduction* by Michael C. Howard, *Growing Up Transnational: Identity and Kinship in a Global Era* edited by May Friendman and Silvia Schultersmandl, and *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* by Paul Jay. *Locating Transnational Spaces: Theatre and Cinema* is one among the best books in transnational studies and it forms the subject of this short review. *Locating Transnational Spaces: Culture, Theatre, and Cinema* is published in honour of a theatre scholar, Emmanuel Samu Dandaura. He is a professor of Nigerian theatre whose works include *Drumbeats of Death and Other Plays* (2009) and *Venom for Venom* (2010). He has worked across the borders of Nigeria and Africa. The book has contributors that cut across Africa, Asia, and Europe. Most of the contributors are professors, associate professors, and Ph.D. holders in the humanities. The book typically explains and expands the borders of transnational studies in the humanities. It discusses several scopes of transnationalism in the universes of different cultures, social, theatrical, and cinema.

The index feature of the book gives its readers overview of basic words and terms that are discussed in the book. The book has 21 chapters which are divided into three sections. The first section discusses theatre, literature, and cinema in transnational spaces. The second section talks about globalization and transnational spaces. The last section focuses on the dramaturgy and politics of Samu Dandaura. Further, the book introduces its readers to the background of transnational spaces disability, identity, freedom, migration, environmental concerns, and sexuality which dislocate and transcend the border of a nation. It also presents issues concerning race as listed above to create spaces for global interaction.

Another aspect of the book is its presentation of issues in Nollywood. Nollywood as an industry is divided into several groups. The groups include films produced in the English language, those produced in the Igbo language, the popular Kannywood films produced in the Hausa language, the Urhobowood films located in Delta State, and also films produced in the Yoruba language which are more popular especially in the western part of the country. All these groups combined make up what is popularly known around the world as Nollywood. Nollywood audiences are spread all over the world. Nevertheless, to meet up the demands of its audience, the industry engages in the use of subtitles. However, there are notable faults in the structure of the subtitled text especially in films produced in local Nigerian languages. The presentation of the texts sometimes results in misleading expressions, leading to negative impressions about the films. Due to their poorly executed and misleading subtitles, some of the movie's great stories, the effort of great actors, sophisticated equipment used in the production of the films are no doubt rendered useless to the viewers. Despite the challenges that come with subtitles, the industry needs to engage people who are proficient in the host language and the English language particularly in the arena of syntax and semantics to concisely march the structure of the source language to the target language without impeding intended meaning of the film maker. On cultural presentation especially in Nollywood films, the book recommends that scriptwriters, directors, and producers should engage in proper research before writing and producing films. Since film plays a major role in the preservation and documentation of African cultural heritage, care must be taken in handling ideas as these films are watched by audiences across the world.

Another area the book x-rayed is issues affecting women. The increase in the rate of sexual harassment and sexual assault against women at the workplace and students in higher education institutions transcends national borders. It is a deep-seated issue eating deep into the fabrics of the world. The book presents the issues of exploitation of the female gender in Africa and Nigerian in particular. It mentions laws that have been put in place to curtail the rise in the culture of rape and sexual exploitation. Three articles from the Maputo protocol; article 2; elimination of discrimination against women; article 3; right to dignity; and article 5; elimination of harmful practices is examined. These protocols focus on different aspects of women's life to fight for their rights. Specifically, these articles of the protocol address socio-economic, cultural, and political issues and how they affect women on the continent. In recent years, film makers have lent voice to tackle the issue of sexual harassment and sexual assault. The MeToo movement that began in October 2017 serves as a hashtag on social media attempts to demonstrate the widespread prevalence of sexual assault and harassment of women, especially in the workplace. Chineze Anyaene's film, *Ije: The Journey*, is presented in the book as one artistic endeavour in the campaign against injustice against women. The film earned many awards locally and internationally because it is the first transnational Nollywood film that almost completely captures the dilemma of the African woman at home and abroad. With the analysis of *Ije: The Journey*, the reader is reminded of his/her responsibility, to women and humanity at large.

Beside presenting issues pertaining to women, the book also talks about women who are at the forefront of presenting transnational issues. The book introduces a work of a prominent Nollywood film writer, actress, director, and filmmaker Genevieve Nnaji and her 2018 "directorial debut" African story film, *Lionheart*. *Lionheart* is one of the many African films that authentically present the Nigerian experience to the world. A film, that reminds its audience of the need to overcome the aforementioned social and political barriers. The film's ability to combine different languages to speak to its audience and give them relevant life lessons is applauded. *Lionheart* insists that change remains Nigeria's greatest challenge today and proposes that Nigerians' greatest strength lies in their cohesive and globally-minded multiculturalism. In short, merger remains the foundation of the Nigerian experience today.

Some of the literary works of Wole Soyinka, a Nigerian playwright, novelist, poet, and essayist focus on African cultural and religious violation by the corporeal and abstract presence of the colonialist. The book presents one of Soyinka's plays on the subject. *Issues in The Loin and the Jewel* focuses on such cultural and religious violations of the African community leading to the host community's loss of identity. *Transnational Spaces* presents *The Lion and The Jewel* as one of the many dramatic works of Soyinka that help in the understanding of postcolonial African identity. It mentions that most of Soyinka's characters are images of postcolonial cultural identities. Moreover, in the process of reading *The Lion and The Jewel*, we can see the definition and nature of the African worldview. With the discussion of the play text, the book presents Soyinka's definition of African postcolonial identity that is situated in constant questioning of orthodox conceptions of identity. It also relates some of the negative conditions Africans suffered from the hegemonic power of the colonialists.

One focus in feminist scholarship in recent years is on the issues of marriage. The reason is that many women are subjugated and subjected to different forms of marital abuse. In Africa for example, the book mentioned that every typical African woman is expected to wake up early and sleep late. In other words, the role of the African woman in the marriage setup is to live for the man, and for feminist scholars, this is the agony that women go through in marriage. Because of this anguish, feminists, especially scholars of feminism, have continued to look for ways to redefine and reconstruct existing traditions of marriage. The book explains that the situation some women, especially the educated women, find themselves in has made them either seek

divorce or depend on the divine for a solution to their marriage. Others have resulted in meeting different marriage counsellors who educate them on what marriage entails to know how to tackle issues of marital discord. Transnational Spaces however stated that, with the popularization of western civilization, women are no longer relegated to the background. They are gradually breaking off from the shackles of patriarchy.

Nigeria is blessed with plenty of mineral resources, and it has a conducive environment that supports life. However, it has one major setback: bad leadership. Most of the leaders (the traditional rulers, youth leaders, ward councillors, local government chairmen, state house of assembly members, governors, federal house of representative members, and the presidency itself) are all unwilling and unable to stand up to their responsibilities. Because the country has not yet awakened from its slumber of corruption, banditry, and kidnapping, playwrights and filmmakers across the country have been writing and producing plays and film stories dealing with these themes and proposing solutions. The play, *Venom for Venom* written by Emmanuel Dandaura is one of the many plays that present an exact Nigerian situation. The country is filled with revolts, ethnic terrorism, kidnappings, bribery, and unemployment, especially in relation to the people of the Niger Delta region of the country. It portrays leaders who do not care about the hardship and dangers faced by their subjects. Leaders who have lost the integrity and respect of the people because of their corruption. Youth leaders who were trying to lead their land and protect their interests have become oppressors themselves. Companies that bribe community heads and youth leaders to cover up unhealthy behaviour instead of fulfilling their cooperative social responsibilities. Instead of taking into account the health hazard posed to the people of the host communities by their activities, oil companies pay royalties to community executives while land and water become unaffordable to the poor. The activities of the companies have degraded the environment. Oil spillages have led to soil and water pollution resulting in reducing crop production and killing aquatic animals. Given the fact that agriculture and fishing are the major occupations of the people of the Niger Delta, they are facing unexpected hardship and hunger. They can no longer farm the land or fish in the rivers to provide food for their families. In other not to die in silence, youths in particular, decided to protest and take up arms to fight for a better life for themselves, their parents, their children, and future generations. However, such struggles are most often hijacked and deviated from by other groups with different ideologies to satisfy their egos and greed. Such youths who vow to fight for impartiality and fairness in the land, however, end up becoming vandals and criminals who kidnap company workers and their families or extort money from the companies. Because violence does not always yield a positive result in a fight against superior authorities, the play *Venom for Venom* suggests a constructive approach of peaceful dialogue to resolve disputes.

While this book is not the first work on transnational discussions, its strength lies in the fact that it discusses interculturality, transculturality, and multiculturalism through the lens of the creative industry-theatre, literature, and cinema. The reviewer expects more of this kind of book soon on the shelf of humanity. The presentation of cross-cultural ideas in the book is unique. We simply cannot completely discuss the themes in the book. We recommend the book to everyone, especially scholars in the humanities because the critical essays contained in the book are insightful. They shed light on the transnational dimensions in various cultural, social, theatrical and cinematic spaces.

Geal, R. (2021). *Ecological Film Theory and Psychoanalysis: Surviving the Environmental Apocalypse in Cinema*. New York: Routledge. 288 pages. ISBN: 9781032027760

Anjum Khan³¹

Abstract

Book review of Robert Geal (2021). *Ecological Film Theory and Psychoanalysis: Surviving the Environmental Apocalypse in Cinema*, Routledge, pp. 288, price approx. 48.95 USD. Book published in English.

Keywords

Ecocinema, Psychoanalysis, Ecosophy, Culture, Anthropocentrism, Environment,

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³¹ Anjum Khan, PhD, Assistant Professor of English, School of Arts and Social Sciences, Avinashilingam Institute for Home Science and Higher Education for Women, Coimbatore, India. anjumkhanrs@gmail.com and anjumkhan_eng@avinuty.ac.in

Robert Geal is a Lecturer in Film and Television Studies at the University of Wolverhampton, UK, where he teaches classes on film spectacle, representation, adaptation, psychoanalysis and Japanese Cinema. He is the author of the monograph *Anamorphic in Canonical Film Adaptation*, as well as Numerous articles and chapters on topics including science fiction spectacle, Sexuality and gender in animation, race in television comedy, adaptation studies and film theory.

“Humanity stands at . . . The Precipice”

“history still unfolds”.

To say the entire text lies between these two lines would be oversimplification. The book, *Ecological Film Theory and Psychoanalysis*, bears the fruits of Robert Geal’s academic labour exerted during the COVID-19 lockdown period. Geal teaches Film and Television Studies at the University of Wolverhampton, UK. His research focus lies in subjects, such as film spectacle, representation, adaptation, psychoanalysis and Japanese cinema. It reflects timely concerns and echoes of an environmental humanist. The book raises inquiries into the role of culture, particularly the films on contemporary ecological crises. It familiarises the readers with the concept of ecosophy (merger of ecology and philosophy) and its interaction with several film theories. Incontrovertibly, it is an important interdisciplinary study exploring the interplay between culture and environment. Geal advocates and stresses on the interdependence of different disciplines and progressive thinking.

The extent to which this awareness model dominates contemporary thinking about addressing ecological crises is demonstrated by the alignment of ecological awareness with other forms of ‘progressive’ politics. The term ‘progressive’ is indicative here, demonstrating that social, cultural and political development is understood as an unfolding linear process, with an inevitable trajectory of improvement: each generation less racist, less misogynistic, less homophobic, and so on, than the last (Geal, 2021).

The book contains seven chapters alongside an introduction and conclusion followed by the index. Every chapter is followed by thorough notes and references. Further the chapters also conclude with summaries and filmographies of the films discussed in the chapters. The first three chapters are extensively theoretical, while the remaining four are elaborate explanations with films as case studies. The author uses questions as headings and supplies detailed answers, with an example being, “Do narrative resolutions operate within the context of the Symbolic Order?” (Geal, 2021, p. 176).

The book highlights the gravity of environmental crises and epistemological crises. In Chapter 1, the author underlines the concept of Ecolinguistics (ecology and linguistics) and its role in the present analysis, defining it as follows: “Ecolinguistics, then, is about critiquing forms of language that contribute to ecological destruction, and aiding in the search for new forms of language that inspire people to protect the natural world” (Geal, 2021, p. 20). He says that language influences how we think about the world. The book contains empirical surveys and cites several articles and documentaries, alongside his argument.

In later chapters, Geal provides few parameters and paradigms to illustrate the films as examples based on his thesis point: how anthropocentric films deal with final day disaster, and not every day ecological degradation. The films discussed in the book, mostly explore the humanity/nature binary. Further, the author uses other binary oppositions: human/nonhuman, anthropocentric/nonanthropocentric, and conscious/ unconscious, etc., in order to elucidate his ideas. He quotes movies such as *Fast and Furious* and *The Day After Tomorrow* – the latter being released in 2012 – which have shaped the culture of humanism and consumerism while also

paving the way for ecological degradation. These movies also represent technological hubris, which is a good point when it comes to understanding the interplay between technology and environment. Geal also explains how, the individualisation of conflict in Hollywood decentres the concern and brings relief through heroes.

In order to explain the resultant anthropocentric epistemology and environmental crisis, the author cites several films, such as *Matrix*, *Alien*, *What Lies Beneath*, *Grudge*, *Jaws*, *Avatar*, *World War Z*, *Noah*, *Bambi*, *The Island of Dr. Moreau*, *Terminator*, *District 9*, *Chicken Run*, *Warm Bodies*, *Blade Runner*, *The Perfect Storm*, *Volcano*, *Peak*, *Impossible*, *Armageddon*, *Deep Impact*, *Children of Men*, *Deep Water Horizons*, *Waves*, *Geostorm*, and *The Core*, etc., foregrounding environmental crisis. The author also uses postapocalyptic films such as *Water World* and *28 Days Later* to explain the reflection of dystopia and of illusory survival. Towards the end, he also incorporates examples from Japanese cinema while simultaneously elaborating on non-occidental films which also exemplify apocalypse.

The author's linguistic dexterity aligns with his knowledge of the subjects: ecology, film studies, and other related branches. Furthermore, he also quotes several epigrams and kick words used by other thinkers and environmentalists, such as "doomsday fatigue", "magisterial gaze", "anamorphosis", "suture", "jubilation of final image", "cathartic calm", "zoomorphic", "anthropocentric gaze", "ocularcentrism", and "suspense and shock", which not only exhibits his existing knowledge of both scholarly and popular culture, but also makes the engagement with the readers livelier. He has included terminology from both ecocriticism and film studies. For instance, the term "suture", which signifies the relation between the film and its spectators, is from media studies. He compares his statements with others, "Holliday's description of Barry's flight, after all, is not dissimilar to my description of the airplane escape from the mass earthquake in 2012, discussed in the previous chapter" (Geal, 2021, p. 122). C. Holliday, in his article, "'I'm Not a Real Boy, I'm a Puppet': Computer-Animated Films and Anthropomorphic Subjectivity" published in *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, uses Berry's flight from *Bee Movie*.

Geal also offers etymological explanations and word meanings for essential concepts including "environment". Moreover, he employs interesting parallelisms. For instance, he compares various unconscious forces with "a tail wagging the dog", which is interesting. This is also both pun and paradox demonstrating author's linguistic dexterity. Further, he provides epigrams such as "the bleakness of a diagnosis is no reason to disregard it" (Geal, 2021, p. 36). He also appropriates terms such as 'political ecological unconscious' and 'extentionism'. This also demonstrates the author's meticulous efforts to illustrate terms and ideas for the benefit of the readers and scholars belonging from various disciplines.

Geal's genius is demonstrated in his interweaving of his film-making aptitude and ecophilosophy. He describes scenes technically and comprehensively in order to clarify and justify his point as follows.

An opening montage of people going about their morning routines ends with a protest against the extension of a subway route. In amongst this montage the camera repeatedly cuts to underground lava, suggesting that the subway's probing is linked to that lava. Various snippets of radio broadcasts can be heard over the montage, including a preacher saying 'The devil knows the wickedness of the city'.

(Geal, 2021, p. 149)

The book will benefit students, scholars, researchers, teachers, thinkers, and activists belonging to different disciplines as it is multidisciplinary in terms of the nature of its subject. Especially, it will serve the subject areas – ecocriticism, film studies, ecocinema, ecophilosophy, ecopsychology and its kind. Geal’s exploration of the model of “false consciousness” with reference to Marxism which also shows his proficiency in the understanding of different theories and ideologies. Moreover, he alludes to several other theories, such as “cartesian subjectivity”, “cartesian dualism”, “ecopsychology”, “deep ecology”, “ecophobia”, “speciesism”, “eco illiteracy”, “symbolic order”, and “denialism” etc. All this indicates Geal’s encyclopaedic knowledge and proficiency not in a single subject, but in multiple disciplines. Alongside the ecocritics and eco scholars, Geal also refers to several film theorists such as André Bazin, James Leo Cahill, Paula Willoquet-Maricondi, Christopher Holliday, Barbara Creed, and others.

The author argues and attests the important finding – the role of movies in making us mere spectators and not participants. He reiterates the significance of correct knowledge in combatting the impending emergency. Geal also repeats statements for emphasis. For example, he quotes Thoreau, who states that, in order to live harmoniously with nature, we must “front up to the facts and determine to live our lives deliberately, or not at all.” (Geal, 2021, p. 23). His exhaustive illustrations and analysis aid in comprehending the interplay between films, spectators, and environmental contemporary crises. The author also examines the degree of trauma afflicted upon both characters and spectators. With precautions and hope, he concludes that history continues to unfold.

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