

Religion and language as a panacea to peacebuilding and development in Zimbabwe: A Critical Discourse Analysis approach

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Abstract

For over two decades now, Zimbabwe has been rocked by socio-political and economic crises, which, together, project a troubling scenario of state failure. The solution to these multiple crises, which have retarded peacebuilding and development, is not yet in sight since the country is still struggling to recover and reclaim its glory of yester-year within Southern Africa. Religion is a bedrock of principles, values and norms that can be used in nation-building in Zimbabwe. The essential notions from religious belief systems of honesty, transparency, accountability and forgiveness, can be utilised to reconfigure and reconceptualise Zimbabwean humanity. Similarly, communication is one of the main pillars of nation-building; hence, the fundamental role of language in peacebuilding and development cannot be relegated or overstated. The key purpose of this study hinges on the imperative to rethink the role of both religion and language in nation-building discourse in Zimbabwe. This study is informed by insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which views discourse as socio-political and cultural practice. Thus, the study takes cognisance of the complex nature of language and discourse as sites of struggle, contradictions and projection of socio-political power relations hence, contextual factors that inform Zimbabwe's present political realm are useful in debating the present subject. Although language and religion have always been contested and considered divisive aspects, if accorded careful attention, these two can be instrumental in bringing peace, unity and nation-building. Religion and language are of paramount importance in the discourses of peacebuilding, unity and development in contemporary Zimbabwe.

Keywords

Critical Discourse Analysis, development, language, peacebuilding, religion

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Introduction

The attainment of independence in Zimbabwe, after a prolonged struggle for political power, brought an end to the British rule. Ironically, the end of the colonial regime plunged the Southern African nation into a new type of war that erupted within Zimbabwe. From as early as 1982, Zimbabwe began to emerge as a troubled land due to the conflict between the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People Union (PF ZAPU) (Ndakaripa, 2014 and Ndlovu, 2019). The nation witnessed a tumultuous era defined by an orgy of politically motivated violence in the Midlands and Matebeleland provinces. The atrocious violence was code-named *Gukurahundi*, a Shona term that equates the political violence to a summer storm that takes away chaff (Sithole and Makumbe, 1997). The period, described as the “moment of madness”, according to the late President Mugabe, took place between 1982 and 1987, and an estimated 20 000 civilians lost their lives (Ncube and Siziba, 2015). As a result of this conflict, postcolonial Zimbabwe had only few years of visible economic growth, political tranquility and national development. From this national history, it can be argued that the grammar or semantics of violence and hate speech were part of the *modus operandi* of the ruling party during Mugabe’s tenure. Roger (2017) notes that the conflict for power took an ugly turn and plunged the nation into a battlefield and thousands of people lost their lives. The nation had its peak of political and economic crises around 2008, which only stabilised with the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU). It is against this background that the present study seeks to explore the present-day political landscape in Zimbabwe. The study is located within the interdisciplinary realm of linguistics, politics and religion. The interface is necessitated by the salient issues framed around language / communication, power and religion. These provide discursive terrains for the interrogation of Zimbabwe’s present-day transitional politics in an attempt to generate new political pragmatism. The study focuses on the role of language and religion in peace-building and national development in contemporary Zimbabwe. The study is guided by the following research questions:

- How can language be utilised as a political discursive strategy to enact power relations that foster peace, unity and promote development in Zimbabwe today?
- How relevant are insights from Critical Discourse Analysis to the discourses of peace-building and national development in present-day Zimbabwe? and
- What is the significance of religion in Zimbabwe’s efforts towards peace-building and national development?

1. Critical Discourse Analysis

The study is informed by insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), used to frame intricate arguments around issues of power, political relations, languaging in political communication and the function of religion in the context of peace-building and national development in Zimbabwe. Language is instrumental in discourse and enactment of socio-political relations. The main focus of CDA analytical enquiry is on power relations and how they are enacted in language use or discourse. The CDA theoretical framework is used to uncover embedded power relations in language choice and discourse strategies in the complex era of socio-political change in Zimbabwe. Van Leeuwen (2009:277) opines that “CDA is based on the idea that text and talk play a key role in maintaining and legitimising inequalities, injustices and oppression in society.” In this study, primary attention is accorded to linguistic choices in languaging politics of change and the function of religion in the present-day political sphere in Zimbabwe in order to produce critical dialectics of power struggle. CDA treats discourse as a social practice, which shows the influences of social, political and cultural contexts on discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2001, Carreon

and Svetanant, 2017). Political discourse or communication is produced by political actors in Zimbabwe. Political speeches and religious discourses perform diverse functions and these are reflected mainly in the language employed by language users, such as politicians and religious figures. It is imperative to locate this study at the interface of linguistics, politics and religion. The term politics is defined by Chilton (2004:4) as a “struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it”. One of the key tenets in CDA is that discourse is socio-historically situated. In other words, discourses are shaped by the socio-political and religio-cultural milieu in which communicative events take place (Fairclough, 2001). Thoughts, attitudes and beliefs about political power relations are (re)produced, legitimated, concealed and conveyed through language. This study seeks to interrogate the political discursive practices in order to suggest alternative political communicative strategies in line with the idea to foster new political culture in post-Mugabe Zimbabwe that promotes peace-building and national development. In this sense, the adopted CDA analytical lens is also meant to examine the interface of discourse discursive strategies and semantic effects in political communication constructed by those in positions of power or politicians. The article interrogates the representation of shifting power relations expressed through the portrayal of multiple socio-religious actors and political institutions in an interactive political realm. Thus, this study contributes to contemporary conversations about politics of change and shifting semantics of power in Zimbabwe. According to Wodak (2013), discourses are sites of struggle, contradictions and ambiguities. This implies that discourse/language is never neutral but rather, utilised for communicative purposes. It is thus, appropriate to argue that language in both political and religious facets, can be consciously deployed in the process of socio-political transformations by contesting the existing logics of power in order to generate alternative political perspectives that privilege nation-building and development.

2. Zimbabwe and the glory days of yester-year

The section above located the study within the CDA theoretical sensibilities while the current segment seeks to explore the glory days of yester-year, which Zimbabwe experienced during her hey days, immediately after independence in 1980. Her infant days are memorable! (Lessing, 2003; Eicher, Taonezvi and Rukuni, 2006). Yet, the disquieting questions posed by many people today are: what actually happened to Zimbabwe, the “bread basket of Africa” or the “jewel of Africa?” How did the Sunshine City lose its glitter? What eroded the value of the strongest currency in Africa? Why did the highest literacy population in Africa turn out to be scavengers, nonentities and globe trotters in search of a place to call a home? Who transformed the (un)educated and (un)employed into the Wretched of the Earth in Fanonian language and blurred social class demarcations? These questions speak about the level of astonishment experienced by many when they try to grasp the realities of the troubled Zimbabwean nation today. To date, Zimbabweans await the much-anticipated cessation of their suffering generated by economic and political stability. Zimbabwe was one of the major exporters of tobacco, minerals, maize, corn and wheat to African countries as well as to the broader world. Yet, currently, Zimbabwe is a major importer of foodstuffs from Africa and Western countries.

Soon after the ascendancy of Robert Mugabe to power in Zimbabwe, he and his cronies started to loot major resources, especially in the agricultural and mining sectors. Lessing (2003) points out that the agricultural sector, before Mugabe, was well managed as evident in the notions of bread basket and jewel of Africa. The violent removal of white farmers from their farms was miscalculated, especially when we take cognisance of the fact that most of the new land occupants were under-resourced and had no farming skills, inputs and equipment (Mkodzongi and Lawrence, 2019). Although land redistribution was a noble idea to address a historical anomaly, the poor implementation of the programme impoverished the generality of Zimbabweans. According to Chung (2006), the British government had signed an agreement at the Lancaster

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House to compensate white farmers on ‘willing buyer willing seller’ basis in December 1979. This took place during the tenure of Margaret Thatcher (Gregory, 1980). However, Tony Blair (1997-2007) breached the agreement, did not honour the Lancaster House Agreement and did not compensate white farmers as initially agreed. This resulted in the fast-track land redistribution, which was done in a disorderly manner. Many white farmers lost their lives and properties when war veterans led in repossessing land. The title of “the bread basket of Africa” was soon lost because there were no longer competent and dedicated professional farmers.

According to Lessing (2003), another explanation for the fall of Zimbabwe from grace to grass, is that the former President Mugabe, overstayed in power to the extent that he ruined the country’s economy through poor economic and political decisions. The education system in Zimbabwe became one of the best under Mugabe’s tenure. Despite the fact that the local currency was the strongest in the region, it tumbled down through hyperinflation (Madimu, 2009). Harare was known as the Sunshine City because of its neatness. The health delivery system was admired across the Southern African region. Credit should be given to Mugabe because soon after independence, he did very well to improve the lives of Zimbabweans. Diplomatic relations were also good, and several local and international donors contributed towards the national development of Zimbabwe. The problem came in the early 1990s when the Zimbabwean dollar began to lose its value against other currencies (Madimu, 2009). The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Kanyenze, 2004), the Fast Track Resettlement Programme (Mkodzongi and Lawrence, 2019), the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Nest, 2001) and the war veterans’ gratuities of 1997 (Chung, 2006), gave birth to hyperinflation, brain drain, increased poverty, unemployment, shortage of basic commodities among other problematics, which culminated into the “Zimbabwe Crisis” (Mavengano, 2020 and Marevesa, 2019). During this period, all the gains of independence that were accumulated were no longer visible.

3. The troubling scenario of state failure

This section focuses on the intricacies of circumstances that resulted in the Zimbabwe crisis or a scenario of state failure in Zimbabwe. Some of the questions asked in the paper are as follows: Can Zimbabwe be referred to as a failed state? Is Zimbabwe exhibiting attributes of a failed state? If so, what can be done to revert to the Zimbabwe of yester-year? The definition of a failed state is difficult to underpin because of its contestation. The subjective nature of the definition of the term failed state, attracts multiple interpretations in various political contexts. The definitional problematics of the term could resemble the conception of beauty, which is in the eyes of the beholder. Yet, a state is generally perceived to have “failed” “when it is no longer able to consistently and legitimately enforce its laws or provide its citizens with basic goods and services” (Call, 2010:306). The definition from Call (1990), which is one of the commonly recognised by majority of scholars, rebuts the subjective understanding of the failed state and advocates a more objective definition, referred to as the “gap framework”. According to Call (2010), state failure is revealed through gaps in service delivery that is when the state cannot effectively deliver basic goods and services to its citizens, when the state is unable to offer protection from armed invasion to its population and last but not the least, when a state loses legitimacy. Most important, state failure is generated by those in political power positions hence, it is a man-made phenomenon. Poor governance policies, impunity, tyranny, corruption, and impermeable bureaucracy, ethnicity, structural flaws, incompetent judicial systems, interference of the military in politics, leadership errors, mutiny, among others, lead to state failure (*Lambach, Johais and Bayer, 2015*). Though Zimbabwe during Mugabe’s era did not experience mutiny and military attacks, which are some defining features of a failed state, the failing of the state took place in rampant corrupt cases by high profile government and public officials, the collapse of service delivery systems in education, public health and the economy. The government’s inability to provide elementary functions of a state, such as a stable economy and food security, speak to the phenomenon of state

failure. However, the notion of state failure is troubled and contested when used to refer to military invasions by other countries, acts of terrorism and mutiny, which were uncharacteristic of the Zimbabwean experience.

3.1 Hiccups and stumbling blocks in the pathway to rebuild the nation

The foregoing discussion provided a cursory glance at the national trajectory that led to the Zimbabwean crisis that escalated in 2008 and, ultimately, leading to the forceful removal of the former President, Mugabe. Yet, it is imperative to further explore the genesis of political conflict. A historical gaze at Zimbabwe's political trajectory since the attainment of independence, is critical since this provides moments of reflections on the ugly historical events. This is essential in an attempt to heal what Caruth (1995:3) describes as "the wound of the mind". In other words, dialoguing with the past is not about reopening the wound but rather, helps to bring closure and re-imagine or re-construct alternative futures of the nation. This is in line with Ndakaripa's (2014) observation about the historical event of *Gukurahundi* in Zimbabwe. Ndakaripa explicates that memorisation, which is a backward gaze, "gives people the opportunity to think deeply about how to prevent a repetition of past atrocities and enables people to connect the past, present and future in a positive way" (ibid, 2014:38). This underlines the idea that there is need to confront historical realities and the undesirable effects of toxic politics in order to chart a new political culture in Zimbabwe.

Electoral conduct is one of the main aspects that generated political conflict in Zimbabwe. Since the advent of the new millennium, Zimbabwe has been known for contested elections, claims of vote-rigging, political violence and hegemonic tendencies, hate speech, media polarisation, intimidation and political suppression, among other socio-political despicable ills (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). For Roger (2017), electoral conduct is an area that requires urgent political will to address issues of concern and, possibly, reach an amicable consensus about how to handle the process in the context of democratising the political space that promotes meaningful contestation for power in Zimbabwe. Accusations of electoral fraud taint the electoral processes, generate political disgruntlement and, ultimately, cause legitimacy crisis. This disturbing scenario has caused a perpetual battle of power between inter parties (Marevesa, 2019).

Another important issue that has promoted political conflict in Zimbabwe is media polarisation, which is arguably caused by the state's stringent laws and effort to muffle the voices that speak truth to power (Roger, 2017). The media in Zimbabwe is extremely polarised and has been at the centre of political conflict. It cannot be contested that media is a powerful institution in every society across the globe and plays a fundamental function in representation of political communication. Levitsky and Way (2002) posit that the media are usually state-owned, and heavily censored or systematically repressed in most autocracies. Zimbabwe, under Mugabe's leadership, is cited by these scholars as an example of a vexed media landscape, a situation that led to persecutions of some media personnel during Mugabe's battle for power and legitimacy. Mugabe's rule had tight grip or stringent control over dissemination of information to an extent that state-owned media became an appendage of the ruling party and the government. According to McQuail (1992), the media has social responsibilities that include providing information to the public and state, stir debate on public matters, safeguard human rights and guard against violations of rights among other roles. The watchdog role usually causes truce between the media and the government in an autocratic political environment. Yet, it cannot be denied that a free press is critical in exposing ineptitude, corruption and mismanagement of public resources by those in positions of responsibility (Ugangu, 2012).

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The media landscape also exacerbates the political situation in Zimbabwe because state-owned media houses, such as the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) and The Chronicles, among others, support the status quo, while, private media houses, such as The Standard, Daily News, write anti-government narratives (ibid). The media should not be captured by the state or private investors in order to report cases of corruption, nepotism and violation of human rights without favour. The functions of the media include increasing public awareness on human rights issues, exposing cases of corruption and forcing those in positions of power to be accountable to the citizens. Thus, media empowerment is one of the important aspects towards nurturing democracy, accountability, good governance, trust and respect for the rule of law in the conduct of public affairs.

The narrativisation of the Second Republic and New Dispensation, which speak about politics of periodisation since the notions allude to historical existence of a First Republic, need to underscore the importance of observing human rights. The present government strives to distance itself from the Mugabe leadership (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021), yet, it appears that there is continuity of human infringements. The traits of the previous Republic are condemned by politicians from the ruling party, who were part of the same regime. The discourse of the New Dispensation speaks about the ruling party’s quest to redefine and recreate itself. The success of this endeavour hinges on a number of aspects, such as a concerted effort to immediately desist from ill-fated political practices, such as hate speech directed at members of the opposition, stop corruption within government ministries that gave birth to poor service delivery and economic stagnation, and nepotism, among other ills. Pertinently, the current government should respect human rights. Corruption and nepotism are some of the pitfalls that took the country into economic doldrums. In other words, the rhetoric of a New Dispensation is public admission by the ruling party and the government that impoverishment, decades of economic stagnation, unemployment and violence were generated in the corridors of power by the previous regime. The terms Second Republic and New Dispensation evoke the idea of change in political ideologies and practices (Mavengano and Marevesa, 2021). Yet, Hove (2021: 167) claims that “ZANU-PF under Mnangagwa’s rule, has not shown any paradigm shift from authoritarianism and violence to democracy and tolerance of opposition, repressive traits that were perfected under Mugabe”. This argument conveys the problematics of change in Zimbabwe. Surely, the idea of newness should transcend mere rhetoric or a well-crafted “choreographed distortions of history” according to Hove (2021:157), meant to sanitise some government officials, including Mnangagwa, who were part of the Mugabe regime. Mugabe is solely blamed for the ills encountered by the nation. Mugabe worked with the same people who are currently in positions of political power. Hove (2021: 169) argues that “Mnangagwa was party to Mugabe’s securocratic arsenal and looting kleptocracy since 1980.” What then has changed in the present political order, which has the same players at the helm of power? The post-Mugabe society is still struggling with political violence, poor performing economy, poor economic policies, contested elections results, legitimacy crisis, scapegoating, corruption and divisive language. This is an alarming development that conveys the endurance of Mugabe’s legacy, at the same time, exposes contradictions and ambivalences entrenched in the state narrative of change, which serves as mere “strategies of distancing” (Hove, 2021:159). The rhetoric of the New Dispensation, together with the current President Mnangagwa’s re-engagement drive and ‘Zimbabwe is open for business’ mantra, suggest a new trajectory towards economic recovery, nation-building and reconciliation process (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021). The post-Mugabe Zimbabwe has to deal with what Hove (2021: 158) calls “the haunting legacies of terror”. The new dispensation is born out of new ways of thinking about and practising politics.

4. Religion as a panacea for peacebuilding and development

4.1 Peace building and development

Zimbabwe has been rocked by conflict for quite a long time. When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, this did not change but violence continued, which was epitomised by rampant political state sanctioned violence, coupled with gross violation of human rights. After independence, there was a relatively peaceful environment where there was no violence. Dube (2021) is of the view that religion plays a pivotal role in enhancing personal, political associates across ethnic, class, national, religious and cultural borders. Religion should be instrumental in dealing with injustice in a peaceful manner. Religion and politics are necessary ingredients in fostering peace and national development. It is important at this juncture to give a brief trajectory of the religious milieu in Zimbabwe since 1980. At independence, Robert Mugabe became the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. As a seemingly democratic state, religious freedom and tolerance became the features of democracy where the majority of people belonged to Christianity (Dube, 2021), while other people were adherents of African indigenous religion and Islam. Zimbabwe became a pluralistic society because of the peaceful co-existence of various religious beliefs. Within the Christian faith, there are different categories, such as, mainline churches, Evangelical churches, Pentecostal churches, and African initiated churches, among others. The mainline churches, Evangelical churches and some Pentecostal churches had their roots in the West and were perceived as nurturing a regime change agenda, while indigenous churches supported government initiatives during harmonised elections (Manyeruke and Hamauswa, 2013). Foreign and indigenous churches were characterised by contestations, which were perceived as motivated by political agendas. The contestations and tensions between the two cascaded to political conflict thereby affecting democratic space. African indigenous religion was aligned with the government of Zimbabwe soon after elections because it was used in the liberation struggle (Chung, 2006). The value system of African indigenous religion has remained paramount within the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) party because they bring memories of the *Chimurenga* war (Chung, 2006). It can be observed that African indigenous religion and the Christian faith have their own clashes when it comes to political affiliations. This study concurs with Ferrari (2012:356) in that “to prevent the danger of a clash and to ensure the equal treatment of all religions, it is essential to ground the public sphere on a principle that is universal and neutral, and, therefore, capable of being acceptable by all people, regardless of their religion: this principle is human reason”.

It is against this background that we locate Zimbabwe in its current form of political and religious polarisation that has paralysed national development. According to Dube (2021), it is important for Zimbabwe in the context of crisis and repression that, religious leaders and politicians come together and promote peace, accountability, and social justice in order to facilitate development. A case in point is the communique, which was written by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops, published on 14 August 2020, referred to as ‘The march is not ended’ to the government. The letter reprimanded the government to avoid the repression of dissenting voices, extreme levels of corruption in government and society, and government’s failure to address the dwindling economic and political environment (ZCBC, 2020, online). The letter went on to implore the government that “the repression of people’s anger can only serve to deepen the crisis and take the nation into deeper crisis” (ZCBC, 2020, online). On corruption, the Catholic bishops argue that it (corruption) is evident in every section of society and in government structures as well. The communique argued ZCBC (2020), that “the corruption in the country has reached alarming levels ... there hasn’t been equally a serious demonstration by government to rid the country of this scourge”. The implication is that when the new dispensation

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ascended to the helm of power, one of their promises to Zimbabweans was to eradicate corruption that had affected the country for decades. There is need to deal with corruption decisively. Thus, religion should continue to point out ills in society, preach justice and equity. This will foster peacebuilding and development in Zimbabwe if both politicians and citizens heed to the call. It has emerged in this section that citizens, religious leaders and politicians should work together in a bid to bring peace, justice and economic development of the country. Yet, the disturbing question is, which religious and political voices are being listened to in Zimbabwe? In addition, if religious activities continue to be regulated by government, how would their leaders be able to promote peace and nation-building since it is likely that if they do not toe the line, they will be banned? Clearly, there is need for collective efforts to bring sanity in Zimbabwe. As was noted by the Catholic bishops that for Zimbabwe to achieve its full potential, dissenting voices should be allowed to prevail, this study also endorses this observation. Religious pluralism is a noble idea that seeks to guarantee democracy, diversity thinking and tolerance, which are important traits to promote the national-rebuilding process in present-day Zimbabwe.

4.2 Reclaiming the glory of yester-year through new languaging strategies

This section focuses on politics of language and languaging practices in the present context of political change in Zimbabwe. Political communication in this context needs to be regarded as both social and political actions (Van Dijk, 1985). This section brings to attention the politics of languaging in political discourse. Van Dijk (1997) explains that politics is the struggle for power and language is at the centre of political activities. Political discourse, according to Van Dijk (1997), is a conspicuous way of doing politics. Language is an essential instrument in politics utilised by politicians to actualise their communicative functions. The end of the Mugabe rule ushered in Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, who is known as the late president’s right-hand man. The ascendancy of Mnangagwa to the helm of power took place amidst the state constructed narratives of change from the predecessor’s regime. The media were awash with the discourses of change enmeshed in notions of a “New Dispensation” and “Second Republic” (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021). Yet, recent scholarship on the post-2017 era in Zimbabwe conveys contradictions and ambivalences in the semantics of newness and allusions of a fresh start after the departure of Mugabe (Hove, 2021). The transitional period at the close of 2017, generated euphoria and the song ‘*Kutonga Kwaro Gamba*’ by Mukudzei Mukombe, famously known as Jah Prayzah in Zimbabwe, took the nation into ecstasy, as people celebrated the fall of Mugabe from power. The song assumed new relevance as it was re-contextualised by the audience in the emerging politics in Zimbabwe. The prophetic song *Kutonga Kwaro Gamba* became a tribute to both the military’s intervention in the 2017 coup and metaphoric articulation of the forceful entrance of the ‘Croc’ *Ngwenya* or *Garwe* into power (Roger, 2017). The military and the Lacoste faction were revered like the biblical Moses, saving the Israelites (Zimbabweans) from Pharaoh’s iron fisted rule.

The president, in his national addresses, repeatedly tells Zimbabweans that ‘together we will build Zimbabwe, brick by brick, we will re-build Zimbabwe because *nyika inovakwa nevene vayo*, which means a country is built by its citizenry (Ruzvidzo, 2021). The use of future simple tense and imperative, testify the need to encourage all Zimbabweans to participate in the rebuilding process. In his address, President Mnangagwa acknowledges the plight of the nation and encourages all citizens to work towards changing the country’s destiny. Through the persuasive aesthetics encoded in this statement, the Mnangagwa government conveys aspirations of the democratic principle of opening space for free, just and active citizen participation. This call is important but should be complemented by political practice rather than mere rhetoric. By using persuasive language in both collective and possessive pronouns, President Mnangagwa should be currently applauded for using ‘My fellow Zimbabweans’ in his state of the nation addresses, which is a remarkable departure from the grammar of violence engrained in his discourse of ‘*Pasi ne Mhandu*’, which literally means ‘Down with sell outs or betrayers, that previously characterised his political campaigns

(veritaszim.net/taxonomy/term/69). Katea (2018), commenting on Barak Obama's political speeches, posits that the phrase 'my fellow citizens', conveys aspects of unity, solidarity and equality that prevail between the president and his people. In addition, collective noun phrases, imperative constructions and possessive adjectives, such as 'our nation,' 'our economy,' 'together let's build our nation' and 'our beloved country', evoke a sense of entitlement and responsibility. This is also an indication that the president, as one of Zimbabweans, shares their plight and frustration. The well-

being of the nation is a collective and national responsibility. These linguistic strategies are pertinent in fostering unity of purpose that ultimately promotes the national re-building process. Hall's (1997) notion of representation is useful when analysing languaging strategies employed by politicians. Language is used to create constructs, ideologies, images and meanings.

The discourse of 'Second Republic' or 'New Dispensation' is a deliberate effort by the present government in its political metanarrative of promises to separate the current regime with the previous one led by Mugabe. Yet, there is a profound dissonance between the enunciations in discourse of newness and the unfolding sad realities in post-Mugabe Zimbabwe. The political realities speak about the continuities in Mugabeism (that is, the political culture, practices and ideologies used during Mugabe's reign in Zimbabwe). Language is instrumental in articulating the views and ideological stance of speakers as well as making emotional appeal to the audience (van Leeuwen, 2007). In addition, language is used for positive self-presentation and politicians, sometimes, employ language just for the sake of creating images that are appealing to the electorate without serious commitment to make such images a reality (Chilton, 2004). Similarly, politicians in Zimbabwe should avoid using narratives about New Dispensation and Second Republic for mere scapegoating, positive self-representation and as a detachment strategy that portrays the late President Mugabe as solely responsible for all the political ills that took place during his reign (Mavengano and Marevesa, 2021). Certainly, words, especially from politicians, are usually subject to different interpretations as citizens usually feel such words are used to win over votes and cheap talk. No commitment or return to the people after elections to ensure what was committed is done and services provided to the people.

Wodak and Resigl (2005) argue about the significance of collectivisation strategy, which privileges the plural pronominal lexical items, such as 'we/us', which take referents of the entire nation, politicians and ordinary Zimbabweans. By adopting the strategy of collectivisation, politicians share the vision to develop or re-build the nation with ordinary citizens (Katea, 2018). In other words, the collectivisation strategy creates a sense of consensus between the government and citizens. The possessive adjective 'our', promotes fraternity and national reconciliation because there are no perceived Other or out-groups. Though these languaging strategies and pathos are encouraged at the present historical moment of political transition in Zimbabwe, it is also imperative to guard against mere construction of the negative picture of Mugabe and his leadership style (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021). The government should 'walk the talk'; it is not about lurid speeches void of semantic significance. It is imperative to note that ordinary Zimbabweans, who have been exposed to prolonged suffering, want genuine commitment to create a peaceful national space conducive for national development and economic recovery.

The statement 'Together we re-build Zimbabwe', conveys an orientation towards inclusion of the entire populace. This is an important shift from the usual construct of the political Other. Mugabe's regime used othering discourses that generated socio-political exclusions of some citizens. However, Fairclough (2000) argues that the representational choice of one nation's politics can result in covert control and silencing of dissent voices. The current government needs to move away from Mugabe's type of toxic leadership that left the nation fragmented. The government should also go beyond mere construction of embellished tropes and nascent power aesthetics that suggest change deeply enmeshed in notions of new dispensation and second republic. The ambivalence of these tropes is evident in

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linguaging and political practices that expose baffling economic and political stagnation as well as illusionary disjuncture between the pre-2017 and post-2017 eras.

Conclusion

Mindful of the above discussion, there is need for the present political leadership in Zimbabwe to make concerted efforts towards shifting from the legacy of authoritarianism to more democratic style of leadership, where the people are given space to participate in political activities of the country. Zimbabwe’ culture of political conflict has come a long way and has only produced harmful effects, such as crippling the economy of the previously bread basket turned to an empty basket story. The end of Mugabe’s rule offered a change for the country to embrace new political thinking and languaging. Different political players can have a clash of ideas but what is important, is to learn to disagree in peace and with the purpose to rebuild the nation. The re-birth of the nation should take place in the domains of language and religion. Thus, language and religion are fundamental to the turnaround process. The country experienced acute economic decline for nearly two decades, which hampered national development and clearly, citizens do not want a repeat of the traumatic history. The article has highlighted that language and religion are fundamental aspects for peace-building and national development in post-Mugabe society. Zimbabwe’s recent past speaks about a troubled socio-economic and political national space. The post-coup nation needs to deal with the urgency of now, by creating an environment that promotes articulation and audibility of dissident voices, which force accountability and responsibility. The study also underlined the idea that bringing the past and the present into dialogue is significant as the country journeys into the future. The article set forth the reflective approach to language use and religion, which are essential aspects in both reclaiming the lost glorious past and reconstructing an alternative nation space aligned to developmental priorities. It is agreeable that the process of transformation is arduous and, sometimes, faces resistance from certain sections of society. Yet, Zimbabweans should focus on the imperatives of nation-building and fostering a peaceful nation.

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The Representation of Gender Roles in Indonesian National English Textbooks for Senior High Schools

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Abstract

Learners internalize some values behind the materials and instruction provided in their textbooks. The values have a pivotal role in changing learners' beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes, however; numerous textbooks investigated embedded gender inequality values. This study explores gender representation in Senior High Schools textbooks published by the government of Indonesia. Three different textbooks for grades X, XI, and XII were used as a corpus in this study. A mixed content analysis was applied to analyze the data. Five categories namely visibility, firstness, social role, domestic roles, and masculine generic forms were counted, tabulated, and analyzed. The research results show that gender imbalance representation exists in the textbooks which showed by the males' illustrations, names, and pronouns men's representations have much more than women's representations. Plenty of images, symbols, and signs were illustrated by males' domination. Almost all pictures selected at the beginning of the chapter are men revealing men's power and domination in everyday life. While, women were described in domestic roles to be child caring, house cleaning, and sexual service, men are portrayed as soldiers, hunters, and breadwinners leading to power. Thus, it is concluded that gender inequality still exists in the textbooks although written by women, and the senior high school English textbooks still perpetuate of the gender inequality values in Indonesia.

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Keywords

Gender values, English textbooks, Senior High Schools, gender representations, gender inequality

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Introduction

Textbooks, modules, or other learning materials have a pivotal role in the teaching and learning process including learning English. The English language as an international language and global lingua franca is used widely in various cultural contexts, thus it is used to facilitate the teaching and learning process in classrooms (Liu et al., 2022) and textbooks developed to refer to world Englishes that have varieties of English spoken throughout the world (Mostafaei Alaei & Parsazadeh, 2021). Over the years, the textbooks and values embedded in the materials have undergone various transformations in response to the government and educational policy (Rahim & Daghigh, 2020). This situation has impacted the materials used in English Language Teaching (ELT) (Nguyen et al., 2021).

English has been dominant throughout the world in learning a foreign language in the education system for many years (Joo et al., 2020) because “it is advocated as a language of social prestige and economic value” (Nguyen et al., 2021, p.11). As a result, plenty of people learned it for many purposes, such as trade, politics, health, economics, and educational sectors. In response to the educational environment, materials and textbooks have critical elements in English Language Teaching. It is because the materials play crucial factors in shaping ideologies, perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes of the learners, in the other words “Language and ideology are inseparable from discourse” (Botelho & Marion, p.3, 2020). According to Orfan (2021) foreign language textbooks, e.g. English, has an essential role in teaching and learning the language that is not only to convey the language contents but also to transfer values, ideologies, and norms. Moreover, as an illustration, in Afghanistan, textbooks have a critical role in educational sectors to influence the learners’ perspectives so that the textbook developers use common language and use certain pictures in the texts to communicate (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). Textbooks are one of the cores of the teaching and learning process because they consist of materials, activities, and instructions for learning. However, numerous gender inequality frequently were identified in the textbooks (Barton & Sakwa, 2012; Lee, 2018; Lee & Collins, 2010; Orfan, 2021, Vu & Pham, 2021).

Gender stereotypes and patriarchy have an essential role in incorporating the values in the materials. Mai & Brundrett (2020) reveal that gender stereotypes and patriarchal attitudes have a big influence on the way people act and perceive society. It also includes influencing the learners’ how they treat people in their workplaces, Verge (2021, p.1) believes that “unawareness about how gender inequalities are (re)produced will inevitably lead the learners to become gender-blind doctors, teachers, engineers, policymakers, and other jobs”. Then this condition limit understanding of gender equality and the ways of the social construction of gender identities and has a close correlation to conflict (Durrani & Halai, 2018).

Textbooks have a significant element in changing pupils’ perspectives and attitudes in which one of the main goals in education is to pursue the learners to be better persons, to have open-minded perspectives, to have equal treatment (gender equality), and lead both females and males have the same opportunity to gain the brighter future. Consequently, it is important to analyse and scrutinize the materials related to the appropriateness of the contents and the pictures to the intended users (Bansiong, 2019). This research topic in Indonesia is scarce; therefore, this study aims to fill the gap by concerning textbooks of senior high schools for grades X, XI, and XII.

1. Literature Review

Textbooks are materials authority in which the ideas, values, and perspectives incorporated in the materials are influential to the readers or learners (Vu & Pham, 2021). Almost all written texts such

as textbooks or other materials have different purposes which are depended on the developers or writers' interests or goals. For instance, the English language used in the textbooks is consumerism, one of neoliberalism's main manifestation, so the ideology embedded in the textbooks is the neoliberalism values through the sentences (word choices) written (Daghigh & Rahim, 2021). As an example, they wrote (p.6) "It's very easy to buy things if you go into a shopping mall or a street full of shops (*Think* 1, 24). Learning language for learners pointed out the significance of language learning so that it is needed to be more aware of the role of language learning in educational contexts or other sectors (Chang et al., 2020). It means that both learning language and language learning are inseparable and have a close relationship. Therefore, the textbooks developed need to be considered with the values embedded in the learning materials because word choices and images used in the materials affect the interpretation which is internalized by the readers.

Textbooks have crucial aspects in education because they are used by teachers in managing the teaching and learning process in classrooms. Setyono & Widodo (2019) stated that teachers can manage teaching materials and utilize the textbooks in *in-class* and *out-class* activities as guiding for them. Even though the instructional materials are neither nor uniform since the change over the years; the word choices used account of feminist language reform and the materials developed could be based on the domain or different settings (Selvi & Kocaman, 2021). Textbooks that have bias orientation may lead to biased worldwide and individuals' perspectives (Baleghizadeh & Amiri Shayesteh, 2020). In terms of the issue, language textbooks are well-designed and well-developed to support engagement with culture and global science and values before those are distributed to the learners (Davidson & Liu, 2020) involving gender equality values.

The textbooks need to deliver a fair reflection of the world even though a few researchers or policymakers put their attention or paid to gender inequality in instructional materials used by schools and universities or other educational institutions in which the places are a core in shaping, reshaping, polishing the learners' ideas, beliefs, perspectives, attitudes, and behaviours (Orfan, 2021). Pictures and word choices put in the text form discourse that creates understanding and interpretation to the readers involving gender inequality contexts. Adriany (2019) supported that discourse has a close correlation to power that could marginalize anyone or anything different, for instance women are discredited because of their gender. Equal opportunity or fair treatment both for males and females is crucial to making a better life and a better world. Afterward, one of the best ways to support equality is through education by incorporating gender equality contexts in the textbooks.

Plenty of scholars conducted research on textbook analysis that represent gender inequality values (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017); (Rahim & Daghigh, 2020); (Barton & Sakwa, 2012); (Baleghizadeh & Amiri Shayesteh, 2020); (Nguyen et al., 2021). Whereas, textbooks have a pivotal role in shaping students' perceptions and attitudes because they read the texts, observe the images, and could probably imitate what they read and observe. Every text and sentence or even illustrations developed are instilled in some values including gender inequality values because symbols and signs refer to the meanings. All components in the textbooks such as texts, images, colours, and sentences called semiotics mode (He & van Leeuwen, 2020) can influence the readers' or learners' ideology, beliefs, or attitudes. Textbooks are a stimulus and the reactions are the response of the pupils toward what they learn from the textbooks. Therefore, language choices and dictions used should be opted well to influence a good response to what they read.

Xiong & Peng (2020) note that the textbook developers requires engaging the readers in critically reflecting and negotiating cultural knowledge and meanings in which the meaning tends to empower the readers rather than disempower them. However, texts also could probably disempower the readers because the writers used the imbalance cultural representation contents in the textbooks developed. The imbalanced cultural representation have negative impact in educational sectors and gender

inequalities values including the perpetuation of stereotypes (Davidson & Liu, 2020). For paradigmatically and syntagmatically, the texts are built to the link a power-knowledge regime between writers and readers and built the values in the texts (Chen & Cheung, 2020).

Language and culture cannot be separated from one another because two of them are intertwined. Consequently, the culture is brought to the classroom in the teaching and learning process. The recognition that culture has a pivotal role and crucial aspects in language learning has been debated over the past few decades in the education field (Baleghizadeh & Amiri Shayesteh, 2020). Language can be either motivation or demotivation to the readers. Since language and culture so closely intertwined with a sense of self so that it could affect on confidence and motivation (Abdelhadi et al., 2019). Through those images, it could be self-motivation for men to be more powerful and instil the values to be implemented in their daily life. Certainly, learners particularly children bring in their perspectives and values when reading texts, and sentences and viewing pictures in the textbooks (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). Even though, they believe that the condition is less for teachers who applied conventional teaching methods that implement teacher-centred teaching methods and also for more malleable younger pupils.

Indonesia and other countries have the same struggle with gender inequality and inequity issues. It has been a long issue throughout the world. Therefore, gender-biased appear in school materials (Barton & Sakwa, 2012); (Lee, 2018); and (Lee & Collins, 2010) including in the textbooks. The textbooks for senior high schools were published by the Educational Ministry and written by a group of women. English textbooks for grade 10 were written by Utami Widiati, Zuliati Rohmah, and Furaidah; for grade 11 written by Mahrukh Bashir; and for grade 12 by Utami Widiati, Zuliati Rohmah, and Furaidah.

2. Method

2.1 Procedures

Senior High School textbooks were chosen to identify as the corpus of this study. The textbooks were published by the Government and disseminated to schools as the main materials to be learned by the students. Those were designed by Educational experts in developing and designing English materials approved by the Ministry of Education in Indonesia. The schoolbooks are the major resources for the learners and teachers in learning English in senior high schools. The materials available focus on four skills namely speaking, reading, listening, and writing that has 17 chapters. The three of primer materials contain the values of supporting the world to reach the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). All the writers are women as proof that the government gave a chance to women to explore their abilities and skills.

There were 17 chapters in senior high school textbooks (Grade X, XI, and XI) selected as samples. The samples selected randomly based on odd and even numbers to generalize the research results. The content was classified into five categories namely visibility, firstness, social role, domestic roles, and masculine generic forms; afterward the data were carried out the systematic recording and tabulation of female and male characters and written in each selected chapter (Orfan, 2021). The data collection procedure was adopted by Orfan (2021). The textbooks analysis has five categories: (1) the number of appearances of both female and male characters in texts and pictures, (2) female and male social roles such as pilots, engineers, doctors, chef, babysitter, (3) female and male's domestics roles namely mother, father, sister, brother, uncle, (4) firstness such as her/him, father/mother, (5) masculine generic constructions such as (mankind, he) when referring to both females and males.

Johansson and Malmsjo (2009); Jones, Kitetu, and Sunderland (1995); Gupta and Yin (1990); Porecca (1984); Poulou (1997) conducted research related to ESL textbooks with a quantitative method in

which they counted the numbers of female and male characters in the textbooks but It is argued by Porecca (1984,713) mentioning that the survey study tends to fail in elaborating how females and males are presented (Barton & Sakwa, 2012). Consequently, this study used mixed research (quantitative and qualitative methods) to investigate the data in more detail so that using CDA was needed to compile this study. This research identifies to answer the following questions:

- (1) What is the frequency or number of men-to-women appearances in the textbooks?
- (2) What are the common activities linked between men and women?
- (3) To what extent are males and females represented portrayed in the textbooks?

2.2 Data analysis

The content analysis was used to analyse the textbooks in this research. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was also applied to this research to complement the content analysis (Barton & Sakwa, 2012). The data gained were cross-checked to ensure the accuracy and the manual analysis was conducted for all the males and females characters and corpus that appear in the written texts (Lee, 2018). The critical discourse analysis elaborates not only on the texts but also on the context of social condition in the place by considering the domain. A primarily qualitative, CDA-informed macro level approach, investigating how power relations and inequalities are discursively perpetuated and maintained in the society (Prendergast & Quinn, 2020).

3. Results

3.1 Visibility and Illustrations

The frequency of illustrations both one-character illustration and multi-character illustrations in the textbooks were counted by identifying and categorizing the pictures based on the category. The female and male pictures are divided into two categories namely one-character illustration and multi-character illustration. The illustrations were calculated for one-character for two sexes and then counted for multi-character pictures as well. The frequency for gender illustrations can be shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Females and Males Illustrations

| Category | Gender | Grade X | | Grade XI | | Grade XII | | In Total | |
|---|--------|-----------|------------|-----------|---|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | F | % | F | % | F | % | Total | % |
| One-character illustration | Female | 3 | 20 | 3 | 75 | 34 | 74 | 40 | 62 |
| | Male | 12 | 80 | 1 | 25 | 12 | 26 | 25 | 38 |
| Total | | 15 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 46 | 100 | 65 | 100 |
| Multi-character illustrations | Female | 19 | 40 | 9 | 53 | 40 | 37 | 68 | 40 |
| | Male | 28 | 60 | 8 | 47 | 67 | 63 | 103 | 60 |
| Total | | 47 | 100 | 17 | 100 | 107 | 100 | 171 | 100 |
| N.Female character illustration: 108=46% | | | | | N.Male character illustration: 128=54% | | | | |

Both females and males have different calculation in terms of the number of men and women in the textbooks in which males' picture of one-character have significant differences to females (62% for females and 38% for males). However, in the multi-character illustrations, males' pictures dominated (60%) and female proportion (40%). Moreover, in the total number of females and males illustration reveal that men have higher percentage portrayed in the textbooks than women, 128 and 108 respectively.

In terms of the number of males and females names, male’s names are much more dominant mentioned in the textbook with the total 132 for females and 217 for males. The frequency of male and female’ names can be shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Female and Male’s Names

| Textbooks | Female | Male |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| Grade X | 37 | 173 |
| Grade XI | 11 | 5 |
| Grade XII | 84 | 39 |
| Total | 132=21% | 217=79% |

3.2 Social Role

In terms of the social role, female-monopolised ratio is more than male-monopolised with the average total 10 for females and 7 for males. However, related to male-dominated, men ratios are far more than women, 17 and 4 data respectively. For more detail of the social role is described in Table 3.

Table 3. Frequency of Social Role

| Types of social roles | Grade X | Grade XI | Grade XII | Total |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Female-monopolised | 10 | | | 10 |
| Male-monopolised | 7 | | | 7 |
| Female-dominated | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Male-dominated | 13 | 2 | 2 | 17 |

3.3 Domestic Roles

The textbooks have numerous domestic roles representation for both females and males. The findings of data can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Domestic Roles

| Domestic roles of Females | Grade X | Grade XI | Grade XII | Domestic role of Males | Grade X | Grade XI | Grade XII |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|--|-----------|----------|-----------|
| Mother | 3 | | 4 | Father | 7 | 1 | 4 |
| Daughter | 10 | | 3 | Son | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| Sister | 28 | 1 | 2 | Brother | 2 | | |
| Niece | | | | Nephew | | | |
| Housewife | 4 | 4 | | Husband | 1 | 1 | |
| Grandmother | 6 | | 1 | Grandfather | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Granddaughter | | | | Grandson | | | |
| Aunty | | | | Uncle | | 1 | |
| Total | 51 | 5 | 10 | | 16 | 5 | 14 |
| N.Females of Domestic Roles: 66 =65% | | | | N.Males of Domestic Roles: 35=35% | | | |

The Table 4 illustrates the domestic roles of females and males in the textbooks for grade X, XI, and XII. The frequency of females in the domestic roles is double much more than the counterpart (males), 66 and 35 respectively.

3.4 Gender Firstness

In the textbooks, there are some pronouns identified such as she, he, her, him, hers, his, himself, and herself. The frequency of the pronouns (firstness) is portrayed in Table 5 and 6.

Table 5. Frequency Gender Firstness for Females

| Textbooks | She | Her | Hers | Herself | Total |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Grade X | 41 | 64 | 1 | | 106 |
| Grade XI | 5 | 5 | | | 10 |
| Grade XII | 32 | 33 | | 2 | 67 |
| Total | 78=43% | 102=56% | 1=0% | 2=1% | 182=100% |

The Table 5 shows the frequency gender firstness for women, it shows that there are plenty of female pronouns in the textbooks such as *she*, *her*, *hers*, and *herself*. The object pronoun (her) was written more than the subject pronoun with total number 102 and 78. While, there were few of pronoun “hers and herself” portrayed in the textbooks. As a result, the total of female gender firstness in the textbooks is 182. Meanwhile, the frequency of males’ gender firstness can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Frequency Gender Firstness for Males

| Textbooks | He | Him | His | Himself | Total |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Grade X | 82 | 48 | 44 | | 174 |
| Grade XI | 5 | 1 | 1 | | 7 |
| Grade XII | 33 | 11 | 11 | 1 | 56 |
| Total | 120=51% | 60=25% | 56=24% | 1=0% | 237=100% |

In terms of males’ gender firstness, the Table 6 illustrates the calculation of male pronouns in the textbooks. There are 120 of subject pronoun “he” mentioned in the textbooks and 60 for object pronoun “him”. Meanwhile, possessive pronouns “his” are written 56 and “himself” only 1 as the datum. Therefore, the total number of the male pronouns tendency is 237. Compared to female gender firstness for women in the Table 5, frequency of males’ firstness are more than women with 237 for males and 182 for females.

3.5 Masculine Generic Construction

Another category related to masculine generic construction is also provided in the textbooks that the result is described in Table 7.

Table 7. Masculine Generic Construction

| Masculine Generic Constructions | Grade X | Grade XI | Grade XII | Total |
|---------------------------------|---------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Cavemen | 1 | | | 1 |
| Policemen | 3 | | | 3 |
| Mankind | 4 | | | 4 |

Table 7 shows that there is no masculine generic construction for grade X and XII. However, there are three masculine generic constructions in the textbook grade X namely cavemen (1), policemen (3), and mankind (4).

4. Discussion

The values embedded in the textbooks have a big role that designs the textbooks because those affect on the texts, the pictures, and the word choices used. Even though all of the textbook developers are women, the images and content tend to gender inequality and inequity contexts. There is a remarkable gap in the textbooks based on the quantitative data identified in which some aspects of the textbooks illustrated gender inequality practices. The textbooks designed to become more unequal between men and women proportion. The frequency and the total number of females are fewer than males in most of the items. The total number of females and males illustration reveal that men have a higher percentage portrayed in the textbooks than women, 108 and 128 respectively and it is the same as the names used in which males' names (217) and females (132). It is supported also by the data of gender firstness frequency where women have 182 data and 237 for their counterpart.

The names of males also are much more than females based in Table 2 and it is supported by the frequency of gender firstness for males (237) and females (182) in Table 5. Even though all the writers of the textbooks are females but some aspects such as pictures, names, and gender firstness are still dominated by men. Many misconceptions of gender roles and occupational pursuits are cultivated through symbol vicarious modelling of stereotypes demonstrated by character models that could be interpreted, followed and implemented by children in their daily lives (Lee, 2020). We realize that our perspectives are different from numerous school curricula where not all texts or other aspects in the textbooks are values equal (Bezemer & Cowan, 2020).

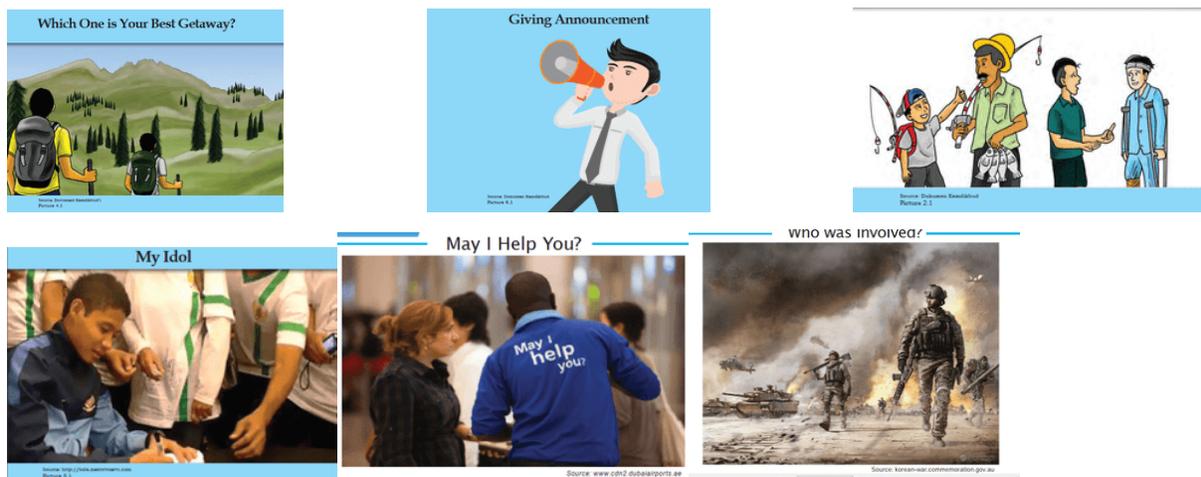
Even though, when females are more mentioned as central characters (Table 3) and (Table 4) but they are often described in stereotypical ways in the textbooks. For instance, women tend to be portrayed in domestic roles such as cleaning the houses (chapter 5, grade 12), shopping (chapter 7, grade 12), getting married (chapter 2, grade 10), and taking care of children (chapter 2, grade 11). Lee (2020, p.2) reinforces that “females were also associated with domestic roles”. It is relevant to the research results of (Lee, 2018) conducting scrutiny investigation in the three textbooks analysed. The number of female domestic roles are double than the counterpart which is 65% and 35%. Therefore, in the materials provided many of inequality dealing with the women stereotypes.

The research results reveal that there is hidden gender stereotyping contained in the textbooks in which men were depicted as more powerful than women such as the father put up the tent or went fishing with his sons while the mother's tasks seem to be domestic roles cooking and childrearing. These findings also are similar to (Lee, 2020) that women are still frequently placed in family roles than men in which there are much more aunts, and grandmothers than their counterparts. The domestic roles lead to where a member of the family work and stays at home to accomplish home duties without any charge. In a patriarchy society, this role tends to do by women. As a result, based on the data, the content of the textbooks are still adopted traditional stereotypes.

The four types of social roles are female-monopolised, male-monopolised, female-dominated, and male-dominated. The data portray that between females and males has a small difference with 10 and 7 data; however, in terms of the dominated in social role, men dominated in social roles eight times than women. The materials in schoolbooks still represented of stereotypes because the trend of male domination seems to be showed by the writers. Consequently, this will affect on the students' beliefs and attitude in the future. If men and women are unequally represented in textbooks, pupils including girls grow up with mentality that men as a dominant group are better and more powerful and capable than those of other groups (Orfan, 2021).

Images, portraits, or landscapes are a pivotal media in shaping people's perspectives and beliefs because every picture has various interpretations and values. As a result, these are crucial to select relevant images in the books because pupils instil the values to what they read and interpret all components in the materials including symbols, signs, and images. In these three textbooks, plenty of images illustrate males' domination. The visual images receive less attention from research investigating gender imbalance in textbooks (Li, 2016). Almost all of the pictures selected at the beginning of the chapter are men revealing men's power and domination in everyday life. For instance, on pages 29, 38, 50, 81, 108, and any other chapters, almost all the pictures are men. The illustrations of the pictures can be seen in Picture 1.

Picture 1: Male domination pictures



In the textbooks, the data show that men are breadwinners and women stay at home as housewives or households that identically with shopping, cooking, and taking care of the children. The pictures represent men are more powerful than women because only men are represented as travellers, announcers, fishers, hunters, soldiers, idols, and others. It is relevant to the patriarchy condition in Indonesia that women as subordinate in society in which women have boundaries to do something because of their gender. Mai & Brundrett (2020, p.3) state that “gender stereotype and patriarchal attitudes have a strong influence on the society, there is still way to go”. Those influence people's perspectives and the perspectives might influence the materials designed. Consequently, it is believed that textbooks have a pivotal role in formal education (Lee, 2014) to drive and control the students' perspectives and behaviours.

In terms of the data reveal that there were no women described in military-related jobs or hunter-hobbies such as fishing or climbing mountains. Soldiers with gun are portrayed with men's illustrations or climbing mountains with men's representation in the books which mean it is believed that only men can do the tasks or activities. It means that males are more dominant in the course books because pictures are dominated by men with big muscular and powerful who are supposed as breadwinners and described in occupations. Kostas (2019) presents the research results of the narratives to reinforce the spatial binary of public normalization that females as homemakers and domesticity or male as breadwinners, protectors, and providers. In terms of occupations, women tend to work in jobs involving nurturing, service, and support but men are illustrated involved in physically-demanding jobs such as farmer, soldier, hunter, climber, and other physical jobs that indicate to be more powerful (Lee & Collins, 2010). This condition also is relevant to (Li, 2016) that

there were no images of women depicted in military-related jobs in both textbooks in the 1980s and 2000s.

Almost in every chapter, male pictures in the textbooks cover are described as men’s activities such as a pantomime (p.182), an idol or an artist (p.108), travellers/climbers (p.50), and many others. Then, women were described as very feminine because they tend to go shopping, get married, wear pink, and others characteristics. Nayak & Surendran (2021) mention this linguistics condition as linguistic-based bias in which the writers use masculine words and generic pronouns to exclude the role and the importance of women. In the patriarchal society, women are formed with the ideal behaviour and habit such as women tend to stay at home, become fashionable, serve for her husband, and other stereotyped as women’s jobs (Andersson, 2020); in the early 1970s, women are portrayed as an object to sell or buying clothes, to manage the house, to serve family and as sexual partner (Greubel, 2021). It is similar also to a poem of “A Freedom Song” which illustrates an exploitative domestic situation of women (Barton & Sakwa, 2012). With the same condition as the findings of the research (see e.g Lee, 2018 and Gailea & Rasyid, 2015). It means that gender imbalance still exists in the schoolbooks although the writers of the textbooks are women and the government supports the SDGs’ targets of gender balance.

In expressing feelings and ideas, it is not only to be expressed through words or sentences but also it could be devoted to symbols, colours, and pictures. Words, phrases, gestures, pictures, and symbols refer to the referential meaning, as Riley (2019, p.3) notes that “The most important feature that distinguishes humans from all other forms of life on the planet is our capacity for evolving referential language”. The meaning of the words, objects, or images refers to the referential meaning which means every object has the meaning that is based on the referee. Swenson & Cipolla (2020) state symbols are more closely to Saussure’s semiology where every sign or symbol expresses a meaning which corresponds to convention, tradition and culture of the place.

5. Conclusion

Textbooks have a big impact on students’ perspectives and behaviors because they gain some information and obtain the values from the texts and images available. Afterward, the values can be guidance for the students and they might be implemented by the learners in their daily life. Consequently, the content of the schoolbooks is necessary to be considered by all stakeholders, especially for the developers to select the contents and contexts of the textbooks. Based on the research result, the proportion of men’s names and pictures in the textbooks for grade X, XI, XII of senior high schools are much more than female names and pictures. Men are more dominant in the social roles portrayed in the texts. The gender stereotype identified in the analysis of the textbooks is that women are put in the domestic roles such as cleaning the house, serving their husbands, taking care of the children, and other domestic roles. Meanwhile, men are illustrated as powerful people who are identical to going for the hunter, becoming an idol, fishing, and becoming breadwinners.

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The Language Shift from the Middle and Upper Middle-Class Families in the Kapampangan Speaking Region

Ariel T. Gutierrez [1]⁹

Abstract

The language shift among middle and upper-middle-class families in Kapampangan-speaking communities was the focus of this study. The tool consists of the following: (a) an interview guide containing items related to the languages they used at home, with friends, and content about their parents' race; (b) a wordlist containing specific words from Kapampangan liturgical prayers to determine whether there is an evolution of words in the Kapampangan language; and (c) data were interpreted using Fishman's Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). The data of the study were taken from the 63 Catholic Kapampangan informants, regardless of sex, must be native of the city or town in the province of Pampanga, and nearby Kapampangan-speaking provinces, with an age bracket of 18-21 years old. Findings reveal that some Kapampangan words are in great danger. Unknowingly, little by little, Kapampangan people are shifting their language to a mixture of Tagalog and English. The attitude of using and choosing English and Tagalog as the languages at home instead of the Kapampangan significantly contributed to the language shift. The established Kapampangan language clashed with westernized trends and modern society. It was also pushed out slowly by intermarriage, technology, globalization, modernization, mass movements, and politics, which added up to losing Kapampangans' unique identity. Finally, some words used in Catholic liturgical prayers should be updated since some words are not familiar anymore to the younger generation.

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Keywords

Families, Kapampangan, language, language shift, middle class.

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Introduction

Knowledge is seen as the source of all power among the villages of north-western New Britain, but as the elderly pass away without passing on what they know, a portion of power is lost with each generation (Thurston, 1992). The abovementioned statement is also true when we talk about the vitality of languages around the world. Like any other knowledge, language is diverse in that it is subject to ups and downs, and they are frequently correlated with those of its speakers (Almurashi, 2017). There are several languages that are being extensively spoken nowadays all over the world, and some of them are dying, and some are on the verge of extinction. Up to 6,000 different languages are thought to be spoken at any given time, yet this cultural variety is decreasing quickly (Kandler, 2017).

It is true that language may change at any time, and that change is susceptible to corruption, even over a short period of time, like a decade or two, and with samples of just a few thousand characters. This is a really interesting discovery even in isolation, and it adds to the list of language researchers that are interested in measuring language evolution and variations (Juola, 2003). The notion that language echoes culture must be known to any linguist who is interested in and concerned with the history of the philosophy of language. Given this knowledge, it is only logical to conclude that a change in culture must impact language, which in turn must reflect the change in the speech community in some manner. A language is a system of interaction that combines sounds and/or gestures in a predetermined way to produce meanings that are understandable to all speakers of that language (Haviland, 2010).

Language maintenance initiatives often give careful thought to what leads a community to switch from one language to another. Before attempting language maintenance, it is essential to gauge how well the community comprehends the reasons for its linguistic change. To enable community members to view language change as something they can affect rather than something beyond their control, there has to be empowerment in the community (Smith, April 2, 2010). In order to explain how the process of language shift starts and gains steam, it is necessary to comprehend the factors that lead adults to decide to incorporate the new language into their communication repertoires in the first place. According to the shift literature, people begin learning dominant languages that are more widely used than their vernacular due to occupation, widespread in-migration of members of the dominant group, incorporation into a political entity where that language is widely used, and/or because they voluntarily do so in order to move up the socioeconomic hierarchy that is run by members of the majority group (Kulick, 1992).

According to Odrowaz-Coates (2019), English has transformed into a sign of social class; in favored socioeconomic groups, their status changes from a second language to a foreign language, signaling a linguistic shift with significant repercussions. In *Socio-Educational Factors and the Soft Power of Language*, the cultural and individual implications of this phenomenon are carefully studied in the field study contexts of Poland and Portugal. In Singapore, there has been a considerable linguistic change over the past 20 years from the use of various dialects of Chinese in the household to English and Mandarin as the official languages of instruction. Grandchildren may not speak the same language as their grandparents due to the rapid shift (Gupta & Yeok, 1995).

It is preferable to think of Indonesia's linguistic transitions as developing multilingualism patterns rather than vast populations abruptly changing their language. Such shifts in language usage are happening all throughout the nation and are putting the survival of many languages in peril, especially in the eastern half of the archipelago, where there are several languages with sparse speaker populations (Musgrave, 2014). The loss of a language is viewed as a tragic and regrettable event. Such a circumstance could be challenging to understand for many speakers of frequently used languages. But cases like these do exist, and they occur everywhere (Almurashi, 2017).

A few of the causes by which languages are endangered are evident: the influences of urbanization, westernization, and global communications rise every day, all the while weakening the identity and self-confidence of smaller and indigenous communities. Oppressive policies and demographic migrations also play their part in languages (The FEL Manifesto, 2022). The Philippines has 187 languages, four of which are extinct, and 11 are dying (Philippines, 2007). The Kapampangan language is one of the major languages in the country, which is found in the central plain of Luzon, with at least a population of 2,437,709 (Pampanga Profile – PhilAtlas - Luzon, 2020), also known as Pampango, Pampangan, and Pampangueno. The province of Pampanga serves as the hub of this linguistic group, but Kapampangan is also widely spoken outside of the region's political limits. There may also be a small number of Kapampangan speakers in the provinces of: Bataan, which is situated in the southern part of Pampanga, specifically the towns of Cabiao, Dinalupihan, Hermosa, Samal, and Abucay; in Bulacan, in San Miguel de Mayumo; and in the northeast of Pampanga, the town in Nueva Ecija, specifically of Cabiao; as well as a significant portion of Tarlac, specifically Tarlac City, Capas, Bamban, and Concepcion (Del Corro, 1985). Many speakers who are fundamentally monolingual can still be found in the Kapampangan speech group. The large majority of them were trilingual, speaking English quite well, or at least to some extent, as well as Tagalog and Kapampangan with great proficiency. There was a definite age gap when it came to the use of the Kapampangan language. While adults can speak Tagalog very well, it does not seem to have the same impact on them as it does on the Kapampangan teenage group. Teenagers, on the other hand, appear to be rather significantly influenced by Tagalog (Forman, 1971).

This study focused on the language shift among the middle and upper middle class families in the Kapampangan speaking region. According to the most recent family income and expenditure survey conducted by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), the majority of Filipinos (58.4%) are from the lower socioeconomic strata, while the middle class makes up around 40% of the population. High earners account for only 1.4 percent of the population (Albert et al., 2018). This paper may hopefully add to the dearth of Kapampangan studies on language shift.

1. Methods

The researcher developed a tool composed of two parts: first, is the interview guide with items related to the languages they used at home, with friends, and content about their parents' race. Second, is the wordlist where the specific words were taken from Kapampangan liturgical prayers. This is to trace whether there is an evolution of words in the Kapampangan language. Data were interpreted through the use of Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) of Fishman (1991). Catholic prayers were utilized because the prayers were used by the Kapampangan since the early 1600's and up to the present time. The 80 words from the list

came from liturgical prayers, namely: *Ibpa Mi* or the "Our Father"; *Ligaya King Ibpa* or the "Glory Be"; *Bapu Maria* or the "Hail Mary"; and *Bapu Reyna* or the "Hail Holy Queen". The selected words were then alphabetized and read aloud to the informants, where they recalled, interpreted, or translated them in English or Tagalog (national language), and were also given a chance to explain in cases word/s could not be translated by the informants. The researcher identified the responses as (a) correct translation/interpretation, (b) wrong translation/interpretation, and (c) no response; meaning the informants had totally no idea of the word/s.

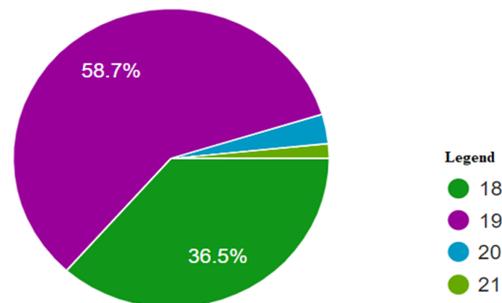
Pertinent documents were also analyzed such as old dictionaries of Bergano (1732), Luther (1905), and Forman (1971) to interpret and check the Kapampangan language transitions and compare it to Kapampangan language use at present time. Also local magazines, and newspapers, flyers, historical books, monographs, and manuscripts to identify the historical significance of the province and its relation to language were utilized.

The data for the study came from 63 Catholic Kapampangan informants, regardless of gender, who had to be from a city or town in the province of Pampanga or nearby Kapampangan-speaking provinces, should be between the ages of 18 and 21, and come from a middle or upper middle class family.

Figure 1 presents the age distribution of the informants: 36.5% were 18 years old, 58.7% were 19 years old, 3.2% were 20 years old, and 1.6% were 21 years old.

Figure 1. The Age of the Informants

Age
63 responses



The towns of Pampanga and nearby speaking Kapampangan provinces (see figure 2), specifically from parts of Tarlac, were included in the study; the biggest data were from Angeles City with 14 or 22.2% of informants, followed by 11 or 17.5 from Mabalacat City; there were six or 9.5% of interviewed informants from each locality of the City of San Fernando, town of Magalang, and town of Arayat; the town of Lubao represented 4 or 3.6%; while the towns of Candaba and Guagua represented 2 or 3.2% each. There were one or 1.6% of informants who were interviewed in each town: Bacolor, Macabebe, Masantol, Mexico, Porac, San Simon, Santa Ana, and Santa Rita. In addition, only there were only 4 or 6.3% informants from the Kapampangan-speaking towns in the province of Tarlac.

Figure 2. Kapampangan Speaking Provinces

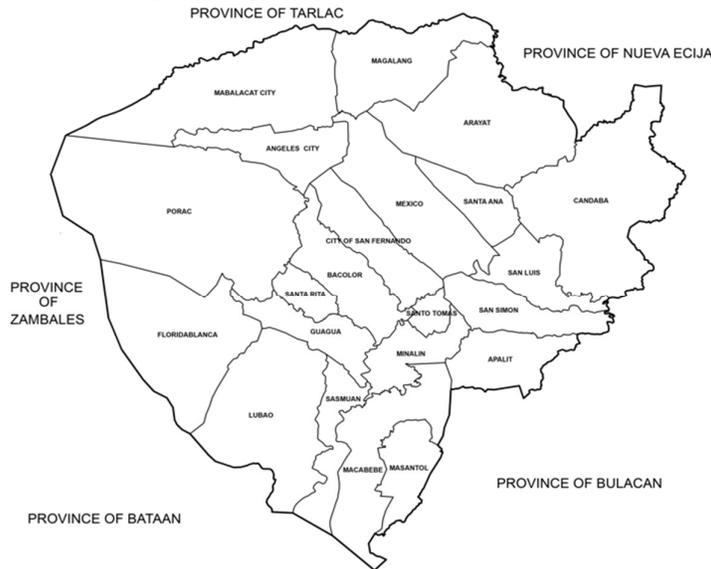
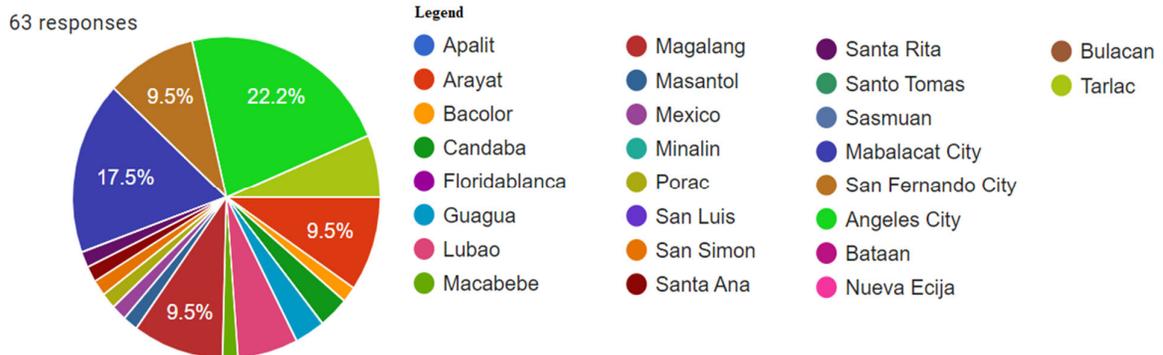


Figure 3. Towns



The study started in May of 2019 and finished in June of 2022. Due to the isolation and restrictions imposed by the local and national governments due to the COVID-19 pandemic, some towns from parts of Bataan, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija where Kapampangan-speaking individuals can still be found were not included in the data gathering.

2. Results and Discussions

The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) of Fishman (1991) was utilized in interpreting the data for figures four to six. Figure 4 presents the use of the Kapampangan language for everyday interactions at home. It revealed that a significant number (47.6%) of informants speak Kapampangan at home, followed by 33.3% whose parents and grandparents were the only Kapampangan speakers at home. On the other hand, there were 15.9% who do not use Kapampangan at home but instead use English or Tagalog. Further, there were 2 or 3.2% who claimed that only grandparents speak Kapampangan.

Figure 4. Language Used at Home
63 responses

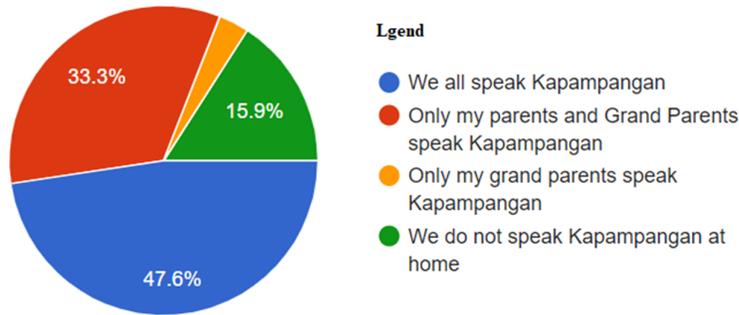
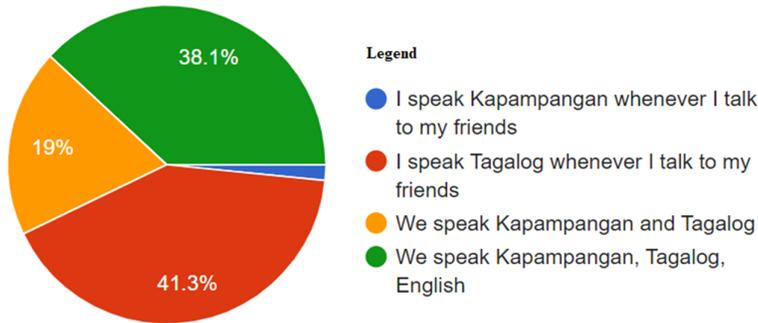


Figure 5 revealed that the majority of the informants (41.3%) stated that they speak Tagalog and only 1.6% use the Kapampangan language whenever they talk with their friends. On the other hand, there were 19% who mentioned that they speak Tagalog and Kapampangan, and 38.1% use three languages; English, Tagalog, and Kapampangan whenever they talk to their friends.

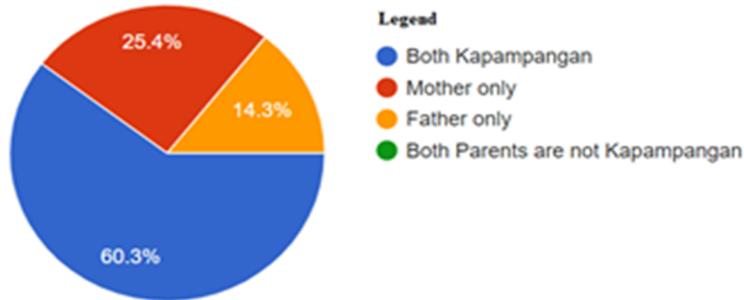
Figure 5. Language Used with Friends
63 responses



The parents' race of the informants were also included in the study. Figure 6 revealed that there were 60.3% whose parents were both Kapampangan, 25.4% represented only their mother being a Kapampangan, and the rest of 14.3% represented only their father being a Kapampangan. A clear manifestation that there were 39.7% among the middle and upper middle class who got into intermarriages which may affect the Kapampangan language vitality

Figure 6. Parents Race

63 responses



Following EGIDS, the Kapampangan language among middle and upper middle class families' falls on level 7, with a label of "shifting", described as "The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children."

1. Kapampangan Language Transition

To check whether the informants understood clearly the Kapampangan language, the researcher developed a word list that contained 80 words (Table 1) which came from Catholic liturgical prayers. The researcher tried to trace as well the evolution of words from Kapampangan Catholic prayers, which were translated from Spanish to Kapampangan during the Spanish occupation in the Philippines, specifically in the province of Pampanga in the early 1600s, and are still used at present by the Kapampangan Catholics. The words were then interpreted and compared to the present language used by the Kapampangan. To check the meaning of the words, old dictionaries were used, specifically those of Bergano (1732), Luther (1905), Parker (1905), and Forman (1971).

Some of the correct word translations and interpretations of the informants taken from the word list used by the researcher were as follows: 63 informants (100%) got the correct translations from the words *awsan*, *ikami*, *lagyu*, *matula*, and *tuknangan*. While there were 62 (98.41%) informants who got the correct translations for the words *kapilan*, *makalukluk*, *malalam*, and *tutu*. The words *datang*, *kakanan*, *patawaran*, and *saup/sawup* got 61 (96.83%), the word *mikasala* has 60 (95.24%), the words *antimo*, *marok*, and *pepalakwan* have 59 (93.65%), the words *king* and *kinuldas* have 58 (92.06%), and the word *wanan* has 56 (88.89%). The mentioned words are still being used by the Kapampangans in their everyday conversations, which is why most of the informants were able to translate them correctly.

Some words with wrong translations and interpretations from 63 informants were: *pakalulu* (34.92%); *ablas*, and *patulunan* (30.16%); *kapamalatan* (25.40%); *indu*, *paysaul*, and *ampat* (22.22%); *kamumulan* (20.63%); *banwa*, *ampon/ampong* (19.5%); *nuan/nwan* (17.46%); *kitkut*, *mayupaya*, *mipamintuan*, *kabatingan* (15.87%); *panaligan*, *sabla* (14.29%); *bapu*, *pagkalam* (12.70%); *tatangis* (11.11%). Clear evidence of language change among Kapampangans was that some of the words in the word list have variations or counterparts with Tagalog meanings.

The following words could not interpret or translated by the informants because the words were not familiar to them: *labwad* (92.06%), *karinan* (88.89%), *mukum* (87.30%), *kambe*

(85.71%), *pagkalam*, *pamisamak* (80.95%), *ngamu* (79.37%), *apangaintuliran* (77.78%), *masampat*, *tuldan* (76.19%), *ampat* (74.60%), *nuan/nwan*, *daralung* (73.02%), *sulip* (68.25%) *patulunan* (65.08%), *bapu*, *yanasa* (60.32%), *kabatingan*, *lalang* (58.73%), *ikabus*, *balikdan/baligdan* (55.56%), *kigli* (53.97%), *kapamilatan* (52.38%).

Table 1. The Word List

| | Words | Correct Translation/ interpretation | % | Wrong Translation/ interpretation | % | No Answer/ response | % | Total | % |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|-------|------|
| 1 | <i>Ablas</i> | 13 | 20.63% | 19 | 30.16% | 31 | 49.21% | 63 | 100% |
| 2 | <i>Ampat</i> | 2 | 3.17% | 14 | 22.22% | 47 | 74.60% | 63 | 100% |
| 3 | <i>Ampon/ Ampong</i> | 48 | 76.19% | 12 | 19.05% | 3 | 4.76% | 63 | 100% |
| 4 | <i>Antimo</i> | 59 | 93.65% | 0 | 0.00% | 4 | 6.35% | 63 | 100% |
| 5 | <i>Apangaintuliran</i> | 9 | 14.29% | 5 | 7.94% | 49 | 77.78% | 63 | 100% |
| 6 | <i>Api</i> | 50 | 79.37% | 5 | 7.94% | 8 | 12.70% | 63 | 100% |
| 7 | <i>Asadya</i> | 37 | 58.73% | 2 | 3.17% | 24 | 38.10% | 63 | 100% |
| 8 | <i>Awsan</i> | 63 | 100.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 63 | 100% |
| 9 | <i>Balikdan/ Baligdan</i> | 26 | 41.27% | 2 | 3.17% | 35 | 55.56% | 63 | 100% |
| 10 | <i>Banwa</i> | 49 | 77.78% | 12 | 19.05% | 2 | 3.17% | 63 | 100% |
| 11 | <i>Bapu</i> | 17 | 26.98% | 8 | 12.70% | 38 | 60.32% | 63 | 100% |
| 12 | <i>Daptan</i> | 42 | 66.67% | 6 | 9.52% | 15 | 23.81% | 63 | 100% |
| 13 | <i>Daralung</i> | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|----|---------|----|--------|----|--------|----|------|
| 37 | <i>Makalukluk</i> | 62 | 98.41% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 1.59% | 63 | 100% |
| 38 | <i>Malalam</i> | 62 | 98.41% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 1.59% | 63 | 100% |
| 39 | <i>Mananung</i> | 35 | 55.56% | 0 | 0.00% | 28 | 44.44% | 63 | 100% |
| 40 | <i>Mapupus</i> | 43 | 68.25% | 3 | 4.76% | 17 | 26.98% | 63 | 100% |
| 41 | <i>Marok</i> | 59 | 93.65% | 0 | 0.00% | 4 | 6.35% | 63 | 100% |
| 42 | <i>Masampat</i> | 10 | 15.87% | 5 | 7.94% | 48 | 76.19% | 63 | 100% |
| 43 | <i>Matula</i> | 63 | 100.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 63 | 100% |
| 44 | <i>Mayupaya</i> | 37 | 58.73% | 10 | 15.87% | 16 | 25.40% | 63 | 100% |
| 45 | <i>Mengawa</i> | 46 | 73.02% | 4 | 6.35% | 13 | 20.63% | 63 | 100% |
| 46 | <i>Mibait</i> | 52 | 82.54% | 4 | 6.35% | 7 | 11.11% | 63 | 100% |
| 47 | <i>Mikasala</i> | 60 | 95.24% | 1 | 1.59% | 2 | 3.17% | 63 | 100% |
| 48 | <i>Mipamintuan</i> | 34 | 53.97% | 10 | 15.87% | 19 | 30.16% | 63 | 100% |
| 49 | <i>Mipangilag</i> | 32 | 50.79% | 2 | 3.17% | 29 | 46.03% | 63 | 100% |
| 50 | <i>Mipmu/Mitmu</i> | 32 | 50.79% | 7 | 11.11% | 24 | 38.10% | 63 | 100% |
| 51 | <i>Misamban</i> | 41 | 65.08% | 4 | 6.35% | 18 | 28.57% | 63 | 100% |
| 52 | <i>Mukum</i> | 5 | 7.94% | 3 | 4.76% | 55 | 87.30% | 63 | 100% |
| 53 | <i>Ngamu</i> | 8 | 12.70% | 5 | 7.94% | 50 | 79.37% | 63 | 100% |
| 54 | <i>Nuan/Nwan</i> | 6 | 9.52% | 11 | 17.46% | 46 | 73.02% | 63 | 100% |
| 55 | <i>Pagkalam</i> | 4 | 6.35% | 8 | 12.70% | 51 | 80.95% | 63 | 100% |
| 56 | <i>Pakalulu</i> | 31 | 49.21% | 22 | 34.92% | 10 | 15.87% | 63 | 100% |
| 57 | <i>Pamigaganakan</i> | 53 | 84.13% | 0 | 0.00% | 10 | 15.87% | 63 | 100% |
| 58 | <i>Pamisamak</i> | 9 | 14.29% | 3 | 4.76% | 51 | 80.95% | 63 | 100% |
| 59 | <i>Panaligan</i> | 30 | 47.62% | 9 | 14.29% | 24 | 38.10% | 63 | 100% |
| 60 | <i>Pangasubli</i> | 40 | 63.49% | 4 | 6.35% | 19 | 30.16% | 63 | 100% |
| 61 | <i>Pangisnawa</i> | 37 | 58.73% | 5 | 7.94% | 21 | 33.33% | 63 | 100% |
| 62 | <i>Paquit/pakit</i> | 50 | 79.37% | 1 | 1.59% | 12 | 19.05% | 63 | 100% |
| 63 | <i>Patawaran</i> | 61 | 96.83% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 3.17% | 63 | 100% |
| 64 | <i>Patulunan</i> | 3 | 4.76% | 19 | 30.16% | 41 | 65.08% | 63 | 100% |
| 65 | <i>Paysaul</i> | 30 | 47.62% | 14 | 22.22% | 19 | 30.16% | 63 | 100% |
| 66 | <i>Pekikitan</i> | 49 | 77.78% | 1 | 1.59% | 13 | 20.63% | 63 | 100% |
| 67 | <i>Pepalakwan</i> | 59 | 93.65% | 1 | 1.59% | 3 | 4.76% | 63 | 100% |
| 68 | <i>Sabla</i> | 23 | 36.51% | 9 | 14.29% | 31 | 49.21% | 63 | 100% |
| 69 | <i>Sadya</i> | 40 | 63.49% | 2 | 3.17% | 21 | 33.33% | 63 | 100% |
| 70 | <i>Salpantaya</i> | 35 | 55.56% | 2 | 3.17% | 26 | 41.27% | 63 | 100% |
| 71 | <i>Saup/Sawup</i> | 61 | 96.83% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 3.17% | 63 | 100% |
| 72 | <i>Sulip</i> | 13 | 20.63% | 7 | 11.11% | 43 | 68.25% | 63 | 100% |
| 73 | <i>Tatangis</i> | 33 | 52.38% | 7 | 11.11% | 23 | 36.51% | 63 | 100% |
| 74 | <i>Tinipa</i> | 54 | 85.71% | 6 | 9.52% | 3 | 4.76% | 63 | 100% |
| 75 | <i>Tuknangan</i> | 63 | 100.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 63 | 100% |
| 76 | <i>Tuldán</i> | 10 | 15.87% | 5 | 7.94% | 48 | 76.19% | 63 | 100% |
| 77 | <i>Tutu</i> | 62 | 98.41% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 1.59% | 63 | 100% |
| 78 | <i>Wanan</i> | 56 | 88.89% | 1 | 1.59% | 6 | 9.52% | 63 | 100% |
| 79 | <i>Yanasa</i> | 25 | 39.68% | 0 | 0.00% | 38 | 60.32% | 63 | 100% |
| 80 | <i>Yumu</i> | 36 | 57.14% | 5 | 7.94% | 22 | 34.92% | 63 | 100% |

2. Factors Affecting Language Shift among Kapampangan

2.1 Kapampangan History of Colonization

There is a province that is rich in culture and art found in the heart of Central Luzon, Philippines, and that is named after a river bank—Pampanga (Castro A. D., 2010). The province is an offspring of the Luzon Empire, which was colloquially known as the Kingdom of Tondo. It is claimed by native Kapampangans and local historians that they are descendants of the Malang Region, a group of migrants from Central Java. After the Manila occupation of the Spaniards in 1571, Martin de Goiti was sent off by the Spanish Conquistador Miguel Lopez de Legaspi to effect the submission of Pampanga (*Balen Ning Apalit: Lalawigan Ning Capampangan*, n.d.). However, in the accounts of the Kapampangan history, the natives refused to submit to the Spanish authority until the coming of de Goiti. During the settlement of the Spaniards, the province was subdivided into *pueblos* (towns) and later subdivided into *barrrios* (districts) together with *encomiendas* (royal and private states). It was noted as well that the province was one of the richest places in the Philippines during the Spanish occupation. The invasion and bombing of Clark Air Base in Pampanga by the Japanese in 1941 marked a drastic change in the province's history. From then until 1942, the Japanese armed forces tried to enter the province.

During the Japanese occupation, the military's primary goal was to defeat the communist guerrillas known as *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (HukBaLaHap). The natives and the HukBaLaHap fought with both American and Filipino armed forces during the battle of Pampanga and World War II.

2.2 Pampanga as a Former Region

There is an evidence that most of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, Eastern Bataan, and Tondo were Kapampangan at the beginning of the Spanish conquest (Camaya, n.d.). Historically, the Kapampangan territory included not only the current province, but Pampanga had a much larger land area than it does now (Castro R. I., 1981). The hispanization that saw the heroism of Pampango Prince Soliman and Raja Lacandula in the battle of Tondo led to the disintegration and diminution of the empire, then eventually to its creation as a province in 1752 (Dizon, 1981; Orejas, 2003) with Bacolor as the capital town (Dizon, 1981; Nepomuceno, 2003). The created province was then all four provinces, consisting of Bataan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, and part of Bulacan (Dizon, 1981; Castro, R.I., 1981).

December 11, 1571 was the day that the great Kapampangan region was reduced to a mere province of the Spanish Empire. For over a hundred years, the territory of Pampanga stretched as far as the mission of Cagayan in the north, which included the towns of Caranglan, Pantabangan, and Puncan in Nueva Ecija. In the west, it included the towns of Dinalupihan, Llana Hermosa, Orani, Samal, Abucay Balanga, Pilar, and Udióng (now Orion) and on the east, it stretched as far as Baler, Tayabas, and the towns of Malolos, Quingua (now Plaridel), Guiguinto, Caluya (Bigaa), Hagunoy, and Calumpit in the south (Dizon, 1981; Henares, 2001; Cabusao, 2006; Nepomuceno, 2003; Camaya, n.d.).

The reduction of the province started when the creation of Bataan absorbed the strip comprising the towns of Abucay, Balanga, Dinalupihan, Hermosa, Orani, Orion, Pilar, and Samal in 1754. In 1848, Pampanga lost the towns of Gapan, Cabiao, San Isidro, San Antonio, and Aliaga to Nueva Ecija. In 1850, its San Miguel Town was given to Bulacan, and in 1860, due to lawlessness caused by the Aeta wars, Pampanga gave up more of its towns. Bamban,

Capas, Concepcion, Victoria, Tarlac, Magalang, Porac, and Florida Blanca were detached and erected into a "commandacia politico-militar," with the last four only having been returned in 1873 (Dizon, 1981; Henares, 2001; Cabusao, 2006). Today, Kapampangan form a minority in the Tagalog-dominated Central Luzon and, unless something is done, will be reduced to insignificance or disappear as a distinct people in a few decades (Camaya, n.d.).

2.3 Effects of Calamities to the Kapampangan

The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991, which approximately blew 5 cubic kilometers or 1.2 cubic miles of magma into the air, is considered the 2nd largest volcanic eruption in the 20th century (Dela Cruz, 2012) and sent ash clouds, preferably around 35 kilometers, or 22 miles, into the air, which had a far-reaching effect not only on the landscape of the province but more so on people's migration. Residents of Bacolor from various walks of life were relocated to different resettlement sites, including the Bulaon Resettlement in San Fernando, the Madapdap Resettlement in Mabalacat, the Santa Lucia Resettlement in Magalang, and the Pandacaqui Resettlement in Mexico. In addition, there are also resettlements which are intended for people who were affected by the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo: EPZA resettlement at Angeles City; Tokwing resettlement at Porac; Sitio Mainang Resettlement at Bamban; and O'Donel Resettlement at Capas, Tarlac (Yambao et al., 2021, 78).

3. Discussion

Among the Kapampangans who belong to middle and upper class families, some terms from the common language have clearly replaced those from the local tongue. Investigation revealed that this trend is widespread, less pronounced in remote locations, and more pronounced in towns with heavy outside interaction.

The reasons for swapping a local term with one from a neighboring language, specifically of Tagalog, involved the following: (a) when young Kapampangans use a foreign word, even if they are aware of its foreignness. There is a noticeable influence of English and Tagalog words among the responses of the informants, particularly during conversations. Even if there was an appropriate local phrase, these Westernized and Tagalized words were typically used by them.

(b) An ambiguous state in which speakers were unsure which of two words is truly their own. The vocabulary of other languages, particularly Tagalog, is being replaced by that of Kapampangan. For example, the word *ampon*, meaning "and" has a counterpart meaning in Tagalog, which is "adopted", the same with the word *api* meaning "fire" with a Tagalog meaning "maltreated". Kapampangan word variations may also add to the confusion. Examples were as follows: The word *tuknangan* has two meanings: to "stop" and "shelter"; the word *lwa* has variations of "tears" and "disgorge out" having the same sound as the Tagalog word *luha*, which also means "tears". The word *pepalakwan* may be interpreted as the past or present tenses of "stay". The word *banwa* has three Kapampangan word variations, such as "year", "age" and "heaven" and the word *datang*, which means "to come" in English, has a Kapampangan variation of "porma" meaning style. (c) The newly introduced term has been completely assimilated into the language and is recognized as such by speakers. As stated in one study, language change is not just being brought on by youngsters. Instead, linguistic changes happen all throughout a person's life, not only when they are teenagers (Kansas State University, 2016).

Most languages die out gradually as successive generations of speakers become bilingual and then begin to lose proficiency in their traditional languages. This often happens when speakers seek to learn a more prestigious language in order to gain social and economic advantages or to avoid discrimination (Tesch, n.d.).

Conclusion

The study concluded that some Kapampangan words are in great danger. Little by little, the Kapampangan people are losing their language where its history, culture, arts, and tradition are embedded. It is important to note that Kapampangans should understand the significance and role of their language in their way of life and value its safeguarding to ensure that the future generation will be able to enjoy the fullness of experience it can offer. Without acknowledging it, Kapampangans will lose their individuality and identity.

Undeniably, the attitude of using and choosing English and Tagalog as the languages at home instead of the Kapampangan significantly contributed to the language shift. Moreover, some parents' humming, singing, and teaching babies westernized lullabies, nursery rhymes, and fairy tales during bedtime unintentionally made the young ones forget their language. Furthermore, some parents believed that fluency in English and Tagalog will lead to a successful education and a better future career for their children.

Being fragile and invisible to the naked eye, the Kapampangan language makes it vulnerable to dying. Unknowingly, the established Kapampangan language clashed with westernized trends and modern society. It was also pushed out slowly by intermarriage, technology, globalization, modernization, mass movements, and politics, which added up to losing Kapampangans' unique identity. There are some words which only the elderly know, like the names of the local flowers which have corresponding names in their own dialects. The moment these people die, those nouns and verbs will most likely fade into nothingness. To note, some words and terms from prayers could not even be translated efficiently by the young ones, whether literally or figuratively.

Finally, the lack of interest, exposure, and familiarity by the young Kapampangans with their own language gives it a sign that it is slowly dying. The folk songs possessed by the elderly, learned from their childhood which were passed from their parents by their forefathers, together with the games enjoyed by their playmates, are no longer used in their lives. They are slowly forgotten by the young ones. The thoughts are changed and the perspective becomes different. The study recommends making a study for young adults who belong to below average income families and compare it to the present study. And Kapampangan Catholic leaders should update some words used in the liturgical prayers since some words are no longer familiar to the younger generation.

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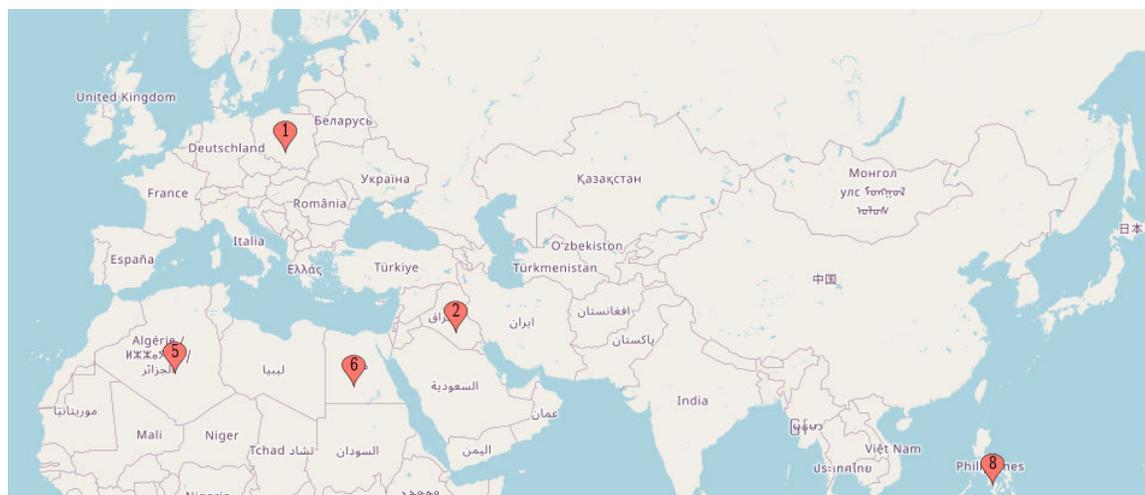
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