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Thematic issue

Discourses of childhood and children's rights in the context of social inclusion

This issue is guest-edited by
Cecilia Maria Zsogon (University of Buenos Aires, Argentina) &
Ewa Dabrowa (Maria Grzegorzewska University, Poland)

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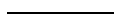
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**Language & Society
Research Committee 25 of the
International Sociological Association**

Message from the editor

Dear Readers, Contributors and RC25 Colleagues,

It is my pleasure to introduce the June 2022 issue to you, edited by Dr Ewa Dabrowa and Dr Maria Cecilia Zsogon.

Dr Cecilia Zsogon is a social scientist, sociologist and political scientist interested in border violence in South America and the quality of childhood and children's rights.

Dr Ewa Dabrowa is an expert in multicultural education, who serves as an *Expert in the Council of University Experts for Education and Integration of Migrants and Refugees*.

I express my deepest gratitude to the guest editors, to our editorial team and to the reviewers, who worked hard to select a small fraction of the large volume of submissions that poured in with this special call. I congratulate the published authors that were chosen at the end of the process, as the rejection rate was very high in this issue and only 1 out of 8 papers succeeded. Our external reviewers particularly appreciated multiauthor article: "*The implicatures on Outdoor Media Related to the Covid-19 Appeal*", which can be found in the non-thematic section.

It is a difficult moment to discuss children's rights and social inclusion... How can we speak of children's rights when these rights are so openly violated in many regions of the world? How can we write about children's rights when human rights and children's rights are broken by wars? This question is particularly apt with the ongoing war in Ukraine, where invaders from Russian Federation ruthlessly kill civilians, and amongst them children and women.

On the other hand, this thematic issue comes timely with the theme of discourse and with the challenges of discourse analysis. It is more than ever now, that the whole world realises how public opinion and our emotions may be affected by public discourse. More people start realising that discourse can be used for good, for advocacy and social inclusion, but also for evil, to create chaos, social divisions, othering and hate. It is our duty as scientists to reveal the mechanisms behind discourses that are often politically loaded and rarely innocent. We live in the era of the war of information and fake news. We live in the era where discourse may dictate the future of our planet and humankind.

Let's open our eyes and ears to highlight the power dynamics and the social engineering that takes place in the shadow of the discourses we encounter. In this issue we will find five thematic and two non thematic contributions from Ghana, Indonesia, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Norway, Poland, Romania, and the UK, followed by book review of '*The dignity of a child as an anthropological-pedagogical category*'.

With warm greetings to all RC25 members and beyond.

Prof. Anna Odrowaz-Coates

Editor in Chief

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Message from the Guest Editors

Since the beginning of Modernity, childhood has been a central topic in the discourses on society and humanities. The way in which children have been addressed, regulated, segregated and, eventually, protected has shown great variations according to age, context, gender and ethnicity. But also, historically there have been - at least - two childhoods; one with a guarantee of inclusion in socialization mechanisms and an excluded childhood in which children do not have access to their rights. This differential recognition based on the socioeconomic background is not always acknowledged by the human rights and children rights narratives.

The question that summons us is how can the discourses on childhood help place the effects of inequality on the most vulnerable sectors of the population onto the political and social agenda and translate into actions and programs that work in favour of childhood welfare? The challenges, at these turbulent times, come from various, equally complex, fronts.

One of them is the Coronavirus pandemic. Even though it has lost much of the centrality it had in the past two years, according to the World Health Organization, as for April 2022, there have been more than 510 million confirmed cases of COVID-19, including 6.22 million deaths which have already left many children without one or both parents or other caregivers. And orphaned children are particularly vulnerable to diverse forms of exploitation, including trafficking, sexual exploitation and forced labour. But even without facing such extreme situations, school closures due to COVID-19 have brought significant disruptions to education resulting in severe learning losses and increases in inequality. UNESCO estimates that about 24 million students, from pre-primary to university level, are at risk of not returning to school following the education disruption due to COVID-19.

Another front comprises long-lasting armed conflicts, without an ending in sight, like those in Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Libya, South Sudan, amongst many others. These are specially damaging for children, since they dramatically disrupt the possibility to access the most basic rights, including the right to life. The most recent conflict, the invasion of Ukraine by Russian forces on February 24th, has already caused one of the fastest large-scale displacements of children since World War II, with - according to the UN- more than 4.3 million children forced to flee their country or region. But besides displacement, the war has devastating consequences for children wherever they are such.

Finally, climate change is also taking its toll on children. In Africa (especially in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia) at least 10 million children face severe drought conditions that can lead to hunger, malnutrition and thirst. Even though this regions are the most dramatically affected, according to UNICEF almost every child on earth is exposed to at least one climate and environmental hazards, amongst them severe drought and flooding, air pollution and water scarcity.

This is only a partial and arbitrary list of some of the problems that we -the adults of this world- managed to create, and all of them represent a tragic reversal of the progress of children rights which impact is already visible, but its lasting consequences are yet to be seen. In this Special Issue of *Language, Discourse and Society* the reader will find different approaches to a variety of topics related to childhood; all of them framed in a discursive

perspective. They re-present multiple struggles; for a voice, for an identity, for belonging, for decent life of children from various backgrounds and cultures.

In *The rise of the discourse on children's right of self-determination*. The case study of Early Childhood Education and its construction of children as agents in education, Federico Farini and Angela Scollan offer a systematic review of literature around the theme of children's right of self-determination and discuss the positioning of children as agents who can make choices and construct valid knowledge, within the foundation of the discourses on children's right of self-determination based on a critical examination of the CRC. The discussion, concentrated on Early Childhood Education in the Freire's description of critical pedagogy, (re)constructions a view on education.

In *The Dynamics of Language Attitudes of Young Parents towards the Preservation of the Mother Tongue*, Yunisrina Qismullah Yusuf, Zulfadli A. Aziz, Menalisa and Teuku Zulfikar present a study on the attitude towards Acehnese, a local language of Indonesia, and how families and communities struggle to preserve and pass on this language, along with all its cultural and symbolic values, to their children. Nevertheless, language maintenance in the family it's a part of cultural transmission, required for individual identity and social integration.

In *Changes in language about IDD, mental illness, disability in different countries in different languages*, Anna Perkowska-Klejman, Magda Lejzerowicz, Julien-Ferencz Kiss, Florica Ortan, Rolf Magnus Grung, Dag Dæhlen, Lynne Marsh and Sam Abdulla analyse how the understanding and definition of disability has evolved during the 20th and into the 21st century in different countries of Europe, showing how the narrative shift reflects increasingly inclusive practices and the recognition of a human rights based approach towards people with IDD.

In *Media usage, media violence and the Nigerian Child*, Blessing Adjeketa addresses the impact of violence in the media in the behaviour of children, analysing what kind of violence originated in the media is replicated by children, and how electronic media constitute an intrinsic part of children's lives with all its implications. The studies not only pay attention to the huge problem, but mostly may lead to different actions affected the reduction of violence among children.

In *"We owe this noble duty to our children": A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of Ghanaian parliamentary discourses around children*, Kwabena Sarfo Sarfo-Kantankah and Ebenezer Agbaglo offer a critical analysis on childhood discourses of inclusion, participation and identity, and show how some of the most urgent problems faced by children, such as child labour, exploitation, child marriage, are conceptualized by law-makers and presented in the Ghanaian parliamentary discourses. Ghanaian parliamentarians dispute international description of children rights, recognizing they should be analyse within cultural-specific contexts.

Finally, in *Creativity and Authenticity in an Emerging Naija's Youth Hip Hop Culture*, Idom T. Inyabri, Eyo O. Mensah and Kaka Ochagu analyse the creative use of verbal and non-verbal codes by the youth of Nigeria and how they redefined the hip hop landscape through the development of new and rich cultural expressions. The youth has made Nigerian Hip Hop a part of the transnational, multi-vocal Global Hip Hop Nation.

All of these articles share an understanding on the fundamental importance of language, not only in the interpretation but in the construction of reality. Language changes don't ensure the reduction or disposal of social problems. The paramount importance of the Convention on the Rights of the Child is also highlighted through this contributions, together with creative readings and interpretations that make it clear that thirty three years after the ratification of the CRC, it remains a fundamental milestone in the battle for the rights of the child and their protection.

Because - and let's make no mistake here - it is a struggle one that challenges us as social scientists, pedagogists, educators, to mobilize our energy and resources to contribute to the recognition and respect of this narratives.

In times of proliferation of conflicts, what is at stake is the very notion of human rights, of children rights, of groups (ethnic, national etc.) rights. In this sense, (re)thinking childhood and children rights is a symbolic operation with decisive practical consequences. There is no possible neutrality here; the way we perceive and interpret reality shapes the way we act in the world. We believe the works in this selection will inspire further research but also numerous action in the fields of rights.

Only through a practice guided by critical reflection we will ensure that humanity and solidarity prevail, together with the understanding that besides our differences we are all part of this world. A world that, as the proverb says, "we do not inherit from our ancestors; we borrow it from our children".

Let's ensure we make every effort so that all children can share this (their) world in peace and dialogue.

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Federico Farini et al.

“The rise of the discourse on children’s right of self-determination...”

Original Articles

**Discourses of childhood and children’s rights
in the context of social inclusion
guest-edited by Cecilia Maria Zsogon and Ewa Dabrowa**

The rise of the discourse on children’s right of self-determination. The case study of Early Childhood Education and its construction of children as agents in education

Federico Farini¹ & Angela Scollan²

Abstract

This article discusses a study that explored the intellectual and ethical foundations of the discourses on children’s right of self-determination, starting with a critical examination of the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). Whilst the ambiguous position of children and children’s rights in society that underpins the UNCRC is acknowledged, the article argues that a shift towards the positioning of children’s as agents has been developing since the 1990s. For instance, this is demonstrated by the development of Early Childhood Education as a pedagogical discourse based centred on children’s right to play an agentic role in shaping their educational experience. As discussed in the second part of the article Early Childhood Education lends itself as an informative case-study for the development of a discourse on children self-determination towards a mainstream status. Early Childhood Education positions young children as agents who can make choice and can construct valid knowledge. Paraphrasing Freire’s description of critical pedagogy, in the discourse of Early Childhood Education the emphasis on children’s agency constructs a view of education from children, for children, for adults.

Keywords

Self-determination; United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child; Agency; Early Childhood Education; Pedagogical Discourse.

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Introduction

This article discusses a study that explored the intellectual and ethical foundations of the discourses on children's right of self-determination, starting with a critical examination of the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). Whilst the ambiguous position of children and children's rights in society that underpins the UNCRC is acknowledged, the article argues that a shift towards the positioning of children's as agents has been developing since the 1990s. For instance, this is demonstrated by the development of Early Childhood Education as a pedagogical discourse based centred on children's right to play an agentic role in shaping their educational experience. As discussed in the second part of the article Early Childhood Education lends itself as an informative case-study for the development of a discourse on children self-determination towards a mainstream status. Early Childhood Education positions young children as agents who can make choice and can construct valid knowledge. Paraphrasing Freire's description of critical pedagogy, in the discourse of Early Childhood Education the emphasis on children's agency constructs a view of *education from children, for children, for adults*.

1. Methodology

The first stage of the study discussed in the article consisted in the systematic review of literature around the theme of children's right of self-determination. Key search terms were articulated to allow more stringent selection across several disciplines. The challenge consisted of maintaining the review of literature focused while crossing several disciplines. Coherence was sought by redefining keywords, funnelling down to precise strings of research terms constructed to identify works interested in the interaction between discourses on children's rights and right of self-determination and the social contexts where principles and ethos translate into practices.

More stringent selection criteria allowed a process of saturation that identified key themes, theoretical approaches and methodologies (Thomas, 2013). After the first stage, the literature review had constructed a coherent multi-disciplinary discourse on the interaction between children's self-determination and the social contexts of children's lives. The second stage of the study utilised the theoretical and methodological themes emerging from the previous stage to articulate a critical review of the current discourses on children's self-determination underpinning educational policies, projects and pedagogical innovation. This critical review was aimed to explore how discourses on children's self-determination position children and adults in the context of intergenerational relationships. The second stage of the study allowed the construction of a theoretical framework to interpret the results of the research through the lenses of current conceptualisations of childhood, intergenerational relationships and children's participation in society. On completion of its second stage, the study had successfully illuminated a picture of the discourse on children's self-determination in the contexts of children's lives. The first section of the article discusses the foundations of the discourse on children's self-determination.

2. The discourse on children’s self-determination

Self-determination appears in the English language towards the end of the 17th century, when it refers to *determination of one’s mind or will by itself toward an object*, generally declined

politically *as the action of a people in deciding its own form of government* (Wehmeyer, 2004). Self-determination is used within an individualistic dimension between the 18th and the 19th century, where it refers to free will and life choices without external pressure (Wehmeyer, 2004). The 20th century saw the use of self-determination as a principle to explain the function of biological and, more pertinently, psychological systems (Wehmeyer, 2004). The implication is that whilst the 19th century self-determination was a choice, a political or an ethical position, in the 20th century self-determination become a natural, universal, attribute of life.

However, as self-determination was finding a prominent place in the conceptual toolbox of several disciplines, its definition became contested (Wehmeyer, 1994, 2004; Wehmeyer et al., 2017; Farini and Scollan, 2019). Two meanings of self-determination coexist in the current debate. The first meaning considers self-determination as an ontological attribute of human beings that can be acted upon or ignored but nevertheless predates individual or collective choices. The second meaning considers self-determination as *the choice to make autonomous choices* (Freedberg, 1989), that is, an ethical and political position that interacts with the social contexts. McDermott (1975) proposes a concept of self-determination as a component of one’s self-identity. Self-determination is part of an identity advocated as the identity of choice-maker, which can be encouraged or discouraged by specific contextual conditions.

In 1983, Freeman pointed to the difficulties of the legal debate in approaching children’s rights beyond the principles of protection and welfare rights, towards the recognition of the right of self-determination. Two decades later, Fortin (2003) still observed the enduring difficulties of jurisprudence in acting upon children’s rights of self-determination in delicate legal cases. Lundy (2012) suggests that the subordination of children’s self-determination to adults’ assessment can disempower the voices of children when such voices are not expressed in the ways that adults expect. Wehmeyer and colleagues (2017) efficiently summarise the difficult translation of the right of self-determination into practice as they point to possible contrasts between decisions made by children and decisions of adults who claim that they are acting in the child’s best interest. Alderson (2008) and Monk (2004) observe how medicine (Alderson) and psychology (Monk) are prudent in positioning children as equal participants. Handely (2005) observes that, in legal and educational practices, children’s self-determination is conditional on adults’ evaluation of children’s competence which is often framed by a protecting approach. Regarding education, Freeman (2011) suggests that children’s self-determination is perceived as a risk by professionals who are positioned in oppressive discourses of responsibility and accountability.

3. Children’s interests and children’s needs

The discourses on children’s self-determination are articulated within broader discourses that position children and adults within different forms of intergenerational relationships. Different forms of intergenerational relationships: the *discourse of children’s needs* and the *discourse of children’s interests* (Wyness, 2013). The discourse of children’s needs and the discourse of children’s interests construct divergent meanings of children’s self-determination. *Children’s needs* positions adults as advocates who act on behalf of children, to provide children with

what the judgement of adults deem as essential for their development (Holt, 1974; McDermott, 1975; Wehmeyer et al., 2017). *Children's interests* positions children as members of a social group, who share common interests and who are able to voice them, bringing about *consequential* changes in the contexts of their experiences

(Wyness, 2013; Farini & Scollan, 2019; Moss & Urban, 2020). Consequentiality refers to children's autonomous choices that: 1) are significant for other participants; 2) make a difference in the context where they are made, changing the context of other participants' experience. A consequential choice is a choice that other participants in a social situation cannot not consider as they make their decisions.

The positioning of children whether within a discourse of needs or a discourse of interests entails political, social and cultural implications. For instance, when children are perceived through the lenses of their needs the possibility to make autonomous choices is confined by adults' decision making *for* and *on behalf of* children (Mc Dermot, 1975; Fass, 2007). Konstantoni (2013) and Duhn (2019) argue that children's self-determination is less meaningful in situation of limited trust, where adults do not trust children's decision-making. Te One (2006; 2019), Thomas (2007), and Duhn (2015, 2019) relate limited trust in children's decision making to the influence of an image of children as incompetent and immature which cannot be challenged because, in a sort of vicious circle, limited trust prevents true listening to children's voices, knowledges and skills. Thomas (2012) recognises that when children are observed through the lenses of their needs, adults are positioned on a superior status as the providers for children's needs. The implication of looking at children through the lenses of their needs is that their self-determination may be promoted, but within the limits imposed by adults' decision-making and agendas.

Differently from the discourse of children's needs, the discourse of children's interests positions children as competent social actors who can pursue their own agendas and interests, can voice their opinions and hold others accountable (Holt, 1974). Through the lenses of children's interests, acting *for* and *on behalf of* children is criticised because, notwithstanding all the good intentions, still silences their voices as they emerge, in the 'here and now'. When children are positioned in a discourse of children's interest, adults are responsible, if children's right of self-determination is to be taken seriously, to construct ways of listening to children's voices that can be expressed in many ways (Carr & Lee, 2012; Cockburn, 2013; Farini & Scollan, 2019).

This latter observation resonates with the idea that adults working with children should not evaluate the quality of children's voices before choosing whether listening to them or not. Children's voices are not to be evaluated or measured but to be valued and listened, inviting adults to reflect on the motivations and interests underpinning children's choices rather than judging them (Malaguzzi, 1996; Davies, 2014; Clark, 2020).

Political decision-making and legal provision offer examples of the implications of how the two contrasting discourses of children's needs and children's interests influence the way in which children's choices and voices are responded to (Gabriel, 2017; Moss & Urban, 2020). For instance, in England, the Children and Family Act (2014) moves within the discourse of children's needs. The voices of children are not included in the political decision that imposes guidelines regarding parents' work-care balance, and the rights of children are considered as a residual consequence of adults' position. The effects of the Children and Family Act on the children's experiences are not considered from the perspective of children themselves, who

are positioned as dependents rather than agents, in a substantial eclipse of their right of self-determination.

The meaning of self-determination shifts significantly in the movement from children’s needs and children’s interests (Farini & Scollan, 2019). In the discourse of children’s needs, self-determination is conditional, and decision-making is reserved to adults, silencing children’s voices. In the discourse of children’s interests, children are positioned as agents whose choices can make a difference, and their self-determination is expected and promoted. For Rogoff (1990), the recognition of children as agents who construct their agenda and interest is characterised by a shift in the balance of responsibility, from the adult to the children. Self-determination is a process of participatory *responsibilising* of the children (Rogoff, 1990). What makes a difference for the discourse on self-determination is whether or not there is a recognition of the voices of children as a force that can shape the contexts of experiences not only for children but also for adults (Farini & Scollan, 2019).

As an epistemological tool, the discourses of children’s needs and children’s interests can be utilised to add theoretical depth to Penn’s (2006) model that articulates children’s rights in two macro-categories that co-exist in a conflicting manner: 1) welfare rights, 2) self-determination rights.

Welfare rights are advocated for children by adults on behalf of children, to and for children. A consensus is often observable in the public discourse around welfare rights, for instance when welfare rights concern ‘safe-guarding’ (Moss, 2006; Alderson, 2008; Penn, 2011). Welfare rights are framed by the discourse of children’s needs. *Self-determination rights* are more controversial because they position children as decision-makers who take responsibilities and negotiate power away from adults (Holt, 1974; Wehmeyer, 2004; Wehmeyer, et al., 2017). Self-determination rights are framed by the discourse of children’s interests.

Children needs	Welfare rights	Self-determination rights	Children interests
	Protection(from harm and dangers)	Participation(children having a voice in decision that affect their life)	
	Provision (of basic material and non-material needs to secure well-being)		
	Prevention (intervention to secure the best environment for the child’s development)		

Table 1. Welfare and self-determination rights model

A concept of self-determination rights where power is completely taken away from adults was proposed in the 1970s by Holt (1974). However, since the 1980s, more moderate approaches have replaced the emphasis on children’s liberation from adults’ power with the idea of children working alongside adults (Freeman, 1992; 2002). A definition of self-determination that is at the same time strong but also compatible with the idea children-adults partnership is provided by Alderson. Alderson’s articulation of self-determination (1995) is useful because it recognises the conditions for self-determination on a physical, psychological and social level.

For Alderson, children's self-determination presupposes adults' respect of children's integrity on three levels:

- 1) Physical integrity: a child's right to determine what is to be done to its body;
- 2) Mental integrity: a right not to be mentally pressured or coerced;
- 3) Personal integrity: a right of children to be considered as fully formed and integrated personalities who have a clear enough conception of themselves.

The explored complexity generated by the intersection of different discourses on children's self-determination transpires from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which will be criticised in the following section.

4. The complexity of self-determination: the case-study of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

Divergent discourses and positioning of children and adults coexist, and are vividly represented, in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). The discourse on children's interests and the discourse on children's needs construct very different meanings of children's right, with material implications for their social lives. For instance, the discourse on children's interests and the discourse on children's needs contribute to a complex and sometimes contradictory definition of the right of self-determination in the UNCRC.

The UNCRC is a pivotal document that serves as a global frame of reference for children's rights in legal, professional and political terms (Freeman, 2002; Thomas, 2007; Stoecklin, 2013; Smith, 2016; Leonard, 2016). The UNCRC challenges the position of children as passive objects of care and charity (UNICEF, 2015) and could therefore appear to be underpinned by the discourse of children's interest, moving away from the children's needs approach of its predecessor, the 1959 Declaration of Children's Rights.

Nevertheless, the UNCRC lends itself as an example of the ambiguous status of children's rights, where welfare rights are juxtaposed with self-determination rights in an unstable balance that influences the meaning of self-determination. The critical discussion of the UNCRC vis-à-vis children's right of self-determination can begin from article 3 of the convention. Article 3 introduces the concept of child's best interests, are to be defined by adults for and on behalf of children.

In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration'.

Article 3 (UNCRC, 1989)

Notwithstanding the use of the word 'interest' article 3 promotes a welfare rights model within a children's needs discourse (Landsdown, 2005; Lundy et al., 2012). The concept of best interest was already present in the 1959 Declaration, where it can be traced as one of the Declaration's ethical pillars. By stating in its preamble that *the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth*, the 1959 Declaration firmly establishes itself within the discourse of children's needs.

However, whilst it is influenced by the discourse of children’s needs, as particularly evident in article 3, the UNCRC is more complex, and more fluid, than the 1959 Declaration. An example of such complexity is offered by well-researched sequences of UNCRC articles 12 to 15. These articles define the meaning of children’s self-determination, diverging from the semantics of childhood enshrined in article 3. Article 12 is surely the most discussed, as well as the most criticised:

States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

Article 12 is generally known as *the self-determination article*, because it advances an image of children as active subjects who are not given but *have* rights, whose views are to be given due weight and recognition (Tisdal & Punch, 2012; Riddell & Tisdal, 2021). Nevertheless, it is true that emphasis is placed on the *opportunity (for the child) to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child*; however, an apparent drive towards children’s autonomy is diluted in a model of tutorship by the specification that the child’s voice (interestingly, the *child* is conceptualised as an abstract category, rather than recognising the plurality of *children’s voices*) can be raised *via a representative or an appropriate body*. The very practical consequence of such linguistic turn is that, in order to be heard, children’s voices must be accepted by adults. Adults are responsible for assessing capacities and competences of children, because only capable children (according to adults’ criteria and standards) have the right to be heard.

Again in 2015, UNICEF interpretation and summary of article 12 stated that children should be seen as objects of protection rather than subjects with interests. The commentary is adamant that the right of self-determination should not undermine the right, and duty, of the adult towards protection of the child. Children’s voices should be heard, as long as they converge with adults’ vision of children’s needs.

As a critical remark, it is possible to suggest that the UNCRC (1989) brings forward the idea that children’s social competence should be checked by adults before the right of self-determination can be *conceded*. From this critical perspective, Wyness (2012) can argue the UNCRC is framed by a paternalist version of children’s rights, where children’s voices are ultimately spoken and narrated by adults.

The ambiguities in the meaning of self-determination that emerges from a critical analysis of the UNCRC are considered by Burr (2004) as the consequence of a weak ontology of children’s rights that are built on the coexistence of the ultimately incompatible concepts of *protection* and *participation*. Alderson (2008) offers a more nuanced analysis stating that both protection and participation are essential for children’s active citizenship. Baraldi and Cockburn (2018) suggest that although welfare rights and self-determination rights are not easy to combine, they are interdependent in practice: provision, participation and protection must include an element of children’s participation to connect with the real needs of children. Conversely, participation cannot exist if provision and protection are not secured, because participation needs that basic well-being requirements are met.

The UNCRC may be conceptually contradictory and often paternalistic; nevertheless, the most critical approach should recognise that the UNCRC has been a driving force that managed to firmly insert children’s self-determination in the public discourse (Moss & Durban, 2020). From a philosophical, before than political, perspective, the main contribution

of the UNCRC is the idea that self-determination is an ontological right of all children, entailed in the very existential condition of all children. If the UNCRC is accepted, the idea of children's self-determination as a concession from adults must be rejected. As previously discussed, it is true that the effectiveness of the ontological approach to right of self-determination at the level of social practices depends on adults' judgement. Nevertheless, children's unconditional ownership of the right of self-determination does not depend on adults' choice and must be considered by adult as they make decisions that may affect children's lives (Freeman, 2007).

The UNCRC stands as a cultural landmark that pioneered, notwithstanding its many ambiguities, a new conceptualisation of the right of self-determination as an ontological right of the child. Throughout the 30 years that separate the current day from the declaration of the UNCRC, the new ontology of self-determination has contributed to gradual, often inconsistent but nevertheless consequential, transformation of the discourses on childhood and children's rights across different social spheres. For instance, the ontological concept of children's self-determination can be traced back in the transformation of the pedagogical discourse around education for young children, towards the development of a cultural framework that position children as agents in their own education.

5. The cultural transformation of education for young children

This section explores the cultural shift in the construction of childhood that has been fuelling, since the early 1990s, the development of early childhood education as a pedagogy, that is, an educational discourse on children's development, centred around the recognition of children's right of self-determination.

Young children actively make sense of the physical, social and cultural dimensions of the world they inhabit, learning progressively from their activities and their interactions with others, children as well as adults

(UNCRC, 2005)

This quote from the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (2005) is exemplary of the shift in the positioning of children and adults in the public discourse. Claiming that young children *learn progressively from their activities and their interactions with others* entails the recognition of young children's role as authors of their own learning and development. Learning from interactions means that development is not the outcome of children's internalisation of knowledge transmitted by adults; rather, development is a process whereby children *actively make sense of the physical, social and cultural dimensions of the world that they inhabit*.

The autonomy of children's construction of the meanings of experiences; their active role in learning; an interactive and relational ontology of development: these are the pillars supporting the development, since the early 1990s, of the discourse of Early Childhood Studies (ECS). ECS is a discourse on childhood where several disciplines interact, sometimes within the same scholarly work or research. The coherence and disciplinary identity of ECS thus resides in the positioning of children as authors of their own development and active participants in the contexts of their social experiences. Notwithstanding different disciplinary backgrounds and professional interests, researchers, scholars and practitioners who contribute to the discourse of Early Childhood Studies share a fundamental perspective: the question is not *if* children should be listened to; the question is *how* to listen to them (Murray, 2019;

McDowall-Clark, 2020; Clark, 2020). The discourse of ECS is supported by the contribution of several disciplines and enriches the discourses of several disciplines, of course including educational research and scholarship. The interdisciplinary ECS discourse on education for young children has generated a pedagogical discourse: Early Childhood Education (ECE).

The discourse on education for young children that underpins ECE is centred around a view of children as unique individuals whose experiences cannot be reduced within adult-constructed expectations of staged development. ECE challenges the idea that the positioning of children should depend on adults’ assessment that uses criteria external to the experiences of children. Coherently with the ECS plea for an active role of children in their own development, ECE recognises that children have unique ways to enter, live and leave the early phase of their life. ECS view young children as capable, competent and creative social actors (Farrell, 2005). This can be considered a pillar of ECE. How does the ontology of childhood developed by ECS inform pedagogical debate via ECE?

The idea of children as active participants to their own learning is a tenet of ECE (Bruce, 2021; Tovey & Waller, 2014; Palmer & Read, 2020) which develops from the legacy of pedagogists such as Vygotsky, Froebel, Montessori, Rousseau and Pestalozzi (Reed & Walker, 2015).

As recently as 2021, the association of Early Education professionals and scholars *Birth to Five Matters Early Years Coalition Group* challenged the top-down model of transmission of knowledge underpinning school education already criticised by the works of Tisdall (2015), Moss and Cameron (2020), Scollan and Farini (2021) among many others. Birth to Five Matters Early Years Coalition Group advocates for the application of ECE principles that the uniqueness of each child should be supported by bringing their individual life experiences and knowledge into the classroom environment. This means that children’s knowledge and life experiences should be approached as a resource for education rather than being marginalised by standardised curricula.

The idea of children as active participants to their own learning is based on an underpinning epistemological theory, where children, as all other individuals, are positioned as active constructors of knowledge.

Listening to the voices of children is essential for ECE in order to develop pedagogies that value the uniqueness of the child (Bath, 2013; Clark, 2020; McDowall-Clark, 2020). The pedagogical discourse of ECE is propelled by a vision of children as competent and trustworthy agents, who are positioned as equals to adults within non-hierarchical intergenerational relationships. The implications of non-hierarchical intergenerational relationships for education is that ECE not only positions children as co-authors of their learning; they are also positioned as potential leaders of adults’ learning (Cagliari et al., 2016; Baraldi et al., 2018; Farini, 2019; Murray et al., 2019). Children and adults can move between roles, and children can be leaders of learning (Malaguzzi, 1996).

The positioning of children and adults as agents with equal opportunities to construct knowledge in educational interactions entails that children’s choices can make a difference, changing the context and agenda of learning. White (2016) argues that *teachers and children need to be prepared to be altered in dialogic pedagogy which is an attitude and poised resourcefulness* (White, 2016: 167). *Poised resourcefulness* refers to creativity, resilience and focus on relationships. Teachers thus need attunement to the unique child but, most importantly, they need to be prepared to learn from children in a dialogical co-construction of learning (Allen et al., 2019). This is implied in the idea of children’s access to the status of legitimate authors of knowledge (Bush, 2008; Cameron & Moss, 2020).

ECE is organic to a cultural shift in the discourse on childhood that has been challenging the mainstream construction of childhood for more than 30 years, across different disciplines. ECE critique of pedagogy and professional identities has become a transformative act (Bruce, 2021), as educationalists challenge the top-down model of transmission of knowledge underpinning school education, advocating for the application of ECE principles, starting from the principle of the *unique child*, where each child should be supported by valuing his or her individual life experiences and knowledges (Georgeson et al., 2015). If children are considered as authors of knowledge and co-constructors of education, professionals are invested with the challenge of waiving control on children, trusting their active participation and autonomous choices as a resource for education (Georgeson et al., 2015). The promotion of children's autonomous choices as a resource for education relates to the recognition of children's right of self-determination.

Children's self-determination is at the centre of important theoretical developments in the discourse of ECE, with implication for educational practices. ECE positions children as competent and responsible co-constructors of their social worlds, social actors from the beginning of life (Osgood, 2009), holders of rights independently from adults' concession (Murray, 2019). Children's access to the status of constructor of valid knowledge has been recently positioned within the emerging discourse on sustainability: the recognition of children's self-determination and agentic contribution to the construction of knowledge promotes their active engagement in educational interaction, making the planning and practice of education more sustainable (Farini & Scollan, 2021).

The pedagogical discourse of ECE epitomises, within the social sphere of education, the movement towards the recognition of young children's right of self-determination that positions them as autonomous decision-makers. This movement, accelerated by the UNCRC, has successfully paved the way for the inclusion of young children in the discourse around children's self-determination, starting from a social context such as education, which is universally considered as pivotal in children's lives. This is evidenced by a review of the recommendations of the UNICEF-sponsored *Committee on the Rights of the Child* that, already in 2005, recognised young children as *holders of all rights enshrined in the Convention* [because] *early childhood is a critical period for the realization of these rights* (1).

6. Conclusion

An exploration of the intersection between discourses on childhood and the debate on the meaning of children's rights, with a focus on the rights of self-determination, was undertaken in this article. The ambiguous status of children's right of self-determination, caught between the diverging discourses of children's interests and children's need was captured through a critical review of the UNCRC.

The coexistence between the principles of *protection* and *provision*, that require adults to act *for* and *on behalf of* children on the one hand and the principle of *self-determination* that refers to the capability of children decision-making to influence the contexts of children's social experiences on the other hand, remains problematic. Freeman suggests that protection of children can turn into oppressive control without the *recognition of their autonomy, both actual and potential* (Freeman, 1996: 1). The status of the right of self-determination within the UNCRC, the ambiguities in the same language used to declare it, lends itself as an example. The *conditionality* of self-determination puts children's competence and capability

to make decisions as dependent on age and age-related level of development, theorised and measured by adults.

Nevertheless, it can also be argued that the ontological concept of self-determination as intrinsic to the existential condition of children, as recognised in the UNCRC, represented a fruitful shift in the positioning of children across different social spheres. The transformation of the pedagogical discourse on education for young children was used as a case study that demonstrates how changes in the discourse on childhood and children’s right of self-determination have promoted practical and consequential changes in children’s lived experiences for instance, as for the case-study of ECE, changes in how teaching and learning are conceptualised and designed.

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The Dynamics of Language Attitudes of Young Parents towards the Preservation of the Mother Tongue

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Abstract

It is undeniably true that local languages will be preserved if they are respected, used, and inherited to the next generations. They should be used in the family and community so that children do not avoid or become unfamiliar with their vernaculars. This study explored the attitudes of Acehnese young families toward Acehnese language, and further investigating their efforts in maintaining and passing the local language to their children. Twelve Acehnese couples (young parents) residing in Banda Aceh, Indonesia, were interviewed to obtain data. They were chosen on purpose because their first languages had to meet the study's criteria: (a) Acehnese-speaking parents, (b) Acehnese-speaking fathers and Indonesian-speaking mothers, (c) Indonesian-speaking fathers and Acehnese-speaking mothers; (d) Indonesian-speaking parents, (e) Acehnese-speaking fathers and other ethnic language-speaking mothers; as well as (f) other ethnic language-speaking fathers and Acehnese-speaking mothers. The data were then transcribed and identified for the key points, patterns, or themes in accordance with the attitudes of Acehnese young parents toward Acehnese language. The findings show that the Acehnese language was highly valued for being the heritage language, connecting people within and outside of families, expressing emotions, and requiring promotion despite its low popularity. Although a majority of parents in this study saw the Acehnese language as important for expressing their Acehnese identity and were aware of its values, they failed to pass the language on to their children. Out of the twelve families, only one family succeeded in passing on and maintaining Acehnese to their children. Nevertheless, language maintenance in the home works if parental practical efforts are made by providing their children with linguistic resources, and most important of all, using the local language in interactions with them.

Keywords

Acehnese, Efforts, Language, Attitude, Maintenance, Young Parents.

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Introduction

With a large nation in terms of geography, population, ethnics, cultures, and vernaculars (Rustipa, 2013), Indonesia is united with an official and national language Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian). This language is spoken while coexisting with other local languages around the country. Lewis, Simons, and Fenning (2013) note that there are 706 languages spoken throughout the archipelago. While the languages are linked in certain ways, none of them are mutually intelligible; hence, they are classified as different languages rather than dialects (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014).

Due to its role as the language of instructions and lingua franca, Bahasa Indonesia has triggered the impact on the minority/local languages (Kurniasih, 2005), and it seriously affects the existence of vernaculars (Al-Auwal, 2017; Zulfadli, 2014). As a result, the majority of the Indonesian population speak Indonesian as their second language, and more recently, it has been increasingly used as the first language, which coexists alongside other native languages in the country (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014).

Aceh is one of the provinces in the country located at the tip of the Sumatra Island (see Figure 1). Islam is the most widely practiced religion in this province, with almost 98% of the roughly four million people identifying as Muslims. It is recognized as Indonesia’s *Serambi Mekkah* ‘Verandah of Mecca’, because it was a pivotal site in the history of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago (Birchok, 2013). It was occupied by the Dutch from 1873 until 1914, by Japan from 1942 until 1945), and in 1950, it became part of Indonesia. In 1973, political concerns originating from the Indonesian government’s fight with the Free Aceh Movement began in 1973 (Shaw, 2008). On August 15, 2005, the battle came to an end with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) of Peace in Helsinki, Finland (Ronnie, 2016).

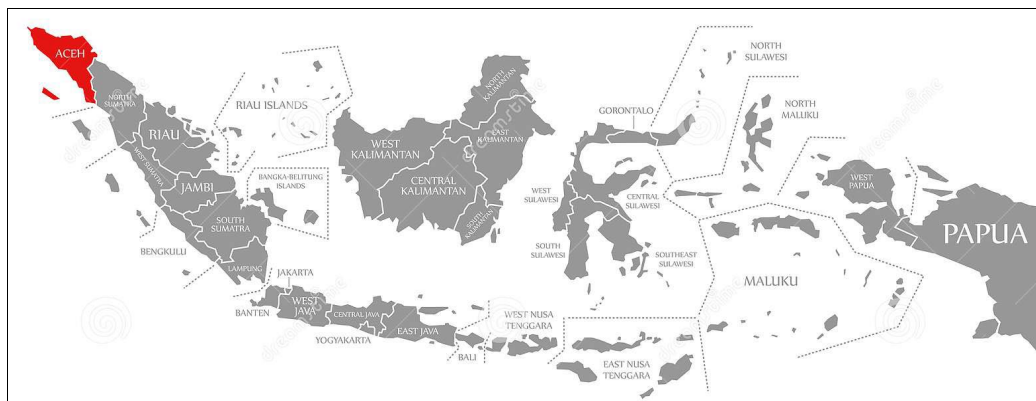


Figure 1: A map of Indonesia, with Aceh highlighted in red (Source: <https://www.dreamstime.com/aceh-red-highlighted-map-indonesia-aceh-red-highlighted-map-indonesia-image166292044>).

The number speakers with Indonesian as their first language is also growing in Aceh, particularly among the younger generation, where parents believe that the benefits of the national language will help their children succeed academically (Aziz & Amery, 2016; Aziz et al., 2020). In this regard, they argue that raising their children as monolingual speakers of the national language will provide them with the best opportunities in life in terms of education, employment, and prosperity (Aziz & Amery, 2016).

Owing to the trend of the language shift which can be considered as one of the early warning signs towards language in danger, it is not impossible to believe that its speakers will decrease gradually for the position of the Acehese language alone now is in an unstable stage especially if the trend of shift continues to happen (Aziz & Amery, 2016). Besides, the current characteristic of Acehese families who tend to favor Indonesian to Acehese language especially at home domain has no guarantee that the position of Acehese language will remain strong and, in the end, it will lead to being endangered (Aziz et al., 2020).

Considering the fact that today's language attitudes of Acehese young parents in the community living in Banda Aceh have become phenomenal yet remained underexplored, this research, therefore, is aimed at exploring the attitudes of Acehese young families and how those values impact the local language maintenance. Attitudes towards a language display the profound frame of mind of the speakers of that language (Pillai et al., 2015; Yusuf et al., 2013; Zulkifley & Muammar Ghaddafi, 2016). The Acehese families' efforts in maintaining and passing it on to their children are also explored. It is hoped that the research finding will provide a positive contribution to society as a wake-up call for them to be more alert of the decreasing use of the regional language in the community today.

1. Literature Review

1.1 Attitudes toward Language Choice in Multicultural Communities

Language attitude has strong relation to the explicit behavior towards language and its users. This is because people's way of classifying languages or varieties is different; either they are elegant, expressive, vulgar, musical, polite, impolite, pleasing or unpleasing (Holmes, 2008). Mostly, the attitudes of the language users are influenced by this categorization for it reflects who they are and represents the social group they come from.

Attitudes towards a language may also display what people feel about the speakers of that language. Sadanand (1993) explains that "attitudes towards the use of different languages are motivated by people's perception of the role of each language and the functions it performs in relation to each other". In the context of multilingual society, Piller (2000) believes that the language spoken by a large community can be considered superior than those spoken by the minority. It is due to the fact that it serves more benefits to the speakers which can be influential for expanding their social network. The choice of a dominant language provides people the prestige (Managan, 2004) and the opportunity in socializing with other people (Dweik & Qawar, 2015). Hence, it is used as the medium of communication in various domains.

In the Indonesian context, for instance, Bahasa Indonesia has been assigned by the government as the official language which is used in every aspect of its citizens' life including as language of education, language of wider communication as well as the language of inter-ethnic communication. Consequently, the society regards Indonesian as prestigious, and learning and using it is considered most appreciated. On the contrary, any language whose range of use does not go beyond its local government area is referred to as minority languages, and generally evaluated poorly and ranked low. It is why positive or negative attitudes that people develop to particular languages is based on how the community identifies and labels them.

Regarding attitudes toward heritage/ethnic language, this language for some people holds various prominent values and thus it is important to retain. Several studies suggest that ethnic language and family attachment appear to be correlated. Ethnic language is used to assimilate with the people in the language community both socially and linguistically in order to build the relationship with them (Abd-el-Jawad, 2006). The language functions as a means to maintain communal or societal values instead of individual ones such as for self-identification or self-expression. Besides, ethnic/heritage language, for some other people can also be a symbol for their ethnic culture and identity. According to Fishman (2001), specific cultures and cultural identities are related to specific languages at the level of doing, at the level of knowing, at the level of being. Salami (2008) believes that language and culture are inseparable because it expresses and symbolizes culture. Specifically, Crystal (1965, as cited in Bichani, 2015) points out that language is the means through which religious rituals and beliefs are conveyed.

In terms of group identity, according to Phinney et al. (2001), ethnic language serves as a sense of belonging to and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes toward one's own ethnic group. A key factor in defining groups, according to Edwards (2011), is determined by the group's language whose function is as a distinctive marker within a group. Parents typically view their heritage language important owing to its role to form identity, to communicate with people, and to build a career in the future (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Heritage language is also a way to protect cultural identity (Farruggio, 2010; Guardado, 2010), which is associated with positive emotions including stories, laughter and intimacy in social life (Guardado, 2008). Landweer (2008) discovers the importance of ethnic language as a language of instruction, scolding or correction, information, humor and comfort as well as religious observance. Positive attitudes towards heritage language for some people come from culture and pride (Dweik & Qawar, 2015).

For the reasons stated above, as a consequence, people tend to voice the significance of their own languages and the need to be able to pass them on to their future generation. In this regard, Letsholo (2009) believes that only when parents see the value of the heritage language and the complementary culture it entails can they transmit the language successfully. However, even though the people value their minority language and have a strong desire to transfer the language for their next generation, not all take active steps to ensure its proficiency, or in a long term. its retention. Garrett (2010) claims that one's language attitude may not always influence his/her actual language practice. Similarly, Aziz and Amery (2016) point out that positive attitude itself is not adequate enough for a language to survive because what people say does not always translate into their action. They might say that the language holds important values for them, yet in reality they do not speak the language with their children (Aziz & Amery, 2016).

In relation to the school context, ethnic/heritage language retention can be built with the help from school especially for children as reported in studies of Becker (2013) and Setiawan (2013). In this respect, Guardado (2002) supported this notion that for children, the school environment can be a key point for the use of ethnic language and learning its patterns. even though 'home' is the best place for ethnic language transmission (Clyne & Kipp, 1999). They believe that if a language is not maintained in the domain of home, then it cannot be

maintained elsewhere. In similar vein, Fishman (1997) confirms that the lack of intergenerational transmission and daily use at home leads to languages endangered, not because they are not being taught in schools or lack of official status.

1.2 Previous Related Studies

For a language to be maintained, the key point is that it needs to be passed on to the young generation and acquired by them. Family and language choice play important roles either for the maintenance of ethnic language or the marginalization of it (Ong, 2021; Pillai et al., 2015). In this situation, a positive attitude toward the local language is important. Parents as a small part of the society should be wise in their decision making to choose the language(s) for their children as a home language. They should use the national language side by side with the local language in order to maintain regional languages which are their native cultural identity. The attitudes and language background of parents have a significant impact on how much of the home language children are exposed to and acquired (Fan, 2014). It is undeniably true that the local language will be preserved if it is respected, used, and inherited by the next generation. As a result, local language should be used in the family and community so that children are not unfamiliar with or avoid their vernaculars.

There have been several studies found in the literature which provide empirical evidences about language attitudes, language choice and its strong connection to language maintenance at the home domains. Pauwels (2005) discovered the role of family in preserving the community language in Australia. She suggested that family is a basis for the acquisition and also maintenance of community languages. Despite some challenges faced by family in maintaining the community languages, she found some successful strategies that can be applied to maintain the community languages. They included the persistence of use, the consistency of language use and also the parental use of teaching and learning technique. Meanwhile, Becker (2013) studied the Korean' descendants living in the U.S.A. who showed positive attitudes toward their heritage language and its preservation for their children despite their differences in strategies used. The parents also stated that their children are not required to study and maintain Korean outside the home since there are no heritage language opportunities in the community, including at their children's schools. Therefore, even though they speak Korean to their children at home, English is spoken more by their children as they get older.

In the Arabic-English context, Othman (2006) studied language choice among Arabic community in Britain in various domains of language use. The findings of his study showed signs of Arabic maintenance in the participated families. Here, the parents assign different functions of the two languages used, Arabic and English. Arabic is used regularly at the home domains, either between the parents or between the parents and their children. It is also used with friends, in news and entertainment media, and at mosques. As for English, it is used consistently at university/work, in formal situations in general, when talking to non-Arabs, and in shops. The study also revealed that sometimes both languages overlap within the same domain causing those bilinguals to use one language rather than the other, such when an Arab talks to his/her friend in the presence of a non-Arab they use English although Arabic is the unmarked choice in the domain of friendship among themselves. Moreover, in the Malaysian context, Sankar (2011) studies the language shift and maintenance of the Malaysian Iyers. It was found that the Malaysian Iyers have moved away from the use of their mother tongue

(Tamil) in the home domain. Government language policies and the influence of English as the language of business are seen as the main reasons why they shift away from their ethnic language. The results also indicated that the Iyer identity is not completely dependent on their ethnic language, as their identity is expressed more through their cultural practices. This is almost similar to the Acehnese descendants living in Kampung Aceh, Kedah, Malaysia (Pillai, Yusuf & Ali, 2013). From interviews with 57 residents from different generations about their use and identity of Acehnese, the results showed that despite Acehnese is still used in KA, it is decreasing by the youngest generation. But they still regard themselves as *ureueng Acèh* (Acehnese people), considering Acehnese as an important aspect of their identity and their perceived ties with the Aceh province in Indonesia

In the case of Aceh province in the multiethnic country, Indonesia, Muhammad (2013) carried out a study related to parents' attitude towards bilingualism in Acehnese-Indonesian context. Based on the data from questionnaires, it showed that from ten families participated in this study; only two families have Acehnese as the main language in the family. The other parents tend to speak Indonesian to the children although in the same time they speak Acehnese to their spouse. All parents have positive attitude towards bilingualism. They agree that being bilingual give more benefit than only being monolingual. Aziz, Daud and Windasari (2016) also explored the use of language in Acehnese home context despite its focus lays on intermarriage couples living in Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar. The findings in their study revealed that Bahasa Indonesia is the most dominant language used by the couples for daily interaction with each other and their children at home. Their reasons are based on the fact that the language is to accommodate the couples, to be conveniently used as a neutral language for them as well as to expand their social network. Besides, Indonesian as the national language of Indonesia is used as a communal language and it also functions as a medium of instruction for their children at school which leads them to be less motivated to use their own ethnic languages. The latest work by Aziz, Yusuf and Menalisa (2020) investigates the factors influencing young Acehnese parents' language choice to communicate with their children at home in Banda Aceh, Indonesia. The results showed that Acehnese and Indonesian were the dominant languages used by the Acehnese families at home. Indonesian was the most favored language chosen by parents when communicating with their children in (as internal influence) and outside (as external trigger) of their home.

2. Methods

2.1 Participants

This study involved the urban society residing in Banda Aceh. Twelve Acehnese couples, age 25 to 35 years old, and at least have one child of two years of age or older (till their teens) present in the homes (young parents), were selected and consented as the subjects. They were chosen on purpose because their first languages had to meet the study's criteria. They were selected based on the following categories, namely: (a) Acehnese-speaking fathers and Acehnese-speaking mothers; (b) Acehnese-speaking fathers and Indonesian-speaking mothers; (c) Indonesian-speaking fathers and Acehnese-speaking mothers; (d) Indonesian-speaking fathers and Indonesian-speaking mothers; (e) Acehnese-speaking fathers and other ethnic language-speaking mothers; as well as (f) other ethnic language-speaking fathers and Acehnese-speaking mothers. This decision was made to examine the impact of the parents'

language use on their children's choice of language(s). From each category, two families were selected to be interviewed and all have given consent to participate in this research.

2.2 Instrument

The recent study employed a semi-structured interview protocol as the main instrument for data collection, because it provides in-depth information about participants' opinions and experiences with a specific issue (Turner, 2010). Kvale and Brinkman (2009) further suggest that semi-structured interview is the most valuable type of interview because it focuses on a narrow range of topics, and the probing questions provide more depth and detail, while follow-up questions can be used to achieve richness by delving into keywords, ideas, and themes (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Thus, a number of 16 open-ended semi-structured questions were originally prepared for the interview. The questions were taken from the literature of Setiawan (2013), Othman (2006) and the National Indigenous Language Survey 2 (NILS2) designed by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) (2014). All those questions were then adapted and modified to meet the condition for this study.

2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Henceforward, twelve couples/young parents of the selected families were interviewed. In addition, to avoid misunderstandings between the interviewer and the interviewees, the interviews were conducted in Indonesian. The husbands and wives from those families were interviewed together at the appointed time and place based on the agreements previously made. The length of the interviews was varied ranging from 20 minutes to 30 minutes tops, depending on the responses of each participant regarding the questions. The interviews were videotaped, and the recordings were then transcribed. The interviews are done in Indonesian and the English translations are available for every quotation in this paper.

Six steps were taken to achieve the results, as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006): 1. become familiar with the data (reading the transcripts carefully, identifying and removing any bias found in the data.), 2: generate initial codes (assigning codes to relevant words, phrases, sentences, or sections), 3. search for themes (aligning data with critical themes/categories and subcategories by grouping the codes generated during the initial code generation), 4. review themes (categorizing and linking data), 5. define themes (determining the hierarchy of categories), and finally, 6. write up (transitioning findings by describing the categories and their relationships) on the attitudes of Acehese young parents toward Acehese language, and efforts made to maintain this mother tongue.

3. Results

The results of the interviews revealed seven themes for this study. They are: (1) the important languages for children to acquire, (2) Acehese is an important language, (3) connects people, (4) expresses emotions and (5) an identity. Another theme which emerged is their explanation on (6) the Acehese popularity that is weakening, and this led to the last theme found, which is (7) efforts to maintain Acehese at home. Each theme is elaborated in the next sub-sections of this paper.

3.1 Important Languages for Children to Acquire

In relation to the participants' responses about the most important language for their children to acquire, it is clear that Indonesian was considered by the majority of the parents in Acehese families as the first most important language to be acquired by their children followed by Acehese language and English, respectively. Most of them had already used Indonesian as the main language in-home interaction since they are concerned about their children's future academic success because it is the language of instruction. They also mentioned that Indonesian was nationally used by the citizen of Indonesia and thus it was primarily important to be exposed to it. The answers of the participants based on the interviews on the important languages to be acquired by the children are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The important languages to be acquired by the children

Family no.	The most important languages to be acquired		
	The first	The second	The third
1	Arabic	Indonesian	Acehnese
2	Indonesian	Acehnese	English
3	Indonesian	English	Acehnese
4	Acehnese	English	Indonesian
5	Acehnese	Indonesian	English
6	Acehnese	Indonesian	English
7	Indonesian	Acehnese	English
8	Indonesian	Acehnese	English
9	Indonesian	Acehnese	English
10	Indonesian	Acehnese	English
11	Acehnese	Indonesian	English
12	Indonesian	Acehnese	English

However, Family 1, as seen in Table 1, was the only family which viewed Arabic as the first most important language. The participant spiritually reasoned that Arabic is the beautiful and holy language for Muslims since it is the language by which Al-Qur'an is written, as expressed in the following excerpt.

- I.1 *“Saya Bahasa Arab sebenarnya...ya karena Bahasa Arab itu bahasa yang paling bagus sebenarnya, bahasa Al-Quran ya”.* (“Actually, I think Arabic is the first most important language....because it's the most beautiful language, the language of Al-Qur'an”). (WF1).

Family 4 and Family 5, however, have shown their strong belief on the importance of the Acehese language to be acquired by their children due to the fact that the language was not largely spoken by the community anymore and its existence was threatened by the popularity of Indonesian, especially among children.

- I.2 *“Bahasa Aceh gak diajarkan di sekolah, tapi ini bahasa antar anggota keluarga kami. Kalau anak-anak gak kita perkenalkan atau ajarkan bahasa Aceh, nanti mereka akan susah berkomunikasi dengan saudara-saudara mereka yang berbicara bahasa Aceh dirumah”.* (“Acehnese is not taught in schools, but it is the language of our family members. If we don't introduce or teach the children the Acehese language, later they will find it difficult to communicate with their relatives who speak Acehese at home”). (WF4).

They argued that Acehnese was still their ethnic language, internally used by their extended family members, and also acted as the local language used by the majority of people in Aceh. WF5 reasons that, unlike Indonesian which is used in our surroundings today, Acehnese would not be found outside the home unless it is taught, therefore the family should take such an important role to preserve the local language.

Even though dominantly regarded as the third most important language by a large number of participants, English became significantly valued because of the educational reasons as well as its popularity as the international language. The parents argued that by mastering English, their children would be better at school and in the future when they applied for a job. WF4 said that her children should be able to master English because if they can speak English, it will ease them at school and will benefit them, too, for their job in the future. It is agreed by WF3 who also said English would help her children at school and for finding a good job later on.

3.2 Acehnese is an Important Language

When questioned about how important Acehnese was in their homes so that it should be used to communicate with their children, nearly all of the participants in this study exposed positive attitudes toward Acehnese regardless of their differences in their first languages. They mostly agreed that Acehnese was important for their children in the future even though the language was not introduced as the first language to them in their homes. However, other participants thought otherwise.

All of the twelve families suggested that Acehnese is important to maintain because it is the heritage language from which their culture is rooted. As a result, they stated that the language should be inherited to their children since it represented their birthright as suggested by the parents in Family 10 and Family 4 below.

- I.3 *“Penting sih karena itu bahasa bapaknya, bahasa neneknya. Jadi, anak cucu juga harus bisa Bahasa Aceh”*. (“It’s important because Acehnese is their father’ and their grandparents’ language. So, the children and grandchildren must be able to speak Acehnese”). (HF10).
- I.4 *“Penting. Sangat penting untuk menjaga identitas kita sebagai suku Aceh. Gimapun itu bahasa indatu kita. Harus dijaga kalau bisa”*. (“It’s important, very important to maintain our identity as an Acehnese ethnic. Nevertheless, it’s our heritage language. It should be preserved if possible”). (HF4).

Similarly, the parent in Family 11 regarded Acehnese as an important language as well because it was her mother tongue despite her reluctance in teaching the language to their children due to the presence of two different languages in their nuclear family.

Based on the comments exemplified in excerpts I.3 and I.4 above, it suggests that the parents viewed Acehnese as an important language. They appear to voice a strong wish that their children would inherit and speak the language as they did. According to them, it is the way to keep in touch with their heritage language even though realistically they did not show any efforts in teaching the language to their children in the families.

3.3 Acehese Connects Family Members

The Acehese language was regarded as important for the parents because it was necessary for communication to connect their intrafamily members. They mostly suggested that the bond and connection between cross-generation would likely be created and attached through language by using Acehese. In response to the importance of the language as the media of family connection, WF8's said that:

- I.5 *“Penting sih, soalnya nenek-nenek saya rata-rata masih pakai Bahasa Aceh. Rasanya lebih menghargai mereka kalau ngomong pakai Bahasa Aceh. Kalaupun saya ngomong pakai Bahasa Indonesia dijawab pakai Bahasa Aceh juga”*. (Acehese is quite important because my grandparents still use it. I think they will feel more appreciated if I speak Acehese with them. Even though I speak in Indonesian, they keep responding in Acehese). (WF8)

Apart from connecting intra-family members, Family 7 has also expressed their agreement that Acehese became important when it was used outside the home to socialize with other people who happened to know and speak the language. Acehese was significantly useful for some of the participants in terms of work-related events or situation, in which Acehese was used by many of his colleagues, or village authorities such as Keuchik Gampong (a village head), Teungku Gampong (a prominent religious head), and other village practitioners (i.e., Tuha Peut, etc.). According to the wife in Family 12 who is an Acehese and married to her Minang ethnic husband, Acehese should be learned by her husband and their children whether they wanted it or not since they lived in a community where Acehese is spoken. So that they can interact with people outside their homes.

3.4 Acehese Expresses Emotions

Besides its importance as the heritage language and its purpose for connecting people, the Acehese language, at some point is also used to express certain emotions as shown in the following excerpts. In this regard, WF1 said that when she gets mad, for example, she would definitely use Acehese because sometimes there are no suitable words in Indonesian, at least not right enough to describe the feeling. She continues by saying it is hard to use Indonesian when you get mad. It is agreed by HF4 who admitted that:

- I.6 *“... Itupun kalau dongkol, keluar Acehnya. Lebih kena marahnya kalau bahasa sendiri”*. (... When I get mad, Acehese will come out. It sounds more real when I express it in my own language). (HF4)

Almost all of the participants have expressed the same feeling about this matter. The comments show that the use of Acehese becomes powerfully significant when it is used to describe strong feelings, such as anger.

3.5 Acehese is Identity

Another reason that the Acehese families retain the language is to show identity. Some of the participants claimed that the language was needed because it represented their identity as an Acehese. WF12 agreed that speaking Acehese is essential because it represents the identity of the speakers. Meanwhile, WF1 regretted that he did not start speaking Acehese to his children since they were young despite strongly believing that Acehese identifies their origin and identity. Parents from Family 1 also showed her deep regret for not introducing Acehese

early to their children. She admitted that in their attempt to promote Indonesian for all their children as the main language at home, they seemingly forgot to anticipate its impact on their ethnic language which now resulted in their children's reluctance to speak Acehese as their vernacular language. WF4 also admitted that she herself was not well exposed to the Acehese language when she was a child so she hardly speaks the language. But deep inside she personally regretted it because as an Acehese she should have not forgotten her own identity.

- I.7 *"Saya waktu kecil, orangtua tidak ngomong Bahasa Aceh dirumah, padahal mereka orang Aceh juga. Jadinya ya kebiasaan, tidak bicara Bahasa Aceh walaupun ngerti kalau dengar orang ngomong. Sama anak jadinya tidak ngomong juga. Sekarang nyesal, baru rasanya sadar, eh, Bahasa Aceh, itu penting untuk saya orang Aceh". ("When I was young, my parents did not speak Acehese at home, even though they are Acehese as well. So, I am used to growing up not speaking the language even though I understand it when I hear people speak it. So now I don't speak it to my children, either. Now I regret, now I just realized how important Acehese language is to me as an Acehese".) (WF4).*

Nevertheless, some young parents involved in this study wanted their children to be able to speak Acehese so that their identity as an Acehese would be well-maintained, but wanting it is not the same as conducting it. For those parents who did speak Acehese to their children showed their need to introduce Acehese to their children based on the fact that Acehese is seen as the language to represent their identity and symbolize their pride.

3.6 Acehese Popularity is Weakening

Another reason uttered by the participants regarding how important Acehese is in their family is that the language is losing ground to the national language in terms of popularity. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that the importance of Acehese for these families has a strong relation to the status of Acehese itself which is becoming less in terms of the number of its users.

- I.8 *"Bahasa Aceh penting untuk generasi anak-anak kita, bahkan kalau tidak kita biasakan bisa-bisa akan hilang". ("Acehese is important for our future generation. So, if we don't make it as a habitual daily communication, the language will be in danger".) (WF5)*
- I.9 *"Oh menurut saya sangat penting karena sekarang orang jarang sekali ngomong pakai Bahasa Aceh. Jadi, harus dibiasakan". ("Oh, I think it's very important because Acehese is seldom spoken by people nowadays. So, it needs to be made as a habitual daily communication".) (WF6)*

Apart from the findings above which presented the participants' views on how important Acehese is in their families, the results of the interview also discovered one contrasting opinion. One participant, in this matter, claimed that Acehese was not very important in her family regardless of her and her husband's family background who were of Acehese descendants. She reasoned that Acehese took a back seat compared to Indonesian as the most favored language that she and her husband chose for their children. The following excerpt represented her opinion on the matter.

- I.10 *"Dibilang penting tidak juga ya? Karena kami sendiri ngomong ke anak-anak Bahasa Indonesia. Sekolah juga nuntut mereka untuk berbahasa Indonesia, Inggris dan juga Arab untuk pelajaran agama". ("Well, I don't think Acehese is important because we ourselves speak Indonesian with*

our children. The school also requires them to speak Indonesian, English and also Arabic for religious lessons”). (WF2).

The statement in excerpt I.8 strongly indicates that Acehese is losing its significance in this family owing to the fact that Indonesian was more importantly valued and favored than their own ethnic language, Acehese.

3.7 Efforts to Maintain Acehese at Home

With regard to the efforts made by the parents to maintain Acehese language by the families in Acehese homes, the data collected from interviews confirmed that only one family still used Acehese dominantly as the home language. Family 5 is identified to use Acehese dominantly to speak with their children at home along with Indonesian which was used as the second language. Despite the parents' first language difference, Acehese dominated their linguistic repertoire since the influence of Acehese language from the wife's side was quite substantial. In this family, the role of the wife as well as the mother of the children combined with the immediate family from her side which largely speaks Acehese is extensively accountable for the perseverance of the Acehese language. It is probably due to fact that mothers incline to spend their time nurturing their children more than fathers do. Therefore, children are more likely to need to speak their mother's language rather than their father's. The research by Ong (2021) also found that mothers play quite a big role in laying the foundation for their children's heritage language maintenance by showing their children positive language attitudes.

The ideology of the parents regarding their awareness of the endangered of Acehese which occurred in their neighborhood is also seen as the contributing factor why Acehese was well-preserved in this family. From the beginning, they were aware that Acehese was likely in danger and they saw the need to preserve the language for their children since Indonesian according to them, could be picked up elsewhere. Not only Indonesian was automatically acquired from their father who was L1 Indonesian speaking, but it was also exposed in the surroundings where they lived and at school where they studied.

With regard to strategies used to retain Acehese language in this family, even though they suggested no specific strategies for home language preservation, they, however, mentioned the practically ongoing use of Acehese when speaking to their children despite their responses in Indonesian as the way for the maintenance of Acehese language in their family. The following excerpt illustrates the participant's comment regarding the subject.

I.11 *“Strategi yang khusus tidak ada, cuma sebisa mungkin ngomongnya pakai Bahasa Aceh, biarpun nanti dia menjawabnya dalam Bahasa Indonesia, tidak ada masalah. Yang penting si anak ngerti apa yang kita arahkan, dia ngerti dan tau apa maksudnya”*. (“There is no specific strategy. But I always try to speak Acehese with my children. It's not a problem to me if their responses are in Indonesian. The important thing is that they understand what I try to say and what I want them to do”). (WF5)

The except in I.10 suggests that in order to keep in touch with Acehese language, the wife in Family 5 appears to think that the language should be continuously used no matter what language their children chose to respond to as long as they still understood what she tried to convey.

4. Discussion

The positive views of Acehnese as the heritage language have been expressed by the majority of parents in this study. They regarded the Acehnese language as their birthright from which the culture was rooted; therefore, they wanted their children to learn the language. Similarly, the Malays living in Singapore (Bakar, 2015) and Malaysia (Zulkifley & Muammar Ghaddafi, 2016; Pillai et al., 2015; Yusuf et al., 2013) also preserve their mother tongues as they remain connected to their ethnic heritage. This indicates that the preservation of the language is due to cultural identity (Yusuf et al., 2013). Becker (2013) states that heritage language has to be preserved because through it, is where the cultural identity is shaped and maintained. This finding, however, showed a contradiction to Sankar' (2011) findings when investigating Malaysian Iyers; the Iyer identity is not entirely reliant on Ayer their ethnic language, Tamil, because it is vented more through their cultural practices.

Acehnese language for some participants in this study is also important on the ground that the language helped them connect with their intrafamily members who speak Acehnese as their main language. Becker (2013) also discovers a similar finding that heritage/ethnic language is meant to sustain meaningful family communication. The Acehnese language for some other participants in this study functioned as a communication means to connect them with people outside their families such as for communicating with colleagues at work, or when assimilating with important people in the village where Acehnese is mostly used. In this situation, the language is regarded as a means to maintain communal or societal values instead of individual ones such as to identify or to express themselves (Abd-el-Jawad, 2006; Yusuf et al., 2013).

Most of the Acehnese people still use their heritage language in dealing with customs and traditions which involved rituals to perform the ordeals, such as in a wedding and to welcome a newborn in a family, or when one passes away. In maintaining these cultures and cultural identities, Acehnese feel much comfortable using the local language. This may trigger a speech community to speak in their mother tongue as Salami (2008) believes that language and culture are inextricably linked because it expresses and symbolizes culture. In addition, language is the medium by which religious rituals and beliefs are communicated (Bichani, 2015). In Acehnese traditions, those kinds of rituals are usually conducted in the Acehnese language since these rituals are rooted and passed on through this language.

Acehnese is also the language that is commonly used when gathering in social functions with other people who share the same social identity as a mark of familiarity and togetherness. According to Phinney et al. (2001), ethnic language serves as a means of self-identification, feelings of belonging and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes toward one's own ethnic group. Acehnese as the focus ethnic language in this study was stated worthy enough to be exposed to the children of these families for it represented their ethnic identity.

Another finding of this study shows that besides its significance as the heritage language and its function for connecting people in and outside the sphere of homes, the important use of the Acehnese language according to some other parents is also to express a particular feeling or emotion. This, in fact, confirms the concept of ethnic language as a language of instruction, scolding or correction, information, humor, and comfort as well as religious observance

(Landweer, 2000). It is also an adjacent channel for epitomizing a cultural identity related to positive emotions in social life, such as stories, laughter, and intimacy (Guardado, 2008). Meanwhile, all participants realized that the Guardado popularity of Acehese language is weakening (i.e., this is also reported by Al-Auwal, 2017). The failing use of the language became a positive motivation to the Acehese to wish for preserving it because they believe that it represents their identity; symbolize their pride and socialize with other Acehese people in their surroundings. As a result of culture and pride, speakers of a heritage language may have strong positive attitudes toward their language (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Notwithstanding the participants' high outlooks in appreciating the Acehese language, their actions, on the other hand, are quite reversed. The demand of bilingual education (Indonesian, English and Arabic), are among the reasons for their reservation. Still, it appears to be paradoxical. On one side, they voiced the strong wish for their children to learn the language, on another side; they seemed reluctant and put effort to speak the language with their children. This corresponds to Aziz and Amery's (2016) statement that a positive attitude alone will not ensure the survival of a language because what people say does not always translate into their actions. They may claim that the language holds important values for them, but they do not speak it with their children (Aziz & Amery, 2016). Garrett (2010) takes a similar stance, arguing that one's language attitude does not always influence one's actual language practice. Despite the fact that parents value their minority language and are eager to pass it on to their children, not all take active steps to ensure their children's proficiency in it. This recent research finding also breaks Letsholo's (2009) belief that only when parents recognize the value of their ancestors' native language and the complementary culture it entails can they pass on the language successfully. Most parents in this current study viewed the Acehese language as significantly important and were aware of its values; they however failed to transmit the language to their children.

This study also revealed that the Acehese families do not put a lot of effort to maintain the language in the family. With only one family who holds strong beliefs and positive attitudes towards passing the Acehese language to their children, it may prove the claim. It is clear that the only strategy that the parent applied in Acehese language retention is the constant use of Acehese when speaking to their children at home. This recent finding is correlated with Muhammad's (2013) finding that the most visible effort that the parents can do in preserving the Acehese language is by speaking in Acehese to their children. In a similar vein, Chen (2011), Becker (2013), and Fan (2014) also found that passing on ethnic language by the parents themselves and using the language at home when speaking with children as two of many efforts the parents should apply for ethnic language conservation in the family.

This kind of practice according to Curtd-Christiansen (2009) and King et al. (2008) is a part of family language management which includes parental practical efforts to modify the children's language use. Among many other attempts in family language management to provide children with linguistic resources, the most important of all is interacting with their children in the target language (Kheirkhah, 2016; Spolsky, 2004).

5. Conclusion

The Acehese language was highly valued for being the heritage language, connecting people in and outside families, expressing emotions, and needing for promotion of its less popularity.

Hence, only one family in this study speaks the Acehese language exclusively with their children. They used Acehese dominantly as the home language followed by Indonesian as the second language when interacting with the children at home. Despite the fact that most parents in this current study saw the Acehese language as important for expressing their Acehese identity and were aware of its values, they failed to pass the language on to their children.

The study has certain limitations. Interviews were conducted with twelve young parents with children from just one city, Banda Aceh, in Aceh Province. Due to the limited sample, the findings of the study cannot be generalized to all of the Acehese in Aceh. Another limitation is on the instrument used (i.e., interviews as part of the qualitative research method), hence, to gain more data in future related studies, researchers may consider constructing and using a comprehensive questionnaire to be distributed to larger sample sizes to gain more information on this topic.

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Changes in language about IDD, mental illness, disability in different countries in different languages

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Abstract

The use of language to construct and drive societal and professional approaches to intellectual and developmental disabilities have undergone significant change across the 20th and into the 21st century throughout Europe. The changes in political, professional and colloquial language reflect increasingly inclusive practices and recognition of human rights based approaches to people with IDD internationally.

Keywords

Language, Discourse, Disability, Official Language, Colloquial Language.

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Introduction

Disability is a heterogeneous, complex phenomenon that manifests itself in various areas, numerous definitions emphasize the inability to perform social roles by people affected by disabilities as well as a limited possibility of participating in cultural and social life or working and existing independently (Kotowski, 2008) and from an international perspective there have been many debates about the terms used to construct and understand intellectual and developmental disability (IDD) (Schalock et al, 2007; Sherrill, 2010) and reframing of societal attitudes is critical to ensure positive change (Scior & Werner, 2015). For the most part, there is now a shared global understanding and definition of IDD (World Health Organisation 2016), and while different terms are used and often used interchangeably, it is critical that a consensus of the definition is provided.

As IDD is a life-long condition, and to improve Quality of Life (QoL), health, education and social outcomes, the approaches of supporting people with IDD have improved considerably, both globally and internationally.

“Intellectual disability means a significantly reduced ability to understand new or complex information and to learn and apply new skills (impaired intelligence). This results in a reduced ability to cope independently (impaired social functioning), and begins before adulthood, with a lasting effect on development” (WHO, 2016).

Critically, and irrespective of which term is used to define IDD, labelling an individual with an IDD can be multifaceted. On the one hand, access to appropriate supports, financial remuneration, and appropriate education may be easier to access once a diagnosis has been confirmed. On the other hand, a label may lead to stigma, exclusion or even segregation (Skundeberg, 2019; Lejzerowicz, 2020).

Here, the discourse and language attributed to disability will be explored across the contexts of 5 European countries throughout the 20th century. How does this discourse relate to the empowerment of people with IDD, does language drive change towards social inclusion or do social movements towards reduced stigmatisation and inclusivity facilitate changes in language across professional groups.

1. Changes in language about IDD, mental illness, disability in United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland

Prior and up to the 1950's, terms such as 'idiots', 'fools', 'imbeciles', and 'mental retard' was the language used to describe people with IDD and were well-known and referred to across legislative and political agendas. These terms and others like them, often associated with negative connotations, dominated the disability landscape for many decades (Russell et al, 2005). Fortunately, and within a more inclusive and evolving society, these terms no longer feature in the language of disability as they are now deemed to be discriminatory and derogatory terms against people with IDD. However, young people today with IDD can experience high levels of stigmatisation and are often ostracised by their peers (Maguire, Wilson and Jahoda, 2019).

By way of background, these negative perceptions were often founded on ‘societal fears, intolerance, ambivalence, prejudice, and ignorance regarding disability’ (Marini, 2011). Additionally, these considerable negative societal fears and poor attitudes led to further exclusion and segregation as people with IDD were perceived widely as non-productive members of society. To this end, the 1913 Mental deficiency act, empowered families and carers to request institutionalisation, if a person was deemed to fall within four categories: idiots, imbeciles, feeble minded persons and moral imbeciles (Shutterworth, 1913). These views unfortunately continued over the decades and were fuelled by the belief that people with IDD could not contribute effectively to the political, economic, or social values expected of Western society at that time (Schalock et al, 2007). Consequently, people with IDD were perceived as ‘less equal’ and devoid of the same rights as their peers in the general population. The lack of social value of people with IDD meant that they were often held in the same esteem as criminals, people living in poverty and sex workers, who were also considered as deviant (Atherton, 2011). This negative view personified how people with IDD were treated and the UK and Ireland’s history, especially in the 19th and early 20th century (Gates & Mafuba, 2016; Kilgannon, 2021), and led to wider segregation, exclusion, inequalities and disparities across health, education and social care settings and services culminating in substandard and inappropriate care across the continuum of caring. It was not until 2007, in the United Kingdom (UK) that the term “learning disability” and “severe learning disability” were introduced into the Mental Health Act in 2007 (Gates & Mafuba, 2016).

Today, there has been a significant and welcome shift to human rights-based approaches, legislation and policies inclusive of people with IDD, which has led to a more appropriate and person-centred focused philosophy of care for this population group and their families. Specific European and UK legislation that has been pivotal in changing the disability landscape and included key legislations and policies such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), The Mental Health Act (2007), Valuing People (2000) and the Equality Act (2010) to name but a few. For example, the Equality Act (2010) is underpinned by antidiscrimination practices and protection for people with disabilities, including those with IDD and their families (Government, UK). This Act also ‘provides protection for carers, friends and family members of a disabled person by stating that people cannot be directly discriminated against or harassed because of their association with a disabled person’.

Currently, in the UK, the term ‘learning disabilities’ is the preferred term in use (Gates & Mafuba, 2016) while ‘intellectual disabilities’, is the preferred term used in the Republic of Ireland. According to Gates and Mafuba (2016) there are similarities between the UK Department of Health, (2001) and the World Health Organisation (2016) definition of IDD. As can be seen, these two definitions, clearly do not suggest that it is the ‘fault’ or within the remit of an individual that they have a reduced ability to understand or learn. Nor do either definition suggest that the IDD can be cured. Rather, it recognises that IDD will affect the individual across the life span.

‘A significantly reduced ability to understand new or complex information (impaired intelligence), to learn new skills with reduced ability to cope independently (impaired social functioning) which started before adulthood with lasting effect on development’ (Department of Health, 2001).

Not only have the UK and Ireland committed to moving away from institutionalised care to care based at home and in the community (Department of Health, 2012; Health Service Executive, 2011; Scottish Executive, 2000), these jurisdictions have also moved care solely from a medical model of disability discourse to a biopsychosocial model of disability. This move has garnered extensive debate and discourse in the disability arena and the dominant and most used models of disability include the medical model, the social model, and the biopsychosocial model of disability (Petasis, 2019), models which have helped to reframe our understanding of IDD from a UK and Irish perspective. The medicalisation of IDD within the UK can be traced back to 1845, when the Insanity Act placed a duty on all institutions providing care to implement the role of medical safeguard (Richardson, 2005). The recognition that the traditional medical model of disability was based on the premise of a ‘cure’, is now an outdated perspective as this model of disability suggests that it was within the ‘gift’ or ‘ability’ of the individual to be cured and they contributed to their own ‘negative’ social circumstance and situation. Consequently, and from a narrative of rights, inclusion, choice, independence normalisation and social role valorisation (Department of Health, 2001; Wolfensberger, 1983), there has been a considerable reframing of the construct and understanding of IDD.

2. Changes in language about IDD, mental illness, disability in Norway

During the period and after World War II, several terms were used to describe people we would now consider as having IDD, such as idiots, imbecilic, minus variants, oligophrenic and mentally handicapped, mentally retarded, weak ability and mentally disabled (Fjermeros, 2014). These terms are no longer accepted, neither scientifically nor politically. The most common term until IDD became the dominant term was “mentally weak” (Norwegian “åndssvak”). The first time the term IDD was used in Norwegian media was in 1964 when the Norwegian pediatric Johannes Sejerstedt Bødker wrote.

“The mentally ill - or the intellectual and developmentally disabled as I prefer to call them - should come under mental health care as a natural part” (VG 03.24.1964; as cited in Fjermeros, 2014, p. 152;).

The understanding and definition of disability has taken an environmental turn in Norway as it has in many other countries. Until 1967 the umbrella term used for disability until was “handicap”, however this term was understood to be too static and was replaced by the term “funksjonshemmet” in 1967 (Meld. St. 88 (1966-67), s. 3) which can be approximately translated as “functionally disabled” or “functionally inhibited”. This change in concept signaled an increased focus on disability as a result of societal barriers, rather than solely individual characteristics.

A major change in understanding came in a white paper in 1978 (Meld. St. 23 (1977-78)). This paper discussed the concept of disability as well as the societal norms which formed the basis for ideas of deviance and normality. A disabled person was defined as someone who

“as a result of lasting illness, an impairment or fault or because of social deviance, is severely limited in their practical daily life in relation to the society around him” (Meld. St. 23, 1977-78).

This definition of disability was further refined in 1998, shaping into what is often recognised as the gap-model of disability. The gap-model states that disability is the result of disparity between individual function and the expectations of social groups in order to attain self-efficacy (Meld. St. 8,1998-99). It is important to note that the gap-model is neutral as to what causes disability, instead disability arises when individual capabilities and societal demands do not match. It has been noted that the gap-model is especially well adapted to the Scandinavian welfare state systems, since it opens disability to "...the full spectrum of policy tools..." (Grue, 2014).

This understanding of disability is often called a relational understanding and is still dominant in Norway. The concept of disability, however, was discussed in relation to both the British social model of disability and WHO's classification scheme in a 2001 white paper (NOU 2001). This white paper suggested splitting or refining the term "funksjonshemming" into two separate parts. "Funksjonsnedsettelse" (functional reduction), was suggested as a term to describe the individual's physical, mental or biological impairment, while "funksjonshemmende forhold" (disabling conditions) describes the societal barriers to activity that a person with an impairment may meet (NOU 2001). These terms are commonly used in Norwegian official documents today.

Over the past decade the term citizen has been used by some disability interest groups (e.g. Uloba – Independent Living Norge, 2021). The purpose is to highlight individuality and human rights. The term citizens is used generically to describe all who receives welfare services, independent of diagnosis. However, the term citizens is seldom used by professionals.

3. Changes in language about IDD, mental illness, disability in Poland

In Poland the understanding and definition of disability has evolved since the 1950s, when the general term used to refer to disability was 'inwalidztwo', this can be translated to mean disablement. The term was used in medical, sociological, political and colloquial language for many years. For the purposes of retirement benefits, the concept of an invalid was used, defined as a person partially or completely incapable of performing employment due to permanent or long-term impairment of the body's fitness (Journal of Laws 1954, 30). Hulek (1969) emphasised the relational nature of disability stating that "invalidity" it was in comparison to non-disabled peers' capability to achieve within school, activities of daily living and employment.

Little changed regarding the attitude towards people with disabilities during the times of socialism. Disability was treated as embarrassing by the then authorities and was excluded from political discourse, however, the language relating to disability began to change and in the 1970s the concept of a disabled person ('osoba niepełnosprawna') developed. It should be noted this was not synonymous with the term 'invalid' with people with disabilities forming an intermediate category encompassing those who were not fully able but are without a formal, legal diagnosis (Giełda, 2015). Later, relational considerations of disability were further explored stating that disability was a condition affecting development and function, caused by deviance from physical, mental and social norms (Dykcik, 1998).

In the 1990s there was a growing tendency to oust inappropriate expressions such as 'an invalid' or 'a cripple' from language and in the field of social and vocational rehabilitation, the language of the disabled person began to develop, i.e. persons with a significant loss of

physical or mental abilities which restricted their ability to perform employment (Journal of Laws, 1991, 46). However, it was the Charter of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Official Journal of the Republic of Poland (Polish Monitor, 1997, 50) that generated significant changes in the language as well as the implementation of the rights of people with disabilities. People with disabilities were defined as individuals whose physical, psychological or mental fitness permanently or periodically hinders, restricts or prevents everyday life, study, work and social roles. Legal and customary standards advocated that people with disabilities had a right to live autonomously and free from discrimination (Polish Monitor, 1997, 50).

Defining disability, both in the social model and by the World Health Organization (WHO) not as a feature of an individual but as a multidimensional phenomenon resulting from the interaction between people and their physical and social environment as well as the effect of barriers encountered in the physical and social environment (WHO, 2001; 2009) has had a huge impact on the changes in the meaning of the term in the Polish language. Although the term ‘mental retardation’ still exists in medical science, it is inappropriate to use it for socio-political reasons. Similarly, the terms ‘mental heaviness’, ‘retard’, ‘imbecile’, ‘idiot’ have been replaced with the term ‘a person with intellectual disability (less frequently ‘a person with intellectual and developmental disability’).

The understanding of the concept of intellectual disability is also transforming. More recently emphasis has been placed on developmental capabilities, as well as the overall functioning of a person, not exclusively to the mental area (Ćwirynkało, Antoszevska, 2010). Increasingly, there is greater an emphasis on social model of disability, which looks to enable people with disabilities to gain control over their own lives (Paęowska, 2017; Twardowski, 2018; Lejzerowicz & Podstawka, 2020). The discipline of Disability Studies has also been established, offering a comprehensive view of the phenomenon of disability (Davis, 1997; Thomas, 1999; Walmsley, 2001; Wehmeyer, 2014).

More recently, the decision on how a person may want to identify in relation to disability should be a personal choice. Researchers indicate the conscious choice of a person with a disability in perceiving disability as a constitutive feature of their identity or one of the many features (Davis, 1997; Dunn, Andrews, 2015; Lejzerowicz & Podstawka, 2021) with some identifying themselves as disabled people while others - as people with disabilities (Liebowitz, 2015). The perception of disability is influenced by numerous factors, both personal and environmental. The use of inclusive language, postulated both in Poland and across the world, to define minority individuals or groups, is of significant importance for changes in the language and for creating a society without discrimination which is reflected by the language (Języki radykalnej wrażliwości (eng. The Languages of Radical Sensitivity), 2020; Guidelines for Writing About People With Disabilities).

4. Changes in language about IDD, mental illness, disability in Romania

Concerns about the “problem” of disabilities and mental illness experienced an intense development at the beginning of twentieth century Romania, especially in Cluj-Napoca, Bucharest and Iasi, the most important academic centers of the country - where American and European institutional and academic models were implemented. At this time, interest in the education of children with various disabilities increased, with the research and evidence base

having an applicative character and aimed at reaching an elementary level of social and professional integration. The predominant linguistic terms were “disorder”, “deficiency” or “abnormality”, as reflected in the preeminent literature (Kiss, 2013).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, with the establishment of the totalitarian communist regime in Romania, the conceptual framework for the interpretation of disabilities was based more on psychiatric nosography. The term deficiency was often used, adopting a medical model of disability, assessed through clinical and paraclinical means (Gherguț, 2005). Given the deep ideological nature of the communist regime, in 1952 any explanatory model of disability and evidence from western academic sources was abandoned (Brătescu, 1994). The forced pronatalist policies that correlated population size with the economic productivity, and the lack of an official family planning framework, led to an increased prevalence of disabilities, for which services were not necessarily adequate (Gherguț, 2005). There was a period, until 1975 where concerns about services for children with disabilities intensified, particularly around the academic centers in Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest. However, in Romania the private practice of specialists in the fields of psychology or special pedagogy was forbidden, all services were conducted in few state institutions. In this context, there was some anachronism between research evidence and institutional practice with too few specialists and often a lack of professional intervention strategies). Many of the children with severe disabilities were abandoned and institutionalized in hospital dormitories and orphanages, where the conditions were totally inadequate, segregated away from their non or less disabled peers (Gherguț, 2005). For children with mild and moderate disabilities were the so-called "helping schools" - where the concepts of mental retardation (inadequate development), mental weakness (intellectual disability) and handicap (social and professional maladaptation due to disabilities) were most common. The concept of defectology (a term of Russian origin) was most often used in the case of sensory disorders, but the connotations were also attached to those with intellectual disabilities. For children with behavioral and deviant disorders, “correction schools” were established. Public policies as well as specialized works did not consider the disability within the social context. While there were certainly “courageous” approaches in both the field of psychology and psychopedagogy in a totalitarian regime, firstly, in 1975, some psychopedagogy departments (Preda, 2015) and then in 1977 psychology departments, were abolished within the Romanian universities (Kiss, 2013), instead promoting the ideology that communism led to the healing of disabilities (Miclea, 2000).

After the democratization of 1989/1990, gradually, the approach to disabilities and mental disorders aligned to DSM and ICD. A conceptual clarification was also proposed, with the re-establishment of special psychopedagogy programs within universities. The term handicap (most often used until 1989) was initially replaced by delay and deficiency in most (but not all) official documents, precisely because of the pejorative connotations. International terminology was generally adopted, concepts such as special education, special educational requirements (involving adapted and individualized strategies and programs), support services, equal opportunities (in relation with the allocation of educational resources and social opportunities) or normalization (in relation with need of intervention at contextual, social level) making their place in the vocabulary of specialists. After 2000, and especially after integration into the European Union in 2007, the terms social inclusion, early intervention and disability were most often used, especially among psychologists and psychopedagogues. Colloquially, the use of pejorative terms such “handicap” or “retard”

persists and there is some skepticism regarding the social inclusion of people with disabilities. Potential causes of these social perspectives is due to the insufficient resources allocated to inclusive education resulting in disparity expectation and potential achievement in many cases, however, there are awareness-raising and information campaigns at the level of public opinion and an increased interest on the part of professionals in terms of the quality of services.

5. International classification of functioning, disability and health

While changes to language across the included countries can be traced back to the mid-20th century, a turning point was the 19th resolution of the World Health Assembly in 1976. The final version of the classification was then adopted under the name International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities and Handicaps (WHO, 1980), and this would be amended to include contextual factors (environmental and personal) in the classification and renamed as the International classification of Functioning, Disability and Health. Most importantly, people with disabilities and disability organisations were involved in the whole process of building the new nomenclature. This was both groundbreaking and symbolic - people with disabilities 'got a voice' - they were able to have their say about the nomenclature used. The classification was accepted by WHO and recommended for use in across the globe. Importantly, the ICF assessed functioning and disability on a qualitative and quantitative scale and allowed for entries in both national and international languages in the form of electronic codes. The result was a tool not only statistical, but also with relevance across research, clinical care, education and for social policy purposes. Not only a usability a positive feature, but ICF also enhanced the potential to change social practices in terms of disability-related nomenclature. However, the 19th resolution did not immediately change the so-called everyday language practices in the countries analyzed in this article. The changes were evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

The changes in language regarding describing disability or mental illness show a slow but certain power shift in societies that become more critically aware of the power that language carries. Mwangi & Mwangi (2019, 56) writes that "discursive practices are social practices that are subjectively constructed with the objective of reinforcing relations of power in society". The way we see, and position people is socially constructed and reinforced by the power of naming. "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 (Lavanya, Anjumkan 2021, 86)." On page 16 Odrowaz-Coates (2018) provides a comprehensive review of classic academic works dedicated to language and power. In her view language carries a strong but often implicit, not consciously realized power, to exclude or include certain groups or individuals, building social hierarchies and creating language driven social Imaginarium on where certain groups and individuals should belong in the social structure.

6. Conclusion

Intellectual, physical, developmental and mental disabilities, including those acquired as a result disease and injury, have always been a constant. Historically, the language used to describe disabilities has always had a significant impact on the way people with disabilities

are treated across cultures, political ideologies and religions. Until the 1970s the situation resembled a "tower of babel" - no common standards and language being used internationally to define and describe disability. What united the various terms was that they were stigmatizing and exclusionary. In the academic, professional and political discourse, as well as colloquially pejorative terms were the norm, dominating the field of disability for many decades (Russell et al, 2005) and framing disability within a medical model.

The change in language about disability is gradual, but in a more inclusive direction, initially within social policy, filtering through academic and professional language, before settling within every day, colloquial communication. In each of the countries explored here the term "disabled person" is more and more often replaced by the term "person with disability". This new terminology is of great - positive - importance as it is reflected directly in how a person is perceived and treated. Terms such as "disabled", "differently abled", "invalid" inextricably link the person and their characteristics. A kind of Goffmanian group stigma emerges, which marks the person as the bearer of the stigma (Goffman, 2005) leading to unjustified differentiation of rights and entitlements of these people.

Shifting the focus of the discourse from a disability a defining feature but to a characteristic reframes disability that interacts and exists within different environments. For example, a person with a visual impairment, in an environment rich in hands-free systems, Braille signage will be able to be considered an able-bodied person. The use of the phrase 'with disabilities' in the context of discourse created by and through language has a very significant and positive impact it informs social practice that constructs reality. In other words, language about disability not only represents reality but also constructs it. It is a powerful tool for domination and exclusion or emancipation.

Most importantly, an IDD label should not be used to define any individual. Rather, it should be used to identify the supports required to ensure that people with IDD are inclusive and valued members of society and can access appropriate supports as is their fundamental right. The discourse of IDD must be founded on person-centred and family-centred care approaches and improving QoL. Fundamentally, the common and shared practices of diagnosing and defining IDD as well as increasing positive experiences, comfort and competence of key stakeholders will inevitably assist health, education, and social care professionals to have this shared understanding of IDD from an international perspective for better lives for people with IDD and their families (Lipińska-Lokś, 2021; Smith et al, 2021).

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Media usage, media violence and the Nigerian Child

Adjeketa Blessing¹⁵

Abstract

This study examines media usage and the effect of viewing media violence on Nigerian children. Child violence has become massive in recent years. There is also the fear that it will be worse in the future. Many claimed that the rise of child violence emanates from the use of violent media. The objective of this study is therefore to examine the impact of electronic media use on some of the violent acts carried out by some Nigerian children. The study uses sociological and analytical methods. 70 questioners were printed and distributed to parents. 59 questioners came back but 2 were incomplete and were destroyed. 57 were used. The focus of the study is on children between the ages of 0-12. The study area is Sapele Delta State. The study finds that children between the ages of 0-6 love more of educational programs while children between the ages of 7 to 12 prefer films with violent content. Also, viewing violent films makes children develop aggressive and violent behaviour especially fighting and bully towards their friends. It is my recommendation that caregivers give closer attention to their children and reduce their engagement with violent media. This, no doubt, will help to reduce the rate of violent act among Nigerian children in the future.

Keywords

Child Development, Electronic Media, Environment, Nigerian Child, Violence.

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Introduction

Recently, in Nigeria, there is the report of aged children who constantly harassed, abuse and coerced younger children especially at school. There are also several record of deaths resulting from such physical violence which had led to some children sustaining serious injury and even death. In early December, 2021, for example, a 12 year old Sylvester Oromoni, a student of Dowen College, Lekki in Lagos State was said to have been beaten to death by some of his peers in the school for refusing to accept to join a fraternity (Afeez Hanafi, 2022). Many have linked the outcome of the incident and other similar ones to children exposure to films that features confraternity and violence.

In today's society, electronic media are thoroughly integrated into the fabric of children's lives, with television and movies central to both work and play. Recent studies indicate that not only the old, but the young are using a wide variety of screen media (Rideout, Vandewater & Wartella, 2003). There are rapidly growing markets for early childhood television programming, computer software for toddlers, and video series for infants which makes almost every child drawn to using any of such media, and or wanting to see what is being shown in it.

No doubt, there are many areas in which media use affects children. They range from health and safety to social development and education. The consequences of each are wide-ranging and can be both positive and negative. It is therefore of importance to examine these impacts due to the large population of children in our modern society that is exposed mostly to these media. "In recent years, the opportunities for young people to use media have grown exponentially, with more TVs, video game players, and computers in the home and bedroom and myriads of new mobile devices like cell phones and iPods for watching videos, playing games, and listening to music on the go. As these opportunities for media use have grown, young people have also taken them up eagerly and begun spending ever more time with media each day.

These days, hardly there is another activity that young people devote as much of their daily life to as they do to media usage. Even at that, the media's place in their lives is still growing. The types of messages they are exposed to, the information they learn, the people and products they connect to, and the creativity some media afford them also varies from one community to another and in age grades (Rideoute 2015).

Each Week, in Nigeria, thousands of children are being born (Nigeria Birth Rate, 1950-2022). Because of the large number of children we have in the society today, it is important, especially now, to examine certain impacts of media use on them. In India for example, children below 15 years constitute almost half of the country's population. It is only after the age of 13 or 14 that most children begin to develop formed values and habits. Up to this age, the children's personality, code of ethics, and values are all open to socializing influences in his environment and such environment includes the media (Wilson 20). Also, 43.2% of Nigeria's population are children below 14 years. This means that the population of Nigerian children (male) of age 0-14 years will be about 39.151.304/ female 37.353.737 (Nigeria people, 2015). As a result of such a large population and a gazing into the future, one begins to wonder how engagement in violent media will affect the society in the future. There is an urgent need to examine the effect of violent media on children of today for a recommendation and urgent attention.

Notwithstanding, among researches that had been carried out on children, media violence has been studied the most. The reason is not hidden. The growing rate of violence among young ones is very high in modern society. Rowell and Laramie (2006) attested that the “influence of the violent mass media is best viewed as one of the many potential factors that influence the risk for violence. No reputable researcher is suggesting that media violence is “the” cause of violent behaviour. Rather, multiple factors converging overtime contribute to such behaviour”. Furthermore, headlines and news media coverage are presenting stories of more and more violent behaviours, often committed by children of younger and younger ages. Lieb, (1998) presents some stories:

Most recently, two boys, ages 7 and 8, were charged with murdering an 11-year-old girl in Chicago. The offenders were reported to be the youngest on record for this type of crime. We were told that the boys killed the young girl so they could have her new bicycle. Two British youngsters kidnapped a two-year-old from a shopping mall and stoned him to death with rocks. 14-year-old Mitchell Johnson, who was involved in a similar crime stated, “I didn’t mean to do it. I thought we were going to shoot over their heads.

Lieb’s story shows that a major influence on the growth of violent behavior occurs in the prime of a child’s emotional developmental life. Also, in line with assumption, Judith (2003) asserts that:

As our children grow and develop attitudes and beliefs about the world and how it works, they are plugged into the electronic media from morning till night. The pictures, images, and sounds they hear are being imprinted practically from birth.

She warned that if we, as concerned citizens, do not begin to address the presentations of violence, senseless killing, and merged sex and violence in the electronic media, we become at risk for even greater proliferation of such images and the loss of more and younger children to their influence.

The result of Rowell and Laramie, Lieb and Judith studies cited above indicate that researchers should not hands down in their study of effect of violent media on young ones. Rather, they need to examine particular media influence on children in each society. This is because same content may have different effect on children of different communities. Following this need, therefore, I examined the impact of electronic media use especially those with violent content on some of the violent acts carried out by some Nigerian children. To ascertain the impact, the study seeks parent's and caregiver's opinions. The sociological research method is used because it allows me to have access to my target audience. Children between ages 0-12 were focused on. The reason for this choice is because children of this age bracket are most vulnerable to violent act and violent behaviour. Because some of these children are not old enough to complete a copy of the questioner, parents and caregivers made their observations. A good number of the research population and sample size have representatives from the low, middle, and upper-class citizens who are from different parts of the country residing in Sapele, Delta State, Nigeria. While most may have a television set, a computer set/ computer game, a phone that can access the internet, others may not have access to cable television which gives them more room to access different stations.

1. Literature Review

It is important to clearly define the terms media violence and violent behaviour. Definitions of these terms abound. Among the definitions is that of Rowell and Laramie (2006) which posits that media violence is the visual portrayal of acts of physical aggression by one human against another. This definition does not include off-screen poisonings that might be implied, but rather it refers to visually portrayed physically aggressive acts by one person against another. Rowell further explains that:

Aggressive behavior refers to an act intended to injure or irritate another person. The act could be physical or nonphysical. This includes many kinds of behavior that do not seem to fit the commonly understood meaning of violence. Hurling insults and spreading harmful rumours fits the definition. Of course, the aggressive behaviors of greatest concern to society involve physical aggression, however, physical aggression may range in severity from acts such as pushing or shoving to more serious physical assaults and fighting, even extending to violent acts that carry a significant risk of serious injury.

In 2011, Victoria and Ellen presented a report on overall media exposure among children of White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian American Children. They explained that “adding up all of the time young people spend listening to music, watching TV, playing video games, using the computer, reading print, and going to the movies; White children consume an average of about 8:36 of media content a day, Black children about 12:59, Hispanic children 13:00, and Asian children about 13:13 per day. Roberts & Foehr in Kaiser Family Foundation has a close report to that of Victoria and Ellen; Youth ages 8-18 spend approximately 6.5 hours each day using media, an activity that far surpasses the time they spend with parents, doing homework or playing sports (Roberts & Foehr, 2005).

Similarly, Sanders reports that the “average child,” between the ages of six and eighteen, will have spent 4,000 hours listening to radio and CDs, watched 16,000 hours of television, and watched several thousand more hours of movies (Sanders, 1994). This report is an indication that children will spend more time with the media than with their parents or in the classroom. These reports are similar to the one recorded by Olusola and Kehinde in Nigeria. According to them, as at the year 2014, 57% of the population of children in Western Nigeria watch television cartoons everyday while 24% watch them 3 times a week and 19% watch them once a week. A higher percentage of (Nigerian kids) watch TV cartoon every day, and that, (66%) of the children watch cartoon for about 1 to three hours a week (p. 13). The studies of Victoria and Ellen, Sanders, and Olusola and Kehinde cited above focused mostly on the time children spent watching rather than the content of the media they watch.

Another dimension that needs to be considered is age. The effects of media usage on children also vary based on their age. Children who are exposed to media use from a very tender age may be more affected than children who are not. For example, Anderson and Huston (2001) assert that young ones (0-6 years) are more open to the dangers of the media. They explained that children between birth and ‘early’ school age may be the most vulnerable to certain negative effects of media use such as obesity, aggression, fear, and sleep disturbances. Also, the American Academy of Pediatrics in 2001 states that the risks of infants using media outweigh the benefits and thus recommend against screen media use for children zero to two years of age. Research evidence linking media exposure to a variety of health risks from obesity to violent behaviour also exists (Bushman & Huesmann, 2001; Kaiser Family

Foundation, 2004). The AAP also recommends that children two years of age and older be limited to one to two hours of electronic entertainment per day; this probably is as a result of its positive effect on these young ones (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1999). Despite the attention the AAP policy received from the press and the public, some parents have ignored the warnings and further recommend, allow and even encourage their very young children to use screen media (Rideout, 2004; Vandewater & Wartella, 2003). These parents think that television programmes and film animations, “mostly help” rather than “mostly hurts” (Rideout & Wartella, 2003). Some of the media, programmes, and films children are exposed to have been reported to have negative values such as violence, aggressive behaviours, and disrespect to parents or adults, which has to a certain extent influenced behaviours of the young generation today.

Various researches have shown that a child could be influenced by listening to and watching animated stories (Mahar, 2003; Frey & Fisher, 2004). The influences which could either be positive or negative are also depended on the content viewed. Adam (1999), relates that many movies from Disney Studio and other production houses had influenced children negatively in certain aspects, such as smoking and alcohol abuse. From a review of 40 selected studies on smoking in movies, Haydon showed that Smoking in movies increases adolescent smoking initiation. Exposure to movie smoking makes viewers' attitudes and beliefs about smoking and smokers more favourable and has a dose-response relationship with adolescent smoking behaviour (Haydon, 2006). One pertinent thing to note is that characters who engage in smoking are generally the bad guys and not the good guys in the movies and the bad guys are most time violent in the films.

Further, there are quite some children’s animated television series that is based on superheroes stories involving violence and fighting scenes. Children exposure to such scenes could convey wrong ideas that a problem can be solved through aggression because children tend to imitate what they see and hear, including those images that they are exposed to from television. Also, Haninger (2004) pointed out that “Violence presented on screens such as movies or video games could lead to children’s belief that being aggressive is a good way to get what they want”.

Additional, researches since the 1970s as noted above show that television violence can affect children and encourage the development of aggressive behaviour and attitudes (Murray 1995). According to Gerbner and Cross (1980), by the time the average American child graduates from high school, they will have seen more than 13.000 violent deaths on television. Some of those violent scenes are first seen by children in cartoon films. This applies virtually to all countries as well as Nigeria- especially areas with large populations like Lagos, Ibadan, and Delta State among other places. Bushman and Huesmann (2001) also extend this by stating that by the time the average American child graduates from elementary school, they will have seen more than 8.000 murders and more than 100.000 other acts of violence on television.

Tiffany and Alex, (2008), observe however that the numbers are higher for those children with access to cable television. Cantor comparatively writes that “the most direct and obvious way in which viewing violence contributes to violent behaviour is through imitation or social learning.” He further adds that there is a wealth of psychological research demonstrating that learning often occurs through imitation, and, of course, most parents know that children imitate televised words and actions from an early age. Because most children are so fully immersed in our media culture, it is usually difficult to link a

specific media programme to a specific harmful outcome, even though some similarities between media scenarios and subsequent acts seem too close to be considered coincidences. The Kaiser Family Foundation also presents specific researches on media violence on children as follows:

Three to five-year-old boys randomly assigned to watch violent Superman or Batman cartoons at their nursery school once a day, three days a week, for four weeks, were more aggressive and less cooperative during a social interaction test situation than three to five-year-old boys who were randomly assigned to watch Mister Rogers' Neighbourhood during the same four week period (Friedrich & Stein, 1973).

Preschool boys who watched a 3-minute film depicting aggressive play with a clown interacted more aggressively with the clown from the film during free play immediately after viewing. Boys in pairs acted more aggressively than boys alone, suggesting that imitation of modeled aggressive behaviour may increase when children play in pairs (Drabman & Thomas, 1977).

Five to 12-year-old boys who watched less than four hours of television per week were more aroused (as measured by galvanic skin response and change in blood volume) by viewing media violence than boys who watched more than 25 hours per week, suggesting heavy viewers had been desensitized by prior media violence exposure (Croft & Courier, 1973)

The above researches showed that when children are exposed to violent movies and cartoon films, they tend to copy whatever they have watched with their friends. It also means that children learn their attitude about violence at a very young age and these attitudes extend into their adulthood. From media violence, children learn to behave aggressively toward others. They are thought to use violence instead of self-control to take care of problems or conflict. Violence in the media world may make children more accepting of real-world violence and less caring toward others. Children who see a lot of violence in movies or television shows or video games may become fearful and look at the real world as a mean and scary place. The American Psychological Association (1999) submits that for some children, the effect of the violence they are exposed to in the media is not exhibited immediately but until their teen or young-adult years.

2. Data Presentation

Table 1. Age

Age Distribution of caregivers	Frequency	%
24 years and below	6	11
25-44 Years	17	30
45 years and above	34	60

Table one shows the distribution of caregivers. An insignificant 6 of 11% are caregivers below 24 years of age. 17 of 30% fall between 25-44 years while the greater percentage of 34 of 60% is above. The high number of respondents being from 45 years and above shows experience in parenthood and caregiving.

Table 2. Marital status

Sex	Frequency	%
Married	45	79
Devorced	3	5
Separated	7	12
Widow	2	4
Total	57	100

Table 2 above shows that majority of the guardian who responded to the question takes care of their children as a couple. 45 of 79% are married. Insignificant 3 of 5% are devoiced, 7 of 12% are separated and insignificant 2 of 4% are widowed. The table shows that the combined number of those devoiced, separated, and widowed are also insignificant when compared to the 45 who are collectively taking care of their children.

Table 3. Religion

Religion	Frequency	%
Christainity	44	77
Islam	7	12
Traditional	3	5
Non	3	5
Total	57	99

All religious groups and those not associating with any religion are represented in this table. The highest number of respondents representing a total of 44 (77%) fellowship as Christians. 7 of 12% are Islams. The remaining 10% of the total respondents are shared equally with traditional African worshipers and those who do not worship at all. This is evidence of a good spread of questioner

Table 4

Which geopolitical zoon are you	Frequency	%
North Central	8	14
North East	9	16
North West	8	14
South West	7	12
South East	8	14
South South	17	30
Total	57	100

The six geopolitical zones of the country are well represented. South-south has the highest number of respondents of 17 of 30% respondents this could be because the research is carried out in the region. Northeast closes the gap with 9 respondents of 16%. Northcentral, Northwest, and Southeast have 8 of 14% respondents each. Southwest has the lowest number of respondents of 7 of 12%. The close margins between respondents of each region show widespread of the questioner. Married women who responded to this question claims husband's geopolitical zone.

Table 5. Media using

Which of the following do you have?	Frequency	%
Television (Cable)	56	98
Smart phone	57	100
Video player (VCD/DVD)	55	96
Video game	41	71
Total	57	

Table 5 shows the source from which children watch films. Of the 57 respondents, 56 say they have cable television (DS TV, GO TV, etc). All 57 say they have smartphones that can play mp4 videos. 55 numbers have VCD or DVD. While 41 respondents say they have video games.

Table 6. Permission to use media

Do you allow your children to watch and use media with you?	Frequency	%
Yes	57	100
No	-	-
Total	57	100

All responded positively to the question in table 6 Their response to the question shows that parent and caregivers do not chase their children away whenever they use media. It also shows that whatever content they see the children are also exposed to it

Table 7. Permission to use media alone

Do you allow your children to watch and use media alone?	Frequency	%
Yes	51	72
No	6	11
Total	57	83

Significantly, 72% of 41 numbers of respondents allow children use media alone. An insignificant 6 of 11% do not.

Table 8. Content of media

Do you know the content of what they watch when alone?	Frequency	%
Yes	8	14
No	49	86
Total	57	100

The table shows that insignificant 8 respondents of 14% care about what the media feeds their children with. They do not give them free hands to watch whatever they like. While significant 49 of 86% do not know the content of the films their children are feed with.

Table 9. Selection of games and films

Are you selective of the games and films you watch with them?	Frequency	%
Yes	21	37
No	36	63
Total	57	100

Greater number of respondents 63% of 36 respondents are not selective of films and games contents while watching with them. Only 21 of 37% say they are selective.

Table 10. Forbidden brands

If you are selective of the games and films you watch with them, which brand do you not allow them to watch with you?	Frequency	%
Films with adult scenes	21	100
Films with mystical contents	3	14
Films with fighting scenes	7	33
Total	57	

Table 10 is an extension of table 9 where 21 numbers of respondents say they allow their children to watch with them. This table shows film and game content caregivers do not allow their children to see when they are around with them. All 21 of 100% who responded positively to the question on table 9 says they do not allow children to watch films with adult content. An insignificant 3 of 14% will not allow children to watch mystical contents films while 7 of 33% do not allow them to watch violent scenes. The response shows partial parental guidance. Parents care more about the adult content effect on their children than violence or other vices

Table 11. Interests in games and films

Which of the following do your children like watching?	Frequency	%
Comedy films	4	7
Adventure Films	5	9
Chinese Films/ video games	41	54
War films/ video games	32	74
Films with mystical contents	12	21
Films/ games with educational contents	23	40
Total	57	

The table above shows children's interest in films and games genres. 4 of 7% have very little interest in comedy. 5 of 9% likes adventure films. 31 of 54% likes Chinese films and games.

42 of 74% like to engage themselves with war films and video games. 12 of 21% enjoys watching the film with mystical contents. 23 of 40% like watching films and playing games with educational; content. The responses show that children who like comedy, adventures mystical, and educational content may still be liking films and games with violent content like Chinese and war films and games.

Table 12. Effects on behaviours

Do you think that the films affect the child's behavior?	Frequency	%
Yes	57	100
No	-	-
Total	57	100

All respondents to the question in table 12 agree that the media have tremendous effects on children's behaviour.

Table 13. Imitation of behaviours

Has there been a time your children imitate what they watch?	Frequency	%
Yes	57	100
No	-	-
Total	57	100

Like table 12 above, all caregivers answers yes to the question on table 12 children are good imitators. They copy what they see in the media.

If Yes, State the Instance

- Always stage fight with peers using sticks as guns and spears.
- Behave rude to elders
- Speak like the character they like
- Walk and carry the charisma of the superhero
- Jump from the bed to floor and back
- Want to always carry protective equipment
- Behave very romantic
- Always want to kiss

Table 14. Violence in media

Do you think violence in the media will make children act violently in the future?	Frequency	%
Yes	41	71
No	16	28
Total	57	99

The greater percentage of those who responded to the question believes that the media can affect children. While 16 of 28% believe the effect is momentous.

3. Summary of Findings

This study is on the influence of viewing media violence on the child and the Nigerian environment. The questionnaire designed, sent out, and returned were analysed to ascertain the present and possible future effects of media violence on children. The questionnaire focuses on parents and caregivers. Those who responded to the questions are male and female above the age of 24 years. The respondents were either married, divorced, widowed, or separated. However, the majority who responded to the questions are married. The six geopolitical zones namely North Central (NC) North East (NE), North West (NW), South West (SW), South East (SE), South-South (SS) were all represented. Members of all religions and those who do not belong to any recognized religious group are also represented. There is at least a television set, a video player, and a smartphone in the homes of all respondents. Some have the combination of cable television, smartphone, video player, and a video game player in their houses. This shows multiple sources from which children watch films. While all respondents allow their children to use media with them, only 6 out of 57 respondents would not allow children to use media alone. 49 numbers do not know what their children watch while alone. This statistic is insignificant and it shows a lack of parental guidance. Children are not helped to understand and see violent imagery that is appropriate to their developmental level. The 21 number who use media with their children care more about preventing children from watching films or playing games with adult content than those with violent and mystical content. Caregivers also confirm in table 11 that children like playing games and watching films with violent scenes than those with educational content. The response to the oral question shows that children below 6 love educational media while those above 7 prefer violent games and films. Children's behaviour after watching violent films makes them imitate the superheroes in the films. They always stage fight with peers using sticks as guns and spears, jump from the bed to floor and back, and always carry protective equipment. This indicates and corresponds to the response in table 14 where 41 out of the 57 say the media violence will have a future effect on them. These poses on caregivers the need to be more aware of the risks associated with children viewing violent imagery as it promotes aggressive attitudes and antisocial behaviour now and in the future.

Children, like adults, enjoy themselves with media. The media entertains them but the effect on them is not only momentous but extends well into the future which may pose great harm to society. Azigbo, a parent who is interviewed said, "the future of children is in the hands of parents. The more they care less, the more they involve in violent media; the more their future is jeopardized. Between 0-16 years is the best time for caregivers to be observant of the programs children watch especially when alone. A single mother whose name is Agnes emphatically asserts: "I do not leave my kids to use media the way they like, no matter how young you may think they are, they learn violence from the films and carry out the same actions with their friends, especially at school". She continues that; "my son has injured his classmate while playing horseplay. I spent lots of money treating the injured child". When asked where she thinks her son learns the horseplay from, she says "from Chinese films". Her statements show that caregiver's negligence of children watching violent films causes damages to others hence caregivers should not always leave them to use media on their own. Children at a tender age need parental guidance. They need someone who will explain to them that the people who were stabbed and shot do not die in real life. Also, the stunts and jumps are computer-generated. Ogodu, the father of two

whose children uses media has this to say: "we parent should not leave smartphones with our children without close monitoring. While with them, it is good that we change to another channel when violent and adult contents appear. Even with the closest monitoring, they still have to go to school where they will mingle with other children. What is essential according to Idris a father of four children, is to monitor and know the closest friend of the child and his or her play mate. It might be that parent of the child's play mate does not give proper guidance to him or her. Therefore, he might infect the child with his awful play. When you notice that, it is best to stop the child from being friends with such a friend. A respondent who gave her name mama Okafor says that the rate at which people kill in films these days is too much. They are spoiling the children for us. When asked if she does not guide her child, she continues. How can I guide my daughter when I go to the market every day to look for what we will eat? She goes to school and when she returns, I will not be at home at that time, she watches anything from our GO TV. I am so worried about the future of these children. At 13 years, she fights her friends like a man. She is ready to injure whomever she is fighting with, with whatever physical property she sees around at that moment. She sees nothing wrong with using anything within her reach to fight. This thing pains me" mama Okafor concludes.

4. Conclusion

Children learn both the good and the bad from media. In the area of education, for example, children learn to read and write, speak good English, solve mathematical problems and can mention names of certain places and animals, learning to work as a team, and learning better ways of dressing. These are good morals (Adjeketa, 2016). However, bullying is among the conduct children learn. Fighting is a violent act and as confirmed from the study, children learn lots of violent acts from the media. If not properly guided, poses a threat not only to others, but to themselves, and society.

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“We owe this noble duty to our children”: A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of Ghanaian parliamentary discourses around children

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Abstract

Drawing on frame theory, corpus-linguistic methods and parliamentary Hansards data, the paper examines the discursive framing of children in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse. The analysis shows that children are framed within the context of child rights and protection, child labour, child marriage and child trafficking. While Ghanaian parliamentarians think that children should be protected from child labour, they challenge the international description of child labour; they think that child labour should be defined within cultural-specific contexts, for child apprenticeship is not child labour and child labour not child apprenticeship. Again, the MPs raise concerns about what constitutes child trafficking as described by international bodies and organisations. Child marriage is unequivocally condemned by Ghanaian MPs. While the fight against these ills affecting children is strongly advocated by the MPs, the success of such fight is unclear. These discourses around children are indications of how children are included in national discourses.

Keywords

Child Labour, Child Marriage, Child Protection, Children, Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis, Frame Theory, Parliamentary Discourse.

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Introduction

Studies on childhood discourses have essentially focused on the advanced countries such as Canada (Pacini-Ketchabaw and de Almeida, 2006; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2006), Norway (Kjørholt, 2002, 2003), Australia (Smith, 2014), Britain (Moss et al., 2000) and Denmark (Warming, 2011). A significant number of such studies have focused on issues of inclusion in childhood education (Campbell et al., 2017; Dalkilic and Vadeboncoeur, 2016; Slee, 2014; Warming, 2011). In the context of Denmark, a study by Warming (2011), which relied on interviews with five teachers of day-care institutions, revealed some ambiguity in the discourses of inclusion. Specifically, it was found that while it was the mission of schools to promote inclusion, in practice, they did not encourage inclusion. Dalkilic and Vadeboncoeur (2016: 26) similarly demonstrated how conventionalized regulatory practices used for inclusion further marginalized children “who are deemed to be different learners from their peers.” Campbell et al. (2017) have also demonstrated that in Australia, childhood educators rely on knowledge like feminism to promote gender inclusion in the classroom.

The focus has also been on some socio-political activities that children engage in as a way of constructing identities (Kjørholt, 2003) as well as children’s safety (Smith, 2014). Children’s participation in democratic processes has been a subject of childhood discourses (Kjørholt, 2002). In his study in Norway, Kjørholt (2002) identified four main themes in the discourses of participation: (a) children as bearers of rights; (b) children as future citizens; (c) children as resources; and (d) children as an endangered group. Other studies have argued for children’s participation (Chawla, 2001; Hart, 1992, 1994; Miljeteig, 1994). Miljeteig (1994) has highlighted that children’s participation enhances their identity construction and a sense of responsibility. Chawla (2001) notes that since children are critical to the development of the larger society, their perspectives on socio-political issues are important. Some studies have, however, suggested that adults often manipulate this participation rather than giving children real influence (Hart, 1994).

Another line of research has focused on racialization in childhood discourse (Brown et al., 2010; Nielsen, 2021; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2006). In Denmark, Nielsen (2021) examined media representations of the discourses of racialized children in Danish schools. The study revealed that in the media, this issue was constructed around spreading racialized children, popularly known as bilingual pupils, across Danish schools to enhance their proper integration with white Danish children. Through the discourses of integration, the nation is presented as being able to break racialized children from their racial heritage and class disadvantage, heightening a sense of belonging to the Danish society among such children. Brown et al. (2010) have also highlighted how racism has been normalised in early childhood settings in America.

The foregoing highlights the fact that studies on childhood discourses of inclusion, participation and identity construction, among others, have largely been in advanced countries such as Canada, Norway, Australia and Britain, to the neglect of Africa. In view of this, the present study investigates the issues of childhood in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse in order to unearth the MPs’ psychosocial understanding of issues affecting children in Ghana. The study seeks to explore how the law-makers conceptualize child labour, child marriage, child trafficking and child protection in Ghana so as to provide some empirical basis for tackling issues of childhood in Ghana.

The rest of the paper is divided into four sections. Section one looks at studies on children and childhood in Ghana. Section 2 discusses the theoretical approach, while section 3 describes

the methodology. Section 4 is devoted to the analysis and discussion. This is followed by the conclusion.

1. Studies on children and childhood in Ghana

To contextualise the study, this section reviews studies on child labour, child marriage, child trafficking and child protection in Ghana.

1.1 Child labour

The past three decades have witnessed an upsurge of research on child labour, with the focus on its causes (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018a; Frimpong et al., 2021; Hamenoo et al., 2018), its role in agriculture in Ghana (Berlan, 2013; Van Hear, 1982), people's perceptions about it (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018a, 2018b, 2021a; Al-Hassan and Abubakari, 2015), contributions to income generation (Koomson and Asongu, 2016), determinants (Afriyie et al., 2018) and challenges associated with stopping child labour in mining communities (Hilson, 2010).

The extant literature on the causes of child labour has identified a number of factors that push children into child labour, including poverty (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018a; Ahmed, 1999) and cultural attitudes (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018a; Zelizer, 2005). While Ahmed's (1999) cross-country study found that poverty is an insignificant cause of child labour, Adonteng-Kissi (2018a) argued that poverty is the most common cause of child labour in fishing communities in urban Ghana. Frimpong et al. (2021) advance Kissi-Boateng's argument that children get into child labour due to parents' inability to provide their needs. Other studies have attributed the rise in child labour to socio-cultural norms that support child labour (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018a, 2021a; Zelizer, 2005). On the other hand, Adonteng-Kissi (2021a) found that the cause of child labour depends on the place of residence. Specifically, he discovered that parents in rural areas attributed child labour to cultural norms, while in urban centres, child labour was perceived to be caused by economic factors. Other factors identified as causes of child labour in Ghana include parental absence and lack of poor enforcement of laws governing child education and child labour (Hamenoo et al., 2018).

An emerging body of literature on child labour has focused on its role in Ghana's agricultural and mining sectors (Berlan, 2003, 2013; Hilson, 2010; Van Hear, 1982). According to van Hear (1982), children's participation in agricultural activities has a long history in Ghana. Essentially, while children normally engage in household agriculture, some get into agricultural activities as hired labourers. He noted that pawning and child fostering were major means of getting children into child labour. Berlan (2003) agrees to the high rates of child labour in agricultural activities, indicating that about 95% of children in cocoa-growing areas work on the farms of their parents or relatives. He, however, argues that the majority of those children combine such work with schooling, although there are a few children who work fulltime without any monetary compensation because their parents receive a one-off payment. Hilson (2010) also acknowledges the prevalence of child labour in mining activities in northern Ghana, attributing it to the increasing poverty in such areas.

Parental attitudes have also featured in studies on child labour. Adonteng-Kissi (2018b) conducted a study among 60 government officials, NGO representatives, and parents whose children were/were not involved in child labour to examine their perceptions of child labour. The study was conducted in three farming communities in the Asante Bekwai Municipality (Ankaase, Anwiankwanta and Kensere) as well as three communities in Accra (Jamestown,

Korle Gonno and Chorkor). The study revealed that parents perceived child labour as a means of work socialization by which children learn work ethics. Al-Hassan and Abubakari (2015) similarly examined the attitudes of Muslims to child labour in the Tamale metropolis. On the one hand, it was found that some people empathized with children labourers and did not engage their services. On the other hand, the study revealed that some people patronized children's services and refused to pay them since the children had no one to ensure they were paid. The foregoing points to the increasing trends of child labour in Ghana (Berlan, 2003, 2013; Van Hear, 1982).

1.2 Child marriage

The existing literature on child marriage has examined its correlates (Ahonsi et al., 2019; Groot et al., 2018; Yaya et al., 2019). Yaya et al.'s (2019) study among 34 sub-Saharan African countries revealed that 54% of women in the sub-region experienced child marriage, with cross-country variations. De Groot et al. (2018) found that child marriage was associated with negative outcomes such as poverty and increased child mortality among first-borns. A study by Ahonsi et al. (2019), which utilized the 2014 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GDHS) as data, found that 20.68% of women experienced child marriage. In addition, it was found that child marriage was driven by factors such as poverty, teenage pregnancy and betrothal marriage.

A study by Afranie et al. (2019) has documented the institutions tasked to respond to the issue of child marriage in Ghana as well as the effectiveness of the interventions and programmes instituted by such institutions. The study identified a number of state and non-state institutions working to eradicate child marriage in Ghana. These institutions include the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP); the Ministry of Health; Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU); Girl Child Education Unit of the Ghana Education Service (GES); the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and UNICEF Ghana, Ark Foundation, Gender and Human Rights Documentation Centre, ActionAid Ghana, and Muslim Family Counselling Service. The study further discovered that these institutions undertook programmes such as community sensitisation and empowerment training for girls, reproductive health services, support for girls' education as well as rescue and management of victims of child marriage. It was found that the work of these institutions was militated against by the absence of a national policy to direct the course of the fight.

Sarfo et al. (2020) have examined how the construction of gender, adolescence and sexuality affects the practice of child marriage in Ghana. In terms of gender construction, they note that by culture, Ghanaians place premium on male supremacy, relegating women to the background. This construction of gender promotes child marriage, as the female child is expected to obey the parents who want to marry her off at a younger age, and many parents marry off their daughters to generate income. The study also found that the construction of sexuality among Ghanaians promotes child marriage. In particular, like many patriarchal societies, men take most decisions even if such decisions have ramifications for women's sexuality. Thus, girls are hardly allowed to make decisions about whom and when to marry. The study, in addition, reported that in the past, most Ghanaian ethnic groups encouraged early marriage and childbearing, which still persists in some rural areas and poor communities in urban areas.

1.3 Child trafficking

Child trafficking is one of the most serious problems governments and countries all over the world, especially sub-Saharan Africa, are fighting. It is considered as “one of the worst forms of child maltreatment” (Hamenoo & Sottie, 2015). It is defined in Ghana’s Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694) as the “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child purposely for exploitation even if it does not entail the use of coercion, fraud or deception” (Sertich & Heemskerk, 2011). The Act additionally considers children as immature and unable to give consent in cases of child trafficking. However, Koomson et al. (2022) have found that children themselves are instrumental in their trafficking, with their roles including consent giving and negotiating.

Research shows that child trafficking has been in existence since time immemorial and many aspects of it are shrouded in secrecy. Salah (2001) and Hamenoo and Sottie (2015), for instance, have noted that research on intra-country child trafficking hardly reports on the perspectives of victims. This results from the inaccessibility of the voices of the victims. According to Salah (2001), the secrecy surrounding human trafficking is partly as a result of the belief that child trafficking is part of child socialization in Ghana. Salah, therefore, calls on the need for studies to focus on all aspects of child trafficking. We find this call important and argue that it is even more significant to investigate how law-makers, that is, parliamentarians, frame childhood issues, in general, and child trafficking, in particular, to be able to see how it is conceptualized and the solutions proposed.

Some studies have found that child trafficking is driven by poverty and socio-cultural factors (Afenyadu, 2010; Agbenya, 2009; Bales, 2005; Koonson et al., 2021). According to Koomson et al. (2021), who studied the trafficking of children from Breku to Yeji, the practice generally began as a way of sending children to family members to be trained on the practice of fishing on the Volta Lake. Then, it later degenerated into child trafficking. Similarly, Afenyadu (2010) has reported that children are trafficked to work on the Volta Lake, as a way of training them to become industrious in adulthood. At an early age, it is required of such children to be trained to become fishermen. In particular, parents give out their children to fishermen and boat owners to work to defray some debts of their parents. Golo (2005) also adds: “[o]ut of poverty, parents become comfortable with sending their children into bonded labour as the shortest means of solving their own economic and social hardships”.

Studies have also revealed that trafficked children suffer maltreatment in the hands of their masters (Afenyadu, 2010; Agbenya, 2009; Bales, 2005; Homenoo and Sottie, 2015; Koomson et al., 2021, 2022). Homenoo and Sottie’s (2015) study reveals that trafficked children suffer physical, psychological and emotional abuse from their masters. The children suffer starvation, sleep denial, non-provision of clothes and health care, and denial of access to education. In addition, some suffer physical and verbal abuse as well as sexual harassment from their masters.

1.4 Child protection

There is a rich body of literature on child protection in Ghana. The focus has often been on children’s participation in protection practices (Abdullah et al., 2018; Cudjoe et al., 2020a), people’s experiences in child participation meetings (Cudjoe et al., 2020b), parental perceptions of children’s participation in protection practices (Manful et al., 2020), parental involvement in child protection (Cudjoe and Abdullah, 2019), child welfare policies in Ghana

(Issahaku, 2019), and laws against child protection (Adonteng-Kissi, 2021b; Ibrahim and Komulainen, 2016).

Abdullah et al. (2018) investigated the impediments to children’s participation in child protection practices. The qualitative study, which relied on interviews with fifteen child protection practitioners, identified intimidation, parental influence, communication problems, and confidentiality as factors that prevent children from participating in child protection practices in Ghana. From the perspective of child protection practitioners, Cudjoe et al. (2020a) similarly examined factors that could promote children’s participation in child protection. They found that practitioners needed to consider the age of children, providing separate rooms for children as well as creating a child-friendly environment in order to promote children’s participation in child protection.

Manful et al. (2020) examine parental opinions regarding the incorporation of children’s opinions in child protection discourse. Manful et al.’s study was triggered by the fact that children’s opinions concerning child protection were usually pushed to the periphery. The findings from interviews with 21 parents in contact with the Department of Social Welfare suggested that children feared involvement in discussions of children protection, due to the likelihood of being labelled as behaving culturally inappropriate. It was further revealed that in order to encourage inclusiveness of children in such engagements, there was the need for improved interviewing skills, out-of-office engagement, humour, and one-on-one engagement.

While studies reviewed so far have focused on children’s participation in child protection, there is an emerging body of literature that focuses on parental involvement in child protection. Cudjoe and Abdullah (2019) investigated the experiences of parents in child participation. It was revealed that parental participation generally concerned their involvement in decision-making during case meetings, and their opinions were considered in the implementation of interventions. The parents also noted that their involvement encouraged them to seek assistance from child welfare agencies. The study also identified a number of factors that militated against parental involvement, including worker’s lack of privacy, heavy workloads and the demeanour of workers during case meetings. In particular, parents noted that workers frowned their faces during meetings, made unnecessary intrusions and failed to recognise their opinions during case meetings.

Issahaku (2019) has examined child welfare policies in Ghana. The Child and Family Welfare Policy (CFWP) of Ghana is an example of the strident efforts West African countries are currently making to provide protection for and promote the wellbeing of children. With such policies these countries demonstrate familiarity with contemporary understandings of children and childhoods as well as compliance with the UNCRC. In some measure, the CFWP depicts children as vulnerable subjects needing or receiving care from competent adult guardians. However, to a great extent, the policy provides a balanced view of children as a vulnerable social group juxtaposed with the view of children as social actors and full persons with agency and human rights. The CFWP spells out broad-based objectives, with specific and detailed strategies for their achievement as well as a clearly defined organizational structure and administrative procedures for implementation, monitoring and evaluation. To this extent, the policy can be described as comprehensive and has great promise for protecting children and promoting their wellbeing. The foregoing suggests that child welfare policies in Ghana would be strengthened to yield the desired impact if adequate fiscal and human resources were committed to implementing strategies that empower families and communities.

Finally, there are studies on laws of child protection. Adonteng-Kissi (2021b: 472) found that “economic constraint is one factor that challenges the enforcement of UNCRC principles of

rights to provision, protection, and participation for children engaged in child labour.” In the urban areas, it was found that since UNCRC principles were based on Western norms, their application in Ghana becomes problematic and practically impossible. This observation by Adonteng-Kissi echoes the views of Ibrahim and Komulainen (2016) that socio-cultural variations have made it difficult to have a universal punishment for juvenile delinquency. This has made it difficult to institute child protection measures in non-Western societies like Ghana.

2. Theoretical approach

The present study relies on frame theory for the analysis of the data. Frame theory was originally developed by Bateson (1954) and later adopted by Goffman (1974) in his study of communicative encounters. Though there are various conceptualisations of “frame”, it is generally believed to be concerned with how the same topic can be portrayed in different ways, emphasising some aspects while remaining silent on some other aspects of it (Entman, 2004; Schuk and de Vreese, 2006). Through framing, the audience are made to interpret information in a particular way, by making some information appear more important than others. In framing a topic, decisions are then made on which word choices to be made, which part of the news to be emphasized, which sources should be used and which way the text is supposed to be organised (Reese, 2001). In framing an issue, the issue is defined and evaluated, its causes are identified and solutions offered (Entman, 2010).

The frame theory has enjoyed a wide applicability in a variety of discourses, including mediatized political discourse (Entman, 2010; Lawrence, 2000; Schuk and de Vreese, 2006; Strömbäk and Dimitrova, 2006) and parliamentary discourse (Mchakulu, 2011; Sarfo-Kantankah 2018). Entman (2010) argues that media framing of political disputes tends to favour one side over another. He substantiates his argument with an analysis of the 2008 presidential campaign coverage on the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee, Sarah Palin, to show that media framing of the interactions was skewed over time. De Vreese et al. (2001) conducted a cross-country investigation of framing of news concerning the introduction of the European currency, the euro, on 1st January, 1999. The study revealed differences in framing economic and political news. In particular, it was found that news on the launch of the euro placed more emphasis on conflicts rather than their economic ramifications. Aalberg et al. (2011) have also reviewed studies on media framing of politics as a strategy and game. They found that media framing of politics as a game was common, though there were some diachronic variations.

While the studies reviewed thus far have focused on framing of political issues in the media, some studies have focused on parliamentary discourse or a combination of parliamentary and political discourse, particularly in Africa (Mchakulu, 2011; Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018). Mchakulu (2011), for instance, compared framing in post-election newspaper editorials and parliamentary speeches in Malawi. The study specifically focused on editorials and parliamentary speeches in the first hundred days following the 1994, 1999 and 2004 Malawian elections. It was found that in the 1994 and 1999 elections, the newspapers framed issues to reflect the political standpoints of their owners and in the 2004 elections, the framing of issues reflected the political realignments of the owners of the newspapers and did not differ from parliamentary framing. Of more relevance to the present study is Sarfo-Kantankah’s (2018) study of the framing of corruption in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse. Sarfo-Kantankah relied on corpus linguistic methodologies to reveal that corruption was

framed as a serious social problem that had affected the socio-economic development of Ghana.

Of all the studies, Müller’s (2016) examination of the framing of childhood in the periodicals *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, *The Guardian*, *The Female Tatler* and *The Female Spectator* is the most relevant to the present study since it also focuses on the framing of childhood. Müller’s analysis focused on the presentation of children’s bodies and educational debates as well as how these periodicals represented public scenes using child figures. Muller argues that these periodicals make significant contributions to the evolution of the concept of “Romantic child”. Barry et al. (2011) similarly examined framing of childhood obesity in American media from 2000 to 2009. They found diachronic differences as well as differences in framing across media platforms. In particular, it was found that, while television news recommended behavioural change as a remedy to obesity, newspapers recommended systemic solutions. This understanding of framing is crucial to the present study, because by emphasising some aspects of childhood, parliamentarians define childhood, identify its associated problems and propose solutions. The present study, therefore, advances the literature by examining the framing of children and childhood in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse.

3. Data and methods

The study uses as data Hansards of Ghanaian parliamentary debates from 2012 through to 2020, that is a 9-year period, which were obtained from the Ghanaian parliamentary website (<https://www.parliament.gh>). It amounts to a corpus size of over 11.4 million tokens/running words¹⁸. The data were processed and converted into text files so as to make them computer-readable and computer-manipulatable (cf. McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006). The study employs corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA): it incorporates corpus linguistic techniques into the analysis as and when appropriate (cf. Partington, 2010).

Through the application of *Wordsmith Tools* (version 6) (Scott, 2012), two main tools of corpus linguistic methods were employed in this study: concordance and collocation. Concordance refers to examples of particular items/words in context, a display of all examples of a searched-for item (Evson, 2010), or “a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment” (Sinclair, 1991). In other words, concordance displays all the instances of a specified word or other search term in a corpus and provides a given number of words on either side of the specified word or search term (McEnery & Hardie, 2012), as shown in Figure 1.

¹⁸ The data were first used for two studies: Sarfo-Kantankah (2021) *The Discursive Construction of men and women in Ghanaian Parliamentary Discourse: A corpus-based study*, *Ampersand*, 8, 100079, which was sponsored by the Directorate of Research, Innovation and Consultancy (DRIC) of the University of Cape Coast, grant reference RSG/INDI/CHLS/2020/111, as well as Sarfo-Kantankah, K. S. (2022). *Gender-based violence in Ghanaian parliamentary debates: a corpus-assisted discourse analysis*, *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines*, 14(1), 1-21.

N	Concordance
1	, Ms Betty Nana Efu Krosbi Mensah, on “Alleged Child Slavery on the Volta Lake.” Yes, Hon
2	enough to add, “Alleged”, so it read, “Alleged child slavery” which was very well noted. Mr
3	labour. There should not be any excuse to allow children to be engaged in child labour. We
4	narrative that Ghana and La Cote d’Ivoire allow children to be trafficked, they might not
5	in this House as supporting people who allow children to engage in child labour especially
6	completion of the construction works. Alleged Child Labour phenomenon on Cocoa Farms in
7	under the theme, “Protecting the rights of all children ” were also celebrated. The Ministry
8	under the theme, protecting the rights of all children were celebrated. The 2017 National
9	and also visited the lake. We found out that all children were in school. They cited the School
10	(FCUBE) is a right that must be enjoyed by all children without bias. However, in many remote

Figure 1. Sample concordance of *child* and *children*

Figure 1 is a sample concordance of the lemma *child*. Lemma refers to the composite set of word forms (Sinclair, 1991). In the Figure, centred vertically is the lemma *child*, and on either side of *child* or *children* are collocates of the two word-forms. The collocates, that is, words that are adjacent to or occur in the neighbourhood of a search term (Scott, 2012), provide contextual information for the interpretation of how the two lemmas have been used.

Often called key-word-in-context (KWIC), concordance analysis involves collocation analysis (cf. Evison, 2010). Forming the context/co-text of a specified word, collocates are words that typically co-occur with a specified word, and examining the collocates of the search term in a concordance line provides the semantic/discourse prosody of the said term (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018). Semantic/discourse prosody refers to the “consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (Louw, 1993). In this study, our search terms were the lemmas *child* and *children*. We concordanced the lemmas *child* and *children* in order to examine their collocates and associated semantic prosody and explored the “subtle element[s] of attitudinal” and “semantic meaning[s]” (Sinclair, 2004) which Ghanaian MPs associated with children. The KWIC approach allowed us to identify patterns of the use of the lemmas *child* and *children* informed by the theory that “meaning is discovered in language situated in context, not in words in isolation” (Hunston, 2010; cf. Sinclair, 2004). Thus, to interpret the discursive framing of children as noted in the corpus, we considered both the corpus itself and the socio-political context of the corpus, which included published academic research, media reports and socio-political commentaries on children and children’s rights. In other words, we shifted between corpus-internal data (that is, the concordance/collocates) and corpus-external data (that is, the wider social, historical, political, mediated contexts, etc.) (Partington, 2003; Sarfo-Kantankah, 2022). This synergy between corpus-internal and corpus-external data analysis leads to corpus-assisted CDA. This is important because the “traditional corpus-based analysis is not sufficient to explain or interpret the reasons why certain linguistic patterns were found (or not found)” as it “does not usually take into account the social, political, historical, and cultural context of the data” (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). The corpus-assisted CDA helps to include the wider situational context of the data in the analysis, since it mediates between the social and the linguistic, combining linguistic and sociological approaches (Weiss and Wodak, 2007).

4. Analysis and discussion

This section examines MPs’ discursive framing of children in the parliamentary data under study. The section is divided into five. Section 4.1 discusses the thematic issues associated with children; section 4.2 deals with children’s rights and child protection, while 4.3 talks about child labour. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 discuss child marriage and child trafficking respectively.

4.1 What are the thematic issues associated with children?

Using Figures 2 and 3 below, this section explores the pattern and thematic associations of children in the data. Figure 2 is a sample concordance of the lemma *child*, showing some linguistic contexts of its use (cf. Scott, 2012). In order to identify the themes by which children are framed in the data, we consider the collocates/the contexts of the lemma *child*. Over all, there were 5,107 “hits” (cf. McEnery & Hardie, 2012) of the lemma *child*, the first 26 of which are shown in Figure 2. At the centre of each concordance line of Figure 2 is the term *child* (with its variants *children*, *childbirth*). At either side of each of *child/children/childbirths* are the collocates/linguistic contexts, which tell us about the issues raised about children. By reading through the collocates, we are able to decipher the semantic/discourse prosody of the terms *child/children/childbirth*. However, since it was difficult to read all the 5,107 concordance lines and put them into themes, we needed to use Figure 3 to identify the prominent themes that were associated with children.



Figure 2. Screenshot of the first 26 concordance lines of the lemma *child*

Figure 3 represents the patterns of the lemma *child*. Patterns show the collocates organised in terms of frequency within each column, where the top word in each column is the

most frequent word found in that position, and the second word being the second most frequent (cf. Scott, 2012). The patterns tool makes it easier to read and interpret the collocates, as it displays the most frequent collocates in the neighbourhood of the search term and shows the lexical patterns in the concordance (cf. Scott, 2012). At the centre of Figure 3 is the term *child* (with its variants *children*, *childhood*, *childbirth*, *children's*, *child's*, *childless*, *childbirths*, *childlessness*, *childbearing*, *childslavery*, *childmarriage* and *childcare*. At the left and right sides of the centred items are the collocates, that is, the words that occurred in the neighbourhood of the lemma *child*, labelled as L1-L5 and R1-R5 respectively. To identify the thematic labels of children, we consider the most salient content words among the collocates which carry the most significant semantic loads among the collocates that characterise children (cf. Sarfo-Kantankah, 2021), even though function words can also reveal a lot about discourses (cf. Pearce, 2014).

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	THE	THE	THE	OF	THE	CHILDREN	AND	SOCIAL	PROTEC	THE	THE
2	TO	TO	TO	FOR	GENDER	CHILD	TO	THE	THE	TO	TO
3	OF	OF	OF	TO	OUR	CHILDHOOD	IN	IN	TO	AND	AND
4	AND	AND	MINISTER	THE	OF	CHILDBIRTH	LABOUR	AND	AND	OF	OF
5	THAT	HON	MINISTRY	THAT	AND	CHILDREN'S	ARE	IS	IN	IN	IN
6	IN	THAT	AND	AND	THEIR	CHILD'S	WHO	ARE	IS	MR	THAT
7	IS	IS	THAT	WOMEN	THESE	CHILDLESS	IS	BE	THAT	IS	IS
8	FOR	FOR	ON	GENDER	GIRL	CHILDBIRTHS	MR	SPEAKE	OF	ARE	SPEAKER
9	WE	WE	WE	IN	SCHOOL	CHILDLESSNESS	WITH	NOT	WE	THAT	MR
10	ON	IN	IS	WHEN	THAT	CHILDBEARING	OF	TO	ARE	WE	WE
11	ARE	COMMITTEE	CARE	ON	FOR	CHILDSLAVERY	WOULD	WE	NOT	FOR	IT
12	IT	ARE	FOR	AN	UNBORN	CHILDMARRIAGE	MARRIAGE	HAVE	SPEAKE	NOT	ARE
13	AS	TAKE	CHILD	HAVE	TO	CHILDCARE	THE	SCHOOL	MR	BE	HAVE
14	NOT	ON	IN	WITH	EARLY		FROM	MR	CHILD	IT	NOT
15	WOULD	HAVE	RIGHTS	IS	ON		AS	THAT	BE	THEY	BE
16	WITH	BE	NOT	OR	HIS		WE	THIS	THIS	AS	WOULD
17	HAVE	NOT	ARE	CHILDREN	GHANAIA		HAVE	THEY	IT	SCHOOL	AS
18	MR	IT	WOULD	WHERE	MY		THAT	THEIR	AT	SPEAKE	THEY
19	BE	SPEAKER	THEY	WE	EVERY		TRAFFICKING	WOULD	ON	ON	THIS
20	OR	WITH	SOME	ARE	IN		AT	OUR	COUNTR	HAVE	WITH
21	CHILD	WOULD	PARENTS	MR	AFRICAN		IT	ON	HAVE	THIS	SCHOOL
22	THIS	AS	OUT	AS	HAVE		SO	FOR	AS	SO	FOR
23	SPEAKER	DAY	EDUCATION	THESE	YOUNG		WERE	IT	FROM	WOULD	CHILDREN
24	THEY	WHO	ENSURE	NUMBER	AGAINST		PROTECTION	OF	THEIR	CHILD	OUR
25	OUR	CHILD	ESPECIALLY	IF	YOUR		BUT	CHILD	WITH	WITH	ALSO
26	ABOUT	MR	HAVE	THEIR	WITH		THEY	ALSO	THEY	SHOULD	THEIR
27	WHO	WHEN	WITH	OUR	AS		SHOULD	ACT	THEM	OR	AT

Figure 3. A screenshot of the first 27 patterns of the lemma *child*

Looking at Figure 3 shows that the most significant content words that provide information about everyday local and international concerns about children's rights are *labour*, *marriage*, *trafficking* and *protection* (that is, *child labour*, *child marriage*, *child trafficking* and *child protection*) (see R1) and *rights* and *education* (L3) (cf. the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989). The rest of the analysis and discussion concentrates on the topical issues of child protection and child rights, child labour, child marriage, and child trafficking, as framed and discussed by Ghanaian MPs.

4.2 Children's rights and child protection

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is the most important document on the rights of the child worldwide. It defines a child as someone under the age of 18. There are several rights of the child listed in the UNCRC, which speak to four main

principles, namely: non-discrimination against the child (Article 2), the best interest of the child (Article 3), the right to survival and development (Article 6), and respect for the views of the child (Article 12). Ghana is a signatory to and recognises the Convention (see Figure 4, lines 4-11, 18, 21, 22) and therefore Ghana is obliged to ensure the full implementation of the principles of the Convention. As noted by an MP,

Example 1: Hansard: 20 Nov. 2018/Col.2087¹⁹

... the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is the most signed and ratified UN Convention in the world, and it is interesting to note that, Ghana made history by being the first Member State to ratify the United Nation’s Convention on the rights of the child.

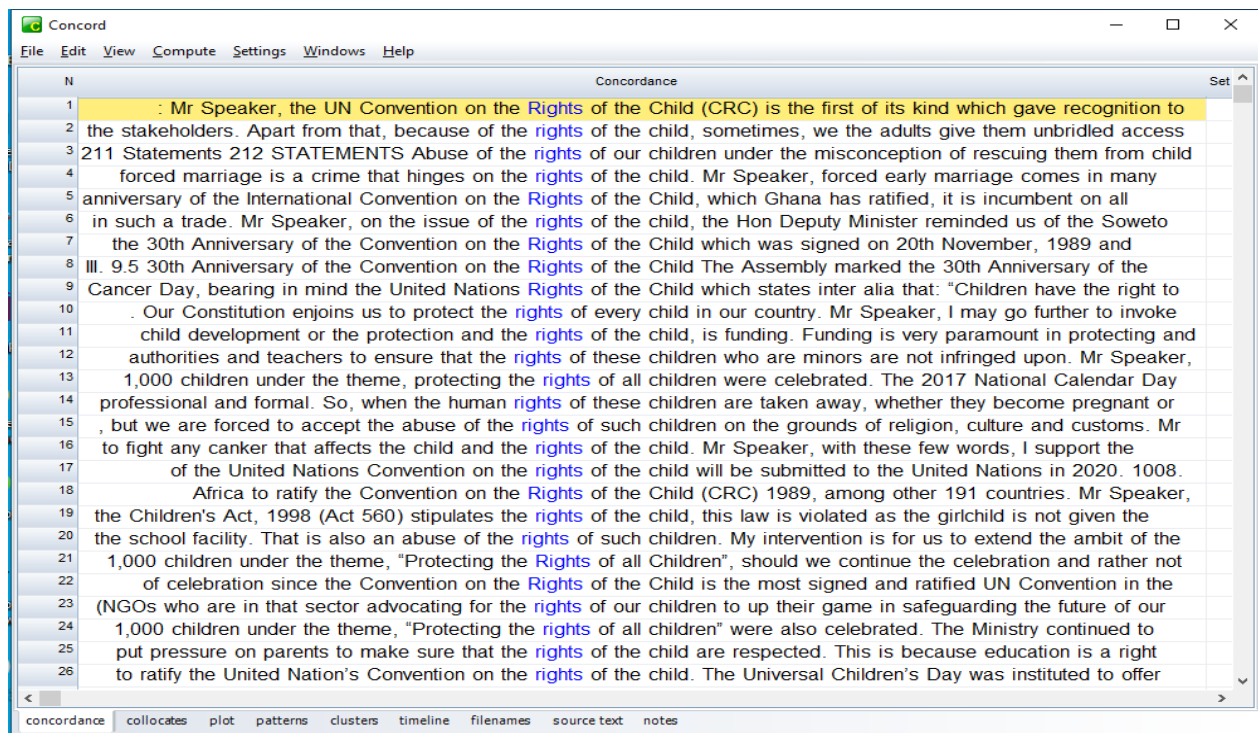


Figure 4. A screenshot of the first 26 concordance lines of child *rights*

Figure 4 reinforces the view that Ghanaian MPs recognise the rights of the child and the need to protect them. There is a call for the protection (see lines 2, 7, 9, 20) and respect (line 26) for the rights of the child. Several protective measures are proposed by MPs for the protection of children and their rights, including: a recognition and ratification of the UNCRC (lines 4-11, 18, 21, 22), involvement of stakeholders such as authorities and teachers (lines 2, 12), enforcement of laws against child labour (line 19) and putting pressure on parents to respect the rights of the child (line 25).

Figure 5 below shows that the MPs do not just recognise the rights of the child, but also demonstrate the need to protect children and their rights. These include the implementation of Child Protection Compact Partnership Agreement (see lines 2, 9), education, sensitisation and advocacy (lines 6, 7, 20, 21). In addition to these calls, there are several acts of Parliament

¹⁹ This indicates the date of the debates/statement and the column of the Hansards where the excerpt can be found.

aimed at protecting children in Ghana, who are considered as a vulnerable group (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2021). These acts include the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560); Labour Act, 2003 (Act 651); Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694); Criminal and Other Offences Act, 1960 (Act 29); Juvenile Justice Act, 2003 (Act 653); Domestic Violence Act, 2007 (Act 732) (cf. Taylor Crabbe, Forest Trends and Fern, 2020).

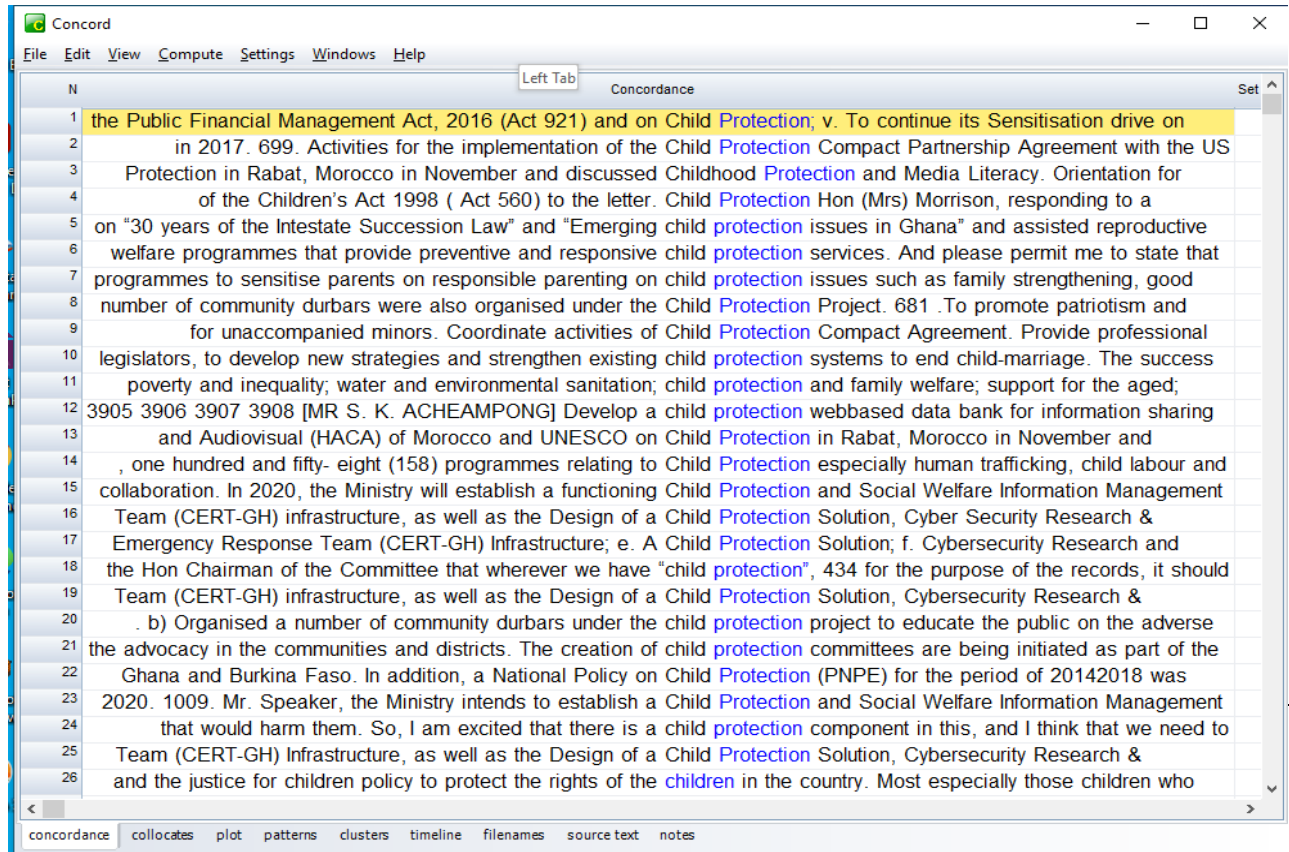


Figure 5. A screenshot of the first 26 concordance lines of child protection

Since the Parliament of Ghana is the law-making arm of government, we expect that MPs' conversation about children will reflect how these rights of children are broached. As one MP states:

Example 2: Hansard: 18 June 2013/Col.442

We all have a duty to ensure that all practices within our social, cultural, political and religious setting that adversely affect our children are eliminated. And we owe this noble duty to our children and the future of this country, and Africa at large. We dare not fail!

There are several social, economic, cultural, political and religious practices that are said to be inimical to the rights and development of the child. However, as noted in Figure 3, the most prominent ones that MPs talk about are child labour, child marriage and child trafficking. The rest of the paper focuses on these three in turn. Our concentration on these is not to discount the issues of child health, poverty, cancer and mortality, among others. We do so because of space limitation and the need for in-depth analysis and discussion.

4.3 Child apprenticeship not child labour; child labour not child apprenticeship

One of the crucial issues of concern regarding children’s rights and development is child labour. Child *labour* occurred 220 times in our concordance lines, the first 26 of which are shown in Figure 6. It is an issue that has gained local (see lines 10, 20, 22), national (lines 2, 4, 6, 7, 14, 21, 23), regional (lines 13, 21) and international (lines 1, 3, 5) attention over the years. Child labour is seen as a concern (lines 2), a menace (line 4), dangerous (line 10), exploitative (line 13) and culturally related.

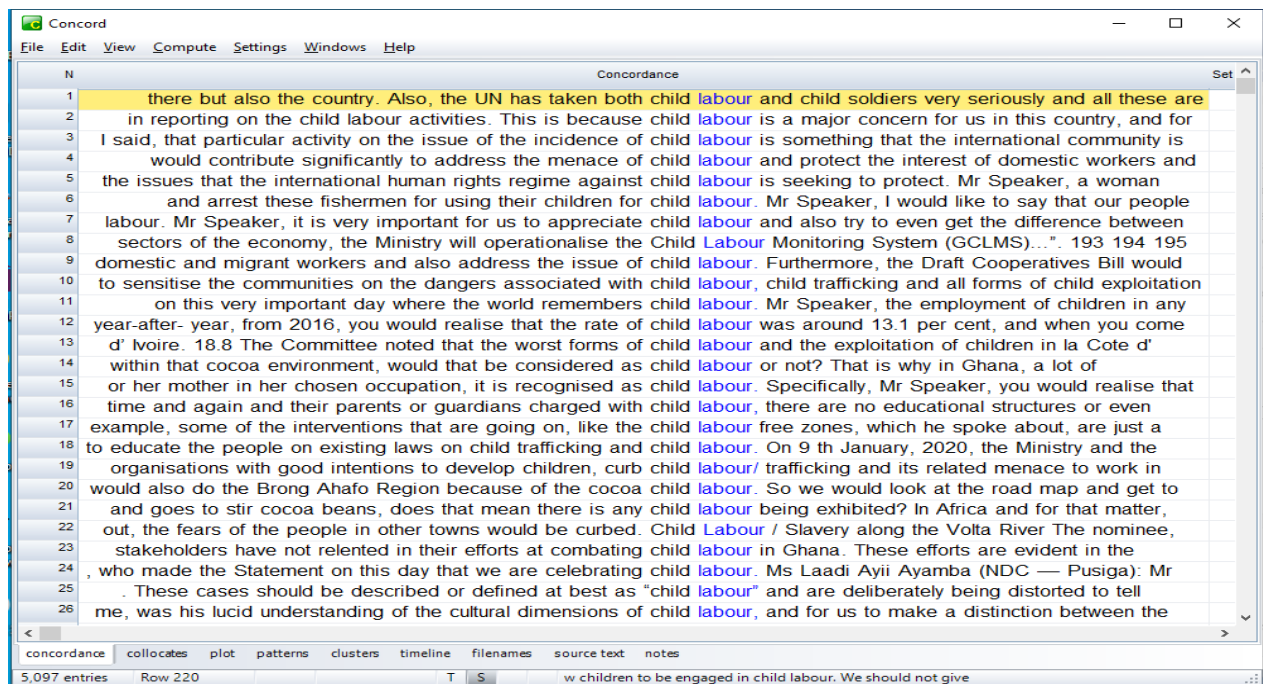


Figure 6. A screenshot of the first 26 concordance lines of child *labour*

On 12th June, 2020 (see Hansard: 12 June 2020/Col.064-068), the Minister for Employment and Labour Relations (MELR) and MP for Sunyani West, Mr Ignatius Baffour Awuah, made a commemorative statement on the floor of Parliament on the 2020 World Day against Child Labour. The Minister noted among other things that:

1. about 1.9 million children, representing 21.8% of the total population of children in Ghana were estimated to be in child labour;
2. the underlining cause of child labour included: poverty, limited access to decent work opportunities for families, ignorance, lack of access to quality education, irresponsible parenting and many others.
3. successive governments and stakeholders had not relented in their efforts at combating child labour in Ghana, which were evident in the numerous legislations, policies, programmes and projects as well as strong institutional arrangements that sought to protect children’s rights, promote their development and prevent them from getting trapped in child labour.
4. strategies to fight child labour included effective collaboration between government agencies, tripartite constituents, civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations, private sector, international organisations and many others.
5. the Ministry, in collaboration with the National Steering Committee on Child Labour and other stakeholders secured the approval of Cabinet for the implementation of the

Second National Plan of Action for the Elimination of Worse Forms of Child Labour (MPA 2). The plan had four broad strategic objectives, namely:

- a. reinforcing public awareness of child labour and its impact.
 - b. improving collaboration and coordination for resource mobilisation.
 - c. providing effective monitoring of social services and economic empowerment programmes of local government units.
 - d. promoting community empowerment and sustainable action against child labour.
6. there were measures to ensure that Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) put in place measures, structures and systems to monitor, prevent and withdraw children from child labour in their areas of jurisdiction.

The foregoing is a clear indication of the recognition of the fact that child labour exists in Ghana and that there are measures to combat it, in line with Article 32 of the UNCRC, which entreats state parties to protect the child from all forms of “economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development”.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgement of the existence of child labour in Ghana, there are arguments about what constitutes child labour. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines child labour as “work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development” or work that “is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children” and/or interferes with their schooling (ILO, n.d., n.p.). While this definition is internationally accepted, what constitutes child labour has often been debatable as a result of socio-cultural differences between and among countries. For example, Ghanaian MPs have had occasions to question what certain multinational and international organisations describe as child labour. According to Mr Baffour Awuah, Ghana and La Cote d’Ivoire as at June 2020 were:

Example 3: Hansard: 12 June 2020/Col.068

contesting the conclusions of a study funded by the United States Department of Labour (USDOL) and undertaken by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago to determine the prevalence of child labour in the two countries, especially in the cocoa growing areas.

Challenging what has been said to constitute child labour, one MP states:

Example 4: Hansard: 2 April 2019/4560-4561

Mr Speaker, if one takes his cameras today to the Volta Lake, one would find children who assist their parents in fishing. I would not call that child slavery or child labour. It is not everybody who is born into a family that is capable of supporting such children fully with resources from their parents. Some children support their parents in diverse ways. Child apprenticeship should not be seen as child labour. Mr Speaker, yes, we would admit that, in some few cases, some of these children are abused. We must all condemn the abuse but the spin that the international community puts on this kind of assistance or training of our children to take up after us as child labour or child trafficking, Mr Speaker, I beg to differ.

The sentiments expressed by the MPs echo the socio-cultural differences in what constitutes child labour as well as some parents’ view that children helping their parents is a means of

work socialization and training (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018b; Afenyadu, 2010; Salah, 2001). The foregoing also reflects what academic scholars have identified as the causes of child labour, especially, in Ghana, including cultural attitudes (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018a; Zelizer, 2005), the poverty levels and economic status of some families such that they need the support of children to be able to generate enough income to feed themselves (cf. Adonteng-Kissi, 2018a; Ahmed, 1999; Frimpong et al., 2021). As another MP articulates:

Example 5: Hansard: 2 April 2019/Col.4556-4557

... the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has some statistics on Ghana, but much of it, like the team from House of Commons, Westminster, UK – we do not have modern slavery in Ghana. We find those words abusive and insulting to our culture and the training of young children. What we do know exists in Ghana are packets of abuses of children who are working but ought not to be working. The solution lies in Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), and Free Senior High School (FSHS) for us to encourage children to take full advantage of.

The issues and questions posed by MPs about what constitutes child labour raise fundamental questions about the fight against child labour in Ghana: it makes the problem of child labour complex. While it is good that the MPs admit that there is, at least “packets of abuses of children who are working but ought not be working” (Example 5) and they “admit that, in some few cases, some of these children are abused” and “we must all condemn the abuse” (Example 4), this way of framing child labour can negatively affect the fight against it.

The expressions “packets of” and “in some few cases” appear to underestimate the incidence of child labour and child abuse in Ghana, which can negatively affect the scale of measures needed to fight child labour. When problems are seen as enormous, stronger measures and commitment are needed to solve them, but when perceived otherwise, measures will be milder (cf. Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018). This is important because, how MPs frame child labour affects the attention they will pay to it, for “framing affects what we pay attention to and how we interpret it” (World Bank Group, 2015) and “the way a problem is defined has a major effect on the kinds of ‘solutions’ that are proposed to cope with it” (Mayer, 1996). Thus, underestimating the incidence of child labour has the potential to undermine the existence, the fight against it and reduce the commitment of stakeholders in the fight, because:

The language of parliamentarians does not only reflect social structures and practices, but also creates them, for social structures do not only determine discourse, but they are also a product of discourse, i.e., they are socially constitutive (Fairclough, 1989). Thus, understanding the language of MPs is crucial for appreciating the social problems it reflects, upholds and which it can change.

Sarfo-Kantankah (2022: 4)

The question is: where do we draw the line between child “apprenticeship” (Example 4) and child labour/child abuse? Who monitors the “apprenticeship” engagements of these children? Since the majority of child labour activities in Ghana occur in the agricultural sector (cf. Taylor Crabbe, Forest Trends and Fern, 2020), the major part of which is found in rural areas, with parents who know little about hazards of exposing children to hazardous activities, how are they going to determine the amount of work that is not dangerous to the child’s health? If

Parliament intends to help fight child labour, then there must be monitoring mechanisms and education of parents on the issues of child labour and its detriments.

4.4 One in five girls suffers child marriage in Ghana; it destroys the future of girls

Child marriage is one of the core issues that MPs raise about children. Child marriage is considered a global problem (see Figure 7, lines 1, 18). It is rampant in Ghana (line 1), as one out of five girls in Ghana marries before the age of 18 years (line 6). As stated by one MP:

Example 6: Hansard: 3 July 2019/Col.2619-2620

Indeed, Mr Speaker, child marriage is truly a global problem that cuts across countries, cultures, religions and ethnicities. Statistics show that worldwide, each year, 12 million girls are married before the age of 18. That is 23 girls per minute, and nearly one girl per two seconds. The prevalence rate of child marriage is, however, very high in Africa than in most areas... The picture in Ghana is not very much different. Even though child marriage ... is illegal in the country ... child marriage is a practice estimated to affect one in five girls. According to UNICEF, 21 per cent of girls in Ghana are married before their 18th birthday.

Considered as a menace (line 12), a serious matter (line 11), child marriage seen as deep-rooted in Ghanaian socio-cultural norms and traditions (lines 4, 12, 21) and partly caused by economic factors and poverty (line 18): “Mr Speaker, child marriage is very often fuelled by gender inequality, poverty, traditions, and insecurity; but these causes are not insurmountable problems” (Hansard: 3 July 2019/Col.2620). The above-stated issues have largely been noted in scholarly literature on child marriage. As Yaya et al.’s (2019) study of 34 sub-Saharan African countries reveals, 54% of women in the sub-region experience child marriage, with cross-country variations. In Ghana, it has been found that 20.68% of women experience child marriage, which was occasioned by factors such as poverty, teenage pregnancy and betrothal marriage (Ahonsi et al., 2019).



Figure 7. A screenshot of the first 26 concordance lines of *child marriage*

Unlike the issue of child labour, MPs have no argument against what constitutes child marriage; they condemn it outright. The MPs implore each other to rise together to fight against child marriage (line 7): “We must tackle them seriously, given their devastating impact on the girl-child, society and the economy of our country” (Hansard: 3 July 2019/Col.2620). The MPs often bemoan the consequences and impact of child marriage, as exemplified in example 7.

Example 7: Hansard: 3 July 2019/Col2619-2621

Mr Speaker, the impact on the girl child should be seen as a human rights violation that could produce devastating repercussions on a girl’s life, effectively ending her childhood. These also include the huge challenges that child brides face because they are married as children. They often feel isolated and with limited freedom, feel disempowered. They are deprived of their fundamental rights to health, education and safety. Child brides are neither physically nor emotionally ready to become wives and mothers. They are therefore likely to experience dangerous complications in pregnancy and at childbirth, contract HIV/AIDS and suffer domestic violence. With little access to education and economic opportunities, they and their families are more likely to live in poverty and to be trapped in the trans-generational cycle of poverty. Moreover, child marriage usually destroys the future marital life of the girl-child, as available evidence suggests that child-marriage almost always ends in failure.

There are several ways in which MPs think the problem of child marriage can be addressed, including: campaign, education and sensitisation against child marriage (lines 14, 22, 23, 24, 25); increased reportage (line 17); passage and implementation of legislation (line 9) and action against perpetrators (line 19). Article 34 of the UNCRC abhors sexual exploitation of children and charges state parties “to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse”. According to Afranie et al. (2019), the fight against child marriage in Ghana has been spearheaded by several state institutions, which include the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP); the Ministry of Health; the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU); the Girl Child Education Unit of the Ghana Education Service (GES) and the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), UNICEF Ghana, Ark Foundation, Gender and Human Rights Documentation Centre, ActionAid Ghana, and the Muslim Family Counselling Service. These institutions undertake programmes such as community sensitisation and empowerment training for girls, reproductive health services, support for girls’ education as well as rescue and management of victims of child marriage. However, these institutions appear to have been ineffective in the fight against child marriage due to the absence of national policies to coordinate their activities as well as certain socio-cultural practices that are highly difficult to fight against (cf. Sarfo et al., 2020).

4.5 Child trafficking, child slavery or child labour?

Child trafficking is another fundamental issue about which MPs talk. Child trafficking is an international problem affecting millions of people (Johansen, n.d.) and one of the fastest growing and most lucrative criminal activities in the world (Rafferty, 2013). Child labour refers to an illegal procurement and recruitment of children and relocating them for the purpose of either sexual or labour exploitation (cf. Smolin, 2004). The definition implies that the mere sale of children does not constitute child trafficking (Smolin, 2004). Thus, the definition of child trafficking encompasses child labour and sexual exploitation: “child labour is a major issue and it relates to human and child trafficking” (Hansard: 6 June 2017/Col.218). This reflects how Ghanaian MPs frame child trafficking: it mostly occurs in the context of child labour (see Figure 8, lines 8, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 27) and child slavery (lines 3, 16, 18, 24).



Figure 8. A screenshot of the first 26 concordance lines of child *trafficking*

Ghanaian MPs recognise that there is child trafficking Ghana: “Mr Speaker, in a situation of hopelessness, child trafficking has become a phenomenon which has been somehow ‘regularised’. This cannot continue” (Hansard: 31 May 2013/Col.115). Recognising the issue of child trafficking in Ghana (lines 2, 5, 6, 11, 12, 18, 20), Ghanaian MPs commemorate the World Day against Human/Child Trafficking every year (line 1). Child trafficking is seen by the MPs as a danger (lines 5, 12) and a menace (lines 8, 13), as, for example, “while reported cases of human trafficking increased by 60.9 per cent from 36 to 92 in 2015, the number of reported cases of child trafficking rose from four in 2014 to 11 in 2015” (Hansard: 21 March/Col.3262) and “human or child trafficking is all over in this country” (Hansard: 15 June 2017/Col.762-764). The MPs express the need to fight against child trafficking or combat it (line 14). They have, therefore, identified a number of ways in which it can be fought against or combatted (lines 5, 8, 13, 25). Consider the metaphorical use of the words “fight” and “combat”, which suggest a warfare, implying that stronger measures are needed to address child trafficking (cf. Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018). The various means of combatting child trafficking include: sensitization (line 6), empowerment (line 14) and education (12, 20, 22, 23). The support of international development partners and NGOs is also sought (lines 17, 25), as envisaged by Article 35 of the UNCRC, which enjoins state parties to “take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form”.

While the afore-mentioned recognition is expressed by the MPs, they seem to sometimes question the description and reportage of the magnitude of child trafficking in Ghana, as an MP explains in example 8.

Example 8: Hansard: 3 April 2019/Col.4543

Mr Speaker, I challenge CNN's 'Freeing the child slaves of Lake Volta' and any other actor alleging "pervasive" child trafficking and child slavery in communities along the Volta Lake to provide independent evidence to corroborate these claims. These cases should be described or defined at best as "child labour" and are deliberately being distorted to tell stories of "child slavery" and "child trafficking", feeding into stereotypes of supposed primitiveness and backwardness of African communities.

As noted previously, such framing of child trafficking may hinder the fight against it. This is because, by framing child trafficking as shown above, MPs are selecting, emphasising and excluding aspects of child trafficking to satisfy specific interests, thereby legitimising and illegitimising issues of concern (cf. Gitlin, 1980; Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018).

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to examine the discursive framing of children in the discourse of Ghanaian Members of Parliament (MPs), using Hansards as data. The analysis shows that Ghanaian MPs frame children as vulnerable people who suffer mainly from child labour, child marriage and child trafficking. As a result of children's vulnerability to these socio-cultural problems, the MPs think that certain measures should be put in place to protect children. These measures include: campaigns, education and sensitisation against child marriage, increased reportage, passage and implementation of legislation, and action against perpetrators, empowerment of children and the support of national, bilateral and multilateral bodies and development partners.

Whereas the MPs condemn child labour, they question the international communities' definition of what constitutes child labour as a result of certain socio-cultural differences between what can be considered as child "apprenticeship" and child labour. The MPs believe that if children help their parents on the farm and it does not prevent them from acquiring education or pose danger to the child's health, it cannot constitute child labour. The MPs share similar sentiments on the issue of what constitutes child trafficking and child slavery. They think that the definition of child labour and child trafficking or child slavery must be considered according to culturally-specific circumstances. Some MPs feel that international bodies and organisations sometimes deliberately distort the definitions of child labour and child trafficking to stereotypically paint Africans as primitive and backward. However, the MPs raise no argument(s) about what constitutes child marriage.

The arguments about what constitutes and the framing of child labour and child trafficking can blare their actual existence in Ghana, such that it can negatively affect the implementation of legislation and other measures geared towards the fight against these problems affecting children. This is because the way a problem is framed affects what kinds of measures are needed to fight the problem (Reese, 2001; Entman, 2010). As Sarfo-Kantankah (2018) notes, if problems are seen as huge, it suggests that stronger measures and more formidable commitment are needed to fight such problems.

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Creativity and Authenticity in an Emerging Naija's Youth Hip Hop Culture

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Abstract

Since the last quarter of the 20th century, hip hop has become a cultural means of self-expression, entertainment, and empowerment for youths throughout the world. The creative manipulation of verbal and non-verbal codes has been the main vehicle through which the enormous hip hop cultural industry has been sustained and revitalized. This study investigates the creative ingenuity of a group of Naija (Nigerian) youths in Calabar, south-eastern Nigeria, in the creation of a peculiar hip hop brand in the Nigerian Hip Hop Nation (NHHN). Particularly, the study works through Appadurai's (1996, 2002) theory on migration and the electronic media as agents of modernity to apprehend the emergence and development of hip hop in Nigeria through the example of Calabar hip hop exponents. This article also derives discursive insight from Alim's (2009) idea of style as a major non-verbal linguistic vector of hip hop to identify and interrogate the creative ingenuity of the Nigerian youths here examined. Our study concludes that through the formation of a creative bond and the manipulation verbal and performance codes from their cultural space these Nigerian youths have established a peculiar brand of hip hop and are contributing to the transnational, multi-vocal Global Hip Hop Nation.

Keywords

Naija Hip Hop, Calabar; Electronic Media, Migration, Identity, Style, Youth; Creativity, Authenticity, Postcolonialism, Poststructuralism.

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Introduction

For a better appreciation of the socio-cultural space within which the brand of hip hop we are concerned with thrives, it would be important to capture its geographical and demographic features. This in turn will also facilitate an appreciation of the socio-cultural motifs that are creatively forged by hip hop exponents (headz) in Calabar, Cross River State – South-eastern Nigeria - to assert themselves. Having served as Nigeria’s colonial capital of the British Southern Protectorate (Imbua 2008), Calabar was at different times, as determined by the politics of state creation in post-independence Nigeria, the administrative headquarters of Nigeria’s South Eastern State and Cross River State respectively. Being a coastal town, Calabar was one of the first ports through which European adventurers made incursion into Nigeria from the 16th century (Nair 1972). Today, Calabar is a city that consists of two major towns namely, Calabar Municipality and Calabar South, which are Local Government Areas themselves. These two Local Government Areas make Calabar one sprawling metropolis that has attracted people from different ethnicities and races. Apart from the three main indigenous ethnic groups namely, the Efik, Qua and Efut, who claim Calabar as aboriginal homeland, the city is home to many other indigenous peoples of Cross River origin. Other Nigerians such as the Ibibio, Anang, Oron, Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba, Ijaw among many others have equally found home in Calabar, where the dominant language spoken is Efik, while English and Nigerian Pidgin are also dominant languages that facilitate interactions among the multi ethnic/racial population of Calabar. Seen as a dominantly civil service town, distinguished by its amiable people and culinary delight, Calabar as capital of Cross River State, is also generally perceived as an easy-going city. This is because it is devoid of the hustle and bustle of commercial centres such as Aba (eastern Nigeria), Lagos (western Nigeria), Port-Harcourt (South-eastern Nigeria) and Kano (North-eastern Nigeria). Calabar is also popularly called “The Canaan City”, and is metaphorically reputed as a land flowing with milk and honey (Fuller 1996; Henshaw 2010). This aphorism depicts the enormous socio-economic opportunities for the growing population in the city.

Building on these social demography and the city’s pre-colonial and colonial legacies, Calabar gained more visibility in the millennium through the political ingenuity of Governor Donald Duke, the second democratically elected governor of a new Cross River State, who packaged the whole state through his tourism policy that logically made Calabar the tourism hub of the state. The famous Carnival Calabar, popular reputed as “Africa’s biggest Street Party” (Carlson 2010: 42) is, arguably, Nigeria’s biggest tourism event, preceded yearly by a month long festival activities (tagged Calabar Festival), which feature musical shows, comedy, dance, shopping, international pageantry and fashion shows during the Christmas season. Given their business and entertainment potentials, the Calabar Festival and Carnival Calabar attract hundreds of tourists within and outside Nigeria. With the patronage of global digital media, especially DSTV, Calabar and her people are repackaged and globally positioned, at least within the Christmas season. However, before the hype inaugurated by Donald Duke’s tourism policy in the millennium, Calabar had always had an active social life with vibrant cultural activities, some of which have been youth based. Apart from the dominant Ekpe cult, held in custody by the elders but cherished by the youths, there are many other indigenous masquerade cults and folk performance associations, which are completely youth driven. A remarkable youth cult and masquerade performance with an intriguing cosmopolitan character in Calabar is the Agaba cult and masquerade association. According to Author (2012: 388), Agaba is a hybrid form of play/dance that combines traditional masquerade society with a number of performative genres. Though Agaba is a confederate youth-based cult that has been

developed by urban youths all through the south-eastern region of Nigeria, in Calabar it has habituated multiple cultural filiations in the form of dance styles, naming, musical instrumentation, communication codes, ritual systems and masks to evolve a peculiar Agaba flavour. But it is important to note that the spiritual, linguistic and visual embodiments of Agaba are intriguing cultural heritage of the diverse interactions and inter-group influences of the different ethnic nationalities who have met in Calabar urban for decades namely, Igbo (from eastern Nigeria), Ibibio, Oron, Anang and Ijaw (from Nigeria's Niger-Delta region). However, the emphasis in Agaba has shifted from purely performance and display to marketing and money-making through masquerade spectacle, cultural clubs and renting of masks and costumes as a new way to financially sustain its members (Fenton 2016).

Although the government administered Cultural Centre in the '80s and '90s provided the multi-ethnic Calabar youths with spaces to express their talents with regard to entertainment and mimicry of North American shows and music, the Calabar Festival and Carnival Calabar with their global media presence provided Calabar youths with an unprecedented bigger digitalized stage with which they began to make new contacts, experiments and project a new and more creative image of themselves. That image, as we would show, has been catalysed by the emergence of hip hop, through which Calabar youths are negating the stereotypes of a sleepy, civil service oriented, marginal and less enterprising people. It is within this media-saturated, tourism-defined and multiple interactive contexts that hip hop in Calabar is creatively propagated and sustained by a number of ambitious hip hop artists, most prominent among whom are groups such as Okpo Recordz (consisting Lucifer and G-Cubes), rapper Upper X, Spiderman, Jonny Cage, Ice Boxx, 8-Miles, producers Dr Ritzy and Fresh R and the internationally acclaimed award winning Inya'nya, who for reason of his fame is seen as patron by some Calabar hip hop artists.

Over the years, it was common to hear the mass media projecting Lagos as the melting pot of Nigeria's hip hop cultural industry. Only those who can break-through the Lagos market are believed to be successful. In this regard it becomes necessary to underscore the point that for Calabar hip hop artists as it is for hip hop artists in Nigeria generally, the market / industry and the art / culture of hip hop are intricately connected; confirming the fact that in "[hip hop] entrepreneurial spirit aligns music-making with self-making" (Shirpley 2013). While aspiring youths strive towards stardom, they are ultimately conscious of the entrepreneurial value and capital that come from developing a brand around themselves. The point has been made somewhere else of the fact that Naija hip hop artists have become brand promoters for mobile telephone companies as well as many other corporate business, which in turn have motivated these young Nigerians to establish their own businesses in commerce, entertainment and agriculture (Author 2022). Thus, it is this image of the star as a big man or "maga" in popular Naija parlance that fires the young hip hop artist in Calabar to be ingenuous even in music-making. No research has investigated the creative agency of any hip hop group that operates at the periphery of Lagos and no study has explored how some marginalised youths within the margins of Lagos use the tool of hip hop to assert themselves within their social world. The present study aims to fill this gap. This article examines the ways in which young men in Nigeria engage in hip hop as a mode of expression, engagement and entertainment from the account of Appadurai's (1996, 2002) theory of electronic mediation and migration as co-constitutive agencies of modernity. It demonstrates the role of hip hop as an art form, way of life and commercialised product based on the nuanced perspectives of a few case studies of local hip hop exponents.

1. A background on Naija hip hop music

Nigerian Hip Hop music, popular called Naija Hip Hop, is a youth-based cultural brand that emerged in the early 1990s. Coming after the American disco and soul music influenced by popular music of Chris Mba, Chris Okotie, Onyeka Onwenu, and Felix Liberty among others in the 1980s. Naija hip hop is modelled after the dominant American Hip Hop music that became a major imported entertainment for young people in the 1990s. Though American hip hop provides Naija hip hop with its form (Shonekan 2012), the fact that this music genre has been able to fuse into itself the qualities of other precursor popular music genres such as West African High Life, Fela Anikulapo Kuti’s Afro Beats, Fuji, Akpala, Juju and many other indigenous traditional music brands has made it a typical hybrid art form (Shonekan 2012 & author, 2022). From early practitioners such as Junior and Pretty, Daddy Showkey, Zaki Azeez and many others, Naija hip hop music has developed from a rustic experimental genre to become a sophisticated part of the complex Naija hip hop culture that includes graffiti, MCing, dance, rap, and fashion.

Apart from the cultural motifs that have characterised this brand of youth-based music, it is important to note that the socio-political and economic antecedents of the 80s and 90s have also come together to define this music genre. Earlier studies (author 2008 and Omoniyi 2009) have shown that the Structural Adjustment Programme inaugurated by the Nigerian government in the 80s, as part of its economic revitalization strategy, plunged the country into deep economic straits which resulted in wide scale poverty and desperation. The brain drain and massive migration that attended the (SAP) economy virtually eroded the middle class and installed a social system of greed, high crime rate and superstition. It was within the circumstance of abject poverty, dictatorship, dilapidated social facilities, lack of social insurance, mutual distrust and impunity that the generation of youths who are now the exponents of Naija hip hop were born. Bequeathed a culture of lack and impunity, yet sensitive of this social circumstance, these youth have factored their situation into productive cultural endeavours, part of which include hip hop music along with the blossoming Nollywood film industry and Stand-up comedy among many other forms popular culture genres that leverage on the new media. Therefore, at the core of Naija Hip Hop, is a youth-based cultural politics that speaks of injustices, dispossession and marginalization of the Nigeria generally. The platform of hip hop has proven to be a tool through which young people in Nigeria speak truth to power and playfully create a world of their desire. It is worthy of note that emerging Calabar Hip Hop, shares some salient features with American Hip Hop (or rap) as a genre of popular music. The rhythmic style of both brands of music is accompanied by rapping, chant and rhythmic speech, and the stylistic elements include MCing, DJing, and graffiti writing. The American rap styles that are yet to be incorporated into Calabar hip hop include turntable, scratching and breakdancing. While the precursors of American rap music constitute Blues, Jazz, combined rhythm with spoken words to create rap-vibes (Morgan & Bennett 2011), the precursor of Calabar Hip Hop has been traced to the old masquerade tradition of the Efik people. Significantly, poverty and lack of acceptance of the genre outside ghetto neighbourhood in America have been responsible for the slow pace of the development of this genre of music especially in the electronic media during the early stage of its birth (Dyson 2007). Conversely, the factor of poverty has been the bolster and creative impulse for participants in this study to recreate and transform a masquerade culture into a hip hop tradition. This piece of evidence has shown how similar and different Naija hip hop, more broadly, has been from American Hip Hop. This needs to be properly contextualised before making connections to global hip hop.

Deriving from earlier studies on Nigerian Hip Hop (author 2013) we use the term “Naija” as a youth nomenclature for the Nigerian nation. The name, which probably emerged in the 1990s,

encapsulates the character and cultural identity of the Nigerian postcolony in all its desperation, creative ingenuity and resilience. In popular parlance, the name functions as a signifier for the Nigerian citizen and the nation state at the same time. Therefore, we find it apt to use the term in this study to further characterise and strengthen the identity of hip hop in Nigeria as a youth-based cultural form. That identity is further given expression in the Nigerian hip hop National Language (HHNL) which is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual code consisting of strands of the multiple indigenous Nigerian languages with Nigerian Pidgin (NP) as its common denominator (Omoniyi 2009). It is the peculiar manner through which the Calabar youth, located at the margins of Nigeria's Hip Hop culture have contributed to this diverging Hip Hop National Language in Nigeria and in turn complexify the embodiment that Alim (2009) refers to as the Global Hip Hop Nation that we interrogate in this paper.\

2. Scholarship on Naija Hip Hop

It is important to note that more than any other youth cultural genre in Nigeria, hip hop seems to be attracting much more scholarly attention. In this regard, author (2016) like Tope Omoniyi (2009) gives us a deep theoretical insight to the emergence and development of Nigerian Hip Hop,. Author (2013), Adedeji (2013) and Okuyade (2009) have engaged Nigerian hip hop as a postcolonial art that is socially relevant. In the same vein Laidi (2012) critically concentrates on examining multilingualism, a defining feature of Nigerian Hip Hop, as the main reason for the music's appeal across the Nigerian populace. About the transnational quality of the music in Nigeria it is, perhaps, Shonekan (2012) that more deeply interrogates the cultural genre as a hybrid form.

Facing the controversy on the relationship between deviant behaviour and hip hop music, Lazarus (2018) engages the interrelationship between hip hop artist and "cyber-fraudsters" known as "Yahoo-boys" in Nigeria. Perhaps the most recent major study on Nigerian Hip Hop Nation is the special issue on Nigerian popular music in the journal *Contemporary Music Review* (2020) in which many of the essays concentrate on Nigerian Hip Hop,. Although the essays on hip hop in that volume present us with interesting dimensions to the study of Nigerian hip hop, their authors have prioritized perspectives on the socio-cultural and political implication of hip hop in Nigeria. Intriguing insights to this can be gleaned in Akingbe and Onanuga's (2020) intertextual study entitled, "Voicing Protest: Performance, cross-cultural revolt in Gambino's 'This is America' and Falz's 'This is Nigeria'". Though this slant of functionality has inflections in other papers, three essays by Adeniyi (2020), Olusegun-Joseph (2020) and Eze (2020) focus on the representations of women in Nigerian Hip Hop. While Olusegun-Joseph's essay is interested in the ambivalent signification of women in Nigerian hip hop as a postmodern practice, Adeniyi and Eze seem to be in conversation with each other over the moralist/ethical representation of women in Nigerian Hip Hop,. As if to provide practical prove of the manner in which youth linguistic creativity has impact on society, Onanuga and Onanuga (2020) show that the linguistic creativity of hip hop artists has influence on the "intersections of [Nigerian Hip Hop] music and youth behaviour within the Nigerian environment" especially among Nigerian University students. In this way, the authors seem to have extended scholarship on Nigerian Hip Hop (youth) linguistic creativity that we find in author (2016). While these intellectual precedence have properly provided scholarship on the quality of the hip hop in Nigeria, there is the need to begin to interrogate the sub-regional, local and transnational varieties of hip hop in Nigeria in order to trace the cultural idioms that have come together to give form to that bigger polyglot phenomenon called the Nigerian Hip Hop Nation (NHHN) as a distinctive genre in the Global Hip Hop

Nation (GHHN). This study zeros in on Calabar hip hop exponent in this direction in order to foreground the creative striving and ingenuity of this particular group of youths at the fringes of globalization, yet contributing to a multilingual art form.

3. Theoretical Positions

Our apprehension of the emergence and the socio-cultural strategies through which Calabar hip hop has been sustained in the Nigerian Hip Hop Nation could be succinctly comprehended within Arjun Appadurai's (1996) theory of electronic mediation and migration as co-constitutive agencies that have, more than any other force, determined individual striving, (collective) imagination and the politics of representation in the world today. For Appadurai, though the joint forces of migration and media are not entirely new in human history, the manner in which they have connected in what he refers to as the “postelectronic world” has radicalised socio-cultural phenomena, the imagination, inter-personal relations and the very idea of nationhood. Indeed, migration has been an agency for the spread, experience and formation of different forms of modernities. As Appadurai would have it, the movement of relatives, friends and associates from north America to the southern hemisphere and vice versa has brought images, through audio-visual cassettes, magazines and even oral narratives, to localities that had been hitherto remote from such metropolis. The coincidence of electronic media (telephones, radio, television) and migration have not only facilitated the spread and experience of the modern but they have on their own constituted agencies through which individuals and groups re-imagine and represent themselves. Intriguingly, the proliferation and availability of electronic media have not only made images from far afield available to different localities, they have tremendously narrowed the gap between the two poles of diaspora/metropolis and home/localities. More significant to us in this study is the fact that the agencies of electronic media have even radicalised the phenomenon of the imagination. Given their availability, liberality and functionality, electronic media have decentred creativity, taken it away from the control of a closed circle of elites to the domain of the ordinary and the populace. In this popular domain the electronic media have engendered more radical and democratized imagination and creativity than has been hitherto witnessed. It is this limitless/borderless capacity of new technology that hip hop scholars credit the growth and spread of hip hop around the world (Terkourafi 2009).

For us, the circumstance that surrounds the emergence of Calabar Hip Hop in the Nigerian Hip Hop Nation bears testimony to Appadurai's deft thinking on the interplay of migration and the electronic media as vectors of globalization and modernity. Indeed, as we will show, the wave of migration within the Nigerian postcolony, the phenomenal proliferation of digital media and their accessories (compact disc player, cell phones, personal computers, software and satellite television) and the astute thinking of the Donald Duke administration (1999-2007) in exploiting the resources of the media for its tourism politics in the millennium have offered Calabar youths new resources for self-expression, representation and empowerment. The constellation of cultural forces from the Igbo, Ibibio, Oron, Anang, Efik and Ijaw youths that gave birth to masquerade cult performances such as Agaba, have been appropriated by Calabar youths in the millennium to articulate new forms of youth based cultural politics through hip hop. Therefore, the imagination that manifests in this example of Nigerian Hip Hop, can be described as truly “heteroglossic” (Bakhtin 1981), “translational” (Bhabha, 1994) and deterritorialized (Appadurai 1996). This is because it bears the tensions and cultural motifs that arise from the consilience of different cultural motifs from within the postcolony and the diaspora. Calabar youths have utilized the cultural mosaic of hip hop as creative tool

to express specific identities and negotiate spaces in the highly competitive Nigerian Hip Hop Nation with its cultural capital in the mega city of Lagos.

However, equally important to this discourse is the language through which these Nigerian youths in this study have harnessed the ramifications of the cultural forces around them in recreating themselves and negotiating spaces in the Nigerian/Global Hip Hop Nation. The radical multi-modal, individualized yet creatively connected nature of that language is best appreciated through Alim's (2009) exquisite appropriation of, among other linguistic anthropologists, Blommaert's "Sociolinguistics of globalization" in developing what he has in turn theorised as "Hip Hop Linguistics (HHLx)" Defining this form of global sociolinguistics, Alim (2009:5) says it is:

an interdisciplinary study of Hip Hop Language practices in a global context, with particular attention to the global social and linguistic processes" that birthed it in the US and the dynamic ways in which that language is appropriated, performed, transformed and reconfigured as an agency in diverse Hip Hop cultures.

In this paradigm "language is viewed as culture", and beyond its abstract structural sense, it is seen as part of the cultural currency/tool in the globalizing process. It is in this context of language as culture that we shall be discussing the appropriation and manifestation of style/stylization in the agencies of dance, pose, graffiti and fashion as linguistic forms by Calabar youths within the diverse "politico-linguistic context" of Global Hip Hop Nation (Alim 2009) to perform their idiosyncrasies and stamp their presence in the Nigerian Hip Hop nation and in the global Hip Hop community.

4. Methodology

This work arises from a longitudinal ethnographic study that adopts participant observations, semi-structured interviews and informal conversations as the main elicitation techniques. For a period of six years we have been following a circle of hip hop artists, MCs, DJs, producers and studio managers with whom we had engaged as participants in this study. They were (N=20) young men within the age bracket of 20-34 who were selected through purposive sampling technique. The socio-demographic characteristics of participants such as gender, educational background, occupation, marital status, ethnicity and religious affiliation were documented. All participants were males. 4 participants (20%) were university graduate 12 (60%) participants were high school graduate, and 4 (20%) of them did not advance education beyond the primary school level. Beyond their engagement with hip hop community, all participants have other jobs in night clubs, broadcast industries and as sale persons. Others get patronage from parents, public spirited individual, government and cultural connoisseurs. Only 2 (10%) participants were married. The rest were bachelors. All participants see themselves as Calabar boys by virtue of their prolonged residence and acculturation even if their indigenous ethnic groups included: Biase, Yakurr, Ibibio, Oron, Efik and Igbo. All participants reported to be Christians by religious affiliation. The research was approved by the ethical committee of the University of Calabar, and participants gave informed consents for all interviews and recordings.

Participant observations enabled the researchers to assume the role of subjective participants and objective observers in their community of practice. Spradley (1980) notes that participant observations aim to gain close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals and their practices through intensive involvement with their natural environment over an extensive

period of time. Through this approach, we understudied and observed behaviour, investigated social or linguistic phenomena in greater depth in a natural setting, and recorded hip hop sessions in live shows. This method helped us to access the thought processes of the young people we are understudying and to appreciate better and more intimately how they make meaning through their cultural production and consumption.

Semi-structured interviews allowed participants the freedom of self-expression given the benefit of open-ended questions. This approach enabled questions to be adapted or changed based on participants' answer (McLeod 2004). It afforded the researchers an opportunity to dig deep into participants' socio-historical engagements with hip hop. The approach also offered participants an opportunity to share their opinions, ideas and perspectives on some of their experiences that facilitated the creation of their Hip Hop brand. This collaboration was pertinent to understand reactions and perceptions of participants about the kind of situations they faced that prompted them into this enterprise. We asked questions on the social networks that they relied on in making decisions to create their own brand of hip hop, and the issues they have to deal with in making these moves. Questions were also asked on what they would do differently if they were to initiate these efforts anew.

Metalinguistic conversations or small talks helped the researchers to gain other contextual information which were hidden in the previous modes of enquiry. Driessen and Jansen (2013) describe this approach as “the hidden core and the engine of ethnographic research”. Questions were generated on the spur of the moment, and researchers gained knowledge about the different elements of their subcultural capital such as music, rap, graffiti, DJing, and MCing. We also elicited responses on how they negotiate authenticity, and aspects of the fusion of their local brand with the global hip hop culture. We found out the persistent theme of their music and how they related with their music in terms of content and language. It was from these interactions that we encountered cultural texts in the street in an intertextual, postmodern and postcolonial context in order to engage the disparate cultural forces that defined Nigeria's hip hop creativity and also tease out the cultural heritage that the unstable, equally multiform popular texts bequeath us. Moreso, because of the convergences in themes and experiences as elicited from the testimonies of our interviewees, we have decided to foreground the perspective of Ephraim (AKA Lucifer) whose interesting narratives of growth in hip hop we find more formidable and expressive of the generally temper of his peers in the industry in Calabar. It is for this reason that we have chosen to negotiate our discussion through his story. Finally, it is important to add that data collected were coded, transcribed and checked (for accuracy). It was also categorised into relevant themes of participants' experiences and productions. The descriptive and analytical approaches were adopted in data interpretation and discussion.

5. Results

5.1 Articulating a Naija project identity and negotiating spaces in global hip hop nation

In this article, our concept of a Naija (Nigerian) hip hop Nation is derived from the now established concept of a Global Hip Hop Nation (GHHN), which is itself an appropriation of Benedict Anderson's (1991) theory of the “imagined community”. For hip hop scholars, the Global Hip Hop Nation (GHHN) is a multi-ethnic, multiracial, trans-cultural, multilingual community of multiple players (Alim 2003; Higgins 2009) – producers, musicians, rappers, dancers, DJs, MCs, marketers, fans among many others – who may not know one another but are bound by the principles of the hip hop culture or what Anderson (1991), in reference to the

bond that ties nations together, refers to as “the image of their communion”. This image in the hip hop nation is constituted by a peculiar youth politics, ideology, an African American sounding system and a passion for the pursuit of style. Indeed style/stylization as a major linguistic code for hip hop exponents is the main conduit through which other idioms are systematized to establish a formidable identity and cultural capital in that creative “translocal style community” (Alim 2009:104). Located in this global imagined nation is the Nigerian Hip Hop Nation (NHHN) which has been defined as a multilingual, multiethnic nation “with Nigerian Pidgin as a common denominator” (Omoniyi 2009:12). Yet, we must add here that this Nigerian Hip Hop Nation (NHHN) bears the angst and collective experiences of the multicultural peoples who have been yoked together by colonialism. Therefore, Calabar hip hop, is a formidable “style community” within the Nigerian / Global Hip Hop Nation defined by the cosmopolitan afro-diasporic and heterogeneous ethnic cultures that have formed the Calabar city.

As players in the Naija (Nigerian) Hip Hop Nation, Calabar Hip Hop exponents have asserted their membership of that nation by recognizing and engaging in an aggressive creative competition that is characteristic of the entire Global Hip Hop Nation (GHHN). This competition, which is part of the strategies by hip hop practitioners to establish a peculiar “project identity” (Keissling and Mous 2004) through the exploitation of idiosyncratic indigenous socio-cultural idioms in the construction of what they themselves have referred to as “keeping it real” has been the motivation that has sustained Calabar Hip Hop within the Naija/Global Hip Hop Nation. Given the background of their marginality and the collective psychology of Naija hip hop artists to make it big by launching into the Lagos market, their closest access to global fame, Calabar Hip Hop artists have adopted several strategies that have not only kept the art thriving in their locale but have intriguingly, contributed motifs into the bigger Naija / Global Hip Hop Culture. In the sections that follow we proceed by discussing two major categories under which these Nigerian youths in the Calabar Hip Hop community have tenaciously distinguish themselves, thereby making a creative impact in the Nigerian Hip Hop Nation. We do this through the lens of Lucifer, an articulate member and a driving force of OkpoRecordz, which is one of the most visible hip hop crews in Calabar, Nigeria.

5.2 “I Rep’ Calabar”: Hip Hop Nationalism in Calabar

Hip hop is a cultural phenomenon that thrives on in-grouping and the establishment of socio-cultural bonds through shared vision, codes and performances. This bond is perhaps indexed by what Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have described as a “community of practice”, which constitutes a group of people bonding “around mutual engagement in an endeavour” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). Hip hop practioners have variously identified their “communities of practice” by group names such as Family, Crew, Niggas, Buddy or Hood. These terms are indicative of their members’ shared values and commitment to the group’s vision or sub-cultural practices. Although patriotism to hip hop crews has sometimes degenerated to inter-group violence in some climes, the commitment to crew practices has been more creatively productive than deprecating. Working against the circumstance of economic lack, technical deficit, poor promotional and marketing infrastructure Calabar Hip Hop exponents have displayed a deep sense of love for and commitment to Calabar, its people and culture. This corroborates the claim by Decker (1993) that self-expression within hip hop is closely tied to the concept of locality and a representation of one’s own geographical area or place. Over the years, our conversations with youths who have promoted hip hop in

Calabar reveals a stubborn determination “to make it” (be successful) in spite of their obvious limitations and the bluff of Lagos based hip hop artists, who for Calabar Hip Hop youths should mentor and lift struggling and talented artists in peripheral regions such as Calabar to the hip hop headquarters in Lagos.

The story of the Okpo Recordz Crew, as told by Ephraim, AKA Lucifer, reveals a lot with regards to how Calabar youths are tenacious and creative in establishing a hip hop culture and business in their own domain of practice. Starting up as a dancer in his secondary school days, Ephraim left Calabar after secondary school to Lagos, where he hoped to connect with big players in the hip hop industry. But around 2004 he returned to Calabar on hearing of the fame and accomplishments of Inya’nya, which gave him more conviction that he could make it back home in Calabar. On his return to Calabar Lucifer “hooked up” with his “nigger” Upper X with whom they started a project with the aim of encouraging the youth. Because, as he said:

Nobody believed in us [...], no body think that you can make it through music. Moreover, people were [...] like [...] nothing good could come out of Calabar. So we decided to encourage ourselves. We even used our school fees to promote some of the music we even did. We decided to build our own market [...], to build our own love. (interviewed 6/5/17)

Insisting that they needed to develop a home grown brand, Lucifer went on to say that:

Other people have their own markets [...], the East Coast (the Igbo) have their own, the West Coast, (the Yoruba) have their own [...] what about us in the south-south [...]? We need to create our own market..., our own love. So we decided to come with this thing called ‘keep the change’ which is meant to develop our talent and promote our own project in the Akwa-Cross region (Akwa Ibom and Cross River States). Then in 2013/2014 we created ‘OkpoRecordz’ which now is our major umbrella which we used and had our major hit track ‘Chi Chum Chin’, a Collabo with Jony Cage and Ice Boxx. So, OkpoRecordz now encourages talents from Football, theatre, entertainment, music [...] whatever [...], bring it together, as far as you are Akwa-Cross (interviewed 6/5/17).

The narrative of Lucifer co-articulates with that of that of Ice Boxx, a Calabar rapper, who began professional rapping around 2010/2011, and has done some free-style with internationally acclaimed Naija rapper M.I. along with his own crew Ice Prince and Jessie Jags on the Carnival Calabar stage. Regretting the poor mobility of the numerous Calabar hip hop artists, in spite of their obvious creative promise, Ice Boxx avers that he will continue to “rep’ Calabar” (represent Calabar), because he believes “they (Calabar artists) have what it takes to make them excel” (interviewed April 2017). It is with the same resolve but, perhaps with more entrepreneurial zeal to surmount the obvious challenges around his generation, that Ralph AKA Fresh R (CEO of the Calabar based Junk House Studio) got determined, as early as 2004 to establish a recording studio that will tap the dispersed creativity of upcoming artists in Calabar. Telling how he started, Fresh R says though he was a student at the university of Calabar, he began to save money until he could buy his first laptop and convinced his parents to give him a little space in their family garage where, with the collaboration of some friends he started recording his friends’ early attempts at rap. Presently,

by dint of hard work and creativity, Fresh R runs a studio that records hip hop and youth interactive programmes for local Frequency Modulation (FM) radio stations in Calabar. “M-e-n” he told us, “my ultimate dream is to establish the first urban and lifestyle TV station east of the (River) Niger... and it can be done”! (Interviewed in March 2013).

Although we have not seen such a television station established by Fresh R, he is, with young men like Emmanuel Duke (Duke of the Air-Waves), a major voice in the Cross River State urban lifestyle radio programming and one of the most notable young On Air Personality (OAP) in the State, where Calabar is metropolitan capital. However, the testimonies of Lucifer and other young hip hop exponents in Calabar as seen above are discourse sites in which we can uncouple a lot of sensibilities. In it we perceive an expression of the antimonies that are characteristic of Nigeria’s trouble federation since British colonialism. That sense of territoriality behind the urge to build “our own market, our own love... in the south-south” speaks volumes of the manner in which the youths are invariably building on a divisive politics/geography that political elites have established in the postcolony. For non-Nigerians, the geographical delineation (south-south) may be an awkward and perhaps meaningless description, but for these young people, as it is for every other Nigerian, south-south is a description of the minorities that make up the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. While the description may not make maximal geographical sense, ignoring it in Nigeria’s crisis laden federalism is at much political risk.

On the other hand, though their testimonies are unreserved confessions of the same impulse that might have motivated Timaya, a bigger artist from Bayelsa (south-south Nigeria), who by sheer tenacity and hard work excelled in his music and broke into the Lagos hip hop circle. Timaya, who calls himself the “Egberi Papa I (One) of Bayelsa” is arguably the biggest hip hop dance music maker in the same region as the young, aspiring and self-motivating hip hop exponents in Calabar. In much of his music, Timaya unashamedly expresses the impulse to conquer the bane of poverty and the desire to break through “the Lagos market”. This psychology has also remained the main catalyst in the sustenance the hip hop culture in the region generally and Calabar in particular. What is more revealing in the testimonies of Lucifer and Fresh R, is the realization of the fact that they can exploit the digital technology of the late modern period to re-imagine themselves, assume a voice and galvanise their peers into a community of practice. Through the acquisition and manipulation of new digital devices, evidenced in the conversation of Fresh R they imagine a new reality and a future for themselves. Notice how Fresh R thinks he would be the first to establish an urban lifestyle television station in his sub-region in Nigeria. In this way these Nigerian youths are bringing into reality—the capacity of new digital technology to incarnate a new future. But within their testimonies, especially in the resolve of Lucifer to reach out to like-minds, we see the consciousness to create a crew, a “community of practice” through which they can perpetrate their own love, a metaphoric expression of their style, politics and identity. More so, one observes that even if Lucifer and his friends are deliberately imagining a local image for themselves that identity is given global relevance by grafting local to the international through the lexemes of Global Hip Hop National language evidence in the use of American terms such as “east coast”, “west coast”, and “crew” among others.

5.3 “Street Credibility”: From Folk Arena to Hip Hop Fame

The narrative of the emergence and development of hip hop in Nigeria generally is a testimony of the industry and resilience of youths growing up in a chequered and dispossessed nation. These upward mobile youths are daily confronted with the realities of duress and enduring personal hardship occasioned by socio-political uncertainties and economic marginalisation which are shaped by the structure of the Nigerian state (Ligtvoet 2018). The dispossession and strive which the generation of Nigerian youth born from the 1970s through the 1980s have had to live with has pushed them to desperate limits and tasked them to devise means of survival. Described generally as part of Africa’s “lost generation” (O’Brien 2006) the youth who are using Hip Hop as a veritable means for self-expression, subjectivity and economic empowerment have exploited the principles of the art, as perfected in the diaspora, to work out their survival from the street. It is in praise of the sheer wit and industry of the Nigerian youth to survive by the street in a depressed neo-liberal, neo-colonial economy that 9ice (pronounced “Nice”), in his hit track (featuring 2Face) entitled “Street Credibility”, sings:

My brain drain [is] working all day
I’m made on the streets
Originality work for me
Why I no go blow (Why wouldn’t I succeed) (Youtube.com).

Calabar Hip Hop producers have shown great dexterity and wit in the manner in which they have exploited their folk idioms to consolidate their art, entertain their home audience and *keep it real* or authenticate their presence in the Naija/Global Hip Hop Nation. A few examples of this ingenuity will help us to illustrate this point. Arising from their ideology to evolve a home-grown hip hop culture, the OkpoRecordz crew appropriated and adapted the name of an iconic local itinerant masquerade known as “Okpo Record” (“Okpo” in Efik/Ibibio slang stands for male). The masquerade, which is a creation of the street, is a performance that belongs to an indigenous popular satiric comic repertoire. In its mimicry of modernity, the folk Okpo Record is usually a bearded male persona, who wears tattered oversized coat and a tie upon equally oversized trousers and a weather-beaten pair of shoes. To display the luxurious living of local nouveau riche, the masquerade carries a radio cassette player from which he plays and dances ludicrously to any contemporary tune. Patronage for the masquerade comes from his local street audience who may toss in money or offer gifts of food items in appreciation of his comic acts.

In giving us the reason behind their appropriation of the name for their crew, Lucifer projects a logic that is at once intriguing as it is also ideologically loaded:

For us now, there is a masquerade before, before [some time ago / in the past] in Calabar called “Okpo Record”. You see, there is *Okpo* meaning man in Calabar language [Efik] and there is *Record*, meaning music. We take the name for ourselves and people are now saying “why of all names do you take the name of a masquerade”? And we say “No...!, We are now the new *Okpo*..., the new men, the new OkpoRecordz with Music”. We take our music, go to the studio, put it in a CD (Compact Disc) and then bring it out to you in the street to dance. You who say Okpo is stupid... now you, who is wise, dance to Okpo’s sweet melody from the studio... *abi* [don’t you agree with me]. (authors’ interview 6/5/17)

If one reflects carefully on Lucifer's reason one would appreciate an ideologically guided appropriation and transformation of a folk performance for the needs of a new postmodern world. It is indeed instructive that in adopting a name for themselves, the OkpoRecordz crew, has survived a dying art, one which Lucifer, through his Nigerian Pidgin (NP), says existed "before, before (some time ago)". In this way they have creatively transformed a dying art and enliven it with new meaning and character for a new age. His logic is also indicative of the transformation of an artistic agency as can be seen in his emphasis on *newness* in his speech above. The old (folk) Okpo Record was a singular male masquerade, who only makes caricature of an electronic form of modernity for his survival. Though the new OkpoRecordz still retains the masculine characterization, Lucifer insists that it is now a collective style community, made up of a number of young men. More so, the agency has changed, while the old Okpo uses the record of other artists on cassette tapes, the new Okpo produces their own record for the same audience who are now dependent on a new fast pace digital media, the Compact Disc (CD), Ipods, and Youtube.

Importantly, we need to underscore the power of (re)naming in the enterprise of the Okporecordz crew. Indeed, Lucifer's conversation testifies to the centrality of naming as a powerful tool of identification in hip hop style community (Alim, 2009; Omoniyi, 2009). In bringing newness to their society as a whole, Lucifer's crew had to reconstruct the syntax of a name rooted in traditional/indigenous grammar. In that grammar, the individual lexemes "Okpo" (noun) and "Record" (qualifier) belong to two different speech classes. Thus, the farcical male (masquerade) character (Okpo) is indexed by the radio (record). Radicalizing the folk name, Lucifer's crew displayed an ideological purchase into a new poststructuralist grammar in which semantic import is realised through the contravention of syntactic rules. It is in this perspective that the collapse of the two lexemes into one word "OkpoRecordz" makes sense as a nominal. Although Lucifer's crew may, in some contexts, interchangeably use the name as different words (Okpo Recordz), the use of the "z" is in conformity with the hip hop sounding practice, where "s" is stylised as "z". Hence, in the graphology of Lucifer's crew, we have a radical shift from the folk to the postmodern age. Yet, all these still pay credence to Alim's (2009) theory of style as an idiom in the corpus of hip hop's linguistic "mobile matrices". Within these mobile matrices, "style, practices (graffiti, dance, clothes...), ideologies, knowledges, and aesthetics..." travel across the globe, are appropriated and re-contextualised/"remixed" to suite local purposes. This is what manifests in OkpoRecordz search of an identity in the Nigerian hip hop nation.

In a music project that is aimed at addressing gang violence and crime at street corners, the OkpoRecordz crew seized the space of a long wall in a usually quiet but vulnerable street corner in Calabar to make a creative statement through graffiti. Entitled "Welcome to Bateba" after the street Bateba in Calabar South Local Government Area, the music project is a mix tape single that berates the government for its failure to provide electric power which should ensure relative security for the street. But what is interesting for us at this point is the iconic artistic representation of an OkpoRecordz personality in the graffiti on the concrete fence of Bateba. Here, again, these hip hop artists use the agency of their counter-culture to make positive reconstructive statements on their society. Their appropriation and transformation of the folk idiom for the exigencies of their own time is an affirmation of the dynamics of the imagination in their generation. At this time the forces of the electronic/digital media and migration do not only liberate the imagination but make it a collective phenomenon, empowering the common folk for the expression of the everyday. But more significantly, by

deriving ideological verve from a folk form to articulate a postmodern identity, the OkpoRecordz crew has demonstrated that in spite of living in a postmodern time, they can express their identity by being rooted in indigenous traditions. Here-in lies part of their own strategy of establishing their authenticity within the Nigerian hip hop nation.

However, it is not only in their name that the OkpoRecordz crew has shown their creative ingenuity and authenticity. The group boasts of having created the dance style called “Skwinik”, which is now popular around the Akwa-Cross (Akwa Ibom & Cross River states) axis. Although some young people contest OkpoRecordz’s claim of having created the Skwinik dance style, there is no doubt that the group has established and made the dance style very popular among youths in the region by their music track that goes by the same name. Attempting to trace the origin of the dance style Sylver Maxwell, a Calabar professional dancer, agrees that Skwinik just started in the streets of Calabar South. As the coinage, which does not have any lexical meaning in any of the Cross River languages, would suggest the dance performance is only imitative of the movement of a cripple (interviewed April 2018). As Sylver would suggest the dance is imitative of a cripple and the phonemes of the coinage is an ideophone of a cripple’s mobile challenge which is replicated in the song by OkpoRecordz.

Do you think you can dance?
Can you dance until you pick pin?
Skwinik skwinik skwinik ...

For a generation to whom dance is not just for pleasure, but an agency of performing belonging, collective identity and a professional tool for negotiating spaces in the Global Hip Hop Nation, taking credit for evolving a dance style is a mark of distinction. This explains OkpoRecordz’s contestation for the copyright of the dance style. What more, dance in Naija hip hop, as it is for hip hop culture in all other parts of the world, is a cultural equipment that sells music and popularizes an artist or a crew. We can see this in the association of “Galala” with Daddy Showkey’s and Baba Fryo’s music, “Suwo” with the music of the duo Mad Melon and Captain Black, “Shakiti Bobo” with music of Olamide and “Leg-work/Gbese!” with the music of Burna Boy.

Perhaps less controversial but even more popular is “Etighi”, another dance style that has its origin from the streets of Calabar South and is associated with hip hop in Calabar. Identified by an alternate raising of the heels and hips, Etighi gained prominence and traction in Nigeria and indeed globally after internationally acclaimed Naija Hip Hop musician Inya’nya popularised it in his music “Kukere”. In Lagos, at the height of its vogue in Nigeria, Etighi became known as “Two-steps”, which speaks volume of the manner in which style as performance code travels across cultural spaces, gets appropriated and re-appropriated in context. Today, Etighi, which derives its name from the Efik name for Okra (*Abelmoschus esculentus*) like “Skwinik” remains Calabar’s gift to Nigeria, if not to the Global Hip Hop Nation as a whole. Here again, we have another instance of how style as an idiom is exploited to re-imagine the folk/local and connect it with the global. Indeed, herein lays the essence of authenticity, which is the ultimate quest for hip hop artists round the globe (Terkuorafi 2010:5). Calabar youth have effectively signed their membership of the Global Hip Hop Nation by a localization process that infuses the idiom of “local practices such as music, dance, story-telling, painting and masquerading” to their own practice of an international art

form (Pennycook and Mitchell 2009: 27). From these accounts, we can say that the ultimate purpose of Calabar hip hop is to function as a source of economic empowerment; to remove these artists from the claws of poverty with its accompanying social vices like gang violence and drug use and abuse. Some of the participants are on the verge of making prosperous career thus transform themselves as successful entrepreneurs that can provide wealth for their families. Hip hop is also an art form that enables artist to experience themselves eloquently through their music. They create beautiful art in their songs, relate their personal experiences, ridicule and expose social vices and generate topical issues for the society to reflect on. In this respect, proponent of local hip hop also see their engagement with this genre as a way of life.

6. Conclusion

The transformations that hip hop has witnessed all over the world is a proof of its adaptability as a cultural tool expressed through different idioms. Perhaps no other cultural production is so readily available and adaptable than hip hop has proven to be through the late 20th and 21st century. It is easy to extol the grandeur of hip hop as a global phenomenon and even easier to ignore the different cultural filiations that have contributed to its global repertoire. In this article we have given attention to its emergence and dynamics among a group of (Calabar) youths in Nigeria from the account of Appadurai's (1996, 2001) notion of cultural flow in which hip hop flows have been seen to create, reproduce and transform geographic spaces. More importantly, we have also identified different strategies through which this youth have habituated hip hop in their cultural space. By these cultural dynamics we have argued that Calabar youths have been able to negotiate spaces for themselves in the Naija hip hop nation and created an industry / market for themselves. By all standards Calabar and its youths are located at the periphery of global cultural attention. So also, are their cultural productions, which can be easily suffocated and glossed over by dominant cultural studies that look at the big story from dominant culture players. By interrogating how the creative industry of Calabar youths in the Naija hip hop nation connects to the larger firmament of Global hip hop, we have drawn attention to the cultural filiations that have inadvertently re-enforced and characterised it in the millennium. For us, it is important that scholars of cultural studies begin to attend to the intricate ways in which marginal voices such as those of the Calabar hip hop community in Nigeria evolve strategies of self-expression and respond to the pressures of globalization

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Non thematic

The implicatures on Outdoor Media Related to the Covid-19 Appeal

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Abstract

The bloom of reports in outdoor media such as circular letter, banners, and brochures regarding the appeals in preventing Covid-19 is interesting to analyze. This study aims to describe the meaning of implicatures and the causes of implicatures found in outdoor media, namely brochures, billboards, banners, and Covid-19 circular letter in the city of Lhokseumawe, Aceh, Indonesia. The type of research used in this research is qualitative with a descriptive-qualitative approach. 30 data were taken from outdoor media from February to May 2021. The data collection technique was carried out using the listen, be free, engage (get involved), talk (Simak Bebas Libat Cakap/SBLC) technique and take notes. After the data was collected, the next step was data analysis based on the formulation of the problem, namely how the meaning of implicatures and the causes of implicatures are. The meaning of implicatures was analyzed using the equivalent method by grouping the data based on the criteria and the advanced technique used by Equalizing/Distinguishing Comparison (Hubung Banding Menyamakan/Membedakan/HBSP) technique, while the causes of implicatures were analyzed using Dell Hymes theory, namely the SPEAKING speech component. The results of this study found that the meaning of implicatures contained in external media was in the form of conventional (96.6%) and non-conventional (3.33%) implicatures with implicature meanings in form of invitations, information, and appeals. The causes of implicatures found are influenced by the background of the atmosphere, the participants, the results, the message, the tone of speech, and the form of discourse.

Keywords

Analysis, Outdoor, Media, Conventional Non-conventional, Implications.

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Introduction

Media is a means or tool for conveying messages or as a mediator between communicators and communicants in delivering messages between humans. Media is as a channel or connecting channel during the communication process (Farzipoor Saen, 2011; Wu, Zhai & Liu, 2015). In its development, the media has undergone many developments. Undeniably, this development is caused by technology and industry that are advancing rapidly (Fatehkia et al., 2020; Garaus, 2020). One of the main topics that have been reported so far in all outdoor media is about the corona virus or Covid-19 (Chatti, 2021). This virus has spread almost all over the world or more than 100 countries and claimed thousands of lives (Alfaritsi, Anggraeni & Fadhil, 2020). The rise of news in outdoor media such as circulars, banners, and brochures regarding appeals to prevent Covid-19 has made researchers interested in analyzing this news.

Pragmatics is a science that studies language and the form of speech, which is more precisely speech (Béguin, 2016; Papastephanou, 2004; Romero-Trillo, 2018). External media can be used as objects for implicature studies considering that external media has a very broad scope in society. The text contained in the outdoor media contains implicit speech; there is an implied meaning in the speech. Speeches that imply something that has this meaning are called implicatures. Implicature is part of pragmatics which has an important thing that must be observed, namely the speech context (Ningtias, Rohmadi & Suyitno, 2014). Context is an inseparable part of the text. The interpretation of speech interaction is influenced by the context of the situation and culture.

This study describes the meaning of implicatures and the causes of implicatures in outdoor media that are contained in brochures, billboards, banners, and Covid-19 circulars in Lhokseumawe City. Based on what has been said above, the urgency of this research; for writers on the media: to be wiser in involving the use of good, correct, and polite language for readers; readers: for to be the clue in understanding implicature utterances and being able to respond in good, correct, and polite language; news researcher: can provide consideration of objects that still need to be developed, especially in terms of form, meaning, and reasons of using implicatures in other concrete situations to make them more useful for language users.

1. Implicature in Pragmatics

Discourse elements that will be analyzed in this study is implicature. In order to understand what the speaker means, the interlocutor must interpret his utterances (Nadar, 2009). Implicature is one of the topics discussed in pragmatics besides diction, presuppositions, speech acts, and aspects of discourse structure. Implicature comes from the verb 'to imply' while the noun is 'implication'. This verb comes from the Latin 'plicare' which means 'to fold' so that to understand what is being folded or stored must be done by opening it. In order to understand what the speaker means, the interlocutor must always interpret his speech.

Implicature is an utterance that implies something different from what was actually said (Hermanto, 2017). The something "different" is the speaker's intention that is not stated explicitly, in other words implicatures are hidden intentions, desires, or expressions of the heart. According to Grice, implicature is divided into two, namely (a) conventional implicature, and (b) non-conventional. Conventional implicature is the meaning of an utterance that is conventionally or generally accepted by society, while non-conventional implicature is an utterance that implies something different from what it actually is.

Implicatures are not expressed literally by speakers through speech, but there are other meanings that must be assumed by speakers. Implicature is easy for speakers to understand if both know each other and have experienced the topic experienced by the speaker. Implicatures can still not be known certainly if the speaker does not know the speaker's speech with the conditions accompanying the speech, especially the context. Mostly an utterance implies something and that something is hidden behind the literal of the utterance. This happens due to implicatures (Syaikhoh, Santoso & Winarsih, 2018).

In line with Leech, (Rahardi, 2003) reveals that the relationship between speeches is not absolute in the implicature. So, in implicature the relationship between the proposition and the speech implying it does not have to be absolute. Possibly, an utterance has a variety of meaning implicatures. Based on the explanation of the definition above, it can be concluded that implicature is the meaning of utterance that is conveyed implicitly in a conversation (Cohen & Krifka, 2014). The implied meaning can be in the form of suggestions, invitations, or appeals that are not conveyed in a straightforward manner (Bar-Lev, 2021; Chien, 2008).

The study of implicatures is felt to be important and even its relation to the context will be able to explain the implicit intentions of the speaker's speech acts. The understanding of the interlocutor in the context will not be the same as each other, that it results different meanings. Based on this phenomenon, the authors examine how the meaning of implicatures and the causes of implicatures occur in external media (billboards, banners, circulars letter, and brochures) as the formulation of the problem in this study.

2. Call for Covid-19 Prevention in Outdoor Media

There has been a lot of research on implicatures and contexts, but not much has been done in outdoor media, especially those related to the Covid-19 appeal. However, there are several

studies that are in line with this, such as that conducted by Arifianti (2018) with the research title "Conventional and Non-Conventional Implicatures of Visitors' Speech in Lawang Sewu Semarang Region, Central Java" which produces conventional and unconventional speech forms. Meanwhile, Fajrin et al., (2019) about "The Situation Context and Implicatures in the 'Semarang' and 'Sirpong' Suara Merdeka Daily Columns" found that there was an implicative language used in the discourse. The form of discourse is in the form of news or opinions and comments or responses from the editors. Another implicature study that is in line with this research is the result of Sari et al., (2021) entitled "Analysis on the Meaning of Implicatures in Public Service Advertising Discourse on Social Media" with the findings that there are 3 meanings of implicature, namely appeals/invitations, prohibitions, and warnings. It can also be seen from the study of Perizga et al (2021) entitled "Implicatures in the Covid-19 Discourse on Instagram" which found that there are two types of implicatures, namely conventional implicatures and conversational implicatures. Another implicature on social media is a study by Nurrahma (2018) with the title "Implications of Net Citizens Hate Speech on Instagram Social Media (Indonesian Political Issues 2017)" which contains the conclusion that the implicatures in netizens' hate speech include implicatures in the form of anti-criticism hate speech, failure to move -on, and Islamophobia. The same thing was also done by Astuti et al (2019) with the article title "Analysis on Implicatures in Political Meme Discourse on Instagram Accounts" which resulted the conclusion that the meaning of implicatures contained in political memes were in the form of political orders, political promises, satire, political anger, etc.

Implicature analysis was also studied by Irma & Hikmah (2021) with the study title "Analysis on Conventional Implicature of Memes in Radar Tegal Newspaper" with research results in form of an explanation of conventional implicatures in Radar Tegal newspaper memes. In addition, an implicature study has also been carried out on advertisements by Fawziyyah & Santoso (2017) with the title "Conversational Implicatures in Cosmetics Advertisements on Television: Pragmatic Studies" with the findings that there are three forms of implicature, namely representative implicature, directive-representative, and expressive-representative. Another one is Yuniarti's (2016) study with the title "Conversational Implicature in Humor Conversation" which contains the conclusion that there are implicatures in humorous conversations that often occur in the form of satire, ridicule, and flattery of entertaining jokes. Furthermore, the research conducted by Ningtias et al (2014) examined "Implicature Analysis in Donny Dhargantoro's 5 cm Novel" which contained the conclusion that there are two types of implicatures in this novel, namely conversational implicatures and conventional implicatures. Another implicature study in literary works is the study of Nurhamidah (2021) with the title "Implicature in Alfatah Nando's Short Movie Terlanjur Mencinta" with the conclusion that general conversational implicatures are identified, namely 12 implicatures in which 42% are due to violation of the maxim of etiquette, 33% are associated with maxim of relation, 17% for maxim of quantity, and 8% for maxim of quality. In addition, 4 conventional implicatures are found in the monologue. This study concludes that implicatures can be easily understood through the context of the situation.

The study of implicature is indeed interesting to study, not only on political discourse, but also on social media, electronics, and literary works. As Khairat (2018) said "Implicature in political discourse is one of interesting problems to be studied in linguistics". El khairat researched "Implicatures in Political Discourse on Indonesia lawyers Club Show" with the conclusion that implicatures have been found and used in political discourse at the Indonesia Lawyers Club by violating the principle of cooperation in declarative and negative forms, while interrogatives were not found in this broadcast.

Rahayu (2019) wrote the results of a study entitled "The Causes of Conversational Implicatures in Javanese Humor Discourse on The Thengil Rubric in Ancas Magazine" with the conclusion that the cause of the implicatures found in this study was a violation of the principles of cooperation and harmony. Meanwhile, Nugraheni (2011) wrote the results of a study entitled "Conversational Implications of Female and Male Characters in Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire Movie" by finding violations of maxims in the principle of cooperation and also the differences in the speech of male characters and women.

Previous research that has been done is different from this research. This study focuses on the types/ meanings of implicatures and the causes of implicatures found in outdoor media. The external media in this study is related to the Covid-19 appeal. Previous research analyzed implicatures in print media, social media, external media, but did not take any objects related to the Covid-19 appeal completely (Akour et al., 2021). Unlike the research results of Perizga et al (2021), this research looked at some external media. It looked at not only the meaning of implicature, but also the causes of implicatures

3. Method

The data for this research are data in the form of Indonesian texts contained in outdoor media, such as billboards, banners, circulars, and brochures related to the Covid-19 appeal in Lhokseumawe City. The data taken were 30 which were found in outdoor media from February to May 2021. The data collection technique was carried out with the technique of the listen, be free, engage (get involved), talk (Simak Bebas Libat Cakap/SBLC) technique and take notes and taking notes. In SBLC technique, the writer is not directly involved in determining the candidate data, the writer is only an observer of the speech that appears in linguistic events occurred outside of him (Sudaryanto, 2015). The note-taking technique is an advanced technique that is used when applying the listening method with advanced techniques (Mahsun, 2005). After the data is collected, the next step is data analysis based on the formulation of problem in this study.

The data that has been collected was analyzed based on conventional and non-conventional implicatures through the matching method. The matching method is a data analysis method whose determinants are outside, apart and not part of the language being studied. The matching method used is the pragmatic matching method. The pragmatic matching method is a matching method in which the determining tool is the speech partner (Sudaryanto, 2015). The matching method is carried out by grouping the data based on the criteria, and the advanced technique used is the Equating/Distinguishing Comparative Technique (Hubung Banding Menyamakan/Membedakan (HBSP)), while the causes of implicatures are described according to the results of the implicature meaning analyzed by Dell Hymes theory (Hymes, 1974) which contains 8 speech components. SPEAKING. Dell Hymes theory formulates the determinants in the context of a situation that is not much different from the previous explanation through the acronym SPEAKING. Each phoneme represents the intended determining factor. The components of SPEAKING, namely setting or scene (place and time), participants (participants of speech acts), ends (goals to be achieved by speech participants), act of sequences (form and content of something being discussed, words spoken and how relation to the topic being discussed), key (tone of voice, emotional state of the speaker), instrumentalities (the media used), norms (linguistic norms adopted by a language community) and genres (types of discourse).

4. Research Results and Discussion

Based on the results of data analysis, it was found that 96.6% of conventional implicatures and 3.33% of non-conventional implicatures from 30 sample number. From this number, it was found 5 from billboards, 18 from banners, 5 from circular letter and 1 from brochures for conventional implicatures,. For unconventional implicatures, only 1 banner was found. The following will describe in detail the results of the meaning of implicatures.

4.1. Konventional Implicature

Conventional implicatures are implicatures that are obtained directly from the meaning of the word and not from the principle of conversation. The meanings contained in conventional implicatures are durable and generally known. So, this conventional implicature is determined by the conventional meaning of the words used. The next sub-chapter will explain the results of conventional implicatures found in billboards, banners, circulars letter, and brochures.

4.1.1 Billboards



Figure 1. Billboards inviting to Use a Mask

The billboard above is located at the Simpang Taman Riyadhah, Lhokseumawe. It is written THANK YOU FOR USING MASK HOPE THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC ENDS SOON AMEN! The billboards have been interpreted in various ways by the community, for example: the government thanking the community for being aware of preventing the transmission of Covid-19 by using masks, and the government, in this case the police, was also praying that the Covid-19 pandemic will end soon. The police took the public's heart subtly by inviting the public to wear masks. It can be seen by the use of the word 'thank you'. This context is the background of the government to take people's hearts to be aware of the use of masks in daily activities. This can be analyzed by using an equalizing comparison technique that the speech in the text can be equated with the speech 'thank you for preventing the transmission of Covid-19'. The meaning of this text can be understood directly by the public therefore, this text is classified as conventional implicature.



Figure 2. Billboards inviting to respect health protocol

The text on the billboard above reads **CORONA VIRUS IS NOT MANIPULATION. WEAR A MASK, KEEP YOUR DISTANCE AND FOLLOW THE HEALTH PROTOCOL. REMEMBER COVID, REMEMBER ALLAH, WEAR MASK.** The implicatures on the billboards in front of the Islamic Center Mosque are also classified into conventional types. The meaning of this data can be interpreted in the form of orders and expectations from Aceh Government to the community to respect the health protocols. This is corroborated by the statement that the corona virus is not manipulation. So, people must believe that Covid-19 exists. The government aggressively expects people to wear masks, that a statement appears on the banner 'remember CoViD, remember Allah, remember mask'. This gives rise to a meaning that subtly asks people to remember CoViD and remember Allah because Covid-19 is God's preordination, so prevent it by wearing masks. This can be analyzed by using an equalizing comparison technique so that the speech in the text can be identical with the speech 'let's obey the health protocol to prevent Covid-19 by wearing a mask'.



Figure 3. Billboards informing Covid-19 patient

The text on the billboard above at the Simpang AURI Field in Lhokseumawe City is very interesting because it reads **SYEDARA LOEN MANDUM BEK JEUT KEU KORBAN BERIKUT JIH RUMOH SAKET CUT MEUTIA NGON KESREM KA PUNOH, PASIEN COVID TOTAL 556 DROE UREUNG LEBEH KA MEUNINGGAI DI ACEH, SYEDARA LON BEK TUWE PAKAI MASKER NGOEN TAATI PROKES.** The implicature on the

billboard above contains an implicit meaning, namely the government's hope that the public respects the health protocol. The government also announced the number of victims of Covid-19. The government subtly sarcastically touched on the number of Covid-19 victims with the words 'rumoh saket ka punoh'. This means that the community must comply with health protocols so that the number of victims does not increase because the hospital is full (Liem et al., 2021). This can be analyzed by using an equalizing comparison technique so that the speech in the text is identical with the speech 'respects the health protocol in order that the number of victims does not increase'.

4.1.2 Banner



Figure 4. Banner containing Covid-19 Prevention Information

The conventional implicature in the data found in front of the House of Representative in Lhokseumawe City implies that the government expects the public to fight the corona virus by not stopping to wear masks. This means that people must be obedient in wearing masks. The government expects the public to break the chain of corona distribution by wearing masks during the current pandemic. This can be analyzed by using the comparison-matching technique so that the speech in the text can be equated to the speech 'wear a mask to stop the spread of Covid-19'.



Figure 5. Banner containing an Invitation to have Vaccines

The implicature in the data in front of Public Health Office of Lhokseumawe City can be interpreted as an invitation to have vaccines to the community to protect themselves and their

families. In this case, the understanding is a little ambiguous because it is followed by the speech “the goodness of the here and the hereafter’. Vaccines are one solution to prevent the transmission of COVID, but it has nothing to do with goodness in the afterlife. Vaccines are useful for body health while in the world (Kotani, Tamura, & Nejima, 2021). With a healthy body, worship is maximized for the good of the hereafter. This can be analyzed by using a contrasting comparison technique so that the speech in the text can be replaced with the speech ‘let's get vaccinated so that the body is healthy to do activities in this world for the best in the hereafter’.



Figure 6. Banner informing about covid-19 patient care.

The data above found in Kesrem Hospital of Lhokseumawe City contained an implicit meaning that people do not need to be afraid to go to the hospital because the hospital still follows health procedures. The Hospital in Lhokseumawe stated that there was no need to worry about going to the hospital even though there was an outbreak of the corona virus because the hospital services was in accordance with health protocols. This is because people are worried because about the issues of going to the hospital during the pandemic, making them worse. This can be analyzed by using an equalizing comparison technique so that the utterance in the text can be equated with the utterance 'going to the hospital for treatment because the service is in accordance with the Covid-19 prevention procedure’.

4.13 Brochure



Figure 7. Brochure Informing about Corona Virus

The data above is classified into the conventional type of implicature meaning. The meaning of this brochure can be understood in the form of hopes for school residents and the community to have knowledge about Covid-19 and its prevention. This brochure contains instructions for school member, especially in recognizing more deeply about the Covid-19 virus. This can be analyzed using the comparison-matching technique that the speech in the text can be equated with the speech 'Covid-19 is an infectious disease through coughing/sneezing droplets with symptoms such as fever, flu, shortness of breath, sore throat, and lost smell.

4.14 Circular Letter



Figure 8. Circular Letter informing about inter-city within Province (AKDP) Operation

The data above is also classified as conventional implicature because its meaning can be directly understood by the reader. This data contains the meaning in the form of a local wisdom policy permit for Inter-city within province (Antar Kota Dalam Provinsi (AKDP)) operations. The transportation service and instructions from the Aceh Governor as the head of

the Covid-19 handling task force allow AKDP transportation companies to operate in accordance with local wisdom policies, meaning that Inter-City Within Provinces (AKDP) transportation can operate within a predetermined zone. This can be analyzed by using an equalizing comparison technique that the utterance in the text can be equated with the utterance 'The Department of transportation and the instructions of the Governor of Aceh as the head of the COVID-19 handling task force allow AKDP transportation to operate in accordance with the 6 zones that have been determined'.

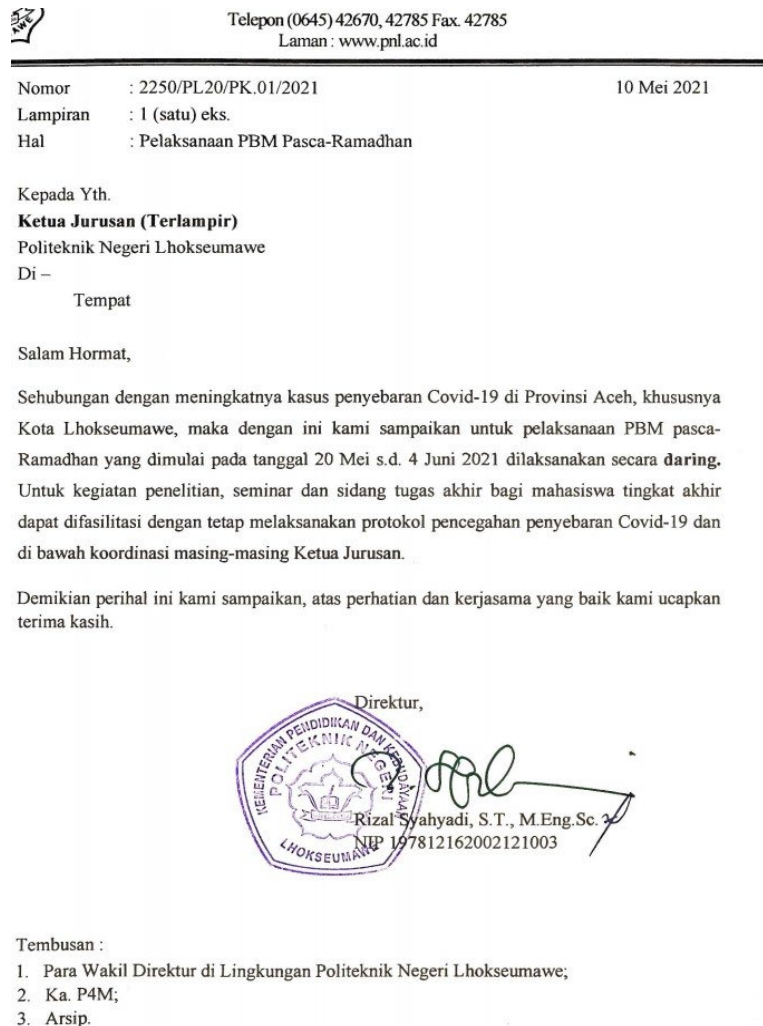


Figure 9. Circular Letter of Lecture Information in Ramadhan Month

The data in the circular letter above contains an implicit meaning in form of information on the implementation of teaching and learning carried out online during the month of Ramadhan and during the covid pandemic. The Lhokseumawe State Polytechnic campus informed that during this pandemic and coincided with the month of Ramadhan, learning was carried out online until further notification from the campus. This action was taken as an effort to prevent Covid-19 in the campus environment (Moser, Wei & Brenner, 2021). This can be analyzed by using the comparison-matching technique that the speech in the text can be equated with the speech "regarding to the Covid-19 pandemic and coinciding with the month of Ramadhan, learning is carried out online until further notification from the campus'.



Figure 10. Circular of Information on Online Lectures

The data in the circular above is classified as conventional implicature which contains an implicit meaning, namely the policy of the IAIN Lhokseumawe campus in the implementation of online learning. The campus informed the wider community, especially the IAIN Lhokseumawe academic community (lecturers, staff, and students) that during this pandemic, learning activities were carried out online as an effort to prevent the spread of Covid-19, especially in the IAIN Lhokseumawe campus area and protect the entire IAIN Lhokseumawe academic community. This can be analyzed by using an equalizing comparison technique that the speech in the text can be equated with the speech 'regarding to the situation of covid pandemic and preventing transmission, learning activities at the IAIN Lhokseumawe campus are carried out online until further instructions are given'.

4.2 Non-Conventional Implicature

Non-conventional implicatures occur only during conversation. Therefore, the implicature is temporary or occurs during an act of conversation and something that is implied does not have a direct relationship with the spoken utterance. Non-conventional implicatures are highly dependent on the context in which the event occurs. Generally, the speech is not easily understood by the interlocutor because the meaning is implied. Non-conventional implicatures

are found in one data among the 4 media analyzed, namely on banners. Figure 1 below is a banner that is classified into Non-conventional implicatures.



Figure 11. Information banner on Covid prevention

The text on the banner above is classified as non-conventional implicature because the text is difficult to understand directly by the public. The data above has an implicit intention, namely that the government of Gampong Hagu Selatan is very strong and independent in preventing Covid-19. This can be seen on the banners posted in front of the village office and prayer room in Gampong Hagu Selatan. The government of Gampong Hagu Selatan is very aggressive in preventing covid by installing several billboards in the local area as a form of concern for the community. This can be analyzed by using a differential comparison technique that the speech in the text can be replaced with the speech that 'The Government of Gampong Hagu Selatan autonomously prevents Covid-19'.

Based on the results of the analysis of implicature types from the 30 data analyzed, the percentage of the total number of data classified into conventional and non-conventional implicatures can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Percentage of implicature type

No	Type of Implicature	Number	Percentage
1	Non-conventional	1	3,33
2	Conventional	29	96,6
	Total	30	99,99

Based on the results of the study, there are two types of implicatures found in outdoor media related to the Covid-19 appeal, namely conventional and non-conventional implicatures. Of the four media (banners, billboards, brochures, circulars) analyzed, the implicatures found contain many conventional implicatures. This is influenced by the context of the situation that makes people immediately understand the text on the media. Of the four media analyzed generally its have implicature meanings in the form of invitations, appeals, and information. The results of this study are different from the research of Ningtias et al (2014) because the research objects are different. This study examines outdoor media, while Ningtias et al (2014) examines novels. Similar to the research of Perizga et al (2021), the difference is in the object

of study. Perizga (2020) examines implicatures on Instagram accounts, while this study examines outdoor media.

Conventional implicatures are often found in outdoor media as an appreciation to writers in the media who can write using texts that are understood by the public in forms of invitations, appeals, information, even link them with local wisdom in order that people are interested in following or carrying out information that is contained in the media.

4.3 Causes of Implicature

Overall, the causes of implicatures in outdoor media (billboards, banners, brochures, and circulars) which are the study of this research are influenced by the context of the situation according to Dell Hymes' theory regarding the 8 components of SPEAKING. The Covid-19 pandemic situation brought up the appeals from the government or related agencies. This appeal is an emphasis and affirmation for the community in preventing the transmission of Covid-19. Appeals are in the form of obeying health protocols and invitations to have vaccination. In addition to complying with health protocols, vaccination activities are also carried out in order to control the Covid-19 pandemic. All parties must support in order that the implementation of vaccination can take place properly according to the government's target because the general target of the vaccination program is to reduce the number of transmissions and infections from the virus. The causes of implicatures found in this study are:

4.3.1. Place and Time Setting

In accordance with the context in outdoor media, the place where the speech takes place is in outdoor media, while the time/scene is during the Covid-19 pandemic. The reason for the government to include appeals and invitations in this setting is because outdoor media can cover larger audiences. These appeals from the government are generally understood by the public due to the same context and reality, namely the condition of the Covid-19 pandemic. Place and setting are factors that can influence implicatures in interpreting a text, co text, and context. The meaning of context in this case can give birth to various implicit meanings for people who respond to appeals in outdoor media.

4.3.2 Speech Participants

The speech participant is also one of the causes of the implicature of the text in the outdoor media. The existence of this outdoor media can help provide information or an invitation to the wider community. The speech participants will bring up various implicit meanings from the information obtained on the outdoor media so that the speech participants will later notify the appeals from the outdoor media to their partners.

4.3.3 Result

The implicit meaning of the text in outdoor media gives different results/ends to the reading community. The results here mean that people get a response from the meaning of the text

they see and read. By seeing the slogan, agency name, or company address listed on outdoor media, speech participants immediately understand and respond to the intent of the advertiser/billboard. Implicatures that can be interpreted can be conventional implicatures or non-conventional implicatures. In this study, the results obtained on outdoor media were dominated by conventional implicatures. This means that messages conveyed in this outdoor media are generally directly understood by the public.

4.3.4 Message

In this study, the act sequence/ message is one of the main causes of implicatures. This outdoor media is a communication or message tool that can be conveyed to the public through text or appeals. The messages contained in these outdoor media are responded differently by the readers. This depends on the reasoning power of the readers, which is essentially related to the context of the pandemic. However, this message provides a lot of public awareness of the current situation that requires keeping health and complying with health protocols.

4.3.5 Way/ Tone of Speech

The way or tone of speech (key) is the cause of implicatures because are heterogeneous in feeling or perceiving the delivery style in the text of the outdoor media. Some used a serious, familiar, pushy, or relaxed tone. This means that the language used is standard, some used careful choice of words, and relaxed language, especially when it is mixed with local languages in order to be seemed familiar to the speech participants. The speech in the banner is influenced by the cultural context, namely the culture of the Acehnese who are generally more sensitive to messages that are translated into local languages.

4.3.6 Genres/ Forms of Discourse

The form of discourse in the text affects the emergence of implicit meaning for society. People interpret forms of the text differently. Some interpret it as an invitation, an appeal, or just information. The form of discourse used in outdoor media indeed used written tools, therefore information must be clear to avoid misinterpretation from the speech participants. The existence of various forms of discourse is intended to attract the attention of the speech participants to be interested in the information contained.

Based on the results of the study, the cause of implicatures is influenced by the context of the situation according to Hymes' (1974) theory regarding the 8 components of SPEAKING. The components of SPEAKING, namely setting or scene (place and time), participants (participants of speech acts), ends (goals to be achieved by speech participants), act of sequences (form and content of something being discussed, words spoken and how relation to the topic being discussed), key (tone of voice, emotional state of the speaker), instrumentalities (the media used), norms (linguistic norms adopted by a language community) and genres (types of discourse).

The Covid-19 pandemic situation brought up appeals, invitations, or information from the government or related agencies. The causes of implicatures in this study are influenced by the time or pandemic period, therefore people interpret variously the meaning of texts in outdoor media. The public will inform the information on this media to other speech partners. The government's reason for posting this appeal to outdoor media is because outdoor media can be reached by all audiences.

The results of the outdoor media are dominated by conventional implicatures. This means that messages conveyed in this outdoor media are generally directly understood by the public. The way or tone of speech (key) is the cause of further implicatures because people are different in feeling or perceiving the delivery style in the text of the outdoor media. Some use a serious, familiar, pushy, or relaxed tone. This means that the language used is standard, the words choices are chosen carefully, and it also used relaxed language, especially when it is mixed with local languages so that it seems familiar to the speech participants (Abubakari, Assem & Amankwah, 2021). The speech in the banner is influenced by the cultural context, namely the culture of the Acehnese who are generally more sensitive to messages that are translated into local languages than the national language.

The findings of this study are different from those of Rahayu (2019) and Nugraheni (2011) because they both look at the causes of implicatures in terms of violating maxims. This study looks at the causes of implicatures based on 8 components of speech which are referred to as SPEAKING. So, the causes of implicatures are influenced by the setting of place/time, the participants of the speech, the results, the message, the tone of the speech, and the form of the discourse.

5. Conclusion

The meaning of implicature contained in the outdoor media is in the form of conventional and non-conventional implicatures. Based on the research results, the most dominant implicature is conventional implicature. This is because the context and reality are the same, namely the situation of the Covid-19 pandemic so that people can easily understand the meaning contained in the media. The percentage of types of implicatures obtained is 3.33% are non-conventional implicatures and 96.6% are conventional implicatures. The meanings of implicatures obtained are in forms of invitations, appeals, and information. The causes of implicatures found based on this research are the influence of the situation background, the speech participants, the results, the messages contained, the tone of the speech, and the form of discourse. Regarding to the tone of speech, it is influenced by the context of the cultural situation of the Acehnese, who are generally easy to understand if the banner is in local language because the local language used can be strongly understood by the people from rural communities. This is certainly different from the academic community who can quickly understand the meaning contained in the media.

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Book reviews

**Book Review: The dignity of a child as an anthropological-
pedagogical category [Godność dziecka jako kategoria
antropologiczno-pedagogiczna.] Warsaw, Maria Grzegorzewska
University Press [Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki
Specjalnej] by Wolman, Witold. 2021.**

Dagmara Kostrzewska¹

Abstract

Book review of Witold Wolman (2021). *The dignity of a child as an anthropological-pedagogical category*. Original Title: *Godność dziecka jako kategoria antropologiczno-pedagogiczna*.

Keywords

Child, Dignity, Equity, Subjectivity, Ethics, Anthropology, Education.

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The dignity of a child as an anthropological-pedagogical category is a Polish monograph by Wiktor Wolman, a doctor of social sciences, and an associate professor at the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology of the Maria Grzegorzewska University.

The monograph includes thirteen chapters that make up five parts. It presents, or more precisely breaks down, in a multi-aspect manner, the issue of dignity, and not only that of children but human dignity in general.

Each of the book's five parts concerns a complete different perspective of dignity and issues strongly connected to it. The first part is devoted to the history of dignity. The author reaches back to the roots, bringing closer the issue and perception of dignity in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modernity. He describes, defines, presents, and discusses it in a critical manner.

The second part constitutes a presentation of the concept of dignity from the perspective of four different and yet related sciences – philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy. The author not only presents the definitions, an image of the issue of dignity in a given field, but also makes an attempt to redefine the categories of dignity.

The following part refers to the real origins, foundations of the issue of dignity. The author brilliantly moves around international documents in which he finds a reflection of human dignity, as well as their equivalents on the Polish legal scene. In this chapter, the author also takes a closer look at children's rights as the overarching category of human rights, their history and the types of rights dedicated to children.

The following part of the monograph focuses strictly on the dignity of a child, in the form of considerations connecting the dignity of a child and the environment.

In this part, the author breaks down the family as a natural and initial environment of a child, as well as presents deliberations focusing on borderline situations and dilemmas concerning the dignity of a child.

As the author himself noted, instead of an ending, the final part constitutes a presentation of the ethical foundations of the dignity of a child. In this part the author discusses dignity in a broader context, taking into consideration the value of dignity, its neutrality, and in a way the necessity to have it.

As the author emphasizes "a child's nature is its dignity. A child comes into the world completely naked, in the literal and figurative sense of the word. It has no name, money, or position. The only thing it has is itself. It is a value in itself, and it gives value in itself" (Wolman, 2021).

An explicitly emphasized goal of the book consists in presenting the issue of dignity in a multi-aspect manner, as well attempting to redefine and identify the mechanisms that have an impact on the manner of perceiving, considering, as well as respecting the broadly understood human dignity, with special emphasis on the dignity of a child.

Despite the fact that the book includes deliberations of a clearly theoretical nature, it includes a compendium of knowledge concerning one of the biggest values of modern man, both adult and a child. Dr. Wolman's monograph constitutes a reflection on the changing world, passing time, and constant, natural values that guide human life.

The author of the monograph *The dignity of a child as an anthropological-pedagogical category* presents opinions, definitions, refers to legal knowledge used in practice, but primarily undertakes an attempt to convince the reader to reflect on the meaning and value of human dignity, with due diligence focusing the reader's attention on the dignity of a child.

Doctor Wolman is not afraid to go into discussion with the reader, indicate contradictions, return to the roots of the issue, and consider it in a modern context.

The dignity of a child as an anthropological-pedagogical category by Wiktor Wolman is a book addressed to a wide audience of readers interested in an issue that is remarkably contemporary, especially in the context of the current situation in the world, but most importantly a subject important and close to every human being - adult or a child.

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