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Paris 24-28 juillet 2012**

**International Congress of Humanities
and Social Sciences Research
Paris 24-28 July 2012**

**Actes
/
Proceedings**

**Direction / Editor
Guy Tchibozo**

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Avant-propos

C'est avec un plaisir tout particulier que je présente ce volume des Actes du Congrès international de recherche en sciences humaines et sociales de juillet 2012. Les textes rassemblés ici témoignent de la qualité et de la richesse thématique, disciplinaire et méthodologique des travaux présentés au cours du Congrès. J'adresse mes remerciements aux auteurs de ces textes ainsi qu'aux membres du Comité scientifique, pour leurs efforts grâce auxquels ce volume existe. J'espère que ces Actes fourniront à chacun les matériaux d'une réflexion stimulante.

Professeur Guy Tchibozo
Coordonnateur du Congrès

Foreword

I am particularly pleased to present the Proceedings of the 2012 Paris International Congress of Humanities and Social Sciences Research. The papers gathered in this volume illustrate the quality and the thematic, disciplinary and methodological richness of the contributions presented in the Congress. I would like to thank the authors of these papers and the members of the Academic Committee, the efforts of whom have made this volume possible. I hope that these Proceedings will provide every reader with materials for stimulating reflections.

Professor Guy Tchibozo
Congress Coordinator

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URBANIZATION PROCESS AND SOCIAL HIERARCHIES (RE)PRODUCED BY "THE DISCOURSE OF URBANISM" IN THE LANGUAGE OF HUMOUR

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Abstract

Urbanization is not only a major component of capitalist modernization but also a symbolic violence process in Bourdieu's sense of the world which refers to the success on the part of the dominant group in projecting its own particular way of seeing the world. This paper aims to understand this process and the ways that cultural practices are related to production of consent in the service of unequal urbanization in Turkey. In this process, the cultural practices (re)produced by the discourse of urbanism, defined and dignified by the modernism that I propose to call the "urban culture", function as a symbolic power tool. For the purpose of understanding the symbolic power embedded in the discourse of the "urban culture" during the 1986-2000 period, I will analyze the two comic magazines "*Limon*" and "*Leman*". The method developed by this study for analyzing cartoons which consists of the relationship between the "language of humour" and the "symbolic violence", offers an interesting lens through which to examine shifts in everyday life practices. Through an analysis of the cartoons, the present paper arrives at two dominant stereotypes meant to be helpful toward the goal of contextualizing "urban culture" as a symbolic violence tool.

Keywords

Urban culture – Symbolic violence – Humour

Introduction

The aim of this article is to emphasize the relation between the cultural associations attributed to the city and the urbanization process. Therefore this article problematizes urbanization as not only a process formed by the accumulation of capital and its distribution, but also a cultural process which requires the consent of social actors to such formation. This problematic depends firstly on a specific position taken in the investigation of place that puts the symbolic process (culture), among the material process (economy). Secondly, it derives from the definition of the city as the site of economic and political struggle, as well as a set of perceptual schemas which classify and qualify persons or objects through the binary oppositions produced between the urban and country. This implies that the city as a symbolic formation as an important marker of distinctions between social agents. This perspective tends to analyze the role of cultural reproduction in terms of categorization and perception of cultural codes by insisting their relative importance to economy. In this context,

this article defines the “urban culture” as a set of perceptual schemas operating as a symbolic violence tool for cohering social actors into unequal urbanization. This perceptual schema is formed by modernist discourse and elevates the status of the city and its habitants against the country.

For the purpose of understanding the symbolic violence embedded in the “urban culture” during the 1986-2000 period, I have analyzed two comic magazines “Limon” and “Leman”. My argument is that modernism defines a classificatory schema which classifies cultural practices and objects and it operates as a symbolic violence tool to reproduce and legitimize social hierarchies. Thus, the binary opposition between the city and the country that is formed by modernism continues to frame assessments of city life, but in today’s (“postmodern”) conditions their references are changed. The idealistic discourse which consists of the aim of modernist vision to determine and transform the country, is turning into a spatial discourse which divides and classifies social agents by linking their consumption practices with specific urban spaces. In the first part of this article, I will try to assess the urban culture in the context of Turkey’s urbanization process. After this introductory part, the relationship between the urban culture and the symbolic violence will be examined. In the second part, the application of Bourdieu’s symbolic violence concept to the language of humour will be presented. In the final part, the two generic symbolic violence roles detected in comic magazines will be discussed in terms of polarization of social hierarchy in a neoliberal¹ restructuring period.

1. The return of modernist vision: the “urban culture”

The industrialization, the rapid urbanization it stimulated and the constitution of the national identities prompted a sharp division between the rural, traditional and peripheral culture and the urban, modern and central culture in the 18th century. Thus the rural-urban dichotomy gained even greater mythological force along with the modernist vision which elevated the status of the city and its habitants. The meanings attributed to the “city” and the “country” constitute the mental schema of the modernist restructure. According to Williams (1985:4-6), the contrast of country and city is one of the major forms in which people become conscious of a central part of their experience and the crises of society during modernisation. The modern ideas and value judgments about the urban way of life was formed along with the enlightenment values such as “progress”, “civilization” and “liberation” (Holton, 1999:22). Elias suggests that its content is formed in the city by defining the civilization as a new concept of the eighteenth century (Turner, 2005:129). This dichotomous view of the country and the city was incorporated into the early academic discourses of urban sociology too, following the schemas of Ferdinand Tönnies (1940) and Louis Wirth (1938). However, Williams, in his book “The Country and the city” (1985), underlines that the social meanings of the words “country” and “city” create an imagery which has no references related to the empirical reality. He points out that around the words city and country, there have been certain images and

¹ I define neoliberalism in the first instance as deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision. There has been a turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s. In this context, neoliberalism has become hegemonic as a mode of discourse too (Harvey, 2004:4).

associations persist: "On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation" (Williams, 1985:8). In this respect, "the urban culture" refers to the ideas, judgments, images and associations formulated by modernity which dignified the city and the urban-dweller. And undoubtedly, in Turkey's modernization from below, in other words "Westernization programme" of Turkey, "the city" is a doubly imaginary project which imposes not only urbanization but also creation of urban dwellers who perpetuate the norms and values of the "urban culture". For this reason, employing the question "the urban culture" as a symbolic violence tool is doubly explanatory in terms of Turkey's modernization.

In this study, I analyse the relation between the urban culture and urbanization during the period between 1986 and 2000 when the urban culture comes into question again in public opinion along with the forced migration from east and southeast regions. In addition this period is associated with the introduction of liberal economic policies to integrate into the world economy, the shift to post-fordist production (deindustrialization) and the emergence of an international division of labour too. These significant economic changes have consigned large sections of the unskilled labour force to economic redundancy and social marginality. On the other hand, it has assigned small section of labour force which successfully integrates the needs of the global labour market, to the higher ranks. In this paper, this group is called "new middle-class". It refers to the emerging "nouveau riche" of the professional, managerial and service classes.

For the problematic of this study the specificity of this group as new elites of the city, comes from their noticeable success in distinguishing themselves from the other social actors, not only by their higher rank of salary but also by their cultural practices. Forced migration to the metropolitan areas reinforces this discriminatory tendency and the growing interest in cultural distinctions along with the cultural diversity debate, revitalizes the discourse of the "urban culture" in the hands of the new middle class, who seek to legitimize their social position as competitive social agents in the neoliberal context of city. Thus, the modernist discourse of urbanism held by founder elites of Turkish modernization (especially officers and professionals), transfers to other hands. In this context, the idealistic discourse of modernist elites that seeks to determine and transform the country/the peasant is turning into a spatial discourse which divides and classifies social agents by linking their consumption practices with specific spaces. The binary opposition between the city and the country formed by modernism through the enlightenment values continues to frame the assessment of cultural practices along with the oppositions between western/civilized and eastern/uncivilized, rational and irrational. But in today's ("postmodern") conditions their references are changed. After the 1980's, the urban culture has become associated with the knowledge of different objects, places and their correct and acceptable use. Thus, I have chosen this period to see how the neoliberal restructuring and the retrenchment of welfare politics are admitted by social actors who live in the new physically and socially hierarchized city.

2. The “urban culture” as a symbolic violence tool

The structuralist urban theory is concerned with studying the relation between the social structure and urban social agents. According to this view, social and cultural structures of the city are formed by the capital accumulation process and the demands of dominant class which dictates social agents how to conduct (Bounds, 2004:56). However for Bourdieu (1987) structures not only restrict but also provide various opportunities for social agents. Thus, social agents could possibly reach same or different results by following completely different strategies. At this point, building conceptual bridge between social action and structure is fundamental contribution of Bourdieu to urban sociology. Bourdieu's comprehension of social classes is based on both collectives having an economic and social base and symbolic constructions oriented by the pursuit of individual and collective interests (Bourdieu 1987:9). In this context, he emphasizes the symbolic work of fabrication of groups and the struggle to impose their vision of the world. Thus he identifies social classes with symbolic and social classifications which struggle to monopolize legitimated visions of the world (Bourdieu&Wacquant, 2003:167). The symbolic violence theory emerges from his concern with this problem of relationship between symbolic representations and social structures. Bourdieu (2001) understands symbolic violence (or ideology) as the capacity to impose the means for comprehending and adapting to the social world by representing economic and political power in disguised, taken for granted forms (Swartz, 1997:89). In brief, symbolic violence exercised by symbolic systems tends to impose the legitimate vision of the social world and of its divisions. Symbolic systems from this perspective are classification systems built upon the paired oppositions shared by all and represent a more fundamental bipolarity: the dominant/dominated paired opposition (Bourdieu, 1979:468). Therefore, the terms rural/urban used in scientific analysis or country/men-urban-dweller in ordinary language are not neutral and operate in real practices as classificatory schemes. Thus, in this study, “the urban culture” is conceptualized not only as the symbolic power that masks the hidden profit of the dominant class in the urban space but also as a dominant perceptual scheme which legitimizes and naturalizes social hierarchies in form of the binary opposition country/city.

3. Methodology

The basic characteristics of the language of humour, offer an interesting perspective to investigate symbolic violence process formed in the everyday life of the city. This article is based on Bergson's approach to analyze humour. According to Bergson (2008), the comic and the laughter must be assessed separately for the purpose of understanding humorous production in its social context. He defines the humour as: “If a circle be drawn round those actions and dispositions –implied in individual or social life- to which their natural consequences bring their own penalties, there remains outside this sphere of emotion and struggle- and within a neutral zone in which man simply exposes himself to, man's curiosity – a certain rigidity of body, mind and character, that society would still like to get rid of in order to obtain from its members the greatest possible degree of elasticity and sociability. This rigidity is the comic, and the laughter is its corrective” (Bergson, 2008:17-8). In this aspect, humour

could be defined either as the language of the symbolic enemies or as the response of the dominant order.

Moreover, sociologically the humorous reaction serves as a mild control which can be exercised either informally or formally (Powell, 1988:s.93-4). For this reason, the laughter is a form of approving the social order and this makes it precisely a form of symbolic violence.

Raskin (1985:111) identifies three basic types of script opposition for the production of humour: actual/non-actual, normal/abnormal, and possible/impossible. Humorous logic derives from the confrontation of these oppositional frames. Thus, the language of humour which operates by reversing dominant perception schemas, produces not only symbolic violence but also makes the social actor who is subjected to symbolic violence laugh.

In this study, the laughter is conceptualized as "potential laughter impact" following Bergson's analysis. And the comic which is formed by the binary oppositions refers to "upsiding down" these antagonist sides. In this study, I have analyzed two comic magazines "Limon" and "Leman" during the period between 1986 and 2000. These magazines were the best sellers at that period of time. The cartoons presented in this article are analyzed as an image which combines verbal and visual. I examined all of the magazines published weekly in the period. But the cartoons presented in this article were selected to a large degree due to their representational importance according to the problematic of the study.

4. Urban Life Styles: Urban and Rural in Tastes Universe

In this section, the analysis of cartoons presented here is focused on consumption practices as life style markers as well as labels or stereotypes which stigmatise social actors. Of all the cartoons examined in this section only a few exemples can be presented here. But they give a comprehensive picture of the images of the country/man and the urban/dweller in the Turkish cartoon space.

4.1. "Kibarlar" and "Zontalar"

Cartoon series titled "Lahmacun and istakoz" were published consecutively during ten issues (Barslan & Gönülay, 1986:11) exposes the problematic of the urbanisation of countryman through dining habits. The words "Lahmacun and "ıstakoz", attributed to "zonta" against the representative of the urban culture "kibar", emerges as parallel labels defining two opposing lifestyles. In caricatures, while "kibarlar" are depicted as living in an old mansion, humane, cultured and gentle, "zonta"s are presented to be unable to speak Turkish (possessing a language composed of non-sense syllables like "slop", "şoor"; when they speak in Turkish using rude interjections such as "ula", "la" and using the imperative tense), eating lahmacun (only purchasing istakoz for pomposity). Bodies of the urban-dwellers are svelte and delicate in contrast to bodies of zontas which are shown with moles, dark eyebrows, beards, moustaches, large noses and bulky bodies. Zontas, consistent with their physical presentation, can play with a bear without fear. The comic series is based on swapped children of two families, a "zonta" and a "kibar" family, by two doctors while trying to prove being "zonta" is genetic. Being "zonta" is tested through presenting the "zonta" kid a teddy and "kibar" kid a real bear (which correspond to the expected

behavior of their families). In the end of the story, a ten day old real child of "zonta" family cries when faced with a teddy bear and prefers to play with the real bear, proving the fact that being "zonta" is genetic. As an expression of the threat posed by the recently urbanized to the dominant position of the middle class, being "zonta" and being "kibar" dichotomy is presented parallel to the country/men and urban/dweller dichotomy and roughness of the life style of recently urbanized is openly associated with genetic attributes. The potential laughter impact of this series, which summarizes the presence of countryman in the city by the middle class, is based on roughly depicting the life styles of "zonta", as others of the city and exposes the continued power struggle in the city through life styles of "kibar"s and "zonta"s. Urban/Kibar middle class, despite getting weaker in terms of economic capital, protect its dominant social position through its cultural capital. This way, urban/kibar emerges as the authority in naming "zonta" i.e. cultural dominant. In this perspective, "zonta"s are sources of humour through their lifestyles and tastes.

4.2. "Metropolitants" and "others"

In the 90's, "zonta" and "kibar" representations built in parallel to the urban/rural binary dichotomy, evolve into representations where "zonta"s lose their rural identities in mass consumption world; while the urbanism of "kibar"s is emphasized, due to their knowledge of "real" city life such as metropol living (this etiquette is defined through emphasis on the history of the city or character's intellectual capital). This frame points out to a period when, consumption and cultural industries play a central role in everyday life of the city. In this direction, music and dance, in other words the entertainment life in the city, plays an important role to the language of humour based on clash of tastes. In 90's, as discos lose popularity, "clubs" led by "dj"s and the performances taking place in these locations, start to appear in comics. Comic series titled "Sanal Simge" published consecutively during one year (Boysal, 1999a:9), is a good representative of these kind of comics. Through this series, the urban character "Sanal Simge", with her knowledge of metropol living, is contrasted with the country/men. In one comic strip, "Sanal Simge" is shown organizing a club opening in Bodrum, by hanging countrymen "hanzo dallama" over the dance floor and adding the eructation and flatulence sounds from him to the music as an expression of the polarization of the distance between urban and emigrant to the city (Boysal, 1999b:9). In this way, "Sanal Simge" as a subject of the "urban culture", converts the countryman and rural body into an object of spectacle. "Hanzo dallama" stereotype also appears in different forms in other adventures of "Sanal Simge": In the movie, "Sanal Simge", shoots for her graduation project in department of photography (Boysal 1999c:16), or in another strip, "Hanzo dallama" is shown as "etnical meatball" inside "Sanal Simge"s sandwich (Boysal, 1999d:16). In these cartoons, representation of the countrymen is objectified as an authentic element against the urbandwellers, and provides the opposition needed for comic element of the humour. The potential laughter impact, on the other hand, comes from the fact that opposition provided by the comic element is not possible during the daily encounters in the city. In this manner, encounters of "Sanal Simge" and a countryman in daily life, their presence in the same entertainment venue, is only possible in a humorous evaluation frame where countryman is the object of amusement.

Consumption practices are also rich resources for the production of humour. In this respect, the contrast between “peasant use” and “urban use” of new objects is also utilized as a comic element. In this direction, as in the example of falling in love with the answering machine (Özkan, 1991:9), the peasants’ relation with the technology has a typical potential laughter impact. Through association of technology and use of technology with the urban/dwellers, the potential laughter effect is created via country/mens’ lack of capabilities [(Limon, 1989:4) (Akgün, 1989:5) (Leman, 1992:10) (Yılmaz, 1993:13) (Leman, 1990:14)]. A similar humour is seen in cartoons where villagers imitate novel sports such as surfing and rafting. Representations such as the countryman using a log instead of a boat while rafting (Çağçağ, 1995:18) or a villager surfing on a log (Leman, 1994:s.9) are examples of this frame. A shepherd letting his sheep listen to music from his Walkman (Çağçağ, 1988:14), villagers building “the best piano of the world” (Akgün, 1988:5) or villagers going to a jazz bar to have fun after harvest (Akgün, 1991:7), shows the distinctions and expectations in tastes and consumption of objects over urban/country axis. In this way, brands, venues, as markers of westernized lifestyle developing in the city, represent the evolving vacation and entertainment tastes; while their imitation by the immigrants to the city creates an opposition and leads to a need for inventing new labels (such as ‘ciks’, ‘komançi’) in the language of humour.

5. The naïve and crude countryman

Throughout the 1980’s and 1990’s the roles presented to the country/man appear two generic forms. The first role is the “naïve countryman” role, which embodies the modernist vision of the country that depends on a fictive definition of the country/man as a nostalgic and innocent image. This type of symbolic violence reproduced via the naïve country/man role will play a key role for the developing “organic” market which is a process qualifying not only by the transformation of agriculture but also the transition of country/man as touristic object as well as a form of capital. The second role is the “crude countryman” role. In this aspect a simple, crude, well brutal (lack of rationality), uneducated countryman is presented as the consequence of corruption of the city life especially the “urban culture”. Typical examples of this kind of stylization are the brutalization of the peasant body to be compared with animals such as bear, and ox. This presentation forms tends to foster an acceptance of the dominant perception schema which assesses the country/man as lacking in abilities such as rationality, interpretation, analysis, comprehension. These are also the labels that designate the qualities of the urban and country culture, as well as the qualities of the social actors. In this aspect, the language of humour employs them as an opposition for the production of comic. In this respect, the crude countryman role reproduces the modern and civilized urban role. The antagonistic polarization contains a mutual implication, like hot implies cold, and so they coexist symbiotically. This kind of humorous representations legitimizes both the informal economy and the presence of the countrymen as the unskilled labour in the city. Thus, the antagonistic oppositions throughout the network of opposition high (sublime, pure) and low (vulgar, modest), refined and brutal is the matrix which find ready acceptance and reproduces social divisions via symbolic violence because behind them lies the whole social order. For this reason, the crude countryman role produces symbolic violence to legitimize the inequalities between urban social actors and reproduces social hierarchies.

Conclusion

Throughout the analysis of cartoons, the urban culture appears as the apparatus for reproduction of the elective aggregation of various different forms of capitals of the city between social actors. The symbolic violence is produced by the codes and schemas of the urban culture in every fragment of everyday life. Through this reproduction mechanism, accommodation of the flexible workforce required by the post-industrial capitalism, growth of (global) capital without control, weakening the left hand of the state (this expression is preferred since Turkey's welfare regime could not find its counterpart in definition of welfare state), populist policies of the politicians, the denying of responsibility by the state for the unequal urbanization are legitimized. In this process, the country/man (the newcomers of the city) becomes a social construction that allows for, or mediates, mention of the city's unemployed, unequal nature, and the problems caused by this nature. In this vein, the classificatory function of urban culture is important for legitimizing and reproducing the social hierarchies in the neoliberal city.

Nowadays artistic and cultural production plays a central role in the process of capital valorization and, through 'neo-management', artistic critique has become an important element of capitalist productivity (Mouffe, 2007:1). This has led to a claim that the discussion about the power struggle or the evaluation of the city politically is impossible under the neoliberal circumstances. As a result, this study, due to being realized in this context contains certain shortcomings, but at the same time aims to surpass those. In order to overcome this shortcoming, this article utilizes Bourdieu's sociology which has a much broader range of power Bourdieu's symbolic violence theory which stresses the classification logic of symbolic systems as instruments of domination and aims to reveal "deep structure" of domination and subordination in social life.

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INDUCED VICARIOUS STRESS, GENDER AND PERSONAL TRAITS: EFFECTS ON PERCEIVED THREAT, RESOURCE LOSS AND AFFECTIVE REACTIONS

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Abstract

The study aimed to assess the effects of experimentally-induced vicarious 'threat to life' and gender on loss of psychological resources, perceived threat and negative and positive affective reactions. Israeli adult volunteers were randomly allocated to a Threat Condition ($n = 124$), in which they were exposed to a video clip depicting terror attacks, or to a Control Condition ($n = 39$), in which they were exposed to a video clip depicting everyday news broadcasts. Personal traits of mastery, optimism and self-esteem were assessed prior to video viewing. Multiple regression and Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) analyses showed that induced threat resulted in significant high levels of perceived threat and negative affect, and low levels of resources and positive affect. Women, compared to men, showed higher levels of perceived threat and lower levels of resources and positive affect. Mastery was significantly related to lower levels of perceived threat, resource loss and negative affect, and optimism was related to positive affect. Overall, the data are consistent with both the cognitive model of stress (Lazarus, 1999) and Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 2001).

Keywords

Induced stress – Gender – Resource loss

Introduction

Traumatic events such as natural and man-made disasters lead to acute stress disorders, physiological disturbances, and behavioral changes (e.g., Norris et al., 2002), as well as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; e.g., Marshall et al., 2007; Nemeroff et al., 2006). Terror attacks have also been reported to be associated with higher levels of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other related distress and anxiety symptoms (e.g., Bleich, Gelkopf & Solomon, 2003; Maguen, Papa & Litz, 2008; Norris et al., 2002). The mass media is a central factor in the spread of the effects of terrorism and political violence (Dougall, Hayward & Baum, 2005). Indeed, a variety of empirical studies confirmed that vicarious exposure is also associated with post traumatic symptoms (e.g., Schuster et al., 2001; Slone, Shoshani & Baumgarten-Katz, 2008; Swenson & Johnson, 2003). This study sets out to examine the effects of an experimentally induced vicarious (indirect) 'threat to life' on perceived threat, perceived loss of personal resources and affective reactions, based on the cognitive model of

stress (Lazarus, 1999) and Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 2001).

1. Theoretical Background

1.1 Stress Theory and Research

The cognitive model of stress (e.g., Lazarus, 1999) is based on the assumption that people's feelings, thoughts, and actions during stressful encounters depend on their appraisals of the encounter. In primary appraisal the situation is perceived as either a loss/threat or a challenge; in secondary appraisal, the individual assesses what can be done to manage the problem and its concomitant affective reactions. These cognitive processes depend on personal, social and environmental resources, and affect coping strategies and the stressful encounter's emotional and physiological outcomes (e.g., Lazarus, 1999). Major et al. (1998) found appraisals of threat of planned abortion to be related positively to distress and negatively to positive wellbeing and satisfaction with the decision. Ben-Zur, Yagil and Oz (2005), in a study of adaptation to community change in the Israeli kibbutz, showed threat and challenge to be differentially related to negative and positive affect, respectively. In the present study, the expectation was that participants' appraisals of threat will be affected by exposure to vicarious stress and will, in turn, contribute to affective reactions.

Models of stress also incorporate personal and social resources as their major components (e.g., Hobfoll, 2001; Lazarus, 1999). From the perspective of Hobfoll's COR theory, both perceived stress as well as psychological outcomes of traumatic or disaster situations can be understood as resulting from loss (or threat of loss) of resources which include objects (car, house), conditions (marriage, seniority), personal characteristics (self-esteem) and energy (time, knowledge) (Hobfoll, 1991). Specifically, COR theory conceptualizes psychological stress as a dynamic process in which a person's resources are threatened with loss, are actually lost, or are not gained, in comparison with resource investment, with resulting distress and negative affective outcomes. Indeed, material loss was significantly related to reductions in personal and social resources, which mediated increases in depressive mood and anger among inner city women (Hobfoll, Johnson, Ennis & Jackson, 2003). Resource loss has also been found to be a critical factor in impacting outcomes such as PTSD following disasters (e.g., Sumer, Karanci, Berument, & Gunes, 2005) and exposure to terrorism (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim & Johnson, 2006). Thus, in the present study, it was expected that vicarious stress will result in sense of loss of personal resources, which, in turn, will contribute to affective reactions.

1.2 Gender

A variety of studies suggest that compared to men, women become more depressed, anxious, and evidence elevated psychological symptoms following natural and man-made disasters (e.g., Norris et al., 2002). Following a traumatic encounter, women report higher PTSD levels than men, while at the same time reporting a lower frequency of traumatic events (Olf, Langeland, Draijer & Gersons, 2007; Saxe & Wolfe, 1999; Tolin & Foa, 2006).

One psychosocial mechanism accounting for gender differences in stress reactivity is the "differential vulnerability" hypothesis (Gavranidou & Rosner, 2003; McDonough & Walters, 2001) with vulnerability stemming from an interaction of genetic, physiological, developmental, cognitive, and social factors. The "differential socialization" hypothesis (Matud, 2004; Olf et al., 2007; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978) suggests that stressful life events may impact more strongly on women than on men due to differential socialization processes that determine gender identity. The "differential role constraint" hypothesis, by contrast, suggests that men and women play different roles in society, which also entail different degrees of power and status (see Banyard & Graham-Bermann, 1993). In the present study, we also aimed to assess gender effects on perceived threat, loss of resources and affective reactions.

1.3 The present study

The following hypotheses were tested:

H₁. A vicarious stress condition, experimentally induced by media-based presentations of terror acts against Israeli civilians, will lead to greater perceived threat and loss of psychological resources, when compared to a control condition, with resulting higher levels of negative affect and lower levels of positive affect.

H₂. Women, compared to men, will evidence greater levels of perceived threat and loss of psychological resources, with resulting higher levels of negative affect and lower levels of positive affect.

H₃. Perceived threat and loss of psychological resources will partially mediate the effects of experimental stress and gender on affective reactions.

2. Method

2.1 Experimental Design

Vicarious stress, as independent variable, was manipulated at the following two levels:

Threat condition: exposure to a video film showing a series of TV news broadcasts reporting the outcomes of a series of horrific terrorist acts perpetrated against Israeli civilians, involving destruction of lives and property.

Control condition: exposure to a video film displaying a series of TV news broadcasts reporting everyday routine scenarios.

2.2 Participants

One hundred and sixty-three volunteers (59.5% women), 78.5% of Jewish extraction, and the rest Arab Israelis, mostly college students at a major Israeli university, with a mean age of 24.24 years (Standard Deviation = 2.74, Range: 19-35), participated in this study. Participants were allocated randomly to one of the two experimental conditions, with the constraint of equal proportions of men and women in each condition. We allocated 124 participants to the Threat Condition and 39 to the Control Condition.

2.3 Procedure

Participants in the Threat Condition were presented with a video film depicting previously televised reports of six terror acts leading to death, mutilation, and destruction. In the non-threat Control Condition participants were presented with six TV broadcast segments focusing on mundane matters. The video segments in both conditions lasted 8-minutes each. Prior to viewing the videos, participants completed a background questionnaire along with three measures of personal traits. Participants were assessed under lab conditions in small groups of 1-4 participants. The study was approved by the human-subject review committee of the university.

2.4 Instruments

Data on the following variables and respective measures were collected following the experimental manipulation (see Table 1 for reliability indices):

2.4.1 Perceived threat.

The mean of four questions was used to assess participants' perceived 'threat to life' following the threat manipulation (e.g. "To what extent did the contents of the video make you feel your life was under threat?"). Responses were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = not at all; 5 = to a great extent).

2.4.2 Current psychological resources.

Current resources were assessed via 21 items in Hebrew adapted from Hobfoll's 74-item Conservation of Resources Evaluation (Hobfoll, 1991). The 21 items focused mainly on psychological resources (e.g., hope). Respondents were asked to rate how they feel with respect to each characteristic 'at this moment' (1 = "not at all", 5 = "to great extent"). Higher scores indicate greater psychological resources.

2.4.3 Affective states.

Affective states were assessed with the Positive Affect/Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988). The scale contains 10 adjectives gauging positive emotions (e.g., enthusiastic) and 10 adjectives gauging negative emotions (e.g., hostile). Participants rated their current feelings on a five-point Likert type scale (1 = "not at all" to 5 = "a lot"). Positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA) scales showed high internal reliabilities (.84-.90; Watson et al., 1988). A confirmatory factor analysis revealed two items, one from each scale, that were not correlated with the total score, and these were deleted, with the resulting scales based on nine items each.

2.4.4 Personal traits.

The following measures were used to gauge personal traits, before the threat manipulation:

Mastery. The Hebrew version of Pearlin and Schoolers' (1978) Mastery scale consists of seven items (e.g., "I have little control over the things that happen to me"), rated on a 1 ("not at all characteristic of me") to 7 ("very characteristic of

me") scale. A high score on this scale indicates a high level of sense of mastery. Hobfoll and Walfisch (1984) reported for the Hebrew version a test-retest reliability of .85 or above, with reasonable internal reliability levels ($\alpha = .75$).

Dispositional Optimism. The Hebrew version of the Life Orientation Test [LOT] (Scheier & Carver, 1985) consists of eight items (e.g., "I am always optimistic about my future") rated on a 1-5 scale (1=" very much in disagreement", 5= "very much in agreement"), with a high score indicating a higher optimistic disposition. The Hebrew version has been shown to have satisfactory reliabilities (e.g., Ben-Zur, 2003, alphas =.61-.83).

Self-esteem. The Hebrew version of Rosenberg's 10-item Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) asks respondents to evaluate how they generally view themselves (e.g., "I feel I do not have much to be proud of") along a 4-point Likert-type scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 4 = "strongly agree"). Rosenberg reported an alpha reliability of .92 for this scale. Total score was calculated as the mean score for the 10 scale items.

3. Results

Summary statistics are presented in Table 1, including Pearson correlations.

Table 1. Summary Statistics ($n=163$)

| Variables | Mean | SD | α | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----------------------------|------|------|----------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 1. Perceived threat | 2.28 | 1.06 | .87 | -.31* | .58* | -.13 | -.15 | .05 | .00 |
| 2. Psychological resources | 3.75 | 0.63 | .93 | | -.45* | .52* | .45* | .31* | .38* |
| 3. Negative affect | 1.92 | 0.79 | .88 | | | -.06 | -.30* | -.09 | -.17* |
| 4. Positive affect | 2.96 | 0.72 | .81 | | | | .22* | .32* | .31* |
| 5. Mastery | 5.31 | 0.89 | .80 | | | | | .57* | .63* |
| 6. Optimism | 3.88 | 0.61 | .76 | | | | | | .59* |
| 7. Self-esteem | 3.30 | 0.40 | .81 | | | | | | -- |

Note: * $p < .05$; SD= Standard Deviation.

Hierarchical regression analyses were applied to negative affect and positive affect as dependent variables, and the following variables were included in the predictor stock: experimental stress, gender, age, ethnicity, personal traits, perceived threat, and personal resources. As can be seen in Table 2, Step 1, the first research hypothesis was confirmed: Experimental stress led to higher levels of perceived stress and negative affect and lower levels of psychological resources and positive affect. The second hypothesis was confirmed in part: Female gender was related to high levels of perceived threat and lower levels of psychological resources and positive affect.

Table 2 also shows that mastery was related to low levels of perceived threat and negative affect and higher levels of psychological resources, whereas optimism was related only to positive affect.

Step 2 in the regression analyses of Table 2 suggests that the third, mediation hypothesis, was also confirmed in part: When perceived threat and psychological resources were entered, the effects of the experimental manipulation on negative affect disappeared, and the effects of gender on positive affect were reduced. Based on these analyses, mediation tests were conducted, assessing perceived threat and resource loss as mediators of the effects of induced threat and gender on negative affect by the Sobel test (1982).

Table 2. *Standardized Coefficients and Multiple R² of Hierarchical Regressions of Outcomes on Induced Experimental Stress, Gender, Ethnicity, Age and Personal Traits*

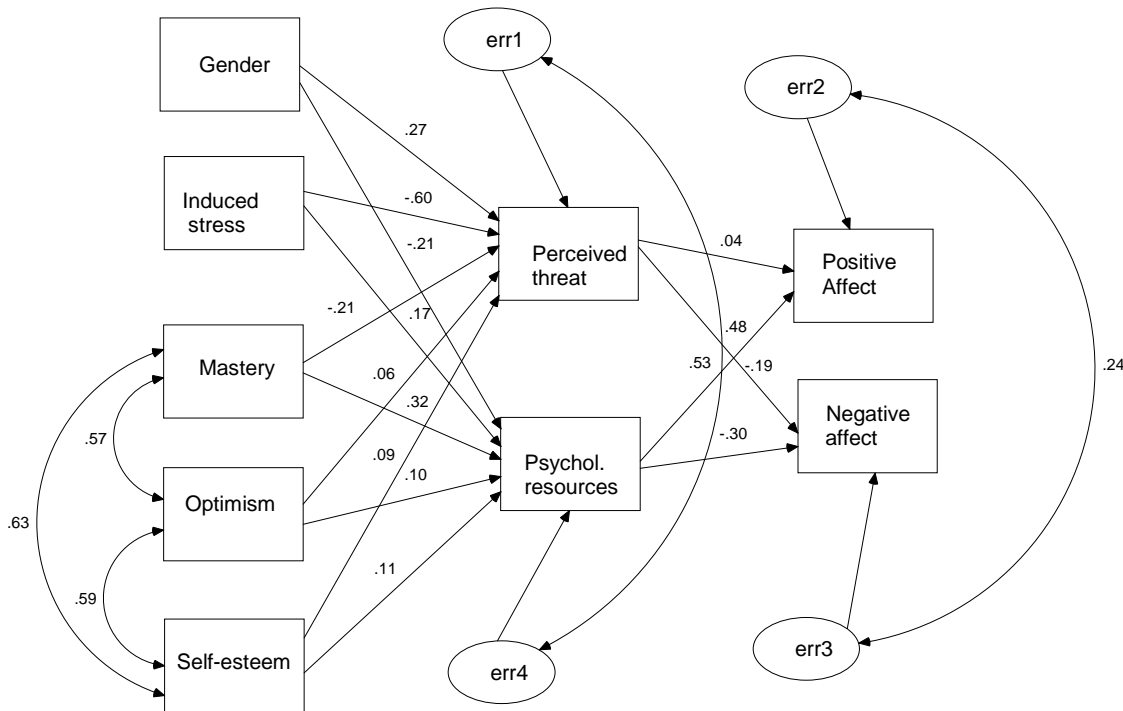
| | Perceived threat | Psychological resources | Negative affect | Positive affect |
|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <u>Step 1</u> | | | | |
| Induced stress | -.60*** | .18* | -.35*** | .16* |
| Gender | .24*** | -.24*** | .11 | -.32*** |
| Age | -.03 | -.06 | .08 | .00 |
| Ethnicity | .05 | .08 | .05 | .18* |
| Mastery | -.17* | .36*** | -.32** | .01 |
| Optimism | .05 | .09 | .07 | .28** |
| Self-esteem | .08 | .10 | -.04 | .14 |
| Multiple R ² | .46 | .29 | .23 | .26 |
| F(7,154) | 18.80*** | 9.06*** | 6.50*** | 7.60*** |
| <u>Step 2</u> | | | | |
| Induced stress | | | .02 | .15 |
| Gender | | | -.08 | -.25** |
| Age | | | .08 | .03 |
| Ethnicity | | | .04 | .14 |
| Mastery | | | -.13 | -.12 |
| Optimism | | | .07 | .24** |
| Self esteem | | | -.05 | .08 |
| Perceived threat | | | .52*** | .11 |
| Psychological resources | | | -.27*** | .42*** |
| Multiple R ² | | | .46 | .38 |
| F(9,152) | | | 14.58*** | 10.33*** |

Note. Induced stress: 0=threat condition, 1=control condition;
Gender: 1=men, 2=women; Ethnicity: 1=Jews, 2=Arabs.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Perceived threat was found to mediate the effects of induced threat on negative affect ($Z=5.63, p<.0001$), reducing the effects of induced threat on negative affect from $\beta=-.35$ to $-.01$. Psychological resources partially mediated the effects of induced threat on negative affect ($Z=2.00, p<.05$), reducing β from $-.35$ to $-.29$. In contrast, gender was found to affect positive affect through mediation of resources ($Z=2.26, p<.05$), β reduced from $-.25$ to $-.16$.

Figure 1. *Structural Equation Model Summary.*



Note. Induced stress: 0=threat condition, 1=control condition;

Gender: 1=men, 2=women; numbers near arrows =>.17 indicate significant regression coefficients ($p<.01$).

To test the research model, Structural Equation Modeling (SEM; Arbuckle, 2006) was applied to the data, with the resulting diagram presented in Figure 1. The goodness of fit indices were acceptable: $\chi^2(17)=38.19, p\leq.01$; NFI =.93; CFI=.96; and TLI=.91; RMSEA=.088.

4. Discussion

This study aimed at assessing the effects of experimentally-induced vicarious 'threat to life' on perceived threat and loss of psychological resources. Participants were found to be highly threatened following exposure to media videos depicting traumatic events, and threat was, in turn, related to high levels of negative affect and low levels of positive affect. This outcome is in line with the transactional model of stress and coping (e.g., Lazarus, 1999), which suggests that primary appraisal of threat is a key factor in determining the

cascade of emotional and behavioral outcomes following a stressful encounter (e.g., Major et al., 1998). These results are also in line with the suggestion that observing the effects of terror acts and political violence, transmitted through mass media communication channels, may affect people's negative emotions and distress (e.g., Schuster et al., 2001; Slone et al., 2008; Swenson & Johnson, 2003). Indeed, the mass media currently brings news from around the globe, in real time, to people's homes and offices, including horrendous events such as the 9/11 destruction of the twin towers in real time.

In accord with COR theory, perceived psychological resources were shown to be significantly reduced, on average, by exposure to videos depicting acts of terror. Additionally, the reduced resources were significantly related to lower positive affect. Overall, these data are consistent with our hypotheses and a rich body of naturalistic and other non-experimental studies assessing the effects of disasters and other major stressful events on resource loss (e.g., Ennis, Hobfoll & Schroder, 2000; Hobfoll et al., 2003). The effects of vicarious threat on psychological resource loss can be explained, in part, using principles derived from Terror Management Theory (Greenberg, Solomon & Pyszczynski, 1997). Accordingly, exposure to video clips depicting terror acts may increase awareness of one's own mortality, which, in turn, results in feelings of helplessness, lower mastery and pessimistic attitude towards life.

The results relating to gender differences on perceived threat, loss of personal resources and lower positive affect under vicarious stress conditions are consistent with a body of literature pointing to significant gender differences in mean levels of PTSD (Tolin & Foa, 2006), anxiety (Zeidner, 2007), and depression (Blalock & Joiner, 2000; Stein & Nyamathi, 1998) under stressful circumstances. The present study findings showed that women were also low on positive affect following the stressful manipulation. The gender differences observed in the present study may plausibly be the result of socialization processes (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978), with women socialized to react with higher threat levels and anxiety than men. In addition, it is not implausible that women may be more expressive and open about their feelings than men.

Mastery was found to be related to both lower levels of perceived threat and lower loss of psychological resources following exposure to a uniform stressor. These data are in line with past studies which have indicated that a sense of mastery is strongly associated with adaptive outcomes (e.g., Major et al., 1998).

Conclusion

The reader should keep in mind a number of limitations of the present research. First, the present study reports the effects of a laboratory induced short-term vicarious stressor. Clearly, the effects of lab-induced vicarious stressors may be quite different from the more serious long-term effects of actually experiencing major stressors. Second, this study assesses the effects of the disaster manipulation by self-report of threat, level of psychological resources and affect. Future studies may use more robust indicators of resource loss as well as behavioral measures of outcomes.

The main advantage of this study is the testing of both perceived threat and loss of resources following vicarious stress induced in an experimental setting, thus eliminating a host of confounding effects and the difficulty in untangling cause

and effect relationships that adhere to post-hoc field designs. The main conclusion is that exposing people to terror attacks through the media may lead to both perceived threat as well as feelings of loss of psychological resources.

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CONCEPTUALISATION DE L'IMPACT DES TECHNOLOGIES DE L'INFORMATION : LA CONVERGENCE DE DEUX PERSPECTIVES²

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Abstract

Cette recherche propose une nouvelle conceptualisation des mesures d'impact des technologies de l'information suite à l'analyse de la littérature sur les modèles de succès des systèmes d'information et sur la productivité des TI. Elle combine un certain type de mesure et un niveau précis d'analyse afin d'offrir une approche plus holistique de l'impact des TI.

Keywords

Impact des TI – Mesures d'impact organisationnel – Modèle de succès

Introduction

Depuis près de 50 ans, les technologies de l'information ont pris une place grandissante dans l'ensemble des activités opérationnelles et administratives d'organisations de toute taille. Cependant, cette progression des TI reste paradoxale, car «même si d'importantes histoires de succès existent, il y a également eu des échecs aussi retentissants»³. L'étude de Trunick (1999) sur les systèmes de gestion intégrée (SGI), qui indique que 40% des projets sont partiellement implantés et 20% des projets sont abandonnés, est une étude parmi tant d'autres qui confirme les difficultés dans le domaine des TI. Les efforts effectués pour expliquer ces difficultés d'implantation se sont principalement concentrés sur les problèmes liés à la gestion de projet (Chen et al., 2009) ainsi qu'aux individus associés à la technologie (Barker et Frolick, 2003). Il faut noter que l'analyse de succès des technologies de l'information (TI) tient également compte d'autres antécédents, tels que la sélection et l'utilisation des TI et l'évaluation de la productivité des TI. Les modèles du succès des systèmes d'information de Delone et Mclean (1992, 2003) sont de bons exemples de sélection et d'utilisation des TI dans lesquelles ils associent les

² Nous tenons à remercier la Fondation de l'Ordre des Comptables Agréés du Québec pour leur support financier

³ Traduction libre de Brynjolfsson (1993)

attributs des systèmes d'information (qualités du système, de l'information et du service) et les variables d'utilisation (intention d'utiliser/utilisation et satisfaction des utilisateurs) aux bénéfices nets. Ainsi, il existe plusieurs variables permettant d'obtenir des bénéfices en implantant, en utilisant ou en choisissant adéquatement les systèmes d'information. Un autre élément à considérer pour expliquer ce phénomène repose sur la mesure de la productivité des investissements associés au TI. La revue de la littérature de Brynjolfsson et Yang (1996) sur la mesure de la productivité des investissements TI résume bien la progression du sujet jusqu'à la fin des années 90. Leur analyse constitue la suite de l'article de Brynjolfsson (1993), portant le titre «Paradoxe de la productivité en technologie de l'information», qui a permis de fournir des explications pertinentes sur la problématique d'évaluation des bénéfices associés à l'utilisation des technologies de l'information au niveau organisationnel. Le paradoxe décrit par les auteurs vient d'une divergence entre les conclusions de recherches démontrant l'absence ou l'effet néfaste des technologies de l'information sur la performance des organisations et l'accroissement exponentiel des efforts d'implantation des TI en entreprise.

En analysant les recherches sur les modèles de Delone et Mclean (1992, 2003) ainsi que sur la productivité des TI (par exemple : Brynjolfsson 1993), on peut constater qu'ils partagent le besoin de mesurer l'impact des TI. Cependant, il n'y a pas eu d'effort pour tenter de consolider les mesures de ces deux perspectives afin d'arriver à un modèle de mesure d'impact global. Nous proposons donc d'utiliser l'approche de Barki (2008) pour faire une conceptualisation des mesures d'impact en analysant le travail fait dans ces deux perspectives. Dans la première partie de ce texte est effectuée une analyse de la littérature des modèles de Delone et Mclean et de la productivité des TI. En deuxième partie, est expliquée une nouvelle conceptualisation de la mesure de l'impact des TI. En troisième partie seront présentées les conclusions de notre étude.

1. Analyse de la littérature

Plusieurs recherches dans la littérature en TI tentent d'identifier et de comprendre les éléments permettant d'expliquer le succès des systèmes d'information. Delone et Mclean se sont inspirés du «Technology Acceptance Model» (TAM) de Davis et al. (1989) lors de la conception de leurs modèles en 1992 et 2003. La seule différence majeure entre les deux modèles, pour l'évaluation de l'impact, est l'incorporation des mesures d'impact individuel et organisationnel dans la nouvelle variable appelé «Bénéfices nets» (voir figure 1).

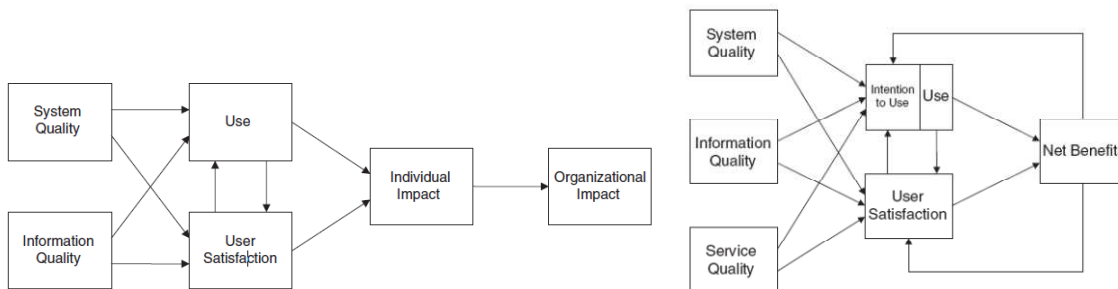


Figure 1 : Modèles de Delone et Mclean (1992 et 2003)

Tableau 1 : Mesures subjectives d'impact individuel associé à la variable bénéfice net

| | Perception d'utilité | | | | Bénéfices individuels perçus | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|------------|-------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|---|--------------------------|----------|----------|----------------|
| | Productivité | Efficacité | Performance | Utilité générale | Succès général/ impact positif | Vitesse/ délais | Meilleure prise de décision | Qualité/ exactitude | Nouvelles connaissances et innovation | Meilleure information | Facilité | Contrôle | Autres mesures |
| Floropoulos et al. (2010) | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Freeze et al. (2010) | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Schaupp et al. (2009) | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rauniar et al. (2009) | | X | | | X | X | | | | | | | X |
| Chatterjee (2009) | | X | | | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| Kuo et Lee (2009) | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Riemenschneider et al. (2009) | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| Gable et al. (2008) | X | | | | | | X | | X | X | | | |
| Bernroider (2008) | | | | | | X | X | | X | | | | |
| Landrum et al. (2008) | X | X | | X | | X | | | | | | | |
| Halawi et al. (2007) | X | | | | X | | | | X | | | X | |
| Hsieh et Wang (2007) | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Klein (2007) | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | |

Les éléments bibliographiques de la littérature de Petter, Delone et Mclean (2008) couvrant les années précédant 2008 ont été repris pour notre compte rendu de la littérature, et des recherches complémentaires ont été réalisées pour les articles publiés entre 2008 et 2011. Seule la littérature produite entre 2007 et 2011 est présentée dans cet article. Comme notre objectif est de répertorier les éléments de mesure de l'impact, nous avons limité notre analyse aux articles traitants de la variable «Bénéfices nets». Nous avons regroupé l'ensemble des mesures en deux groupes, soit les mesures individuelles et les mesures organisationnelles d'impact, pour être conformes à la terminologie utilisée par Delone et Mclean (1992) et Peter, Delone et Mclean (2008) sur la catégorisation de l'impact. Par la suite, nous avons organisé les mesures présentes dans la littérature en fonction de la nature de ces mesures et non des variables auxquelles elles ont été associées dans les différents articles. Les résultats de cette analyse sont présentés dans le tableau 1.

Au niveau des mesures individuelles subjectives, nous avons créé deux groupes : d'un côté la perception d'utilité, de l'autre, les bénéfices individuels perçus. Les mesures associées à la perception d'utilité sont celles qui ont été définies dans le «Theory Acceptance Model (TAM)» pour lesquelles la conceptualisation est clairement définie et largement acceptée (Barki, 2008). On peut également constater que ces mesures ont été utilisées par une majorité de chercheurs dans ce domaine de recherche. Au niveau des mesures associées aux bénéfices individuels perçus, l'homogénéité des mesures est plus faible que pour la perception d'utilité, mais on constate que certaines mesures sont corroborées par un grand nombre de recherches. On peut également constater que la nature des

mesures est liée à des caractéristiques spécifiques (e.i. vitesse, qualité, prise de décision) de l'impact des systèmes, comparativement aux mesures plus globales de la perception d'utilité. Pour les bénéfices individuels objectifs, seuls McGill et Klobas (2005) ont utilisé des mesures objectives pour évaluer l'impact des TI, ce qui peut s'expliquer par les difficultés dans la capture des mesures concrètes au niveau individuel (Peter, Delone et Mclean, 2008).

Les bénéfices organisationnels de leur côté sont limités aux mesures qualitatives, telles qu'elles sont illustrées au tableau 2. Le nombre d'articles identifiés est très restreint, soit seulement deux articles pertinents pour cette recherche.

Tableau 2: Mesures d'impact organisationnel associé à la variable bénéfice net

| | | Gable et al (2008) | Bernroider (2008) |
|--|--|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Bénéfices organisationnels subjectifs | Coûts organisationnels | X | |
| | Besoin en personnel | X | |
| | Réduction de coûts | X | X |
| | Productivité générale | X | X |
| | Amélioration des extrants | X | |
| | Augmentation de la capacité e-gouvernement | X | |
| | Changement aux processus d'affaires | X | |
| | Amélioration des revenus | | X |
| | Amélioration du profit | | X |
| | Amélioration et facilitation des processus d'affaires | | X |
| | Amélioration de la flexibilité organisationnelle | | X |

Productivité des TI

La littérature du domaine de la productivité des TI est reliée à la viabilité des investissements en technologie. Ainsi, les technologies de l'information doivent fournir des avantages afin d'être en mesure de justifier les investissements réalisés. Pour réaliser un compte rendu de la littérature de ce domaine, nous avons utilisé les bases de données EBSCO Host et ABI Inform avec les mots clés «IT Productivity» et «Brynjolfsson» pour une période se situant entre 2000 et 2010. 478 articles ont été identifiés et les résumés (abstract) de chacun ont été lus afin d'identifier ceux qui répondent à notre objectif de recherche. Par la suite, les mesures présentes dans la littérature ont été organisées en utilisant la même catégorisation que celle utilisée précédemment (impact organisationnel; mesures subjectives, mesures objectives). Nous n'avons pas recensé d'articles ayant des mesures au niveau individuel. Enfin, nous avons regroupé les mesures en fonction de leur nature et non des variables auxquelles elles ont été associées

dans les différents articles (dans les tableaux 3 et 4). Aux fins de cette présentation, nous avons limité notre analyse de la littérature aux articles parus entre 2007 et 2010.

Tableau 3 : Mesures subjectives d'impact organisationnel associé à la productivité des TI

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| | | Karadag et Dumanoglu (2009) | Dardan et al. (2007) |
| Impact organisationnel | Productivité | X | |
| | Satisfaction des clients | | X |

Notre premier constat vient de la dominance des mesures objectives sur les mesures subjectives, car seulement trois articles ont utilisé des perceptions pour évaluer l'impact des TI. Au niveau des mesures objectives, on retrouve trois groupes. Le premier groupe de mesures inclut les recherches utilisant une fonction de production, pour lier les intrants d'une organisation (capital TI, autre capital et main d'œuvre) à un extrant. Ainsi, on peut mesurer l'impact d'une augmentation des intrants sur l'extrant pour mesurer la productivité (Brynjolfsson 1996). Le deuxième groupe de mesures est défini par Brynjolfsson (1996) sous la forme d'une matrice démontrant la corrélation entre les investissements TI et des mesures de performance spécifiques (ex. revenus, profits, etc.). Pour l'ensemble des mesures objectives, on peut constater que les mesures financières dominent.

Tableau 4 : Mesures objectives d'impact organisationnel associé à la

| | Productivité | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------|------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | Fonction de production | Revenu | Rendement de l'actif | Rendement des capitaux propres | Coût des produits vendus | Frais d'exploitation et d'administration | Marge opérationnelle - Profit | Vitesse | Valeur marchande | Fonds de roulement | Autre ratios |
| Nevo et al. (2010) | | X | | | X | X | | | | | |
| Garicano et Heaton (2010) | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| Corrazin et Percival (2010) | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| Badescu et Garces-Ayebe (2009) | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yao et al. (2009) | | X | X | X | | | | | | | |
| Menon et al. (2009) | | | | | | X | | | | | X |
| Ko et al. (2008) | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baker et al. (2008) | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Bartel et al. (2007) | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Dardan et al. (2007) | | | | X | | | | | | | |

productivité des TI**2. Conceptualisation et mesures de la variable «impact»**

L'article de Barki (2008) présente quatre approches pour améliorer la conceptualisation et la mesure d'une variable : 1) le développement d'une définition claire pour une variable ; 2) la spécification des dimensions et des relations d'une variable ; 3) l'exploration de l'application d'une variable en fonction de contextes alternatifs ; et 4) l'expansion de la conceptualisation d'une variable. L'objectif de cette recherche est de clarifier la définition de la variable « impact des TI » pour en améliorer sa mesure.

Lors de la création de leur premier modèle, Delone et Mclean (1992) ont identifié deux niveaux d'impact dans la conceptualisation de leur modèle de «succès des systèmes d'information», soit l'impact individuel et l'impact organisationnel. Ces auteurs n'ont pas fourni de définition de « l'impact », mais ils font allusion à la notion de performance par rapport à ce concept. Dans leur mise à jour de 2003, ils ont remplacé le terme «impact» par le terme «bénéfice net» afin d'éviter la confusion sur le caractère positif et négatif de l'impact dans le cadre d'un modèle sur le succès des TI. Dans cette même analyse, ils ont utilisé le terme «conséquence» proposé par Seddon (1997) comme un synonyme de l'impact. Enfin, Delone et Mclean (2003) ont identifié plusieurs niveaux de mesure des bénéfices nets : les individus, les groupes, les organisations, les industries et les pays. L'impact selon ces auteurs peut être schématisé de la manière suivante :

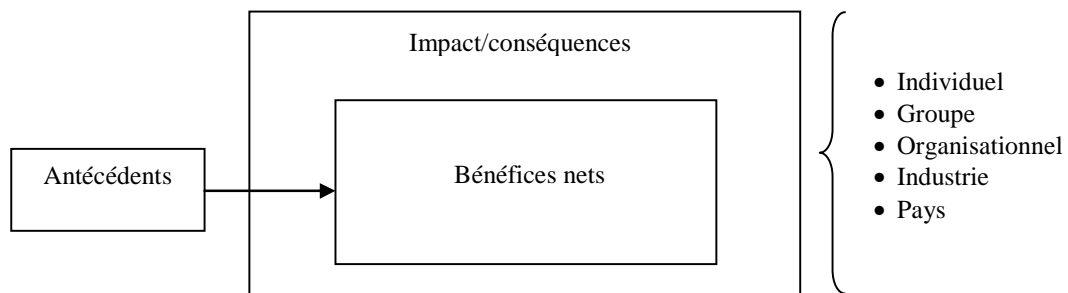


Figure 2 : Définition de l'impact selon le modèle de Delone et Mclean

Dans la littérature sur la productivité des TI, le terme impact n'a pas été utilisé par Brynjolfsson (1993). Cependant, on retrouve ce terme dans plusieurs articles, surtout après l'an 2000, mais il n'y a pas de définition claire du terme «impact».

Paré et al (2008) définissent le terme «impact» comme «les effets de la technologie ... de la fonction TI, du personnel TI, des investissements TI et de la stratégie TI»⁴. Ils ont également associé l'impact à certains concepts d'alignement des TI. La figure 3 illustre une ébauche de modèle permettant de catégoriser les différents types d'antécédents associés à l'impact.

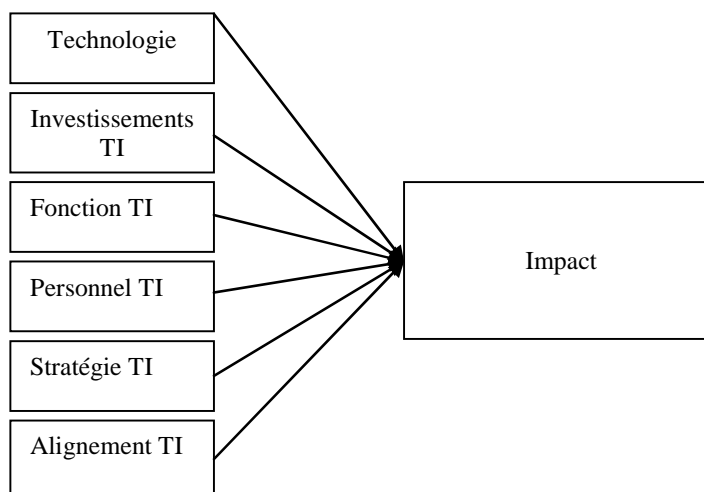


Figure 3 : Définition de l'impact basé sur la catégorisation de Paré et al. (2008)

Les deux perspectives présentées dans cet article se limitent principalement à l'impact associé à la technologie et aux investissements TI. En effet, les articles répertoriés sur les modèles de succès des systèmes d'information utilisent des variables qui sont regroupées par Delone et Mclean (2003) en trois composantes : la création du système, l'utilisation du système et les

⁴ Traduction libre de Paré et al (2008) p.406

conséquences de l'utilisation du système. Pour nous, la création et l'utilisation font partie de la sphère associée à la technologie. Dans la littérature sur la productivité des TI, nous avons majoritairement recensé des publications sur les investissements des TI, identifié quelques autres publications sur la technologie, et finalement déniché une seule publication sur l'alignement des TI. Les recherches sur les investissements des TI regardent principalement la relation entre les intrants (les TI) et les extrants (productivité, profitabilité, etc.) sans tenir compte de la nature spécifique des investissements. Les publications sur la technologie identifient clairement les technologies utilisées pour mesurer l'impact, comme pour les recherches mesurant l'impact à l'aide de méthodes d'évaluation traditionnelles.

Le terme «impact» semble être utilisé pour parler de la performance, des conséquences ou de l'effet d'antécédents variés qui ne sont pas globalement identifiés dans la littérature. En analysant les mesures d'impact utilisées pour tester les modèles de Delone et Mclean (1992, 2003) et l'évaluation de la productivité des TI, nous avons été à même de répertorier les mesures d'impact de deux importantes catégories d'antécédents. Cet exercice nous a permis de constater une complémentarité des mesures d'impact que nous avons définie dans une nouvelle conceptualisation des mesures d'impact global (voir figure 4). Ainsi, la consolidation de ces deux perspectives fournit des avenues intéressantes sur la mesure de l'impact et sur les relations des différentes dimensions associées à la mesure de l'impact.

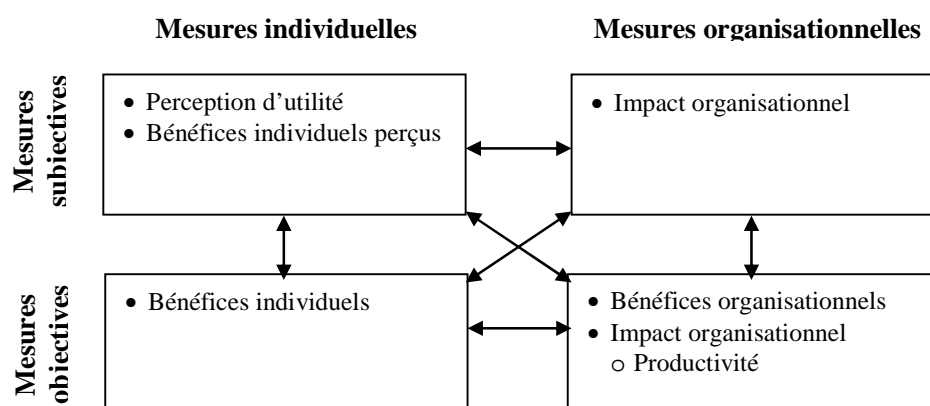


Figure 4 : Conceptualisation des mesures d'impact

2.1 Utilisation de mesures d'impact subjectives et objectives

L'analyse de l'impact à l'aide de mesures subjectives a déjà été réalisée depuis longtemps, mais très peu de chercheurs ont tenté d'utiliser des mesures d'impact subjectives ainsi que des mesures d'impact objectives. On peut prendre comme exemple le commentaire de McGill et al (2003) sur la relation entre les mesures subjectives individuelles et les mesures organisationnelles objectives pour lesquelles «les utilisateurs ont un piètre jugement de l'impact de leur système sur leur performance»⁵. Il est possible de mesurer la fiabilité des

⁵ Traduction libre de McGill et al (2003) p.38

mesures subjectives en établissant une relation claire avec les mesures objectives utilisées par les entreprises. Ce questionnement est pertinent tant au niveau individuel qu'au niveau organisationnel, même si nous reconnaissons que la capture d'informations objectives au niveau individuel est plus difficile. Lors de notre analyse, nous n'avons pas recensé de publications sur cette perspective au niveau individuel, et nous en avons identifié une seule au niveau organisationnel (Dardan et al, 2007). Ces publications ont évalué la productivité des investissements TI affectant la clientèle en fonction de la satisfaction des clients (mesures subjectives) et du rendement anormal des actions (mesures objectives) avec des résultats significatifs et positifs.

2.1.1 Utilisation de mesures d'impact individuelles et organisationnelles

Le compte-rendu de littérature de Petter, Delone et Mclean (2008) présente la faible quantité de recherches réalisées au niveau organisationnel, ce qui est conforme à notre analyse de la littérature. Nous avons également constaté la prédominance des mesures subjectives sur les mesures objectives pour ce type de recherche. Pour les publications sur la productivité des TI, nous avons constaté l'inverse avec une prédominance des mesures objectives au niveau organisationnel. Petter, Delone et Mclean (2008) concluent en présentant des pistes de recherche dont la mesure des bénéfices en considérant des niveaux d'analyse autres que le niveau individuel, tels que les groupes, les organisations et même la société.

Dans notre compte-rendu de la littérature relative au modèle de succès des systèmes d'information, les recherches effectuées sur l'impact au niveau organisationnel ont également mesuré l'impact au niveau individuel. Bernroider (2008) a utilisé des mesures individuelles et organisationnelles pour mesurer le succès de certaines pratiques associées aux systèmes de gestion intégrée sans tenter d'évaluer la relation entre ces deux types de mesures. Gable et al (2008) ont empiriquement validé l'importance de distinguer les mesures individuelles d'impact des mesures organisationnelles, sans valider la relation entre celles-ci. Il y a donc un vide au niveau empirique sur la validation de la relation entre les mesures individuelles et organisationnelles.

2.1.2 Utilisation de mesures d'impact à multiple niveau avec plusieurs sources

À l'aide de notre modèle de mesure de l'impact, nous avons identifié des mesures objectives, pour lesquelles il existe un important support empirique, qui n'a pas encore été utilisé pour valider l'impact dans le modèle de succès de Delone et Mclean. Nous proposons donc un modèle pour valider l'impact en regardant plusieurs niveaux d'analyse et plusieurs sources d'information pour combler ce vide dans la littérature. Notre approche pourrait également contribuer aux recherches sur la productivité des TI en considérant des mesures subjectives déjà mises en place dans le modèle de succès des TI de Delone et Mclean au lieu d'en créer de nouvelles. Ainsi, nous pensons contribuer à l'amélioration de la mesure de l'impact de ces deux perspectives pour maximiser la validité de nos résultats de recherche.

Conclusion

L'analyse de la littérature nous permet de constater que chaque perspective couvre des aspects spécifiques de la mesure de l'impact, tant au niveau du type de mesure (subjectif vs objectif) qu'au niveau d'analyse (individuel vs organisationnel). De nouvelles avenues permettant la validation de l'impact sont ainsi proposées afin de répondre à un besoin ciblé, soit de mesurer l'impact en utilisant une approche plus holistique.

Cette étude s'est concentrée sur deux des six dimensions d'antécédents de la littérature, soit les antécédents associés à la technologie et aux investissements TI. Il serait intéressant d'analyser plus en profondeur les quatre autres dimensions (Fonction TI, Personnel TI, Stratégie TI, Alignement) pour compléter la conceptualisation des mesures d'impact. Il est également possible qu'il existe d'autres dimensions d'antécédents qui n'ont pas été identifiées dans ce modèle car seule celle de Paré et al. (2008) a été trouvée dans la littérature.

Comme contribution théorique, la présentation de cette approche holistique de l'impact pourrait fournir aux chercheurs des mesures permettant d'expliquer les résultats mitigés au niveau des recherches ayant plusieurs niveaux d'analyse de l'impact. Ce modèle a également des implications pratiques, car les gestionnaires pourront profiter d'un inventaire plus riche de mesures permettant de justifier leurs investissements en TI.

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THE ROLE OF INTERORGANIZATIONAL COLLABORATION SYSTEMS IN GREEN SUPPLY CHAINS: A RESEARCH PROPOSITION

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Abstract

With highly uncertain dynamic environments, manufacturing firms are redefining the links in their value chain and increasing their level of collaboration with partners. Evidently, developing successful interfirm supply chain collaboration is not an easy task as manufacturers need to tightly integrate both internal and external activities. Firms are turning to InterOrganizational Collaboration Systems (IOCSs) that allows information to flow quickly and transparently across multiple interorganizational boundaries and makes it visible to all supply chain partners. The role of supply chain collaboration is critical in an economy where environmental issues are taking an increasingly important part in everyday business activities. Manufacturers are moving towards achieving environmental sustainability by adopting environmental practices across their supply chains. The traditional supply chain management (SCM) collaboration literature had yet to give environmental management issues the importance they deserve but the recent literature has shown interesting perspectives. The objective of this paper is to presents research proposition that seeks to understand the role of supply chain collaboration and IOCSs in fostering manufacturers' process innovation in green supply chains.

Keywords

InterOrganizational Collaboration Systems – green supply chains – process innovation

Introduction

To stay competitive in a highly uncertain dynamic environment, manufacturers are increasingly forming/joining networks to accomplish complex tasks that are impossible to achieve independently (Dyer and Singh, 1998; Powell, 1990). Many firms are hence changing their strategy, redefining the links in their value chain and increasing their level of collaboration with other actors in their industry (Chen and Paulraj, 2004). Indeed, supply chain collaboration initiatives are essential to learn (Santos, 2003) and foster innovation in order to keep pace with competing supply chains. To maximize innovation and supply chain efficiency, these initiatives are also often apparent both upstream and downstream of the supply chain (Vachon and Klassen, 2008, Rao and Holt, 2005). Evidently, developing successful interfirm supply chain collaborations to foster innovation and efficiencies are not an easy task for they require manufacturers to tightly

integrate all their internal activities and swiftly exchange the appropriate information with their business partners both downstream and upstream in the supply network. They require the use of information and telecommunications technologies by all members of the network. InterOrganizational Collaboration Systems (IOCSs) allow information to flow quickly and transparently across multiple interorganizational boundaries and make it visible to all supply chain partners.

The role of supply chain collaboration to support innovation is critical in an economy where environmental issues are taking an increasingly important part in everyday business activities. Indeed, at the dawn of the 21st century, manufacturers are moving towards achieving environmental sustainability by adopting environmental practices across their supply chains (Vachon and Klassen, 2008). Despite these breakthroughs, the supply chain management (SCM) collaboration literature has yet to give environmental management issues the importance they deserve for authors in the field still mainly focus on how collaborative practices can positively impact manufacturers' operational performance (Vachon and Klassen, 2006). The studies that have investigated how information technology (IT) can support supply chain and innovation activities in order to improve manufacturers' environmental performance are also scarce.

To partially address this gap in the literature, this paper presents a research proposition that seeks to understand the role of supply chain collaboration and IT, more specifically InterOrganizational Collaboration Systems (IOCSs), in fostering manufacturers' process innovation in green supply chains.

The paper is organised as follow. The theoretical underpinnings are presented in section 1, followed by the research objectives of the research proposition. The methodological aspects follow in section 3. The paper concludes with potential contribution of this research initiative.

1. Theoretical underpinnings

This study is grounded in three complementary theories often used in the information systems (IS), supply chain management (SCM) and/or innovation management fields: (1) the knowledge-based view of the firm (KBV); (2) the relational view of the firm; and (3) the diffusion of innovations theory.

1.1. The knowledge-based view of the firm

The knowledge-based view of the firm builds upon and extends the resource-based view of the firm (RBV) proposed by Penrose (1959) which argues that firms create performance advantages by combining resources that work together to create organizational capabilities (Peteraf, 1993; Conner, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984) which, if they are economically viable, relatively scarce, difficult to imitate or imperfectly mobile across firms, can provide a sustainable advantage to the company (Barney, 1991). RBV recognizes the importance of knowledge to attain and maintain a competitive advantage but treats this knowledge as a generic resource rather than an asset having special characteristics as does the KBV. Indeed, the KBV argues that knowledge is the most strategic resource of the firm and that, by properly acquiring, integrating, storing, sharing and applying it, an organization can build and sustain a

competitive advantage (Kogut and Zander, 1992). As such, the theory conceptualizes the organization as an institution for integrating knowledge (Grant, 1996). Some proponents of the KBV believe that firms with superior knowledge are capable of combining and coordinating their traditional resources and capabilities in new innovative ways and thus provide more value to their customers than their competitors although those resources are not unique (Teece et al., 1997; Grant, 1996; Spender, 1996).

The KBV has been used to support the theoretical arguments of numerous researchers in the field of innovation management (Kalling, 2007; Dimitriadis, 2005; Leonard-Barton, 1992), IS (Fink, 2007; Hüseyin, 2005; Pavlou et al., 2005) and SCM (Kotabe et al., 2003; Rungtusanatham et al., 2003; Kogut, 2000). For example, in the field of IS, Alavi and Leidner (2001) have argued that information systems can play an important part in the KBV as they can be used to synthesize, improve and transfer a large amount of information required for intra- and inter-firm knowledge management.

1.2. The relational view of the firm

The relational view of the firm suggests that the competitive advantage of firms does not exclusively flow from the firm internal resources as the firm also benefit from critical resources embedded in the relationships it maintains with its business partners (Dyer and Singh, 1998). Proponents of this theory argue that business partners, to maintain an efficient and flexible relationship, may choose to align their business processes and combine their resources by making specific relational investments. By sharing these resources in an innovative and inimitable manner, business partners may access a competitive advantage over other firms that could be unattainable if they did not unite in a similar fashion. These shared resources are developed through interfirm routines and business processes put up by the partners.

The relational view of the firm has been used to support the theoretical arguments of some researchers in the field of innovation management (Stuart, 2000), IS (Gosain et al. 2004) and SCM (Donada, 2002). For example, recent IS research have built on the relational view to explain the competitive advantage that may arise from using interorganizational system to support business relationship. Indeed, relationship-specific investments in supply chain software applications generate both operational and strategic benefits, leading to higher level of competitive performance (Subramani, 2003). A firm's capacity to absorb knowledge flowing from interorganizational linkages is a capability that varies across supply chain configuration and differs in terms of IS platform capability and the nature of the information exchanged (Malhotra et al., 2005).

1.3. The diffusion of innovations theory

According to Rogers (1995), diffusion "is the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system. There are four main elements to the diffusion of innovations: the innovation, the communication channel, the time and the social systems. An *innovation* "is an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of analysis (Rogers, 1995; p. 11)". Its rate of adoption can be impacted by five characteristics: its relative advantage, its compatibility, its complexity, its trialability and its observability. A *communication channel* is

the means by which messages get from one individual to another. They include mass media channels and interpersonal channels. The time dimension is involved in diffusion in: (1) the innovation-decision process (2) the innovativeness of an individual or other unit of adoption - defined as the degree to which an individual or other unit of adoption is relatively earlier in adopting new ideas than the other members of the systems, (3) the adopter categories and (4) the rate of adoption. Finally, a *social system* is defined as a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem-solving to accomplish a common goal. Comprised of opinion leaders and change agents, the social system influences the types of innovation-decisions.

Researchers in the field of IS have been strong advocates of the diffusion of innovations theory for decades (Fichman, 2000; Prescott and Conger, 1995). Indeed, besides adopting its main theoretical underpinnings, numerous researchers have extended the theory to assess the adoption and assimilation of various IT innovations by firms and individuals (Kwon and Zmud, 1987; Moore and Benbasat, 1991). For example, Kwon and Zmud (1997) proposed to combine the concepts tied the classical diffusion of innovations theory and those tied the implementation of information systems to assess the adoption and assimilation of information systems by firms. Their framework comprises six implementation phases: initiation, adoption, adaptation, acceptance, routinization, and infusion. Moore and Benbasat (1991) also extended upon the five innovation characteristics identified by Rogers (1995) to propose a set of eight factors (relative advantage, compatibility, ease of use, result demonstrability, image, visibility, trialability, and voluntariness.) that can impact the adoption of IT.

2. Research objectives

As mentioned earlier, the overall objective of this research proposition is to understand the role of supply chain collaboration and IT, more specifically IOCSs, in fostering manufacturers' process innovation in green supply chains. A series of four complementary objectives will also be pursued through this initiative:

- Identify the informational needs of manufacturers to support their collaborative activities in green supply chains;
- Analyse the key collaboration practices adopted by manufacturers in green supply chains and the process innovations that will ensue in green supply chains.
- Identify and define the critical characteristics of the IOCSs implemented in a green supply chain to properly support manufacturers' upstream and downstream interorganizational collaboration.
- Analyse the process innovation initiatives and the characteristics of the IOCSs implemented by the firms to support these initiatives in order to perceive if it leads to better organizational and environmental performance.

In summary, the theoretical ground (proposed in section 1) will assist our research activities in different ways. First, with the use of KBV, the proposed research will uncover what knowledge components are key to process innovation and manufacturing firms' environmental performance. Second, the relational view of the firm will help us to identify the key interorganizational processes, and IOCSs supporting them, required to support manufacturers' process innovation in

green supply chains. Finally, the concepts tied to the diffusion of innovations theory will be used to assess the adoption and assimilation of IOCSs by manufacturers to support process innovation in green supply chains.

3. Proposed Methodology

This research initiative will focus on the manufacturing sector. And, to assure the validity of the findings, the target population will comprise firms from different subsectors, including but not limited to computer and electronic product manufacturing and transportation equipment manufacturing. This diversity of subsectors is very important to assess the extent to which process innovation and environmental practices as well as the adoption and assimilation of IOCSs vary from one subsector to another.

The two units of analysis of this study are: (1) the business relationship between a manufacturer and its supplier supporting the development and manufacturing process of a major product, and (2) the business relationship between a manufacturer and its customer supporting the sales and marketing processes of the same major product. Conceptually, a researcher can decide to study a business relationship through the perspective of the customer, the supplier or both parties (Anderson and Narus, 1984). However, since this research initiative aims to uncover the extent to which IOCSs foster process innovation in a network of manufacturers and their upstream and downstream partners involved in green supply chains, we have chosen to adopt the perspective of the manufacturer (i.e., the prime contractor).

3.1. Data collection

In order to attain our research objectives, a qualitative-quantitative sequential approach (Creswell, 1994; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998) is planned to gather empirical evidence.

3.1.1. Multiple case studies

The first step of the data collection process will provide the basis for a good understanding of the key interorganizational processes required to support manufacturers' product and process innovation strategies in green supply chains as well as the IOICs adopted to support these strategies. Evidently, during this first phase, the ability to explore the various issues and concerns of the various members (e.g., prime contractor, distributors, suppliers and retailers) of different supply chains in several industry groups will be critical. Therefore, the multiple case studies approach is intended for the analysis of the concepts in a realistic environment, with the objective to improve the understanding of complex collaborative supply chain issues (Yin, 1994). Each case study will focus on a particular supply chain within a particular subsector. Each case study will also assess the issues and concerns of the various members (e.g., prime contractor, distributors, suppliers and retailers) of the supply chain investigated. Overall, we expect to conduct around 9 case studies in up to 3 manufacturing sub-sectors. Each case study will follow the guidelines proposed by Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin (1994). Semi-structured face-to-face interviews will be conducted with the selected respondents and will be complemented by on-site observations and documentation reviews (e.g. press releases, reports, media articles, Web sites).

3.1.2. Survey

Building on the information gathered during the multiple-case studies as well as the necessary literature review on the subjects at hand, a survey instrument will be developed. The conceptualization of the manufacturers' business relationships, their innovation processes and the IOCSs adopted and assimilated to support them as well as their environmental performance will require information on each business relationship as well as the cooperation from respondents capable of providing the requested information (Cannon and Perreault, 1999). As such, and in order to be able to properly conduct the statistical analyses that will ensue, the survey instrument will then be administered to a sample comprising a large number of business relationships (i.e., a minimum of 200 "supplier-manufacturer" and another 200 "customer-manufacturer" business relationships in several sectors).

Senior managers responsible for supplier and customer relationships of a random study sample of two thousand manufacturers in several sectors will be contacted in order to present them the research project and invite them to participate. On the basis of the information provided during the phone conversation, the questionnaire will be sent by e-mail to the respondents identified by the senior managers by specifying that the information to be provided should be limited to a single major product, the processes that develops/manufactures/sells it, an important supplier and a significant customer.

Some of the variables of the research model will be adapted from the literature while others will be developed building on the information gathered during the multiple-case studies. For example, the research construct assessing the structure on a business relationship will be adapted from Robicheaux and Coleman's (1994) work while the variables assessing the environmental performance of the manufacturer, the interorganizational collaboration required to support process innovation in green supply chains, and those assessing the characteristics of the IOCSs adopted and assimilated by the manufacturers will be developed as the literature on the subject is very limited (however, as a starting point see Cassivi et al., 2008).

Conclusion

This research proposition aims at identifying and analyzing the key collaboration practices adopted by manufacturers and the process innovations that will ensue in green supply chains. This study will also try to identify and define the critical characteristics of the IOCSs implemented in a green supply chain to properly support manufacturers' upstream and downstream interorganizational collaboration. Two important practical contributions may also rise from this research program. First, this study will help policy makers to gather a detailed understanding of the dynamic and information needs of manufacturers active in green supply chains. Second, research findings will allow managers to better plan, implement and use IT to optimally support manufacturers' portfolio of collaborative relationships in green supply chains. Firms often look to reduce sources of pollution or improve recycling activities in order to become greener; the results of this research should help managers understand the role of supply chain collaboration and IT in process innovation and the sustainable development and/or enhancement of green supply chains.

Even though the proposed program is tied to important research streams, it departs from previous studies in the field as the proposed research is one of the few to be anchored on both the knowledge-based view of the firm and the relational view of the firm. Findings tied to this original contribution will allow us to assess what type of knowledge, the one housed within the firm or the one embedded in inter-firm relationships, has a stronger influence on the manufacturer's organizational and environmental performance. Finally, the research program will be amongst the first, if not the first in the field of green supply chains, to identify and compare the different process innovation strategies adopted by manufacturers to verify empirically that there is not a unique way to manage process innovation in green supply chains.

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LE PRINCIPE RESPONSABILITÉ DE HANS JONAS. UNE ÉTHIQUE POUR LE POSTHUMANISME

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Résumé

Pour les posthumanistes, toute l'histoire jusqu'à présent est la préhistoire de l'homme véritable tel qu'il peut être et tel qu'il doit être. Ainsi, les avancées technoscientifiques permettront à l'avenir de sortir progressivement et irréversiblement de l'humanité en direction d'une posthumanité au sein de laquelle l'homme serait affranchi d'un grand nombre de topoi (la mort, la naissance, le vieillissement, la maladie, etc.) qui l'accablent depuis la nuit des temps. C'est dans ce contexte que la présente réflexion entend évaluer à l'aune du discours jonasien les ressorts, enjeux et défis axiologiques auxquels nous confronte l'utopie posthumaniste.

Mots clés

Hans Jonas – principe responsabilité – posthumanisme

Introduction

Selon les perspectives ouvertes par les avancées technoscientifiques contemporaines, après *l'homo sapiens* il s'agit d'envisager dès à présent *l'homo biotech*. C'est «l'idée jusque-là inouïe d'une plasticité intégrale de l'homme, n'ayant pour limites que celles de la physique et de la biologie elle-même» (Hunyadi 2002 : 1). Cette perspective qui devrait signer la sortie progressive et irréversible de l'humanité, postule en même temps l'incomplétude de l'homme et la possibilité d'entrer, à travers les révolutions technologiques (clonage, génie génétique, nanotechnologies, bioinformatique, médecine régénérative, etc.) dans une post-humanité ouverte à la contingence existentielle de l'histoire. « Construire l'homme, rien n'est alors plus louable» (Besnier 2010 : 56).

En réalité l'utopie posthumaniste est comme toutes les utopies : elle se construit à partir d'un contexte historique qu'elle congédie systématiquement. En l'occurrence, son repoussoir, l'ancien monde avec lequel elle propose la rupture, c'est l'humanisme traditionnel décrit comme une période et un courant ayant imposé une conception fermée de l'homme : celle qui le définissait par une essence soustraite au temps et à l'espace, à laquelle il se devait d'être conforme pour satisfaire à la Morale. «Héritiers, sans toujours le savoir, du surréalisme, les

utopistes du posthumain entendent faire prévaloir la cause de l'imaginaire et orchestrer systématiquement la subversion, en mobilisant les forces de la science et de la technologie» (Ibid. : 47).

Par leur caractère inédit, les utopies posthumanistes inaugurent des perspectives qui font entrer dans notre champ d'intentionnalité éthique des questions qui en étaient auparavant inaperçus ou absentes. L'homme est-il malléable, expérimentable ou perfectible ? Est-il seulement à *faire* ? Doit-il être sujet à une amélioration continue ? Fondamentalement, le posthumanisme serait-il l'avenir de l'humanité comme le soutiennent certains technoprophètes ? Mérite-t-il d'être envisagé comme un idéal ? En cas de réponse négative, la question devient alors celle de savoir : où trouver les racines et le sens éthique d'une telle opposition ?

En contrepoint des desseins technoscientifiques de production d'une humanité d'un nouveau type, voire à l'ivresse de la «fatigue d'être soi»⁶ perceptible dans plusieurs discours posthumanistes, le philosophe allemand Hans Jonas se positionne en faveur d'une élucidation – non sans critique – des ressorts plus ou moins conscients, des enjeux profonds et défis axiologiques auxquels nous confronte l'utopie posthumaniste sous fond de culte du progrès technoscientifique. En clair, la critique jonasienne ne porte pas tant sur la question de savoir si l'utopie posthumaniste est réalisable que sur le point de savoir si elle est souhaitable et mérite d'être envisagée comme un horizon de sens, un idéal.

L'euphorie prométhéenne

L'idée de départ est que l'utopie posthumaniste s'origine dans la nouveauté radicale de la technoscience, c'est-à-dire le « feu follet du progrès » (Jonas 2000 : 94) dont est porteuse la Civilisation occidentale depuis le XVe siècle. Depuis cette époque en effet, le déchainement de Prométhée prend les allures d'une technoscience qui évolue, par ruptures épistémiques et progression cumulative. Elle se pose en s'opposant en elle-même, se corrige, s'autoféconde suivant une dynamique dans laquelle «*l'orgueil de la performance* » (Jonas 1993: 36) occupe une place prépondérante. Elle semble n'avoir aucune limite dans sa quête vers le « pas encore » et le « toujours nouveau ». Les inventions les plus récentes passent toujours pour les meilleures (Weyembergh 1991: 172). Et ce qui est meilleur dans *l'hier* de la technoscience est jugé limité dans *l'aujourd'hui* des nouveaux procédés mis en place. Autrement dit, ce qui est découvert ou acquis est déjà en même temps marqué du sceau de la «provisoirité ».

Avec les avancées et prouesses technoscientifiques en matière de génie génétique par exemple, on est bien loin de cette époque où les actions de *l'Homo faber* sur lui-même n'avaient qu'un impact limité. La science moderne ou plus exactement l'« alliance du progrès scientifique et technologique » (Jonas 2000 : 31) a extraordinairement étendu les frontières de l'agir humain. Par la maîtrise accrue du réel qu'elle confère à l'homme, cette alliance conduit progressivement à une extension du *regnum humanum*. Ainsi, la civilisation technologique devient pour de nombreux scientifiques l'avènement progressif «de la métaphysique

⁶ Selon le titre de l'ouvrage d'Ehrenberg A. (2000), *La Fatigue d'être soi. Dépression et société*, Paris: Odile Jacob.

enfin réalisée » (Edelman 1994: 132). Le Verbe serait en train de se faire supplanter par la science et la technique.

«[A]ujourd'hui dit Jonas sous la forme de la technique moderne, la technè s'est transformée en poussée en avant infinie de l'espèce et en son entreprise la plus importante. On serait tenté de croire que la vocation de l'homme consiste dans la progression, en perpétuel dépassement de soi, vers des choses toujours plus grandes et la réussite d'une domination maximale sur les choses et sur l'homme lui-même semblerait être l'accomplissement de sa vocation » (1993 : 35-36).

Dès lors, «comment ne pas soupçonner une exigence utopique du "tout possible" aux conséquences incalculables contenues dans cette dynamique technicienne de la "poussée-vers-l'avant ?" (Ngambélé Nsasay 2008 : 40). À l'analyse, on est même tenté d'affirmer que l'utopie posthumaniste actuelle entretient «un préjugé, [...] (qui) veut que l'arrêt doive forcément signifier la régression, et la persistance une déchéance. Cela n'est vrai que là où règne le progrès pour le progrès, c'est donc vrai pour nous. Mais il ne se trouve écrit nulle part que le progrès doit régner» (Jonas 2005: 126).

Somme toute, ce qu'il y a de radicalement nouveau dans cette tension vers le "toujours nouveau", c'est la consécration de l'ontologie du "Pas-encore-être". Dans cette vision de l'histoire, le présent et le passé ne sont certes pas tout à fait déconsidérés, mais ils n'ont en réalité de sens et de pertinence que dans la mesure où ils annoncent et entretiennent l'espoir d'un homme authentique et/ou d'un horizon des possibles à jamais ouvert. Soulignons par ailleurs que, l'euphorie prométhéenne marque également la transformation de l'agir humain en *portée* (Puissance, étendue spatiale et temporelle), en *qualité* (multiplicité des interventions possibles, complexité et im-précision) et en *éventail* (réel extrahumain et plasticité humaine).

L'homme : objet de sa technè

Sous la direction de *l'homo faber*, la rationalité technoscientifique ne porte plus seulement sur le réel extra-humain, mais s'ouvre de nouveaux horizons dans lesquels l'homme est lui-même pris -jusque dans sa constitution substantielle - comme objet de son propre agir. «Nous avons envisagé dit Jonas la *technè* seulement dans son application au domaine non humain. Mais l'homme lui-même a commencé à faire partir des objets de la technique» (1993: 51). Ce constat se laisse parfaitement saisir dans l'actualité biotechnologique autour du socle vital de l'identité personnelle c'est-à-dire le génome humain.

En effet, l'essor de la biologie moléculaire et du génie génétique auquel nous avons assisté ces dernières années a permis des avancées spectaculaires dans le domaine de la médecine régénérative et inauguré un univers insoupçonné de possibilités infinies en matière de plasticité du vivant. C'est précisément l'univers du clonage, de la cryogénie, de la transgénése, etc. «On voit apparaître écrit Jonas la tentative prométhéenne de bricoler notre propre «image» à partir d'une amélioration de l'embryon» (2000 : 145). Le moins qu'on assiste à une entreprise de défétichisation et de désymbolisation de l'homme. Les paramètres fondamentaux de l'homme qui relevaient jadis du mystère ou de l'ineffable, sont chaque jour un peu plus, appréhendés, étudiés, revus et même corrigés.

«C'est la première fois dans l'histoire du vivant qu'une créature en arrive à lire l'écriture dont elle est l'expression. Avec cette boucle, un incroyable événement est rendu possible : l'instant où la créature va pouvoir faire retour dans la création pour

se refaire. L'instant où la créature va interférer dans sa création et se poser comme son propre créateur.» (Dufour 2005: 14-15).

Par ailleurs, plusieurs chercheurs à l'instar d'Aubrey de Grey et Robert Freitas considèrent de plus en plus le vieillissement comme une maladie que la science pourra guérir à l'avenir. Autant dire que si Abraham pouvait contempler à sa dernière heure tout le chemin qu'il avait parcouru ; s'il pouvait se réjouir de tout ce qu'il avait vécu et s'éteindre sans amertume, l'utopiste posthumaniste/technoprophète va quant lui (re)considérer le vieillissement, la maladie et surtout la mort comme des maux, des limites existentielles à ses désirs d'éternité. Travillée de l'intérieur par le fantasme d'une vie infinie et d'une puissance illimitée, la biotechnologie à en croire les théories posthumanistes, devrait à l'avenir déjouer cette finitude qui accable l'homme. Ainsi, la mort est de plus en plus envisagée comme une « panne » dans le processus vital, un « défaut organique évitable, susceptible au moins en principe de faire l'objet d'un traitement, et pouvant être longuement différé. Une nostalgie éternelle de l'humanité semble être plus proche d'être exaucée » (Jonas 1993: 52). Plus largement, la mort, la naissance, le vieillissement et la maladie tombent de moins de moins sous l'évidence qu'elles sont des événements inéluctables de toute existence.

«Aujourd'hui, l'idéal d'autonomisation de l'Esprit culmine avec le fantasme d'une auto-production qui nous délivrerait de la nécessité de la naissance, par le moyen du clonage ou de l'utérus artificiel. Il culmine aussi avec le rêve d'une immortalisation qui, grâce à la congélation des corps ou au téléchargement de la conscience, nous débarrasserait de l'inconvénient d'avoir à mourir. Et puis, plus simplement, il culmine avec la conviction que la médecine –la nanomédecine – offrira bientôt les moyens pour l'organisme de s'autoréparer» (Besnier 2010: 115).

A l'époque contemporaine, l'homme est de plus en plus pensé dans ses limites radicales comme quelque chose pouvant être sujet à une amélioration, reconfiguration, perfectionnement ou dépassement interrompue. À l'idée substantielle de l'homme qui sous-tend l'humanisme traditionnel, l'utopie posthumaniste fait prévaloir la thèse de sa malléabilité, exploitable à profusion grâce aux technosciences. Autrement dit, les théoriciens posthumanistes accordent une priorité lexicographique de l'existence sur l'essence. La question n'est plus «*Qu'est-ce l'Homme?*», mais «*Quel type d'Homme allons-nous construire?*» (Packard 1978: 21). Si la première question, kantienne en l'occurrence, se voulait spéculative et requérait une anthropologie critique de la culture, la seconde question quant à elle, se veut plus pragmatique et invite à l'imagination prospective. Ainsi, les hypothèses qui relevaient de la science-fiction il y a quelque temps, deviennent progressivement des réalités événementielles célébrées par une industrie capitaliste et une société de consommation avide d'innovation.

Reconnaissons cependant que, les théories posthumanistes bénéficient d'un engouement certain en raison du fait que ses utopies fascinent énormément. Elles fascinent d'autant plus que les nombreux avatars dont elles sont jusqu'ici porteuses, alimentent les espoirs les plus fous et témoignent d'un éclatement des limites de ce qui jusqu'ici constituait les frontières de notre intelligence et de notre imagination.

Toutefois, la prospection manipulatrice et reconstructiviste de l'homme pose avec acuité le problème de la gestion des incertitudes et des conséquences irréversibles sur les générations actuelles et futures. La complexité de la chaîne causale, la part d'externalité liée au pouvoir technologique ainsi que l'autonomie

des développements technoscientifiques sont potentiellement sources de conséquences imprévisibles, et irréversibles pour l'homme. En clair, si l'innovation technoscientifique contemporaine conduit à l'accroissement du champ des *possibles* et s'il est vrai que le mélange des possibilités bienfaites et dangereuses dans la civilisation technologique est manifeste, «les limites ne sont [cependant] pas faciles à tracer» (Jonas 1993: 55).

Mais quoi qu'il en soit, l'utopie posthumaniste révèle le vœu de l'homme de prendre en main son destin; de transformer et/ou d'«améliorer» son patrimoine génétique en fonction de ses aspirations subjectives. Certains utopistes du posthumain, vont même jusqu'à poser la réalisation de «l'homme authentique» comme un objectif à atteindre. C'est l'idée que l'homme véritable serait aussi un homme univoque qui aurait dépassé les multiples ambiguïtés et contradiction de la nature humaine, et en particulier son ambivalence morale. Mais, « savoir si nous en avons le droit, savoir si nous sommes qualifiés pour ce rôle démiurgique, c'est là la question la plus grave qui puisse se poser à l'homme qui se découvre subitement en possession d'un tel pouvoir destinal» (Jonas 1993: 57). Pour Jonas en tout cas, il y a de bonnes raisons d'en douter.

Une ontologie historico-téléologique discutabile

Dans le procès que Jonas mène contre les prétentions posthumanistes, ce dernier insiste d'entrée de jeu sur la nécessité de congédier l'ontologie historico-téléologique qui constitue la pierre d'assise de l'utopie posthumaniste. La formule d'Ernst Bloch :

« S n'est pas encore P », peut jouer le rôle d'une expression de base [cette] vision du monde progressiste, dans laquelle «P» est le souhaité et ce qui incombe comme état universel et le réaliser est notre tâche. L'état dont il s'agit est celui de l'homme. Le « ne pas encore être » de «P» comme état de l'homme comme tel veut dire alors que l'homme véritable est seulement encore à venir et que l'homme passé et actuel ne l'est pas encore et ne l'a jamais été. Toute histoire jusqu'à présent est la préhistoire de l'homme véritable tel qu'il peut être et tel qu'il doit être » (1993 : 273).

En réalité, c'est l'utopie mélioriste posthumaniste qui ici est questionnée de façon centrale. Cette formule blochienne témoigne d'une eschatologie sécularisée qui tout en postulant l'idée d'une posthumanité véritable (paradisique) seulement à *faire*, maintient vif le fonds de commerce de l'économie libérale et de la technoscience.

Pour faire pièce à ce qu'il considère comme une erreur anthropologique, Jonas martèle avec force que l'humanité n'obéit à aucune philosophie de l'Histoire qui, tel un devenir total programmé, irait de «l'inachevé à l'achevé, du provisoire au définitif» (Ibid. : 214). Par conséquent, il importe de rompre avec l'idée de la «préhistoire», dont nous aurions été la fin alors que de notre côté nous serions de nouveau un moyen en vue du but définitif, une (post)humanité seulement à venir. « Non seulement un tel but définitif n'existe pas (ou, à supposer qu'il existe de façon cachée, nous ne saurions le désigner d'aucune façon) : il est encore plus important de comprendre que chaque présent de l'homme est sa propre fin, et qu'il l'était donc également dans n'importe quel passé » (Dewitte 1988 : 64).

Par ailleurs, la thèse posthumaniste selon laquelle la constitution de l'homme est malléable ou améliorable à volonté est du point de vue jonasien irrecevable.

L'ambivalence fondamentale de la condition humaine

Suivant la perspective jonasienne, le destin de l'humanité n'a rien à voir avec un dépassement ininterrompu et constant de son être-homme. L'homme n'est pas *seulement* à faire, car il a *toujours déjà été là* dans toute son « authenticité ». Jonas écrit :

« La vérité toute simple, ni exaltante ni accablante, mais qui réclame toutefois une obéissance respectueuse, est que «l'homme authentique» existe depuis toujours - avec ses hauts et ses bas, sa grandeur et sa misère, son bonheur et ses tourments, sa justification et sa culpabilité - bref, dans toute son ambivalence qui est inséparable de lui.» (1993 : 410).

Ainsi, Jonas refuse de souscrire à toute entreprise qui se donnerait pour but de produire d'un type nouveau, dépouillé de ses contradictions et ambiguïtés. Loin de tout idéal de constitution univoque de l'homme, il défend une vision dualiste, voire tragique, de l'être humain. Sa composition psycho-somatique poursuit-il est fondamentalement exposée au bien et au mal de telle sorte que vouloir abolir cette particularité qu'il a en propre, équivaudrait par la même occasion à une abolition du caractère insondable de sa liberté et de ce qui fait son authenticité.

«[I]l faut se résigner, qu'il n'y a pas de «nature» univoque de l'homme ; que par exemple par nature («en soi») il n'est ni bon ni mauvais : il a la faculté d'être bon ou d'être mauvais ; et même l'une avec l'autre - et sans doute cela fait-il partie de son « essence». Certes on dit des grands scélérats que ce sont des «êtres inhumains», mais seuls des hommes peuvent être inhumains et ils révèlent la nature «de» l'homme pas moins que des grands saints» (Jonas 1993 : 414).

L'affirmation de cette ambivalence de l'être humain constitue en même temps, une virulente diatribe contre l'idée qu'il existerait une « richesse de la nature » endormie, «qui aurait simplement besoin d'être descellée (d'être 'déchainée') pour se manifester alors en vertu de cette nature. [Pour Jonas] il n'y a que l'équipement biologique-psychique de cette 'nature' en vue de la richesse et de la pauvreté du pouvoir être, qui sont l'une et l'autre également 'naturelles'» (Idem.).

Suivant ce point de vue, la possibilité pour la technoscience de parvenir à la conception d'un homme univoque est l'une des choses que nous devons craindre de l'avenir. Car loin d'entrer dans une posthumanisation, l'humanité serait en réalité prise dans un processus de déshumanisation irréversible. *L'homo sapiens* « devenu réellement univoque ne peut être que l'homoncule de la futurologie technologique-sociale, lamentablement conditionné pour se comporter de façon convenable et pour se sentir bien, dressé jusqu'en son for intérieur pour se conformer à des règles » (Jonas 1993 : 411). Il serait pour ainsi dire privé de ce qui fait précisément sa singularité existentielle c'est-à-dire sa liberté, son autonomie, sa volonté. «Si Jonas adopte une position résolument conservatrice et rejette catégoriquement toute utopie mélioriste, c'est donc pour donner toutes ses chances à la puissance d'innovation que recèle l'équivoque de la condition humaine» (Dewitte 1988 : 65).

À titre d'illustration, Jonas met en garde contre toute démarche qui consisterait à reproduire (clonage) un génie en plusieurs exemplaires pour soi-disant, le plus grand bien de l'humanité. Cette entreprise renverrait à une mauvaise compréhension de ce qu'est l'être humain. L'existence de chaque génie va – inéluctablement - de pair avec le contexte historique qui l'a rendu possible. Autrement dit, tout «génie est aussi une «production» de l'histoire, des tensions, des contradictions et même des malheurs qu'il a pu connaître. Jamais génial de

part en part, le génie continue à appartenir à l'humanité commune dont il a surgi, avec sa finitude et son imperfection» (Ngambele Nsabay 2008: 46).

Qui plus est, le clonage est une négation –non sans conséquence - de la part de hasard qui fait de la natalité le moment où l'humanité accueille telle une fontaine de jouvence, des êtres toujours neufs, surprenants, singuliers et irremplaçables. La sacralité et l'identité singulière de chaque naissance, constituent les garanties qui permettent d'avoir toujours des êtres uniques et ne rassemblant à personne. Ce qui est en jeu :

« ... c'est donc la préservation du caractère unique de chaque individu et l'enrichissement que représente toute naissance pour l'humanité qui connaît ainsi à chaque fois un nouveau commencement, chaque individu reprenant l'aventure humaine à neuf. En un mot, c'est la natalité entendue au sens ontologique qu'Hannah Arendt a donné à ce terme, comme le surgissement du nouveau. Chez Jonas comme chez Arendt, la natalité va de pair avec la notion de pluralité, c'est-à-dire d'unicité de chaque individu» (1988 : 54-55).

Au regard de ce qui précède donc, le clonage humain apparaît comme une fixation prédéterminée de l'existence de son existence. Le clone, du fait qu'il se trouve être le « double» d'un autre, sera obsédé par le sentiment de ne vivre que pour les seuls *plaisir* et *vouloir* de ceux qui ont rendu son existence possible. Loin de toute auto-révélation à laquelle chaque individu peut légitimement aspirer durant son existence, la vie du clone est réduite à n'être qu'une pâle copie d'un modèle donné à l'avance. Le clonage prive l'individu d'une expérience singulière inédite d'appropriation libre et progressive de son identité. Fondamentalement, c'est une prise en otage et une violation anticipée de l'intimité de l'être humain. C'est une négation absolue de son droit souverain de posséder un génotype propre qui lui confère une histoire et nulle pareille à une autre.

«Toute réduction du "pareil" à "l'identique" constituera une atteinte criminelle à l'intégrité de l'image de l'homme. Car ce qui est à préserver n'est pas une image déterminée, mais l'ouverture même qui rend possible l'engendrement de créatures jamais identiques et pourtant toujours "pareilles"» (Ibid. : 55) .

Contre les rêves posthumanistes donc, Jonas invite à penser à nouveau frais la natalité et la mortalité. Il y a un lien intrinsèque et une signification ontologique indiscutable entre l'apparaître-disparaître auquel nous renvoie le couple natalité-mortalité. Ces étapes doivent être envisagées sereinement comme les deux interfaces de la *Lebenswelt* (monde de la vie).

« La mortalité n'est que l'envers de la source permanente de la "natalité" [...] Ce recommencement qu'il est seulement possible d'obtenir au prix d'un perpétuel achèvement, peut très bien être l'espoir de l'humanité, la protection qui l'empêche de sombrer dans l'ennui et dans la routine, sa chance de conserver la spontanéité» (Jonas 1993 : 53).

Ainsi, pour maintenir vive la source de jouvence que constitue la natalité, il faut congédier les vieux rêves d'immortalité. Mourir, ne doit pas être considéré comme une fatalité ou une panne contingente. Dans l'apparaître-disparaître, c'est l'être qui se renouvelle ; c'est la vie qui s'accomplit dans une gestion quasi architectonique des équilibres intergénérationnels.

Du reste, vouloir fixer le surgissement toujours neuf et unique d'une naissance dans une éternité, c'est non seulement se méprendre sur ce qu'"être homme" veut dire, mais c'est surtout générer des problématiques inédites, voire

insurmontables (gestion de la démographie ; partage ressources naturelles; justice intergénérationnelle, etc.).

Conclusion

On l'aura compris, pour Jonas la quête d'une hypothétique «meilleure humanité» par le biais de la toute-puissance de la technoscience repose donc sur une double erreur, à la fois historico-téléologique et anthropologique. Tout se passe comme si grâce aux avancées technologiques l'homme atteindra l'attachement sécurisant qui en le poussant toujours vers plus de progrès, le libèrera définitivement de ses peurs. Or, contrairement à ce que l'on peut penser la suprématie scientifique dit Jonas, ne sera jamais définitivement acquise. Pire encore, les influences posthumanistes sur les orientations de la technoscience contemporaine constitue à juste titre une source d'inquiétude. Dans ce contexte : «*qu'est-ce qui peut servir de boussole*»? Jonas répond :

« L'anticipation de la menace elle-même ! C'est seulement dans les premières lueurs de son orage qui nous vient du futur, dans l'aurore de son ampleur planétaire et dans la profondeur de ses enjeux humains, que peuvent être découverts les principes éthiques, desquels se laissent déduire les nouvelles obligations correspondant au pouvoir nouveau. Cela, je l'appelle «heuristique de la peur» (1993: 16).

En clair, Hans Jonas nous invite à renouer avec les termes inusités de l'heuristique de la peur. Face aux promesses démesurées de l'utopie posthumaniste « il faut davantage, prêter l'oreille à la prophétie du malheur qu'à la prophétie du bonheur» (Ibid. : 73). Précisons qu'il ne s'agit aucunement d'une peur inféconde, paralysante et pathologique, mais d'une peur rationnelle, psychologique et critique qui incite à la modération des fins.

«Si la responsabilité est incontestablement une vertu morale, elle devient chez Jonas, précisément par son lien avec l'heuristique de la peur, également une vertu dianoétique. L'affirmation est moins révolutionnaire qu'il ne paraît au premier abord. Il suffit au fond de se demander si la responsabilité n'est pas le nouveau visage qui, sous la pression des formes nouvelles de l'agir humain, revêt la seule des vertus dianoétiques qui concerne directement l'agir éthique, à savoir la phronesis, la «prudence» ou la «sagesse pratique» (Greisch 1994: 78).

Hans Jonas se trouve dans la situation d'un prophète qui «veut prophétiser une catastrophe dont il espère qu'elle ne se produira pas, afin qu'elle ne se produise pas» (Dupuy 2002 : 180). La peur des conséquences irréversibles de la démesure représentée dans le présent constitue la condition inévitable de la responsabilité jonasienne. Se représenter les situations dont on ne souhaite pas vivre est donc la fonction heuristique de la peur. «[S]eul celui qui accepte de frémir devant certaines possibilités peut se poser les questions décisives ; c'est cela qu'il s'agit avec l'heuristique de la peur que Jonas appelle «détectrice» (*nachsprühend*)». (Greisch 1994: 77).

« La peur qui fait essentiellement partie de la responsabilité n'est pas celle qui déconseille d'agir, mais celle qui invite à agir ; cette peur que nous visons est la peur pour l'objet (le monde de la vie) de la responsabilité.[...] La peur est déjà contenue dans la question originare avec laquelle on peut s'imaginer que commence toute responsabilité active : que lui arrivera-t-il, si moi je ne m'occupe pas de lui ? Plus la réponse est obscure, plus la responsabilité se dessine clairement... [C'est dire finalement que pour H. Jonas], une heuristique de la peur qui dépiste le danger devient nécessaire, qui non seulement lui dévoile et lui expose l'objet inédit.» (1993: 422).

En définitive, les thèses inédites des théoriciens posthumanistes devrait redoubler notre vigilance et nous inciter à plus de responsabilité et de précaution.

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PORTRAYALS OF GENDERED IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCES IN INCH' ALLAH DIMANCHE: TOWARDS A CHALLENGE OF ARAB STEREOTYPING?

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Abstract

This paper explores the gendered nature of the Arab immigrant experience as portrayed in the film *Inch' Allah Dimanche*. The ways in which the film could be used in the college classroom to discuss several socio-cultural issues including men/women relationships and gender equality in Western and Arab countries are highlighted. In a socio-political world context where Arabs, particularly Arab men, have often been stereotyped in mainstream American and European media as villains, it is important to help students acquire a critical lens through which they can distinguish between reality and stereotype when they watch a film that portrays cultural groups about whom their actual knowledge is generally limited to mediatic and cinematic portrayals. In this paper, I point out that while *Inch' Allah Dimanche* may seem to consolidate mainstream negative stereotypes of Arab men, it actually challenges them. Also, in a context where Arab women have been constructed through post-colonial ideology as in need of being "saved" by the West, I argue that *Inch' Allah Dimanche* makes an attempt to move beyond such a socio-political pitfall.

Keywords

Algerian Representations – Gendered inequality – Pedagogy

Introduction

Inch' Allah Dimanche (2001), directed by French-Algerian Yamina Benguigui, insightfully explores the struggles of Zouina, a young Algerian woman who, after a 1974 French law was passed that enabled "immigrant family regrouping," migrates to France with her children and mother-in-law to join her husband who has been there for ten years (until then, only male Algerian workers were allowed to migrate to France). The film carefully documents through poignant but also some burlesque, comic scenes the experience of Algerian immigrants in France in the 1970s. It highlights the gendered nature of the immigration experience, as it focuses on Zouina's silent and valiant struggles to survive and construct her own identity in a foreign land while she endures her antagonistic mother-in-law and her controlling husband. Zouina tries to make sense of how the French socio-cultural norms and expectations, particularly for women, differ from Algerian gendered norms. *Inch' Allah Dimanche* is a coming-of-age story

where Zouina quietly and gradually begins to challenge her personal imprisonment towards more self-determination, freedom, power and independence.

This paper explores the gendered nature of the Arab immigrant experience as portrayed in the film. I highlight the ways in which the film could be used in the college classroom to discuss several socio-cultural issues including men/women relationships and gender equality in Western and Arab countries. In a socio-political world context where Arabs, particularly Arab men, have often been stereotyped in mainstream American and European cultures and media as villains, it is important to help students acquire a critical lens through which they can distinguish between reality and stereotype when they watch a film that portrays cultural groups about whom their actual knowledge is generally limited to mediatic and cinematic portrayals. Films are powerful media through which the general audience obtains and carries deeply-held ideas and "knowledge" about "the Other." As Carleen Basler argues, "the strange power of attraction possessed by motion pictures lies in the semblance of reality that the pictures convey." In the absence of a careful, critical consideration of films, the cinematic fiction presented in films might become reality for students. In this paper, I point out that while *Inch' Allah Dimanche* seems, particularly in its portrayal of Zouina's husband, to consolidate mainstream negative stereotypes of Arab men, it actually challenges them. Also, in a context where Arab women have been portrayed through arts, culture, and colonial and post-colonial ideology as in need of being "saved" by the West, I argue that *Inch' Allah Dimanche* makes an attempt to move beyond such a socio-political pitfall.

Inch' Allah Dimanche is a tale of cultural isolation and a search for a new identity for Zouina and, to some extent, her husband. For Zouina, her sense of cultural isolation starts with the first scene of the film when she is literally torn from her homeland. Her mother-in-law threatens to leave with her children to force her to get on the boat that is to take them to France. Zouina screams and cries. When Zouina, her mother-in-law and children get to France, Ahmed, Zouina's husband, picks them up and does not make eye contact with his wife and shows more attention to his mother than to his wife as he will throughout the film, until the final scene of the film. Zouina is lonely, she finds no joy or comfort in her marriage or her host country; she cries when she remembers her mother. She remains silently confined to their shabby apartment in the small town of Saint-Quentin in the Picardie region, disconnected from her family and everything Algerian as well as French. In the early part of the movie, Zouina behaves as traditional Algerian wives are expected to: she remains in the home and, under the commands of her hard-to-please, morose and controlling mother-in-law, she takes care of all domestic chores. Her husband takes the children to school, for Algerian women are not to be seen in public.

Of the husband, the audience does not know much. He works at the factory during the day. When he is not working, he is present in the home, but he is the quintessentially silent patriarch who does not communicate much, particularly not his emotions or his love for his wife. When he does show some emotions, they are generally of the controlling kind, often accompanied with physical violence, particularly when he believes that Zouina's behavior threatens the family's honor. Ahmed behaves as a good Algerian son who shows respect to his mother by letting her be in charge of the household and of his wife.

The film raises important questions on female disempowerment in the context of a lonely, unjust marriage. Its fairly sanguine end, with Zouina's husband unexpectedly showing a moment of sympathetic, albeit fragile, attention toward his wife when he finally looks at her and takes her side against his mother, can also raise interesting classroom discussions about possible changes and self-improvement for men and women towards equality, communication between men and women, and female empowerment. When I showed the film in an upper-division sociology course at the University of Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa, my students had a strong reaction at the end of the film: they yelled in unison that this was the worst ending they had ever seen! With its foreign context, its somewhat slow pace, its foreign subtitles, and its French School of Film feel, *Inch' Allah Dimanche* is for American college students quite a departure from the more accessible and predictable Hollywood films they normally watch. Fearing that they simply disliked the uncertainty of the end of *Inch' Allah Dimanche* and that they would have preferred a happier or more clear-cut Hollywood-style ending, I asked them what they meant and what type of end they would have preferred to see. Their comments were actually much more judicious and perceptive than I anticipated: one student argued that the film didn't explain why and how the husband, Ahmed, had suddenly changed from a silent, domineering tyrant to a man who finally shows a little bit of understanding and openness towards his wife. Another student argued that the film was too overly optimistic and that most men who treat their wives like their maid and who are physically violent towards them do not ever change. I answered, tentatively, that perhaps the film's director believed in human beings' capacity for love, change, and self-improvement. My students were not convinced. Perhaps rightfully so, they do not believe that a man like Ahmed can suddenly give a little bit of independence and relinquish a little of his power in the marriage. Students at the University of Dubuque come from various ethnic, national, socio-economic, and geographic backgrounds; many of them are "non-traditional" "first-generation" college students who have children and a lot more life experience than traditional students. Some have experienced marital abuse and various situations of symbolic and physical violence as children and teenagers. Perhaps because of their background, students at U.D are generally not naïve about human relations and are fairly sensitive and perceptive to issues of power differentials, appreciating films like *Inch' Allah Dimanche* which perhaps more privileged students might not.

I was compelled to point out to my students some of the differences between Hollywood films and an independent film like *Inch' Allah Dimanche*. In most Blockbuster Hollywood films, the stereotypical Arab man is a one-dimensional, over-simplified character without much character development who generally remains the brutal villain, a stock character that remains unchanged throughout the film and that dramatically contrasts with the good American character, such as, for example, the leering Jafar in Disney's *Alladin* (for a detailed discussion of Arab representations in Hollywood films, see Jack Shaheen 2001).

In contrast, *Inch' Allah Dimanche* attempts to provide a more thoughtful, complex allusion to Ahmed's cultural background and place in the traditional patriarchal family. The film also gives a few glimpses of Ahmed's potential for kindness and a fuller humanity: contrary to one of Ahmed's male friends who prefers that his wife and children remain in Algeria even after they could have legally joined him, Zouina's husband asked for his family to join him after a 1974

French law permitting immigrant family regrouping made it possible. Moreover, he learns to play the guitar, and enjoys practicing his rudimentary guitar skills in front of his children, even though he gets easily frustrated and quickly puts the guitar away when his children get too over-excited. In addition, at some point, he himself breaks the traditional Algerian gendered rules according to which men (and not women) go to the market to get groceries. One day, he tells Zouina that from now on, she is the one who should get the groceries at the small neighborhood *épicerie*. Hence, in some small ways, Ahmed also silently questions and transforms his traditional Algerian male role towards more marital equality and more independence and freedom outside the confines of the home for his wife. He slowly and subtly moves from a purely traditional Algerian patriarchal identity to a man open to new ways and lifestyles. Perhaps unwittingly, by allowing Zouina to go to the store, he allowed her to gather the strength and courage to go even further with her experimentations with personal freedom outside the home. Ahmed is therefore far from the typical Hollywood one-dimensional Arab character, and a careful attention to the details of the film indicates his potential for change.

As for Zouina, she is a complete departure from the typical Hollywood representation of Arab women as sex objects or belly dancers. She is a much more complex and multi-dimensional character that evolves throughout the film. She demonstrates her openness to new ideas, possibilities, and encounters. The first time she ventures out of the apartment to walk to the store, she walks quickly, checks nervously her surroundings, and is not sure what to do with her traditional Muslim head cover. At the store, she is visibly disoriented by the foreign store displays but she gathers her courage to order "de la viande" ("some meat"). Unable to express herself smoothly and fluently in French, she nervously orders more things she intended to purchase, trying to hide her awkwardness to the store owner, and ends up having to pay more than her husband gave her for the day. Condescending and slightly perplexed by Zouina's odd, foreign ways, the store owner adds her to her informal list of debtors.

Ironically, it is Zouina's poignant sense of cultural isolation from French society and her desire to find other Algerians with whom she can socialize that makes her become increasingly braver in her explorations outside the home and in her defiance of the Algerian gendered norms. On a Sunday, when Ahmed and his mother go out to buy a sheep, she runs away from the house with her children, desperately looking for the sole Algerian woman in town she heard about. But when she finally finds the woman's home, her hope for communion and understanding with her as a soul-mate is a complete failure. This woman, a good traditional Algerian housewife, is appalled by Zouina and the liberties she takes to leave her house without her husband's consent and by her husband's lack of ability to control her. When Zouina mentions that she enjoys listening to a French radio talk show where women can talk about various personal, sexual and marital concerns, her host is horrified, saying that this is evil and, after a short unfulfilling conversation, she throws Zouina out of her house.

Zouina seems to find more comfort with the friendship she is developing with a young French divorced woman with whom she has a few short conversations interrupted by the demands of her mother-in-law. Zouina is intrigued by this woman and by her freedom and her access to things that are forbidden to her such as books and make-up. The film thereby contrasts French to Algerian societies and seems to portray French women as more "liberated" than Algerian

women. One could therefore wonder whether *Inch' Allah Dimanche* falls into the category of films where the immigrant or minority character is typically being "saved" either by a white character or through their assimilation into the ethnically dominant community. Examples of such films include the Hollywood films *Freedom Writers* and *Dangerous Minds* where a white teacher "saves" her vulnerable and "lost" minority students by showing them how to succeed, as well as the independent film *Real Women Have Curves* where the main character, a young Latina woman named Ana, finds her "salvation" from her over-dominating Latina mother through her entrance in prestigious, white-dominated Columbia University.

In her critical analysis of the gendered politics and beliefs about the Arab "Other" that led to the American invasion of Afghanistan, Anthropologist Abu-Lughod argues against such a "rhetoric of salvation" of Arab women and by extension non-Western women:

One needs to appreciate the patronizing quality of the rhetoric of saving women... It is deeply problematic to construct the Arab woman as someone in need of saving. When you save someone, you imply that you are saving her from something. You are also saving her to something. What violences are entailed in this transformation, and what presumptions are being made about the superiority of that to which you are saving her?"

In *Inch' Allah Dimanche*, it seems at first glance that it is solely through her embracing of French ways and styles of female empowerment that Zouina will find salvation and personal empowerment. As the film compares and contrasts Zouina to the only other Algerian woman in the area, the audience finds out that the worldview of Zouina's Algerian counterpart is still narrowly Algerian and that she still believes that her husband should control her and confine her to the home. The film thereby presents Zouina at this point in the movie as having gone through a process that makes her become more "French" and less Algerian. The film also highlights that there is not a single way to be an Algerian woman, thereby challenging Western beliefs and Hollywood portrayals of the Arab woman as one-dimensionally disempowered and less empowered than Western women. The film could overall be interpreted as a modern cinematic "Yellow Wallpaper"⁷ in which the female protagonist, as in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 1892 classic story, quietly begins to challenge her personal imprisonment and must find her own path to liberation and personal freedom. But Zouina's tale is more multifaceted than that of Gilman's narrator because it involves finding her way through two gendered cultural models. She needs to make sense of how the French sociocultural norms and expectations differ from Algerian gendered customs and to find her own identity away from Algerian patriarchal constraints while remaining true to her cultural traditions and affinities. It is the tale of a woman who needs to make sense of her female identity and potentials through her dual cultures. To use the phrase coined by postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha in praise of a cultural hybridity which eludes the politics of polarity and undermines colonial hegemonies and distinctions, Zouina needs to create her own "Third Space". The film indicates that while Zouina is open to and interested in her French neighbor's lifestyle and ways (she is a young divorcee, she wears make-up), she wants to find her own path towards freedom and does not want to become like her (she continues to believe that divorce and make-up are sins).

Contrary to the Algerian woman that she visited who remains culturally one-dimensional, Zouina moves from a distinct Algerian identity to a more fluid, multiple, and hybrid identity full of potentials and new beginnings. The film explores how her identity evolves from being an Algerian woman torn from her homeland to a woman who takes risks to explore what her new French surroundings have to offer and who makes strong decisions towards more independence and decision-making in the home while still maintaining a sense of her own Algerian sensitivity. In the final scene, she pushes the boundary of her traditional identity further as, in an ultimate act of challenge to her husband's dictates, she gets on a bus driven by a young bus driver with whom she had been making eye contact many times in different scenes in the movie. When she returns home after riding the bus for a very long time, she, for the first time in the movie, openly stands up for her herself against her husband and announces that she will be the one who will take her children to school every day. She does not ask for her divorce as her French friend might have done. Thus, she finds her own way to negotiate towards more independence: she is no longer traditionally Algerian but she is also not becoming a French woman. *Inch' Allah Dimanche* therefore reminds us that there is not a single Western way towards social change that might give women better lives and that Western feminism should not be narrowly imposed on Arab women who want to find their own solutions.

Furthermore, the film goes against the usual Hollywood polarization between the Arab and Western worlds that idealizes the West: while *Inch' Allah Dimanche* certainly criticizes how the Algerian gendered prescriptions can brutalize and isolate women, it does not idealize French society as a perfectly egalitarian society free of conflicts and struggles. The fact that Zouina's French friend is a divorcee is an indication that not all is well among French men and women. Also, while the film highlights how narrow-minded Algerians can be, it also certainly underlines the provincial and racist narrow-mindedness of French society: In several burlesque scenes, the film comically highlights the clash of two cultures in 1970s France, an era when the flow of Northern African immigration was new to the French: the audience meets Zouina's neighbor who, mystified by her new Algerian neighbors, spends much of her time spying on them. Like Zouina's mother-in-law who rigidly adheres to Algerian gendered rules, the neighbor is one-dimensional character who is set in her French ways. The film stresses how, in some ways, the neighbor's life and worldview are even more limited than Zouina's in the first part of the movie. The film pokes fun at the neighbor who is confined to her home with only one ridiculously small, limited obsessive concern: her garden and the local gardening competition. Overall, the film praises characters who are willing to explore and be open to change and differences and ridicule those who remain confined to their old ways.

Conclusion

To conclude, in an era of American demonization of the Islamic world and in a sociopolitical context where Westerners tend to think of themselves as the *nonpareil* in terms of feminist achievements, showing *Inch' Allah Dimanche* in the college classroom can be a very effective way to discuss issues of gender equality and differences in a world context. One of the challenges for the teacher will be to ensure that students do not reach the overly simplistic conclusion that Western gender relations are necessarily more equal and happier than those in the Muslim world. Class discussions should highlight the ways in which *Inch'*

Allah Dimanche is a departure from Hollywood films as it goes beyond fixed, cliché representations of Arab males and females. Showing the film in class in conjunction with readings such as Lila Abu-Lughod's "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?" or the classic *Guests of the Sheik* by Elizabeth Fernea, could help avoid this pitfall towards an idealization of the West by incorporating a broader awareness of gender in Muslim countries. Finally, providing students with thorough information on the prevalence of gendered violence in the contemporary Western world would also help the students move beyond oversimplistic categorizations and polarizations between the Western and Arab worlds.

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FACTEURS DE SUCCÈS ET D'ÉCHEC LORS DE L'IMPLANTATION DE SYSTÈMES D'INFORMATION DE GESTION : COMPARAISON ENTRE UNE RÉUSSITE ET UN ÉCHEC AU SEIN D'UNE MÊME ENTREPRISE

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Résumé

Cette étude tente d'analyser les facteurs de succès impliqués à chacune des étapes des projets d'implantation de systèmes d'information. Cette recherche traite de la comparaison de deux implantations de système d'information au sein d'une même entreprise, soit un projet ERP qui s'est bien déroulé, et un CRM qui a connu des difficultés. Une analyse de différents facteurs de succès a été effectuée pour les deux projets permettant d'identifier ce qui a été fait correctement ou non lors des phases de l'implantation. Des entretiens de type semi-directifs ont été réalisés auprès d'une entreprise afin d'analyser les facteurs de succès d'une implantation de système. Parmi les 25 facteurs ayant servi à la comparaison des deux projets, six d'entre eux étaient problématiques à l'une ou plusieurs des étapes de l'implantation : l'étude de faisabilité, la promotion du projet, l'échéancier de travail du projet, l'infrastructure TI, la coopération avec le fournisseur et la personnalisation du système. Les deux derniers ayant un impact plus important sur les problèmes liés à l'implantation des systèmes.

Mots clés

Systèmes d'information – Implantation – Facteurs de succès

Introduction

Depuis une vingtaine d'années, les entreprises remplacent leurs systèmes d'information de gestion désuets par de nouveaux systèmes, plus performants offrant de meilleurs accès et contrôles de l'information. Les systèmes d'information de gestion « fournissent de l'information aux gestionnaires sous forme de rapports ayant des formats préétablis et sous forme d'écrans de visualisation en vue de soutenir le processus décisionnel (par exemple, les systèmes de production de rapport d'analyse des ventes, du rendement de la production et des tendances des coûts) » (O'Brien, 2003 : 28). Depuis les années 1990, les organisations n'hésitent pas à dépenser des sommes importantes pour l'implantation des systèmes d'information de gestion, et plus particulièrement les systèmes entreprise resource planning (ERP) afin d'améliorer la gestion de leurs opérations. Plus récemment, les organisations se sont tournées vers les

systèmes de customer relationship management (CRM) pour améliorer leurs relations avec la clientèle. Une application CRM permet de lier les activités de type « *front office* » telles les ventes, le marketing et le service à la clientèle, ainsi que celles de type « *back office* » telles la finance, la production, la logistique et les ressources humaines, aux points de contacts des clients de l'entreprise qui sont généralement contrôlés par différents systèmes informatiques (Fickel, 1999). Il est important de noter qu'un CRM n'est pas seulement une technologie ou un logiciel, mais aussi une stratégie permettant d'acquérir et déployer la connaissance auprès de la clientèle afin de vendre davantage leurs produits ou services tout en étant plus efficace (Ling, 2001).

Tout comme pour le CRM, il existe plusieurs définitions d'un ERP, mais on retrouve les éléments principaux dans la définition suivante tirée du livre de Tomas (2002 : 296) : « Le ERP permet de fédérer l'ensemble des processus de l'entreprise dans chacun des domaines qui la constituent, et ce, dans une approche transversale qui optimise sa productivité. Il fournit à l'ensemble des acteurs de l'entreprise une image unique, intègre, cohérente et homogène de l'ensemble de l'information dont ils ont de besoin pour jouer pleinement leur rôle. »

Ces deux systèmes d'information de gestion sont reconnus pour les coûts élevés d'acquisition, d'implantation et de maintien. Or, un grand nombre d'entreprises échouent dans l'implantation de ces nouveaux systèmes. Le terme « échec » peut-être caractérisé de deux façons : complet ou partiel. Dans le premier cas, l'entreprise subit de lourds dommages financiers à long terme et certaines vont même être obligées de cesser leurs activités. Pour un échec partiel, cela signifie que certaines opérations quotidiennes sont affectées et que certains processus doivent être modifiés par la suite pour corriger la situation (Gargeya et Brady, 2005).

Les échecs d'implantation sont nombreux, jusqu'à 70% dans certaines études (Capaldo et al., 2007). Plusieurs recherches ont été effectuées afin de comprendre les facteurs pouvant influencer le succès ou l'échec des projets d'implantation des ERP et CRM. Finney et Crobett 2007 ont répertorié un ensemble de facteurs de succès qui regroupe plus d'une vingtaine de facteurs de succès couvrant l'ensemble des aspects d'un projet d'implantation. Cette liste comporte notamment l'implication organisationnelle, les niveaux techniques, la gestion d'équipe et les étapes d'implantation. Malgré le fait que certaines entreprises ont réalisé avec succès plusieurs projets TI (implantation ou autres), elles peuvent néanmoins avoir de la difficulté à répéter leur expérience (activités et processus) lors d'un nouveau projet.

Cette étude tente d'identifier et d'analyser les facteurs de succès impliqués pour chaque étape des projets d'implantation de ces systèmes d'information, et ce afin de comprendre le succès de l'un et de l'insuccès de l'autre. L'entreprise sélectionnée œuvrant dans l'industrie de l'alimentation a réalisé l'implantation de deux systèmes au cours des dernières années. Elle a d'abord implanté avec succès le logiciel SAP (ERP) en 2002-2003 et elle a dernièrement implanté un système CRM en 2006, projet qui a connu plusieurs difficultés.

Cette étude est guidée par deux objectifs visant à comparer deux projets d'implantation SI au sein d'une même organisation :

1. Proposer une classification de facteurs de succès basée sur la littérature liant la mise en place des ERP et CRM afin de mettre en évidence les ressemblances et les différences entre les deux systèmes.

2. Développer une matrice intégrant à la fois les facteurs de succès et les étapes d'implantation d'un projet afin d'analyser ce qui a été fait correctement ou non lors des deux projets.

La prochaine section présente les phases d'implantation des systèmes d'information et plus précisément des ERP et CRM tandis que la section 2 présente la méthodologie utilisée. La section 3 présente les résultats de la recherche avant de clore avec les conclusions de l'étude.

1. Les phases d'implantation

Dans la littérature, on retrouve plusieurs modèles permettant d'identifier les étapes principales d'un projet d'implantation ERP. Toutefois, le modèle de Marnewick et Labuschagne (2005) présenté à la figure 1 est celui le plus souvent cité dans la littérature pour illustrer les principales étapes d'un projet. Il comprend cinq phases majeures soit celle de la pré-implantation, de l'analyse, de la conception (*design*), du développement (*construct*) et de l'implémentation.



FIGURE 1 – MÉTHODOLOGIE D'IMPLANTATION ERP
(Tirée de Marnewick et Labuschagne, 2005 :153)

Pour le CRM, le modèle proposé par Roberts, Liu et Hazard (2005) (figure 2) se concentre davantage sur les aspects organisationnels, et plus précisément sur le marketing d'un projet CRM, plutôt que sur les aspects technologiques. Parmi les six phases identifiées, on retrouve le développement d'une stratégie axée sur le client, la détermination des objectifs clients, une évaluation de l'état de préparation de l'organisation, l'alignement organisationnel avec les besoins de la clientèle, l'exécution des programmes CRM ainsi que la mesure de l'efficacité de ces derniers.

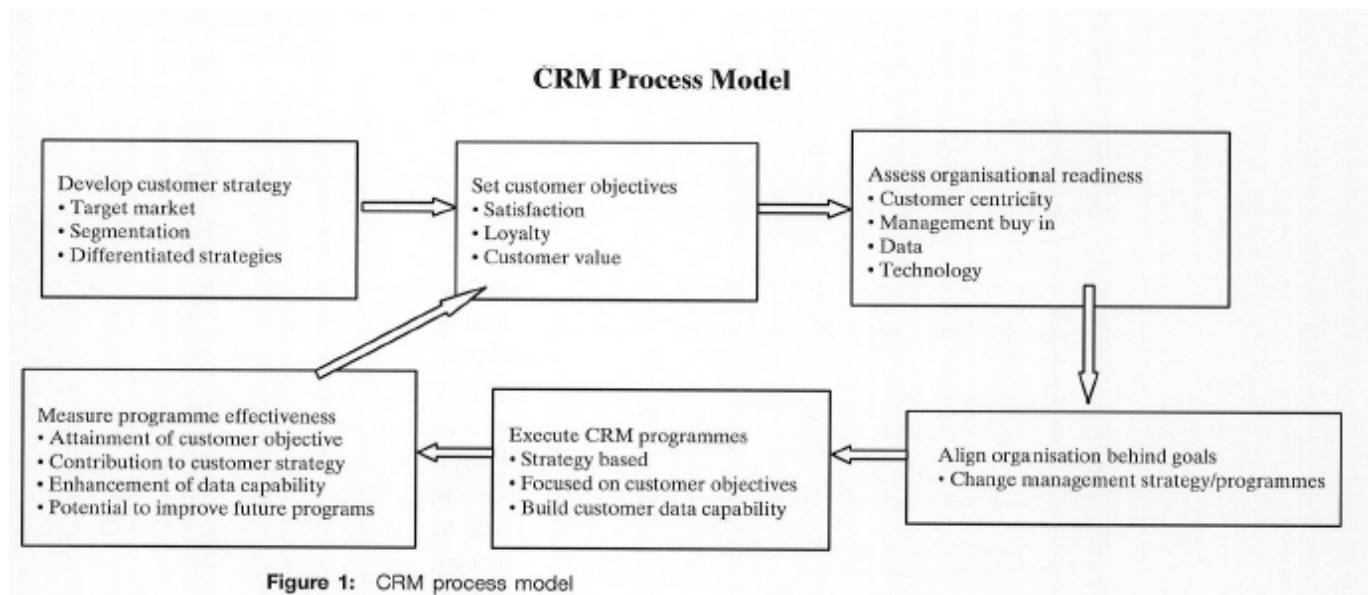


FIGURE 2 - MODÈLE D'IMPLANTATION CRM
(Tirée de Roberts, Liu et Hazard, 2005 :318)

2.1 Modèle de base pour l'implantation de ERP et de CRM

En analysant les différents modèles proposés au niveau de l'implantation des systèmes ERP et CRM, on remarque que les modèles propres à la technologie (ERP vs CRM) comportent leurs particularités. Afin de pouvoir comparer ces deux types de projet entre eux, le modèle sélectionné pour cette étude est celui de Legris et Collerette (2006). Il a été choisi parmi une panoplie de modèles disponibles puisqu'il contient les principales étapes des modèles (niveau macro) sans toutefois se perdre dans les détails des modèles trop élaborés. Le tableau 1 décrit les huit phases d'un projet d'implantation et compare le modèle de Legris et Collerette (2006) aux modèles de Marnewick et Labuschagne (2005) et de Roberts, Liu et Hazard (2005).

Tableau 1 - Les huit phases d'un projet d'implantation

| Étapes | Description |
|---|---|
| 1- Planification du projet | Des éléments du projet sont définis tels que le contexte, l'étendue, le budget, l'équipe et l'échéancier. Cette étape correspond à la phase pré-implantation du modèle ERP et à la 1 ^{ère} phase du modèle CRM. |
| 2- Analyse du système existant | L'identification et l'analyse des processus d'affaires et des problèmes techniques est réalisée, notamment les causes et les effets. Cette étape et les 3 suivantes correspondent à la 2 ^{ème} phase du modèle ERP (analyse). |
| 3- Définition des besoins d'affaires | Les besoins d'affaires sont identifiés et analysés afin d'être utilisés pour la solution technique retenue. Cette étape peut correspondre à celle de la détermination des objectifs clients dans le modèle CRM (phase 2). |
| 4- Identifier une solution réaliste | Parmi l'ensemble des solutions techniques possibles identifiées et analysées, une seule est retenue à cette étape. |
| 5- Achat des composants matériels et logiciels | Cette étape est optionnelle puisque l'entreprise peut avoir en possession tout le matériel nécessaire. De plus, elle peut développer à l'interne le logiciel qui sera utilisé. |
| 6- Conception et intégration du système | Les modèles des besoins techniques et procédurales sont conçus. Cette étape correspond parfaitement à la troisième phase du modèle ERP (conception). |
| 7- Développement et test | La solution retenue ou le prototype est mis en place et testée. Cette étape est identique à la 4 ^{ème} phase du modèle ERP (développement). Cette étape peut correspondre à la 6 ^{ème} phase du modèle CRM, puisqu'il y a une ressemblance avec la partie test. |
| 8- Installation et implémentation du système (<i>go live</i>) | Le système est mis en production (disponible aux usagers). Cette étape correspond à la 5 ^{ème} phase du modèle ERP (implémentation). Cette étape peut correspondre à la 5 ^{ème} phase du modèle CRM car les stratégies sont utilisées dans le cadre du travail des gestionnaires. |

2.2 Les facteurs de succès et les risques des projets d'implantation

Trois études parues au cours des dernières années ont été retenues afin de bâtir une base de comparaison sur les facteurs. Une étude réalisée en 2006 par Soja propose un modèle général permettant de catégoriser les 25 facteurs de succès de la littérature en cinq groupes soit, les participants à l'implantation, l'implication de la haute direction, la définition du projet, l'organisation, le statut du projet et les systèmes d'information. L'étude effectuée par Capaldo, Raffa et Rippa (2007) démontre une perspective divisant une dizaine de facteurs en deux groupes, soit le groupe technique (personnalisation et évaluation des systèmes, ...) et le groupe organisationnel (activités de réingénierie des processus d'affaires, gestion du changement, ...). Finalement, Finney et Corbett (2007) divisent les facteurs en deux catégories, soit les facteurs stratégiques et les facteurs tactiques pour un total de 26 facteurs de succès qui se rapprochent des facteurs rassemblés par Soja (2006).

Roberts et al. (2005) ont constaté qu'il y a plusieurs ressemblances entre les facteurs de succès des projets ERP et des projets CRM. Une revue de la littérature a permis d'identifier deux autres articles qui complètent cette étude en y ajoutant des facteurs supplémentaires (Corner et Hinton, 2002; Croteau et Li, 2003). Le tableau 2 présente les résultats de nos recherches et présente les similitudes entre les facteurs d'implantations des systèmes ERP et CRM pour les cinq catégories suivantes : les participants à l'implantation, l'implication de la haute direction, la définition du projet, l'organisation, le statut du projet et les systèmes d'information. On y retrouve quelques différences entre les ERP et CRM au niveau des facteurs de succès dont un assez important : l'approche reliée à

l'implantation. Welty (1999) définit trois types d'approches d'implantation, soit l'approche étape par étape (*step-by-step*) appelé aussi modulaire, le Big bang et l'approche déploiement par site (*roll-out*). Lors de l'implantation d'un ERP, l'entreprise peut adopter une des trois stratégies possibles, mais celle la plus souvent utilisée est celle du Big Bang avec plusieurs modules à la fois, tandis que dans le cas d'un CRM, l'implantation se doit d'être modulaire afin de limiter les risques d'échecs (Roberts et al, 2005).

TABLEAU 2 - LES FACTEURS DE SUCCÈS DES PROJETS ERP ET CRM

| | | Facteur de succès | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | ERP | | CRM | | |
| | | Auteurs | | | | |
| | | (Soja, 2004) | (Finney et Corbett, 2007) | (Roberts et al, 2005) | (Corner et Hinton, 2002) | (Croteau et Li, 2003) |
| Catégories retenues selon Soja (2004) | Les participants à l'implantation | Le gestionnaire de projet | x | | | |
| | | La composition de l'équipe | x | | | |
| | | Implication de l'équipe | x | | | x |
| | | Reconnaissance de participation (système de motivation) | x | x | | |
| | | Coopération avec le fournisseur | x | | | x |
| | L'implication de la haute direction | Support de la haute direction | x | x | | x |
| | | Sensibilisation de la haute direction | x | | | |
| | | Participation de la haute direction | x | x | | x |
| | La définition du projet et l'orientation | Projet lié à la stratégie | x | x | | x |
| | | Buts et objectifs de l'implémentation | x | x | | x |
| | | Calendrier détaillé | x | x | x | |
| | | Étude de faisabilité | x | | x | |
| | | Changement organisationnel | x | x | x | x |
| | | Suivi et rétroaction | x | | x | |
| | | Promotion du projet | x | | x | |
| | | Effets rapides | | | x | x |
| | Formation | x | x | | | |
| | Le statut du projet | Plan d'investissement | | | | |
| | | Pouvoir de l'équipe | x | | | |
| | | Budget financier | x | | | x |
| Échéancier de travail | | x | | | x | |
| Infrastructure TI | | x | x | | x | |
| Les systèmes d'information | Fiabilité du système | x | x | x | | |
| | Personnalisation du système | x | x | | | |
| | Systèmes patrimoniaux | x | x | x | x | |
| | Expérience de l'implantation | | | | | |
| Les différences | | | | | | |
| Stratégie d'implantation : | Modulaire ou de type Big bang | | Modulaire | x | | |

2. Méthodologie de recherche

Pour mener notre recherche à terme, nous avons privilégié l'étude de cas qui comprend à la fois des entretiens avec les gestionnaires et l'analyse de la documentation interne de l'entreprise. Cette approche semble être la plus pertinente dans le cadre de cette recherche étant donné qu'il est important de recueillir des données qualitatives en profondeur. De plus, le nombre de

personnes pouvant fournir des informations est très limité, ce qui exclut la possibilité de réaliser une étude quantitative plus élaborée. L'approche méthodologique choisie consiste à la comparaison entre deux projets d'implantation de système d'information au sein de la même entreprise. Afin d'analyser les causes du succès et de l'échec des projets CRM et ERP étudiés, l'ensemble des facteurs de succès et des étapes d'implantation présentés précédemment ont été repris. La matrice du tableau 4 a permis lors des entretiens d'identifier les facteurs de succès pour chacune des étapes d'implantation, et de mieux comprendre le déroulement de l'implantation, à savoir si les facteurs de succès ont été respectés ou non. Finalement, une analyse a été effectuée afin de comparer les différences entre les deux projets. Celle-ci permet d'identifier l'importance des facteurs de succès et de présumer les facteurs et les étapes qui ont été négligés, causant ainsi l'échec du projet CRM.

2.1 Contexte de la recherche

L'organisation étudiée est une unité d'affaire d'une multinationale œuvrant dans l'industrie alimentaire. Elle compte plus d'une centaine d'unités d'affaires nationales. Dans le but d'améliorer ses opérations, l'entreprise a depuis quelques années implanté plusieurs systèmes d'information importants. Le premier des deux projets d'implantation étudiés est celui du système ERP R/3 de l'éditeur SAP qui fut un succès, contrairement au deuxième projet de cette étude de cas, le système CRM de l'entreprise CAS qui a connu plusieurs difficultés. Le tableau 3 décrit les différentes caractéristiques des projets d'implantations étudiés.

TABLEAU 3 - DESCRIPTION DES PROJETS

| | ERP | CRM |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Éditeur de logiciel | SAP | CAS |
| Budget | Plus de 5 millions \$ | 10.3 million \$ |
| Stratégie d'implantation | Big bang par site | Modulaire |
| Participants au projet | 15 à 20 participants internes et 30 consultants | 8 internes et 10 consultants |
| Description des modules | Finance, production, logistique, vente | Trade Promotion Management avec <i>Base line et recevable-paiement</i> |
| Année d'implantation | 2002-2003 | 2006-2008 |
| Opération | Depuis juin 2003 | Depuis janvier 2009 |

TABLEAU 4 - MATRICE COMPRENANT LES FACTEURS DE SUCCÈS ET LES ÉTAPES D'IMPLANTATION D'UN PROJET SI

| Catégories | Facteurs | Description | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|---|---|--|
| | | | 1-Planification du projet | 2-Analyse du système existant | 3-Définition des besoins d'affaires | 4-Identifier une solution réaliste | 5-Achat des composants matériels et logiciels | 6-Conception et intégration du système | 7-Développement et test système (Go live) | 8-Installation et implémentation du système (Go live) | |
| Les participants à l'implantation | Le gestionnaire de projet | Implication totale | | | | | | | | | |
| | La composition de l'équipe | Excellente qualification et connaissance de l'entreprise | | | | | | | | | |
| | Implication de l'équipe | Fortement impliquée dans le projet | | | | | | | | | |
| | Reconnaissance de participation (système de motivation) | Les employés reçoivent la reconnaissance de leur supérieur | | | | | | | | | |
| | Coopération avec le fournisseur | Fournisseur compétent et offre un haut niveau de service | | | | | | | | | |
| L'implication de la haute direction | Support de la haute direction | Projet prioritaire | | | | | | | | | |
| | Sensibilisation de la haute direction | Reconnaissance des besoins et enjeux du projet | | | | | | | | | |
| | Participation de la haute direction | Des rencontres sont planifiées dans le calendrier du projet. | | | | | | | | | |
| Les systèmes d'information | Fiabilité du système | Facilité d'utilisation, répond aux besoins et changement possible (scalable) | | | | | | | | | |
| | Personnalisation du système | Limiter les modifications apportées à la version du fournisseur | | | | | | | | | |
| | Systèmes patrimoniaux | Intégration avec les systèmes en place | | | | | | | | | |
| | Expérience de l'implantation | Apprentissage obtenu par les membres de l'équipe | | | | | | | | | |

Adapté de (Soja, 2006) et (Ke et Wei, 2006)

TABLEAU 4 - (SUITE)

| Facteurs de succès | | | Étapes d'implantation d'un projet SI | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------|---|
| Catégories | Facteurs | Description | 1-Planification du projet | 2-Analyse du système existant | 3-Définition des besoins d'affaires | 4-Identifier une solution réaliste | 5-Achat des composants matériels et logiciels | 6-Conception et intégration du système | 7-Développement et test | 8-Installation et Implantation du système (Go live) |
| La définition du projet et l'organisation | Projet lié à la stratégie | Vision et alignement organisationnel respecté | | | | | | | | |
| | Buts et objectifs de l'implémentation | Présence des buts stratégiques en terme économique au niveau de l'entreprise | | | | | | | | |
| | Calendrier détaillé | Étendue, plan, calendrier et responsabilités | | | | | | | | |
| | Étude de faisabilité | L'ensemble du projet doit être évalué | | | | | | | | |
| | Changement organisationnel | L'ensemble des processus d'affaires | | | | | | | | |
| | Suivi et rétroaction | Échange d'information entre l'équipe de projet et les usagers | | | | | | | | |
| | Promotion du projet | Informers les autres employés de l'entreprise | | | | | | | | |
| | Effets rapides | Effets visibles, rapides, positifs, partiels du projet | | | | | | | | |
| | Formation | Formation appropriée | | | | | | | | |
| Le statut du projet | Plan d'investissement | Introduction formelle du projet d'implantation | | | | | | | | |
| | Pouvoir de l'équipe | Possibilité de prendre des décisions | | | | | | | | |
| | Budget financier | Ressource financière assurée | | | | | | | | |
| | Échéancier de travail du projet | Calendrier de travail permettant les imprévus | | | | | | | | |
| | Infrastructure TI | Structure appropriée pour assurer l'implantation | | | | | | | | |

Adapté de (Soja, 2006) et (Ke et Wei, 2006)

3. Résultats de l'étude : comparaison entre CRM et ERP

Cette section permet de comparer les résultats obtenus lors de chacune des phases des deux projets regroupés sous cinq tableaux (5 à 9) représentant les similitudes et les différences selon les cinq catégories de facteurs de Soja (2006).

3.1 Participants à l'implantation

Le tableau 5 présente les résultats de la catégorie Participants à l'implantation.

TABLEAU 5 –LA COMPARAISON DES FACTEURS RELIÉS AUX PARTICIPANTS À L'IMPLANTATION

| Facteurs | Description | Étapes CRM | Étapes ERP |
|---|--|--|--|
| Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | | | |
| Le gestionnaire de projet | Implication totale | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| La composition de l'équipe | Excellente qualification et connaissance de l'entreprise | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| Implication de l'équipe | Fortement impliquée dans le projet | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| Reconnaissance de participation (système de motivation) | Les employés reçoivent la reconnaissance de leur supérieur | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| Phases problématiques | | | |
| Coopération avec le fournisseur | Fournisseur compétent et offre un haut niveau de service | Problématique 1 à 7 | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |

Au niveau des participants à l'implantation, les quatre facteurs suivants ont été bien suivis sur l'ensemble des phases des deux projets : le gestionnaire de projet, la composition de l'équipe, l'implication de l'équipe et la reconnaissance de participation. Tous les répondants des deux projets étaient satisfaits du travail du gestionnaire de projet et de l'équipe en générale. Ils ont tous pris leur travail au sérieux pour corriger les situations problématiques et n'ont pas hésité à faire des heures supplémentaires au besoin.

Pour le facteur de coopération avec le fournisseur, l'équipe du projet ERP a obtenu une aide précieuse des nombreux fournisseurs qui ont participé au projet. Dans le cadre du projet CRM, le niveau de satisfaction des participants envers le fournisseur était inférieur à leurs attentes, surtout à la phase 2 et 4. La planification s'est bien déroulée sur le moment, mais s'est révélée inexacte lors des phases suivantes. L'équipe interne a dû travailler avec ardeur pour solutionner les problèmes causés par le non-respect des promesses du fournisseur. Ce facteur semble avoir eu un impact considérable sur la réussite du projet CRM.

3.2 Implication de la haute direction

Le tableau 6 présente les résultats de la catégorie Implication de la haute direction.

TABLEAU 6 –LA COMPARAISON DES FACTEURS RELIÉS À L'IMPLICATION DE LA HAUTE DIRECTION

| | Facteurs | Description | Étapes CRM | Étapes ERP |
|--|---|--|--|------------|
| | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | | | |
| | Support de la haute direction | Projet prioritaire | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Sensibilisation de la haute direction | Reconnaissance des besoins et enjeux du projet | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Participation de la haute direction | Des rencontres sont planifiées dans le calendrier du projet. | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |

Au niveau de l'implication de la haute direction et de ces trois facteurs, soit le support, la sensibilisation et la participation de celle-ci, les deux projets ont été correctement réalisés, puisque que la direction s'est impliquée lors de chacune des phases. Les participants ont été satisfaits du travail des hauts dirigeants et de leur collaboration tout au long du projet. Ces trois facteurs n'ont donc pas été responsables des délais, et ce pour les deux projets.

3.3 La définition du projet et l'organisation

Le tableau 7 présente les résultats de la catégorie Définition du projet et l'organisation

TABLEAU 7 –LA COMPARAISON DES FACTEURS RELIÉS À LA DÉFINITION DU PROJET ET L'ORGANISATION

| | Facteurs | Description | Étapes CRM | Étapes ERP |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | | | | |
| | Calendrier détaillé | Étendue, plan, calendrier et responsabilités | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Suivi et rétroaction | Échange d'information entre l'équipe de projet et les usagers | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Changement organisationnel | L'ensemble des processus d'affaires | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Projet lié à la stratégie | Vision et alignement organisationnel respecté | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases (lorsque applicable) | |
| | Buts et objectifs de l'implantation | Présence des buts stratégiques en terme économique | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases (lorsque applicable) | |
| | Effets rapides | Effets visibles, rapides, positifs, partiels du projet | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases (lorsque applicable) | |
| | Formation | Formation appropriée | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases (lorsque applicable) | |
| Phases problématiques | | | | |
| | Étude de faisabilité | L'ensemble du projet doit être évalué | Phase 1 problématique et 2 à 8 non applicable | Réalisé correctement à la phases 1 et 2 à 8 Non applicable |
| | Promotion du projet | Informers les autres employés de l'entreprise | Phases 3 à 8 problématiques | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |

Au niveau de la définition du projet et de l'organisation, six facteurs ont été suivis correctement pour les deux projets. Dans le cas du facteur relié au calendrier, ce dernier contenait les étapes importantes et le détail de celles-ci. Les participants connaissaient donc tous les détails concernant les livrables qui devaient être remis à chacune des étapes. Pour le suivi et de la rétroaction à l'intérieur des membres de l'équipe, ce facteur a été réalisé sur l'ensemble des étapes des deux projets. Toutefois, le niveau de rigueur était différent puisqu'un modèle de communication a été instauré pour l'équipe ERP suite au nombre important d'intervenants. Pour le lien du projet avec la stratégie, les participants de chacun des projets ont fourni des commentaires permettant d'identifier ce facteur comme assez bien suivi. Tout comme le facteur précédent, les buts et objectifs de l'implémentation ont été identifiés et divulgués principalement lors la première et deuxième phase pour les deux projets. Aucun problème n'est survenu, n'affectant ainsi pas la réussite de chacun des projets. Au niveau des effets visibles, les deux projets ont retenu de bons commentaires de la part des usagers finaux. La plupart des participants ont affirmé qu'il y avait des effets visibles principalement vers les dernières phases de chacun des projets.

Pour le changement organisationnel, l'ensemble des processus d'affaires concernés par le nouveau système a été révisé dans les deux projets. Toutefois, la différence réside du fait qu'il n'y a pas eu d'équipe responsable de la gestion du changement dans le projet CRM.

Pour la promotion du projet aux employés de l'entreprise, celle du projet ERP a été très bien réalisée puisqu'une équipe était responsable de la communication de tous les départements. Pour le projet CRM, elle n'a été réalisée que lors des deux premières phases. Après avoir recueilli tous les commentaires des participants, nous pouvons affirmer que la communication n'a pas été faite à tous les niveaux de l'entreprise. Ce facteur est donc considéré comme étant problématique, puisque les employés n'ont pas apprécié être tenus à l'écart en ignorant comment leur travail allait être affecté par les nouveaux systèmes. L'étude de faisabilité a été réalisée lors de la première phase, mais le résultat final est toutefois différent entre les deux projets. Le système ERP avait été implanté auparavant dans plusieurs autres filiales comparativement au projet CRM où l'équipe du Canada en était à sa première expérience. Au niveau du ERP, les coûts et la durée ont donc été respectés, comparativement au projet CRM qui a dépassé largement la durée prévue ainsi que les coûts. Ce facteur est considéré comme étant problématique.

3.4 Statut du projet

Le tableau 8 présente les résultats de la catégorie statut de projet. Selon les participants des deux projets, le budget a permis de fournir les ressources nécessaires aux projets. Toutefois, de l'aide supplémentaire aurait été nécessaire lors de certaines phases, mais le travail effectué par les membres ont permis de ne pas compromettre le succès du projet ERP et de ne pas empirer la situation de celui du CRM. En ce qui concerne le pouvoir de l'équipe, il s'est manifesté sur la durée complète du projet CRM et ERP. Il y avait toujours un minimum de deux répondants qui ont confirmé le pouvoir de l'équipe. Pour le plan d'investissement, il s'est déroulé correctement lors des premières phases, à la fois du côté ERP que CRM. Dans les deux cas, la majorité des répondants ont affirmé que cette tâche s'était déroulée lors de la phase planification et qu'elle n'était pas applicable aux autres phases.

Pour le statut du projet, les facteurs de l'échéancier de travail et de l'infrastructure TI comportent plusieurs différences entre les deux projets. Tout d'abord, pour l'échéancier de travail, le projet CRM n'a pas prévu du temps supplémentaire pour solutionner les imprévus. La majorité des tâches qui avait été prévue lors de la phase de planification ne se sont pas déroulées correctement, puisque les livrables du fournisseur ne correspondaient pas à ce qui avait été convenu. Pour l'infrastructure TI, le projet ERP a pu bénéficier du support du Groupe, comparativement au projet CRM dont l'aide ne s'est pas manifestée sur l'ensemble des phases.

TABLEAU 8 – LA COMPARAISON DES FACTEURS RELIÉS AU STATUT DU PROJET

| | Facteurs | Description | Étapes CRM | Étapes ERP |
|---|---------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | | | | |
| | Budget financier | Ressource financière assurée | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Pouvoir de l'équipe | Possibilité de prendre des décisions | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Plan d'investissement | Introduction formelle du projet d'implantation | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| Phases problématiques | | | | |
| | Échéancier de travail du projet | Calendrier de travail permettant les imprévus | 1 à 8 | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |
| | Infrastructure TI | Structure appropriée pour assurer l'implantation | 6 à 8 | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases (lorsque applicable) |

3.5 Systèmes d'information

Le tableau 9 présente les résultats de la catégorie Systèmes d'information

TABLEAU 9 – LA COMPARAISON DES FACTEURS RELIÉS AUX SYSTÈMES D'INFORMATION

| | Facteurs | Description | Étapes CRM | Étapes ERP |
|---|------------------------------|--|---|--|
| Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | | | | |
| | Expérience de l'implantation | Apprentissage obtenu par les membres de l'équipe | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Expérience de l'implantation | Individuel | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases | |
| | Systèmes patrimoniaux | Intégration avec les systèmes en place | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases (lorsque applicable) | |
| | Fiabilité du système | Facilité d'utilisation, répond aux besoins et changement possible (scalable) | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases (lorsque applicable) | |
| Phases problématiques | | | | |
| | Personnalisation du système | Limiter les modifications apportées à la version du fournisseur | 2 à 8 | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |

Au niveau de l'expérience de l'implantation, toutes les phases ont été réalisées correctement pour les deux projets. Tous les participants ont affirmé qu'un apprentissage avait été effectué lors de chacune des phases, à la fois sur le plan individuel qu'au niveau organisationnel. Lors des réunions, les points à améliorer étaient mentionnés. Du côté CRM, l'aspect le plus important a été la rencontre avec tous les intervenants au milieu du projet pour revoir le projet en entier et corriger les problèmes existants. Pour le projet ERP, ce type de rencontre n'a pas eu lieu, mais les réunions hebdomadaires ont eu l'effet désiré. De nombreux participants ont affirmé avoir apprécié cette expérience autant au niveau professionnel que personnel. Dans le cas des systèmes patrimoniaux, aucun commentaire négatif n'a été reçu de la part des membres de l'équipe CRM et ceux du ERP. C'est donc pour cette raison que l'on peut conclure que l'ensemble des phases ont été réalisées correctement. Pour ce qui est de la fiabilité du système, les répondants des deux projets ont affirmé que ce n'était pas applicable aux six premières phases, mais seulement aux étapes 7 et 8, soit le développement et test ainsi qu'à l'installation et implémentation du système. Les

deux projets ont notamment été retardés afin de satisfaire les besoins des usagers, comme il l'a été prévu initialement.

La personnalisation du système peut être identifiée comme étant problématique au projet CRM. Pour celui du ERP, les modifications apportées à la version du fournisseur qui a été désignée comme modèle pour l'ensemble des unités d'affaires ont été mineures comparativement au travail qui a été fait pendant le projet CRM. Plusieurs fonctions ont dû être programmées pour refléter les besoins de l'entreprise. Tout ce travail a eu un impact sur la durée et les coûts du projet. Les membres de l'équipe n'avaient pas prévu cette situation, puisqu'au départ, le fournisseur avait mentionné que peu de changements seraient requis pour répondre aux besoins de l'entreprise.

3.6 Les facteurs problématiques selon les phases d'implantation

Afin de bien identifier les facteurs problématiques, nous avons regroupé ceux-ci dans le tableau 10. Sur un total de 25 facteurs, les 6 facteurs présentés dans le tableau sont susceptibles d'avoir causé les problèmes lors de l'implantation CRM.

TABLEAU 10 –LES FACTEURS PROBLÉMATIQUES DU PROJET CRM

| Facteurs | Description | Étapes CRM | Étapes ERP |
|---------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Coopération avec le fournisseur | Fournisseur compétent et offre un haut niveau de service | Phases 1 à 7 Problématiques | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |
| Étude de faisabilité | L'ensemble du projet doit être évalué | Phase 1 problématique, et 2 à 8 non-applicable | Réalisé correctement à la phases 1 et 2 à 8 Non applicable |
| Promotion du projet | Informar les autres employés de l'entreprise | Phases 3 à 8 problématiques | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |
| Échéancier de travail du projet | Calendrier de travail permettant les imprévus | Phases 1 à 8 problématiques | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |
| Infrastructure TI | Structure appropriée pour assurer l'implantation | Phases 6 à 8 problématiques | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |
| Personnalisation du système | Limiter les modifications apportées à la version du fournisseur | Phases 2 à 8 problématiques | Réalisé correctement à toutes les phases |

Conclusion

Dans ce travail de recherche, nous nous sommes intéressés à l'implantation de systèmes d'information de gestion et plus précisément aux facteurs de succès de ces derniers. Une étude comparative a été réalisée au sein de l'entreprise DELTA sur deux projets d'implantation, soit un ERP et un CRM. Le premier avait été réalisé avec succès alors que le dernier a connu quelques problèmes s'étant traduit par le non-respect de la durée initiale et du budget alloué. Une liste de 25 facteurs de succès a été identifiée dans la littérature. Cette étude a permis de combiner ces facteurs en fonction des différentes étapes principales d'un projet d'implantation de systèmes d'information de gestion. Suite aux entrevues avec les intervenants des projets d'implantation, six facteurs ayant des impacts importants négatifs sur la durée et les coûts du projet ont été identifiés soit, la coopération avec le fournisseur, l'étude de faisabilité, la promotion du projet, l'échéancier de travail du projet, l'infrastructure TI, la personnalisation du système.

Les résultats obtenus sont basés uniquement sur une seule organisation, ce qui constitue la limite la plus importante de cette recherche. De plus, du fait que l'on retourne dans le temps de plusieurs années, le nombre de personnes qui ont pu être interviewées est limité puisque certaines d'entre elles ont quitté l'entreprise et d'autres ont changé de poste au sein de l'organisation.

Comme contribution pratique, cette étude, qui compare les facteurs de succès de deux systèmes différents (ERP et CRM) selon les différentes étapes d'implantation, permettra aux gestionnaires TI de bien identifier les facteurs de succès importants pour chaque étape.

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CAUSES AND REASONS OF BLOODLESS RESOLUTION IN 1956 INSURRECTION IN LA PAMPA

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Abstract

In 1956, on June 9th an armed conspiracy started in several places from Argentina against Eugenio Aramburu's government, led by generals Juan José Valle and Raúl Tanco, followed by military and civil groups identified with peronism. The insurrection was controlled in a few hours, the government implanted martial law, arrested more than one thousand people and made summaries to the assumed default leaders and suspecting persons. In some places they were executed, but in La Pampa province the insurrection was successful and the leaders took the government in fact. After being repressed, no execution was done, although there was an express order to do so. The aim of this paper is to research if the grade of engagement and following from military, police and penitentiary groups and the massive support of civil persons to the revolution was one of the causes or reasons to not materialize the execution in La Pampa. The analysis is qualitative and uses judicial files and oral testimonies by the protagonists taken up in interviews as issues.

Keywords

peronism – insurrection – execution

Introduction

In 1956, on June 9th an armed conspiracy started in several places from Argentina against Eugenio Aramburu's government, led by Generals Juan José Valle and Raúl Tanco, followed by military and civil groups identified with Peronism. The insurrection was controlled in a few hours, the government implanted martial law, arrested more than one thousand people and made summaries to the assumed default leaders and suspecting persons. In some places they were executed, but in La Pampa province the insurrection was successful and the leaders took the government in fact.

This revolution in La Pampa is closely linked to Army Colonel Adolfo César Philippeaux who had been punished for defending Peron's office in September 1955. By the end of this year, Colonel Philippeaux arrived in La Pampa in order to take charge of the Military District N° 65, his job being mostly administrative. Due to their common interest in boar hunting, he became friends with Agustín Nores Martínez, who was a former judge of the Peronist government in the

province. They talked about the National Recovery Movement and finally Colonel Philippeaux invited the judge to travel to Buenos Aires for the revolutionary command meeting organized by General Valle and the rest of the military men involved in the plot. They both committed themselves to the revolution and brought directives to start organizing the conspiracy⁸ in La Pampa.

The plan that took place in La Pampa respected, to a certain extent, the course of action prepared for the entire country but acquiring its own characteristics due to the restrictions or the opportunities present in the reality of the province and the initiative of those who accompanied Philippeaux in the insurrection. It is possible that if the plan had been solely on Captain Philippeaux's hands, he would have followed the 'master' plan to be applied along the country whose characteristics were the following: firstly, a small military command group, formed by NCO's and civilians, would take over the units of the army in various cities of the country; secondly, once the military units had been overpowered, the means of communications would be controlled; and lastly, the media would be used to gather the civilians who would also be given weapons belonging to the military as soon as they replied to the revolutionary calling⁹.

In the case of La Pampa, the rebels' goal was, literally, to show a revolutionary province armed against the national government lead by General Aramburu. Those who prepared the layout of the strategy were directly involved with Philippeaux: Regazzoli and Pizarro, ex-Commissioners of the police department of the province; Josepes, the Officer in charge of the Federal Police department; and the civilians Nores Martínez, Rodil and De Diego.

The strategy in La Pampa was to create a revolutionary group formed by police, military and penitentiary forces and as many civilians as possible. At the beginning, the plan seemed ambitious and even misconceived considering the way in which the revolutionary strategies were put into action along the country. But once Philippeaux and Nores Martínez returned to the province after the meeting with Valle in Buenos Aires, these tactics developed gradually in la Pampa. The remarkable part of this plan was that it had to be dealt with the utmost secrecy so that the government would not find out about the conspiracy, try to put an end to it or even weaken it. In this way, the rebels were to keep on participating in the revolution without too much knowledge about specific dates or goals¹⁰.

During the night of June 9th, 1956, the National Recovery Movement became a large and heterogeneous group. It started on one Saturday evening at eleven o'clock, with only thirty-five people, eleven officers and NCOs, twenty-one soldiers, and some policemen and civilians. These numbers changed by twelve and twelve-thirty a.m. since they had increased to over three hundred armed people among which were the entire Police department of La Pampa, the Federal Police department, penitentiary staff and more than a hundred civilians. Furthermore, the rebels had made a 'gentlemen pact' with the provincial

⁸ Philippeaux's testimony in judicial file N° 163/56 "Villamil, Edgardo Tomás y otros s/ rebelión". From now on the testimonies will be indicated with letter E followed by page number.

⁹ Philippeaux's testimony (E. 803).

¹⁰ Nores Martínez's testimony (E. 803).

regiments of General Pico and Toay which concentrated the military power in the province. According to this pact, these two military headquarters were going to support the revolution during the first stage but they were not going to intervene till Sunday morning if the rebels succeeded in their endeavour. On the contrary, if the revolution did not manage to impose itself and overthrow the government, both regiments should follow the order of the executive national power to repress the insurrection. This would give Philippeaux and his people time to escape.

Philippeaux and Commissioner-Major Amieva Saravia (the second in command of the 13th Toay Cavalry Regiment) agreed on the 'pact' while First Sergeant Clerk, Pedro Moreno¹¹ (one of Philippeaux's subordinates), was in charge of the agreement with the General Pico Regiment.

The support given by the federal and provincial police forces had different characteristics. The idea was not to have any of the agents directly involved and therefore a strategy was prepared: in both forces there were a lot of followers of Peronism and consequently, the National Recovery Movement this was the reason why an effort was made in order to commit their officers in charge or prestigious people within the force so that their example and influence could move the rest of the personnel towards the revolution. Police delegations from other parts of the province phoned to demand subordination once the rebels had controlled all the targets in Santa Rosa and had set up as a government¹².

The penal party joined at two in the morning on Sunday. The existence of a previous agreement with their director and Philippeaux made it possible that with only a phone call all political prisoners were released and the armed penitentiary personnel were sent to be at the revolution's disposal¹³.

The way to proceed with the civilians was very different and cautious. They were contacted one by one, they were told about the ongoing rebellion, and they were asked for discretion and alertness since, at the time of the uprising, they would be called by the local broadcasting to arm themselves in support of the movement.

The revolution itself (since its beginning until the rebels took over the city and set up a government) developed in a little more than half an hour and on the night of June 10th, at twenty to eleven, all targets had been controlled and the uprising had been successful.

Philippeaux's men first went to the province police headquarters, subdued it and added it to the rebels' side. Ex-Commissioner-Inspectors Pizarro and Regazolli's presence was very important to avoid more problems and gain the police force backup. Then, they took over the City Hall, the post office, and two of the local public divulgators which were used to broadcast rebel's radio shows, resulting in a noticeable success since many of the local inhabitants directed themselves to the Military District headquarters or the Police headquarters to be armed and showed themselves willing to fight for the revolution. The next target was the Federal Police that immediately joined the movement. In order for this to have

¹¹ Héctor Zolecio (Ferrari 2009) and Leda Martínez (cf. Ferrari 2011) testimonies on the 'gentlemen pact'.

¹² Philippeaux's testimony (E. 791).

¹³ Penal Director Alfredo Sánchez's testimony (E. 1012).

happened, it was very important the agreement between Colonel Philippeaux and the Police Officers: Josepes, Picarel, and Turdera. The State Radio was taken over from there and it was used to transmit all over the country. The penal party adhere to the movement a while later in the early morning hours. Philippeaux and Nores Martínez called and talked to Commissioner-Major Carlos Néstor Sarapura who was in charge of National Penal institutes, they got some of the political prisoners out of jail, and all the personnel available was sent to be at the rebel movement disposal except the ones that stayed at the Penal centre¹⁴ fulfilling their duties.

The success of the rebellion on June 9th, 1956 around the country depended on the time that took to control the targets and to mobilize the civilians. If the government managed to resist the assault and prolong its fall then the rebels would have fewer possibilities to make it happen. This event made it easier for Valle's plan not to be forgotten and it was considered as an open possibility if the situation ever changed. This plan was not a coup but only a general insurrection.

From the beginning La Pampa opted for the insurrection plan of all the forces and perhaps that was one of the reasons why the National Recovery Movement succeeded in taking control of the province. However the failure of uprisings in the rest of the country left alone the revolution in La Pampa, thus imposing the surrender or the possibility of resistance without any prospect of victory and with a possible high human cost. So, before this national background, on Sunday morning at eight, when it was already clear that the national government had successfully suppressed the uprising throughout the territory and the 13th Toay Cavalry Regiment was about to suppress Santa Rosa under the president's orders, Philippeaux ordered the retreat to save his and his men lives, since he knew that the perpetrators would be killed.

1. Analysis of the facts and results in La Pampa: Interpretative hypotheses on the revolution

An analytical scheme was developed to account for the different interpretations about the repression and the massacre of June 1956 in Argentina in order to organize this issue in a coherent manner (cf. Ferrari and Lejarraga 2011). Three interpretative hypotheses were proposed in the scheme: a) the 'punishment' theory: the massacre gave Peronism an exemplary punishment, not for its rising up in arms against the government but for its identity as a political group, and sent an intimidatory message to the rest of the society (González Crespo 1993; Melón Pirro 2009; Massot 2003 and Spinelli 2005); b) the 'Civil War' theory: it held that the drastic measures had the purpose to avoid greater damages, which could be the possible beginning of a Civil War (Gentiluomo 1970; Potash 1994; Rouquié 1982; Massot 2003); and c) 'desperonization'¹⁵ theory: it assumes that

¹⁴ For a detailed description of the events during that night see Ferrari (2011: 81-99).

¹⁵ '*Desperonización*' (des-Perón-iz-ación) consists in a series of political measures attributed by Aramburu and Rojas against peronism movement and peronist people. These dictators objective was to eradicate peronism from argentine society, in a way material but also symbolical. So, Aramburu government arrested hundreds of peronist leaders; increased special commissions to investigate the assumed irregularities that Juan Perón government had committed; controlled CGT and its labor unions; dissolved Eva Perón Foundation; derogated the Constitution sanctioned in 1949; prohibited taking

the executions were part of a repressive policy by the government of Eugenio Aramburu against Peronism (Prieto 1963; Walsh ¹1972; Massot 2003; James 2003).

From these three interpretative hypotheses, the 'punishment' and the 'desperonization' theories represent a writ of execution which was approved before the events in June: in other words, this decree does not justify the rebellion in June, but acts as an excuse to carry out the massacre. Regarding the 'Civil War' theory, it implies a reaction of punishment to a subversive act before further consequences, and therefore a consequence which is justified in the reported events.

It is important to indicate that the will of punishment to a political group was previous to the rebellion of June 9th, and that the government used that fact as a pretext to materialize its intention to execute. This was evinced when the government, once aware of the complot, decreed the martial law and the way the military courts should proceed. The government also acted selectively to weaken the movement but allowed its continuation to begin the massacre before June 1956 and to apply an exemplary punishment to Peronism (Ferrari 2011).

From these points of views, the best options with which to approach the issue are the 'punishment' and 'desperonization' theories since both have similarities as regards the evaluation of the methodology employed by the government, its justification, and its ultimate goal¹⁶.

2. Reasons for shooting

Furthermore, if the intention would have been the 'desperonization' of the Argentine society, why were there only twenty seven shootings? And why shooting people who were not (or had never been) at that time important figures of the Peronist government? In June 1956, General Valle was not aware of the symbolic dimension that all his decisions would acquire inside Peronism after his death. Neither was conscious of their importance the rest of the soldiers and civilians who participated in the movement by Valle's side and were killed. Their deaths were in a way 'anonymous', that is to say, they were part of a whole which was the Peronist party.

The different executions carried out during those days show that there was a decision to shoot and to apply a 'punishment' to Peronism, and that the shooting

possession of government functions to those who had done so before military coup of September 1955; declared Partido Peronista as an illegal movement; prohibited photographs, portraits and sculptures of peronist functionaries, the peronist shield, the peronist songs, the dates dealing with peronism history and the use of words such as *peronismo*, *justicialismo* and *tercera posición*. Also political labor measures were adopted, which followed three principal action lines: a) legal proscription of syndical peronist leaders; b) repression and intimidation against syndicalism and its popular activists; and c) rationalization and productivity of labor, measures taken with the consent of promoters (see Spinelli 2005; James 2006; Melón Pirro 2009).

¹⁶ It would also be possible to consider the possibility of 'Civil War' as a different way of analysis. Surely, paper's results will be different if we do so. But, to arrive to conclusions in that way, it would be necessary a further examination that is not our objective in this occasion.

was not the real punishment that victims had to pay for rising up against the government but an excuse for being part of that conspiracy¹⁷.

On the night of June 9th and the afternoon of June 10th, similar episodes occurred in all the places where there were executions, except in La Plata. The executions were ordered via a telephone call in which a representative of the executive power, the minister Osorio Arana or the head of the police of the province of Buenos Aires Fernández Suárez ordered to shoot the people under arrest. The police officer or the military that picked up the phone and had to execute the perpetrator sought the way to retard or not to comply with the order he had received. In Santa Rosa this strategy was successful and the military who receive the phone order to shoot Osorio Arana prevented his assassination in La Pampa. Nevertheless, in the rest of the country the order to kill was fulfilled despite the objections of the ones commanded to do it (Ferrari 2011). In La Pampa Federal Inspector Martín Garmendia suggested to the chief of Regiment that he shoot some of the prisoners due to the claims made by the civilians who were part of the repression in the province. The General in charge of the legal proceedings was ordered to enforce the death penalty to the responsible of the revolution by Military Minister Osorio Arana, however he avoided to comply with it¹⁸.

3. Causes and reasons of bloodless resolution in La Pampa

Of all the sites where the uprisings took place on June 9th, 1956, La Pampa was, undoubtedly, the place where there were a lot of reasons to shoot. There, all the participants were quickly captured and put into prison while the martial law was in force. The main responsible, Colonel Philippeaux, was brought from San Luis on Monday 11th and on Tuesday 12th at ten a.m. he was declaring in the Penal Colony of Santa Rosa before a military judge. The eleven NCO's of the military district, Philippeaux's accomplices, were also put into prison immediately as well as the twenty one soldiers who were serving the military service in the military delegation and who had participated in the revolution. Dozens of federal police officers, penitentiary personnel and nearly two hundred civilians were captured and imprisoned. Taking into account the 'motivations' used in the rest of the country to execute in those days, and considering that the time that elapsed since one of the participants surrendered and was interrogated and sentenced to death was in all cases a few hours, the prisoners in La Pampa fit perfectly in the situation provided by the martial law. Then, a question that arises when analyzing the facts on June 9th, 1956 in La Pampa is: why those responsible of the rebellion were not shot?

La Pampa was the only place where the rebellion was successful and the National Recovery Movement was established as a *de facto* government. Police officers who did not adhere to the insurrection were arrested and many civilians, government officials from the province and officials from the judicial power were put in jail. However, the failure of the uprising in the rest of the country declared the rebellion in Santa Rosa, which being the last stronghold of the rebels, decided its retirement from the combat with the forces of repression due to the

¹⁷ This is evident in the shootings of Campo de Mayo and José León Suárez (cf. Ferla 2007; Ferrari 2011).

¹⁸ Aquiles José Regazzoli's oral testimonie (Peduto y Galcerán 1994).

unequal correlation of forces which would end in a senseless bloodshed, because everything was already lost.

Having established that the decision to shoot was taken by the government when it learnt about the conspiracy before it occurred, that the main purpose of the group was to 'punish' Peronism, and that the execution was not the penalty victims should pay for rebelling against the government and their integration of that conspiracy was the excuse to shoot them, what circumstance, then, prevented the execution of the detainees in La Pampa?

The answer to the previous question lies in the way in which the revolutionary strategy in La Pampa and the content of the group of rebels, which that night were established as the government, were outlined.

In the province all police, military and penitentiary forces as well as hundreds of civilians were with the revolution. After the crackdown, all of them, civilians, police and penal officers were imprisoned in the Penal Colony and others in the Hospital due to the lack of room, being large the number of captured prisoners. The 13th Toay Cavalry Regiment obeyed the order to suppress, although it was unwilling to violate its 'gentlemen pact' with Philippeaux; in addition, General Lambardi, who was in charge of the interrogation and was ordered to shoot, quickly realized that there was an unclear connection between the 13th Regiment and the rebels, for the Regiment had been all night without intervening with sufficient forces to suppress any rebellion. At the time to shoot, Lambardi discovered the following situation: all military, police, and penal forces in the province had some degree of responsibility in the events, so there was not any possibility, whether material or political, to kill those responsible. Precisely, the suggestion by the federal auditor Martín Garmendia to the Head of the Regiment to carry out "24 executions to pacify the province" has to do with the reality he should face since that time, to continue ruling the province, with all the defense and security forces along with a great part of the citizenry against him. The 'suggestion' also fits in the claim to 'punish' Peronism since, on the one hand, it was intended to eliminate the civilian heads and the different forces that had risen up in arms, and on the other hand, it was planned to send a clear message to those who dared defy the national government.

Conclusion

In 1956 the revolution against President Aramburu had very specific characteristics in La Pampa. The rebels controlled Santa Rosa in less than twenty minutes: in a quick operation the conspirator group took over the headquarters of the military district, units of the province and federal police, the government house, the state radio, the post office and the penal colony. But even though the rebels were successful in La Pampa, in June 10th, they were defeated and some of the participants were imprisoned although no one was shot.

As we can see, the case of La Pampa is relevant in the national context of the revolution in 1956 for two reasons: firstly, it was the only place in the country in which the rebels established a government for a few hours; and secondly, after being repressed, no leader or suspecting person was executed, although there was an express order to do so.

In this paper we have tried to prove that the grade of engagement and adhesion by military, police and penitentiary groups and the massive support of civil persons to the revolution was one of the causes or reasons to not materialize the execution in La Pampa. In order to do that, this text has located the facts from June 1956 in La Pampa and focused on the oral testimonies of the participants in the statements taken from judicial acts after the rebellion was repressed and from the journalistic sources that show this particular situation.

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HOMOPHOBIA IN A PORNUTOPIA: THE ECONOMICS OF SEX IN JOHN CLELAND'S MEMOIRS OF A WOMAN OF PLEASURE

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Abstract

This paper will investigate the homosexual encounters in the John Cleland's novel *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748), scenes which have received little critical attention. Despite writing a novel which presents a cornucopia of sexual practice, Cleland sees only *male* homosexuality as aberrant because it upsets economic and patriarchal balance. The novel can be read as a celebration of female sexuality where women embrace their libido and revel in their power over male desire and money. However, the novel is not entirely liberal in its portrayal of all sexual proclivities since it sanctions only heterosexual practices and bourgeois marriage.

Keywords

Literature - Pornography - Economics

Introduction

With respect to sexuality, Foucault wrote, "rather than the uniform concerns to hide sex, rather than a general prudishness of language, what distinguishes these last three centuries is the variety, the wide dispersion of devices that were invented for speaking about it, for having it spoken about, for inducing it to speak for itself" (134). In many respects John Cleland (1709-1789) and his novel *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748) are responsible for helping to eliminate this 'prudishness of language' in describing sexual experience. The novel is replete with metaphors which pull from chivalric and pastoral literature in order to place sex and desire in a utopic (or pornutopic) world. The standard view of the novel is that it objectifies women; Fanny and her sisters in sex are the objects of desire by both the male characters and predominantly male readers. However, the novel is also a celebration of female sexuality where women embrace their libido as natural and revel in their power over male desire. In short, the prostitutes are not passive in the sexual relationships, but in control of

both male desire and male money. According to Daniel Defoe, the eighteenth century was an age of capitalism which saw marriage reduced to “legalized prostitution” as women became another product on the market. Cleland’s novel, however, portrays a group of women who are actively involved in the market economy, participating in the exchange of services and cash. This being said, however, one must not assume that the novel is entirely liberal in its portrayal of all sexual proclivities. While the novel appears to have a liberal attitude towards sex and endorses almost all types of sexual behavior, it is actually a conservative sanction of heterosexual practices and bourgeois marriage. This homophobic stance can be attributed, not just to religious or social ideas of propriety, but also to capitalism and the inability of male homosexuality to contribute to the English economy. This paper will investigate the homosexual encounters (both male and female) in the novel and how Cleland sees only male homosexuality as aberrant because it upsets economic and patriarchal balance.

John Cleland is best remembered today as the author of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* or what is now more popularly called *Fanny Hill*. He wrote other novels, plays and poetry, medical treatises, linguistic studies and political tracts, all of which are now entirely forgotten, and in his day received only mediocre reviews. What keeps his name alive today is this early piece of pornography, a work he regretted and produced only to secure himself liberty from debtor’s prison. It brought him shame and little money and, in later years, he described it as “a Book I disdain to defend, and wish, from my Soul, buried and forgot” (Foxon 54).

The eighteenth century was not as prudish as the periods before and after it. With the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, England saw a general laxity in the policing and prosecution of prostitutes. While there were a number of Societies for the Reformation of Manners formed to bring prostitutes before the courts, “the whore was a seemingly ineluctable and indestructible element in city life” (Hufton 320) and was only prosecuted when she troubled the king’s highways or when charged with another felony like theft. In general, these women were driven to prostitution by economic expediency; with too few legitimate employment opportunities open to women, incomes were supplemented with the proceeds from paid sex. The word pornography, a term applied to erotic literature of all periods, actually dates from the Victorian period and means “whore writing’ or “writing by or about whores” (Kendrik 14). Cleland’s text is a product of Restoration and libertine literature, particularly drama which David Loth describes as “the most licentious in the language, or in almost any language” (80). Congreve, Otway, Wycherley, and Dryden were mainstays of Restoration drama and, though popular in their day, are rarely performed today without some expurgation. The Earl of Rochester introduces one of his own plays with the claim that it is “the most debauch’d heroick piece/that e’er was wrote...” (4). Compared with the sexual expressions of these writers, Cleland appears almost demure in his metaphoric descriptions of heterosexual coupling.

Memoirs was Cleland’s reaction to two things; the first was the coarseness of libertine literature as just described. Cleland felt he could create a work that was equally as erotic as that produced earlier, but far more refined in language. In short, he felt that erotica could and should present sexual pleasure without the offensive language as characterized by novels like *L’École des Filles* (1655) by Michel Millot. Cleland was also reacting against what he felt to be the hypocrisy

of Samuel Richardson's highly influential novel *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740) which took London by storm. Henry Fielding and Cleland were among the cynics who rejected what they saw to be the sanctimonious preaching of Richardson and responded with *Shamela* (1741), *Joseph Andrews* (1742), both by Fielding, and *Memoirs*. Thus a debate about female sexuality was opened – are women saintly virgins like Pamela, scheming whores like Shamela, or women who pursued sexual pleasure like Fanny? *Memoirs* offers, in Cleland's own words, "stark naked truth" that is not afraid of "violating those laws of decency" that earlier erotica did (as quoted in Kendrik 153). In fact, Cleland initially viewed his novel and its new form of erotic description as a type of reform to the genre.

Cleland's novel is a cornucopia of sexual practice: orgies, rape, voyeurism, flagellation, daisy chains, and lesbian encounters are all presented for the titillation of the reader. In fact, Fanny's initial seduction is at the hands of her sexual tutor Phoebe, and Fanny describes her sexual pleasure with Phoebe as "transported, confused, and out of myself" (11). However, this delight is only transitory and Fanny soon longs for heterosexual encounters; as John Beynon states, there is an "ultimately unsatisfactory nature of such [Sapphic] pleasures, which pale next to those induced by heterosexual sex" (3). After Fanny encounters an erect penis, "that wonderful machine" (Cleland 25), and enjoys its delights, she moves beyond this lesbian phase and enters a heterosexual pornutopia. This is a world in which all forms of heterosexual experience are legitimate and eventually lead to the domestic (yet still erotic) world. In short, just as the sentimental novel sexualizes domesticity, hard-core fiction domesticates sexuality.

In this pornutopia, it is not sex or sexuality that defines the prostitute but her economic contributions to society, and it is her free movement through and interaction with male society that is most important in Cleland's text. He imagines a sexual world in which business and pleasure are perfectly mixed and benefit both genders. In her text on coquettes and their role in eighteenth-century society and literature, Theresa Braunscheider argues that the literary figure of the prostitute gains widespread purchase around this period "largely because she offers a model of consumer behavior" (40). The eighteenth century marks England's great economic boom and the fictional prostitute is often portrayed as the consumer of the goods produced in that boom. The coquette is associated with both consumerism and deviance and, as such, she is associated with "the complexities of a world in which the new values of the marketplace associate social good with traits long deemed worldly vices" (41). Bernard Mandeville articulates these ideas in his *Fable of the Bees* (1714):

...Luxury

Employ'd a Million of the Poor,

And odious *Pride* a Million more.

Envy it self, and *Vanity*

Were Ministers of Industry;

Their darling Folly, *Fickleness*

In Diet, Furniture, and Dress,

That strange ridic'ulous Vice, was made

The very Wheel, that turn'd the Trade. (l. 180-88)

Mandeville proposes that, while individual honesty, frugality, prudence, and modesty are perfectly respectable attributes, they will not drive a thriving national economy; the luxuries widely available to British customers in the early 1700s require a population of consumers actuated by fickleness, vanity, acquisitiveness, imprudence, and the pursuit of pleasure. The prostitute thus embodies what are perceived to be the worst tendencies in female nature as well as what constitutes the model consumer.

Because the prostitute's social purpose is to circulate among men, her form of exchange is first and foremost economic. As Douglas Steward writes, "the activities of a 'woman of pleasure' have become equivalent to the great world of commerce investment and stock-trading" (390). In Cleland's novel, Mrs. Brown's brothel represents a fiercely competitive microcosm of the larger English market economy. Fanny herself describes Mrs. Brown's view of her prostitutes as "fresh goods...for the use of her customers, and her own profit" (Cleland 7). Fanny quickly becomes aware of the fierce competition in the brothel where women are viewed as mere objects of exchange – pleasure for money.

Cleland combines heterosexual practices with contemporary economics in his depiction of idealized brothel life. While the novel describes alternative sexual practices, it seems to present heterosexuality as "the only game in town" (Elfebine 32) and Cleland, through Fanny, rejects anything but heterosexual coupling; the novel ends, after all, with the bourgeois marriage of Fanny and Charles. The middle section of the novel is comprised only of sexual escapades in typical picaresque fashion that fill in the period of their separation. For many of Fanny's working friends, their career as a prostitute ends happily with either a marriage or a return to the family fold. Despite this apparent endorsement of heterosexuality, Cleland offers an alternative to the heterosexual and bourgeois ideologies. While Fanny does seem to outgrow female sexual pleasure after she gets married and, as such, the novel seems to glorify the bourgeois marriage as the ultimate accomplishment for women, the novel does continue to highlight the potentially liberating powers of female intimacy and homosexuality for women.

Cleland creates a fantasy world – a pornotopia – in his descriptions of brothel life. His prostitutes revel in sexual pleasure, become immensely wealthy, maintain perfect health, avoid unwanted pregnancy, and form strong bonds between themselves. Thus, Cleland creates an all-female community based on pleasure and profit – the erotic and the economic. Kate Levin describes this world as "a fantasy world of commercial relations that are often mutually satisfying and beneficial" (333). Mrs. Cole, the second madam for whom Fanny works, is described as an excellent business manager, "content[ing] herself with a moderate living profit upon her industry and good offices, and had nothing of their greedy rapacious turn never woman delighted more in encouraging a brisk circulation of the trade, for the sake of the trade itself" (Cleland 88). The brothel is presented to the public in domestic terms, having as its front a millinery shop where in the "outer-parlour or shop" (Cleland 93) three demure, young ladies provide a cover for the real commercial traffic of the establishment. By combining the domestic (the parlour) with the economic (the shop), Cleland blurs the lines between the female and male spheres. The prostitute thus can effectively cross between both worlds in an age which was seeing the allocation of the domestic exclusively to the female. In a sense, Cleland's fantasy of an

economic utopia for women relies on women's ability to recognize their status as a commodity in a patriarchal market, and then manipulate that market to their own ends. As Beynon states, their awareness "of their hyper-commodified status, both as women in a patriarch society and...as women whose bodies are literally exchanged in a world of trade, allows them to recognize their status [and] to exercise a degree of control" over the system (15).

In addition, this all-female cooperative is idealized in the text. While open lesbianism does not seem to be an accepted, permanent possibility in the novel, female gaze is certainly eroticized. Cleland's novel seems to view female desire for fellow females as a normal phase in sexual development. As Lillian Faderman notes, lesbian relations are "lightly regarded as an initiation into heterosexual intercourse" (9). Once Fanny moves from Mrs. Brown's brothel where she was tutored by Phoebe, she is taken up by Mrs. Cole and her bevy of young ladies. Here Fanny's fellow prostitutes form a loving family of sorts. As Lisa Moore points out, the orgy scene in the novel which requires each participant to be paired off in opposite sex couples sees "the male participants become hazy figures serving as a backdrop to female ecstasy ... [while] the prostitutes exchange knowing glances and assist one another in maintaining their sexual poses. For these women, the heterosexual encounter is not enough to consummate their sexual revels" (19). This "little troop of love" (Cleland 125) appropriate each heterosexual encounter for themselves by channeling their sexual ecstasies toward one another and showering one another with "compliments and caresses" (Cleland 125). Fanny describes Mrs. Cole's brothel and the heterosexual transactions of both business and pleasure that take place there as a "little Seraglio" (Cleland 95). In Cleland's day, Europeans had a long tradition of characterizing the seraglio as a female utopia, "forbidden to men's view" and evoking "heightened libidinal desire with homoerotic overtones in the Western women who describe them" (Nussbaum 137). Cleland's comparison of the London brothel to an exotic harem would have obvious connotations of Sapphic desires for contemporary readers. This sexual bond, however, is temporary and replaced by a more socially acceptable and economically viable heterosexual bond. At the end of her time as a prostitute, Fanny returns to the bourgeois life of wife to Charles and mother to at least one son. Economically, Fanny has made a considerable fortune as a prostitute and is thus an even more desirable partner for her beloved Charles. In short, despite her initial Sapphic inclinations, Fanny is able to conform to the desired, accepted heterosexual, bourgeois ideal of eighteenth-century society.

Lesbian relations are not viewed in the same way as male homosexuality in this novel. Sapphism is mentioned in the Bible only briefly¹⁹ and Christian tradition developed no clearly focused image of the female homosexual. 'Lesbianism' as a term is an invention of the nineteenth century. In the early-modern period, there was no recognized sex without a penis. As Hufton states "if an action is not defined, then it is not punishable in itself" (259). Western society has tended to treat lesbian relations as a secular vice rather than a religious sin, and no monstrous figure equivalent to the Sodomite has arisen. Literary traditions of the lesbian are more likely to draw upon the classical tradition of the excessively

¹⁹ Romans 1, 26-27 states "For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature.

lascivious woman, and her lust is more likely to be part of a wide range of vices in which same-sex love plays only a part. Unlike long history of punishment for sodomy, women in England were not tried for homosexual relations until 1792 and those trials were few in number. Sodomy, however, was another issue entirely. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sodomy became a concern for a broad section of the public which was convinced that sodomites were a curious and probably dangerous species essentially different from other men. The wide public concern was due in part to the clamor for moral reform that swept England after the fall of the Stuart monarchy in 1688. In England for example, Societies for the Reformation of Manners were created in the 1690s to hunt down blasphemers, drunkards, whoremasters, and – the group that most alarmed them – sodomites. In his essay *Whoredom* (1720) Jeremy Collier (1650-1726) wrote that “in ancient Times, these Criminals were burnt by Common Law. Indeed such Monsters ought to be the Detestation of Mankind, pursued by Justice, and exterminated from the earth” (quoted in Crompton 35). A German Protestant theologian Johann Michaelis (1717-92) wrote “[sodomy] will be the greatest force of depopulation and weakness, not in its initial stages but three or four generations later. Not only does sodomy weaken marriage... and aid and abet him who refuses to raise a family...[it brings] the nation...to the brink of destruction” (quoted in Greenberg 322). Marriage was often used as a cover since it was widely believed that a married man could not be a sodomite. In short, if marriage bonds and families are destroyed because men find sodomy more compelling than domestic virtue, then there is only a short distance to the destruction of civilization itself. As Bryne Fone states, “sodomites disturbed the accepted order of male and female. ... Posing as weakened and passive quasi-man, a sodomite would cause unhappiness to both married and marriageable women and bring about the destruction of the family” (242). In order to rid society of this threat to its existence, sodomites were tried and brutally executed in great numbers during the eighteenth century.

Although *Memoirs* is filled with instances of aberrant sexual practice, homosexual acts between men are either made comic with identity confusion or made horrific and presented as deviant. The first instance involves Emily, one of Fanny’s fellow prostitutes, who attends a masquerade ball in the guise of a shepherd. There, she is seduced by a gentleman who mistakes her for a boy, and who is sorely disappointed when he discovers at the last moment that she is not. However, he overcomes this disappointment and, as Fanny states, “he got with much ado whip and spur to his journey’s end” (156). Emily is rewarded with a “present not any thing inferior to what she could have expected” (156). In other words, Emily is handsomely paid for her services, regardless of her gender, and thus accomplishes the economic transactions so essential to brothel economy. In another episode that has a hint of homoeroticism, Fanny encounters a young sailor who whisks Fanny off to a nearby pub for a quick encounter. In his urgency, which Fanny attributes to “a long fast at sea”, he bends Fanny over a table and “knock[s] desperately at the wrong [door]” (140). When Fanny attempts to correct the error, the sailor mutters “Pooh ... any port in a storm” (141), before altering his course, much to Fanny’s relief. While Fanny innocently attributes his choice of position to exigency, her amorous sailor is actually employing a common homosexual technique. His ‘any port in a storm’ statement not only applies to the orifice he is selecting but also to the sexual partner he would have access to while at sea. Homosexuality in the British navy was a

common source of anxiety and this appears to be reflected in Fanny's encounter. However, both of these men overcome their sexual inclinations and are able to perform heterosexual acts.

These are humorous instances of sexual confusion and are corrected by the prostitute's expertise in handling her man. However, one instance of "arbitrary taste" (Cleland 144) that Fanny is unable to condone involves two sodomites whom Fanny spies on while at a public house. Fanny claims that she watches "so criminal a scene" through to the end, despite being disgusted by it, in order to "gather more facts ... in order to raise the house upon them" (159). However, she and the reader are witness to the entire sexual encounter and she graphically describes it in erotic detail. Thus, while the "preposterous pleasure" (157) is condemned by Fanny (and Cleland), we become voyeurs to the erotic moment. This, however, is the one sexual act to which Fanny objects. Because this is not the only instance of homoerotic love in the text and is no less aberrant than any of the others, one is left to wonder why it is the only one that is condemned by narrator and author alike. Considering the general revulsion felt by society for sodomites, it is not surprising that Cleland would take this stance. Although the scene is erotic in its description, the author must take the socially expected and accepted stance of horror and condemnation. In the pornutopia of the novel, the sodomite represents an indifference to participating in exchanges of female bodies and thus threatens the economics of exchange. Despite Sapphic desires, women are able to participate (willingly or unwillingly) in heterosexual relationships; thus bourgeois domesticity can be maintained, at least in appearance. As Mrs. Cole informs Fanny, male homosexuality is objectionable specifically because it has too limited an audience, noting that it is the "common cause of womankind, out of whose mouths this practice tended to take something more precious than bread" (159) or, in other words, takes away a woman's means of subsistence. Thus, the act of sodomy in a pornutopia becomes an act that is counterproductive in an economic system. Unlike Sapphics or libertines who can still function in the bourgeois domestic sphere, sodomites provide no support to the English economic system. Mrs. Cole succinctly sums up the impact of such sexual practice on English society – "that whatever effect this infamous passion had in other ages, and other countries, it seem'd a peculiar blessing on our air and climate, that there was a plague-spot visibly imprinted on all that are tainted with it, in this nation at least" and ends by labeling them "unsex'd male-misses" (159-160).

Conclusion

While some view Cleland's novel as antifeminist with its trafficking of women as commodities in a patriarchal society, his text is actually a revisioning of female society in which pleasure and profit are combined in a secret Seraglio where women form and foster bonds with other women that would otherwise be difficult to create and maintain. This is, however, an imaginary world and the women of the novel end with heterosexual futures that are viewed as necessary and abrupt endings to the Sapphic adventures that the brothel offers. Thus, even the novel itself is restrained by the marketplace's demands for bourgeois conventions. However, unlike Andrew Elfenbien's claim that that *Memoirs* offers a "tunnel vision of genital heterosexuality" (32), the novel revels in the possibility of "exchanges without identifiable terms" (Irigaray 196). Exchanges, however, must

be economically profitable and for that reason, male homosexuality cannot exist in an otherwise permissive pornutopia.

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THE ROAST BEEF OF OLD ENGLAND – THE BIRTH OF GASTRO-NATIONALISM IN POST-RESTORATION ENGLAND

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Abstract

This paper will investigate culinary nationalism or gastro-politics with beef as the central representation of cultural identity. What began as a seventeenth-century dispute between professional chefs in England and France culminated in jingoism by the end of the eighteenth century. While chefs initially quibbled over technique and content, later pundits used economics and religion to differentiate the two nations' cuisines. Beef became the central metaphor for all that was believed to be truly English and threatened by French gastronomy. The exportation of culture is one of the effects of globalization, and in the development of the new French cuisine in the seventeenth century we see the first signs of such an export, and its perceived threat to national identity.

Keywords

Gastro-politics – Beef – Culinary history

Introduction

Hanging in London's Tate Gallery is an odd work by William Hogarth, the English painter of satiric moral works like *Marriage à la Mode* and *The Rake's Progress*. The Hogarth hanging in the Tate, however, is different in that it is not a scathing commentary on English society. Instead, it provides a disparaging comment about the French, using a large haunch of meat as a metaphor for all that is good about England. The picture, entitled *The Gate of Calais, or O, The Roast Beef of Old England* (1748), looks simple enough: in the centre, a porter who, with his white cap and apron, stands out among the squalor of the street and staggers under the weight of a large side of beef. Blessing (or perhaps caressing) the sirloin, is a rotund Franciscan friar. Three hags huddle around a ray with its unsettlingly human-like face turned towards the viewer. A Scottish Highlander, a refugee from the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, huddles against a wall in the right

foreground, emaciated by his French fare of bread crust and onion. French soldiers look longingly at the massive side of beef as they carry a cauldron of *soupe maigre* or thin soup – a watery concoction made from vegetables or fish with a few condiments and little flavor – the perceived staple of French diet. The gates themselves resemble a gaping maw ready to gorge on the malnourished inhabitants of the city. The anti-French, anti-Papist sentiments are obvious with food as the metaphor for all that is Gallic and inferior compared to all that is Britannic and superior. What is English is, of course, the haunch of beef, destined, according to the inscription on its label, “For Madm. Grandsire at Calais”. Grandsire was the name of the landlord of the *Lion d’Argent*, the inn at Calais favored by English travelers. Unlike the poor, malnourished French, the English at least dine well in Calais. Hogarth’s painting is a physical representation of the culinary nationalism or gastro-politics that had been festering between the two nations for the last 100 years. What began as a dispute between professional chefs culminated in chauvinistic patriotism by the eighteenth century.

1. European food prior to the interregnum

Prior to the sixteenth century, foods and their preparations were principally the same amongst most countries of North-Western Europe. The table of a French nobleman would be, basically, indistinguishable from an Englishman’s. The same was also true for the peasant classes. The English Interregnum (1649-1660), however, saw a drastic change in political structures, but also a revolution in English culinary technique. The restoration of the English monarchy in 1660 saw a class conflict develop over food and its cultural and religious implications. The puritanical gentry of England resisted the French influence on cuisine to which the exiled court had become accustomed. At the same time, French cuisine was developing its own identity, but in a distinctly disparate way.

Comments by foreign travelers to England at this time are not complimentary of English food. Pehr Kalm (1892), a Norwegian who visited England in 1748, wrote, “Englishmen understand almost better than any other people the art of properly roasting a joint which also is not to be wondered at; because the art of cooking as practiced by most Englishmen does not extend much beyond roast beef and plum pudding” (192). English food contained an excessive amount of meat by most European standards. It was also still heavily medieval in its taste, relying largely on spices to mask the tastes and smells of meat that was not particularly at its prime. Using spices such as mace, cinnamon, cardamom, cloves and pepper, most dishes would have tasted a great deal like today’s curries.

A clearer description of this sort of English cuisine can be found in cookbooks of the period. Cookbooks were becoming more common and several of the more famous English cookbooks were written by women, a thing uncommon in France. One such book was authored by Hannah Wooley (1675) and provides a recipe for *olio*, a fairly common dish: “Take a Rump of Beef, or some of a Brisket or Buttock, cut it to pieces; a Loin of Mutton with the Fat taken off, and a fleshy piece of a Leg of Veal, or a knuckle, a piece of inter-larded Bacon, three or four Onions or some Garlic, and if you will, a Capon or two, or else three great Tame-Pigeons” (np). To this enormous amount of meat is added a few root vegetables and spices such as saffron, nutmeg and cloves. The emphasis on meat and the many strong spices is typical of medieval cuisine.

2. Changes in french cuisine

Up to the seventeenth century, English and French cuisines were relatively similar in style, ingredient and flavor. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, culinary pathways began to diverge. While English tastes and cuisine remained relatively static, French gastronomy departed on a course that has left its mark to the present day. In seventeenth-century France, writers such as Nicholas de Bonnefons, a valet in the court of Louis XIV, encouraged cooks to use the freshest ingredients and stressed purity, simplicity and complimentary flavors. This culinary philosophy was far removed from the heavy mélange of highly spiced dishes that was the food of the medieval and Renaissance periods. The new cuisine was concerned with enhancing the flavor of the principle ingredients rather than masking them with strong spices. The trend was to produce food that was light and delicate with the emphasis on flavor rather than extravagance and complexity. De Bonnefons referred to this as "le vrai goût" (Bonnefons 238). For example, when describing soups, de Bonnefons is emphatic about purity of flavor, stating, "A cabbage soup should taste entirely of cabbage. A leek soup of leeks, a turnip soup of turnips, and thus to the others food should taste what it is" (217).

These developments in cuisine culminate in the publication of François de la Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François* (1651). La Varenne was the chef de cuisine to the Marquis d'Uxelles; however, he is most noted for his cookbooks which are the first record of this new style of gastronomy that was developing in France. La Varenne directs his text to the "fellows in the profession" (Preface), clearly contrary to the trend in England where recipe books were becoming more and more the province of women, both in their writing and use. La Varenne's volume sets a number of firsts in this relatively new genre of cookbook. He introduced the first bisque and béchamel sauce. He replaced the traditional thickening agent of crumbled bread with *roux*, a mixture of flour and butter, as the base of sauces. One also finds the first usage of the terms *bouquet garni*, *fonds de cuisine* (stocks) and *réductions*, and the use of egg whites for clarification. The traditional exotic spices of saffron, cinnamon, cumin, ginger, nutmeg and cardamom were replaced by local herbs such as parsley, thyme, bay leaf, chervil, sage, and tarragon. New vegetables like cauliflower, asparagus, peas, cucumber and artichoke were introduced. In general a new philosophy of conserving natural flavors rather than masking them, using ingredients that are in season and a respect for the ingredients is put forth.

3. The french influence in England

Changes to cuisine were not just apparent in France but were being exported to England with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Charles II had spent his nine years of exile in France absorbing many of the cultural differences of the French court. Returning to England, he brought with him not only a taste for the new cuisine but also chefs to prepare it. Many of the royalist supporters who joined him in exile copied Charles' example and either employed French chefs themselves or had to make do with recipes in the French style from cookbooks that were now available in translation. It is at this time that a clear division arises between the adherents of the old culinary traditions of English cooking and the adopters of the new French trends. In no two English chefs is this rivalry more clear than in the writings of Robert May and Patrick Lamb.

Robert May (1588-1664) cooked for many members of the English aristocracy. His book *The Accomplisht Cook* (1660) clearly shows that he adheres to the traditional methods of English cooking, and "many of the recipes he wrote ... were souvenirs of that moment when French and English tastes were still unified in their love of spicy complexity" (Pinkard, 2009, 73). Not only is May an adherent to the old ways, he is clearly dismissive of the new culinary traditions that are starting to appear in England. In patriotic fervor, he writes, "... the French by their Insinuations... have bewitched some of the Gallants of our Nation with Epigram Dishes" yet "for the generality howsoever called A-la-mode, [is] not worthy of being taken notice on" (May np). May's recipes are clearly of a bygone era with their reliance on oriental spices such as nutmeg, ginger and saffron. One can easily imagine how the delicate flavors of turbot would be overpowered by the spices he suggests in a recipe for fish:

Cut the fish into thin slices, hack it with a knife, and it will be ribbid, then fry it almost brown with butter, take it up, draining all the butter from it, then the pan being clean, put it in again with caret, slic't ginger, nutmeg, anchove, salt, and saffron beat, fry it till it be half consumed, then put in a piece of butter, shaking it well together with a minced lemon, and rub the dish with a clove of garlick. (346).

May's contemporary Patrick Lamb, however, had clearly immersed himself in the culinary traditions that were coming out of France. One of the notable elements of Lamb's book *The Complete Court Cook* (1710) is the inclusion of a French primer, designed to habituate the English cook with the French terminology of the kitchen. Lamb obviously felt that proper food preparation could not be done without knowledge of the language associated with the profession. Compared with May's heavy cooking, Lamb's style is significantly more delicate. Take for example his recipe of chicken and asparagus:

Force the chickens with good force, and boil them white, cut the asparagus inch long, so parboil it with water, and a little butter and flour, and strain it, and take a sauce-pan with a little butter and salt, so let it dissolve softly, see that it brown not: then add to the asparagus, a little minced parsley and cream, a faggot of Fennel, Nutmeg, Pepper, and Salt. So stew it over a soft fire. So serve it over your chickens, squeeze in a little lemon. (90)

A much lighter technique is at hand here. Gone are most of the heavy spices seen in May. In their place is a food that is light and delicate. Although highly influenced by French cuisine, Lamb is decidedly and patriotically English, claiming that "in Truth, no Kingdom in the World, either deserves, or has acquired a better name, on the score of a frank and hospitable genius, than this of Great Britain" (Preface).

Both Lamb and May were chefs for the wealthy, leisured upper classes for whom food preparation was not limited by time or funds. This is not the same for the next group of writers. Women were not excluded from the culinary arts in England, and produced their fair share of manuals. Their involvement in the political/cultural debate of food, however, had a different reference point than questions of technique and professionalism. For the female cook, economy was the primary influence on cuisine. One of the important women to write at this period was Hannah Glasse (1708-1770), a middle-class housewife. She argued against the French influence, not because of any chauvinistic feelings or a

particular culinary preference, but from the point of view of economy. One of the critical factors that caused French and English cuisine to divide was the time and specialized techniques that were required to produce such food. These were difficult to reproduce in the smaller households of the English middle class which normally had only one or two domestic servants of limited culinary training. While male-authored books were collections of recipes, female-authored books tended to encompass the running of an entire household. In addition, the specialized language of the trained chef is avoided in place of common terminology meant "to instruct the lower sort" so that "every servant who can read will be capable of making a tolerable good cook" (Glasse, 1774, 3).

Glasse's recipes tend to be more practical and frugal than those of her male and French counterparts. For example, Glasse provides a recipe that reinvents a French sauce, but does it for economy, not flavor. For example, Glasse presents the French recipe for preparing partridge, then adds, "This dish I do not recommend, for I think it an odd jumble of trash; but by the time the cullis, the essence of ham, and all other ingredients are reckoned, the partridges will come to a fine penny" (103-104). In short, her purpose is not only to improve servants, but also to cut down on extravagance, "a sin particularly imputed to the fashionable French cooks who she ... accuses of cheating their English employers by the over lavish use of expensive ingredients" (Steap, 1983, xv).

4. The status quo in England

Despite the fact that France and England had an ongoing antagonism, there was a great deal of cultural as well as commercial exchange between the two nations. Since art, literature, theatre and dance are all cultural commodities that pass freely across the English Channel it becomes important to ask why England did not embrace this new cuisine as well as other cultural influences. The powerful (and puritanical) landed gentry of the English Interregnum dictated culture, and this class of people was concerned with economy and practicality rather than ostentation and indulgence. Anthropologist Henry Mintz asserts that *haute cuisine* has a relationship to an elite population and, without that population's influence, cuisine does not develop (Trubek, 2000, 47). After the restoration, much of the anti-royalist sentiment was the result of a populace who saw the restored king as one who had absorbed the affectations of a foreign, papist culture and now seemed intent on foisting these pretensions off on England. The English gentry had become more powerful and, with the burgeoning trade economy, had the financial resources to enjoy entertainments normally associated with the upper classes. However, Puritan ethics and aesthetics were highly entrenched in middle-class sensibilities. While theaters, art and music were welcomed after the restoration, food generally remained connected with Puritan morality. Thus as far as food was concerned, it was only natural to adopt an attitude of chauvinism where anything English was seen as good, if not better, than what was found on the continent.

5. A professional dispute becomes political rhetoric

In the same period that Robert May was defending English food from a culinary perspective and Hannah Glasse from an economic one, there were others who were defending English fare from a patriotic one. They seem to have little

interest in the food itself, but use it as a platform from which to put forth a chauvinistic message. Food becomes a national symbol and beef becomes the central symbol of all that is truly English.

It is in the early 1700s that the characteristics that have come to personify 'Englishness' were developed in the form of John Bull, a character created by John Arbuthnot. His *History of John Bull* (1712) and its characters, John Bull and Nicholas Frog, may have been inspired by Aesop's fable "The Frog and the Ox", a tale about an importunate amphibian who tries to puff himself up to the size of his great neighbor the bull. The Dutch were known as Froglanders (due to the number of frogs supposedly in the lowlands), and Nicholas Frog has designs to aggrandize himself and ruin John Bull by a lawsuit. Lewis Baboon is the third anthropomorphized character and represents the French people through their king Louis Bourbon. Arbuthnot's titular character developed over the decades into the personification of all things English; John Bull of the political cartoons is a well fed, plain-spoken yeoman, clothed in buff and tan who indulges in beef and ale and is often accompanied by a bull terrier. It is also in the early 1700s that the culinary divide between France and England became more than just a squabble amongst chefs. It expanded into the common consciousness and, at least in England, became a symbol for nationalistic sentiment.

One of the centers of this nationalistic sentiment was a club located in London known as the Sublime Order of Beefsteaks, a men's club whose motto "Beef and Liberty" tells much about its reason for existence. There were many of these sorts of societies; however, the most significant is this London club founded by John Rich "the celebrated harlequin and machinist of Covent Garden Theatre in 1735" (Arnold, 1871, 2). A newspaper of the period asserts the political and social importance of the club, claiming, "our only hopes are in the clergy and in the Beef-steak Club. The former still preserve, and probably will preserve, the rectitude of their appetites; and will do justice to Beef, wherever they find it. The latter, who are composed of the most ingenious artists in the kingdom, meet every Saturday in a noble room at the top of Covent Garden Theatre, and never suffer any dish except Beef-steaks to appear. These, indeed, are most glorious examples: but what alas are the weak endeavours of a few to oppose the daily inroads of fricassees and soup-maigres?" (*Connoisseur* 153).

From its rules, it is difficult to determine what the function of the club was except to eat meat. In its founding laws, Rule #4 states, "that Beef steaks shall be the only meat for dinner and the broiling beginning at two of the clock on each day of meeting and the tablecloth removed at half an hour after three" (Arnold, 1871, xiv). Members dressed in blue coats with buff waistcoats (deliberately reminiscent of John Bull) with brass buttons emblazoned with the motto "Beef and Liberty". Both Hogarth and David Garrick, the famous actor and director, were members of the club. Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais* is an obvious political statement; Garrick penned one of the most chauvinistic poems of the period that uses food specifically as a metaphor for political and national superiority:

With Lantern jaws and croaking gut
 See how the half-starved Frenchmen strut
 And call us English dogs!
 But soon we'll teach these bragging foes,
 That Beef and Beer give heavier blows
 Than soup and roasted frogs. (Quoted in Arnold 2)

The promoting of all things English in this club would seem to have much to do with a 'poor cousin' attitude. While England was fast becoming one of Europe's great financial and military powers, other countries such as France remained Europe's centers of art, music, and fashion. As Pinkard (2009) states, "France's position as Europe's fashion queen was a source of deep resentment to many patriotically-minded English artists and writers, Hogarth, Fielding, Johnson and Garrick among them" (51). It must have been terribly galling to artists such as Hogarth and Garrick that English nobility felt that all that was good in the arts must be found outside of England. Other artists made their contributions to promoting English nationalism through the medium of food. Henry Fielding, in his play *A Grub Street Opera* (1731), included a drinking song called "The Roast Beef of Old England" which celebrates the virtues of English cooking.

When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food
It ennobl'd our veins and enriched our blood
Our soldiers were brave and our courtiers were good
Oh! The roast beef of Old England, and Old English roast beef. (Uglow 46)

This poem, clearly patriotic and anti-French, once again uses food as the symbol by which anti-French comparisons are made. Hogarth's painting of Calais' gate is a graphic representation of the poem's anti-French sentiments, and the two works, poem and painting, work together to portray English patriotism and cuisine.

According to Rogers (2003), "it is no exaggeration to say that, after language, food is the most important bearer of national identity" (3). This was the case in the Enlightenment and it is the case in the present age. Recent history has seen several incidents of food used as a symbol of patriotism.

Conclusion

Gastro-political nationalism in the seventeenth century centered on food as it evolved from the fairly homogeneous cuisine of the Middle Ages to diverse and culturally specific fare. The dispute originated out of the quibbling of professional chefs over superior flavor, technique and ingredients and soon became mired in much deeper political and cultural issues, both internal and external to England. The exportation of culture is one of the effects of globalization, and in the development of the new French cuisine in the seventeenth century we see the first signs of such an export, and England's rejection of that export is not entirely novel. Today's gastro-political nationalism finds its roots in the seventeenth-century squabbles of European chefs which also centered around one principle ingredient: beef. The hamburger has come to represent technological advances in food production as well as cultural absorption. As Schlosser (2002) states, "fast food has become a target...because it threatens a fundamental aspect of national identity: who, where, and what people choose to eat" (244). This is exactly the same argument the English posed when French cuisine threatened what they felt was their cultural identity.

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SCHEME TRANSFER IN SCIENCE: PHYSICAL PSYCHOLOGY

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Abstract

Any science at all can be made into a formal scheme applicable in entirely different domains, a kind of general paradigm. This is especially so with natural sciences, which extensively employ mathematics in their special models. However, such scheme transfer should obey certain rules, to avoid reductionism; the formalism has to be adapted to the new application area, properly reinterpreted in the terms of the target science. In this report, I illustrate the general principles of interdisciplinary scheme transfer on the sample case of applying the scheme of Newtonian mechanics to the psychological theory of motivation dynamics. The perspectives of the extensive use of physical models in psychology are discussed, to overcome the traditionally psychophysical approach and develop a new direction of research that could be called physical psychology.

Keywords

Psychology – Physics – Formalism

Introduction

A conscious being is always participating in a hierarchy of activities; each activity is basically a transformation of an object **O** into some product **P** by the subject of the activity **S** as expressed by the scheme $O \rightarrow S \rightarrow P$ (Ivanov 2009). In general, the object, the subject and the product of activity are hierarchical, and this hierarchy grows as a result of activity reproduction in a social context. In particular, each activity eventually becomes represented in the subject as an inner formation, so that another activity can be unfolded following the same pattern. Such scheme transfer is a universal mechanism of creativity, including the arts, science and philosophy.

In scientific research, the formal models of some object area (a range of activities) are explicitly constructed as a part of the scientific product. These models are different from the scheme of the scientific activity itself, since they represent the logic of the object area rather than the inner logic of a particular science. However, the existence of an explicit scheme favours its transfer to different sciences. I will discuss the arising problems on the example of physics

and psychology, which are commonly considered as the typical representatives of “natural” and “humanitarian” science respectively. Both physics and psychology have many branches, but the general ideas can equally be illustrated with any special choice.

1. Hierarchical Mutuality

One can either employ physical models in psychology, or, conversely, introduce some psychology in physics. Both possibilities are vividly discussed in the literature. One of the typical mistakes is to literally understand such scheme transfers; hence arbitrarily contrived physical processes to implement conscious behaviour, or the tales of the mystical influence of consciousness onto physical systems. This “naive” approach may occasionally lead to useful predictions, when it happens to follow true formal analogies. Still, it is generally misleading, eclectically mixing two quite different sides of reality.

Nature is a hierarchy, and each level of this hierarchy should be studied with methods appropriate at this level; the hierarchy of sciences reflects the natural hierarchy of the world. Thus, physics studies *physical objects* that are different from *psychological objects*; still, the both kinds of objects exist in nature independently of whether somebody is studying them or not. Any psychological event can always be considered from the physical side as a sequence of physical events, while there are physical events that do not assume any psychological content, and the same physical events can accompany many psychological events.

The hierarchy of nature is not rigid; it manifests itself as different hierarchical structures, and the levels distinguished in one structure may be fused together in another, and *vice versa*. Every two levels of the hierarchy imply an intermediate level, combining the features of the both. In science, it means that for every two sciences one may construct another science, lying “between” them. In particular, one may seek for some combination of physics and psychology, which cannot be unique.

The levels of hierarchy are *qualitatively* different, and one level cannot be reduced to another, or deduced from the other levels. In particular, psychological phenomena cannot be reduced to physiology, chemistry or physics, or deduced from them. Human psychology is drastically dependent on social factors, and consciousness must be considered as a collective effect arising from thousands of communication acts between many people rather than from some neural or physical processes in one’s brain (Vygotsky 1986; Leontiev 1978; Luria 1973). However, consciousness would be impossible without appropriate material premises; one of which is the admirable versatility of the human brain.

Mental phenomena cannot violate physical laws; this, in particular, makes it possible to predict some gross thought regularities common to all kinds of conscious being. The structure of the physical world influence mental processes (Dyson 1979), and this is yet another possible direction of boundary studies between physics and psychology.

Consciousness can manifest itself on different levels, and there are numerous examples of the collective subject, each of them assuming a specific physical system as its substrate. This physical system considered as such obeys the same

laws of physics as any other similar system and can be studied by physical methods. For example, one can treat the human body as a mass subject to the Earth's gravity, as a thermodynamic machine, as a source and receiver of electromagnetic waves, as an arena of nuclear reactions *etc.* Such a study can be practically important in engineering, medicine, or, say, in the plastic arts. Theoretically, the presence of the human reason can modify the physical behaviour of the human body, and it is quite legal to scientifically study this influence. Within physics, this means yet another constraint with the properties of a semi-empirical nature. The parameters of this constraint might serve as a numerical measure of certain psychological effects (Korenev 1977, 1981).

On the other hand, any physical measurement is culturally determined, and the form of the physical theory essentially depends on the traditional modes of activity. One could study the cultural aspects in the history of physics, and the psychology of physical research in particular.

2. Observer Paradigms

The organisation of any science reflects the organisation of the standard activities in its object area. Quite often, these activities take the form of *measurement*, when the products of activity are correlated with some standard outcomes (a scale), while the object and the subject are similarly characterised by a limited collection of parameters. As soon as the scheme of measurement in one science is similar to that used in another, the transfer of the formalism involved is possible (Vygotsky 1983; Ivliyev 1988).

Thus, in a psychological experiment, if somebody is presented a series of standard stimuli and required to choose one of the standard answers, this is a well known scheme of the scattering experiment in physics, and the corresponding mathematics is applicable. On the contrary, when the evolution of a selected parameter is monitored in a controlled situation, the scheme of the traditional mechanics can well be adopted. Also, some techniques in social psychology resemble thermodynamic measurements. As the state of the subject is essentially modified in psychological process, the description of reflexive phenomena in physics (such as nonlinearity, collective effects *etc.*) can become the source of ideas for psychology, and borrow ideas from psychology as well.

In this context, the test subject in psychology is compared to a physical system, while the input and output are in the hands of the *observer*. Physical science deals with some *formal model* of observer, rather than a real human being, and it is this model that shapes the physical theory. Such a formal observer is just a representation of a standard procedure, and the observer's activity is reduced to the implementation of a sequence of operations, which could be much better performed by some automatic device. In this sense, the observer is present in any part of physics, and it is only the rules of observation that change from one physical science to another depending on their specific methods. Hence, the debate on which physics is more appropriate for describing consciousness (quantum or classical mechanics, relativistic or nonrelativistic theory, *etc.*) is meaningless; no kind of physics describes psychological phenomena, while all kinds of physics can equally be made paradigms for psychological study.

In the classical mechanics, the formal observer is introduced through the idea of a *reference frame*. Such an observer is effectively infinite and coincides with the

whole of the Universe. In the relativistic generalization of classical mechanics the reference frame is not a static prerequisite, but rather the process of establishing the connection between different spatial points, so that the relativistic observer is essentially local. Quantum mechanics generalizes the classical ideas in another direction, and its observer is extremely big, even much bigger than the classical (infinite) observer. Each point of its space (a reference frame) becomes a whole three-dimensional space, and each point of this *internal* space is supposed to be somehow structured too, when it comes to accounting for spin and other intrinsic *symmetries*.

In the same way, the abstraction of an observer might be discovered behind any other branch of physics. In all cases, the abstract observer of a physical theory does not imply any direct interfering of a human being with a physical system; all one needs to do is to *prepare* the physical system to behave in a definite manner, while the physical processes themselves are independent of the observer.

Psychology little differs from physics in this respect. Psychological experiments differ by the degree of observer involvement, and the same formal techniques are available, save that one is to avoid any destructive methods. However, psychological motion develops on a level different from that of physical motion, and the possible changes in the physical state of the subject are of accessory importance.

3. Physical Psychology

Psychology, if it wants to be a science, has to develop its own abstractions, and one cannot demand it to give a comprehensive explanation of any detail of a single behavioural act. On the contrary, psychological analysis is aimed at classifying individual acts, bringing them under some predefined categories, which are familiar enough to enable people's control over their own behaviour, just like people control physical processes.

In complement to inventing theories from scratch, psychologists can take a ready-made formal scheme from physics (or another science) and apply it to psychological phenomena. Of course, no physics can *explain* psychological phenomena and consciousness—this is the task of psychology proper. Likewise, psychology cannot be derived from any chemical or biological laws, from the physiology of the brain or computer analogies. All what is legal to ask is how these biological, chemical or physical processes are involved in a conscious action, as soon as one knows that they are indeed involved.

The common way to introduce physical methods in psychology is to restrict the experimental situations to mere physical (or rather physiological) impact, observing the standard behavioural reactions. This level of psychological study is known as *psychophysics* (Zabrodin & Lebedev 1977). It does not reveal the specifically subjective aspects of conscious activity, concentrating primarily on the material premises of human psychology.

Lifting the restrictions on the nature of stimuli and reactions, we come to psychological experiment proper, with psychological conditions for the object, conscious test subject and true behavioural acts as the outcome. The experimental setup and its formal representation in theory still can reproduce

certain physical models. This scheme transfer does not change the psychological orientation of research. Since it is psychological phenomena that are to be described, the parameters and variables must be psychologically reinterpreted, losing any relation to their physical counterparts. The results formally obtained in this model are psychological, rather than physical. That is why, in contrast to psychophysics, such an approach could be called *physical psychology*.

On the lowest level, physics may serve to psychology merely as a source of useful metaphors (Nalimov 1981). However, there is a whole range of theories intermediate between such metaphorical usage and predictive theories based on the equations of dynamics. One such model, combining quantum-mechanics and information theory with the ideas of the hierarchical approach has led to a new theory of aesthetic perception, opening broad perspectives for both theoretical aesthetics and practical applications in the arts (Avdeev & Ivanov 1993; Ivanov 1994, 1995).

Physical psychology can be considered as a special discipline combining the elements of physics, mathematics and psychology without being reduced to either of them.

4. Newtonian Mechanics and Motivation

Classical mechanics plays a special role in physics. It brought physicists a huge experience of constructing mechanical models for thousands of special cases. There are numerous reformulations of classical mechanics, clarifying its relations to other physical sciences. This is why new physical theories are first applied to classical models, which is the best way to demonstrate the essence of a new approach.

In psychology, a similar role belongs to the theory of motivation (Leontiev 1978). Each particular activity is governed by some motive and unfolded in a sequence of actions directed to specific goals. People are unaware of their motives, and it is their goals that are conscious. In the course of action, the motivation may change, so that one activity transforms into another. Sometimes, the former goals become motives, and a motive may become merely an intermediate goal.

The basic objects of Newtonian mechanics are *material points*. Each material point is characterized by its *mass*, which is usually denoted with the letter m . For each material point, one can specify its *position* in some *configuration space*, which can be either the ordinary three-dimensional space or some abstract space of one or more dimensions. Let the position of a material point be given a vector x . The position of the material point changes with time t ; this movement is described with the vector of $v = dx/dt$. The first derivative of v is called *acceleration* and denoted with the letter a . Yet another important quantity is the material point's *momentum* p defined as the product of its mass and its velocity: $p = mv$. The principal law of Newtonian dynamics is then formulated as follows:

$$dp / dt = F(t, x, v) .$$

The function F depends on the nature of the physical system concerned and is called *force*. The solution of this *equation of motion* gives the position of the material point at any moment of time, and all the other characteristics can be calculated knowing $x(t)$.

Let us assume that, in certain situations, a motive can be represented by a point in some *motivation space*. In this model, the goals will belong to the same space, to enable transformation of goals into motives, and motives into goals. Any human activity is represented by a trajectory $x(t)$ in the motivation space, that is, by a sequence of points representing the current goals. The motive of this activity is naturally represented by some attracting center in the motivation space; the activity can thus be obtained as a solution of an equation of motion, similar to that of classical mechanics.

Within this analogy, the mass m of the material point corresponds to the internal inertia of mind, which is an important personal characteristic. The greater is the mass, the less readily the person yields to external influences (represented by some forces). Velocity v naturally describes the rate and direction of activity; this is an example of a characteristic that has no direct psychological analog, though it is quite compatible with the psychological view. As for momentum $p = mv$, the corresponding psychological characteristic might be called the *persistence* of the activity, that is, its ability to preserve the same course in spite of any deflecting forces. Quite naturally, highly inert individuals are more persistent in their activity; also, the higher the rate of activity is, the less noticeable is the influence of other activities.

When masses do not depend on time, the law of motion can be rewritten as

$$dp / dt = d(mv) / dt = m \cdot dv / dt = ma = F ,$$

that is, the force acting on a material point equals its acceleration multiplied by its mass.

In Newtonian dynamics, acceleration plays a special role. Any change in the state of motion assumes non-zero acceleration, and it is acceleration that is felt by a classical observer as a mechanical event. For an observer moving without acceleration, the dynamics of any mechanical system is described with the same equations of motion, as for observer in peace; such motion is called inertial. In the mechanical model of activity, acceleration can be associated with people's subjective experiences.

Now, the overall picture of human activity is pictured as follows: a person's interaction with the world results in some distribution of forces in the motivation space of the person; these forces excite definite affects in the person, changing the state of motion.

The immediate consequence of this model is that the same force will excite weaker emotions in a person with higher inertia; this is the well known low emotionality of the people with phlegmatic temperament. Following this line, one could ask whether the other classical temperaments (sanguine, choleric, and melancholic) might have a mechanical explanation as well.

In the Russian physiological school, the temperament is characterised by strength, mobility, and balance. Thus, the sanguine temperament corresponds to strong, mobile, and well-balanced nervous processes; the choleric temperament is poorly balanced, while the phlegmatic temperament lacks mobility; all the weak temperaments are called melancholic. In our sample model, this correlates well with the principal law of dynamics: $F = ma$. The strength of temperament describes the person's sensitivity to external circumstances. In the "mechanical" language, this means that the environment acts with less force on a person with

greater strength of temperament; that is, the absolute value of the force F is inversely related to the temperament strength. The relation of mass m to inertia (the inverse of mobility) has already been indicated. Quite naturally, balance is characterized by the value of acceleration: the completely balanced state of the system assumes zero acceleration (pure inertial motion).

With these assumptions, the sanguine temperament must be characterized with small F , which, for medium m , results in low accelerations a . Since the phlegmatic temperament is characterized with a significantly higher mass, even much greater forces cause rather low accelerations, and a phlegmatic person keeps balance in a wider range of situations. The opposite holds for the choleric temperament, which assumes low inertia and hence even a small force can break the balance in a choleric person. As for the melancholic temperament, it assumes high sensitivity to the processes in the environment, that is, with high values of F . The effect of high F on the person's activity can be different, depending on the person's inertia, which corresponds to the empirical distinction of the three types of melancholic temperament. Inert individuals remain balanced in spite of their strong interactions with the world. Medium inner mass results in much more pronounced affective reactions. The weakest type of melancholic (a classical melancholic) is characterized with low inertia; this is an extremely vulnerable person, feeling the flood of emotions at a slightest turn of the situation.

The mechanical treatment of temperaments differs from the traditional approach in that strength and balance are no longer assumed to be individual constants, being true dynamic variables, which may significantly change in the course of activity. One possible solution of this problem is to treat temperament as the averaged feature of activity, relating its parameters to the time-averaged values of force and acceleration. For many periodic and quasi-periodic modes of motion, the absolute value of force (acceleration) varies in a narrow range, only changing its orientation. In the simplest case of circular motion, the force and acceleration are constant, which complies with the traditional treatment of temperament.

This "mechanical" model of activity can provide more analogies between physics and psychology. For more complex result, I would mention the possible application of this model to the description of neuroses. Normally, there are no inaccessible regions in the motivation space; for any given point there exists some trajectory (activity) containing this point. However, a person's interaction with the world can sometimes result in a singular potential, breaking the simple topology of the motivation space. The well known Coulomb potential of a charged point is an example from physics; in this field potential energy assumes an infinite value at the position of the electrical charge. In such cases, activity can come very close to the point of singularity, but it will only move around it, never achieving this point. The existence of such forbidden areas in the motivation space corresponds to the clinical picture of neurosis. The mechanical model permits the description of different kinds of neuroses, depending on the singularity type. The immediate implication is that a neurosis cannot be overcome by the own activity of the person; the treatment of neuroses requires a change in the person's environment, which will remove the singularity from the motivation space.

As expected, the person is not always aware of the motive of activity. Indeed, the goal (the point in the motivation space) is a focus of awareness; the activity is then interpreted as the gradual shift of this focus from one goal to another.

Since the points of minimum potential energy (representing the possible motives) do not, in general, lie on the trajectory of activity, the motives remain unconscious. This is especially evident in the case of circular motion, with the motive in the center of the circle, and the goals always equally distanced from the motive. To make the motive conscious, a special activity of *motivation* is needed, additionally deflecting the trajectory of activity towards its motive; such dissipative forces can also be treated within the mechanical model. In general, some activities will include motivational actions, and some will not, depending on whether the motive point lies on the trajectory of activity or not.

Conclusion

Simple mechanical conceptions can be introduced into psychology of activity to describe phenomena quite different from the original physics. The same physical model is also applicable to other areas of psychology. Thus, one could reinterpret the mechanical equations of motion to describe communication between people, interaction of social roles in a small group, and so on. Alternatively, other physical theories can be used to describe dynamics of motivation in the situations of uncertainty and socially induced choice. For instance, while the paradigm of classical mechanics characterizes an individual action by the momentary goal and persistence of activity, in the quantum model, the point in the classical configuration space will be replaced with some internal space, and the action will become a process in this internal space, resulting in a probabilistic outcome on the level of outer activity. Better representation of consciousness requires more sophisticated physical models, involving controlled nonlinearity and collective motion.

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MUSICAL SCALE HIERARCHY

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Abstract

L. Avdeev's theory of musical scale hierarchy formation is discussed. The model provides an adequate mathematical description of the already known scales and reveals some other new possibilities. A measure of the information difference between two probability distributions is employed to construct a numerical estimate of a contradiction between two compound tones. The discordance function thus obtained allows to determine a musical scale. A dissonance function is introduced, which reveals the scale as a set of zones. Stationarity under nonlinear transformations and maximum regularity provide the numerical criteria for selecting the preferable scales. The formant structure of the internal timbre pattern characterizes the stability of local hierarchical structures. Harmonic, modal, and chromatic types of scale lability are described. Musical scale as a movable hierarchy of zone structures unfolds itself in various ways, forming the musical context.

Keywords

Music – Scale – Pitch

Introduction

The traditional application of mathematics to music, from Pythagoras to now, is reduced to mere combinatorics and the search for statistical regularities. The insufficiency of such an approach has become evident in developing the tools for computer aided music composition. It has become clear that a human composer is never stochastic, and we need to comprehend the psychology of music perception, to model some aspects of composition. And, primarily, we need to explain the origin of the 12-tone chromatic scale as its principal material. In 1980s, Leonid Avdeev has suggested a consistent theory of scale formation (Avdeev & Ivanov 1993; Avdeev *et al.* 2006) based on the following principles.

1. There is no direct correlation between physical properties of sound and the perceived intonation (Gelfand 1981; Pozin 1978). We rather construct an internal model of the sound and then try to fit all what we hear into this pattern. That is why we speak about sound *perception*, which assumes sound sensation shaped by representation (Ivanov 1994).

2. Both pitch perception and intonation are of a *zone* character (Garbuzov 1948; Johnson 1966).
3. Historically, mere pitch discrimination precedes the notion of a musical interval (Kvitka 1971). The fifth and the octave take their place in music rather late; hence one cannot seriously speak about combinatorial origin of musical modes.
4. Generally, musical hearing evolved in the direction of distinguishing still higher overtones and a more detailed perception of timbre (Schönberg 1973).
5. Any human activity is *hierarchically* organized (Moles 1958; Pribram 1971; Leontiev 1975), including the perceptual activity.
6. Such musical phenomena as consonance and dissonance, tension, instability and steadiness arise only in a specific *context* (Schönberg 1973), and the theory must somehow describe it.
7. A detailed investigation of the mechanisms of perception gives little for the comprehension of perception itself. Rather, construction of higher-level models permits to bind physiological data together.
8. Human perception is a kind of information processing, and its models should be compatible with *information* theory (Moles 1958; Pribram 1971; Golitsyn 1980).
9. The available physiological and psychological data reveal the complex organisation of hearing (Gelfand 1981; Pozin 1978; Garbuzov 1948, 1956), and the theory must comply with those data.

1. Hierarchical Scaling

On the lowest level, the perception of a pure tone if pitch (logarithm of sound frequency) h is modeled with an inner pitch distribution

$$f(x) = (2\pi)^{-1/2} \sigma^{-1} \exp\left[-\frac{1}{2}(x-h)^2/\sigma^2\right].$$

The dispersion σ is a historically formed parameter of perceptual tuning related to the overall sharpness of hearing (intonation distinction).

A musical tone (abstracted from noises, phase effects, etc, which are unessential for the theory of scaling) is represented by its harmonic series, that is, the set of partials h_j with the amplitudes t_n ($n=1\dots N$). This set of amplitudes will be called *internal timbre*. This is a perceptual set only related to pitch hearing; it does not depend on the physical or perceived timbres of the musical instruments, since timbre hearing is a different activity.

In the process of hearing, people establish relations between tones. Subjective interference between two partials can be estimated as a quantity of information in one distribution relative to another (Golitsyn; Avdeev & Ivanov 1993):

$$d(R) = (R^2/\sigma^2)\exp(-R^2/\sigma^2),$$

where R is the pitch difference. The quantity $d(R)$ is called the *discordance value* for the two partials. For two complex tones represented by the internal timbre, the discordance is calculated as

$$\Delta(h) = \sum_{m,n=1}^N t_m t_n d[h + \log_2(m/n)]$$

This value characterises the contradiction of the two sounds, the difficulty of including them in a common system of tones. A few samples of discordance function given in Fig. 1 manifest a number of minima, which might be related to the possible degrees of a musical scale.

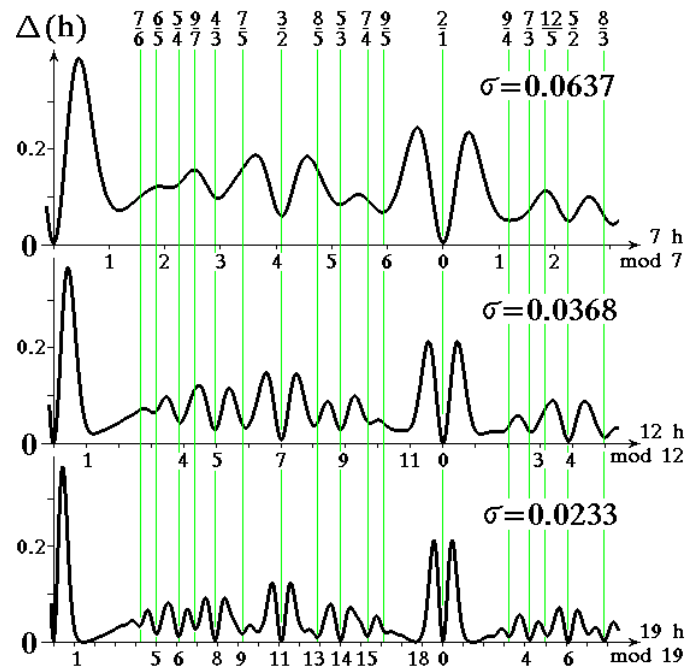


Figure 1. Discordance functions.

On the next level, various tone structures formed of the minimally discordant tones are perceived. Not all timbres are of equal worth for articulated structure perception. Thus, if the timbre is not preserved during various inner operations, it will hardly become culturally fixed; the criterion of timbre stationarity $0 \leq \tau < 1$ is introduced as a measure of the difference between the original timbre and its quadratic transform. Timbres with high τ are called *stationary*.

However, mere stationarity is not enough for musical scale formation. The tuning of perception to a leading "rhythm" in the discordance function leads to a *regularity* requirements; stationary timbres producing regular discordance functions are called *optimal* timbres; they are the most suitable for scale formation.

The degrees of a musical scale can be introduced as some zones around the minima of discordance function. The belonging of a tone h to a zone is defined through the *dissonance function* derived from the primary discordance:

$$\square(h) = \Delta(h) - \int_{-\infty}^{+\infty} dx \Delta(x) f_h(x)$$

The integral represents a local average with the Gaussian weight. The discordance and dissonance functions are compared in Fig. 2. Now, one can define a musical scale as a collection of pitch zones (Garbuzov 1948).

Computer-aided calculations permit us to find a series of optimal stationary timbres. The properties of some corresponding scales (for example, with 2, 3, 5, 7, and 12 tones to the octave) are well known in musicology. We can therefore understand how a timbre pattern correlates with the scale properties, and with a good certainty describe some new scales, hardly yet established in musical practice.

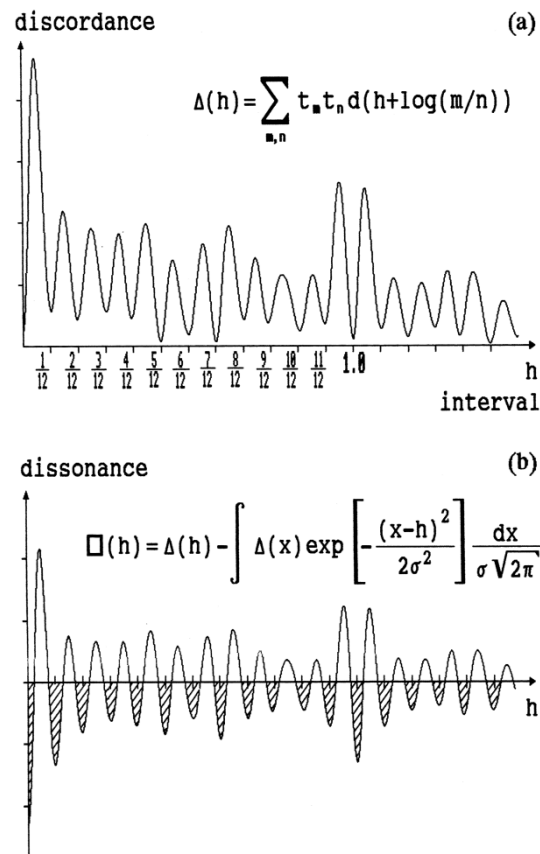


Figure 2. Discordance and dissonance.

It has been discovered that each optimal timbre has a well pronounced *formant structure*. The musical quality of a scale depends on the formant pattern of its optimal timbre. The partials of the first formant indicate which intervals in the scale can sound in accord simultaneously, so we refer to the first formant as *harmonic*. The length of the harmonic formant correlates with the richness of harmony in the scale, and musical hearing evolves in the direction of ever more complex chords. There are *anomalous* scales, with only the octave possible as a harmony. Four partials in the harmonic formant give *quintal* scales which admit also the fifth (and the fourth) as a harmonic interval; they are still rather poor for the modern musical thought. *Tertial* scales, with six partials in the first formant, introduce the third in harmony, which makes it rather good in most cases. The most interesting harmony can be achieved in *harmonic* scales, with more than six partials in the first formant. Only in such scales, harmony can freely use the seventh and the second.

We refer to an interval that is generated *inside* the second formant as a *melodic move*, while an interval between a partial of the second formant and a partial of the first formant is called a *melodic jump*. Both moves and jumps define

characteristic intervals of a *mode*, so we call the second formant *modal*. When harmonic intervals prevail, the scale is *harmonically labile*, so that any chord may play a centralizing role, and music cannot be tonally organized in a wider range. The opposite case, when modal intervals prevail, leads to *modal lability*, with weak tonal definiteness in a melodic sequence. In both cases, higher levels of musical hierarchy can hardly be built. This property is usually exploited to produce some coloristic or stylistic effects, but generally it restricts the practical use of the scale. The criterion of scale lability is introduced as

$$L = \log \frac{M(M-1) + 2MH}{H(H-1)}$$

where H and M are the numbers of partials in the harmonic and modal formants respectively. Now, $L < 0$ indicates harmonic, $L > 0$ modal lability. Well balanced timbres with $|L| < 1$ lead to *stable* scales, which can be universally used. The well-known example is the common 12-tone scale. Scales with lower number of zones cannot be stable.

Higher partials usually concentrate in a vast *chromatic* formant which is responsible for the distinction of narrow intervals. The basic scale becomes thus more pronounced, quite like the higher vocalist's formant makes vocal performance more articulate. Too long a chromatic formant may, however, lead to *chromatic lability* of the scale, that is, an easy drift from any musical structure by a narrow interval. On the other hand, if the maximum chromatic move is too short, then some modal moves will not have chromatic analogues. Also, for chromatic stability, the minimum chromatic move should be narrow enough, so that a chromatic alteration of a degree would not change its function. Chromatically stable scales are those with $\nu = 10, 12, 17, 19, 22, 31$.

With a pre-selected optimal timbre, one can tune hearing to the structures different from the basic scale as defined by the dissonance function. Formally, this corresponds to dispersions $\zeta < \nu$ and the timbre truncated to the number of partials $Z < N$. Such a reduction is not arbitrary; the possible *embedded* scales are determined by the Fourier spectrum of the dissonance function. Each scale has a number of possible subscales. An example of the hierarchy of possible embeddings is presented in Fig. 3.

This hierarchy can be unfolded in different ways. In particular, the systems of embeddings $12 \supset 7 \supset 3$ and $12 \supset 7 \supset 5$ can form. If an embedded scale is harmonically labile, it can play the role of harmony in the basic scale (as the imbedding $\zeta^z = 3^6$ in the $\nu = 12$ scale). A modally labile or stable embedded scale defines a possible mode or tonality ($\zeta^z = 5^9, 7^{10}$). Naturally, the reference tone of any embedding may differ from the key tone of the basic scale, which just specifies the pitch of a layer in a musical piece.

The movable hierarchical system of embeddings represents the current musical *context*, defining dissonances and tensions on various levels. In general, a dissonance on a certain level occurs whenever an actually sounding tone does not fit into the current imbedded scale of that level. The tensions of a sound according to the imbedding with the discordance function $\Delta(h)$ can be estimated by the integral

$$\rho(h_1, h_2) = \int_{h_1}^{h_2} \Delta(h) dh$$

For example, in the $12 \supset 7 \supset 3$ system of embeddings, describing the usual tonal music, there exist harmonic dissonances ($\zeta = 3$ level) and modal dissonances ($\zeta = 7$ level), which can be resolved inside the 12-tone scale. There are two ways of releasing the tension: a move to the nearest consonance, and a change of the current embedding system; both take place in real music.

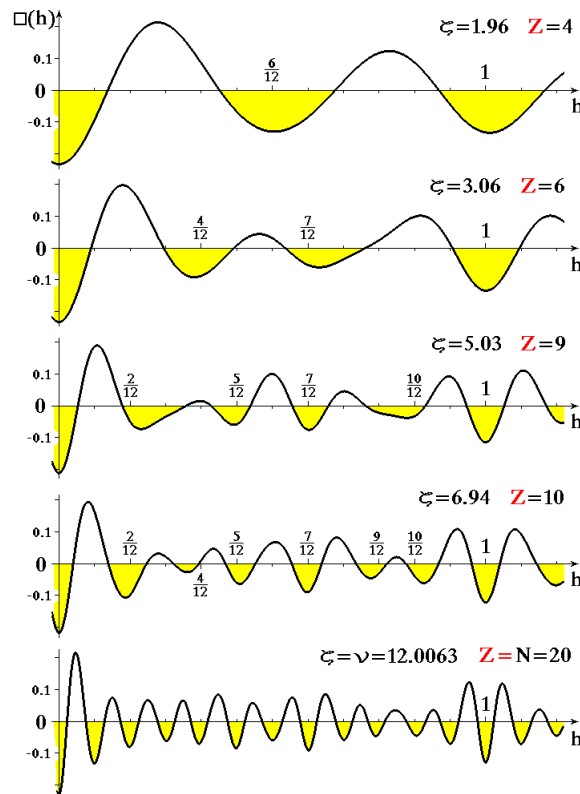


Figure 3. Scale hierarchy for the 12-tone scale.

2. The 19-tone Scale

The $\nu = 19$ scale is a stable harmonic scale with 10 partials in the harmonic format and 5 partials in the modal formant; there is also a well balanced chromatic formant. The hierarchy of scale embeddings for the 19-tone system is displayed in Fig. 4. As one can see, the scale allows modelling the usual tonal music within the $19 \supset 7 \supset 3$ system of embeddings. Additionally, there are 12-tone embeddings, a sort of hypermodes, or "hypertonalities" (Schönberg 1973). Some of them reproduce the usual ascending and descending chromatic scales; however, in 19-tone music, the tones of the hypermode are not evenly spaced, manifesting a specific structure of tensions. Also there are hypermodes that involve no diatonic, demanding a qualitatively different system of embeddings: $19 \supset 12 \supset 5$. Here the $\zeta = 5$ level plays the role of harmony in the 12-tone hypermodes. Note that the 5^9 imbedding in the 19^{31} scale is harmonically labile, though the pentatonic $\nu = 5$ is modally labile as an independent scale.

The important feature of the 19-tone scale is that its fifth is narrower than the fifth of the traditional 12-tone system (which is close to the natural fifth). For hearing tuned to the 12-tone scale, such a “tempered” fifth sounds rather unusual; it is softer and richer. In vocal intonation, it does not require a register shift and can be even reproduced by untrained people. In the context of 19-tone scale, this fifth is perceived as a full-fledged harmony, so that the traditional fifth avoidance is no longer necessary.

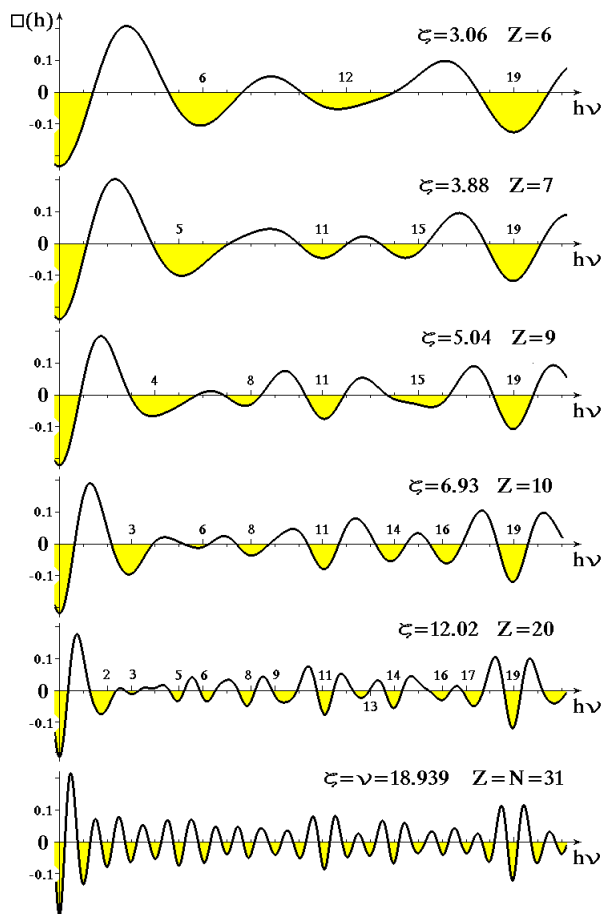


Figure 4. Scale hierarchy in the 19-tone scale.

Playing 19-tone music requires specially designed instruments. Of course, one can tune a violin or a cello by the tempered fifths; however, the acoustic properties of the traditional instruments will hardly reveal in full the richness of new harmony. One could build a piano suited for 19-tone music adding one more row of keys (for example, painted in red), as shown in Fig. 5. Thus, instead of every black key, between the adjacent white keys there are now *two* intermediate degrees in case of a diatonic whole tone, while a diatonic semitone (*B–C, E–F*) is *divided* by a red key in half. With the equal temperament, all the intervals between the nearest keys are the same ($1/19$ of the tempered octave which should be a little stretched to the frequency ratio $2^{19/\nu} \approx 2.00447$). The white and red keys separately form two diatonic 7-degree scales, while the black keys, as previously, assemble into a pentatonic.

The notation of the 19-tone music extends the usual musical notation introducing the signs for half-flat and half-sharp along with the usual flat and sharp. Such signs can already be found in the musical literature; but they traditionally refer to the half of the semitone in the 12-tone scale, while, in the 19-tone system,

they have significance on their own, as the format structure of the corresponding optimal timbre predicts. A "whole tone" contains three steps of the scale; a "semitone" (the distance between *mi* and *fa*) contains two steps of the scale. Additionally, an "introductory semitone" corresponds to the interval of one step of the scale. Introductory intervals are widely used in music, though they are poorly reproduced on 12-tone tempered instruments.

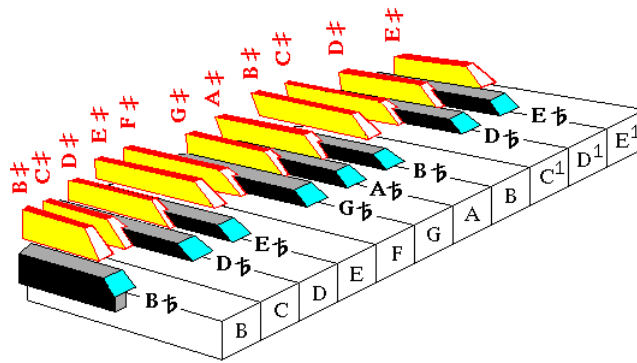


Figure 5. The 19-tone keyboard.

For usual tonal music performed within the $19 \supset 7 \supset 3$ system of embeddings, the full sharp and flat are mainly used in melodic alteration, while the half-sharp and half-flat are related to harmonic modulations. In particular, the traditional quintal circle will be constructed using half-sharp and half-flat (which will correspondingly appear on the score as the key signs).

For example, in Fig. 6 (upper), the ascending chromatic scale of C major is given in the 19-tone notation; it is obviously different from the descending major chromatic scale, as well as from the minor chromatic scales and the major-minor scale.



Figure 6. Two hypermodes.

An example of a hypermode with 12 tones that cannot be reproduced in the 12-tone scale is given in Fig. 6 (lower).

Conclusion

L. Avdeev's theory of pitch scales in music is capable of treating the scaling phenomena on any level of musical perception. In its static aspect, it describes all existing and possible in the future scales with regard to their musical value and expressive abilities. Also, it shows how ever more complex scales have been forming themselves with the growth in the number of partials comprehended in

musical tones and the tightening of the perceptual tuning associated with the dispersion σ . The stages of scale development are embodied in the hierarchy of possible scale embeddings, which is linked to modal and harmonic levels of music. The model has been elaborated in the framework of a general theory of hierarchies (Ivanov 2009).

Though the theory is based on the history of the European music, it can be applied, with minor changes, to musical systems that do not lean so much on scaling, such as oriental modes, ragas, or modern serial and aleatoric investigations. Any non-harmonic overtones can as easily be taken into account without complicating the mathematical formalism. We have thus presented a novel outlook at the acoustic foundations of music, ascending from the sensory level of the Helmholtzian physiological acoustics to the psychophysics of perception. Similar phenomena can be observed in the perception of the other aspects of music and in visual arts (Ivanov 1995). This makes hierarchical scaling one of the fundamental mechanism of aesthetic perception.

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MEASURING OF CYCLIC MOVEMENT M1 MONEY STOCK OF THE USA

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Abstract

A new approach is considered on measuring and modeling of chaotic and cyclic weekly movement of the U.S. M1 Money Stock based on the average one with a constant measure of scattering. The estimation of the parameters of the trends and the initial state of an econometric model of M1 Money stock in the United States has been given depending on their level of measure of scattering. Chaotic attractors of M1 money stock in the USA and its change from year ago has been constructed, in the form of time series, as well as the phase portrait, as well as the stochastic trend of convergence and divergence, and other characteristics of uncertainty.

Keywords

U.S. M1 Money Stock – Chaotic attractor – Cyclic movement

Introduction

M1 includes funds that are readily accessible for spending. It is known that M1 consists of: (1) notes and coins in circulation outside the U.S. Treasury, Federal Reserve Banks, as well as the vaults of depository institutions; (2) traveler's checks of nonbank issuers; (3) demand deposits; and (4) other checkable deposits (OCDs), which consist primarily of negotiable order of withdrawal (NOW) accounts at depository institutions and credit union share draft accounts. The basis for the measuring and modeling of chaotic and cyclic movement of M1 Money Stock for the U.S. can be information from sources: U.S. M1 Money Stock, Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly (Federal Reserve Economic Data 2012).

Money stock of the USA accumulates the country's finances, both in real and financial sector of the economy. From the systematic approach the money stock represents a system of complex, dynamic, nonlinear and stochastic objects that make high demands on its research tools. Today, the basic research tools of

money stock been established and their broad overviews are given in the works of Bernanke (1998), Laubach (2003), Nelson (2003), etc.

1. Indicators, Data and Models

For the measuring and modeling of chaotic and cyclic movement of the indices of system of reserve money, in particular, for the U.S. M1 Money Stock, will be used the following well-known indicators.

Indicator moving average of time series y_t of the l time periods is:

$$MA(l)y_t = \frac{1}{l+1} \sum_{i=0}^l y_{t-i}, t = 0, \pm 1, \pm 2, \dots, l = 0, 1, 2, \dots, \quad (1)$$

where time series is

$$\{y_t | t = 0, \pm 1, \pm 2, \dots\}. \quad (2)$$

Indicator moving standard deviation of time series y_t of the l time periods is:

$$MS(l)y_t = \sqrt{\frac{1}{l} \sum_{i=0}^l (y_{t-i} - MA(l)y_t)^2}, t = 0, \pm 1, \pm 2, \dots, l = 0, 1, 2, \dots. \quad (3)$$

Also, in this paper some few definitions of indicators were introduced for the first time – time periods and average with a constant measure of scattering for the measuring and modeling of chaotic and cyclic movement indicators of money market. Where here and throughout the paper we denote by h the parameter of measure scattering, $0 < h \leq h_0$, h_0 – fixed positive number.

Indicator of time periods with a constant measure of scattering of the time series y_t is:

$$L_t(h) = \min_{l=0,1,2,\dots} \{l | h l MS(l)y_t \geq 1\}, t = 0, \pm 1, \pm 2, \dots, \quad (4)$$

Indicator of average with a constant measure of scattering of the time series y_t is:

$$A(h, y_t) = MA(L_t(h))y_t, t = 0, \pm 1, \pm 2, \dots, \quad (5)$$

where $L_t(h)$ – time periods with a constant measure of scattering of the time series y_t in accordance with (4).

For the measurement and modeling of chaotic and cyclic movements of the U.S. M1 Money Stock used information:

–source of primary information:

–U.S. M1 Money Stock (2012), Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly.
Source: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Federal Reserve Economic Data. Economic Research of Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2012.

–U.S. M1 Money Stock (2012), Change from Year Ago, Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly. Source: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Federal Reserve Economic Data. Economic Research of Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2012.

–source of derivative information:

–Average with a constant measure of scattering (1)-(5) with parameters $h_1=0.00192$, $h_2=0.000280$ and $h_3=0.0000253$ of the U.S. M1 Money Stock, Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly (see Figure 1).

–Average with a constant measure of scattering (1)-(5) with parameters $h_1=0.00192$, $h_2=0.000280$ and $h_3=0.0000253$ of Change from Year Ago of the U.S. M1 Money Stock, Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly (see Figure 2).

For the measurement and modeling of chaotic and cyclic movements of the U.S. M1 Money Stock will be used econometric models with the following specification of the regression for the time series y_t :

$$y_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 A(h_1, y_t) + \dots + \beta_j A(h_j, y_t) + \varepsilon_t, \quad (6)$$

$$t = 0, \pm 1, \pm 2, \dots, 0 < h_j \leq h_0, j = 1, 2, \dots,$$

where $A(h_j, y_t)$ – factor variables of the model, i.e. indicators of the average with a constant of measure scattering for time series y_t ; β_s , – the unknown parameters; h_s – a given parameters of measures scattering of factor variables $A(h_j, y_t)$, $j = 1, 2, \dots$; h_0 – a fixed positive number; ε_t – a random errors such that for all $t, s = 0, \pm 1, \pm 2, \dots$ и $t \neq s$ satisfy the following conditions:

$$\begin{aligned} E[\varepsilon_t | \mathbf{X}] &= 0, \\ \text{Var}[\varepsilon_t | \mathbf{X}] &= \sigma^2, \\ \text{Cov}[\varepsilon_t, \varepsilon_s | \mathbf{X}] &= 0, \\ \varepsilon_t | \mathbf{X} &\sim N[0, \sigma^2 \mathbf{I}]; \end{aligned} \quad (7)$$

\mathbf{X} – a matrix of the observations compiled by of $A(h_j, y_t)$; $E[\cdot]$ – a expectation; $\text{Cov}[\cdot]$ – a covariance; $\text{Var}[\cdot]$ – a variance; \mathbf{I} – identity matrix.

2. Chaotic Attractor of the U.S. M1 Money Stock: Time Series, 1975-2012, Weekly

The choice of the structure of chaotic and cyclic movement and the identification of their characteristics allow using the category of deep chaos theory for solving many applied problems of system of reserve money, for example, measuring and modeling of chaotic and cyclic movements of the U.S. M1 Money Stock.

In particular, the choice of attractor of the U.S. M1 Money Stock – geometric structure that characterizes the behavior of participants' of money market in the phase space by sufficiently long period of time, that means an abstract space, which is represented by the set of all states of the system, so that each possible state of the system corresponds to the point of phase space whose coordinates are the degrees of freedom system.

In this case, the movement of the U.S. M1 Money Stock has two degrees of freedom. For example, in the case of M1 Money Stock: time series is the

movement which is completely possible to determine with the initial moment of time and initial state of the volume, and in the case of the phase portrait – the initial state and change from year ago of volume of the U.S. M1 Money Stock.

At choice of measures of scattering (Fibonacci level) equal $h_1=0.00192$, $h_2=0.000280$, and $h_3=0.0000253$ geometric illustration of the chaotic attractor of the U.S. M1 Money Stock as average with a constant measure of scattering are shown in Figure 1.

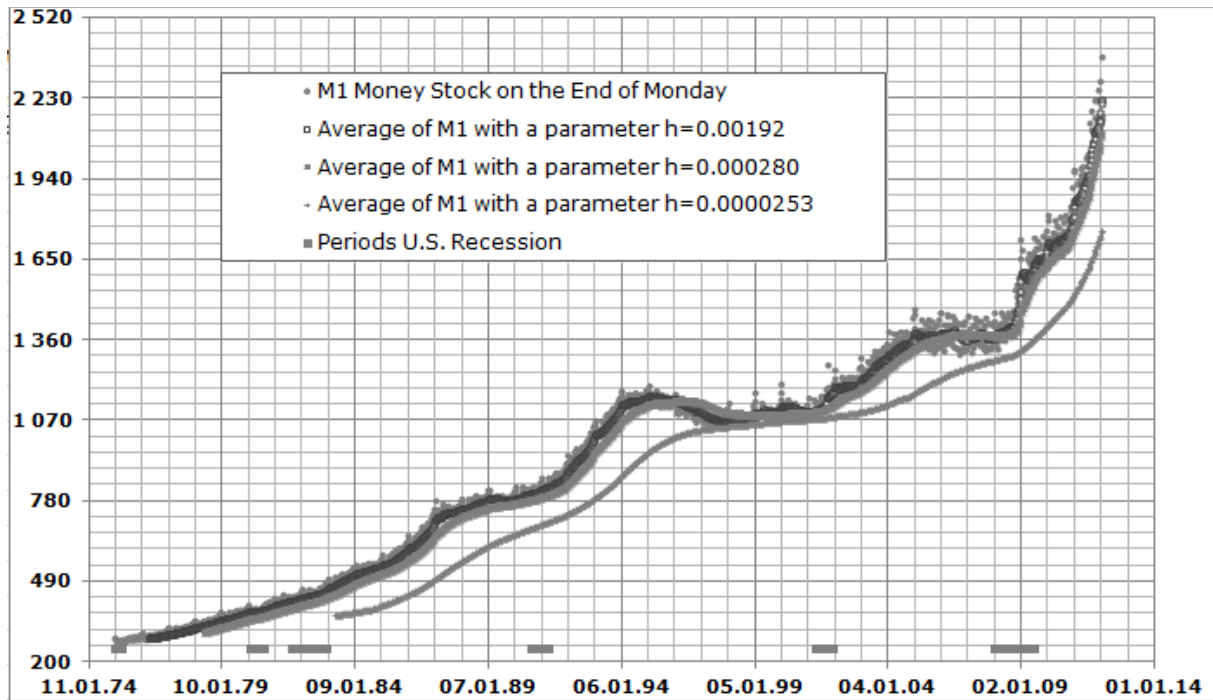


Figure 1. A Chaotic Attractor. Time Series: U.S. M1 Money Stock, Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly

It should be noted that the chaotic attractors of the U.S. M1 Money Stock identify the creation of the following trends, uncertainties and cyclic movements, i.e. by $h_2=0.000280$ was obtained (see Figure 1):

- growth trend of the U.S. M1 Money Stock on the 560 billions of dollars (from the beginning of 1975 to mid 1990) with the transition to the zone of excess emissions of the monetary aggregate M1 Money Stock (from the beginning of 1987 to mid 1990) that during this period formed the uncertainty of the market money and U.S. economy led to a recession in 1990-1991;
- after the recession in 1990-1991 years again the volume of the U.S. M1 Money Stock had gained the growth trend on the 400 billions of dollars to the beginning of 1994, further a zone of the excess emission of M1 Money stock had been dominating up to the beginning of 2001, i.e. during the period from the beginning of 1994 to early 2001 there had been a high uncertainty in the money market, which ended by the U.S. economy recession (2001);
- after the recession in 2001 year again the volume of the U.S. M1 Money Stock had gained the growth trend up to 400 billions of dollars to the beginning of 2005, further there had been a dominant zone of the excess emission of M1 Money Stock to the beginning of 2008, i.e. during the period from the

beginning of 2005 to early 2008 there had been a high uncertainty in the money market, which ended by the U.S. economy recession (2008-2009);

–after the recession in 2008-2009 years there was formed only the growth phase of cyclic movements of the U.S. M1 Money Stock, more than two-fold volume, i.e. 900 billions of dollars, but the zone of excess emissions of the M1 Money Stock had not yet been formed, which is expected presence of this phase reconciling 3-4 years.

3. Chaotic Attractor of Change from Year Ago of the U.S. M1 Money Stock: Time Series, 1975-2012, Weekly

Chaotic attractors of change to the corresponding period from year ago (more strength) of the U.S. M1 Money Stock identifies creation of the following trends, uncertainties and cyclic movements, i.e. by $h_2=0.000280$ was obtained (see Figure 2):

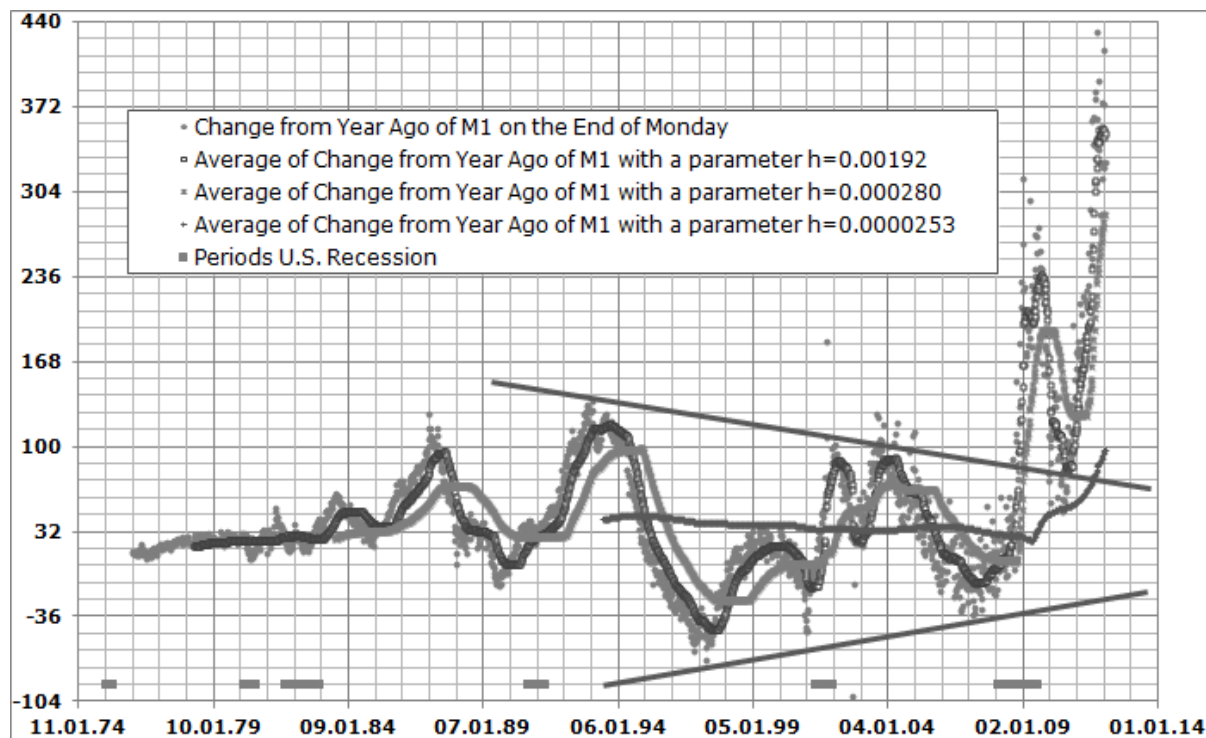


Figure 2. A Chaotic Attractor. Time Series: U.S. M1 Money Stock, Change from Year Ago, Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly

–growth trend of strength of the U.S. M1 Money Stock on the 80 billions of dollars (from the beginning of 1975 to mid 1987) with the transition to trend down on the 100 billions of dollars (from mid 1987 to mid 1990) that during this period formed the uncertainty of the market money and U.S. economy led to a recession in 1990-1991;

–after the recession in 1990-1991 years again of strength of the U.S. M1 Money Stock is gaining upward trend on the 100 billions of dollars to the beginning of 1994, then dominated by trends in the reduction on the 150 billions of dollars to the middle of 1997;

- from the middle of 1997 to the beginning of 2004 of strength of the U.S. M1 Money Stock is gained growth trends on the 130 billions of dollars, it should be noted that the U.S. economy experienced a recession (2001). During the period from early 2004 to early 2008 there is a downward trend, which ended in the U.S. by economy recession (2008-2009);
- after the recession 2008-2009 years it only the growth phase of cyclic movements of strength of the U.S. M1 Money Stock was formed, more than two-fold volume, i.e. on the 370 billions of dollars, but still the downward trend had not been formed of strength of M1 Money Stock that are expected presence of this phase reconciling 3-4 years.

4. Chaotic Attractor of the U.S. M1 Money Stock: Phase Portrait, 1975-2012, Weekly

The choice of chaotic attractor of the U.S. M1 Money Stock: Phase portrait – a geometric structure consisting of all states as the degree of freedom system, whose coordinates are determined by the initial state and change from year ago of volume of the U.S. M1 Money Stock.

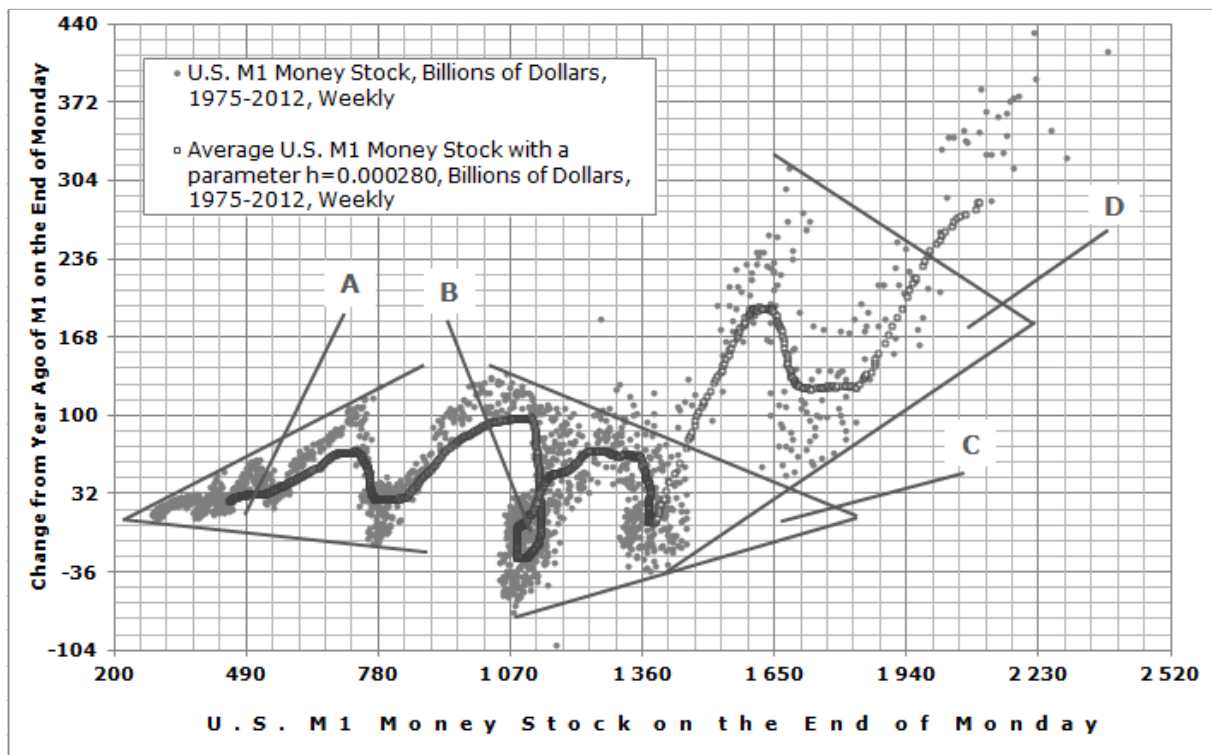


Figure 3. A Chaotic Attractor. Phase Portrait: U.S. M1 Money Stock and its Change from Year Ago, Billions of Dollars, 1975-2012, Weekly

Chaotic attractor of the U.S. M1 Money Stock: Phase portrait as average with a constant measure of scattering (1)-(5) with a parameter (Fibonacci level), for example by $h_2 = 0.000280$ has geometric illustration in Figure 3, and identifies creation of the following trends, uncertainties and cyclic movements was obtained (see Figure 3.):

- divergence trends around the triangular area A, which was formed as a result of chaotic change of the U.S. M1 Money Stock in the intervals 250-800 billions of dollars and strength in the intervals (-)10-120 billions of dollars;
- chaotic closed curve (the zone around the point B), which was formed as a result of chaotic change of the U.S. M1 Money Stock in the intervals 950-1 200 billions of dollars and strength in the intervals (-)70-40 billions of dollars;
- convergence trends to around the triangular zone C, which was formed as a result of chaotic change of the U.S. M1 Money Stock in the intervals 950-1 500 billions of dollars and strength in the intervals (-)70-135 billions of dollars;
- convergence trends to around the triangular area D, which was formed as a result of chaotic change of the U.S. M1 Money Stock in the intervals 1 350-2 100 billions of dollars and strength in the intervals (-)30-320 billions of dollars.

5. Econometric Measuring of the Chaotic Tendencies and the Initial State of the U.S. M1 Money Stock, 1975-2012, Weekly

As a result of permanent divergence and convergence of the chaotic attractor a rapidly growing trend of uncertainty and cyclical movement of the U.S. M1 Money Stock, i.e. with the expiration of each point in time lose the ability to make accurate predictions. However, to assess trends in the differences, convergence, the initial state of monetary aggregate M1 Money Stock and they can be a measure of chaos, i.e. numerical expression of how the system is chaotic.

Table 1. Estimate of parameters of the trends and the initial state of the U.S. M1 Money Stock through the aid of average with a constant measure of scattering (1)-(5), respectively, with parameters $h_1 = 0.00192$, $h_2 = 0.000280$, and $h_3 = 0.0000253$

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Average M1 with $h_1 = 0.00192$ | 0.9987*** (0.001) | | | 1.3112*** (0.023) | | 1.3143*** (0.027) |
| Average M1 with $h_2 = 0.000280$ | | 1.0132*** (0.002) | | -0.3184*** (0.023) | 1.3358*** (0.015) | -0.3239*** (0.036) |
| Average M1 with $h_3 = 0.0000253$ | | | 1.1006*** (0.005) | | -0.3584*** (0.016) | -0.0027* (0.013) |
| Constant | 11.7012*** (1.382) | 25.7735*** (2.165) | 53.3945*** (4.351) | 8.5164*** (1.338) | 23.4174*** (1.942) | 8.4939*** (1.343) |
| Number of observations | 1 933 | 1 933 | 1 933 | 1 933 | 1 933 | 1 933 |
| R-square | 0.9965 | 0.9913 | 0.9640 | 0.9969 | 0.9930 | 0.9969 |

Note. The dependent variable – U.S. M1 Money Stock, 1975-2012, Weekly. In parentheses are standard errors. *, **, *** – estimate is significant at 10%, 5%, 1% level.

It also should be mentioned that the reason of the chaotic tendencies is the differences in initial conditions and time of the U.S. M1 Money Stock. Even a microscopic deviation of two trends of the monetary aggregate M1 at the first time the process of movement can lead to an exponential accumulation of errors and their respective stochastic divergence.

Indeed, the divergence and convergence of the chaotic attractor of the initial conditions of time and state of the U.S. M1 Money Stock is systematically replaced by new ones. Thus, when the descent trajectory becomes closer and

begins to show the effect of short-sightedness – increases the uncertainty of large-scale information. And in the divergence of the trajectories is on the contrary, they diverge, the effect of farsightedness develops, when uncertainty of the small-scale information increases.

Thus, in order to estimate the parameters of the chaotic tendencies and the initial state of the U.S. M1 Money Stock, depending on the factor variables as average with a constant measure of scattering (1)-(5), respectively, parameters are: $h_1=0.00192$, $h_2=0.000280$, $h_3=0.0000253$ an econometric model (6)-(7) will be used.

There by, *ceteris paribus* weekly movements of the U.S. M1 Money Stock during 1975-2012 years have the following estimates (see Table 1):

- on the basis of $A(h_1, y_t)$ (average of M1 with $h_1=0.00192$):
 - trend: $\beta_1 = 0.9987$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 11.7012$;
- on the basis of $A(h_2, y_t)$ (average of M1 with $h_2=0.000280$):
 - trend: $\beta_2 = 1.0132$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 25.7735$;
- on the basis of $A(h_3, y_t)$ (average of M1 with $h_3=0.0000253$):
 - trend: $\beta_3 = 1.1006$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 53.3945$;
- on the grounds of $A(h_1, y_t)$ and $A(h_2, y_t)$:
 - trends, respectively: $\beta_1 = 1.3112$ and $\beta_2 = -0.3184$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 8.5164$;
- on the grounds of $A(h_2, y_t)$ and $A(h_3, y_t)$:
 - trends, respectively: $\beta_2 = 1.3358$ and $\beta_3 = -0.3584$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 23.4174$;
- on the basis of $A(h_1, y_t)$, $A(h_2, y_t)$ and $A(h_3, y_t)$:
 - trends, respectively: $\beta_1 = 1.3143$, $\beta_2 = -0.3239$ and $\beta_3 = -0.0027$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 8.4939$.

6. Econometric Measurement of the Chaotic Tendencies and the Initial State of Change from Year Ago of the U.S. M1 Money Stock, 1975-2012, Weekly

As in the fifth section for the estimation of parameters of chaotic trends and initial state of change from year ago of the U.S. M1 Money Stock in depend ingot variables factors, average with a constant measure of scattering (1)-(5), respectively, parameters are: $h_1=0.00192$, $h_2=0.000280$, $h_3=0.0000253$ an econometric model (6)-(7) will be used.

Thus, other things being equal, weekly traffic of change from year ago (more strength) of the U.S. M1 Money Stock during 1975-2012 have the following estimates (see Table 2):

- on the basis of $A(h_1, y_t)$ (average of strength of M1 with $h_1=0.00192$):
 - trend: $\beta_1 = 1.0243$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 0.43001$;
- on the basis of $A(h_2, y_t)$ (average of strength of M1 with $h_2=0.000280$):
 - trend: $\beta_2 = 1.0631$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 1.9568$;
- on the basis of $A(h_3, y_t)$ (average of strength of M1 with $h_3=0.0000253$):
 - trend: $\beta_3 = 2.9532$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 53.3979$;
- on the grounds of $A(h_1, y_t)$ and $A(h_2, y_t)$:
 - trends, respectively: $\beta_1 = 1.2489$ and $\beta_2 = -0.3208$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 3.9160$;
- on the grounds of $A(h_1, y_t)$ and $A(h_3, y_t)$:
 - trends, respectively: $\beta_1 = 1.0398$ and $\beta_3 = -0.1614$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = 5.2615$;
- on the basis of $A(h_1, y_t)y_t$, $A(h_2, y_t)$ and $A(h_3, y_t)$:
 - trends, respectively: $\beta_1 = 1.2502$, $\beta_2 = -0.3442$ and $\beta_3 = -0.1569$;
 - initial state: $\beta_0 = -0.5276$.

Table 2. Estimate of parameters of the trends and the initial state of Change from Year Ago (strength) of the U.S. M1 Money Stock through the aid of average with a constant measure of scattering (1)-(5), respectively, with parameters $h_1 = 0.00192$, $h_2 = 0.000280$, and $h_3 = 0.0000253$

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Average of strength of M1 with h_1 | 1.0243*** (0.008) | | | 1.2489*** (0.016) | 1.0398*** (0.009) | 1.2502*** (0.016) |
| Average of strength of M1 with h_2 | | 1.0631*** (0.020) | | -0.3208*** (0.019) | | -0.3442*** (0.021) |
| Average of strength of M1 with h_3 | | | 2.9532*** (0.121) | | -0.1614*** (0.053) | 0.1569*** (0.053) |
| Constant | 0.43001*** (0.602) | 1.9568* (1.255) | -53.3979*** (4.373) | 3.9160*** (0.604) | 5.2615*** (1.686) | -0.5276 (1.621) |
| Number of observations | 1 881 | 1 881 | 1 881 | 1 881 | 1 881 | 1 881 |
| R-square | 0.8977 | 0.6111 | 0.2396 | 0.9102 | 0.8983 | 0.9106 |

Note. The dependent variable – U.S. M1 Money Stock, Change from Year Ago, 1975-2012, Weekly. In parentheses are standard errors. *, **, *** - estimate is significant at 10%, 5%, 1% level.

Conclusion

The measuring and modeling of chaotic and cyclic movement of the U.S. M1 Money Stock confirms the applicability of an indicator of the average with a constant measure of scattering, for example in the study of applied problems in the system of money reserve. In particular, the use of this indicator of the average with a constant measure of scattering allows taking effective management decisions and provides meaningful interpretable quantitative assessment of the activities and management of money reserve system of the United States.

There was given an estimation of the parameters of the trends and the initial state of an econometric model of the U.S. M1 Money Stock depending on the parameter measure of scattering (Fibonacci level). Chaotic attractors weekly cyclic movements of the U.S. M1 Money Stock were constructed and its change from year ago, both in the form of time series, and the phase portrait, as well as trends in stochastic divergence and convergence, and other uncertainty characteristics.

Indeed, for chaotic attractors cyclic movements of the U.S. M1 Money Stock were observed and estimated three full-cycle trends of divergence and level convergence (see Fig. 1). For the fourth cycle movements were defined only trend of divergence, but levels of convergence still not defined.

In the case, for chaotic attractors cyclic movements of change from year ago of the U.S. M1 Money Stock were observed and estimated for one cycle and were estimated trends and level convergence (see Figure 2). For a cycle movements that began in 2008 were identified only trend of divergence, but levels of convergence still not defined.

In conclusion, for the phase portrait of chaotic attractors cyclic movements and change from year ago of the U.S. M1 Money Stock were observed and estimated by two full-cycle trends and their corresponding levels of convergence (see Figure 3). For the third cycle, only the breakdowns of trends were identified divergence, but levels of convergence still not defined.

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CROSS-BORDER BIRTH IN HONG KONG: THE ISSUE OF BIRTHRIGHT PERMANENT RESIDENTSHIP FOR THE CHILDREN OF MAINLANDER COUPLES

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Abstract

After making an interpretation of Hong Kong Basic Law Article 24 in 2003, large number of mainlander expectant mothers cross the border to give birth in Hong Kong. The aim of this action is to give their babies a birthright permanent residency of Hong Kong. This study examines the background of mainlander mothers' cross border birth and discusses the issue of birthright permanent residency for the children of mainlander parents. Data from official statistics are used to examine the influence of cross border birth to Hong Kong's demographic change. It was found that there is a big gap between the number of newborns and young children population. This study also found that economic differentiation and liberalization of the movement of persons are the main reasons pushing mainlander mothers to cross the border. By comparing countries which face the cross border birth issues and their policies towards birthright citizenship, this paper concluded that there is a need in modifying the birth right permanent residency for children of mainlander parents.

Keywords

Birthright Citizenship – Cross-border Birth – Hong Kong residency

Introduction

Cross border to give birth is not a new phenomenon in today's world. The most popular case is Mexican going to United State of America (U.S.) to give birth. There are many reasons for parents to choose another country to deliver. One of the main reasons is the "citizenship". Many countries are practicing "birthright citizenship" (jus soli) which grants citizenship to individuals born in the territory of the related state, such as the U.S. and Canada. It contrasts to "right of blood" (jus sanguinis) which citizenship is determined by one or both parents who are citizens of the nation.

To change one's citizenship, migration is the only method. However the process of immigration is full with difficulties, money and time consuming. Giving birth in a state which is practicing birthright citizenship eliminates those difficulties. It is because the child who is the citizen of that state could apply his/her parents or even other family members to migrate through reunification. The increasing

cases of cross border birth have become a topic of public discussion. Some countries like Australia had modified the law related to birthright citizenship in the 80s and by 2004, all European countries have modified the policy of granting birthright citizenship by adding additional conditions to prevent illegal immigrants taking advantages of birthright citizenship to grant the right of abode. Now, among the developed nations, only U.S. and Canada continue to practice birthright citizenship unconditionally.

In the case of Hong Kong, birthright citizenship is only applicable to Chinese nationals. It is because when Hong Kong returned to People's Republic of China (PRC), all Hong Kong permanent residents should become Chinese nationals automatically. However, some of the Hong Kong permanent residents are not Chinese. Therefore, the article 24 of Hong Kong Basic Law which stipulates the right of abode of Hong Kong permanent residents and their future generations officially named Hong Kong permanent residents as Chinese nationals. And after an interpretation of Hong Kong Basic Law Article 24 in 2003, the "Chinese nationals" used in article 24 means all the Chinese nationals, not only Hong Kong Chinese permanent resident. From there mainland Chinese couples start coming to Hong Kong to give birth. The live births born by mothers who are temporary visitors from mainland China was 39% in 2010, which was more than a quarter from the total. It is clear that those babies will directly affect Hong Kong society in various areas, such as education system, medical services, welfare systems, etc.

The aim of this paper is to examine the background of mainlander mothers' cross border birth and discuss the issue of birth right permanent residency for the children born by mainlander couples. By comparing countries which face the cross border birth issue and their policies towards birthright citizenship, this paper draw a conclusion that there is a need to modify the birthright permanent residency for children of mainlander couples.

1. Hong Kong's Permanent Residency

The term "permanent residency" is abstracted from the term "Hong Kong Permanent Resident". In 1949 the colonial government of Hong Kong introduced an identity card registration system to halt the large inflow of Chinese refugees from Communist China and control the border with mainland China. And in 1972, the government renewed the system and started to identify residents into "permanent resident" and "non-permanent resident". Later in 1987, the colonial government modified the Immigration Ordinance and allowed Chinese permanent residents enjoy freedom from removal. Since then "Hong Kong permanent resident" is equal to the right of abode and the state of "Hong Kong permanent resident" is equivalent to citizenship. (Ng C.S, Lee J & Qu A 1997:72-81).

Hong Kong became a special administrative region (SAR) of PRC after 1 July 1997. Under the idea of 'one country two systems' introduced by Deng Xiao Ping, Hong Kong SAR is allowed to remain a capitalist system, enjoy a high degree of autonomy, running her own party, political economic and financial affairs, and may conclude commercial and cultural agreements with foreign countries and would enjoy "certain rights" in foreign affairs (Zhang Y. & Chen Y. 2001:145-146). Besides, Hong Kong has her own government, legal system, currency, passport which makes Hong Kong almost equivalent to an independent nation.

In terms of citizenship, following with the handover, all Chinese Hong Kong permanent residents, no matter those who hold 'passport of territories under British governance' or 'British nationals' (overseas) passports' automatically become Chinese citizens. However, the rights and duties that Hong Kong Chinese citizens have are very different to those mainland Chinese citizens. For example, the civil, political and social rights of Hong Kong citizens are protected by the Hong Kong Basic Law. The duties, such as paying taxes, voting, serving on a jury, etc, of Hong Kong permanent residents are obligated to Hong Kong SAR, rather than to the central government of PRC.

According to Hong Kong Basic Law Chapter 3, Article 24, permanent resident of Hong Kong SAR shall be a Chinese citizen who born in Hong Kong or anyone who have resided in Hong Kong for a continuous period of not less than 7 years. The term "Chinese citizen" set off a debate on Chinese citizen who born in Hong Kong by mainland Chinese citizen parents who do not hold Hong Kong permanent residency could entitle to the "right of abode" of Hong Kong or not by Mr. Chong on 26 June 1999 in the Court of First Instance (named as the case of Chong Fung Yuen). At the end, the Court of Final Appeal (the highest adjudication power) announced that the right of abode was a core right under the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, and there should be no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. Since 20 July 2001, all Chinese nationals who are born in Hong Kong, even by non Hong Kong Permanent residents parents are entitled to have the right of abode in Hong Kong. And this interpretation provokes an unexpected boom of mainland Chinese couples' cross border birth in Hong Kong.

2. Mainland Chinese couples' cross border birth in Hong Kong

On 8 May 2007, Hung A. (2007) from the University of Hong Kong published an article explaining the reasons of mainland Chinese mothers choose to give birth in Hong Kong. The three main reasons are: first, enjoy the right of abode; second, better living standard and third, escape from the one-child policy. Advantages of having a Hong Kong permanent residency allows the child first, have relatively freedom in movement. In terms of internal travel, Hong Kong Chinese permanent resident holder could apply a "Mainland Travel permit for Hong Kong and Macau Residents", colloquially known as "home return permit" issued by the Public Security Bureau of Guangdong province through China Travel Service. This permit allows Hong Kong permanent residents multiple visit mainland China within the valid period. However, holders must register with the local police if they are going to stay overnight for a short trip. For a holder who intends to reside in mainland China, is required to obtain permission from the local prefecture policy and obtain a special long-term residence permit (Zhang Y. & Chen Y. 2002:148-153). On the other hand, according to Immigration Department, mainland a Chinese citizen who would like to travel to Hong Kong have to apply a "Exit-entry Permit for Travelling to and from Hong Kong and Macao", colloquially known as "two-way permit" issued by Bureau of exit and Entry Administration of Chinese Ministry of Public Security of mainland China. This permit has various versions and a valid period, but for traveling or business purpose, the limitation of stay is 7 days only. For foreign travel, Hong Kong permanent resident could apply a HKSAR passport which allows holder visa-free travel to 149 countries/regions. On the other hand, People's Republic of China

passport allows holder visa-free travel to 52 countries/regions only. Therefore, in terms of traveling or movement both inside and outside mainland China, Hong Kong permanent resident is less restricted than mainland Chinese.

Second, the child can enjoy a better social welfare system. Although Hong Kong is not a welfare state, the welfare system covers areas such as labor, employment, education, medical, health care, housing, urban renewal, transport, eradication of poverty and international relief work, etc. However, in mainland China, welfare system depends on one's official family registry, people who have resided to other providence or away from their own family registry providence, they are not going to be covered in the welfare system of that providence (Feng W. 2009:151-171).

Since the gap between Hong Kong permanent residentship and mainland Chinese citizenship is large, many mainland Chinese couples would like to give birth in Hong Kong in order to give their child a Hong Kong permanent residentship. Before 28 July 2003, it was not easy for mainland Chinese to travel to Hong Kong as strict immigration control between Hong Kong and mainland China remain exists even after the handover. Both Hong Kong Permanent Residents and mainland Chinese are required to hold a valid traveling document before crossing the border. Mainland Chinese could enter Hong Kong by family visit visa, business visa or group visa only. However, after the SARS scare, aiming to improve Hong Kong's and Macau's economic condition, Central Chinese Government drew up an 'Individual Visit Scheme' on 28 July 2003. This scheme allows mainland Chinese to travel to Hong Kong and Macau by individual basis. Together with the scheme, the disembarkation procedure of applying 'Exit-Entry Permit for Travelling to and from Hong Kong and Macao', colloquially known as 'Two-way permit' has loosen. According to the Immigration Department, this document allows mainland Chinese to travel to Hong Kong for the purpose of personal visit, family reunion, business and other non-government purpose to and return from Hong Kong or Macau. Other than family reunion, the maximum of stay in Hong Kong or Macau is 7 days and the validation of the travel document is usually 3 months or 1 year.

After practicing the 'Individual Visit Scheme', mainland Chinese couples started to come to Hong Kong to give birth by individual travel documents. The share of mainland Chinese couples born baby in the total live births increase from 0.9% (1998) to 39% (2010) (see table 1). Since those babies who hold Hong Kong permanent residentship do not need to register in their parents' official family registry, many mainland Chinese couples believe having extra birth in Hong Kong would not go against 'one-child policy'.

TABLE 1
THE SHARE OF NEW BORN BABIES BY NATIVE AND MAINLAND CHINESE MOTHERS

| Year | TFR | Total Number of live births | Babies born by HK resident parents | Babies born by mainland Chinese mothers | | | |
|------|-------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| | | | | Husband is Hong Kong resident | Husband is mainland resident | Others* | subtotal |
| 1998 | 1.017 | 52977 | 46868 (88.5) | 5651 (10.7) | 458 (0.9) | N.A. | 6109 (11.5) |
| 1999 | 0.982 | 51281 | 44101 (86.0) | 6621 (12.9) | 559 (1.1) | N.A. | 7180 (14.0) |
| 2000 | 1.035 | 54134 | 45961 | 7464 (13.8) | 709 (1.3) | N.A. | 8173 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| | | | (84.9) | | | | (16.2) |
| 2001 | 0.932 | 48219 | 40409 (83.8) | 7190 (14.9) | 620 (1.3) | N.A. | 7810 (16.2) |
| 2002 | 0.939 | 48209 | 39703 (82.4) | 7256 (15.1) | 1250 (2.6) | N.A. | 8506 (17.6) |
| 2003 | 0.901 | 46965 | 36837 (78.4) | 7962 (17.0) | 2070 (4.4) | 96 (0.2) | 10128 (21.6) |
| 2004 | 0.927 | 49796 | 36587 (73.5) | 8896 (17.9) | 4102 (8.2) | 211 (0.4) | 13209 (26.5) |
| 2005 | 0.959 | 57098 | 37560 (65.8) | 9879 (17.3) | 9273 (16.2) | 386 (0.7) | 19538 (34.2) |
| 2006 | 0.984 | 65626 | 39494 (60.2) | 9438 (14.4) | 16044 (24.4) | 650 (1.0) | 26132 (39.8) |
| 2007 | 1.024 | 70394 | 42820 (60.8) | 7989 (11.3) | 18816 (26.7) | 769 (1.1) | 27574 (39.2) |
| 2008 | 1.056 | 78752 | 45187 (57.4) | 7228 (9.2) | 25269 (32.1) | 1068 (1.4) | 33565 (42.6) |
| 2009 | 1.042 | 82095 | 44842 (54.6) | 6213 (7.6) | 29766 (36.3) | 1247 (1.5) | 37253 (45.4) |
| 2010 | 1.094 | 88495 | 47847 (54.1) | 6169 (7.0) | 32653 (36.9) | 1826 (2.1) | 40648 (45.9) |

Note:

1. Babies born by foreign national Hong Kong Permanent Resident are not included.
2. Number in () are the % of that group by total number of live births.
3. * Others: mainland Chinese mother did not provide the baby's father information during the birth registration.

Source: Census and Statistics Department (2011)

Between 2003 and 2006, Hong Kong's hospitals unexpectedly received over 60,000 mainland Chinese mothers to give birth. Unexpected arrival of mainland Chinese mothers usually with limited medical records which made medical care providers found hard to provide appropriate treatment. Facing the risk of helping few health records mothers to deliver baby, most of the hospitals placed unexpected mainland Chinese mothers in intensive care. This strained Hong Kong's overburdened health-care system. Furthermore, many mainland Chinese mothers left without paying hospital fees and brought a huge financial problem to Hong Kong government. In 2007, Hong Kong's government announced that unpaid fees by non Hong Kong residents exceeded HK\$322million and over 70% were owned by mainland Chinese between 2002 and 2006 (Liu 2010).

To solve the financial and medical problem, on February 2007, Hong Kong government imposed restriction on mainland Chinese expectant mothers to enter Hong Kong. All mainland Chinese visitors who are 7 month pregnant and do not hold a valid document showing her doctor's appointment are not allow to enter Hong Kong. The government also raised the medical fee of non Hong Kong permanent resident delivery and birth-related hospitalization in public hospital from minimum HK\$9000 to HK\$39000 (Liu 2010). These policies did not help to stop the boom of cross border birth, but it helped Hong Kong's public hospitals generated HK\$150000000 from such mainland Chinese mothers (Liu 2010). The boom of mainland Chinese cross border birth leads to a shortage of seat for childbirth in both public and private hospitals. Many Hong Kong permanent

resident couples complain they could not find a hospital to give birth because mainland Chinese couples have occupied the rooms (LaFrniere 2012).

Although the Hong Kong government has imposed strict restrictions on immigration and raised the expenses for delivery, some unfaithful intermediaries continue to send their clients to Hong Kong through illicit means. The case of mainland Chinese expectant mothers who do not hold proper reservation document giving birth at emergency unit has increased 77.7% from 2010 to 2011. In 2011, illegal changes have been found in mainland Chinese expectant mothers' medical record by intermediaries for making reservation of delivery.

3. The issue of Birthright Permanent Residency for the Children of Mainland Chinese Couples

Children who are born in Hong Kong by mainland Chinese couples have the right of abode in Hong Kong and they are protected by the Hong Kong Basic Law and eligible for social security, compulsory education, and public healthcare as others Hong Kong permanent residents. All the government expenditure on social security, education, welfare and healthcare are financed by tax funds which paid by Hong Kong residents. In 2012 Social Welfare Department of Hong Kong announced that mainland Chinese born children applicant of living assistance has rise over 10% every year from 2008 (Choi 2012). Under the social security system, each child can receive HK\$2395 (standard payment) per month. Assuming there is only 1000 mainland Chinese born children apply the living assistance, every year the government have to pay extra HK\$28740000. Therefore, many Hong Kong residents complain mainland Chinese born children are stealing resources from Hong Kong. Aside from the social security, Hong Kong government would face extra economic burden of providing education services to these children. Thus, it is clear that no matter in short run or long run, the mainland Chinese born children would influence the population development and the allocation of resources in Hong Kong.

Aside from the resident's right, the Hong Kong permanent residency also holds a major significance for membership. Although Hong Kong has returned to PRC and most Chinese Hong Kong permanent residents became Chinese citizen, towards the sense of membership, there is still a great difference between Hong Kong permanent resident and mainland Chinese. Considering the economic, political, education standard, international connection and information network differences Hong Kong permanent residents remains a strong membership to Hong Kong rather than to the PRC. (Cheng & Wong 2004:156-158) Many Hong Kong permanent residents vent one's frustration against mainland Chinese couples' cross border birth and gradually generate social differentiation. This makes mainland Chinese born children find more difficult to identify themselves.

Since birthright citizenship is the main factor attracting mainland Chinese couples to give birth in Hong Kong, seeking modification of law is the fundamental solution to this issue. Many European countries decided to solve the issue of cross border birth by adding additional condition to birthright citizenship. For example, United Kingdom was the first country modified her birthright citizenship in 1981 to control British subjects to get British citizenship. Children who are born in United Kingdom by non British citizen could be a British citizen with the condition of residing in United Kingdom for not less than 10 years. Later,

Australia reformed her birthright citizenship in 1986, and in 2004 Ireland is the last country in EU, modified her birthright citizenship by adding additional conditions (one of the parents is a Ireland national or hold a state which equivalent to Ireland citizenship) (Iseult H. 2007).

In Hong Kong, some scholars and councilor urge the administration to consider amending the Basic Law to stop mainland Chinese couples to give birth in Hong Kong. However, the Chief executive Donald Tsang said interpreting or amending the Basic law is a controversial issue and should only be considered if administrative measures prove ineffective (Chan C. 2012). On the other hand, the Legislative Council Member Ms. Ip believes that final solution lies in the reinterpretation of provisions on the 'Right of Abode in Hong Kong' in Hong Kong Basic Law by the National Peoples' Congress Standing Committee (Sham S.C. 2012) However, the RTHK English News reported on 8 February that the Liberal Party, party's chairwoman, Miriam Lau said her party opposes any move to amend the Basic Law with the reason that in 1999 the National Peoples' Congress Standing Committee had already stated that babies born in Hong Kong to temporary visitors could not enjoy right of abode. Both amending the Basic Law and reinterpretation the 'Right of Abode in Hong Kong' do face great difficulties. Since amending the Basic Law opens a door for Hong Kong government to have another chance to amending the Basic Law. Therefore, many scholars believe the Central Chinese Government concerns this precedent may challenge "one country two systems" in the future. For reinterpretation, the concern goes opposite. Hong Kong people are concerned if Central Chinese Government's reinterpretation of the "right of abode" again would harm the autonomy, independent judiciary and the right of final adjudication. Therefore, taking EU as reference, adding additional condition to birthright citizenship maybe is a better solution to the issue of mainland Chinese' cross border birth.

Conclusion

The reinterpretation of the term "Chinese nationals" in Hong Kong Basic Law in 2001 opened a gate for all Chinese nationals to have a chance to give their children a Hong Kong permanent residentship as a present for birth. After the Individual Visit Scheme began to practice in 2003, the number of mainland Chinese couples' cross border birth has increased sharply. The share of mainland Chinese mother's live birth occupied almost half of the total live births. The large share of mainland Chinese cross border birth generates various social issues, such as medical, education, population development, welfare, etc and it is necessary to take action to stop the mainland Chinese cross border birth. Generally, many scholars and Hong Kong people believe birthright citizenship is the main reasons to persuade mainlanders to give birth in Hong Kong. Therefore, public opinion towards the final solution of this issue mainly based on amending the Basic Law of Hong Kong or urge the National Peoples' congress Standing Committee to reinterpretation of the "right of abode" in Hong Kong. However, no matter amending the Basic Law or reinterpretation the "right of abode" faces many difficulties. Therefore, by studying the cases of Ireland, adding additional condition, such as child who is born by non Hong Kong Permanent Residents who would like to receive right of abode in Hong Kong by birthright citizenship, should reside in Hong Kong for not less than 7 years, may be is a good method to solve this issue.

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MUSEOLOGY AND ITS STATUS IN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL STUDIES

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Abstract

The paper is devoted to the analysis of the different meanings of the term «museology» in modern science. Five existing definitions have been distinguished. The main idea of the issue is to prove the necessity of the integrating and pluralistic approach in studying museology as academic and scientific discipline. A correlation between museology and Humanities (philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, ethics) and Social Studies (anthropology, history, sociology, cultural studies) is considered through theoretical aspects. The conclusion is made about status of museology as both social and cultural interdisciplinary science aimed to research complex interrelations between material and spiritual, social and psychological, cultural and natural in «museal field».

Keywords

Museology - Interdisciplinary approach – Museum subject

Introduction

What is museology? It can be treated as a scientific and academic discipline which will foster the development of museums and the museum profession through research, study and dissemination of museological thinking. Museum studies as scientific direction and discipline has been taking place during XX century when the base treatment of a museum as social and cultural institute was developed and affirmed. But nowadays there is a need to reconsider the theoretical fundamentals of museology from an integrating and pluralistic approach. The world of museums has changed considerably in recent years due to tourist, economic and other developments, which had largely overshadowed social and cultural challenges. Museum mission today is to serve cross-cultural interaction, to make contacts between generations, various social communities, ethnic groups, professional, region and other subcultures. XXI century inevitably puts museums in a permanent situation of changing its functions and structure, searching the new forms of its self-organization. Globalization actualizes the human factor in museum activity.

We have based our research on an interdisciplinary, i. e. integrating approach, because the museology has deep links with other sciences and museum reflection has a clear cross-disciplinary profile. Therefore it is so important to define its real place in the system of social and humanitarian knowledge.

1.

The term «museology» has appeared for the first time in German magazine «Zeitschrift für Museologie, und Antiquitätenkunde» in 1878. It was the first journal promoting museology as an academic discipline. This magazine was published by J.G.Th. von Graesse, director of the Grüne Gewölbe at Dresden. (Hilgers 2005) Etymologically speaking museology is the «study of the museum» (or museum studies), and not its practice, which is museography. But now the term museology has several different meanings.

1.1.

The first and most commonly accepted meaning applies the term museology to anything relating to museums. Thus one might speak of the museological questions or museological departments of a library and so on.

1.2.

The second meaning is close to «museum studies». The definition proposed by G.H.Riviere states: «Museology: an applied science, the science of the museum. Museology studies its history, its role in society, the specific forms of research and physical conservation, activities and dissemination, organization and functioning, new or musealised architecture, sites that have been received or chosen, its typology and its deontology» (Riviere 1981).

1.3.

Museology is also considered as a genuine field of scientific research (a developing science) and an independent discipline examining reality. «Museology is a self-differentiating, independent scientific discipline the subject of which is a specific attitude of man to reality expressed objectively in various museum forms throughout history, an expression of and a proportionate part of memory systems. Museology, by nature a social science, pertains to the sphere of mnemonic and documentary scientific disciplines, and contributes to the understanding of Man within society» (Stransky 1980).

Thus following the Brno school ideas, which prevailed at the time in Russia, one could define museology as «a science studying the specific relation of Man to reality, consisting of the purposeful and systematic collecting and conservation of selected inanimate, material, mobile, and mainly three-dimensional objects documenting the development of nature and society» (Gregorova 1980).

1.4.

The concept «new museology» («*la nouvelle museologie*» in French, where the concept originated) emphasized the social role of museums and its interdisciplinary character, along with its new styles of expression and communication. New museology was particularly interested in new types of museums (ecomuseums, social museums, scientific and cultural centers), which aim to use the local heritage in order to promote local development.

1.5.

The fifth meaning of the term includes all the others. According to it museology covers a much wider field comprising all the efforts at theorization and critical thinking about the museal field. In other words, the common denominator of this field could be defined as a specific relation between man and reality, expressed by documenting of real subjects that can be grasped through direct sensory contact. This definition does not reject a priori any form of museum, including the oldest and the modern ones, because it tends to concern itself with a domain which is freely open to all experiments in the museal field.

2.

All the definitions convincingly testify that museum studying is impossible within the limits of one discipline. The fifth meaning, widely adopted in a modern science, determines the interdisciplinary approach in museology. It is caused by two reasons. At first, the profiles of museums are connected practically with all branches of knowledge (geology, mineralogy, biology, paleontology, zoology, history, art criticism, literary criticism, etc.). Secondly, the various practical activities (pedagogical, art, including design, preservation, marketing and etc.), needing a scientific substantiation are carried out in modern museum.

2.1.

First of all it is necessary to mention that philosophy is considered as a theoretical and methodological base for creation of the museum concept and for interpretation of museum collections by their historical and cultural value. Gnoseological and axiological methods are also used by museology. Museum collections represent a new documentary reality which promotes generalization of knowledge about reality. Museum object is a fragment of a reality penetrated in all measurements by any possible relations most important of which are spatial and temporal.

The spatial factor inevitably puts museums in a permanent situation of changing the forms of its self-organizing. System research of a museum as cultural space will allow study museum in the complex of interrelations most full opening its nature and essence. Conceptual inclusion of a museum in cultural space gives a possibility to explain specificity of its spiritual maintenance, and also ways and forms of its functioning. In this context two aspects are urgent in museum philosophy research: «museum AS space» and «museum AND space». Social conditionality of a museum activity, its openness to interests and inquiries of public, expansion of spatial and thematic borders is shown as a condition of transformation traditional museum institution in intensively developing open system. Transformation of a museum into an independent versatile and multifunctional museum complex with the developed infrastructure is the leading trend of the modern museum development conditioned by globalization tendencies.

2.2.

The information contained in a museum object refers to the certain category of the social information which have caused its occurrence, to the certain epoch and

culture, or to the certain person. The museum object fixes a certain experience of mankind and accumulates all data on the phenomena which have predetermined its occurrence and an existing. Axiological approach shows that a process of selection of museum objects is carried out within the limits of subject-object relations based on selectivity and estimation. It is important to underline that the estimating subject is the person, the museum employee, and estimated object — a museum subject. Further the estimation of the museum information is carried out by the visitor from positions of its own valuable representations and preferences.

2.3.

Concepts «museum» and «heritage» are deeply historical also close interrelation. The museological studying is impossible without historical approach. The history of museums is an integral part of social and cultural history and a human civilization as a whole (Hudson 1975). The museum subject is also a historical source. It is important to consider its components of a separate thing — function (purpose), morphology (appearance and the device) and semantics (set of values and senses). Disclosing of these aspects allows to generate the historical and cultural environment of the past. It is extremely important to research and to fix a value of a museum subject in order to reconstruct historical authenticity in a museum exposition. In this connection it is necessary to note strengthening of the world tendency connected with development of a method of animation in museums and directed towards a reconstruction historical and cultural environment of things. The methodological principle of «a museum historicism», playing thus a significant role, defines the special approach to the primary source is a requirement of authenticity, of reliability the objects included in the historical and cultural environment, and therefore of scientific character of their interpretation.

2.4.

Interdisciplinary links between museology and psychology are found out in studying of perception of the information accumulated in museum subjects. The first level of perception is connected with multistage process tactile, emotional, cognitive, and sometimes moral comprehension of museum information by experts. The second level of perception means its development by museum audience, taking into account its sexual, age, motivational, religious, educational, ethnic and other features.

It is important to note, that development of a cultural heritage in a museum possesses the features which are distinct from scientific knowledge and scientific methods of research, it should lean on essentially other mechanism of humanitarian thinking. Specificity of a museum allows making such kinds of humanitarian knowledge, as emotional knowledge, knowledge-experience, knowledge-immersing more actual. Such methods of knowledge, in our opinion, can enable to take place to the kinds of humanitarian knowledge specified above in a museum, namely during realization of various pedagogical programs. Museum education has its own specificity from psychological point of view. It consists in direct contact with material culture or tangible heritage. The pedagogical activity directed towards disclosing and developing multivariate museum object or a subject as a sign of an epoch, museum collection as image

of an epoch, museum space as dialogue of epoch. The dialogue of cultures has huge importance in human-being orientation not only in the museum environment, but also and in a globalizing culture or pluralizing worldview.

2.5.

Pedagogy, sociology and ethics (Šola 1997) have long and stable relations with museology. Interaction of museums with an education system is necessary for satisfaction of various requirements of museum audience, including the decision of such problems as: self-education and self-realization, social adaptation and cultural identification and etc. Museology has many points of intersection with pedagogy and sociology in studying of common cultural, ethical, esthetic influence of museums and their significance in formation of individual and public consciousness.

The rethinking of the methodological bases of educational activity in the museum occurs in a global trend of the general humanization of science, culture and education. Philosophy of culture, philosophy of modern education, namely: cultural development of the person, dialogue of cultures, the reservation, protection and a reconstruction of historical values and cultural wealth, preparation for mastering of cognitive methods and its practical realization can serve as the theoretical and methodological basis of educational activities in modern museum.

2.6.

The museum subject, first of all, is studied as a culture product, in other words as result of human activity. Besides, it is considered as object of the Humanities. Therefore use of hermeneutical methods for its research is quite proved. These methods assume consideration of conditions, circumstances or the purposes of a museum subject, its value in a context of the certain culture. The focus is on studying of a role which subjects played in certain time. It is connected with revealing of semantics of a museum subject. Thus, museology allows to investigate comprehensively both material and intangible cultural heritage and to take out the coded information with a view of historical and cultural interpretation.

2.6.1.

Museology, along with linguistics and art studies, is engaged in rethinking of the cultural «text» and searching the methods of its interpretation. An understanding of deep sense, research of perception of the text by the recipient allows to develop scientific representation about the text and also about its semantic and semiotics properties in museum exhibitions and projects.

2.6.2.

Museum itself and museum collections as a cultural phenomenon proves the statement that museology is close to cultural studies and to heritology particularly. Šola defined heritology as a study of the future of collective experience – a science focused on the concept of total heritage (Šola 2003 37-38).

Thus, the social mission of local museums is to preserve local community historical memory and cultural traditions. Mobile exhibitions, summer camps for acquaintance all visitors with crafts, the studies «master-to-newbie» allow restoring natural transfer of the traditions from generation to generation - «from the father to the son». Every individual is inseparably connected with a place of his inhabitation, where he leaves visible and invisible traces. He is remembered there by local people. The birthplace and residing are not only the inhabitation, but is also the personal environment. Actualizing a cultural heritage the local museums help local community to generate own historical and cultural environment. Reviving national crafts, spiritual and home traditions, holidays and folklore, by use of the exposition in education, a local museum not only preserves cultural heritage, but breathes life into the exhibits and monuments, fosters people to be not indifferent to the past, present and future.

Conclusion

In XXI century it is necessary to realize that the state of humanitarian knowledge is connected with studying of museum and museum subject properties which express complex interrelations between material and spiritual, social and psychological, cultural and natural both in the person, and in results of its activity. Museology can be considered to be both social and cultural discipline aimed to research museal field. Museology comes nearer than for example history, ethnology or art studies does to such problems as: «local – individual – universal», «science – art – morals», «person – society – nature», «tradition – activity – innovation», «last – present – future». Museum longevity as historical phenomenon, its flexibility as cultural form and its urgency as social institute allow studying «museal field» as a space of intercultural communication in the complex of social and humanitarian interrelations. What a society chooses to remember and to forget during a certain time says something profound about that society. These cultural heritage processes that are governed, nurtured and expressed in a socio-cultural and political-economic landscape is of a special research interest of. There are many possible points of view which have to be compared to better understand the museum phenomenon, which is rapidly developing, the recent evolutions of which cannot leave the museologists indifferent.

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MICROFINANCEMENT DU DÉVELOPPEMENT LOCAL AU MEXIQUE

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Résumé

Le développement local se génère grâce à la variété de ressources locales, nationales et internationales, lesquelles sont généralement d'origine économique, financières, physique, humaine, technique, sociopolitique et culturelle. La question principale ici est : quelles sont les mécanismes gouvernementales utilisées au Mexique pour appuyer le développement local ? Ainsi, dans le cadre de cet article, nous nous proposons d'analyser, la dynamique de la planification et les stratégies de prise de décision par le secteur public sur la micro-finance destinée au développement local au Mexique. Ainsi, l'hypothèse principale est que le microcrédit est un outil essentiel pour le développement local, et à travers une méthode de recherche qualitative, nous en arrivons au résultat que le gouvernement mexicain pêche par un manque de politique de planification intégrale du développement local.

Mots clés

Microcrédit - développement local - Administration publique

Introduction

La présente contribution constitue une réflexion sur la dynamique de planification et les stratégies de prise de décision par le secteur public, afin de maximiser l'efficacité de la micro-finance pour le développement local. Le développement local se génère grâce à la variété de ressources locales, nationales et internationales, lesquelles sont généralement d'origine économique, financières, physique, humaine, technique et sociopolitique et culturelle.

L'administration ou la gestion de cet aspect du développement, met l'accent sur la nécessité de la participation des citoyens (personnes, secteurs public et privé, organisations non gouvernementales, institutions financières internationales etc.). L'efficacité de cette approche dépend d'une planification bien structurée et d'un processus de prise de décision dynamique ad hoc aux potentialités des acteurs impliqués. Ainsi, la politique d'octroi de microcrédits doit s'appuyer sur

des principes scientifiques basés sur une planification spatiale et temporelle dans le but de répondre aux besoins des peuples de façon cohérente.

Pour ce faire, l'objectif de cet article est d'analyser du point de vue théorique, la dynamique de la planification et les stratégies de prise de décision par le secteur public sur la micro-financedestinée au développement local au Mexique.

En outre, l'argument central (hypothèse) de cet article est que le microcrédit est un outil essentiel pour le développement local au Mexique. Cependant, les gouvernements fédéraux, avec des stratégies de planification approximatives et un processus prise de décisions politisé, ont tendance à se perdre dans le complexe et turbulent segment de l'économie nationale, ce qui atténue le potentiel du microcrédit dans son rôle de catalyseur du développement local.

1. Qu'entendons-nous par développement local?

Dans le contexte de cet article, le développement local fait référence à l'identification et exploitation des ressources et potentialités endogènes qui peuvent avoir une source familiale, communautaire ou régionale. Il s'agit de tous les éléments qui militent en faveur du développement économique local.

Pour rendre possible le développement local, il est nécessaire de se référer à divers domaines d'actions socio-culturelles, économiques, technologiques, écologiques et politiques. Le microcrédit est un de ces outils essentiels qui améliorent les conditions de vie des individus, ainsi que la promotion des communautés socio économiquement marginalisées. En ce sens, la politique d'octroi de microcrédit a besoin de se fonder sur de solides principes scientifiques d'une manière cohérente pour répondre aux besoins de la population.

Ainsi, il est essentiel de générer de profonds changements dans le comportement des différents acteurs, à partir de la combinaison minimale des aspects tels que:

- la connaissance de l'environnement naturel des acteurs qui sollicitent un micro financement, ainsi que la pertinence compétitivité de leurs projets ;
- la mise en place d'actions basées sur des informations appropriées et cohérentes entre les différents niveaux de prise de décision ;
- la culture d'un véritable partenariat entre les demandeurs de microcrédit et les différents niveaux de gouvernement et les entreprises qui les offrent ;
- la mise en œuvre d'une approche intégrée de planification et de gestion de la politique d'octroi de microcrédit.

Ce panorama permet de comprendre les impacts du microcrédit dans la promotion du développement local.

2. Les besoins locaux, la pauvreté et l'importance du microcrédit

Le développement local est le processus de transformation de la société local, visant à surmonter les difficultés et défis des citoyens, pour améliorer la vie des citoyens à travers une action déterminée et concertée entre les différents secteurs (public et privé) ; ceci passe obligatoirement par une utilisation plus efficace des ressources endogènes existantes (Pike et al. 2006). Cette dynamique trouve toute sa raison d'être à travers la mise à profit des compétences entrepreneuriales des acteurs impliqués dans ce processus, ce

qui peut conduire à une atténuation progressive des déficits individuels des citoyens. Dans cette approche, il convient également de considérer l'importance du capital social local, ainsi que liens de coopération avec les agents extérieurs pour élaborer des stratégies de développement local efficaces (Montoya, 1998: 47).

Au Mexique, le développement local est un défi majeur et est associé à une grande disparité dans le mode de distribution de la richesse nationale. En outre, les besoins du peuple mexicain ont de nombreuses dimensions, telles que les capacités humaines (en particulier l'état de l'éducation et la santé), l'accès à l'infrastructure, le revenu, la vulnérabilité et l'exclusion / marginalisation.

Le négation de ces multiples réalités peut être considérée comme une approximation imparfaite de la notion de bien-être en termes de liberté (ou la capacité) d'une personne qui voudrait améliorer sa vie. Cela dépend en grande mesure de la conjonction des pôles de prise de décision du gouvernement ainsi que des compétences des citoyens et leur capacité entrepreneuriale. Cette capacité est largement déterminée par le contexte politico-économique dans lequel les gens vivent.

2.1. Des besoins locaux à la pauvreté

Aujourd'hui, le Mexique est impliqué, entre autres, dans deux transformations importantes: sur le plan économique, le pays est immergé dans un processus continu d'intégration dans l'économie internationale. Sur le plan, politique et social le pays passe par processus d'approfondissement de la démocratie. Toutefois, les deux processus sont complexes et sont souvent caractérisés par l'oubli du «local». Ces transitions sont des aspects fondamentaux qui influencent dans les politiques du gouvernement mexicain à tous les niveaux de la vie des citoyens, dont les besoins réels sont relégués en dernier plan.

Les besoins locaux proviennent généralement des carences de personnes, dans leur désir d'élever leur niveau de vie. L'étude de la satisfaction des besoins humains a conduit à l'élaboration de théories, dont la plus connue est la «théorie des besoins humains» développée par le psychologue Nord-Américain Dr. Abraham Maslow. En outre, l'un des objectifs (du moins dans leur rhétorique) des gouvernements des différentes provinces au Mexique, est précisément de fournir des ressources aux personnes afin qu'elles puissent répondre à leurs besoins.

L'absence absolue des produits de première nécessité conduit à un certain degré de pauvreté qui est liée à l'incapacité de couvrir les besoins élémentaires. La mesure des indices de pauvreté a été étudiée dans plusieurs institutions nationales et internationales. En général, ces méthodes de mesure se réfèrent au niveau de revenu des ménages pour résoudre leurs besoins fondamentaux (nourriture, santé, éducation ...).

Un récent rapport du ministère des Affaires Sociales du Mexique stipule que 54% des Mexicains vivent dans la pauvreté, ce qui indique que cette proportion de la population vit avec moins de 4 \$ par jour, tandis que 32% vit avec moins de 2,5 dollars, et 24% avec moins 2 \$ (explorando Mexico : 2010). Les provinces les plus pauvres sont Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Tabasco et Durango, où se concentrent de forts pourcentages de la population indigène.

Le cas particulier de la municipalité de Santa Catarina à San Luis Potosí est très frappant. En effet, un article paru dans l'un des journaux nationaux « Excelsior » publié en Juillet 2007, a déclaré que l'ampleur de la pauvreté dans la municipalité de Santa Catarina est similaire à celle du Botswana, un pays africain où l'espérance de vie est de 34 ans et 73,6% de la population vit avec moins de deux dollars par jour (Ceidas : 2007). Ainsi, Santa Catarina est l'une des villes du Mexique avec le plus faible revenu par habitant, un indicateur du développement humain qui le place parmi les régions les plus pauvres du Mexique. Il s'agit là d'un fait qui a été confirmé lors d'un Forum des experts, organisé par l'Université Autonome de San Luis Potosi en Janvier 2010.

La pauvreté et l'extrême pauvreté sont associées à des populations vivant dans les petites villes, dispersées et souvent isolées. Ces populations sont étroitement dépendantes de l'activité économique primaire, avec peu de chance d'entrer en concurrence dans le marché interne et encore moins à l'économie mondiale. Une raison à cela est l'isolement, le manque de d'infrastructures de transport et de communication.

En effet, la répartition inégale de la richesse au Mexique a concentré les revenus nationaux dans certains secteurs tels que ceux qui sont spécifiquement dédiés à l'exportation de biens et services, en négligeant d'autres, comme le secteur agricole, les petites et moyennes entreprises qui s'impliquent fondamentalement dans le développement local.

Pour ces raisons, la politique de développement local, nécessite d'une volonté politique des différents acteurs économiques du gouvernement fédéral, en plus, de miser sur le «local» et son développement. La relation entre la croissance démographique, la croissance économique et la pauvreté, s'observe dans le progrès économique local. Cette relation détermine le degré de diminution de la non seulement de la pauvreté, mais aussi et surtout des migrations internes (exode rural). Pour ce faire, il est important que l'État mexicain établisse une politique sociale qui se soucie plus de la revitalisation de l'environnement local, pour le bien-être des plus démunis.

2.2. L'importance du microcrédit

Le microcrédit est un petit octroyé aux populations pauvres n'ayant pas accès aux prêts accordés par une banque traditionnelle ou conventionnelle. Sa fonction principale est de permettre que beaucoup de gens sans ressources puissent financer des projets de développement. Le microcrédit a pris de l'importance en tant qu'instrument fondamental pour le développement local au Mexique puisqu'il favorise les secteurs sociaux à faible revenu, et habituellement exclus des circuits bancaires officiels au Mexique.

Bien qu'il soit un outil qui ait émergé grâce à l'initiative d'institutions privées telles que les ONG et les institutions de micro finance, le microcrédit a fini par s'incorporer dans les stratégies publiques (Foschiatto: 2006). En effet, le microcrédit au fil des années, l'on observe de plus en plus de l'engouement des politiques municipales, envers la promotion des micro-finances dans leurs stratégies visant à renforcer la capacité de production locale. Selon Foschiatto (Ibid), ces initiatives vont au-delà de la logique d'assistanat, servent d'unités de production en développement, ce qui pourrait fournir plus de facilement la croissance et le bien-être des territoires dans lesquels elles opèrent.

C'est dans ce sens que le microcrédit devient un instrument essentiel pour renforcer la capacité de production locale. Une analyse objective de cet instrument nous permet de proposer des actions qui dynamisent les inerties locales, afin de stimuler le développement. Il s'agit de l'élaboration d'un plan de financement durable et équilibré, sur la base des avantages compétitifs et comparatifs du microcrédit ; ceci permet de en combiner le bien-être socio-économique, avec les racines sociologiques des populations locales (leur territoire, culture, particularités et besoins réels).

En fait, une rationalisation du microcrédit (vers une perspective véritablement sociale) est une opération intellectuelle très importante qui va au-delà du simple désir de soutenir le développement local parce que c'est un processus crucial avec impact multidimensionnel. Il s'agit d'une question d'administration en générale, et d'administration publique et en particulier. Ainsi, tout le processus de planification et de prise de décision dans ce sens, devrait être basé sur une logique interinstitutionnelle pour réduire l'écart entre les discours politiques (qui sont souvent vides et démagogiques) et la mise en œuvre d'une politique efficace de développement local.

3. Planification administrative: une panacée pour l'efficacité de la micro-finance

Le développement local est un défi pour le processus de mondialisation. En effet, vu les expériences de vie au niveau local au Mexique, l'on a l'impression que la mondialisation ait aggravé les inégalités sociales tout en appauvrissant de nombreuses localités, en particulier les plus retirées dans les différentes provinces du Mexique. En l'absence ou l'inefficacité des politiques de développement locales, les individus ont généralement recours au microcrédit pour répondre à leurs besoins de primaires.

3.1 Le gouvernement et le microcrédit au Mexique

Au Mexique, le gouvernement fédéral a promu des programmes de microcrédit avec des structures organisationnelles différentes. Les méthodes d'intervention et les niveaux de participation des institutions publiques et privées sont différents, mais tous semblent avoir en commun l'objectif d'utiliser le microcrédit comme un catalyseur capable de stimuler les structures de production locale.

Ainsi, il a été élaboré des plans et programmes pour soutenir le développement local par le biais de microcrédit par l'intermédiaire du Ministère de l'Économie grâce aux ressources budgétaires du gouvernement fédéral. Les objectifs de ces plans et programmes visent à encourager la création, la consolidation et le développement de micro, petites et moyennes entreprises, à travers tout le pays. Le fonctionnement de ces plans et programmes est marqué par les buts et objectifs établis selon deux volets répondant aux besoins spécifiques des populations démunies.

Le premier fournit un ensemble de programmes qui appuient les initiatives productives des individus ou des groupes sociaux à faible revenu, à travers la mise en œuvre d'actions visant à faciliter l'accès au financement et à la formation des employeurs avec des petits projets de production viables. La seconde approche est décrite dans le Programme Nationale de Développement des Entreprises 2001-2006, lequel articule un ensemble de politiques, programmes

et actions qui répondent à l'objectif de l'augmentation des ressources pour le développement local (Egade, 2008).

Selon cette division, les programmes de microcrédit promus par le Ministère de l'Économie au Mexique sont concentrées a deux niveaux: l'un encourage et soutient le micro-entrepreneur, l'entreprise familiale et communautaire, le deuxième soutien le développement des PME et régionales (Ibid).

Les apports financiers du Ministère de l'Économie nécessaires pour les projets du premier niveau ont trois sources:

Le Programme National de Financement du Micro-entrepreneur (PRONAFIM).

Programme, initié par l'ancien président Vicente Fox Quesada, «intéressé» à soutenir les capacités productives des pauvres afin d'améliorer leurs conditions de vie. L'objectif de ce programme est de promouvoir les initiatives productives des individus et des groupes sociaux en situation de pauvreté, a travers système capable d'impliquer les institutions de micro-finance.

Le Fond Micro-financement Femmes Rurales (FOMMUR) et

Le Fonds National de Soutien pour la Solidarité des Entreprises (FONAES)

Le PRONAFIM et le FOMMUR fonctionnent sous le régime de microcrédit, et sont gérés par des institutions de micro-finances indépendantes. Le FONAES appuie financièrement à des conditions préférentielles, la création de projets productifs des groupes sociaux, aussi bien en milieu rural qu'urbain.

En ce qui concerne le second niveau, les apports financiers du Ministère de l'Économie ont aussi trois sources:

Le Fond d'Appui a l Micro, Petite et Moyenne Entreprises (PYME).

Le Comité National pour la Productivité et l'Innovation Technologique (COMPITE).

Le Programme pour le Développement de L'industrie du Logiciel (PromoSoft).

Ces programmes sont menés grâce à la participation des gouvernements provinciaux, des municipalités, des établissements d'enseignement, des centres de recherche, des organisations professionnelles et des entrepreneurs.

Il est clair que les initiatives de développement local au Mexique présentent un large éventail d'obstacles. Ces obstacles vont du niveau limité de connaissances pour l'élaboration d'un projet de développement concurrentiel, jusqu'à l'accès aux marchés du crédit, en passant forcément les carences en instrument technologiques. Cela signifie que l'accès aux marchés financiers est juste l'un des problèmes rencontrés par les initiatives locales. Il devient donc nécessaire de coordonner les mesures visant à améliorer la capacité productive et la compétitivité des entrepreneurs locaux.

Les micro etpetites entreprises locales, par exemple, ont besoin d'un soutien spécifique et intensif en termes de services réels, d'assistance technique et des conditions de formation des ressources humaines nécessaires pour transformer ces localités en unités de production (Flores, 1999: 23). La combinaison de ces éléments est déterminante pour améliorer l'efficacité et la productivité requis par

les petites entreprises afin d'opérer avec succès dans le marché et de contribuer au développement local.

3.2 Pour une planification de la gestion de microcrédit

Pour éviter les pratiques qui donnent lieu à des dépenses publiques, sans de réels avantages en termes de rentabilité des systèmes de production locaux, il est nécessaire d'adopter des méthodes efficaces de gestion des fonds de crédit disponibles. De même, il est impératif d'optimiser les méthodes d'évaluation des programmes de micro-finance mis en œuvre par le gouvernement fédéral en termes d'emploi, de productivité, de valeur ajoutée et de compétitivité sur le plan local.

C'est précisément dans ce cas qu'une bonne politique de planification et de prise de décision devient médullaire. Ceci implique que les gouvernements locaux soient en mesure d'intégrer ces éléments dans la conception et la mise en œuvre des programmes de microcrédit. En ce sens, l'administration publique au Mexique pourrait devenir un véritable catalyseur en matière d'élaboration d'importantes stratégies destinées à l'exploitation des ressources locales ainsi qu'à la croissance dans les zones marginalisées.

Il est vrai que la planification du développement, comprend des éléments complexes en matière de budgétisation et des dépenses publiques. Cependant, pour atteindre un développement local intégral, la planification doit aussi et surtout des objectifs et priorités, lesquels s'établissent au moment de sa conception et formulation. A ce propos, Tello (2006: 54) affirme de l'administration publique au Mexique devrait avoir comme priorité, la promotion du développement local précisément parce que la réalité sociale actuelle du Mexique l'exige.

En ce sens, la politique de planification de l'administration publique doit être fondée sur les caractéristiques distinctives du microcrédit (Lucan: 1998, 35). Celles-ci conçoivent en premier lieu, que la structure de propriété des institutions de spécialisées micro finance est différente de celle des institutions financières classiques (banques commerciales et les sociétés financières).

En deuxième lieu, les clients des institutions spécialisées en micro-finance disposent de caractéristiques spécifiques, car se sont des acteurs à faible revenu (personnes, entreprises familiales rudimentaire, peu de documentation officielle ...) et sont généralement considérés comme des clients à haut risque. Troisièmement, la valeur nominale du microcrédit est faible, avec un taux d'intérêt relativement plus élevé.

Enfin, le mode d'opération (méthodologie) des institutions spécialisées en micro-finance diffère des procédures des institutions financières traditionnelles et/ou classiques. Dans de nombreux cas, les frais de remboursement des microcrédits sont payés à la semaine ou aux deux semaines. Il s'agit d'une méthodologie basée sur la nature clients au niveau local.

En fin de compte, le processus de planification du secteur public en matière de développement local, permet de déterminer les résultats à atteindre par les administrations de la confédération mexicaine. Faute d'une politique de planification intégral sur la gestion des microcrédits, l'administration publique au Mexique reste exposée à des risques d'inefficacités graves et au gaspillage des

ressources et tout ordre. Ceci est certainement un signe de prédominance de d'un système avec une philosophie de développement approximative et improvisée. Les chercheurs Ignacio Medina Núñez y Ángel Florido Alejo (2010: 125) dans une étude sur ce sujet, ont fait savoir que le manque de capacité administrative et le faible niveau d'organisation (en particulier les organes de gestion) sont les principaux dangers face à la durabilité des politiques de micro-financement du développement local au Mexique.

Conclusion

Il en ressort donc qu'une meilleure politique de planification et de prise de décision est indispensable pour gérer les problèmes des citoyens au niveau local. C'est précisément dans le but d'optimiser les capacités productives des localités à travers le microcrédit, que les différents niveaux de gouvernement au Mexique ont mis en œuvre une série de mesures visant à faciliter l'accès à mi micro-finance. Ceci n'est évidemment pas suffisant si les procédures utilisées ne s'appuient pas sur les réalités endogènes (à travers une véritable radiographie sociale) des citoyens. En réalité, les approches du gouvernement mexicain ont tendance à se perdre dans le complexe et turbulent des segments de l'économie mondiale.

En effet, en matière de le microcrédit, tel que mentionne par Cardozo (2004: 12), une planification administrative équilibrée, avec une méthodologie de participation active, institutionnelle et communautaire contribuent à améliorer la qualité de vie des populations locales, ce qui mitige en la marginalisation et le renforce le potentiel économique local, municipal, régional et national.

Une telle philosophie de la planification, contribue à orienter les impacts du microcrédit et finalités du microcrédit, au-delà d'un « simple prêt d'argent ». En outre, pour résoudre les problèmes de financement du développement local par le biais de microcrédit, il est essentiel aujourd'hui que les pôles décisionnels (à tous les niveaux de gouvernement) établissent une corrélation entre les dimensions théoriques et pratiques, pour que se dilue la tension entre la conviction et l'illusion, entre rhétorique et réalité, entre ce qui est et ce qui devrait être la vie des personnes ayant des ressources limitées.

C'est l'équilibre entre ces aspects qui donnera au microcrédit une dimension non seulement des business, mais aussi et surtout humaine avec deux aspects fondamentaux:

1- La conception de l'humanité dans sa totalité (horizon des débats actuels sur les inégalités, des polarisations, des asymétries, la discrimination, la xénophobie, etc)

2 - La conception de la personne humaine comme une singularité face à l'actuelle déshumanisation des relations Inter-sociales, comme produit de la mondialisation et l'hyper-libéralisme économique.

C'est cette approche que préconise le rapport 2008 de la Banque mondiale, en suggérant que les projets de développement local soient conçus pour surmonter la pauvreté et promouvoir la croissance grâce à l'amélioration des services de santé, d'éducation, de la construction d'infrastructures et de la consolidation des institutions et la bonne gouvernance (BM, 2008). Il s'agit des plans pratiques

pour aider les citoyens à échapper à la pauvreté et de devenir plus compétitifs face aux exigences de la mondialisation.i

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STUDY OF COUNTER HEGEMONY IN PRESS TV NEWS BROADCASTING

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Abstract

This case study is to compare between hegemonic and counter hegemonic news by the use of Qualitative research over Press TV News Broadcasting. To reach emersion condition of counter hegemonic news, first it is asked: "Why do they speak?" and "Who are speaking?". To find the answers a historical look is used. Then "Ideology" and the origin ideas of Press TV and also special linguistic and visual aspect has also been challenged in these questions: "What do they say?" and "How do they speak?" conceptual framework is based on Hegemony by Gramsci, Representation by Stuart Hall and Discourse Analysis by Laclau and Mouffe in order to study the concept of counter hegemonic in Press TV. This research shows that Press TV transforms what represented "Islam" and "East" as an "Inferior Otherness" in western news media by the use of Reverse Representation. Historic backgrounds, goals, organic intellectuals which work in Press TV and also pictorial and news literature which are used in this news net work, all are evidences for Press TV's counter hegemonic function

Keywords

Counter hegemony – News Discourse – PRESS TV

Introduction

Media as a means of transmitting culture has an important role in ideology induction on public opinion.

Concepts like civil society, political society and the role of hegemony and common sense, ideology and intellectual concepts are considered in Gramsci's Theory who steadfastly resists any attempt neatly to align cultural and ideological questions with class and economic ones. This is elaborated in Gramsci through his extended on the nature of state and civil society in developed capitalist societies; in his discussion of 'the specificity of the political', in his work on 'national-popular' cultures and the role and formation of intellectuals; in his analysis of "common sense" as the ground on which different organized ideologies intervene; in his emphasis on the practice-social role which ideologies have in organizing and mobilizing masses of people ;and the complex role of class alliances within a historical bloc. Gramsci brings these ideas together within

the framework of the concept of 'hegemony', which has played a seminal role in Cultural Studies. According to Hall (1991:23) "Hegemony is always the (temporary), mastery of particular theatre of struggle. It marks a shift in the dispositions of contending forces in a field of struggle and the articulation of that field into a tendency".

In Expansion and globalization of the media, there is certain understanding and interpretation of human and social status. News agencies with the understanding of human interpretation based on their intellectual ideology are trying to shape public opinion of countries. For the political class or, rather, for those in the academy and the media who rationalize their situation, the reigning idea is not exactly that an 'age of ideology' is over; that the old oppositions have faded in the face of an emerging consensus that integrates formerly contending parties (Levine 2003:16). According to Morley (2005:104) "Contrary to their claim of neutrality, there is a gap between reality and what is provided in the media. There seems to be a specific interest of ideological struggle with and within the media, emphasizing the relationship between the media and of social order".

Many efforts have led to describe and explain how and why the representation is done from the world. The ideological and social ideas beyond the text should be considered in the news media and its effect on the formation of public opinion. Therefore international news media as a powerful tool of representation of the world has a unique position.

Overall, Hall and others have argued in construction measures that the media do not reflect reality but bring it to encrypt. Ideology is the naturalization of a particular historical cultural articulation. What is natural can be taken for granted; it defines 'common sense'. Ideology 'Yokes together' particular social practices and relations with particular structures of meaning, thus anchoring them in a structure in which their relations to social identity, political interests, etc., have already been defined and seem inevitable. Ideology involves the claim of cultural practices to represent reality. (Morley 2005:159)

Equipped with an international news media is an opportunity to play in the global arena. Therefore, the concept of counter hegemony in the news networks like Press TV which is formed on the basis of confronting with western Medias reveals the importance of this study. In other words it is intended to study conditions of emerging Press TV versus Western news media and the representation of directional coping strategies is to briefly review.

This research seek to understand what the dominant ideology can be considered beyond the news and what form of speech is used to deliver in this discourse. Our goal is to find a descriptive and analytical review of this network as a counter hegemonic media in the international arena.

1. Methodology

Cultural studies, post-colonial studies and critical review are conceptual framework of this research. It is a descriptive- analytical study. The propositions for which this news network is calling Counter-hegemonic are being analyzed.

Research method in this study can be generally called combination method because different research techniques like historical and linguistic methods

combines to answer questions on various parts. Qualitative data has been gathered by observation and from documents.

In order to understand the characteristics and performance of Press TV the following sub-questions have been raised:

Why do they speak?

Reviews the advent of this particular news network literature or in other words to historically refer to circumstance of formation of Press TV discourse.

Who is speaking?

A comparative study of the intellectuals in Gramsci's theory called Hegemony with the concept of intellectual in the Press TV news. Records about Press TV's staffs have gathered from Internet (especially Wikipedia), secondary documents and Facebook.

What do they speak of?

To examine post-colonial concepts in the news such as war, race and gender. Semiotics and Discourse Analysis techniques have been used and have been analyzed under the concept of representation of Stuart Hall.

How do they speak?

As the main part of this research "language" of Press TV news network has been studied. For understanding Counter-hegemonic performance of Press TV, theories are needed to explain, gathered in the cluster of Critical Studies, Cultural Studies and Post-colonial approach. Hegemony theory of Gramsci, Representation of Stuart Hall and Concepts of selfness and otherness are considered in this study.

2. Findings, analysis and interpretation

In order to study counter- hegemonic discourse of news channel Press TV, the two general categories of questions of meaning are considered: How and Why?

2.1. "Who?"

Is a question that thinks of Press TV's text (discourse) producers. The question includes the sender and message's controllers (for example, the power of government, the political community, intellectuals, and Gate keepers). It includes an important part of the hegemony theory of Gramsci that deals with intellectuals.

Texts, especially news media texts are ideologically motivated. The ideology of thought owners is laid in the texts.

Gramsci (1971:258) considered all individuals to be intellectuals, not all of them held positions or fulfilled the functions traditionally assigned to and developed by intellectuals. Most importantly for Gramsci, organic intellectuals of the working class not only resist hegemonic processes, but they also attempt to displace the old hegemonic.

The role of the organic intellectual was to mediate between the good sense of subaltern groups and the formation of a counter-hegemonic consciousness that can read the contextually specific and historically conjectural contradictions

inherent in society. According to Carroll and Ratner (1994:12), Gramsci believed that counter-hegemonic leadership emanates from intellectuals whose organic ties to subaltern groups enable them to achieve a unity of theory and practice and of thinking and feeling, thus mediating between the abstract and concrete in a manner foreign to traditional scholastic, ecclesiastic, and political elites. For Gramsci, the role of the intellectual is that of organizer and facilitator: instead of bringing correct consciousness to the masses "from without" the organic intellectual facilitates the practical movement from "good sense" (which resistant subordinates already possess) to a broader, counter-hegemonic consciousness that is sensitive to the specific conditions of a social formation at a given conjuncture.

Press TV News Network requires hiring professional crews who are fluent in English, so hired forces brought from abroad. It is clear that No media is away from influence of power and ideology. The problem is finding the common features among Press TV's producers (intellectuals). Salimi(2004:156-172) believes that The concept of organic intellectual in Gramsci idea is to show how the thought production processes is in dialectic relation with of historical evolution .

Traditional intellectuals in a news network are those who are fully agree with strategies and policy positions of the same media where they work. According to Iran's constitution law, News media is under government control and in fact confirming the group's position is the same as government policy. Guests and experts who are invited to the studios of Press TV (especially Tehran Office) on special occasions are among traditional intellectuals and their speech confirmed governmental position.

There are other categories of intellectuals that from other news outlets have joined to this network. People like Glygan, Kaiser, Rithensy, and Ridley who worked for other media outlets such as BBC, Al Jazeera or people(like Galway, Corbin and) as representatives of their country or in other words who have the role of leadership or responsibility of thoughts in their own communities.

Study of abroad staff biographies shows the common characteristics between these special groups that diverse them from their communities and made them organic intellectuals is thinking differently. Enjoying serving the organic elements of Press TV is being Counter-hegemonic underscores. What made them different in their communities are issues such as protection of the Palestinian, anti-war views, pro-Islam, oppose Zionism, support for refugees and etc. These are in coordinated with objectives set forth in this news network.

Counter-hegemony is an Opportunity for marginalized voices to express. The only way to gain real counter-hegemonic control is brought to account the interests of other groups and social forces and to find ways to make them stronger. Press TV has created an opportunity for these voices to talk.

Since the news media is controlled by government so the ultimate gate keeping of information is under measures and policies of the government. Such withdrawals can be made after both traditional and organic intellectual consensus to serve traditional beliefs and ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran at an international level.

2.2. "Why do they speak?"

Is a question to study the emergence of Press TV's literature in international media.

What Gramsci called "war of situations" takes its name from a sort of dialectic in the history. Historical contradictions provide certain restrictions for social and political changes. Hall insists that although historical formations are contingent, they can be "deeply resistant to change" (Hall 1988:10).

Social and political developments in Iran are indicating that foreign domination is considered as one of the factors hindering the country's political development. Interventions of alliances are the black parts but the real history of Iran. These interventions have left behind a pessimistic mentality in Iranian public opinion and political culture. These social and political factors created a great movement against the autocratic and colonialism particularly in Iran's foreign policy.

The events have reflected in the writings and poems oratory and therefore anti-colonial literature in Iranian culture was created. The anti-colonial literature is a new chapter created in pros and order of Iranian literature and shows the tale of Iranian's struggles against the colonial powers. History of anti-colonial literature courses initially return to warfare against Iran, Russia which is called "Jihadi literature" and then travels to the establishment of Constitutional System (Zaker Hosein 2000:67). The sequence of anti-colonial literature can be found in Iranian media literature, especially it can pursue in news media. What is this News Media Literature?

To find the roots of words against the Hegemony in Iran news Literature, first the contemporary historic relations of Iran and the West should be mentioned and then should be referred to Imam Khomeini's thoughts and struggles.

During the establishment of the Islamic Republic, the media, in official and political speeches continuing to show the slogan of "Death to America" and the United States as the "Great Satan" will be addressed in Iran's political society and news media. This shows the depth of ideological conflict between Tehran and Washington more than anything.

Imam Khomeini's words to explain the role and position of the United States has religious and nationalist dimensions and on the other hand was mobilizing and humiliating too.

For consolidating and sustaining the culture and Islamic norms, Imam Khomeini as Islamic Republic Founder emphasized very much on the need to combat "foreign domination". This infrastructure is also based on Iranian myths and archetypes about the role of outsiders and then would strengthen the campaign process and the anti-colonial independence movements in Iran. Words like Hegemony, Arrogance, Exploitation, Great Satan, Spy Nest, the Zionist Regime, Intrigue, Justice, the Deprived Nations, Oppressed Palestinians, etc. which are finding Today in news media literature of Iran has derived from the context of historical and institutional events and have shaped the media discourse and policies and goals of Press TV.

2.3. "What do they speak of?"

Studies the representation of the messages. Representation is a process of placing ideological abstract concepts in specific format.

According to Saied (2003:198) Many of the stereotypes of Islamic and Arabic sensuality, fatalism, cruelty, degradation and splendor or to be found in writers from John Buchan to V. S. Naipaul, have also been presuppositions underlying the adjoining field of academic Orientalism.

This section reviews representation of post-colonial concepts like race, sex, religion. It has been tried to discuss these concepts under shadow of Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse.

*2.3.1. The representation of news about the **war** can be divided in two categories*

News about the war (whether war was taking place or situation in a country after the war): news with value of geographic proximity (Iran's neighbors or Middle East countries), or cultural proximity (Islamic countries) are considered.

2.3.1.1. Reflections of news about the Iraq war as war under the pretext of "bringing democracy" and the Afghan war as "war against terror" is justified in the Western media leaving a face of militant Islam. The news represented in Western media ignored the aggressive performance against these two countries and is going to show war events serving to humanity. The Press TV news highlighting insecurity, bomb explosions, U.S. military casualties, rape, inhumane behavior to show inability of America and Europe in achieving the stated objectives.

Other items of war coverage can be named of 22-day war in Gaza and the 33-day war in Lebanon. Unlike the Western media that introduce the leaders of resistance movements as terrorists, Press TV highlights those people sacred or martyred. It can be noted the details of the Hamas commander's assassination, Al-Mabhouh.

The network also reports from people around the world to reflect ideas opposing settlements and killing defenseless people of Palestine and to show anti-Zionism in the perspective of world public opinion. The background image of this news is being seen bombarding Gaza and defenseless people especially children and women.

2.3.1.2. Representation of war tools, technological advances and military maneuvers that happens in order to boast internal power. The remarkable point is the name of scientific achievements or military maneuvers that supports ideological goals. These names which are being described by experts help to create an ideological literature and are being repeatedly emphasized in news.

Selected names for the war instruments are usually religious and derived from Quran so the description about these names is considered as a kind of the introduction of Islamic beliefs. This is while the Zionist regime has chosen names that are usually Burdon mythological roots especially Greek myth that is familiar for western audiences or return to the religious beliefs of Judaism.

2.3.2.

The representation of news about Great religions (included Celebrations and rituals) is not oriented in Press TV unless a ban on Baha'i religion news. Events can be represented in three general categories of religious occasions: ideological neutral and sacred. Ramadan, Hajj and the Ashura are sacred Islamic occasions which have extensive coverage in Press TV. Ramadan and fasting ritual reflects manifestation of the "Solidarity with the Poor and Deprived people", Hajj is manifestation of "Islamic unity and Muslim power" and Ashura is manifestation of "The struggle against tyranny".

Christian New Year is universal events and generally is being considered neutral.

Of ideological – political occasions we can name: Al-Qods Day, 22th Bahman Celebration²⁰, the anniversary of the attack American warship to Iranian passenger plane, anniversary of Spy Nest capturing and etc. Recounting these events by media is to remind and narrate ideological history of Islamic Republic of Iran to international audiences. This method is being used by media to tell again "The Legend of outsiders" (Mahdizadeh 2009).

How the media in support of policy decisions?

West media represent Islam and Muslims as the Risk and threat to Western societies and portrait them as retrogressive, and extremist and militant fundamentalists. They name Islamic revivalism and movements as terrorist and fundamentalist. The research findings show Press TV news is to deal against this new cultural racism that is called "Islam phobia". Hence Press TV is trying to replace the attitude of western media with a more positive picture of Islam rather than other religions and cultures.

2.3.3.

The representation of Gender through mass media's discourse is more based on weakness and delicacy of female. This Gender stereotypes is useful in creating a feeling of sorrow and pity in the audience while seeing images of war. Representation images of the Gaza war emphasizing on the defenseless women and children and try to exasperate feelings against the cruel brutality and demonstrate against war.

Press TV's application of gender stereotypes is noteworthy not just as an emotional motivating image but also as religious tool or better to say as the stereotypical portrait of "Muslim woman". For that reason all the news reporters and broadcasters using the Hijab as the logo of Islamic News Net and it can count a counter- hegemonic act.

Yvonne Ridley and Lauren Booth can be named as news figures of Press TV who has change their religion to Islam.

Marwa al-Sherbini fate like the fate of many women in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan and Gaza was another issue that was the main subject as a victim of discrimination.

Documentary about "Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani is another program in Press TV that a woman is the main subject." "Woman" in this program has been used as

²⁰ The overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchist regime on February 11, 1979 (**22 Bahman** 1357),

a political weapon to challenge "women and human rights" in Iran vs. the global level.

2.4. "How do they speak?"

Is a question of fact to understand the features and functions Press TV use as Counter-hegemonic news network.

Language is one of the tools of logic and reasoning. The choice of language and concepts to deliver the best intentions in diplomatic relations is an important factor. Press TV language is that kind of journalistic language

This section reviews the linguistic theory of Saussure, Laclau and Mouffe, Gramsci and its application in Press TV.

Press TV news directors have discerned the best manner to stand against the hegemony of Western media is to speak and write on behalf of deprived nations but the colonial language (English) is used to reach the end. This usage is not limited to the language and structure but also covers techniques. It can be justified by this point that in the aspect of post-colonial theory, colony narrates his identity by colonial language in order to start dialogue with him.

Laclau and Mouffe (1985:149-94) speak extensively about the ways in which political strategies must always be deployed in specific contexts and recognize that relations of domination may prevail in those contexts

Laclau said: "We now have all the necessary analytical elements to specify the concept of articulation. Since all identity is relational – even if the system of relations does not reach the point of being fixed as a stable system of differences- since, too, all discourse is subverted by a field of discursively which overflows it, the transition from 'elements' to 'moments' can never be complete (Laclau 2001:113). "floating signifiers", the political concepts that are open to redefinition, are given new meaning as they are combined with other concepts in novel ways. Every articulation is always partial, such that the meaning of these signifiers is never fixed once and for all. However, even when the effects of past articulations are weekend, they are never totally lost; every signifier bears the traces of past articulations. (Smith 1998:78)

Sometimes a different signifier takes different signified: For example, referring to the "Zionist regime" in Press TV these expressions (signified) are being used: "The Zionist regime" or "Al-Qods occupying regime" is used, while the Western media to recognize Israel as a nation is using the word of "Israel". The "Palestine" for the Press TV is "Oppressed Palestinians" but for western media it is "Arabs" or "Palestine".

We have to consider that the meanings are not only understood within a discourse but also through a comparison with other discourse are possible. Hegemonic discourse is not possible without understanding the meanings in Counter-hegemonic discourse.

Press TV news terms vs. western media news terms (like BBC and CNN)

| How does Press TV speak? (Counter hegemonic discourse words) | How does Western Media speak? (Hegemonic discourse words) |
|---|--|
| Zionist regime | Israel |
| Capture of Spy Nest | American Embassy Attack |

| | |
|--|---|
| English sailors detainees | Hostages |
| Persian Gulf | Gulf |
| Usurper, Occupier | Israelis |
| Jihad | Terror, War |
| Martyrdom | Slaughter, massacre |
| Martyrdom operations, suicide attack | Terroristic act |
| perish , spoil , die | Murder, kill, slay |
| impoverished, oppressed country | Terrorist |
| Globalism | Globalization |
| Invade, Attack | War Explanation: in the case of Iraq and Afghanistan |
| War under pretext of Democracy | War to bring Democracy |
| The supreme leader of Iran, Leader of the Islamic Revolution Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei | Ayatollah Ali Khamenei |
| So called intellectual, pseudo-intellectual | Intellectual |
| Women's right in Islam, Women's cover, Hijab | Liberty for women , Women's right Equality between men and women, |
| Myth of Holocaust | Holocaust denial |
| Great Satan | United States of America |
| Baytal-Muqaddas, Al-Qods, Urshalim, Occupied territory | Jerusalem |
| Protesters, anarchists | rebels, rioters, demonstrators |
| Puppet, American agent, stooge | political activist |
| Hooligans, Sensationalists | oppositions |
| Landslide Victory | Deception in Election |
| Control | Crack-down, Suppression, Crash |
| Westernization | Modernization |
| Unrest, chaos, Fitna | demonstration, riot, conflict, political turmoil, revolt, insurgency |
| Fitna | to protest election result |
| Sacred defense | Iran-Iraq war |
| Islam | Terror |
| Patriotism | Internationalism |
| Intifada | terrorism |
| Resistance movement | terrorist groups |
| Theocracy, religious regime, Devine regime, Islamic republic | Secularism |
| Patriotic | Nationalist |
| Oppressed nations | Backward nations |
| Protection of human rights claim | Supporting Human rights |
| Accordance with Sharia principles | Human rights Violations |
| Peaceful use of Nuclear Power | Use of nuclear energy for terrorist purposes |

Conclusion

In order to better understanding of the counter hegemonic discourse of Press TV the backgrounds of its foreign staffs was studied. Findings suggest that Common feature among these staffs is their special thoughts that made them different from their communities and turn them to organic intellectuals. Enjoying serving the organic elements of news network Press TV is being Counter-hegemonic underscores.

"Why do they talk?" is a question that the emerging field of counter-hegemonic discourse is being considered. Iranian history is indicating that the intervention of alien domination has left behind in public opinion and political culture of Iran. Press TV news media discourse is understandable within the discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran. To find the roots of words used in Iran's news literature against the Hegemony should also mention the recent historic relations between Iran and the West and also should be referred to Imam Khomeini's thoughts and struggles.

Words like Hegemony, Arrogance, Exploitation, Great Satan, spy nest, the Zionist regime, Intrigue, Justice, The poor, Oppressed Palestinians which find in Iran's media literature has been constitute from the historical remarks in the context of past events and these shaped Press TV's discourse.

"What do they speak of?" is a question in which the Message is in attention. This section reviews representations of the concepts of interest in post-colonialism like war, race, sex, religion to compare the hegemonic and counter hegemonic concepts were discussed in the media discourse. Polar-building strategy is one of the overall strategies which a group shared attitudes and ideologies through the mental models described as positive inter-group and negative others.

"How do they speak?" is a question in which Linguistic practices (based on the concept of contradictions and dual system) are being considered. In order to resist against the hegemony of Western news media and advocate for deprived nations in Press TV, English is used as colonial language.

In words of the post-colonial Theory, colony narrates his identity in the colonizer language thereby be talking with him²¹. Language of Press TV is a kind of journalistic language. East-West differences in ideology create two systems of words that their representation can be found in news texts. Any sign within a particular discourse meant to be temporary, however, achieves a fixed meaning. Signifiers such as "America", "England" in Literature of Press TV news means colonialist and imperialist powers while these countries in the West's news discourse means the First World, civilized, and developed countries.

No social structure and no identity is predetermined and fixed. In fact articulation of the hegemonic or counter-hegemonic discourse is what forms the structures and allow you to have a meaningful reality.

²¹ It should be mentioned, Iran has never been a real colony but since historically it was under invasions of other countries, it cause the emersion of special kind of literature that can be studied under post colonial model.

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TENSION AND AFFINITY BETWEEN DISCOURSE FORMS AND FAITH PROFESSION IN PARADISE BY AMBROSE OF MILAN

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Abstract

Paradise by Ambrose of Milan has two expositive levels, dialectic and allegorical. Dialectic part depends on *Comentarii in Genesim* by Origin and *Legum Allegoriae* by Philo of Alexandria. Concerned with allegorical interpretation, it follows Philo in that work and in *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim*. The aim of this paper is to analyze the significant function of the articulation between those discursive forms on modality of faith profession and its consequences on theological message. In spite of the lack of harmony between the two exegetical systems, the configuration of them in the whole work falls into the way of interpretation and, then, into the vision of human reality that it abridges. The research uses the text in original language (latin) and also annotated translations. The study is based on philological and semantic analysis of lexical and discursive elements that allow a critical evaluation.

Keywords

dialectics – allegory – discourse

Introduction

The contemporary literature on Ambrose of Milan and his patristic work agrees that, among the Church Fathers, the reading of Ambrose's texts is today one of the most accessible for the reader, whether he is a believer addressee or a scholar of ancient literature or theology.

However, as Ramsey (1997) points out, the work of Ambrose is in some respects different and difficult for us due to the fact that the time in which the Bishop lived is very different from ours. Among the main contrasts between the two periods of time, Ramsey highlights the way the religion was expressed in the 4th century. The passionate rejection of an opposite opinion was the norm in those days, an intolerance that would possibly result from the great self-confidence that the Christian community had; on the other hand, the religiosity was manifested in the belief in the invisible Kingdom of God which was always underneath the surface and appearance of things.

Another fundamental difference between our time and Ambrose's becomes evident in the treatment of the Scriptures: while like the contemporaries, ancient exegetes were interested in the original biblical contexts and intentions of the authors, their main hermeneutic concern was the profound or spiritual sense that could be found in the texts, an underlying meaning which was usually expressed through allegory.

The opposition between appearance and reality, which arises from these two characteristics of religiosity, leads to another duality, which in our days is conceived as the difference between the profane and the sacred aspects but in former times was not perceived in the same way: "Although in ancient times religion and other aspects of human life may have been conceptually distinct, in practice they were rarely separable" (Ramsey 1997: 4).

Coinciding with Ramsey, Savon (2007: 5-18) argues that the works of the Church Fathers, and especially that of Ambrose of Milan, are still accessible. However, there are some handicaps to the reading: on the one hand, the obscurity or difficulty of the texts and, on the other, the strange and largely unsympathetic style for the values or the sensitivity of our time. In this last respect, Savon considers three reasons that make complex the reading of patristic texts: the apparently arbitrary exegesis, the morale strongly influenced by stoicism and the systematic use of typology that, subordinating the Old Testament to the New, can affect the respect to the Jewish identity. In the first case, Savon refers to the *allegoresis* as an exegetical method that takes diverse elements from the scriptures usually associating them, from verbal concordances, and provides unexpected interpretations of passages, which most often seem forced to the current reader. As regards the second reason, Savon believes that Ambrose often uses a "rhetoric of dramatization" that evokes the stoicism and its discipline of sensibility which can now make us feel almost devoid of heart. Finally, regarding the constant subordination of the Old Testament to the New, the biblical typology employed by the Fathers does not respect the specificity of the first nor does it fully capture the spirituality of its literal sense.

It is possible that these difficulties, however, stem from the fact that we, as contemporary readers, have lost the intimate familiarity with the Scriptures and do not perceive, at least in a first reading, the need and the coherence of these scriptural references that, according to Nauroy (2003: 247), play a subtler role than that of a simple *testimonia*.

Indeed, Ambrose is the father of the Latin West who most continually quoted the Scriptures and in his exegetical essays the stages and progress of his learning and knowledge of the Bible can be recognized. In this sense, Ambrose relies on previous hermeneutic tradition, both Jewish and Christian, and the works of Philo of Alexandria (1st century) has guided his first steps in the allegorical reading, as it is evidenced in *Paradise*, one of the treatises regarded as philonian by Savon (1984: 732). On the other hand, the use of christian allegory comes from the work of Paul, as de Lubac asserts (1959: 377), which is a model of the same practice of exegesis for Ambrose, Origen and Tertullian, and is conceived as the spiritual intelligence.

1. Themes and forms of discourse in Paradise: Human nature and natural law

The homily *Paradise* (Par.) is the first of the works of Ambrose of Milan, composed around 375. As regards this treatise, the same Bishop explains in the letter XLV, written to Sabino, that the paradise should not be considered a place but a part of our nature: the representation of paradise as a fertile land alludes to the soul in which the welcome seed multiplies, all virtue is planted and the wisdom as a manifestation of the omnipotent God²² lies. What is important for the author, then, is not the description of paradise as a physical place but the analysis of the state in which the man was after the creation and before the fall.

The image of paradise as an allegory of the soul, governed by the virtues (prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice), can be summarized in the notion of 'innocence', under the doctrine which considers the man as a created being "*selon l'image de Dieu*" (Maes 1967: 74-75). Ambrose uses the term *natura* in an etymological sense, i.e., he recognizes nature as a result of the birth of the self. 'Nature' is equivalent to the born individual because it embodies what the being receives in its origin, all which by birth belongs to the particular nature of the being. This etymological perspective is added to the theological reason, given the fact that the man is considered as created by God in the earthly paradise²³, which gives rise to a "*conception historique de la nature*" (Maes 1967: 20)²⁴.

Par. IV, 24 starts with the quote from Gn 2. 15 —"*Et apprehendit Deus hominem quem fecit, et posuit eum in paradiso operari, et custodire*"²⁵— which outlines the characteristics of the man embodied by the Creator. It is about a modeled man

²² In fact Ambrose is one of the few hermeneuts who was inclined towards an allegorical interpretation of paradise, in line with the exegesis of Philo of Alexandria and Origen.

²³ As regards this issue, Ambrose raises a distinction between man and woman from the consideration of the places where they were created: while he was formed 'outside' paradise and placed there, she was made 'inside' of paradise. To the naked eye it could be said that woman possess a higher hierarchy, but *Par. IV, 24* points out that it isn't: "*Quo loci illud advertet, quia extra paradysum vir factus est, et mulier paradysum, ut advertat quod non loci intra, non generis nobilitate, sed virtute unusquisque gratiam sibi comparat.*" "*Extra Denique paradysum factus, hoc est, in loco inferiori, [...] et illa quae in hoc est crazy meliore, in paradiso facta est, lower reperitur.*" ("Note of the fact that man was created outside Paradise, whereas woman was made within it. This teaches us that each person acquires grace by reason of virtue, not because of security or of race. "Hence, although created outside Paradise, that is, in an inferior place, man is found to be higher, whereas woman, created in a better place, that is to say, in Paradise, is found to be lower. Quotations of *Paradise* in this article are from Savage's translation).

²⁴ This author proposes the idea of "*conception historique de la nature*" from the use of the term in *Cain and Abel*, a treatise composed in 377, after *Paradise*, and examines Ambrose's theological reason in analyzing Gn. 4, 2, where it comes up that the Bishop considers man created by God in paradise, so his nature contains everything that Adam has received at the time of his creation. Even though Gn. 4, 2 deals with Abel before Cain, the order of nature is that of chronological birthday. In the same sense, *Paradise* gives order to the human generation: first Adam, second Eve, assimilating the nature of the first woman to the nature of the first man. For more details about the features of the unique human nature in man and woman, see Miranda 2010.

²⁵ "And God took the man whom he has created and placed him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it".

with an unblemished nature and intellect who was on Earth and only turned into real life thanks to the divine breath so it became a "living soul". The man has a material condition, he is an earthly man, but inspired by God he receives a free gift. But he is not the image of God, rather he was made in the "image of God".

The fact of having been created in God's image allows the man a special participation in the divine life—it gives him a soul—and thus for him the natural order²⁶ is not separated from other higher: the natural moral order, whose knowledge was accessible to him; however, the man lost this knowledge because of sin and he will only recover it through the redemptive work of Christ.

Through sin, the soul of the man loses the image of God bringing him serious consequences from the point of view of the moral standard. The garden of the delights that, as was said before, is an allegory of the soul, loses its paradisiacal condition and, consequently, the man faces nature devoid of divine grace. Now the man knows what nudity is, which can be interpreted as the lack of virtues, and experiences death, or in other words the loss of eternal life. Thus, the tribulations that God uses to punish him reveal that, until man does not conform to the natural law again, his life will be full of mortifications. And the recovery of such nature will be possible only through the redemption of Christ. It can be noticed that, despite the man's fall into sin, Ambrose has a unitary vision of man, which finds its full realization of the content of the concept of "in God's image" in all the stages of the history of salvation, that is to say, in the redemptive work of Christ which gives him back grace and restores his lost nature.

2. Structure discursive and profession of faith

So far, I have tried to introduce the anthropological concept present in the *Paradise* treatise: as we have seen, the man's original state definition is made from the interpretation of the passages of the Holy Scriptures which describe the human being created and placed in paradise. In this sense, the text shows Adam innately equipped with a law of nature infused in his soul by God which endows him with knowledge of all nature. This natural condition of his paradisiacal stage is held on the state of innocence but spoiled due to sin, so the grace recovery is possible only in an eschatological perspective through the redemptive work of Christ.

Just as the homily focuses on man as an ontological and ethically ambiguous creature, when it comes to form, the compositional unity of the treatise is given as a result of the combination of two literary genres, the zetematic method (*quaestiones et solutiones*) and the allegorical commentary, both representing two different hermeneutical times but trying to find, through the reading of the Bible, the keys of the history of salvation and the mystical relationship between men and God in order to found in them a Christian moral anthropology. The lack of harmony between these two exegetical systems in the whole work has been highlighted in more than one occasion (Savon 1977: 25-52); Benjamins 1999: 158; Miranda 2010b); nevertheless, the combination of both is a peculiarity in

²⁶ Ambrose's idea of nature or natural law is not limited to the consideration of humans only, but it also takes into account animals and non-living beings.

the hermeneutic use of Philo (Martín 2009: 26) which, undoubtedly, Ambrose reproduces in *Paradise*.

The articulation of these forms of discourse in the form of confession of faith has consequences on the theological message of the treatise: in fact, in spite of this obvious lack of balance between both exegetical systems, the configuration of both forms has a direct impact on the way we interpret it and, therefore, the vision of the human reality it reflects. This assertion is supported in Ricoeur's hypothesis (2010: 114) that the Bible constitutes a limited space for interpretation, in which the theological meanings are correlative with forms of discourse²⁷. In line with that position, I believe that hermeneutical texts that investigate the sacred words, as in the case of *Paradise*, also involved that quality as they are constructed in relation to it and are intended to the exegesis of the Bible from the Bible itself.

The discursive genres present in *Paradise* are obviously opposing because while the allegory consolidates the founding events in the history of salvation through an anthropological and moral interpretation, the zetematic method displays a dialectic which deconstructs the allegory through doubts, objections and replies.

The allegorical interpretation of the biblical story of *Paradise* follows *Legum Allegoriae* and *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* by Philo of Alexandria. The representation of paradise as an allegory of the soul, as was explained in 2.1, brings together the concepts of innocence and creation in God's image, concepts which are at the base of the christian thought but involving the hermeneutic filters of Greek philosophy and Jewish exegesis.

The allegory is a rhetorical procedure which makes it possible to expand a metaphor and to ascribe, by proportion, the terms of a topic to the terms of another. In this sense, it is a complex symbolic weave cultivated for organizing, unifying and explaining the meaning of a work. Gomes (2001) defines the allegory as a story whose references remit clearly to other accounts, namely to other linguistic experiences. However, as Alesso (2004) indicates, an allegory is not a category that can be defined easily: translations and the widespread use of the term darken its specificity for in some occasions it is linked with the Platonic dialogues, the symbol, the enigma or similar genera, although not the same, like the parable. In this paper, we consider the allegory as a criticism or interpretation of the texts, whose meanings are not clear or obvious; instead they require investigation and explanation (Quilligan 1992).

Ambrose's use of Philo's sources reveals a "monitoring" of the text and a critical interpretation, whose key is the opposition between *spiritualia* and *moralia*. The Christian author understands that when *history* is not *moralia* or *mystica*, it is necessary to recover it using the alegorization, a hermeneutic category that helps to emerge the spiritual sense of a text in order to dissipate its opacity.

Ambrose's allegorical exegesis focuses mainly in the Old Testament, perhaps because it needed a christian explanation more than the New Testament did and because of the difficulties its reading produced in the Church. The allegorical

²⁷ In his text, Ricoeur refers to the theologically significant confrontation between narration and prophecy and gives examples from the Pentateuch and the Gospels leaving open the possibility of analysis of other forms that coexist in the biblical text (the oracle, the parable, the hymn) and even different literary genres.

reading of the Bible allows him to discover the history of salvation and expose a moral philosophy: Ambrose then puts the allegory to an exegetical two-way service, the typological²⁸ and the anthropological.

For its part, the *Paradise* dialectic section is dependent on *Commentary on Genesis* by Origen, a lost text in which the commentator refutes to Apelles, disciple of Marcion, for his ridiculing of the Genesis account. In his treatise, Ambrose incorporates both an interpretation of Apelles and Origen, due to their similarity, despite the temporal distance, with the controversy against the non-Christians and heretics of his own time²⁹.

According to Martín (2009: 20-21), the zetematic method is based on an analytical procedure for each of the propositions of the covered texts consisting of questions and answers. Unlike the allegorical commentary which follows a thematic and continuous reading of Genesis, the questions and answers assume a reasoned approximation to the text that requires a reader acquainted with the text and its exegesis.

In this dialectic part Ambrose argues that the facts narrated in the Bible make sense and do not contradict the wise doctrine of God and his commandments. The Milanese Bishop attempts to refute the objections of Apelles in the literal level of understanding but, to avoid the difficulties this one often involves, he sometimes draws upon the allegorical method³⁰. What is striking in this procedure, beyond the use of two interpretive methods of scope and different characteristics, is the fact that the christian author does not use the allegory of Origen, since he had originally refuted Apelles, but he uses that of Philo. Many reasons make it impossible to give an accurate answer to this situation (Benjamins 1999: 160), mainly because the reception of the tradition in Ambrose was always creative.

Conclusion

As we can see, for Ambrose, the entire course of the Scriptures shows in several aspects the God's presence. For this reason, the text of the homily is a privileged place to reflect on the literary genres—in its variety, they reveal the divine unity

²⁸ Under the term 'allegory' Ambrose joined both exegetical conceptions (Nauroy 2003: 288). Let us remember that, as a structural element in literature, the study of the allegory can be completed through the typological approach, also used as a technique of composition and textual interpretation. This figurative elaboration is defined as the process by which historical connections are made between certain people or things from the Old Testament and similar events, people or things in the New Testament. The typology is a fundamental way to interpret the Bible, which can be noticed in the same sacred scripture as well as the successive patristic exegesis. The typology links two events, two topics or two characters apart in time, i.e., two realities belonging to diverse chronological contexts. From that perspective, while the model lies in the type (the past), the importance lies in the antitype referred to the present time of enunciation.

²⁹ In this regard, this relationship can be considered as a particular kind of typology, with a more political sense and not strictly theological.

³⁰ For further information of Apelles' objections and Ambrose's type of refutation, cf. Benjamins (1999: 160-165).

and diversity— and natural, moral and rational knowledge that builds Christian literature.

Paradise is presented as a polyphonic discourse supported both by the circularity of the forms and by the hypotexts that underlie it. The theological implication of the tension between the allegorical and zetematic genres present in its composition is considerable: the former unfolds before the receiver a cosmological vision of the history of humankind, but adjusted to the moral needs and eschatological desires of the sinful man, who, therefore contains him and comforts him; the latter, with a set of arguments and counter-arguments, raises an adhesion of the reader who seeks to confirm the profession of faith. In fact, the result being pursued in the whole work is achieved through the affinity around the need to appeal to the faith (with allegory) and consolidate it (with the questions and answers). In this proposition of faith, the specificity of the text lies in the referent, which is always God in his intimate and constant relationship with men.

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THE IMPACT OF THE ERASMUS PROGRAMME ON FOSTERING EUROPEAN IDENTITY IN LATVIA

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Abstract

The European Commission and scholars emphasize that the ERASMUS programme is a successful example of European integration and a symbol of construction of European identity. But because of the lack of empirical findings, this paper has been devoted to research of the impact of the ERASMUS programme on fostering European identity. The quantitative survey of 330 former, potential and non-ERASMUS students provides partly justification that the ERASMUS Programme has impact on promoting European identity. This study was implemented first time in Latvia, but the results are important not only in Latvia, but also at the EU level. EU officials should take into consideration the fact that potential ERASMUS students already have greater European self-identification than non-mobile students, therefore the European identity should be promoted in those students who do not take participation in the ERASMUS programme.

Keywords

The ERASMUS programme - European identity - European integration

Introduction

“Bringing students to Europe, bringing Europe to students...”

Motto of the ERASMUS Programme

Today the ERASMUS Programme is described as one of the symbols of the construction of European identity. Moreover, the promotion of European identity contributes to promotion of socio-political aspects of European integration. Furthermore, strong European identity has impact on believe in EU project and therefore fosters the further economic integration. On the other hand, there is a vicious circle because also growing economic integration will have impact on creating much stronger European identity. The idea of studying the effect of student mobility on European integration was initiated by Lijphart (Lijphart, 1964: 252) but never implemented. Also nowadays several authors (e.g. Wallace, Jacobs & Maier, Kamphausen, Valentini, Green, Fligstein, Chopin) point to the ERASMUS programme as a tool for promoting European identity. But, unfortunately, there is a limited number of empirical studies done in this field. Nevertheless, the emergence of research on the ERASMUS programme in the last

years shows the recent interest in studying this field. Corradi (2006) has analyzed the ERASMUS programme in the historical perspective, Sauzet (2008) has focused on the pedagogical evaluation of intercultural learning and stereotypes. Van Mol (2009a, 2009b) and Sigalas (2006, 2009) have researched empirically the impact of the ERASMUS Programme on the European identity. Sigalas has studied British students who have and who have not participated in the ERASMUS programme, as well students who have studied as ERASMUS students in UK. Contrarily, Van Mol has studied non-mobile, potential mobile, future mobile and mobile students in sixteen European countries.

Interestingly, Sigalas came to the conclusion that although it is "widely assumed it plays a pivotal role in the promotion of a European identity", the programme "does not foster a European self-identity or a sense of European pride". (Sigalas, 2009: 1) Both Sigalas (2009) and Van Mol (2009b) conclude that European identity feeling is already present before participation in the programme. Therefore, I have proposed following statement: the ERASMUS Programme does not have an impact on promotion of European identity. The objective of the present paper is to analyze the European self-identification of students of Latvia who have participated/have applied/have not participated in the ERASMUS Programme. To achieve this objective, the following tasks have been drafted: first, to operationalize concept of "European identity"; second, to develop appropriate methodology; third, to conduct a survey of students of Latvia. In the empirical part I have taken into account the limitations of methodological frameworks of previous research. For example, Sigalas points to three studies about the ERASMUS Programme as promoter of European identity done by Stroebe et al. (1988), Krämer-Byrne (2002) and King & Ruiz-Gelices (2003) but to Sigalas's mind all these researches suffer from some methodological limitations – either unrepresentative sample, or use retrospective rather than longitudinal assessment, or there were studied only ERASMUS students and they were not compared with non-ERASMUS students. In this research a quantitative survey of non-mobile, potential-future mobile students (treatment group) and mobile students (control group) was conducted.

1. Literature review

Identity is a multidimensional concept and dynamic social phenomenon. The definition of identity I prefer: identity is a feeling of belonging to a specific category determined by common characteristics and recognized by other members. Despite the fact that there are different approaches of theorizing concept of "identity", for the purpose of this paper I prefer distinction between *individual* and *collective* identity because this distinction is mainly used in the debate about European identity (Müller, 2007: 102). In the case of European identity we speak about *collective* and not about *individual* identity. Moreover, European identity is part of multiple identities that one can have. I would rather agree with scholars who argue that European identity is *collective* identity (Hollmann, 2009: 48; Delanty, 2003).

European identity is an interdisciplinary field to observe. I agree with Huyst's argumentation why studying the European identity is a comprehensive task: it is hard to define European identity and to measure it (Huyst, forthcoming: 6; Herrmann and Brewer, 2004). Even nowadays there is a debate about whether European identity does exist (see Kielmansegg, 1996; Offe, 1998). I would agree

with Castells that European identity is the set of values and feeling of belonging to a distinctive European entity, for example, European culture (Castells, 2000: 3). European identity is still an ongoing, very difficult, complex and time consuming process (Öner, 2004: 35; Bakke, 1995: 26; Jasson, 2001: 157).

According to Bruter we can distinguish between *political* and *cultural* European identity. Both identities are important for the paper because the *political* European identity implies that an individual identifies him/herself with EU, but the *cultural* European identity implies that an individual "shares a certain common culture, social similarities, ethics, values and religion." (Bruter, 2004; 2005; 2008: 279) Interestingly, Van Mol concludes that students who have participated in the ERASMUS programme refer to *cultural* European identity, but students who have not taken part in - to *political* European identity (Van Mol, 2009a: 10).

I do agree with scholars that multiple identities do exist (Risse, 2004; Huyst, 2008; Caporaso & Kim, 2009). European identity can be part of such multiple identities. There are three different opinions about the relationship between European and national identity. First point of view is that European and national identity are competing (Fuchs *et al.*, 2009). Second view is that European and national identities are complementary. For instance, Fossum, Grundy and Jamieson argue that one can have both national and European identity (Fossum, 2001: 375-376; Grundy & Jamieson, 2007). The last point of view is that on one hand national and European identity can be seen as complementary but on the other hand – contradictory (Öner, 2004: 34).

2. Methodological framework

The population - students of Latvia who have not participated/have applied to participate/have participated in the ERASMUS programme (2009/2010). Sample size: 100 non-mobile, 100 future mobile, and 100 mobile students. A questionnaire was sent to the 1) non-mobile students, 2) future mobile students (who would participate in the ERASMUS programme in the autumn term of the academic year of 2010/2011) and 3) mobile students (students who have participated in the ERASMUS programme in the academic year of 2009/2010). The questionnaire was distributed via e-mail list with the help of BA, MA and PhD coordinators of the ERASMUS programme of universities of Latvia. I have used simple random sampling in my survey. Online survey (<http://erasmusaptauja.questionpro.com>) was conducted in May of 2010.

I have constructed indexes based on the proposed index by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences in the research "Ethnic tolerance and Integration of the Latvian Society" (2004). I have also taken into account other research studies about the influence of the programme on European identity. I have created following two indexes:

(1) The multicultural background index

I have a good knowledge of at least one foreign language (e.g. English, German, French, Spanish, Italian etc.)

I have participated in exchange, workshop, conference or similar international events abroad

I have lived abroad for more than one month (except the ERASMUS programme)

I have friends from another culture (or nationality, or ethnic minority)

There are different cultures (nationalities, ethnic minorities) in my family

(2) The European identity index

I feel European

I am proud of being European

In the near future I see myself as European

I can trust Europeans

I feel close to Europeans

Latvia's EU membership is a good thing

European unification is a good thing

3. Analysis of Survey

Results reveal that non-mobile students have a similar desire to uphold a national identity to that of mobile students and future mobile students. Similarly to Sigalas's survey results former and future ERASMUS students fare much better in the field of foreign languages than non-mobile students (2006: 20). If we compare future and mobile students, we can see there is no difference because 95% of mobile and 94% of future mobile versus 83% of non-mobile students have agreed that they have a good knowledge in at least one foreign language (e.g. English, German, French, Spanish, Italian etc.). Moreover, speaking more than one European language is indispensable for "learning about the particular foreign culture which is also instrumental in the formation of a common European identity" (Sigalas, 2009: 11). Consequently, those who apply for exchange programmes already have a good knowledge of foreign languages. On the other hand, this is an obstacle for non-ERASMUS students. Students could also be affected by previous international exchange. I can draw conclusion that there is a huge difference between future mobile and non-mobile students and, thus, previous exchange or living abroad experience can promote a student's interest in application for the programme. Also Murphy-Lejeune's conclusion is proven that previous experience in a foreign country or culture influences the decision to participate in the programme. If we look at the conclusions drawn above about knowledge of foreign languages, previous international exchange experience and the experience of living abroad, then Fligstein is right that people who speak foreign languages, have traveled and lived in other European countries, tend to adopt more European identity and think of themselves as Europeans more than those who have not (2009: 133). Mobile and future mobile students had more previous experience of international exchanges and living or studying abroad than non-mobile students.

Mobile and future mobile see themselves as more European than non-mobile students. Interestingly, mobile students identify themselves more as Europeans and also have more national identity than non-mobile students. Hedetoft, Sedláček, King and Ruiz-Gelices are right concluding that people who feel a strong European identity could also feel a strong sense of national identity. Furthermore, it means that the ERASMUS programme does not mean the loss of national identity. Moreover, the argument discussed in the conceptual part is

proven: people can have both strong European and national identity and these identities are complementary rather than excluding each other. The results of the component of “*political* European identity” prove Kaelble’s statement that the programme reinforces loyalty to Europe (2009: 209). But, on the other hand, it also approves Papatsiba’s argument that “the analysis of the observations at the end of the exchange period does not reveal a strong European identity” (2004: 6). This could be explained by the fact that the Erasmus students already have European identity before participating in the exchange programme and exchange students differ from non-mobile students (for example, mobile students have more multicultural background etc.). On the other hand, Erasmus programme adds the loyalty to EU as a political organization. If we look at the responses of “community feeling” in detail, then results also are similar to responses of trusting people from different nationalities where non-mobile students trusted less people from other cultures than mobile and future mobile students. Results also prove Sigalas’s conclusion that socialising with other people promotes a feeling of community (2006: 23) because mobile students trust and feel close to Europeans more than future mobile students. As Sigalas adds “the more people socialise with each other the more they trust each other and the closer they feel” (Ibid). The last two statements divide into euro-sceptics vs. euro-optimists (Ibid: 24-25) depending on if students agree or disagree with the following two statements: Latvia’s EU membership is a good thing; European unification is a good thing. There is more euro-scepticism in the group of non-mobile students than mobile and future-mobile students. There are more euro-optimists among mobile students than non-mobile students. Moreover, we should take into account Fligstein’s conclusion that “if a person has some European identity, he/she is more likely to see Europe as a good thing for his/her country” (2009: 150). Holmes (2000) is right arguing that those who have not interacted with people from other European countries are less favorable towards the European integration.

4. Discussion

On one hand, future mobile students are different from non-mobile students and therefore have already more European self-identification. But on the other hand, mobile students have more European identity than future mobile students, therefore the programme has an effect on European identity, which could be the result of communication with other Europeans during exchanges. Furthermore, from these results I would draw the following conclusion: rather non-mobile students than future mobile students would require more intercultural experience and promotion of European identity, because future mobile students already have European identity.

Nevertheless, the programme plays an important role in promoting the idea that we, Europeans, are all alike and foster trust and feel closer to Europeans. Moreover, the Programme has also an impact on the society, which interacts with ERASMUS students (both the host country during the ERASMUS exchange and the home country when mobile students accomplish the programme). Moreover, exchange students can have an impact on the society they belong to. European identity should be promoted in non-mobile students, therefore exchange of information about Erasmus programme is essential. When ERASMUS students return from the exchange programme, they become ambassadors of European

integration and European identity (Papatsiba, 2005: 5-6, Wallström, 2007: 4). However, the current number of European students who take participation in the Erasmus programme (one per cent) is too low to promote European identity. .

Conclusion

First, the *major conclusion* of the paper is the following: on one hand, ERASMUS programme influences students' European identity, but on the other hand, students who take part in the programme differ from non-mobile students –have more multicultural background, stronger national and European identity. The programme is a catalyst rather than promoter because future mobile students already self-identify with Europe more than non-mobile students do. From the analysis of the survey results we can draw the conclusion that good knowledge of foreign languages, previous international exchange experience and multicultural background on the one hand is a potential obstacle for non-mobile students to participate in the programme, on the other hand, these could be pre-conditions for adopting a European identity.

Indeed, the programme is both a *political tool* and a *social process*. Former and future ERASMUS students adopt more political European identity and community feeling than non-ERASMUS students contrary to previous research studies (Sigalas, 2006, 2009; Van Mol, 2009b). After exchange programme students become more loyal to European Union. But on the other hand, Van Mol is right arguing that the ERASMUS programme acts as a catalyst for European identity because feeling of European identity is already present in students before exchange (2009b). Moreover, it does not mean that if someone has a strong national identity he/she cannot have strong European identity. The survey data show that ERASMUS students have both strong national and European identity. It is often argued that the programme fosters European identity. On the other hand, there is a limited number of studies which analyze these aspects. Besides, there have been previous research studies only in the case of Britain (Sigalas, 2006, 2009) and on the aggregate level in sixteen countries (Van Mol, 2009b). Therefore, this case study of students of Latvia using the *bottom-up* approach and the theoretical framework developed can contribute to and supplement studies done in other European countries. It is noteworthy that this study has disproven some of the statements made by previous studies. For example, the survey results have revealed that Sigalas (2006) does not seem to be right arguing that the programme does not have an impact on *political* European identity and has a small effect on promoting support for European integration. Furthermore, Sigalas's conclusion that the ERASMUS students are not necessarily more multicultural and 'Euro-friendly' than other students also contradicts the results of the survey.

Next, potential *further implications* of this paper are provided. First, using the methodology I have developed there can be similar studies implemented in other European countries. Second, the results of the survey are important not only for Latvia, but also for the European Community. Especially EU officials should take into account that those students who participate in the programme already feel more European than non-mobile students. The main *limitation* of this study is the lack of longitudinal assessment. Another *limitation* is the lack of comparison with incoming students because it could be as in the case study of Britain (Sigalas, 2006) that the host country plays a crucial role. The third limitation to emphasize

is a lack of qualitative research because the interviews with students would reveal more information about the pre-conditions for formation of European identity.

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WEAVING PLURAL RESPONSIBLE CRITICAL AND CREATIVE EPISTEMOLOGIES: THE POTENTIAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARITY

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Abstract

This article discourses on epistemology and its relationship with interdisciplinarity, bringing contemporary questions concerning the conditions in which the knowledge is built, produced, reproduced, shared and even deconstructed. It points to the potentiality of the interdisciplinarity in fomenting the deconstruction of hegemonic fragmented specialized knowledge aiming at plural, creative, relevant, critical knowledge. The main objective is to analyze in which ways interdisciplinarity contributes to a plural creative relevant and critical epistemology, in order to evidence the urgency of knowledge building which is not a mere reproduction of fragmented totalizing unilateral contents, in other words, how the teaching-learning processes can be guided to such epistemological interdisciplinarity building. It understands the interdisciplinarity and its epistemological importance, in order to notice its dialogical characteristics and of integration of the areas of knowledge; analyzing the interdisciplinarity in the perspective of the decolonization of knowledge, recognizing different forms of thinking, acting and living.

Keywords

Epistemology – Interdisciplinarity – Education

Introduction

The teaching-learning process includes knowledge building. Many kinds of knowledge are inherited; others are reinterpreted, created or experienced. Addressing knowledge means to notice many ways of knowing and numerous agents that produce knowledge. As it still can be noticed in the Brazilian educational systems, a hierarchy between theory and practice and a fragmentation of knowledge into disciplines prevail. Much of what was inherited in educational actions is permeated by Enlightenment and positivist conceptions. However, this perception is followed by reflections that indicate new directions and needs. Such reflections are made, for example, by post-structuralism, critical multiculturalism that advocate for plurality in the building of knowledge, questioning the homogeneity of thought and the logic of human differences that solidify exclusions. In this sense, the subject of this article is the epistemology, i.e., the conditions in which the knowledge is built, produced, reproduced, shared

and even deconstructed, particularly, being directed to the interdisciplinarity, encouraging the deconstruction of a hegemonic knowledge toward the possibilities of new knowledge—plural, creative, relevant, critical and no longer fragmented in specialties.

Interdisciplinarity is a major challenge, especially when, in Brazil, the pedagogical logic still remains classificatory, meritorious. There is still “vestibular” (College Entrance Examinations), numerous reprobation and high school dropout. Wherefore the need of “reinventing” the education in Brazil has become more visible. In view of the further discussion in the theoretical field on interdisciplinarity, the problem here is: Is it possible to view real strategies for the deconstruction of hegemonic knowledge in order to achieve a plural creative critical epistemological building? This article will develop three specific topics in order to analyze interdisciplinarity under the perspective of the decolonization of knowledge, recognizing different ways of thinking, acting and living. Indeed addressing transdisciplinarity would be the ideal; however, interdisciplinarity can be seen as a beginning that has the purpose of reaching transdisciplinarity. Thus it will be possible to perceive that the educational practice needs to be a constant reflection.

1. Interdisciplinarity: re-signification of educational actions and the recognition of the epistemological plurality

In the contemporary thought, besides what above, the influences that are presented in education and in the understanding of epistemology are many. From the 1970s, the term “critique” enters pedagogy, assuming mainly a social meaning. “The *critical pedagogy* emerges, which is a junction of *humanist Marxism*, from the Frankfurt School, with the *pedagogy of the oppressed* of Paulo Freire” (Porto 2006: 26). The concern with the autonomy, the oppression and the transformation of the social structures is consolidated in education as part of the process of knowledge building.

In the 1990s, with the fall of the Marxist ideas, poststructuralist and postmodernist theories arise. Thinkers like Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida, Lyotard are expressive of that time. “From a poststructuralist influence, we have the inclusion of topics such as feminism, multiculturalism, homosexuality, racial and ethnic issues” (Porto 2006: 26). With the recognition of human plurality, the critique of the traditional epistemology becomes overwhelming. There are different ways of understanding the world, of living in it, of acting; there is not just one way of getting knowledge. Thus knowledge is built over power relations. Power is understood “[...] beyond political or economical power, male power, white man power, the power of the European and so on, which obviously abstract any objectivity from knowledge (including the scientific knowledge)” (Porto 2006: 27).

Esther Grossi (1997: 53) states that “all learning has its habitat in living among others. The learning rests on a tripod: the one who learns; what is being learnt and the other”. There resides an inter-relation in epistemology that needs a permanent reflection, because it deals with dreams, wishes and what kind of world is being built. Therefore, building knowledge is not something restricted to pieces of information, it deals with humanities, projects and worldviews.

While an educational and epistemological movement, interdisciplinarity can be noticed by the particular form through which human beings “[...] produce themselves as social beings and as subject and object of the social knowledge” (Frigotto 1995: 26). Reality, actions, organizations and human relations are perceived as complex realities and a too limited and fragmented knowledge becomes insufficient and unilateral. Therefore, “interdisciplinarity as a contemporary movement that emerges in the perspective of dialog and integration of sciences and knowledge is trying to break with the hyper-specialization character and with the fragmentation of knowledge” (Thiesen 2008: 546).

Aiming for the dialogue, the boundaries of disciplines are overcoming the construction of interdisciplinary knowledge. Even though the disciplines and specializations remain, interdisciplinarity is on the border of each discipline and proposes an epistemology built on disciplinary optical differences.

Existing mainly as a practice (Pombo 2006), the interdisciplinarity constitute itself as a scathing critique of the positivism and the Cartesian and “[...] it reflects on the ongoing emergence of new disciplines that are not more than the institutional and epistemological stabilization of the routines of crossing of the disciplines” (Pombo 2006: 210). Therefore, interdisciplinarity, besides better articulating many kinds of knowledge, fosters an extension, an enlargement of knowledge, becoming interdependent and interactive, demonstrating a large network or a web of complex interactions (Pombo 2008: 552).

It is necessary to deconstruct the patterns of knowing that homogenize, hierarchize, fragment knowledge. “Deconstructing the colonial-modern cultural patterns involves sharpening its paradoxes, promoting reciprocal relationships able to construct meanings and plural and polysemic subjectification processes.” (Fleuri, Coppete & Azibeiro 2009: 31). Starting from deconstruction makes visible the critique of the “things the way they are” and shows that in education there is still an “epistemological violence” (Castro-Gómez 2005). In other words, the “[...] imposition of the scientific-cultural thought and liberal ideology as a universal thought” remains in the teaching-learning processes (Fleuri, Coppete & Azibeiro 2009: 33).

In this sense, deconstruction questions the dominant *epistemes*, the hegemonic knowledge and the logic of dichotomy and hierarchization present in modernity. “Every dichotomy brings an implicit hierarchy as it leads to privilege one term over the other” (Fleuri, Coppete & Azibeiro 2009: 36). Deconstructing epistemologies based on dichotomy and hierarchization is a great challenge for the Brazilian schools. The history and daily experiences still suffer the consequences of an educational system that has imported models from other countries and insists on homogenizing practices through the process of the *vestibular* and quantitative tests. It is no coincidence that nowadays difficulties are faced when education encounters the sexist segregationist logic, when education deals with differences, with people with disabilities, with indigenous needs.

Before the Constant destruction of the world, nature, human relationships, the quest for new ways of knowledge, power, being and living is crucial. Building new *epistemes* and hearing the *epistemes* silenced by dominant knowledge is an opportunity that education has in order to promote the coexistence among all

human beings, between human beings and nature instead of reproducing paradigms of exclusion, inequality and destruction. In Arendt's words, education has the important task of renewing the world:

Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it and by the same token save it from that ruin which, except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and young, would be inevitable. (Arendt 2007: 247)

2. Interdisciplinarity: from the plots and from the complexity

Besides relationships, the processes³¹ of knowing and teaching are essential. If in these processes it is considered that we know with the body, alterity, temporality, spatiality, plurality, the epistemological notions probably will question "the things the way they are". The word epistemology may annoy many ears unaccustomed to its pronunciation. That word names the processes of knowing, it is a determinant of the "[...] conditions, principles, statements and rules that serve as conditions for something to be thought of and a knowledge to be produced, reproduced, shared, deconstructed and even emptied [...]" (Ströher 2008: 204). Keeping this definition, in Menezes' concept, epistemology happens with *tramas*.³²

Tramar means braiding yarns to weave networks, i.e., the different yarns are important in order for the trama to form a net, a sketch, a web. However, *tramar* also means devising strategies in which the other, the difference is a threat, hence the *trama* against the other, the pre-trial in order to nullify the other and be a threat no more. If we think of the history of many "others" (as Beauvoir says when she states that the idea of other is anchored in another idea which is always a reference to this, that is, the other is the other in relation to something which "is" essential, the first identity), certainly we would say that knowledge made his own *tramas*, it built strategies that ratified the violence, whether caused by contempt of

³¹Boaventura de Sousa Santos is an essential reading for the current epistemological debate. His definitions of *ecology of knowledge* and *prudent knowledge for a decent life* indicate the impossibility of the preservation of monolithic views of reality, they reveal the power relationships. Rethinking how subject and object are related, asking projects that are built from knowledge for the world, revealing that the processes are not neutral and ready, but are ongoing processes that demand criticality, is a current epistemological agenda. "Instead of abandoning collective projects, I propose the plurality of collective projects articulated by a non-hierarchical translation procedure that replace the reformulation of a general theory of social change. Instead of celebrating the end of a utopia, I propose realistic plural and critical utopias. Instead of renunciation of the social emancipation, I propose its reinvention. Instead of melancholy, I propose tragic optimism. Instead of relativism, I propose the plurality and the construction of an ethic from the bottom. Instead of deconstruction, I propose a critical postmodern theory, deeply self-reflexive, but immune to the obsession of deconstructing the very resistance in which it is founded. Instead of the end of politics, I propose the creation of transgressive subjectivities for the promotion of a transition from conformist action to the rebel action. Instead of non-critical syncretism, I propose the *mestizaje* or hybridization with the awareness of the power relations involved therein, that is, with the investigation of who hybrids who, what, in which contexts and what purposes" (Sousa Santos 2004: 10).

³² In Portuguese, the words used are *trama* (noun) and *tramar* (verb), which has a double meaning: *plotting and weaving*. In order to consider the original meaning of the quote, we maintain here the Portuguese word.

the other, the indifference, whether by the way this other was being designed, written. (Menezes & Sá 2008: 52)

In this notion of *trama* lie clues that can guide the teaching-learning processes in the Brazilian classrooms for a plural creative critical interdisciplinary epistemological construction. On one side, by understanding that knowledge is *tramas*, educational actions would show the plurality, the need of many yarns to constitute a net. On the other side, while plotting knowledge, the violence, the colonization of knowledge are reality, educational actions would problematize that plurality and human differences generate conflicts, prejudices, asymmetries. "It is in this way that the different discourses are being justified so that something can be thought of as the truth" (Menezes & Sá 2008: 53). Thus, the objective that emerges from this notion of *trama* is the urgency in rescuing an *episteme* that is built in the exchange, in the link, in the relation with the other, revealing truths. "An *episteme* shows itself as a meeting place of those senses *plotting* by the *trama*" (Menezes & Sá 2008: 52).

In the movement of deconstruction-construction, guided by the knowledge decolonization, opposing epistemological arguments that defend a solipsist positivist, fragmented rationality, the teaching-learning processes have to be weaved like a "[...] bundle of relations and displacement: not a system, but the proliferation and coordination of multiple systems that refer to each other" (Revel 2005: 42). Regarding the *episteme* as network relations, displacements are crucial.

By realizing that epistemology was built plotting against others, ranking knowledge, disregarding truth, new perceptions of what is knowledge and science are noticed. Consequently, Morin and the theory of complexity indicate that the present time is a time of critiques to solidified paradigms. In every knowledge building, there is a worldview which demystifies the illusion that science would be neutral, objective and universal. According to Morin,

It is therefore necessary that all science question itself on its ideological structures and its social-cultural roots. Here, we realize that we lack a capital science, a science of the things of the spirit or noology, capable of conceiving how and under what cultural conditions ideas are grouped together, are linked with each other, fit one another, constitute systems that self-regulate, self-defend, self-multiply, self-program themselves. We lack a scientific knowledge sociology that is not just powerful, but also more complex than the science that examines. (Morin 1994: 21)

This need for a science that questions itself, that checks the *complexity of the epistemological processes*, considering the interrelationships of knowledge also brings evidence that guide the teaching-learning processes in the Brazilian classrooms for a plural creative critical interdisciplinary epistemological construction. The complexity, as proposed by Morin, cannot be confused with recipes, answers and fullness (to fulfill). Instead, dialogues are established in complexity, the thought is encouraged, simplification is avoided. In case of no ready answers, uncertainty and insecurity are part of the knowledge building (Morin 1994: 137-138). In this sense, knowledge is not constituted by information that can only be received, memorized, reproduced.

The ambition of complexity is to relate articulations that are destroyed by boundaries between disciplines, between cognitive categories and between kinds of

knowledge. In fact, the desire for complexity tends to multidimensional knowledge. It has nothing to do with giving all information on a studied phenomenon, but it means to respect its various dimensions (Morin 1994: 138)

The suspicion that can be raised here is whether the Brazilian educational reality is able to deal with the complex thought. And without that ability with the complexity, in the same way, difficulties in dealing with interdisciplinarity arise. According to what the second moment of the theoretical reference has identified, interdisciplinarity is a critical practice; a practice that may promote different ways of thinking and that turns the interdependency of knowledge visible. However amid the critique of sciences paradigms, the curricula are still orientated to a disciplinary knowledge. The educational structures are still subjugated to the logic of success, in the search for achievement in the labor market. Following this logic, education cannot accomplish much in order to question "the things the way they are". Yet the complex knowledge also challenges us to understand the reality and its contradictions, it does not deny conflicts and analyzes the inter-relatedness.

In the same way *trama* has many yarns in the constitution of a net, *complexity* brings the dynamic of unity and multiplicity. In this dynamic, which becomes crucial here, taking into account the density of complex thinking is the possibility of relational epistemologies. Relations established between human beings, between the human being and the world, between the human being and nature, between the human being and knowledge must be guided by (new or other) ways of thinking, living, knowing, teaching and learning. Thus, we can deduce that the notion of *trama* and *complexity* help the viability of plural, creative, critical and interdisciplinary epistemologies.

3. Weaving for a responsible and inter-relational interdisciplinarity

Gradually, the logic of separation, of paradigmatic fragmentation in the knowledge building has been questioned since the 19th century. Fragmented epistemology seeks certainness and consolidates finished truths. Besides, in this knowledge paradigm, other ways of knowing, other worldviews are silenced or ignored. The decolonization of knowledge questions precisely this uniqueness, this generalization presented in the processes of knowledge building.

The proposal for an interdisciplinary education woven in the complexity, in the plurality cannot be considered another model or one more model. The proposition of complexity is not shaping new educative relations and processes, what creates uncertainty, insecurity and disruption. It seems impossible to imagine an education related to uncertainties. The idea of uncertainty would lead to disorder and to the fear of realizing that the knowledge presents itself as a novelty in the classroom all the time. This may indicate that being an educator demands an attitude of gathering, reconnecting, contextualizing, transgressing, innovating and questioning "the things the way they are". It is an unstable situation that can be misunderstood as total relativity of knowledge building or mere juxtaposition of knowledge and distinct worldviews.

Trama and complexity pose the challenge of reconnecting, of unity and inter-relatedness of knowledge. At the same time, it is not possible to deny the fear, but face it, with the objective of avoiding the arrogance of the "possession" of knowledge or the illusory certainty of a unique general view of reality. Moving

towards interdisciplinarity is not an act of modeling itself, but of relating to the other, to other knowledge. Therefore, this interdisciplinary perspective, the teaching-learning processes are constituted by an epistemological disrupt that focuses directly on the worldview, on the view of the human differences, which are dynamics. And, in order to deal with differences, there are no instruction manuals.

Moving towards an interdisciplinary practice is to realize that the conditioning, hierarchization, fragmentation of knowledge and the dichotomous analyses no longer satisfy the demands of today's world. Current challenges to the epistemology are guided by the need of dialogues *among* human differences, which include the uniqueness and wholeness. These differences could not provide or serve to the asymmetries between human beings, but to the plurality of life experiences: cultural ethnical and religious diversity.

In the quest of all phenomena and knowledge, doors to new ways of thinking will be opened. A *new* thinking committed to education puts at the disposal of the deconstruction of knowledge patterns that homogenize, colonize, hierarchize and fragment the knowledge. Such posture is not neutral or innocent but problematical and aware that relating to different *epistemes* will be an ongoing learning process.

Before the constant destruction of the world, nature, human relations, the quest for new *epistemes* and the visibility of silenced *epistemes* need to be things wished by the educational agents. And this wish is born amid uncertainties, tailored to the yarns of the knowledge and relation net, tangled in conflicts, irreducible diversity and impossible to simplify.

Conclusion

After this investigation on the potential of interdisciplinarity in guiding educative actions based on plural critical, creative responsible *epistemes*, the real challenges that persist in each context and school are many. In one side, the understanding of interdisciplinarity as an educational practice is a critique to the positivism, to the Cartesianism, to the stability and the institutional and epistemological routine, establishing itself as an opportunity of recognition of plurality of knowledge. In the other side, such plurality of knowledge should not lead to the chaos, but motivate a deconstruction of dominant epistemological paradigms that perpetuate the inequality and exploration. Starting from it, interdisciplinarity has the potentiality of showing new epistemologies and, in a critical way, of recognizing that knowledge should not exclude, but in its interdependency guide the responsibility for the world.

Interdisciplinary practices are assumed as critiques of the present model; model of knowing that is not limited to acquired information, but reflects the worldviews and the constitution of society. If, for a long time, knowledge was plotted against alterity, against human differences, with interdisciplinarity there is the possibility of plotting in favor of the knowledge that would rescue colonized, forgotten, silent and detailed worldviews. Likewise the notion of *complexity* suggests that knowledge is not restricted to mental abilities, but reveals the interdependency of knowledge and human actions. The modern logic is questioned and such question can provoke uncertainty, insecurity, fear, because they are examined as "the things the way they are" and there are no ready recipes for new challenges

and difficulties. Precisely at this point, creativity is the action that refuses to be a mere application of models. *Tramas* and *complexity* are essential to the effectiveness of interdisciplinarity.

Finally, in the case of interdisciplinarity, there is a great challenge for ruptures, breaking the established knowledge structures; breaking the inherited paradigms; breaking the *just* specialized teaching training, breaking the unique views of reality. With so many rupture movements, it is not viable to leave "emptiness" in the place of what was there before. It is important to realize that changes are urgent and, in order for them to happen, reasons, researches and experiences are necessary. It has nothing to do with a research that legitimates "owners" of knowledge, but a research study focused on the knowledge building consistent with the construction of human relations responsible for the world, giving rise to a "decent life".

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BEYOND THE COMMON SENSE OF THE COMMON SENSE: CROSSINGS BETWEEN BOAVENTURA DE SOUSA SANTOS' AND HANNAH ARENDT'S UNDERSTANDING OF COMMON SENSE

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Abstract

This paper discusses the notion of common sense and how such a knowledge has been defined historically. The invention of the concept of common sense will be presented as natural rationality; furthermore, the depreciation of common sense as ordinary, non-critical, pragmatic knowledge will be described. However, with the crisis of the scientific model paradigm and the transformations elapsed since the 19th century, the manners and conditions of knowledge are questioned and reviewed. Therefore, with the perception of the violence, the production of a non-world and the need for a decent life, Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Hannah Arendt propose to re-reconsider the notion of common sense. Santos advocates for a process of democratization of knowledge; Arendt suggests a rescue of the idea of "common". The crossing of both happens in the construction of a decent world or a world that can be a "home" for all people.

Keywords

Common sense – Boaventura de Sousa Santos – Hannah Arendt

Introduction

Establishing a dialogue between Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Hannah Arendt may seem shifted effort. However, by focusing on the theme of common sense, it is possible to realize through this dialogue that the two authors have common concerns, including the critique of the ways of thinking defined by modernity and current challenges to human relations. The aim of this paper is to reflect on the meanings attributed to common sense and to think about the proposals of these two thinkers concerning common sense.³³ First, the paper will address the

³³ In this article, the discussion on the relation between common sense and scientific sense is delimited in the dialogue between Sousa Santos and Arendt. However, there are other relevant discussions on this topic. This is the case of Paulo Freire's thought in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, where he refers to Thomas Kuhn's work, especially, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*, published in 1969.

contextuality, the invention of the philosophical concept of common sense and its redefinitions and its epistemological valuations and devaluations. Second, the paper will analyze the scientific paradigms crisis and therefore the changes related to the common sense. Third, the paper will investigate Sousa Santos and Arendt's understandings of common sense. Even coming from a different area (sociology), Sousa Santos³⁴ provides critiques of the epistemology and of the modern reason quite close to Arendt's political philosophy. In this way, drawing parallels between these two authors becomes very fruitful.

1. Common Sense: The contextuality of the concept

Addressing the theme of common sense, at first, seems to refer to something that has to be fought, overcome, or rather, something that would be characterized as false knowledge. However, even this kind of understanding has been questioned, as can be seen in the discussions at the World Social Forum, held in 2001³⁵. Likewise, classifications and gradations of how the human knowledge functions have been reviewed and become more complex. This review does not erase the existent tensions in knowledge production and, the current context seems to "allow" the existence of multiple, distinct and even ambiguous definitions and proposals.

In some way, the epistemological typologies have been linked to dichotomies: apparent and/or real; empirical and/or innate; true and/or false; dogmatic and/or skeptical; objective and/or subjective. The common sense understanding was also located in the antagonism that has restricted and impoverished those discussions. The common sense was defined from or against the definition of science, legitimizing certain discourses and world understandings.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007) realizes that the emergence of the common sense as a philosophical concept happened in the 18th century. According to him, the birth of the common sense concept "[...] represents the ideological battle of the emerging bourgeoisie against the irrationalism of the *ancient régime*. It is therefore a sense that intends to be natural, reasonable and prudent; a sense that is bourgeois and that for a double implication becomes an average and universal sense" (Sousa Santos 1989: 36).

The philosophical value of common sense was therefore linked to the political project of the rise of bourgeoisie, so it is not surprising that, once the power was gained, the philosophical concept of common sense has been correspondingly devalued as meaning superficial and misleading knowledge. It is against it that the social sciences are born in the 19th century. (Sousa Santos 1989: 36)

³⁴ According to his personal home page at <http://www.boaventuradesousasantos.pt>: "Boaventura de Sousa Santos is Professor of Sociology at the School of Economics, University of Coimbra (Portugal), Distinguished Legal Scholar at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School and Global Legal Scholar at the University of Warwick. He is Director of the Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra; Scientific Coordinator of the Permanent Observatory for Portuguese Justice and member of the Research Group Democracy, Citizenship and Law (DECIDE) of the Centre."

³⁵ See the official web site of the World Social Forum available at <http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br>

The suspicion that this statement of Boaventura de Sousa Santos provokes is that the discussions about epistemology cannot ignore human relations. Knowledge is wrapped with tensions, contradictions, interests. There is a close relationship between knowledge and power. Thus, the determinations made by the scientific debate of the 19th century consolidated rigid methods of access to knowledge, guiding what is the “best” and the “most trusted” process of obtaining knowledge.

The logic of fragmentation and specialization permeates the building of knowledge and has become its paradigm since the 19th century. The problem lies in the fact that the model of scientific rationality stands as the only way to get knowledge. “[...] The new scientific rationality is also a totalitarian model, insofar as it denies the rational character of all forms of knowledge that do not guide themselves through its epistemological principles and by its methodological rules” (Sousa Santos 2007: 10).

Common sense has been defined as a “[...] simple acceptance of the world, its objects and its processes exactly as they appear, as they seem to be – what is sometimes called the naïve realism [...]” (Geertz 1989: 81). Common sense would have just a “[...] pragmatic motive, the wish to act upon that world so as to bend it to one's practical purposes, to master it, or so far as that proves impossible, to adjust to it” (Geertz 1989: 81). Or according to Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, common sense is “[...] the point of view of [...] practiciness; practice without theory, or with the least of it [...]. The point of view of common sense meekly unfolds the dictates or demands of an emptied practice of theoretical ingredients.” (Vázquez 1968: 211). There would be in common sense “[...] a network of prejudices, stereotyped truths and, in some cases, superstitions of an irrational conception (magical or religious) of the world” (Vázquez 1968: 210).

In this sense, common sense would be produced by ordinary people in their ordinariness, in order to solve immediate problems or according to their needs. Such interpretations and productions of knowledge shape, for the modern science, “vulgar knowledge”, a “spontaneous sociology”, uncritical, being necessary a break in order to make the scientific, rational, valid knowledge possible (Sousa Santos 1989: 36).

2. Common sense and science crisis

With the changes initiated in the 15th century and later with the French Revolution, the Enlightenment and the secularization process, many kinds of knowledge have become marginal. With the outbreak of the sciences, criteria of rationality are created, i.e., limits of what can be legitimately included, requirements for a legitimate knowledge that must be exhausted on visualization and systematization. In view of what can be known, defined, binaries were created by placing the knowledge only where it can be visualized, validated. Other kinds of knowledge are considered false or illusions.

False and true, subject and object, finite and infinite, culture and nature, writing and speaking, time and space, meaning and sign, external and internal, immanent and transcendent and all so called Westerners binaries were stratified into polarities that are excluded and that the inscription discerned. [...] The crisis of modernity is indeed the awareness that these binaries are a kind of optical illusion; when taken to its extremes, they

reveal their own inconsistency by revealing not that the modernity has failed, but that it is built on oppositions created and standardized by the habit. (Westhelle 1995: 260)

Similar to Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Hannah Arendt notices the instability, the crisis and, in her words, the *disruption* of contemporaneity. The disruptions come from the existence of doubt and extreme violence of the 20th century. The totalitarian experience proved that human beings can be capable of anything. From the civilized rational Modernity emerged extermination systems of deprivation of liberty, like the totalitarian and dictatorial State.

The common world is being destroyed and that destruction, “[...] which is usually preceded by the destruction of the many aspects in which it presents itself to human plurality. [...] The end of the common world comes when it is seen only under one aspect, and only one perspective is permitted” (Arendt 2007a: 67-68). The world is built by the individual, the consumer and private interests; it is a world in which there is no space for the common. Relations between people are also affected. Private interests become central over public interests. “[...] it is the triumph of the consumption over the use, the metabolism over the durability of things, the need over the world, the life over immortality” (Correia 2007: 44).

Arendt’s perception is that life is threatened due to the alienation of the common world typical of modernity because of the rise of labor, technology, consumption and bureaucracy. Human beings worried about consuming cannot take care of the world, they can just consume it. The human differences become increasingly intolerable. And between an arrogant universalism and aggressive particularism, the challenge will be to restore the *common* between opposing interests.

3. Crossovers: common sense for a decent life and common sense to build the common world

In Sousa Santos’ understanding, nowadays, there is not just a single way of explaining reality. With the crisis of paradigms, the importance of other forms of knowing has become visible. Of course, in the same way that knowledge becomes plural, there is also a plurality of questions and answers. In this perspective, the (post)modernity “[...] seeks to rehabilitate the common sense by recognizing some virtues to enrich our relationship with the world in this form of knowledge” (Sousa Santos 2007: 56). However, Sousa Santos warns us that the common sense cannot be idealized, because conservatism, authoritarianism, prejudice and hierarchy also underlie and are reproduced by common sense.

Against domination and in the quest for emancipation, in Sousa Santos’ concept, the knowledge building is not separated from the human relations, the concern for the world and the social economical inequalities. The qualified knowledge—in which those who possess it “stand on” those who do not have it—establishes an undemocratic knowledge. Sousa Santos points to both a change of the scientific knowledge and an epistemological rupture of the common sense. That is, common sense, relegated to the superficiality and pragmatism, needs to be reset, avoiding in this way the production and legitimation of these forms of domination propagated by specialized knowledge.

In modern science the epistemological break symbolizes the leap of common sense knowledge to scientific knowledge; in postmodern science

the most important jump is the one that is made from the scientific knowledge to the common sense knowledge. The postmodern knowledge just accomplishes itself insofar as it becomes common sense (Sousa Santos 2007: 57)

With the democratization of knowledge, it is possible to cut out the bonds and structures of domination and subjugation. In this sense, common sense is directed to life wisdom; a prudent knowledge for a decent life, which is exposed in five dimensions: solidarity, participation, enjoyment, authorship and the discursive art-factuality. This indicates that knowledge and its production processes, besides a new “[...] scientific paradigm (the paradigm of a prudent knowledge), also have to be a social paradigm (the paradigm of a decent life)” (Sousa Santos 2000: 37). Solidarity and participation correspond to the principle of the community and the other dimensions relate to the aesthetic-expressive rationality. The redefinition of the common sense by Sousa Santos has a political emancipatory direction (Sousa Santos 2000: 113). Pereira and Carvalho asseverate that the understanding of Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ common sense points to a proposal of a global repoliticization of the collective life.

The proposal of the new common sense in the political dimension is the global repoliticization of the collective life. It is an attempt to enlarge the political action beyond the State and the public sphere, seen as reductionist by the author. This effort is justified as a strategy to expand the scope of participatory action and to disrupt the monopoly of interpretation imposed by the modern paradigm. From this theoretical construction we can realize the position that the author will have in relation to the increase of the political participation of the citizens (Pereira & Carvalho 2008: 49)

According to Arendt, the concern with the common—alike Sousa Santos—is not merely epistemological. The political concern understood by Arendt as *inter homines esse*, the living among people, is fundamental (Arendt 2007a: 15). Common sense has a double dimension: on one side it is a natural faith in the world and, on the other, it is the faculty that enables the human being to insert and guide themselves in the world. This faculty enables the human being to feel at home in the world. However, Arendt argues that the Cartesian method brought the loss of common sense. In her conception, knowledge and feelings, from Descartes, have suffered an introspection process. Just what happens in consciousness, in the human mind, produced by a method that protects the certainness against doubt is regarded as knowledge. In the introspection, the mind just knows what it produces by itself. Thus, if the world was common, with the Cartesian method only reasoning is becoming common to all people.

In Arendt’s conception, in modernity the common sense was lost, locked up within the human mind. This process undermines the condition of the possibility of understanding the world. In order to make a judgment about the world, the trust in the fact that there is an agreement between the world and the way of understanding is fundamental. The quest for certainness and the emancipation of thought (against what it considers limiting) led the faculty to judge to the ruin. The totalitarian regime was successful in modernity due to many factors, including the loss of common sense, the faith in the world as it presents itself. It is a loss of the world, an uprooting that also drops the meanings assigned by the experiences of the world

Because the common sense, which was before that sense by which all others with their strictly private feelings fit into the common world, like the vision fitted man into the visible world, came to be an inner faculty unrelated to the world. It was now called common sense merely because it is common to all. What the men have in common now is not the world, but the structure of the mind—and that they cannot, strictly speaking, have in common; what can only occur is that the faculty of reasoning is the same for everyone. The fact is that, posing the problem of two plus two, everyone will get the same response; it becomes the ultimate model of reasoning through the common sense. (Arendt 2007a: 296)

The cosmopolitan citizenship, taken as an ideal that builds knowledge and actions, also reaffirms the plurality, perceptible in actions, words and thoughts. According to Arendt, “when we judge and when we act in political questions, it is supposed that we proceed from the idea, and not from the reality of being world citizens and therefore also a *Weltbetrachter*, a spectator of the world” (Arendt 1993: 97). Reflecting on Kant, Arendt argues that, in the judgments, there is a combination between general and particular, because the judgment is to think the private, since thinking is to generalize. When the particular is composed by a general we see in principle, laws and rules, there are no difficulties. The problem lies when we try to determine a value by judging an individual by another (Arendt 1993: 97).

According to Arendt, Kant speaks of two ideas which are necessary to take into consideration in order to reach a statement. The first is precisely the idea “[...] of the original covenant of mankind as a whole and, derived from this idea, the notion of humanity, what actually constitutes the human quality of the human being that lives and dies in this world, on this Earth that is an inhabited and shared globe, in the succession of generations” (Arendt 1993: 97-98). As Arendt indicates, on Kant, the aesthetic statements and the human being are devoid of an end, they are not good for anything, but “[...] the purpose is an idea through which we regulate our reflections in our reflexive statements” (Arendt 1993: 98). The second idea is defined by Arendt as a validity example, because the examples are supports for the statement. “This example is and remains being a private that in its own particularity reveals the generality that otherwise could not be defined” (Arendt 1993: 98).

Arendt emphasizes that human differences are integral to the idea of humanity, while humans inhabit the world, but their differences would not be diluted in the idea of humanity. Moreover, the human uniqueness cannot be confined to a insurmountable, incommunicable particular. Here lies the concern of a general *sensus communis* able to guide individuals. However, the general sense cannot be an obligation, a tax, it requires a constant reflection.

Political life, in Arendt’s comprehension, is only possible due to the human plurality. The recognition of differences needs to start from its own difference, and not just as an attitude of formal equality. Therefore, the tension between universality and particularity, between plurality and equality, and between *koinón* and *idión* remains. The common—the fact that all human beings inhabit the world—is public, where the world assumes the centrality, because we share the world. The private, the right to privacy cannot dilute itself in human masses and it is recognition of the irreducibility of differences. However, the private cannot be cloistered in itself, as Arendt asserts, the *idiot* (which derives from

idión) is that one who just cares about themselves, with their own needs, with their lives, not considering the common world, the shared world (Arendt 2007a: 47).

The living-together, the living in this world that is common to everyone who is born in it does not lead to a coexistence, but to the living that attests that every person has a place in the world, that the words, the thinking and the actions are seen and listened by other people. According to Arendt, living-together is a challenge because equality is built in human communities and every human being is born different. Every human being does not just become a general human being, but a person, *persona*, where their voices are, the "mask"³⁶ that guarantees rights to legal and public personality and at the same time hides the unique and private personality.

Taken in itself, without a consideration of its recent historical causes and its new role in politics, loneliness is at the same time contrary to the basic requirements of the human condition and one of the fundamental experiences of every human life. Even the experience of the material and sensorial given world depends upon my being in contact with other human beings, upon our common sense which regulates and controls all other senses and without which each one of us would be enclosed in their own particularity of sense data which in themselves are unreliable and treacherous. Only because we have common sense, that is, only because not one human being, but human beings in the plural inhabit the earth we can trust our immediate sensory experience. Yet, we have only to remind ourselves that one day we shall have to leave this common world which will go on as before and for whose continuity we are superfluous in order to realize the loneliness, the experience of being abandoned by everything and everybody. (Arendt 2007b: 528).

Loneliness is also distinct from being alone. Being alone is when you are with yourself, thinking in the company of yourself. Being alone is also distinct from the abandonment of others. Thinking and talking to oneself is a tow-in-one dialogue that maintains contact with the world and other people. Loneliness can result from being alone, and when this occurs, there is a loss of the self. Therefore the self-confidence is lost; the trust in the world is lost. "Self and world, capacity for thought and experience are lost at the same time" (Arendt 2007c: 529). In Arendt's concept, common sense is something that humans can rely on when they lose their mutual guarantee. Common sense makes it possible to feel, live and find their way in a common world (Arendt 2007c: 529).

Conclusion

As the title suggests, an understanding of common sense could not, on the one hand, start from superficial and prejudiced considerations and, on the other hand, it had to avoid idealisms that believe that genuine knowledge lies only in

³⁶ "Mask" refers here to the etymology of the concept of person according to Marcel Mauss (2003: 397): "From a simple masquerade to the mask, from a 'role' (*personnage*) to a 'person' (*personne*), to a name, to an individual; from the latter to a being possessing metaphysical and moral value; from a moral consciousness to a sacred being; from the latter to a fundamental form of thought and action – the course is accomplished".

the common sense. Like other forms of knowledge building, there are also prejudices, reproduction of segregations in the common sense. The suggestion of understanding common sense beyond the ordinary speeches propagated about it is a question about the processes of knowledge building, about the reductions of modernity, the relations of power and knowledge, the responsibility that people should take over the world. Indeed, not always the knowing will make humanity "walk" forward, as if it was only an evolution for the "best". Sousa Santos and Arendt's thoughts show that in order to achieve a decent life, in order to escape from the ruin of violence and repetition of past mistakes, thinking and knowing cannot ignore the common life, the political life.

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FACING THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A TEACHING EXPERIENCE REPORT

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Abstract

This paper aims to share a teaching experience on combating violence against women in southern Brazil. In 2010, the “regional training course of agents for prevention of violence against women” was offered by São Leopoldo’s Municipal Secretariat of Women’s Policies with the support of the Federal Government and implemented by the Ecumenical Center of Training and Consultancy. This course aimed to train people who work in many areas of service: public health, education, security professionals and members of NGO’s directly involved with the care of women in situations of violence. It is difficult to build an understanding of woman concerning the subject. Gender stereotypes that promote domination, symbolic, physical, material, psychological violence remain. The history of Maria da Penha Law – established in 2006 – suffers much criticism. There is a lack of instruments that problematizes the structures of women submission. There is also the government’s concern about-the alert training, namely the fact that domestic violence is not something private anymore. We need to create forums for discussion, rethinking conceptions of gender, deconstructing discourses that define submission as something normal, visualizing acts of resistance.

Keywords

Gender – Violence – Teaching experience

Introduction

According to the results of the study of the Map of Violence in Brazil in 2010, from the Sangari Institute (2010), based on the database of the National Health System (Datusus) between 1997 and 2007, 10 women were murdered in Brazil per day. This situation is alarming and frightening. These numbers show that the majority of cases involve issues of gender, revealing that women are killed, raped by their partners, boyfriends, husbands, relatives or acquaintances.

In 2006, the Law 11,340 was enacted. This law provides for the domestic violence against women and was named in honor of Maria da Penha, a pharmaceutical of the State of Ceara named Maria da Penha Maia Fernandes. The history of Maria da Penha is emblematic to evaluate the Brazilian reality in terms of violence and facing mechanisms of violence. In 1983, Maria da Penha was shot by her husband. He tried to cover up the crime, saying that the shooting was committed by a thief. Maria da Penha had to stop working and was forced to retire. After a long period in a hospital, her husband kept Maria da Penha trapped

inside their own house, starting a series of assaults. Then the husband tried to kill her once again by electrocution, that forced her to seek for some help. With a judicial order in hands, Maria da Penha managed to leave the house with her three daughters and became paraplegic.

Because of this fact, the Center for Justice for International Law (CEJIL) and the Latin American Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights (CLADEM), along with Maria da Penha, formally complained to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS), because her husband would not be arrested for a long time under Brazilian Laws. There was not much that could be done in Brazil to punish or confront the domestic violence against woman before 2006. Therefore it was necessary to appeal to the OAS, which is internationally responsible for the filing of communications of breach of international agreements. At the same time, an extensive discussion began, moved by the action of a consortium of NGO's (ADVOCACY, AGENDE, CEPIA, CFEMEA, CLADEM/IPÊ and THEMIS). Today these institutions are very important for the discussion of gender violence and the pursuit of policies for Brazilian women. The repercussion of Maria da Penha's case was overwhelming and led to the creation of the law that allowed attackers of women to be arrested, when caught in the act, or to have a preventive order to be arrested. Indeed, there is a long path to the effectiveness of the law and that is only a mechanism to curb violence. In addition to punishment, it has to be prevented.

With these objectives of preventing and promoting ways to question the sexist logic that murders Brazilian women in 2010, the "regional training course of agents for prevention of violence against women" was made by São Leopoldo's Municipal Secretariat of Women's Policies with the support of the Federal Government and implemented by the Ecumenical Center of Training and Consultancy. In that way, the objective of this essay is to share a teaching experience on combating violence against women in southern Brazil

1. The Course and Maria da Penha Law

The course was primarily designed for civil servants in several areas: health, education, security, social assistance. The goal was to empower people who attend women in situations of violence, establishing a network of services and care. Unlike what happened, the course aimed to break bureaucracies and prejudices in the public service by implementing networks. Connecting and synchronizing all the needs of women in situations of violence turn possible an effective confrontation against these situations. The training course is a part of the National Pact of Combat of Violence against Women. The Pact is a commitment assumed by the Brazilian Government and seeks practical and joint actions for the implementations.

The course program consisted of 14 workshops that addressed the following themes: Understanding of gender and violence; the intersection of gender, social class; ethnicity; many forms of violence and violation; the cycles of violence; human rights; indicators of violence; policies to confront violence; health issues of women; the increase of AIDS cases among Brazilian women; the discussions around the politicization of abortion; myths and stereotypes of domestic violence; the psychosocial support to woman in situations of domestic and family

violence; theoretical bases of Maria da Penha Law and preparation of proposals for new or improved services.

With 960 places for 12 municipalities in the metropolitan area in the Vale do Sinos in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, the training course presented great processes and visualized great challenges ahead. First, with the course, we can realize that the understanding of gender and violence need to be deepened. To say what gender is or to define 'gender' is not something so obvious or simple to people. Thus, it is clear that the gender roles, the biological arguments, still set positions and behaviors in society. In Brazil, religion has also a moralistic and conservative face that interferes in the discussions, making them harder. It is important to understand that gender is a construction, is not something given, permanent. According to Cirija (2004: 223), "the essentialization of the difference turns women foreign beings to the political and cultural order. [...] the political character of this excision between a female perfection consists in the subordination, and a human perfection consists in freedom and equality".

In this sense, the course dealt with many discourses that asseverate the essentialization, the naturalization of gender relations. An example of it is to address the topic of abortion. It is necessary to go beyond the positions of being "favor" or "against" it, "yes" or "no", politicizing all action and speech. What we cannot do is to ignore or censor the discussions in society, letting girls and young women perform abortions clandestinely, with non-professionals. Prejudices are visible in the persistence of cultural and religious patterns that interfere negatively in the adoption of preventive measures such as male and female condoms.

2. Gender and violence understandings and deconstructions

With the theoretical bases of Gayle Rubin (1975 and 1993) and Joan Scott (1990), gender as a category of analysis aims to point out that the relationships between genders are socially and culturally constructed. Gender—what is considered masculine and feminine—is seen as a social and historical construction and no longer—as a natural conditioning. The concept *gender* is used to designate a social and cultural construction of masculinity and femininity. A distinction between *sex*—which refers to the biological difference—and *gender*—linked to historical social cultural psychological and political constructions which are forced to these biological differences—is proposed. Gender would be a sex division socially and culturally constructed. While approaching the relational dimension, the concept *gender* refers to men and women and their sexual identities, although it is often used by women to point out the inequalities between men and women based on the distinction between sexes.

The understanding of violence is also something that requires ongoing studies. Violence is more than physical aggression. Violence involving gender issues is not something new in human relations. They have addressed relationships, grounded ways of understanding human differences usually with the assumption of inferiority; something considered natural that cannot be changed. Violence is often structured in reductive and superficial stereotypes that are transmitted about alterity and ground degrading and violent action over this alterity. Prejudice contributes to solidify relations of power—command and obedience. This is noticeable in the history of subjugation of women who were exploited and

oppressed from the sexist logic of a family pattern, of a model of gender relation, of control over the body.

Gender relations are complex, contextual and situated. In Brazil, the history of black and indigenous women is marked by sexual and labor exploitation. Violence pervades the memory, the fact that it seeks to romanticize a past by speaking of racial democracy and not of an ethnic, cultural and religious violence. It is difficult to build an understanding of woman with the subject. Gender stereotypes that promote domination or symbolic physical material psychological violence remain. It is therefore necessary to broaden the horizons of analysis when we talk about violence, especially, by understanding that the private sphere also needs to be politicized. Unlike a famous adage “in husband and wife’s fight, no one shall put a spoon”, the course sought to call attention to the fact that domestic private violence interferes indeed in the life of the whole society. After all, relationships are disrupted, lives are lost.

Since September 22, 2006, Maria da Penha Law considers a criminal offense the domestic and family violence practiced against women. It is the first time that the country has a specific law on violence against women, establishing these forms of violence: physical, psychological, sexual, moral and patrimonial.

Physical violence: any attitude that causes harm to the integrity or body health, through physical force, any kind of weapon or instrument that can cause internal or external or both damage. **Psychological abuse:** any attitude, action or omission that causes emotional harm or low self-esteem or which would prejudice and disturb the person’s full development, or seek to degrade or control their actions, behaviors, beliefs and decisions through threat, embarrassment, humiliation, manipulation, isolation, constant surveillance, harassment, insults, blackmail, ridicule, exploitation and limitation of the right to come and go or any other means that affects psychological health and self-determination.

Sexual violence: any attitude that embarrasses women to witness, maintain or participate in an unwanted sexual intercourse, through intimidation, threat, coercion or by the use of force; that induces her to commercialize or use, in any way, her sexuality; that prevents her from using any contraceptive method or that forces her into marriage, pregnancy, abortion or prostitution, through coerced blackmail, bribery or manipulation, or that restricts or nullifies the exercise of her sexual and reproductive rights. **Patrimonial violence:** any attitude that sets retention, subtraction, partial or total destruction of her objects, tools, personal documents, goods, securities and rights or economic resources, including those designed to meet her needs. **Moral Violence:** any attitude that configure slander, libel, or injury. (Law 11,340, art. 7 from August 7, 2006).

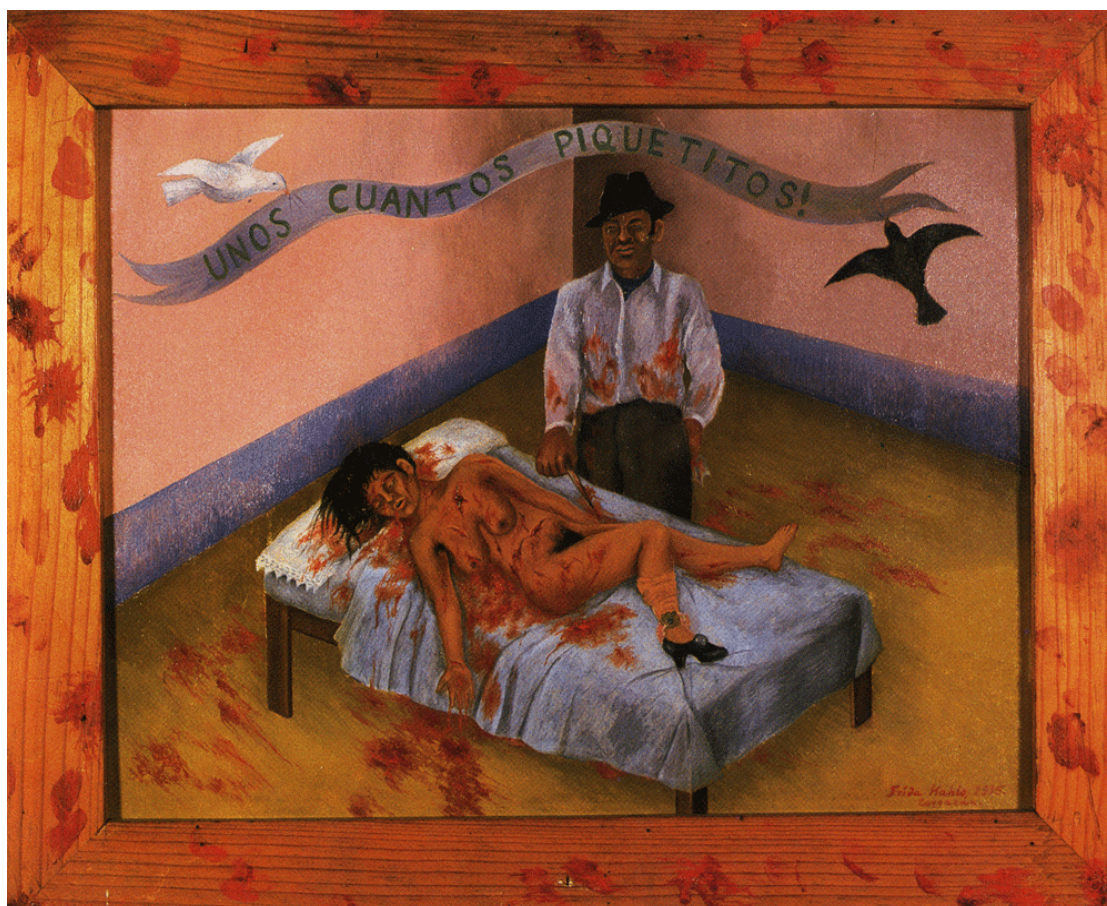
Prejudices are components of interpersonal relationships. It is essential to reveal, understand and deconstruct these preconceptions that underlie violent behaviors. There are several types of prejudices. We can say, briefly, that human differences—ethnicity, culture, religion, sexuality, nationality—are classified in a way that does not foster equality. In other words, the problem is that whenever we come to some form of behavior and different thought, we tend to classify in hierarchal ways, which is a way of excluding it.

It is essential for the deconstruction to make prejudices questionable, expose their practices and arguments. According to Bandeira and Batista (2002: 119-120)

Until recently, hitting women, blacks and homosexuals, for example, was considered a commonplace practice, at least not perceived as a form of violence in

society. The targets of violence hidden in their own suffering without being able to name it, denounce it or understand it. The ongoing changes in the awareness of society are reflected in the production of concepts and theories aimed at interpretations of these realities, preparing the tortuous path of overcoming it. At the same time, women, blacks and homosexuals, and many other minorities, organized into movements whose objective was, generally, to overcome these situations of identity disqualification and existential suffering imposed by society by not recognizing the differences and specificities. The intensity of these new demands puts to the test the reigning intolerance and stimulates our creative diversity.

According to Bergesch (2008: 115), "the marks of violence record the history and the power relations". Violence must be confronted and not invisible. Women still carry guilt and are considered guilty. When a woman is raped, it is common to hear that this happens just because her outfit was provocative. To illustrate how violence against women is commonplace, unfortunately, the work of Frida Kahlo "Unos cuantos piquetitos" is emblematic.



Kahlo, F. Unos cuantos piquetitos

In Kahlo's painting, the nude dead woman is totally exposed. There is a portrait of indignity. In Marcela Lagarde's concept, this painting is a synthesis of a policy of the oppression of women. There in the picture, a body that denounces the pain, the death.

Through "Unos cuantos piquetitos", Frida graphically showed that the wound was not healed. [...] she would transform the "bits" of life into jokes. Therefore, she attenuated the terrifying violence [...] which appears in the details and incongruous

as the thin edge of the cushion cover, the cheerful pink and blue walls, the pink and flowery league and the half-wore sock in the woman's leg, what indicates she is a prostitute. The most incongruous of all is the pair of pigeons, one black and one white, which hold in the nozzle a faint blue color band with the title of the picture. They belong to a greeting card for the day of friendship and not to a murder scene. Frida explained that it symbolizes good and evil. (Monárrez Fragoso 2005:76)

Conclusion

The most important aspect that involves addressing violence against women, whether it is family violence or not, is related to the culture law that refers to social and individual values, presented in judgment and acceptance of demands, which are able to boost or block the recognition and effectiveness of Rights. There are many federal actions aimed to combat violence against women. There are also many actions of civil society organizations, including women's groups in churches that are organized to address violence. However, not only loyalist actions will stop the murders of women in Brazil. We must block the sexist logic that women are an object of their partners, boyfriends or families. In addition, gender-based violence must be seen by all people under its various aspects. As an example there are the issues of trafficking, sexual exploitation, the violence against older women, blacks, Indians. There is a lot to do and the people who take care of women in violence situation must have the sensibility and the ability to contribute to the combat of violence.

The training course is just the first step in order for Maria da Penha Law to be respected and extended. The course intended to work on preventive awareness and networked actions. No more corpses of women under false arguments: a life without violence is a Right of both, Women and Men.

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TEACHER WELL-BEING: A SUCCESSFUL APPROACH IN PROMOTING QUALITY EDUCATION? A CASE STUDY FROM SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract

This research paper presents a case study aimed at exploring and describing support provision in two South African primary schools, examining, in particular, the significance of leadership and organisational development in addressing the needs of teachers. A number of educational projects in South Africa are currently focused on the needs of learners and learner well-being. However, very little is being done to understand and support teacher well-being. Having motivated and committed teachers is key to South Africa's ability to attain the goals of a quality education for all children. The research design of the case study draws on leadership and organisational change theories and studies (e.g. Dalin, 1998; Fullan, 2004). The methodological rationale for the qualitative research approach forms part of a search for meaning within the cultural diversity of schools situated in semi-urban and marginalised communities. The central research question addressed is: How can schools, educational support services and teacher unions strengthen their support to schools in order to promote teacher well-being? A number of interlinking factors are found to influence the appropriateness of the support provision studied. Main findings relating to leadership, policy, capacity and cultural sensitivity illustrate the complexity of the issues involved.

Keywords

Teacher well-being – Whole School Development – Participatory Action Research

1. Introduction

1.1 Teacher Well-Being research and development project

Drawing on the preliminary findings of a two year research and development project, Teacher Well-Being (TWB) in two South African primary schools in challenging socio-economic conditions, this paper sets out to answer the question: How can an intervention focusing on the well-being of teachers enable a successful approach in promoting quality education? We argue that through addressing the well-being needs of teachers using a participatory action research methodology, the agency to promote well-being is generated. We will elaborate on how strengthened teacher agency and empowerment enables a whole school development approach that addresses constraints to effective teaching and learning. Thus enhancing the capacity of the school to provide an improved quality of education to learners.

The overall goal of the Teacher Well-Being project is to promote the resilience and well-being of teachers, in order to enhance quality education for all learners in South African public schools. Maintaining and supporting the mental and emotional well-being of teachers is fundamental to supporting the improved quality of education and the achievement of the global commitment to the UN Education for All objectives by 2015 (UNESCO & EI-EFAIDS, 2007). The Teacher Well-Being Project is a partnership between the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), Teacher In-service Project (TIP) at the University of the Western Cape, and the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD).

The Teacher Well-Being Project set out to provide a picture of the measure of health and teach well-being in primary schools, as well as to try out and propose strategies and an approach to improve the health and well-being of teachers. Although the study acknowledged the need to focus on the well-being of teachers in all schools, the pilot study began with a focus on historically disadvantaged schools as this is where the majority of teachers are located.

1.2 Contextualising the need for a focus on Teacher Well-Being

Teachers play a central role in the everyday life, education and well-being of learners. In fragile communities the teacher is a central figure of consistent support for a child. Retaining teachers in the teaching profession and encouraging new teachers to join the profession is a key challenge in Africa, and one which impacts greatly on the quality of schooling children receive and plans for school reform. Educational leaders have the challenge of creating schools as work place environments that support teacher retention, development and well-being (Singh, Manser, & Maestry, 2007).

The transition to democratic governance in South Africa post 1994 has ushered in a period of greater freedom, the respect for human rights and social and political reform. These conditions provide an enabling context for democratic practices and development. While the transformation process in the country as a whole holds out a level of hope and possibility for a better future, the challenges of policy development and implementation to give fruit to promises remains a challenge. Due to the legacy of Apartheid in South Africa a wide range of disparities exist between schools.

While all schools in South Africa have been affected by innovation overload through various educational reforms since 1994 (see section 1.3), in historically disadvantaged schools the impact of poverty and HIV and AIDS has posed additional challenges to teacher and managers in the implementation of educational reforms (Volan, 2003).

1.3 Definition of concepts

Well-being - The definition of well-being we use is inspired by Seligman (2002) in 2004, p.1448) Huppert and Baylis 2004, p.1448) includes both (1) "a sense of gratification" and (2) "a sense of meaning that derives from doing one's job in the service of something of wider significance than oneself".

Whole School Development – A comprehensive approach to developing effective schools, involving all stakeholders and all elements of the school as an

organization, towards fostering effective teaching and learning. (Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana 2011, p.8).

Participatory Action Research (PAR) - Is understood in line with Babbie and Mouton (2009, p.645)- as “participatory to the extreme, as it is based on the people’s role in setting the agendas, participation in the data gathering and analysis, and controlling the use of outcomes. PAR postulates participation to the extent of shared ownership of the research enterprise.”

Teacher agency – We support the following definitions of teacher agency, as “intentional acting aiming at self-protection, self-expression, and mastery of social reality” (Pulkkinen & Aaltonen 2003, p.146). We also hold the view that “teacher agency impacts and is impacted upon, by the structural and contextual features of the school and profession.” Datnow et al. 2002 cited in Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington and Gu (2007, p.111).

1.4. Brief Review of the literature pertaining to teacher well-being

Over the last ten years there has been an increase in the number of research studies both locally and internationally that have focused on the well-being of teachers. While some studies have sought to focus on obtaining a measure of well-being related to stress, burnout and job related characteristics (Kyriacou & Pratt, 1985; Jackson, Rothman & Van der Vijver, 2004; Pienaar & van Wyk, 2006), other studies have researched those factors that influence the mental health and well-being of teachers (Friedman, 1991; Patterson, Collins and Abbott, 2002; Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kingston & Gu, 2007; Intercamhs, 2009; Theron, 2009).

Extreme educator stress and duress have been recorded over the last few years in South Africa and the attrition rates for teachers have significantly increased over the same period (HSRC MRC and MTT: 2005: 51; ETDP- SETA Sector Skills Plan 2008/9). South African research studies (Hay, Smith & Paulsen, 2001; Xaba, 2003; Theron, 2009;) report high levels of stress in the teacher workforce and the need to address teacher support and mental health issues.

2. Methodological Framework

2.1 Methodology of study

Since structural and cultural change is a dynamic project, a reflexive qualitative research approach as understood by Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) was chosen for our study to describe and better understand the process of change. The research questions were formulated to investigate and understand the impact and dynamics of the Teacher Well-Being project through the participants’ own making of meaning. The respondents were involved in the project over a two year period. This provided us with an opportunity to capture anticipated outcomes, as well as nuances and unanticipated outcomes of the project. Data collection and analysis were interwoven right from the start of this investigation, as strongly recommended by, among others, Miles and Huberman (1994).

Teachers in two public primary schools in the Western Cape participated in this study. The schools were located in a peri-urban working class community. One

school was a large public school and the other a small school for learners with severe barriers to learning.

2.2 TWB intervention Design

The design of Teacher Well-Being (TWB) project intervention was informed by a systems approach to enabling change and health promotion. The project drew eclectically on a number of theoretical frameworks to inform and guide practice namely: A Whole School Development Approach underpinned by the traditions of school improvement and effectiveness; Schools as Learning Organisations; Health Promotion in Schools and a Participatory Action Research Approach using Photo-voice. A common strand in these approaches is their use of an eco-systemic view to understanding the determinants of health and education, as well as the empowerment of individuals to take action for change.

2.3 TWB method in practice

The intervention began at the level of the teacher in each school. Two teachers called "Key Teachers" were elected by staff and management. One Key Teacher was required to be a member of management. They gathered data over a two year period. In the first action research cycle they identified factors at a whole school level which both supported and limited their well-being. In the second year they identified factors at a classroom level. Teachers were mentored at school level by an external facilitator who facilitated linkages between rights claimants, in this case the teachers and duty bearers such as the service providers in the Department of Education. Participatory processes of reflection on practice were built in at a school, inter-school and systems level throughout the two year period.

The participatory action research approach empowered teachers to work together in a systematic and incremental way thus generating greater self-understanding and the energy for agency. The Key Teachers and the external facilitator supported staff to engage in deeper reflection and problem solving. The use of photo-voice methodology provided a creative and accessible way of getting teachers to engage with challenges and to speak about them openly. On-going processes of reflection on practice helped to monitor progress, draw out key learnings and promote problem solving and accountability. Teachers were encouraged to access their own agency in addressing issues influencing their well-being through an approach to counseling in work discussion groups (Trowell & Bower 1995).

At an inter-school level Key Teachers and schools met periodically to share their progress with the Educational District support staff and teacher union members. Where appropriate the external facilitator sought to work collaboratively with District Support staff in sharing ideas and building capacity at school level. This helped to highlight areas for strengthened external support. Key areas addressed in school improvement were enhancing learning support, improving physical infrastructure and strengthening systems for teachers care and support.

3. Presentation and discussion of findings

Preliminary findings from the TWB intervention are presented and discussed under the following headings, teacher agency, reflective practice and whole school development, leadership, culture, middle level support and policy engagement.

3.1 Teacher agency

Findings show that Key Teachers and staff in schools have demonstrated an increased ability to take agency in identifying and proposing action plans to strengthen school level capacity to promote teacher well-being. Teachers demonstrated an empowered ability to voice needs and concerns at a school level and to advocate for improved support and service delivery from the Education district office. Taking action to improve conditions built teachers' sense of agency and efficacy. This was key to teachers experiencing a sense of well-being. A deep sense of self and collective understanding of factors that helped teachers to cope, enabled teachers to vocalise their conditions and advocate for improved action. This finding is supported by Kemmis who emphasises the self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social and educational situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of (a) their own social or educational practices, (b) their understanding of these practices, and (c) the situations in which the practices are carried out. It is most rationally empowering when undertaken by participants collaboratively... sometimes in cooperation with outsiders (Kemmis cited in MacIsaac, 1996).

Key Teachers challenged the Education district office on procedures for staff appointments, challenged each other, engaged more openly and critically about their personal and professional practices, and collectively engaged with difficulties and identified solutions. The agency to enable change at school level was supported through a collective process of staff addressing the need for changes in their structural conditions in forums with people in positions of authority such as District Official, teacher union representative and the formal leadership of the school.

Processes of empowerment, advocacy and mediation were strongly evident in these schools. These findings endorse the recommendations of (WHO, 1986) in the development of Health Promoting Schools, they also highlight the importance of focusing on the Health Promotion of teachers which has not featured as prominently in the HPS literature.

3.2 Reflective Practice and Whole School Development

Change at a whole school level showed strengthened staff participation and ownership of change process; greater staff cohesion and solidarity; strengthened strategies to support learner barriers to learning, increasing bio-psycho-social support systems; strengthening of school systems to improve discipline, safety and support, as well as improvements in the school environment. School improvement plans demonstrated increased time allocated for staff sharing of collegial practices and collegial support. A Key Teacher said the project had supported school improvement in the way that, "...it allowed us to identify areas which had to be addressed as they affected the well-being of teachers. As staff we also worked closer in solving these areas. We could reflect, make changes

and monitor. I am stronger, more confident in taking this project further at my school..."

St Leger (2000) and Viig and Wold (2005) in their research on Health Promotion in Schools found that teachers play a central role in enabling change. Viig and Wold assert that "...little will occur unless attention is directed at understanding how teachers work and what support they need to make changes happen." (2005, p.83). Our findings show that listening to what teachers say about what helps or hinders them in coping, and supporting them to address these challenges, builds their capacity to support school level improvement which can address some of the causes of teacher stress. The need to build capacity to implement change is confirmed by Volan's study in Zambia (2003) and Olsen's study in South Africa (2011).

3.3 Leadership

The leadership teams in schools were supported to consolidate plans and address issues of sustainability of the project intervention. Plans in all schools showed an emphasis on improving the teaching and learning environment for teachers and learners. The support of the principal and having Key Teachers on the School Management Team, was a critical factor in ensuring that resources were accessed, plans were put in place, a caring culture was supported, time and space for reflection was created, and progress was monitored. Women in leadership positions in the project schools showed strength in being able to address sensitive issues and to speak out about how the "heart" needed to be put back into education. Leadership support enabled teachers to take agency to address their structural conditions. This required leaders to face difficult questions, reflect on their shortcomings, to hold a moral and ethical position and to speak out to power. Davidoff and Lazarus argue that school leaders have "... an important role to play in drawing people together and motivating them to take leaps into often risky futures" (2002, p.37).

3.4 Culture

Project intervention helped to support the development of a caring school culture through strengthening the school as a caring and safe environment and developing a culture of caring and support between teachers and learners. Dawes (2003) makes the point that positive school environments can play a supportive role in learners' lives without going beyond what he describes as teachers' "overstretched schedules" to become therapists to children (2003, p.8).

The creation of institutional space for staff reflection and critical engagement helped to build a culture and practice of support. All teachers expressed the benefit of "getting to know" each other better. Not having a staffroom or meeting regularly to reflection on the support needs of teachers, were factors that teachers mentioned as limiting a caring culture. Creating space for collegial sharing of best practice was strengthened through teachers first feeling that they could trust and care for each other and that they knew each other better. These practices in turn helped to support improved teaching methods and knowledge and built teacher agency.

3.5 Middle level support

The development of forums between schools, and between schools and the district Circuit Team members created a necessary and critical space for issues of support and acknowledgement to be raised. This identified support needs and addressed policy implementation challenges and created a platform for closer working relationships between schools and the district.

Support interventions by the district are currently focused primarily on learner support and are bureaucratic in nature. Support to schools is fragmented (silos) although restructuring to improve support has been done. Fullan argues that structure does make a difference, but that it is not the main factor to ensure that the aims be met, what is also needed is a process of re-culturing "... it means producing the capacity to seek, critically assess, selectively incorporate new ideas and practices – all the time – inside the organisation as well as outside" (2004, p.53).

The project opened up spaces for organisational and systemic learning. It highlighted the need for a more compassionate and supportive relationship between the schools and support providers. District staff members experience the risk of being caught between expectations of leadership and change management from the head office level, and the necessity to be operational at school level due to restricted human resources. Olsen (2011) argues that the perspective of being 'caught in-between' the two expectations constitutes the third layer in the image of a 'triple-decker sandwich'. The image draws on Fullan's theory that change flourishes best in a 'sandwich': when there is consensus above, and pressure below, change happens (1993).

3.6 Policy Engagement

Teachers and school leaders displayed a limited awareness of current policy supporting their well-being which influence poor planning at school level. The use of a rights-based approach to addressing teacher support needs helped teachers to raise the gap between current policy and practice. It also created a leverage point for teachers to speak to District Officials on issues of equity and redress and contextual constraints in implementing policy.

Davidoff and Lazarus (2002, p.40) underscore the fact that schools cannot be understood or developed in isolation, but only as "... part of an education system which is located within broader societal structures and dynamics. The impact of these factors is enormous and they provide both the constraints and possibilities for development" (2002, p.40). The findings of the project endorse the research findings by De Jong (1998) which emphasized the need within the South African context for a strong policy framework and local level support to enable development at the school level. We argue that without activating the awareness and agency of teachers at the individual and school level to understand their support needs and to take action to improve their conditions, policy remains on paper and local level support remain fragmented and top down.

Conclusion

This paper describes how an intervention focusing on the well-being needs of teachers enables a successful approach to improving the conditions which impact

on quality teaching and learning. Through a focus on the importance of teacher well-being and involving teachers in addressing the factors which promote or limit their well-being needs, the collective agency at school level to promote school improvement can be generated. Key findings show strengthened capacity at an individual, whole school, leadership, cultural and district (middle level) to address both the structural and cultural conditions which impact on effective teaching and learning. These preliminary findings both endorse and add to existing research in the areas of school development (e.g. Dalin, 1998; Fullan, 2004) and health promotion in schools (WHO, 1986). While participatory action learning methodologies are not new to school development interventions, a focus on the well-being needs of teachers using this methodology provides a new and innovative approach to school development. Focusing on the support needs of teachers puts the "heart" back into education and connects us back to the person at the "center" of change - the teacher.

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MAGIC, MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION IN THE MARVEL FAMILY STORIES

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Abstract

This paper identifies and analyzes mythical and religious elements in the Marvel Family stories. Through a descriptive bibliographical research of the Marvel Family stories published in *The Power of Shazam*, the text notes how these elements are articulated in these stories, starting from Umberto Eco's research on narrative function; Christopher Knowles' research on religious influence in comic books; the concept of theology of daily life and Marcel Mauss' General Theory of Magic. The research shows that magic is the point of intersection of mythical-religious elements. It is the use of the magic word that sustains the belief in deities that empowers the main characters. The text concludes that the mythical-religious elements are articulated both in the need of faith and in the assignment of a meritorious character to human beings in their relation with the deity.

Keywords

The Power of Shazam – Magic – Mythical-religious elements

Introduction

Comics are one of the means by which we tell our stories of fiction. The storytelling is closely related to the preservation of memory, the transmission of values and our attempt to understand the world, interpret it and say to ourselves what we fear and what we love. No matter how fictional a story is, it will always have a foot on the ground, i.e., it will always anchor in some aspect of reality (Eco 2006:89). In other words, everything can be found in the comics in distinct proportions related to the story we try to tell, which includes the way we structure our values and beliefs, our understanding of the world and our religious experiences.

In comics, superheroes deserve special attention because they are responsible for what the comic book came to be. The success among the readership enabled the consolidation of major publishers, solidifying the migration of these narratives from strips and pulps to their own format, the comic book. In a wide perspective, one of the reasons for this success is due to the fact that

superheroes assemble aspects of magic, the supernatural, mythology, mystery, fiction, adventure and they constitute a genre itself, as evidenced by Peter Coogan (2006). In this sense, the stories of the *Wizard Shazam* and his *Marvel Family* are emblematic, both by the resounding success with the audience and the clear intention of transposing religious elements in the narratives. Thus, through a bibliographical research, the proposal here is to identify the religious and mythological elements in the Marvel Family stories and verify how these elements are articulated in the narrative and constitute its message.

1. Narrativity and Religiosity

The identification of religious and mythological elements in the Marvel Family stories and the verification of its articulation in the narrative require an interdisciplinary approach that takes into account both the creation of narratives as well as the understanding of how people deal with religion in their daily lives. Thus, three theoretical approaches are essential: Umberto Eco's analysis on the narrative function; the approach of Christopher Knowles on the relationship between religiosity and comics and what has been called "theology of daily life", based on the thoughts of Michel de Certeau and Rubem Alves (Reblin 2008 and 2009: 202-210)

Umberto Eco's analysis on the narrative function and its importance in the constitution of the human world is condensed in the book *Six walks in the fictional woods* (Eco 2006). In his analysis, Eco explains not only how the structure of narrative based on a reader-model and an author-model works, but also how the relationship between both are established, mediated by the narrative, attempting to the restructuration process of life experiences lived since the act of storytelling. In the words of Eco (2006: 137): "And, thus, it is easy to understand why fiction fascinates us so much. It gives us the opportunity to use our faculties infinitely to perceive the world and reconstruct the past". This analysis is unique to understand how the Marvel Family stories are grounded in the real world and how values and beliefs are expressed in the stories.

The approach of Christopher Knowles (2008) on the superhero stories since the perspective of religiosity provides many links between the constitution of the characters and the religious influences of their authors. He draws parallels between the history of religions and the main religious trends, elders and contemporaries. Starting from these relationships, Knowles (2008: 131-208) defines some superhero archetypes: the magicians, the messiahs, the golems, the amazons, the fraternities. These interfaces are important to understand the tension between superhero stories and religiosity.

The theology of daily life (Reblin 2009) advocates for the recognition of an unofficial theology entangled in the everyday social life. This unorthodox theology, plural and contradictory is made and disseminated by people in their attempt to answer their own anxieties and searches based on the set of information acquired in their life experiences and daily relationships. It turns possible to realize how people elaborate theological arguments in daily life based on their own knowledge and life experiences. Moreover, it provides perspectives of reading and analysis of these arguments, which acquire expression in cultural goods.

To these theoretical frameworks that serve here as a basis for reading and analyzing the Marvel Family stories sum up Marcel Mauss' *General Theory of Magic* (2000), in which the French ethnologist deploys the concept of magic, analyses and interprets the elements related to acts of magic: the sorcerer, the rites and the representations. Mauss' theory is crucial to understand and draw parallels with the Marvel Family stories, precisely because these stories are based on the tension between religion and magic.

2. The Power of Shazam

The Marvel Family debuted in the comics pages in the early 1940s, with the publication of *Whiz Comics # 2* (February 1940) which presented the first family member: Captain Marvel created by Bill Parker and C. C. Beck in 1939. Due to the resounding success of the character at the time, it did not take long for the other family members to rise following the wave: Captain Marvel Jr. (*Whiz Comics # 25*, December 1941) and Mary Marvel (*Captain Marvel Adventures # 18*, December 1942).

Captain Marvel's adventures tell the story of a teenage orphan and homeless, but good-hearted, who is guided by a spirit to a mystical cave where he finds an old wizard named Shazam, who decides to grant powers to the young boy by pronouncing the wizard's name. Thus young Billy Batson becomes Captain Marvel, "The World's Mightiest Mortal". The superhero powers come from mythological-religious characters whose initials forge the wizard's name (Shazam is an acronym for Solomon, Hercules, Atlas, Zeus, Achilles and Mercury). Captain Marvel's name in turn is a tribute to the Egyptian deities who empowered the wizard Shazam thousands of years ago. By the means of a spell, Billy Batson gets the right to channel and manage a portion of the powers of these characters. Although his powers stem from mythical-religious characters and his list of enemies are constituted by mad scientists (Doctor Silvana) and aliens (Mr. Mind), Captain Marvel's universe is considered, in the world of comics, the universe of magic forces.

The stories of Captain Marvel were a roaring success at the time, putting the character in direct competition with Superman and exceeding hundreds of thousands of copies of his principal opponent in the publishing market. The thread to the Kryptonian superhero made *DC Comics*, then named *National*, accuse the publisher of Captain Marvel, *Fawcett Publications*, of plagiarism in 1941, going to trial in 1948. With the general sale decline of comics in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Fawcett Publications decided to make an agreement with *National Comics Publications* in 1953 and shut down its entire line of comics. In 1973, *National* acquired the character and tried to reintroduce it to the marketplace with the creation of a comic book named *Shazam!*, designed by the co-creator of the character, C. C. Beck, besides the production of a life-action TV show and also a cartoon. The character never reached the success of the early times though and his role in comic book stories remained restricted to special editions and as a supporting character in other DC characters titles. Moreover, the greatest competitor of DC Comics released and recorded a homonym character, what caused confusion among new readers (who associated the character's name to the magic word he pronounces) and prohibited DC from using the same name in its attempt to re-launch the superhero on the market

(Reblin 2011: 70-78). Therefore, the publisher started using the name Shazam as a reference to the superhero in his titles.

In Brazil, Captain Marvel and the other family members were published by "O Globo", from 1949 to 1954, in a magazine called *Shazam* (total of 72 issues), printed in black and white, which has yet gathered stories from other characters in the same volume, including Namor, the Sub-Mariner. In the 1970s, "Editora Brasil-América Ltda" (EBAL) launches the character in two titles: *Captain Marvel exclaims Shazam!* (total of 17 issues from September 1973 to May 1976) and, subsequently, *Superheroes: Shazam!* (total of 23 issues from July 1976 to November 1978). Moreover, the character has participated in many extra editions and special almanacs throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Captain Marvel and his Marvel Family had a relative success among children, youth and adults in Brazil due to the exhibition of the live-action TV series from 1974 to 1977 (totalizing 28 episodes divided into three seasons) and a cartoon produced in 1981 (totalizing 12 episodes) both produced by Filmation. Both were displayed in Brazil during these decades.

The identification of mythological and religious elements in the Marvel Family stories and the verification of how these elements are articulated and constitute the plot of the story happen through consultation, reading and analysis of the series *The Power of Shazam*. The series was created and produced by Jerry Ordway from 1995 to 1999, comprising a total of 47 issues, plus an annual and a graphic novel that retells the origin of the character, reintroducing him to the DC universe. Due to the fact that the character does not have an explicit involvement in a periodical title, it is yet necessary to check other special issues such as the miniseries *The Trials of Shazam*, by Winick and Porter. This qualitative work configures in a bibliographic descriptive research.

3. The Power of the Word: Magic, Mythology and Religion

The Marvel Family stories published in the series *The Power of Shazam*, which had only fourteen of the 47 issues published in Brazil, tell the story of two teenagers, Billy Batson and Mary Bromfield, who acquired powers of a wizard who channels a portion of the gifts of deities and mythical-religious entities: the wisdom of Salomon, the strength of Hercules, the stamina of Atlas, the power of Zeus, the courage of Achilles and the speed of Mercury. The name of the wizard—Shazam—is an acronym formed by the initials of these entities' names. The teenagers access this power by invoking the wizard's name. There is also a third boy, Freddy Freeman, who shares the power channeled by the other two teenagers, who, in turn, decided to give him the right to share. In this case, Freddy Freeman does not invoke the wizard's name but the name used by the one who decided to share the power with him: Captain Marvel. Together, the three constitute the Marvel Family, which also counts on other supporting characters such as "Uncle" Dudley and Mr. "Tawky" Tawny.

The stories published in *The Power of Shazam* involve different mythical-religious elements, relating to magic, the supernatural and the mythical-religious universe in general: gods, demons, ancient mythology (Egyptian, Greek), the world of the dead, the underworld, the Rock of Eternity. And we can notice that, in the reformulation performed by Jerry Ordway, the author retains many elements produced by the original creative team: C. C. Beck and Bill Parker. Regardless of

the presence and portrayal of characters grounded in mythology and religious traditions, presented in the formation of the plots, the series has two crucial interdependent elements to support the narrative and the central plot of the stories, which articulate all mythical-religious elements: the use of magic and the relationship with the deity.

The use of magic is revealed in the conception of the characters. It is a magic act that transforms teenagers into superheroes and—but Freddy Freeman—into adults and that turns possible the channelization of the powers granted by the mythical-religious entities. In the story, magic plays the function in accomplishing what cannot be accomplished by conventional means precisely. And the one who performs the magic act in the stories is the sorcerer, the warlock, the wizard. The teenagers are transformed into superheroes through a spell they do not control. They can activate the transformation from teenager into superhero and backwards, but they have no power to undo the spell. Every time they pronounce the wizard's name they will be transformed. However, if the wizard, for any reason, decides to withdraw the spell, the transformation stops occurring.

The action of magic in the stories is not limited to the transformation of Billy and Mary into Captain and Mary Marvel and the granting of powers, but it acts strongly on the character of the wizard. In this sense, the magic actions take the form of the magic such as the ones identified by Marcel Mauss (2000): the Wizard Shazam lives in an isolated place, he contacts the supernatural (spirits and supernatural entities, gods, the world of the dead) and mainly uses the language—verbal, gestural—to perform his magic acts. And it is precisely in the use of the magic word that the relationship between magic, mythology and religion happen, also especially because the magic word is an acronym of the names of mythical and religious figures.

In the Marvel Family stories published in issues 29-32 of *The Power of Shazam*, a wizard's crisis of faith in the gods who empowered him affects the spell that turns Billy into Captain Marvel and Mary into Mary Marvel. The story emphasizes the need of belief. Without the belief, without the recognition of the deity as a god and their worship, the link is broken. In other words, the history, the existence of the deity is subject to the belief in them. This fact acquires reinforcing by the pronouncement of the magic word Shazam, which means not just someone's name, but the name of many. This pronunciation implies an invocation and the recognition that what bears that name actually exists.

This understanding differs from the Judeo-Christian tradition, in which the existence of the deity is not subject to the faith. God is God and as God, He/She acts independently of the human action and will. And if God acts in favor of human beings, this action is not subject to an ethical and moral attitude from who is graced by God's action (Sponheim 2002). Anyway, the understanding of the meritorious character of the human being is common in the theologies of daily life, developed outside the walls of religious institutions. It is expressed in the Marvel Family stories.

Billy, Mary and Freddy receive the powers from the wizard for being considered altruistic and possessors of a "good heart". In the miniseries *The Trials of Shazam*, Freddy needs to prove that he is the one who deserves once again to receive the powers of the mythical-religious entities that forge the word Shazam.

The climax of the story happens just when Freeman sacrifices himself in favor of others, a typical characteristic of heroism in general and of the messiah archetype such as proposed by Knowles (2008). The idea that “the righteous shall inherit the land” (Psalm 37.29), i.e., that certain qualities provide certain benefits, crosses the main trends of Christianity. The danger of this kind of understanding, however, is the confusion between dignity and moral and the misperception that everything is possible for human being since they strive. The deity will grant their grace, their power, if the human being deserves it.

Conclusion

The mythical-religious elements presented in the Marvel Family are mediated by magic, the central axis of the plot. The magic links the characters with their actions and their personal characteristics, scenarios and plots. The deities, the supernatural, the Rock of Eternity, the underworld, the supporting characters have their reason for being in the world of magic, which gives a blurred impression of what would be really specifically religious or mythical or magical.

In this sense, it is interesting to note that Marcel Mauss (2000) defines the magic in tension with science and religion. That is, between the numerous kinds of arts and techniques invented by the human being, science and religion are the only ones that have a “kinship” with magic. How much this degree of kinship is explored in the stories is a question to be investigated in detail further. Anyway, a first impression is that religion and magic almost overlap in the Marvel Family stories, even if a distinction of magic as technique—the manipulation of supernatural forces—remains in the sense described by Mauss (2000: 177): “while religion tends towards metaphysics and is absorbed in the creation of ideal images, magic through a thousand fissures, emerges from the mystical life from which it draws its forces to mingle with profane life and desert it.”

In any case, it is possible to identify a specific articulation of mythical-religious elements in the magic spell that turns possible the transformation of teenagers into superheroes. The pronunciation of the magic word expresses the relation between the divine and human, either by the reaffirmation of the belief in deities and their worship, or by arguing that there is the need of certain elements that qualify someone to receive divine benefits. These understandings are part of the tangle of theological arguments that permeate daily life and exist in the belief of many people. In this sense, Marvel Family stories become an expression of the comprehensions that compose the symbolic universe of a group. And, perhaps, the closeness between religion and magic as described in the stories is also a result of it.

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RUBEM ALVES AND INTERDISCIPLINARITY: PROBLEMATIZATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES "POR UMA EDUCAÇÃO ROMÂNTICA"

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Abstract

This article investigates Rubem Alves' thought in "Por uma Educação Romântica", verifying how the intellectual of Minas Gerais State articulates the relationship between knowledge and life in his reflections, with a discussion on interdisciplinarity as a backdrop. Through a bibliographical exploration, this paper presents the central aspects of Rubem Alves' thought on education, proceeding with some considerations on interdisciplinarity. Then, this paper focuses on the book "Por uma Educação Romântica", its context and content. Starting from that approach, it elaborates some considerations on interdisciplinarity with a possibility and challenge for the contemporary world. The article concludes that Rubem Alves' thought on education is interdisciplinary from its origins and that it is an innovative and indispensable contribution to the reflection on education and interdisciplinarity in the contemporary world.

Keywords

Interdisciplinarity – Rubem Alves – Education

Introduction

Rubem Alves is one of the greatest Brazilian thinkers of our time and his thought is unique from its gestation process to its development. Since the time of theological training, Rubem Alves has sought other intellectuals to build his perception of the religious phenomena and the human experience on it. The same multifaceted view of knowledge is also transported to his thought on education. The truth is that Rubem Alves continually builds a bridge between his knowledge and his interlocutors' knowledge, his life experience and the daily life reality, without the fear of breaking the spell of reality through imagination and sly irony. And this is also the proposal of interdisciplinarity: to make people more critical and owners of a wide plural view of knowledge, society and life. Thus, it becomes relevant to understand how Rubem Alves articulates this thought, what he proposes and what challenges and provocations he sets for the pedagogical practice and the interdisciplinary thought. Therefore, the theme of this research

is Rubem Alves' thought on education, expressed specially in the book "Por uma Educação Romântica", and the perspectives that the author sets for the interdisciplinary theory and practice, through an exploratory and bibliographic research. This book acquires a special significance, because it is one of the latest works of Rubem Alves on education and, as such, it sustains the plurality of his thought.

1. Rubem Alves' thoughts on education

A research that aims to examine a particular work of Rubem Alves must imperatively be strongly based on references that cover key aspects of the author's thought, in this case, on education, in order to support the reading and analysis, making visible the nuances that make up the work in question. Unlike other authors, who write complex and dense text on their researches, Rubem Alves does not have all his thinking on education centralized. In his texts, the author just provides glimpses of a larger whole. Thus, the theoretical grounding needs to maintain three points: first, to seek the main aspects of Rubem Alves' thought on education; second, to present considerations on interdisciplinarity and, third, to approach the particular nuances of "Por uma Educação Romântica" in relation to interdisciplinarity.

1.1. Main aspects of Rubem Alves' thought on Education

1.1.1. Education: educator in extinction

One of the earliest writings of Rubem Alves (1991) on education focuses on the role of the educator and the distinction between an educator and a teacher. According to the author, educators are becoming extinct, supplanted by the frenzied work function of the contemporary world. In their place are the teachers, followers of the market logic, whose goal is the use and production, in which students are machines to be programmed and defined by their skills: "identity is swallowed by the *function*" (Alves 1991: 15), event summarized in the deadly question: "What will you do when you grow up?". For Rubem Alves, the educator does not express a function, but a vocation: "Teachers, there are thousands of them. But teacher is a profession, is not something that is defined by what is inside, by love. Educator, by contrast, is not a profession; it is a vocation. And every vocation is born out of love and great hope" (Alves 1991: 11-22).³⁷ The result of that distinction reveals a critic of the professionalization of teaching, of the functionalization of the content and the consequent adaptation of teaching and learning methods of this kind of education model.

1.1.2. Education: the dilemma between usefulness and uselessness

The second book of Rubem Alves on Education, "Stories of those who like to teach" (Alves 1987), consists of a collection of short stories, whose central theme is a continuation of the questions about the task of school. For the author, education must not shrink to the principle of social utility of knowledge, denying or minimizing the bodies of children—that is their aspirations, interests—and the

³⁷ All quotations were translated from Portuguese into English by the author of the article.

encouragement of wisdom, the linking between knowledge and life. After all, intelligence and imagination just emerged from the need of living and turning life comfortable, friendly and pleasant. And comfort and pleasure do not mean consumer goods. Knowledge must be linked to the life of students. And in childhood it means letting the child be a child, without projecting on them the adult they should become, or designing or instilling on them the dreams of adults for the sake of good functioning of society. To educate is to awake the artistic sensibility, the sense of community, valuing diversity and relativizing the high status attributed to the purity of science.

1.1.3. Education: exercise of freedom

For Rubem Alves, the task of education is to lead people to freedom, more than that, education needs to happen simultaneously with the desired freedom (Santa Ana 2007). In order for students to evaluate what they are taught and set this knowledge into dialogue with their lives and, in that way, to find solutions for their own problems, it is necessary that they are able to think for themselves. As noticed by Severino (2007: 126), "the traditional school, even that supposedly modernized, not yet realized that its primary function is to teach students to think and to find out where they can find by themselves the answers for the questions they have". In order for students to learn how to think, the school needs to be a friendly environment, instigate curiosity and catch the interest of the students. Children have to feel the pleasure of discovering the world. They must be encouraged to imagine and create. To educate is to seek a vision of the whole, develop not just the intellect but also the emotions and the senses (Nunes 2008).

1.2. Considerations on Interdisciplinarity in Rubem Alves' thought

By differentiating science and common sense in the work "Philosophy of Science", Rubem Alves (2005) affirms that science is nothing more than a progression of common sense and that this, in turn, is rather an expression coined by those who intend to dominate and master the knowledge hierarchically. In other words, science is not a special kind of knowledge and it should not be used to distinguish people and set ones above others. Science and common sense are not categories that should be rearranged in a hierarchical evaluative scale, but side by side, as categories that should not move away from each other, but support an equitable dialogue in the search for solutions to the greater problem that is the human survival. As described by Alves, this tension between science and common sense can be safely translated into the tension "generic knowledge" versus "specialized knowledge" or discipline versus interdisciplinarity, which, again, would not be an issue of "versus" but an "and".

In fact, one of the major problems and challenges for the interdisciplinary thinking (and subsequently the transdisciplinary thinking) is the division of knowledge and the lack of harmony between them or even the recognition of the importance of one and another. Without the ability to interact with many types of knowledge and mix them on their borders in search of a common solution, human knowledge, or rather the human existence is likely to dissipate. It is imperative that knowledge be understood fully and aimed at the quality of life, since interaction and sharing of the creation of something new.

2. "Por uma Educação Romântica"

2.1. The Context

"Por uma Educação Romântica" is a collection of essays on topics of education edited by a Portuguese educator and director of the "Centro de Formação Camilo Castelo Branco", Ademar Ferreira dos Santos. The idea came up when this author Santos [Santos is the director of the Center mentioned above, not an author. In this case, I prefer to use the name, in order to avoid any misunderstanding] had contact with the writings of Rubem Alves. Enchanted by his conceptions, dos Santos consulted the author about the possibility of publishing a special collection in Portugal without commercial purposes. Neither Rubem nor his publisher was against that idea. The book was funded by the City Council of the city of Vila Nova de Famalicão and distributed free of charge. At the occasion, an invitation came up for Rubem Alves to spend a week in Portugal and visit the institute and the Escola da Ponte, a school located in the neighboring municipality, which cooperates with the Centro de Formação as a practice center.

2.2. The Content

In the 31 chronicles of "Por uma Educação Romântica", Rubem Alves embodies a bewildering wit and provokes the reader to see the educational reality through a different perspective. The subtlety and lightness of his words are capable of co-inspiring the reader (co-inspire, which means, to breath the same air as the author) even if Alves' proposal is a complete revision of the paradigms of the current structure of education. It is not possible to unfold the 207-page within the limited scope of this paper. But from an attentive bibliographic review, it is indeed possible to synthesize its main arguments.

The first argument clearly perceived in the text is the need that the school curriculum must be determined by life and by the challenges that arise when human beings relate themselves to the *Umwelt* – the world around (Alves 2008). This idea is precisely justified by reflecting on the subject of education. According to Alves, "the subject of education is the body because that is where life is. It is the body that wants to learn to live. It is the body that gives the orders" (Alves 2008: 32). The body is not understood merely here as a biological unit, but as a social, cultural, ideological, religious, and psychological unit, i.e., it is the human being in its full integrity, from its existents and reality, its *Umwelt*. In other words, the content of the school curriculum needs to establish a direct link with daily life; it must help to solve specific problems (e.g. to practice math in the supermarket), i.e., it must be useful and embrace the human being as a whole. That is, it is not just about teaching techniques, exact sciences, but also art, music, theater, etc.

In this direction, Rubem Alves (2008) will summarize the task of education in two words: tools and toys. According to the author, the school should be an environment that encourages freedom. In one of his aphorisms, Alves states: "There are schools that are cages and there are schools that are wings". And he explains it: "Cage-like schools exist in order for birds to unlearn the art of flight. Encaged birds are birds under control [...] that ceased to be birds. Because the essence of birds is the flight" (Alves 2008: 29). In the opposite direction are the

schools that are wings: "Wings-like Schools do not love encaged birds. What they love are birds in flight. They cannot teach how to fly because the flight was already born within the birds. The flight cannot be taught. It only can be encouraged" (Alves 2008: 30). Before the challenges of the reality of school (violence, disrespect, the fear of many teachers, the predetermined programs and evaluations), Rubem Alves asks for high-quality teaching, pointing out the need of the link between knowledge and life.

The Intelligence must be awakened. And it only wakes up if excited by the unknown and with curiosity. If what the teacher shows is monotonous and boring, intelligence still remains asleep. The unknown and the curious are not abstractions, ideas or what is only seen literally. The intelligence is awakened by touch: "In my experience, intelligence begins with the hands. Children are not satisfied with seeing: they want to catch, turn, manipulate, disassemble, assemble" (Alves 2008: 91). Literacy, remembers Alves, not being with syllabification, but with interest in the story to be told and read.

For Rubem Alves (2008: 76), "education is done with intelligence". And he continues: "It is a misconception to think that with more money education will be better, that the students will learn more, that teachers will be happier" (Alves 2008: 76). It is necessary to break the outdated paradigms that shape education in the country. Education is not to program, but to prepare people to live better. And living better does not mean carrying in all kinds of knowledge, but having the ability to think (Alves 2008) and thus going beyond the narrow limits of repetition, routine, the established game of questions and answers with no connection with daily life, as if also a unique alternative for each problem existed. Therefore, besides teaching how to see, educating consists in teaching how to think and create (Alves 2008). Seeing the world around with all its plurality and mysteries is just not enough. It is necessary to understand it and create from it in favor of human life. In Rubem Alves' perspective, those are the elementary objectives of education. Retrieving the metaphor of tools and toys, education is done with intelligence and sensibility.

In "Por uma Educação Romântica", Rubem Alves also focuses on the need for educators to be willing to learn from children and the need for them to get involved with what they teach and how they teach. "I think education upside down. I do not start with knowledge. I start with the child. I do not evaluate the children in light of knowledge. I do evaluate knowledge in light of the children. That is what distinguishes an educator" (Alves 2008: 112). There is here a key element in Alves' understanding of education. When he asseverates that people should not be in function of knowledge, but knowledge has to be at service for people, Rubem Alves defends flexible knowledge and curricula. The models of teaching and the curricula must be open to what the child wishes to know and will feed their curiosity and awake their intelligence.

By linking knowledge with children's reality and putting it in perspective of the child and their interests, the educator is instigating the child to thought and imagination. Thought and imagination are not fragmented in daily life, because they deal with the plurality of information, choices, experiences that the children are continually experiencing. The lack of relation between knowledge and student's life, its problems and challenges has discouraged both learning and the interest in specific knowledge. In the direction of the link between knowledge and life is interdisciplinarity. This reiterates the relationship between the plurality of

knowledge and reality, because it recognizes by itself the plurality and that it is impossible to separate pieces of knowledge and reality. It is worth Alves' observation articulated elsewhere (Alves 2005: 12) "the greater the in-depth view, the smaller the wide view".

In this sense, one of the challenges Rubem Alves sets for interdisciplinary practice is the introduction of an interdisciplinary approach in the pedagogical practice. Interdisciplinarity must be incorporated to the Political and Pedagogical Project of the institution, concerning that education aims, at first, to prepare people to have a better life. Living better does not mean to master exponent techniques at the current job market, but have the ability of seeing, thinking and creating. "Because it is by thinking that a people is made from" (Alves 2008: 107) which implies the critical thought of *Umwelt*. Second, interdisciplinarity must be exercised in the daily life of school. In Alves' view, that can happen since the education of sensibility and by establishing a link between different kinds of knowledge and by shortening the distance between knowledge and the daily life. It is important to be clear that "what is assumed in our curricula is that knowledge is always good. Perhaps this is abstractly true. But, in this case, we had to learn everything that is there to be learned—what is impossible" (Alves 2008: 111-112).

3. Education and Interdisciplinarity

Interdisciplinarity is an epistemological and pedagogical exercise that seeks the comprehension of the whole, through the dialogue between different fields of knowledge and distinct perceptions of reality. It considers the dynamic and flexibility of human relations, plurality and criticality and presses the interconnectedness of knowledge. In doing so, it ends the hierarchy of the knowledge and questions the absolutism of certain views of reality, defending the temporariness and plurality of human knowledge. This is a reformulation of paradigms linked to new world conceptions, new arts of understanding the human being and the education on the rise of the contemporary society, resulting from the own evolution of human knowledge and ways of conceiving it.

The fact is that contemporary society is witnessing a change of paradigms. The explanations of positivist science are no longer sufficient to supply the needs for meaning and knowledge. The rise of new ideas such as the complexity theory (Morin 2003), the concern of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) expressed in the Delors Report, the seven pieces of knowledge necessary for the education of the future (Morin 2002) and even the self-interest and advocacy for interdisciplinarity are evidences of this change of paradigms. It also reveals the growing interest on issues related to daily life, because daily life is just a synthesis (not homogeneous, of course) that the sciences are now seeking dialogue with.

Rubem Alves reveals himself against the absolutization of a single way of conceiving reality and speaking about it, whether in theology, in teaching, or in the sciences in general (Reblin 2009). This is the syndrome of the knowledge specialization: losing the sight of the whole in order to see better one part and ending by concluding that this part represents the whole. The absolutization fascinates us because it simplifies the reality. To recognize the temporariness or even the diversity of reality is to face the unknown. If there is recognition that it

is not possible to know everything, the way of relating to known elements changes as well. In that way, it becomes complicated to defend the hegemony of thought or speech.

The central point of Rubem Alves' thought in "Por uma Educação Romântica" concentrates in the triad SEE – THINK – CREATE (triad inspired by another of the Latin American theological world: see – judge – act). For Alves, the elementary objective of education is the learning of the art of seeing, the art of thinking and the art of creating. It is not just about educating the sensibility of students and watching the surrounding world. It must be comprehended. "To comprehend is to see the invisible" (Alves 2008: 194). In turn, it is not just about the learning of the art of comprehending. The students must know how to create the new, what does not exist, what is missing, they must know how to invent things. These three arts act equally in constant relation and they include both the useful knowledge (essential for survival, the tools, e.g.: math) and the "useless" knowledge (used for pleasure, the toys, e.g.: music).

Tools and toys, scientific and artistic, rational and emotional knowledge—not necessarily in a very clear distinction—run by the triad SEE – THINK – INVENT. Vision, thought and imagination must be awakened, so that the students are able to see, think and invent beyond the ordinary, the routine, and the usually programmable by the education systems. When he considers this triple axis as a epistemological and practical basis of education, Rubem Alves set the interdisciplinarity (and even the transdisciplinarity) as the drive shaft of education while a field of knowledge and social principle. The triad SEE – THINK – INVENT implies the overcoming of the simple knowledge (information) transmission and the content memorization. It implies the ability to dialogue with the different, the activity of creating and transforming reality.

Conclusion

Rubem Alves' ideas are stimulating, exciting, and thought-provoking. He questions the old structures of thought and teaching by insisting on a flexible education, linked to the reality of the student. For Rubem Alves, distinct knowledge should be turned into daily life and its relevance grounded in it. This change of perspective implies a change of posture. Once knowledge is not the center of attention, but life, this means that knowledge must act together and for the specific needs of children (or students). And acting together means acting on the border (and beyond it). It suggests dialogue, inter-relationships.

In the book "Por uma Educação Romântica", the interdisciplinary view finds its support in the axis SEE – THINK – CREATE. It is from this triad that Rubem Alves weaves his vision of education. SEE – THINK – CREATE is only possible in the exercise of freedom, dialogue and collaboration between different spheres of knowledge. In the daily life, things do not coexist separated from each other, but they mix themselves in a process of continuous making and remaking. Rubem Alves realized this long ago and he continues to provoke and encourage assuming interdisciplinarity (and even the transdisciplinarity) as a contemporary reality and need. That is why his thought continues to be innovating and extremely relevant for the contemporary society.

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BRAZILIAN POPULAR CULTURE AS A SOURCE OF AFRICAN AND INDIGENOUS CULTURAL ELEMENTS FOR CHILDREN EDUCATION

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Abstract

The Brazilian Federal Law 11,645 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008) establishes the guidelines and bases for national education to include in the official curriculum of the school the subject "Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History" for elementary and secondary education, especially in arts education and Brazilian literature and history. More recently, in 2010, the same governmental body instituted guidelines for early childhood education, focusing on three principles: Political, aesthetic and ethical, including respect for other cultures and identities. These initiatives meet the needs of the construction of Brazilian identity in school considering the historical version of the colonized and oppressed, minding education as a political act (Freire 1994). Since then, there was the question for teachers on how to work the issue, and what sources to use. Although not included in the first mentioned mandatory law, some younger children teachers also have been conducting educational and cultural practices to its aim, making use of Brazilian Popular Culture as a source for the recognition of indigenous and African elements. This work intends to show some practices carried out with children in an institution of education that seeks ethical and aesthetic dimensions of experience as in John Dewey (1974).

Keywords

Education – Cultural Studies – Postcolonial Studies

Introduction

The central question that guided educational practices reported in this article was: How to work with African and Indigenous cultural elements and history in early Childhood Education in Brazil, considering the following elements: a) the national education requirement guidelines; b) the relevance of such content to the nation's cultural identity formation minding the oppression experienced by such cultures since colonial times; c) the educational principles of the institution where the work took place, which can be represented by the main authors mentioned in this article: Paulo Freire and John Dewey.

The two experiments pooled for this article were carried out by Brazilian teachers of early childhood education, from the same institution. Teachers directly involved with the children were also responsible for researching about their own work and are coauthors of the present article.

They have chosen to work with African and Indigenous cultural elements and history in their programs as determined by the most recent national laws on education, and in compliance with the elements listed above.

1. Justification

Recently, the Brazilian government established guidelines for national education in documents such as Federal Law 11,645 (BRASIL 2008) and *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação Infantil* (2010). These juridical initiatives meet the needs of the Brazilian identity construction in school, considering the historical version of the colonized and oppressed, minding education as a political act (Paulo-Freire 1974). Paulo Freire defended education as a political act – whether to transform or maintain the current social status of a nation - since he thought of education not only as a theory about teaching and learning, but also as a reflexive practice that involves the relationship among people from a specific society. According to him, every action in a social context is political due to the fact that it involves positions towards humankind ideals. Education deals necessarily with theories and choices about the best way to reach these ideals. Decisions on what, how, when, where and whom to teach are then political.

The author also defended that, in educational practices, teachers and students are equally important. They are incomplete beings in search of improvement, since they learn from each other about themselves and the world. This increasing knowledge induces people to be in charge of their own personal and social emancipation, which are also educative processes.

Besides the research for cultural elements systematized in material already made for the purpose of teaching children, Brazilian culture has already African and Indigenous aspects and elements including in children games and upbringing practices. Teachers must be aware of them, so that they can think of how to act with the intention of transforming the relationship between those aspects and the way that they were built by the colonizer's speech.

A changing in experience, cultivating and talking about those elements during activities with the children, may result in a social transformation carried out by children's own identity construction and cultural production. The results are new meanings and the creation of new cultural forms derived from the many times neglected old roots.

2. Where the work took place: Creche e Pré-Escola Oeste at Universidade de São Paulo

The institution Creche e Pré-Escola Oeste is a daycare/preschool institution, which is located in the University of São Paulo (USP). Although most public children education institutions in São Paulo belong to the municipalities, Creche e Pré-Escola Oeste is an exception, since it is maintained by the state government.

The institution has 25 teachers. It attends around one hundred children from 4 months old to 5 years and 11 months old. Percentages of the vacancies are

designated to the children of non-teaching staff, university teachers, and also students.

The demand for daycare at the University of São Paulo dates from 1965. At that time, amid the echoes of the consolidation of labor laws, a group of Rectory employees sent a formal request to the then Rector, requesting "a space to leave their children during the workday."

The demand could not be met, but awoke in the community the need to fight for a daycare or kindergarten at their workplace. In 1975, a historic "march of babies" took place in front of the Rectory's building, organized by a group of mothers from the community, culminating in a group formation responsible for implementing the first childcare space in the campus, opened in 1982.

The conquest of another space for a new institution at USP took place in April 1986. Creche e Pré-Escola Oeste was founded and conceived as a space for socializing, building skills, identity construction, and achieving autonomy. Therefore, care and education were thought to be held together, in the wake of new forms of thinking how the work with young children should be seen beyond social assistance.

3. Theoretical Foundation and Discussion: Relationship between ethics and aesthetics in the identity's construction choice through cultural practices

Working with Indigenous and African cultural elements, especially from the arts (because of the aesthetic character and variety of its form), addresses the experiences children need. These experiences are represented by forms that might carry more meaning than the simple linear narrative.

The practices reported in this paper were performed on different age groups and different moments of the day at the institution, always intending to make possible for children to leave aesthetic evidence of their research process in whether visual, corporal, or written work, directly participating in its documentation: Drawings, paintings, written texts, dances and music children produced, either in spontaneous moments or when asked to elaborate an art work coherent to the research's purposes, were recorded in videos, photos or simply gathered as material for exhibition in the institution's rooms, sharing steps of the research process with families, institution's workers and other children. Those records made it possible for teachers to organize documentations, which are narratives about the educational processes, taking into account children's images and texts.

According to Hoyuelos (2004), the documentation is an ethical, aesthetic and political thinking about education, especially when it involves children's speech in the elements considered in a narrative. Documentation may use several kinds of media, and that allows it to be more open to reinterpretations. A research process may be documented in a video with interviews and participants' statements, in a portfolio or in a photographic exhibition, for example.

Working with projects is a way of organizing the curriculum at school. One of the reports further ahead on this paper, called "Friends of Africa", fits this type of proposal. Project work is understood as an in-depth study that children carry out in a set of experiences that evolve in a spiral. According to this view, time is

organic, and the group is who sets it up. The various and simultaneous proposals allow children themselves to build connections between their old and new knowledge in a project work.

However, there are other ways to address the contents of Indigenous and African cultures, as those found in the sequence of activities "Listen to the sound of the river", and also during festivities, cultural performances, outdoor playing and more. These activities are trans-disciplinary and did not pursue, in general, achieving a determined final product, having as their main goal the experience and the construction of a cultural identity.

Exploring some aspects of the relationship between aesthetics and ethics is interesting. These two areas of Philosophy have been closer and more united to logic, as the beautiful, good and true were considered inseparable aspects inherent in the judgment of all things.

On one hand, aesthetic is nowadays the area of Philosophy that studies the content and the form of what we consider beautiful or not, as well as the fundamentals of art as a form of knowledge. Ethics, on the other hand, has been more involved in the analysis of social behavior based on the principles that govern them.

Howsoever, theorists like John Dewey sought to reveal the relations between the aesthetic and ethical aspects of life in general, including education as an important part of it, being those aspects sorts of "different faces of the same polygon", beyond the scope of the arts. Dewey determined the aesthetic as one of the dimensions of his concept "an experience", which is analogue to a work of art, conceived and implemented, that meets the desires, interests or needs that created it, revealing a complete experience of its author.

Carrying out meaningful activities with children can also be "an experience" in this sense, and thus aesthetic — not only as its final product, but in its essence. The good experience is one that comes to realization as the result of an organized and orderly movement guided by an intention and purpose. According to Dewey (1980), we can identify a complete experience, when it marks what came before and what came after it. An experience, if fulfilled with lots of coherence, is a unit and its end is a consummation. Units are naturally bond by something that causes us aesthetic delight. This explains why "having an experience" with the children is aesthetic itself. In other words, "an experience" generates a feeling of satisfaction with its beautiful outcome.

Another reason for choosing cultural experiences (and not merely texts and images) to work with children is the fact that we learn more when we theorize about our experiences. Hernandez (1998) understands theorizing as a way to provide meaning to the experience lived in the classroom

What is then the relation between ethics and "an experience" (which as we have seen, is aesthetic)? In fact, one can make various relations. Firstly, the very commitment to the children having "an experience" in the institution is an ethical commitment. Secondly, the effort to document this process, and promote the construction of the children's identity is an ethical attitude. Thirdly, choices are necessary so that the experience can be organized focusing on the consummation of its interests. Lastly, these choices, which are made during a creative process, especially in an educational institution, must be careful in terms

of respecting the principles and values established by the group's collective identity, its recent history, values and beliefs, cultural practices, material possibilities, among others. This concern is also ethical. In other words, considering the life experiences' complexity, there is an ethical dimension without which an experience is not complete, and an aesthetic dimension without which an experience can't be ethical.

Without taking these aspects into account, the experience tends to be more bureaucratic than ethical or aesthetic. And "bureaucratic" experiences, reminds us of the "Educação Bancária", or "banking education" referred by Paulo Freire (1974). He postulated that children are not bank vaults in which adults must deposit their knowledge. Thus, it is likely to affirm that the project work, the multi-disciplinary activities and its documentation, as a non-"banking education" can also serve the ideal of a liberating education.

Other important principles by Paulo Freire guided the work, including: the fact that teachers and students learn together in a dialogic relationship; that students know plenty of things that should be taken into consideration in an educational act; that there is no neutral education, and a teacher's choice is political; that education has the power to transform society if based on the fact that the present experiences have contents to be thought about.

3. Experience reports and photos

The following reports were elaborated by some of the authors of this paper, and intend to illustrate the theory previously approached. "Friends of Africa" was a project held in 2010 with five year-olds. "Listen to the sound of the River" was a sequence of activities with three to four year-olds held in 2011. Besides those reports, the institution has been planning several other ways of experiencing Brazilian popular culture with Indigenous and African heritage with children of all ages, as illustrated in the pictures below.



Afro –Brazilian songs and dances – musical instruments



Afro –Brazilian songs and dances – “Coco” from Maranhão



Traditional Storytelling – Life and celebration in the countryside



The theater play "The marriage of the princess" based on a West African story

4.1. "Friends of Africa"

From every January to March approximately, teachers observe children carefully, to get to know them and their interests in order to start a work project, which must have a meaningful result for them. In the beginning of 2010, at the moments of conversation in a group formed by five to six year olds, there was a very frequent question: "Why didn't some friends return from vacations yet?" Once a child said: "Our friend is in Mozambique." Another child said: "My father is in Guinea."

When asked where Guinea or Mozambique was located, the group responded "in Africa". They also said:

"My friend lives in Africa."

"I've been to Germany."

"I know someone who came from Africa."

"Are the clothes colorful?"

"Music is not the same as here."

"This book has something about Africa. My mother went to Guinea."

Teachers brought the group several books that tell stories of other people, at different historical periods. Looking anxious and curious, children clung to the images and words from Africa. So, teachers prepared a work project about the Formation of Cultural Diversity in Brazil to contemplate the various expressive languages, such as: Visual Arts, Music, Imagination, Mathematics, Games, Movement, and Oral and Written Language.



Research on Africa

Children could find out more about African culture, which was persecuted and misunderstood over the years, but helped shaping the identity of the nation we are and the country in which we live.

To this end, the research children and teachers carried out were guided by some goals, as follows:

- Work with children's prior knowledge on the subject to be worked;
- Increase children's knowledge about African culture so they can learn more about their own culture;
- Raise questions and formulate hypotheses for answers through research in books and documentaries;
- Translate the knowledge, feeling and emotion through the various and simultaneous proposals, such as drawing, painting, sculpture, movement, drama, etc;
- Read different types of texts: tales, myths, poems, songs;
- Increase the knowledge children have about the world in contact with various forms of artistic expression;
- Reflect on cultural differences;
- Know how to respect cultural diversity.

During one dance game, in which children made comments and spoke, one caught teacher's attention: "This is capoeira." The child asks everyone to hear: dim-dim-dom...

From this hint, a work with music and movement was started. Children got to know some songs from afro-Brazilian capoeira, maracatu, bumba-meu-boi, and rhythms and regional musical genres influenced by Indigenous and Africans such as xote, the ballad, samba and choro.



Listening to a parent playing "Choro" kind of music, in a later activity for children of all ages

The capoeira group Cordão Dourado, came to share with everyone their art. The children showed interest in playing the songs. They began to imitate the participants, and instead of playing capoeira, children improvised rhythms using body percussion, like a challenge. Capoeira games became a constant spontaneous activity among children.



Meeting a capoeira group



Playing around with capoeira

Music is a language of great importance in the context of early childhood education. Children play music, perceive, think, express themselves and interact socially. For this, work projects usually aim to meet different genres and rhythms, straining to hear musically with varied repertoires.

As the group has always shown great interest in musical language, sung or assessed by CD, it was decided to explore the berimbau sounds. They discovered from research in books that the berimbau is a stringed instrument, used traditionally to mark the rhythm of the capoeira fight. It consists of an arc made of a wooden stick (rattan) and steel wire attached at the ends of the stick. And that a bowl, which serves as a resonance box, is fixed at one end of the arch. The berimbau player uses a stone or coin caxixi and the rod to produce the sounds of berimbau. In Brazil it is known by several other names such as: urucungo rucungo, gobo, marimbau, etc. In southern Mozambique it is named xilinde. In Angola is called m` bolumbumba Hungo.

Children experienced many other activities, like the ones with masks, which were not able to be included in the article due to length restrictions. The important thing is that the project sought to encourage each child in respect to personal characteristics related to gender, ethnicity, and finally the principles that value the human being as a whole in their specificities.



This is how this girl's mother from Guinea carried her around when she was a little baby. She teaches a friend how to do it.



Results of a research on African masks

4.2. "Listen to the sound of the river"

This report is about a work of memory, identity, culture, and the washerwomen of the river. In the beginning of 2011, teachers planned several contact instances with knowledge, values and habits that resist the changes of time to compose the Brazilian traditions universe.

Children were presented to the Cacuriá rhythm, from the Maranhão state; to different versions presented on the mermaid Iara myth; to a lot of storytelling, including the construction of thematic sceneries; the workshop of toys made of

clay; and the constant visits of characters from Brazilian folklore were part of this process of group and individual identity construction throughout the year.



Collars for Iara, the Indigenous mermaid legend

Stories passed from parents to children through the oral tradition, toys created by remote cultures, customs of rural life, were revived with the help of adults — workers of the institution support team — responsible for cleaning, laundry and health care. The participation of these workers was essential to ensure that there could be a direct contact between the children of the group and the knowledge preserved by them throughout history, a kind of knowledge little valued by science.

In this context, the activities' sequence designed for the end of the year, did not follow a different path, brought the same actors and their memories, which brought to light memories of their parents, grandparents, great-great grandparents, direct and indirect descendants of diverse peoples (Indigenous, Africans, Europeans) assuming different roles throughout history and built the Brazilian cultural universe.

"Listen to the sound of the river" started in October of 2011, when the children manipulated paintings and books to be presented in the exhibition about their productions, that usually takes place in the institution.

When faced with a picture of a manatee (kind of fish), immersed in the River Amazon, a child identifies it as a seal, causing great controversy among colleagues who tell their hypotheses about the true identity of the animal.

Whale, shark, "giant-fish" were assumptions made by the group of eight children surrounding the intriguing figure. They claimed that could not be a real mermaid, nor a person, because they would die in the river.

But yes, there are people in the rivers — they swim and fish.

It was proposed to the group in the next meeting to build a list of everything that we can find in a river and then once again appeared as the human element of the bather and fisherman.

A second list of what people do in the rivers was written with children and at this moment the figures of the woman who washes clothes and of the man who pollutes came up.

Conversations about water pollution were enriched with the screening of Hayao Miyazaki's, "Ponyo — A friendship that came from the sea", though the traditional figure of the washerwomen of the river was given special attention, since from this issue children of the group could be closer to a full daily habits and values of people who have inhabited the country and people who live there now.

Several pictures, among which works Carybé, Candido Portinari and Franz Joseph Seraph Lutzenberger, remitted the daily life of old washerwomen, rivers were presented for consideration and the children could paint their own streams using ink and brushes on cardboard.

After they have listed how their clothes were washed at home, they visited the institution's laundry, and asked questions marveled at the movement, noise and size of washing machines and drying of the clothes.

In an attempt to involve families with the theme, characters representing the washerwomen entered the year's final meeting of parents to teach a song, and that would be part of the songs repertoire for the closure party, in which the children participated composing a lively parade.

After this time, one of the children was disappointed to learn that people who sang at the parent's meeting were not "real" washerwomen, but people representing them.

Therefore, the workers employed in cleaning and health care were invited to talk about the time of their own childhood, when they accompanied their mothers to the river and there spent the day helping and playing.

In an atmosphere of playfulness, children were given the opportunity to play like washerwomen. In this situation, work songs were sung with the children invited to wash clothes on the edge of an imaginary river built with buckets.

And on the day of the year's conclusion celebration party, those workers came to sing and dance with the children announcing the end of a cycle.

Conclusion

After the reported experiences, the researcher teachers concluded that:

- It is important to observe and listen to children in order to weld educational aims to children's interests. This is a respectful conduct, which promotes an emancipative education, in agreement to Paulo Freire's theory;
- Experiencing and creating culture is necessary to think about it and learn from it. Education is a continuous reconstruction of experience, as in John Dewey's ideas;

- Brazilian popular culture is, through its manifestations, a rich source of African and Indigenous cultural elements that teachers can resort when approaching those cultures in a research. Brazilian capoeira, for example, has an African heritage teachers can talk to children about, like the musical instruments, the words in the songs etc.;
- "African" and "Indigenous" are generalizing terms that don't cover the complexity and diversity of cultures existent in the American and African continents;
- The contact with objects from other cultures is a privileged resource for educational practice because culture is a symbolic code, and when symbols are aesthetically manifested, they communicate a solution to human questions through the objects' materials, the way they were made, what they were made for etc. It's possible to realize that "people are different in the way they live and produce culture, and at the same time, equal in sensibility, intelligence, creativity and being capable of elaborating fundamental aspects of human existence" (Vidal & Silva 1995);
- The document "Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação Infantil" (national guidelines for young children education) is important to be considered by teachers because it summarizes many achievements of the discussions on educational field concerning principles and themes that form Brazilian culture.

The work with African and Indigenous cultural elements, to build up a Brazilian cultural identity, that valorizes those once oppressed cultures during colonization processes, can be held by teachers in young children education institutions when regarded that experiencing cultural manifestations is an efficient way of appropriation of such cultural elements

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LA LINGUISTIQUE DARWINIENNE ET L'ORIGINE DU LANGAGE

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Résumé

La question de l'origine du langage, interrogation traditionnellement philosophique, est en passe de quitter le domaine des sciences sociales et humaines au profit des sciences naturelles. Contre cette perspective et sans pour autant tomber dans une approche sociologiste, nous proposons de faire de la question de l'origine du langage le lieu d'une preuve de l'indépendance des sciences sociales et humaines. Pour ce faire, nous avançons une interprétation non caricaturale de la théorie darwinienne, mettant l'accent d'une part sur la perspective panchronique de cette dernière, et d'autre part sur le mécanisme de désélection de la sélection naturelle. La résolution de la question de l'origine du langage par Darwin nous permet de le définir comme non adaptatif et comme issu de et motivant la désélection de la sélection naturelle. Le langage est véritablement ce qui permet l'ouverture d'un champ de l'inutile, de l'an-adaptatif, inaccessible aux sciences naturelles et dont il est la tâche des sciences sociales et humaines d'en rendre compte.

Mots clés

Darwinisme – Origine du langage – Désélection de la sélection naturelle

Introduction

La question de l'origine du langage suscite actuellement, et conformément à une longue tradition, un vif intérêt. Toutefois, les sciences sociales et humaines ne semblent prendre qu'une faible part à ce débat. La naturalisation de la question des origines est en train d'atteindre son paroxysme, rompant avec les interrogations philosophiques des Lumières et les investigations linguistiques des philologues du XIX^e siècle. L'interprétation caricaturale de la théorie darwinienne a joué un rôle central dans cet abandon de la question des origines par les sciences sociales et humaines. Pourtant, une lecture correcte de la totalité de l'œuvre de Darwin ouvre une perspective tout à fait différente. Loin d'être une adaptation, le langage est tout autant le résultat que le moteur d'une désélection de la sélection naturelle, c'est-à-dire d'une contradiction du principe de la survie du plus apte dans un contexte de lutte pour l'existence, permettant l'ouverture d'un champ de l'inutile, de l'an-adaptatif, dans lequel émerge la culture. La théorie darwinienne de l'origine du langage permet ainsi d'argumenter en faveur

d'une indépendance des sciences sociales et humaines sans nier toutefois leur fondement sur les sciences naturelles.

Afin de proposer une théorie de l'origine du langage emprunté ni de biologisme ni de sociologisme, nous montrerons, dans un premier temps, le mal-fondé d'une lecture caricaturale de l'œuvre du naturaliste anglais. Les trois moments, diachroniques, synchroniques et panchroniques, de la pensée de Darwin seront distingués. Dans un second temps, nous étudierons la désélection de la sélection naturelle permettant de rendre compte de l'émergence du champ des sciences sociales et humaines. Se faisant, nous radicaliserons la théorie, développée par Tort (2008), de l'effet réversif de l'évolution. Enfin, nous montrerons que la théorie darwinienne de l'origine du langage prouve que la parole humaine n'est en aucun cas, ni dans son origine profonde, ni dans son développement, une adaptation.

1. L'évolution de la pensée darwinienne : vers une perspective panchronique

La réduction de la pensée de Darwin à la sélection naturelle, c'est-à-dire à la survie du plus apte dans un contexte de lutte pour l'existence, peut être issue de deux interprétations distinctes de son œuvre. La première, qui relève d'une approche historique, consiste à considérer l'origine des espèces comme étant l'ouvrage principal du naturaliste autour duquel s'articule toute sa pensée (Hodge & Radick 2009, Kohn 1985, Ospovat 1994, Ruse 1999). La seconde, qui marque une approche plus pratique, ne conserve de la théorie darwinienne que ce qui reste compatible avec la science moderne (Tort 2008). L'historien et le philosophe des sciences peuvent se permettre de contester ces deux interprétations et d'en proposer une autre, plus à même de rendre compte de la globalité de la pensée de Darwin. En effet, comme le relève Mayr (1985 : 757), la ou plutôt les théories darwiniennes relèvent de deux versants distincts, l'un ayant trait à la descendance avec modification, c'est-à-dire à la diachronie, à l'histoire évolutive des espèces, l'autre à la sélection naturelle, ou au versant synchronique relevant de la répartition géographique des espèces et de la lutte pour l'existence en résultant. L'étude des manuscrits de Darwin montre que le naturaliste a d'abord développé une théorie diachronique de l'évolution à laquelle s'est substituée l'approche synchronique de l'origine des espèces. La théorie diachronique fait appel aux causes et aux lois de la variation. L'influence, directe ou indirecte, des conditions d'existence et la loi d'usage et de défaut d'usage font de la première théorie darwinienne une approche lamarckienne de l'évolution à laquelle sont ajoutées des considérations sur l'hérédité bien plus complètes que chez Lamarck, la théorie de la pangenèse, publiée cependant après l'origine dans *De la variation des plantes et des animaux à l'état domestique*, représentant le principe unificateur de la théorie diachronique. Les raisons du passage de cette théorie diachronique à celle, synchronique, de l'origine des espèces ne font pas l'unanimité chez les spécialistes de Darwin. Si une majorité de ces derniers voient dans la lecture de Malthus, en septembre 1838, une cause suffisante à cette conversion, d'autres n'y voient qu'une cause nécessaire. La position majoritaire nous semble infructueuse puisque considérer la lecture de Malthus comme cause suffisante à la conversion synchronique de Darwin revient à disqualifier totalement la diachronie et à faire de l'origine des espèces le point

central de la théorie darwinienne, tous ses autres ouvrages n'étant alors qu'une confirmation, sur des sujets particuliers, de la théorie globale de 1859.

L'origine des espèces n'est pas l'ouvrage majeur de Darwin. Sa rédaction se fait dans l'urgence, Wallace étant sur le point de publier une théorie analogue. De plus, cet ouvrage est publié en tant que manifeste pour l'évolutionnisme dans un contexte scientifique quasiment totalement acquis à la théorie de la création indépendante des espèces. Afin de ne pas s'attirer des objections méthodologiques, Darwin souscrit à l'idéal hypothético-déductif newtonien de la science victorienne et, utilisant tant la *vera causa* de Herschel que la consilience des inductions de Whewell, unifie sa théorie autour de la sélection naturelle. Si la diachronie, représentée par les considérations sur les causes et les lois de la variation, n'est pas totalement abandonnée, elle est assimilée par la toute-puissance explicative de la synchronie. L'erreur d'interprétation des commentateurs de Darwin, c'est-à-dire l'explication synchronique de mécanismes diachroniques, provient d'une interprétation de la théorie darwinienne trop centrée sur L'origine des espèces et d'une lecture de cet ouvrage ne démêlant pas les différentes strates de la pensée du naturaliste.

La question de l'instinct est centrale dans cette relation entre théorie diachronique et synchronique de l'évolution. En effet, l'instinct convoque la problématique du comportement qui traverse toute l'évolution de la pensée de Darwin. Dans ses cahiers, Darwin propose d'abord une théorie parfaitement diachronique de l'instinct, tout à fait calquée sur la théorie lamarckienne. Or, les apories auxquelles Darwin doit faire face en ce qui concerne l'explication de la variabilité, apories renforcées par des constatations d'inadéquation, sur le terrain, entre circonstances et caractéristiques, avant tout anatomiques, des espèces, se répercutent sur les considérations comportementales. L'élaboration de la théorie synchronique qu'est la sélection naturelle trouve dans le comportement son expression la plus radicale. Darwin (1992 : 305-306) affirme ainsi qu'il n'aurait jamais été convaincu par la puissance de la théorie sélective s'il n'avait pas constaté son application dans le contexte des instincts les plus complexes, notamment ceux des insectes neutres, pour l'explication desquels le lamarckisme est absolument impuissant. Or, le lamarckisme évoqué est déjà transformé par la théorie synchronique. L'habitude n'est plus physique mais avant tout mentale et constitue une opposition à la fixité de l'instinct, dont toute évolution est tributaire de variations spontanées sélectionnées. L'ultra-synchronisme de la théorie de l'instinct exposée dans L'origine des espèces assoit certes le réductionnisme sélectiviste à la source de la lecture historique et théorique caricaturale de la théorie darwinienne mais elle marque également la possibilité de l'émergence d'une perspective panchronique qui sera développée dès La filiation de l'homme à travers le comportement et plus précisément le déplacement de l'habitude du physique, tributaire d'une influence directe des circonstances, au mental, à la réaction volontaire et intelligente face aux circonstances entendues dans un sens large et donc étendues à la lutte pour l'existence.

La perspective panchronique représente l'accomplissement de la pensée darwinienne. La filiation de l'homme est le lieu de la panchronie. Mettant fin à son silence concernant l'évolution humaine, silence ayant déjà permis du temps même du naturaliste des extrapolations radicales tels que le darwinisme social de Spencer ou l'eugénisme de Galton, Darwin entreprend un double mouvement

argumentatif. D'une part, l'humanité est rapprochée de l'animalité, notamment en ce qui concerne son évolution physiologique, particulièrement constatable à travers ses réflexions sur la répétition ontogénique de la phylogénie dans l'embryologie ou, plus facilement observable, sur les instances de caractères réversifs ; d'autre part, l'animalité est valorisée et toutes les facultés mentales et caractéristiques de l'homme trouvent leurs prémisses dans l'animal. De par l'application de sa théorie de l'évolution gradualiste, Darwin, afin de reconstruire à partir de la synchronie, c'est-à-dire des espèces actuelles, la diachronie des facultés humaines, adopte un point de vue anthropomorphique parfaitement assumé, laissant apparaître toute l'importance du comportement dans l'évolution dans une optique lamarckienne voyant la primauté de la fonction sur la structure se substituer à la primauté de la structure sur la fonction de la théorie de l'instinct de L'origine des espèces. Ce retour au lamarckisme est toutefois influencé par la prise en considération de la synchronie par la transformation des habitudes physiques en habitudes mentales. Enfin, la sélection naturelle n'est en aucun cas abandonnée, le lamarckisme darwinien s'inscrivant dans un dialogue incessant entre mécanismes diachroniques et synchroniques.

2. La désélection de la sélection naturelle et l'émergence du champ des sciences sociales

La perspective panchronique de La filiation de l'homme voit non seulement la réhabilitation des principes diachroniques mais démontre également l'émergence de comportements anti-sélectifs atteignant leur paroxysme dans le cadre des sociétés humaines morales issues d'une véritable désélection de la sélection naturelle. Tort (2008) est certainement celui qui a le mieux thématiqué ce mécanisme évolutif sous le terme d'effet réversif de l'évolution. Partant du principe que la sélection naturelle est le principe directeur de l'évolution, Tort (2008) affirme qu'il y a émergence de comportements anti-sélectifs par l'entremise de cette dernière, et plus précisément par la sélection et le développement de la sociabilité. Utilisant la figure du ruban de Möbius, Tort (2008) ne cherche en aucun cas à affirmer un changement de principe directeur de l'évolution mais veut au contraire prouver que la sélection naturelle perdure après l'élimination de son mode opératoire originaire. En d'autres termes, la protection est substituée à l'élimination parce que celle-là est plus adaptative que celle-ci. Il n'y a plus sélection du plus fort, mais sélection de la faiblesse.

L'interprétation de Tort (2008) présente l'avantage de disqualifier les interprétations abusives de la théorie darwinienne. Toutefois, Tort (2008) fait montre d'un certain réductionnisme correspondant à la lecture caricaturale relevant de l'approche scientifique théorique. La modification du mode opératoire de la sélection naturelle assoit d'autant plus la sélection naturelle comme principe unificateur de l'évolution et manque dès lors la perspective panchronique pour retomber dans la synchronie. Bien que Tort (2008 : 80 ; 164-171) reconnaisse, avec l'émergence de la moralité, l'ouverture du champ des sciences humaines ou sociales, ces sciences sont en sursis face à l'infinité du champ des sciences naturelles. A travers la reconnaissance d'une véritable désélection de la sélection naturelle, d'un détachement de l'homme face à la sélection naturelle, nous radicalisons la thèse de l'effet réversif de l'évolution dans une perspective panchronique permettant une indépendance totale des

sciences sociales et humaines, indépendance pour laquelle la question de l'origine du langage est tout autant motif qu'illustration.

L'idée d'un détachement face à la sélection naturelle est en premier lieu avancée par Wallace (1872 : 318-347) qui affirme que l'homme peut se soustraire, par la technique, à la nécessité adaptative entre le corps et les conditions d'existence. Darwin (1872 (1) : 170-171) reprend cette thèse et insiste sur le fait que la sélection naturelle, dans le cas de l'homme, se déplace des facultés physiques aux facultés mentales, ce qui constitue la première étape de la désélection de la sélection naturelle. En effet, le développement, par sélection naturelle, comprise de manière panchronique, des facultés mentales et des instincts sociaux conduit à une véritable économie des instincts. Puisque les facultés mentales de l'homme l'amènent à se rappeler de ses actions passées, il est emprunt d'un remords lors de la satisfaction d'un instinct égoïste dont la durée est plus courte que celle de l'instinct social que son action a contredit. Le remords est la marque d'une théorie sensualiste des besoins confirmant la panchronie, la fixation d'un instinct étant considérée comme relevant autant de la sélection naturelle que de l'hérédité d'habitudes acquises. Si la capacité de rappel des actions passées fait déjà de l'homme un être moral et que le remords semble devoir incliner ses actions futures, Darwin (1872 (1) : 176-178) s'interroge sur l'émergence des sociétés morales. L'altruisme ne présentant pas d'avantage adaptatif individuel direct, sa diffusion par hérédité semble compromise. Les plus enclins à se sacrifier meurent nécessairement plus jeunes et ne peuvent prétendre diffuser leurs inclinations altruistes à travers une reproduction surabondante comparée à celle des individus les plus égoïstes. Si une telle situation rappelle le problème de l'explication de la diffusion des instincts des insectes neutres, le comportement humain ne peut être calqué sur celui des espèces inférieures ayant permis le développement du modèle de la sélection communautaire. Le comportement humain n'est pas simplement le résultat de variations spontanées avantageuses sélectionnées. L'accent mis sur une émergence et un développement de la moralité à partir de l'intérêt réciproque, de la prise en compte de l'opinion d'autrui et des exemples de vertu sont autant de marques de la panchronie. Bien que cette dernière ne doit pas être entendue comme une négation de la synchronie, ni même comme une prévalence de la diachronie, ce n'est que dans cette perspective qu'un champ de l'inutile, à entendre comme non adaptatif, non sélectif d'emblée, peut s'ouvrir. Ainsi, l'émergence de la moralité est explicable hors de toute sélection, au sein d'une communauté en-dehors de toute relation concurrentielle inter-communautaire. Toutefois, Darwin (1872 (1) : 178-179) reconnaît que la sélection communautaire peut jouer un rôle dans la diffusion, à travers les luttes inter-communautaires, de la moralité. Tort (2008) se base essentiellement sur ce constat d'opération de la sélection communautaire. Mais Tort (2008 : 72) confond altruisme, c'est-à-dire sacrifice dans la cas d'une lutte inter-communautaire, et interdiction de l'élimination du plus faible. Lorsque Darwin fait appel à la sélection communautaire pour la diffusion de la moralité, c'est uniquement dans le cadre de l'émergence des sociétés morales. Ce stade du développement humain est ce qui se rapproche le plus d'une sortie de l'animalité à travers l'acquisition du sens moral par la comparaison des instincts. Les comportements réellement anti-adaptatifs, sauvegardant systématiquement les plus faibles et leur permettant de diffuser leurs tares, n'interviennent qu'une fois cette sortie de l'animalité opérée par toutes les communautés humaines. Issus d'institutions développées dans des sociétés en-dehors de toute lutte inter-

communautaire, les comportements anti-adaptatifs ne sont pas le fruit d'un renversement du mode opératoire de la sélection naturelle. La sélection n'a plus lieu d'être, le détachement face à cette dernière étant complet. Après un déplacement de la sélection naturelle du physique à l'intellect qui a permis le développement de la moralité, apparaît une élimination totale de la sélection naturelle. L'homme peut non seulement modifier son environnement, mais peut également modifier autrui, à travers l'éducation, sans pour cela l'éliminer. L'extension de la sympathie aux membres d'autres communautés, voire aux autres espèces, confirme le dépassement de la perspective adaptative. En définitive, nous reconnaissons avec Tort (2008) un avantage adaptatif à l'altruisme, compris en tant que sacrifice, dans le cadre de luttes inter-communautaires qui marquent l'émergence de l'humanité, mais nous n'acceptons pas d'étendre au-delà de l'émergence de la moralité la perspective sélective. Une fois l'hominisation accomplie à travers l'établissement de sociétés morales, l'acquisition d'un sens moral distinguant humanité et animalité, apparaît toujours déjà le champ an-adaptatif du culturel dont les comportements anti-adaptatifs sont les illustrations les plus prégnantes. L'effet réversif de l'évolution possède une limite opératoire marquée par l'émergence de l'humanité et le détachement, par désélection, de la sélection naturelle. Le champ des sciences sociales émerge à partir de la limitation des sciences naturelles qui ne peuvent, dans une perspective évolutive causale, rendre compte d'un champ de l'inutile, de l'an-adaptatif.

3. L'origine du langage

La question du langage et de son origine a une place à part dans la perspective panchronique. Le langage est à la fois moteur et résultat de la désélection de la sélection naturelle. Cette duplicité du langage se retrouve dans la définition de ce dernier comme art (Darwin 1872 (1) : 57). Toutefois, il s'agit d'un art particulier, basé sur l'instinct. Ainsi, le langage apparaît, dans une définition tout à fait compatible avec la linguistique de Whitney, comme institution naturelle. L'homme possède, comme de nombreux animaux, une tendance instinctive à communiquer à partir de laquelle s'est développé inconsciemment le langage articulé. S'il n'y a pas élaboration délibérée du langage, le problème de l'institution des signes n'est pas résolu par son simple versant instinctif. Ce dernier correspond au langage naturel, expression des émotions les plus vives ne nécessitant pas de facultés mentales élevées. Le caractère utilitaire et donc adaptatif de ce langage naturel ne fait aucun doute, les cris d'alerte représentant l'accomplissement de ce langage. Le langage naturel serait amplement suffisant non seulement pour les pré-humains mais également pour les premières étapes de l'hominisation. En revanche, l'émergence et l'accomplissement du culturel ne saurait être reconductible au simple langage naturel. Darwin (1872 (1) : 58-59), dans un mouvement très rousseauiste, fait appel à une origine passionnelle du langage. L'utilisation de la voix n'est pas uniquement issue des cris instinctifs mais également de l'expression des passions constatable chez de nombreuses espèces lors des parades nuptiales. La sélection sexuelle est à la base d'une utilisation consciente de la voix acquise à travers l'imitation permettant de rendre compte des émotions les plus complexes. Grâce à cette faculté d'imitation, issue de la sélection des facultés mentales, le langage des passions devient utile, à l'instar du langage naturel, mais dans une bien plus grande

profondeur. L'instrumentalité est issue de l'expressivité. La passion permet de satisfaire le besoin.

Si le langage articulé entre dans le cadre de la perspective adaptative, de par sa modalité d'émergence, le langage des passions gagnant une utilité par son alliance avec la faculté d'imitation, son origine ornementale séductrice trahit déjà le détachement d'avec la sélection naturelle, la sélection sexuelle permettant son développement étant le lieu des comportements anti-adaptatifs dans l'animalité. Résultat de la désélection de la sélection naturelle dans son origine profonde, le langage est moteur du détachement de la sélection naturelle dans son application. En effet, c'est à travers le langage articulé que s'exprime l'opinion générale, outil sur lequel Darwin (1872 (1) : 176-178) insiste pour la diffusion de la morale. C'est également le langage articulé qui assoit les différentes institutions permettant de maintenir cette même morale, notamment à travers la religion. Cette dernière montre la narrativité du langage, par l'établissement des mythes et des tabous, dont l'essence passionnelle et surtout chantée du langage explique la force.

Conclusion

Loin de déboucher sur une justification d'une approche naturaliste de la question de l'origine du langage, l'analyse de la théorie darwinienne permet de reconnaître la légitimité d'une résolution ni biologiste ni sociologiste. La désélection de la sélection naturelle manifeste la duplicité du langage en tant que résultat de cette dernière, constatable dès son origine la plus profonde, le langage des passions étant, dans l'animalité, la marque d'une ébauche de détachement de la sélection naturelle à travers des comportements potentiellement anti-adaptatifs, et comme moteur de son accomplissement, par la prise en compte du rôle du langage articulé dans l'expression de l'opinion et l'établissement des institutions morales.

Face à une naturalisation du culturel, notre étude de la théorie darwinienne permet de culturaliser le naturel par la reconnaissance des prémisses du champ de l'inutile, de l'an-adaptatif au sein même de l'animalité la plus basse. L'anthropomorphisme de notre interprétation est parfaitement assumé. Cette générosité face à l'animalité chère à Darwin dans La filiation de l'homme permet de garder une perspective continuiste gradualiste. L'historien et le philosophe des sciences peut ainsi, face à la causalité machinale des sciences naturelles, soutenir une position où les raisons sont substituées aux causes, sans renier pour autant les avancées de la perspective naturaliste. La question de l'origine du langage s'impose, grâce à la théorie darwinienne, comme le champ de la possibilité d'une indépendance des sciences sociales et humaines. Loin d'être en sursis face aux avancées des sciences naturelles, le chercheur en sciences sociales et humaines peut développer des théories rationnelles non réduites aux simples données factuelles et causales au sein d'un champ dont la légitimité a trouvé une preuve indéniable dans la désélection de la sélection naturelle, dans l'émergence d'un champ de l'inutile, de l'an-adaptatif où le langage joue un rôle primordial.

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SPACE VERSUS PLACE IN RUSHDIE'S SATANIC VERSES

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to read Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses* through a postcolonial critical perspective. It suggests that Rushdie re-writes the history of Islam through a spatial perspective, a legitimate way of contesting essentialist world views. However, I will contend that Rushdie's utilization of spatial discourse ironically exposes hegemonic views on his part. Despite his spatial sense of historic documentation, he employs a metaphor of history as a theatre, a practice which postcolonial critical discourse condemns as colonialist. Historical events as a theatre performance and the historian as an objective spectator are imperialist stances that aim at control. Resistance turns to hegemony in Rushdie's postcolonial discourse.

Keywords

Travel- Theatre- Imperial

Introduction

Salman Rushdie's politics against Islam in *The Satanic Verses* (1998) have dichotomized responses into either condemnatory or supportive categories. This paper intends to neither defend nor condemn but rather to read the work through a postcolonial critical perspective and expose its limitations and contradictions. The study suggests that Rushdie re-writes the history of Islam through a spatial perspective in order to challenge its fundamentalism. However, the author's utilization of spatial history discourse ironically digresses into an imperialist stance. Such digression compromises both the efficiency and the legitimacy of his subversive stance.

1. Related Critical References

Critics tried to transcend the volatile controversy that the novel's attack on Islam has generated by attributing its objectionable parts to artistic necessity. Sara Suleri calls it "a deeply Islamic book" and tries to justify Rushdie's stance by claiming that "blasphemy must be apprehended as a narrative device rather than as a statement of religious conviction" (1989: 606, 619). She attributes

blasphemy to the Urdu ghazal poetic genre that the text explores (1989: 609). Feroza Jussawalla similarly discusses the form of the book as *dastan-e-dilruba*, another subcontinental literary genre, and claims that “seeing” it “as an exercise in European postmodernity by a hybrid metropolitan intellectual fails to show how deeply rooted it is in Muslim cultural and religious traditions” (1996: 54). In Jussawalla’s reading, the book becomes Rushdie’s “love letter to Islam” in India as it differs from the Islam of the “fundamentalist” groups elsewhere (1996: 50, 54). Drawing on Western critical discourses, Aamir Mufti classifies the novel’s form as “parody and pastiche.” Its use of the “orientalist term of abuse” against the Prophet Mohamed should be taken, Mufti suggests, in this light instead of being denounced by the community of “the Islamic public sphere” (1999: 68,69,70). Against such justifications, the current paper sets to highlight Rushdie’s transgression against Islam.

However, since the demand for reading Rushdie’s work as a literary piece is highly at stake in the critical milieu, the study intends to encode its message without violating conventions. The call for a literary response is voiced by critics as they postulate that “[t]he political strife that surrounds *The Satanic Verses* has, to a large extent, detracted from considering the novel’s literary merit” (Sanga 2001: 107). Robert Spencer also contests that “[c]ritics ought to attend more to Rushdie’s literary than political output.” But he is aware that “the lines that separate the two are in his case often blurred” (2010: 262). Joel Kuortti has lately proposed to study the novel as a “text” and to address its “structure, characterization and stylistic features” but affirms that the “discussion will close by considering the ethical issues that Rushdie’s novel raises” (2007: 125). It is evident that a political engagement with the issues that the novel has given rise to remains ineluctable even in literary analysis of its content. The current study will politically engage the work while keeping analysis within the domain of literary criticism.

2. A Fundamentalist Faith or a Eurocentric Perspective?

Paul Weller has recently classified Rushdie’s writings as “Commonwealth” and “Post-Colonial Literature” (2009: 13). Such classification depending as it does on Weller’s reading of postcolonial critics like Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, Needham and Srivastava in their assessment of Rushdie signifies a literature of resistance. This paper will focus on Rushdie’s resistance of Islam as a colonizing force. It will examine his employment of postcolonial tools to subvert Islamic ideology and his erroneous digression into imperialist strategies while doing so. It will question his fulfillment of deconstructing what he considers a fundamentalist faith and expose his monolithic and Eurocentric stance as a writer.

3. Contrariety of Functions: The Traveler and the Theatre Metaphors

Rushdie employs spatial discourse as a deconstructive tool of history. He uses a traveler metaphor to rewrite Islamic history. The metaphor answers to his need to explore Islamic sites through his traveler’s journey and to use the unfolding knowledge to free his representation of the era from traditional methods of historical documentation and colonized minds from Islam’s dominance. Rushdie, however, also relies heavily in this novel on the theatre metaphor. Such reliance

exposes a hegemonic and imperialist stance on his part which negates the decolonizing effect of the traveler metaphor and compromises his subversion of Islam.

4. Rewriting Islam: Spatial History Discourse

Paul Carter explains spatial history as a process “that discovers and explores the lacuna left by imperial history.... For like the traveller whose gaze is oriented and limited, it makes no claims to authoritative completeness. It is ... like a journey exploratory” in nature (1987: xxiii). Rushdie introduces the postcolonial metaphor of the traveler and attempts to utilize the principle of knowledge accidental unfolding during an uncertain journey of exploration for the purpose of rewriting Islamic history and spatially deconstructing its certitudes. He considers such certitudes a hegemonic force that colonized peoples’ minds for centuries and ought to be subverted now.

5. The Traveler Metaphor

Within the frame of the traveler metaphor Rushdie has two travelers, Gibreel Farishta and Saladin Chamcha, the first makes a historical journey to the Islamic past to permit direct access to its life events and deconstructive rewriting of its values; the second travels between India and England and embodies Rushdie’s relationship with the West. Historic and geographic barriers are eliminated during these journeys for the sake of spatial narration. One early sign of such elimination is the two travelers’ miraculous survival of a terrorist bombing of an airplane on which they were traveling. In a long phantasmagoric narrative interlude of spatial uncertainty the survivors safely descend to earth, not before the reader is tantalized into speculations on whether theirs is a real human survival or the author’s imaginative insight into an otherworldly realm of being. The phantasmagoric atmosphere and phantom figures operate to blur limits between the worlds of fantasy and reality even after the characters’ safe landing on an identifiable geographic location, the British Isles. The blurring of barrier between, fantasy and reality, life and death allows Rushdie’s modern Gibreel to travel into the Islamic past and to imaginatively identify with the Prophet Mohammed’s archangel Gabriel.

6. Deconstructing History, Destabilizing Values

Gibreel’s journeys to the historic past of Islam occur through acts of dreaming. Besides being called “Gibreel: the dreamer,” this character is often caught dreaming.³⁸ His earliest dreams came when he fell asleep in his mother’s arms as a child, just as he fictionally began to develop links with the Archangel; for “he falls past her into sleep, growing bigger as he falls.... He is gigantic, wingless, standing with his feet upon the horizon and his arms around the sun” (91). “Sometimes when he sleeps Gibreel becomes aware... of himself dreaming his own awareness of his dream” (92). This dreamer becomes an eyewitness of Islamic history and is granted authority to represent it and to comment on its values. He becomes an important factor in Rushdie’s spatial history discourse.

³⁸ Rushdie, 108, henceforth cited in the text after the quote.

Descriptions of life on the Islamic sites and evaluations of its activities are often preceded by Gibreel's falling into a dream fit and his imaginary travel to the past.

Gibreel dreams the history of Islam and gives a fictionally distorted image of its ideology. For example, Islam's regulations about financial matters are ridiculed as materialistically opposed to its claims to spirituality. The text ascribes materialistic motives to the divine message: Mohammed "himself had been a businessman... so how excessively convenient it was that he should have come up with such a very businesslike archangel, who handed down the management decisions of this highly corporate, if non-corporeal, God" (364). The Prophet's disinterestedness is transformed into a self-seeking venture. His Creator and Archangel are not spared.

Islam's ideology is twisted to produce its opposites. Its moral concerns are reversed into immoral practices. Sodomy is legalized by Rushdie's text in complete negation of Islam's prohibition of it (364). Islam's teachings are thus misleadingly turned to a negative creed. Its injunctions are also misquoted to produce a trivializing effect. Prawns "those bizarre other-worldly creatures which no member of the faithful had ever seen" the novel claims to be a forbidden food though Islam permits consumption of all seafood and never went to specify Rushdie's bizarre creatures (364). Islam is lied about only to be jeered at. It is wrongly charged as unnecessarily focusing on trivial matters. Gibreel's dreams in Rushdie's traveler metaphor indicate as much.

The novel's subversive intentions towards Islam's ideology extends to its spirituality, the dreamer is made to focus on the Faith's religious rituals and to deconstruct their symbolic value. People's involvement in ablution and prayers are exaggeratedly mocked: "In the sand-city, their obsession with water makes them freakish. Ablutions, always ablutions, the legs up to the knees, the arms down to the elbows, the head down to the neck. Dry-torsoed, wet-limbed and damp-headed, what eccentrics they look." Taking license from the dream state, the context distorts facts, ignoring all the while that ablution does not go up to the knees or wets the head all the way down to the neck. In a similar manner, prayers are also ridiculed. The novel describes supplicants as falling down "[o]n their knees, pushing arms, legs, heads back into the ubiquitous sand, and then beginning again the cycle of water and prayer" (104). The suggested cyclical movement of cleaning to soiling is meant to represent both rituals as unnecessarily futile and to deny physical cleansing its spiritual side and symbolic link to prayers.

The subversive dreams of Gibreel also target iconic figures of the Faith. The Prophet and his disciples are misrepresented. Mohammed is made into a debauch. His marriages are taken out of their cultural context and an association with a brothel house is suggested (380). His companions are made into either drunkards or failing fighters. Contrary to their recorded abstinence, Bilal, Khalid and Salman become disgracefully drunk in one of Gibreel's dreams; "owing to their unfamiliarity with alcohol they were soon not just intoxicated but stupid drunk" (117). Early martyrs of the faith are heavily mocked. Hamza, the Prophet's uncle who died defending Islam is claimed to have as "many times been defeated in combat, saved by friends or lucky chances . . . has the money to keep such items out of the news." His reputation, the novel claims, is falsely acquired through "age and survival" which "bestow a sort of validation upon

martial legends" (104). Gibreel's dream journeys to the past allow the novel to misrepresent Islam. Spatial history discourse is employed to subvert the Faith.

7. The Theatre Metaphor

Yet it is ironic to witness how the text simultaneously negates the traveler metaphor by utilizing that of the theatre for its act of narration. While widely embracing the first in quest of freedom, postcolonial discourse highly contests the second for its imperialist relationship to history writing. Carter asserts that "imperial history" is a discipline that "reduces space to a stage" and transforms narration from spatiality into hegemonic narration (1987: xvi). In Rushdie's book, the theatre metaphor is suggested through the career of Gibreel and Chamcha as actors. But it is more explicitly voiced through elaborate references to the dreaming traveler Gibreel.

Closely knit to Gibreel's dream journeys is his theatre activity. He is described as "the dreamer, whose point of view is sometimes that of the camera and at other moments, spectator." As a camera-man "he's floating on a high crane looking down at the foreshortened figures of the actors." On being a spectator, he "watches and weighs the action like any movie fan" (108). A curious doubling of roles occurs in Gibreel simultaneously being a camera-man and an objective spectator. Floating with his "camera," Gibreel is a film-maker, a kind of a historian observing a group of actors and registering their performance on a stage below. As a movie lover, he gazes at a "silver screen" while historic figures play out their assigned roles. Despite contrariety of functions, of film-making versus objective spectatorship, a stage metaphor significantly unfolds in both cases. In the first instance, it is a kind of theatre where the historian looks at characters from above rather than across stage. In the second, it is a cinematic movie theatre, a theatre nevertheless. Space is changed into a stage through such metaphor in both cases.

8. Hegemony and Imperialism

The stage metaphor is an indicator of an imperialist practice in history recording. Postcolonial theorist Paul Carter explains: "Imperial history" has a "theatrical assumption that, in reality, historical individuals are actors, fulfilling a higher destiny" (1987: xvii). "[O]ne illusion" that "sustains" such history "is the illusion of the theatre and, more exactly, the unquestioned convention of the all-seeing spectator" (Carter 1987: xv). The colonial historian becomes a hegemonic observer of historical figures and events.

In this sense, Rushdie's reliance on the theatre metaphor suggests an involvement in an imperial act of narration. In the process of filming characters and their action with his camera, Gibreel plays the role of a documenting historian. His elevated position suggests a hegemonic attitude towards people and an omniscient hovering above their activities and destinies. He is thus exposed as an "all-seeing" imperialist historian in Rushdie's theatre metaphor. Ironically, the traveler turns historian in this context. Accidental exploration of Islamic sites turns to a hegemonic process of history recording. Rushdie's exaltation in his stage metaphor undermines his claims to spatiality, indicated by the use of the traveler metaphor.

Significantly, Gibreel also figures as an objective spectator in the cinematic theatre of history. Objective spectatorship is heavily critiqued in postcolonial discourse as an imperialist method of history writing because of its false claims to neutrality. According to Carter, the imperial historian who claims to be a mere "impartial onlooker, simply repeating what happened," actually writes a subjective, self-serving tale (1987: xv). The "primary object" of such discipline, Carter asserts, "is not to understand" the other, but rather "to legitimate" the self (1987: xvi). Gibreel's claim to objective spectatorship while actually involved in history recording has a similar potential. Both states of his being a movie fan and an involved film-maker point out to an imperialist stance in relationship to history. He is an objective spectator hegemonically involved in subverting the other, Islam in this particular case.

9. Textual Imperialism: Hegemonic Narrator, Subverted Characters

But what narrative license does Gibreel, the imperialist historian, have in the novel? How much of an authority does he have to use his personal observations to make history? These questions do not have a straightforward answer. On the one hand, the action unfolds not from Gibreel's point of view but rather from that of a narrator who subjugates Gibreel, and all the other characters, to his omniscient presence. On the other hand, this omniscient narrator has strong resemblances with Gibreel which verges on identification. Gibreel's hegemonic post on his camera crane above historical figures, his false claims to objective spectatorship and his subjective involvement in history making are also discernible in the experience of Rushdie's narrator.

Gibreel's subjection to such narrator is evident in what seems a curious tripling of roles in his case. Despite his claims to being a historian and a spectator Gibreel actually proves to be a mere actor in Rushdie's metaphorical theatre. Gibreel recalls that his dreams are often "dreams of being pushed on stage when you've no business being there, you don't know the story haven't learned any lines, but there's a full house watching, watching: feels like that" (109). Besides enforcing Rushdie's imperialist stage metaphor, the passage indicates that the objective spectator, turned earlier to documenting historian, is no more than an actor in the history he is observing. Gibreel is being helplessly monitored by Rushdie's narrator.

Gibreel's high position above the actors on the theatre of history becomes in this respect a metaphoric projection and visual embodiment of the narrator's omniscient and hegemonic stance. Rushdie's narrator is an all-seeing and all-knowing presence in the novel. Speculating on the history of Mecca's economic and social life, the narrator says: "Today, female pilgrims are often kidnapped for ransom or sold into concubinage" (103). His use of "Today" indicates a temporal, eyewitness presence at a past historic site. This state can only occur with an omniscient narrator who is sidelining his eyewitness traveler, Gibreel, by transgressing into the past this character went to explore. Indeed, this narrator escorts all travelers in the novel and makes his presence felt. He travels with Gibreel in his endless journeying between the historic past and the modern times and with Chamcha between London and India. He is present with both characters when the airplane is bombed. He shares their mysterious landing and their return from the phantasmagoric land into normal London life. Kuortti, indeed, treats the narrator as a "character" in the novel, whose function is "to comment on things...

to put questions... [and] give directions to the reader" (2007: 127). Ramachandran calls him an "I-voice" that "is never absent... intervening constantly to provide commentary." She also points out "the obvious didactic function of this mode of presentation" (2005: 114,115). In short, Rushdie's omniscient narrator is a domineering figure that controls the act of narration at all levels. Clark significantly perceives two narrators in the novel "a conventional, omniscient narrator as well as an otherworldly satanic narrator" (2001:134). The satanic narrator is constantly "dipping in and out of [the] text" while "Rushdie's conventional narrator takes over" (Clark 2001: 135). The relevance of such observation is that the novel is never left to any of the characters, including Gibreel, to run. It has a hegemonic narrator who emerges as a character in his own right and who is fully in control regardless of into how many figures he multiplies or what guises he takes on.

One of the guises surfaces in the resemblance with Gibreel. Both are dreamers. The narrator dreams the Prophet Mohammed's name. "His name," the narrator says, is "a dream name, changed by the vision. Pronounced correctly, it means he-for-whom-thanks-should-be-given" (93). Despite this knowledge of the meaning of the Prophet's name in Arabic, the narrator decides to use a name that Western medieval prejudice has devised, "has adopted, instead, the demon tag the farangis hung around his neck ... is to be the medieval baby-frightener, the devil's synonym: Mahound" in Rushdie's narrative (93). The link between Gibreel and the narrator does not escape critics. Clark affirms that Gibreel's "mind becomes the landscape through which the narrator moves" (2001: 148). The narrator exploits this figure to mask his hegemonic attitude. He is the source of Gibreel's imperialist stance in the novel.

10. False Objectivity, Self-Serving Tale

Despite his hegemonic dominance over historic figures and events, the narrator makes claims to neutrality. Pretending to disengage himself from Gibreel's imperialism, he asserts: "(I'm giving him no instructions. I, too, am interested in his choices—in the result of his wrestling match. Character vs destiny: a free-style bout...) Wrestling, through his many stories, he proceeds" (457). This claim to objective spectatorship is negated by the narrator's frequent falls into subjective, self-referential moods. For instance, in keeping with his mythical conception of the old, pre-Islamic city of Mecca as a city of sands, the narrator exposes a personal response to the place: "I, in my wickedness, sometimes imagine the coming of a great wave... that would reduce these vain sandcastles to the nothingness, to the grains from which they came" (94). Such an interactive response to the place cannot be deemed objective or neutral.

11. Imperialist Author: Exploiting Models, Distorting History

The narrator's domineering habit of expressing personal views on what he narrates enfolds a manipulative pattern of interference in the lives of the characters. Boasting of analogies between his narrative and some literary classics, he claims a resemblance between his story and Shakespeare's *Othello*. "What follows is tragedy.—Or, at least the echo of tragedy, the full-blooded original being unavailable to modern men and women" (424). The pretense at helplessness is immediately followed by a more assertive stance: "My Chamcha

may be no ancient of Venice, my Allie no smothered Desdemona. Farishta no match for the Moor, but they will, at least, be costumed in such explanations as my understanding will allow" (425). The narrator admits to his hegemonic interpolation of personal touches into the story, of dressing the characters in the guise of literary figures. His claim to neutrality is thus often negated. Like a writer of imperial history, he claims to be an "impartial onlooker, simply repeating what happened," but rarely stops at that. Using existing models, he creates characters and manipulates their lives. One such model is Shakespeare's Othello. Another is the figure of the Prophet Mohammed. Using a Western medieval narrative of Mohammed, the narrator turns him into a Mahound and causes his fictional image in the novel to live up to it. Significantly, this narrator is frequently identified with the author himself. Kuortti describes him as an "intrusive" figure who "gives an ironic representation of authorial presence" (2007: 127). More explicitly, she points out his "resemblance with the pictures of Rushdie from that time" especially upon making an appearance in the bedroom scene (2007: 128).

Conclusion

In rewriting Islamic history, Salman Rushdie utilizes spatial history discourse to free his documentation from traditional methods that uphold Islam's ideology. His intention is to liberate the human mind from subservience to Islam's spirituality. He employs a character called Gibreel to travel to the past to spatially explore and distortedly rewrite Islamic history. Ironically, his traveler proves to be a puppet in the hands of a domineering narrator who transforms spatial exploration into a process of hegemonic documentation. The traveler metaphor turns to a stage metaphor. Rushdie ends up writing an imperialist narrative that contradicts the call for freedom. The author's anti-colonial act against Islam is negated by his imperialist stance when his traveler turns historian in a colonial theatre of history.

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INTEGRATION OR ASYMMETRY: A STUDY ON THE EFFECTS OF THE BRAZILIAN ECONOMIC GROWTH ON THE CONFIGURATION OF ITS NATIONAL SPACE

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Abstract

The Brazilian territorial lack of articulation is a restraint to the social and economic development of the country. This paper sought to find the reason why the Brazilian national space is beneath the expectations of integration. Since the initial experiences with railroads in Brazil, financing to build the transportation infrastructure has been conditioned to the economic compensations that some enterprises would generate in the short term, developing a secular tendency of expanding the transportation network in regions where there were already elements of economic viability, usually associated to the primary-exportation practice. In an attempt to understand the reasons that still lead to the continuation of this tendency, this paper aims at emphasising the present relation between the corporative use of the national space and the formation of a transportation network. The main aim of this paper was to relate the emphatic economic growth in the Amazonian State of Pará and the evolution of the regional transportation network. The results of the research point to an asymmetric development in the State of Pará and, therefore, to a historical continuity related to the fact that the transportation infrastructure projects held until today only favour a privileged portion of the population and territory.

Keywords

Natural resources – economic growth – territorial articulation

Introduction

The concerns that motivated this case study come from the inquietudes related with the large gap that exists separating Brazil in two extremely different portions, the southern Atlantic coast and the northern Amazonian region. The northern Amazonian region, despite its 2.7 times bigger area, only represents 5% of the Brazilian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) while the southern Atlantic coast participates with more than 70% of this index³⁹. The effects of this disparity come about Brazilian space configuration through inefficient domestic networks and gaps of connectivity among the main areas of the country. Therefore, the motivation for this article is to try to understand why infrastructure projects in the north region still do not facilitate domestic circulation. Such projects only stimulate the creation of economic enclaves

³⁹ This 2006 data is from Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics and do not represent the entire territory. The other 21% of GDP is referred to northeast and middle-west regions, which together represent about 35% of the territory.

instead of developing a domestic connected centre of activity through the large Brazilian territory that covers it with several suspicions about their supposed purpose of regional and national integration.

Initially, the objective is to search for information that would help to clarify this historical tendency of the Brazilian transportation system as a restraint to the social and economic development. Considering that the genesis of our domestic territorial disarticulation could be associated with the model of colonization and the exploration activities in the country, the main hypothesis discussed here suggests that this tendency of transportation in Brazil remains ongoing because the national development projects have mostly been historically based on primary-exportation practices. The problem is this economic growth dynamics leads to the formation of big exportation paths instead of increasing internal connectivity networks. According to Furtado (1992)

From the moment in which the domestic market is no longer the growth propeller but the integration with the world economy, the effects of synergy generated by the interdependence of the distinct country regions disappear, weakening considerably the solidarity liaisons among them. (Furtado, 1992).

The maintenance of this tendency nowadays is related to the fact that national policies are so submissive to the global economic power that it has been difficult to break the tied and dependent development cycle that is part of the Brazilian history. Furthermore, the hierarchical structure of the global power system is still based on the liberal comparative advantage principles that support primary exportation practices in tropical countries like Brazil. Wallerstein (2004) says that the relation between hierarchically stronger states and weaker ones are based on the authority put into practice by pressure. Weaker states are forced to open their borders to the entrance of products with a highly added value and at the same time they are stimulated to develop their condition of primary product exporters.

In this sense, at first this work will bring out the Brazilian primary exportation legacy in order to emphasize its historical extractive condition. After this, the current exploration of natural resources in Amazonia will be seen as the maintenance of old tendencies especially because of the fact that the transportation infrastructure projects held until today in this region only favour a privileged portion of the population and territory, exactly the one which has been associated with primary exportation practices. As a fortunate example, the recent stressed economic growth in the Amazonian State of Pará will be treated in its relation with the evolution of a regional transportation network there. Finally, some conclusions and new issues will be raised.

1. Brazil's primary exportation legacy

The primary exportation activities have always been a remarkable feature of regional economies in Brazil. The exploration of redwood (Atlantic forest), sugar cane (Northeast), cotton (Maranhão), cocoa and tobacco (Bahia), spices and natural rubber (Amazonia), precious metals and stones (Minas Gerais) and coffee (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo), among others have accompanied the history of the Brazilian regional and national economic growth. All these sorts of products take part in a complex structure of natural resources exploitation that has been

developed in the national territory. Its pre-republican history is directly articulated with the European market expansion that engraves a mercantile mettle on the configuration of its territory. This is the sense of the tropical colonization that took place in Brazil. In other words, the essential economic formation of Brazil is based on the condition of primary product supplier (Furtado, 1959).

The communication system that results from this articulation with international markets is basically a straight line from the coast to inner regions where products were extracted. In Prado's (1945) opinion, all these independent paths that connect the inner lands to the ocean used to have a fragmented pattern of communications, each one without direct connections to the other and forming little autonomous systems composed by two extremities, coast and interior. These extremities are connected but they have almost distinct histories. This process comes along since the very beginning of the Brazilian colonization experiences and, despite its deep transformations through the times, it has been in a continuous movement till recent years. An example of this is the recent exploration of iron ore in the Amazonian State of Pará. However, before detailing this current experience, a brief review on primary exportations in Amazonia should be done.

The relation between economic development and the primary exportation potential in the northern Amazonian region is very well known since its colonial occupation a couple of centuries ago. Amazonia has not escaped from the exploration pattern of occupation and colonization that was part of the Brazilian history. Amazonia and Brazil as a whole were a main part of the wide oversea strategies unleashed by the European commercial companies, especially Iberians. The oldest capitalist periphery of the world economy was established in the colonies during the genesis of the modern world system. This happened under a mercantilist practice context that regarded economic growth and prosperity as a cabal exploitation of the land and its natural resources. The hegemonic potencies' incessant search for capital accumulation stimulated several innovations that made the expansionist activities feasible towards new resources over the consolidated borders. Amazonia's appropriation and populating is part of this context of new areas being discovered and considered based on the economic importance of its natural resource exploration.

The Amazonian spices were the first products considered worthwhile by colonists to put into practice the expeditionary flows. The so called "backcountry drugs" were a wide sort of species extracted from the forest which could be sold to the European elites with a high market value. The main kinds were cinnamon, clove, indigo, cocoa, seeds, sarsaparilla, roots, medicinal herbs and an amount of other flavourings, pigments and perfumes. These products were responsible for the opening of the first big exportation path through the jungle during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the course of the Amazon River. The first Portuguese fortifications were built throughout its bank and so were distributed the different religious orders that gathered the natives in order to be catechized and prepared to serve as labor force in upcoming expeditions. Besides the natives, the Portuguese militaries and the missionaries, a sort of degraders, rushers and naturalists also came along the big course of the river in search for new discoveries, opportunities and information about the new land. This was the beginning of a capitalist occupation that traced the origin of the first modern

population concentrations there. Nowadays Pará cities as Óbidos, Santarém, Almeirim and Belém are good examples of urbanized areas that have been developed by the exploration impetus across the Amazon River.

However, because of the missionary system disorganization and the new transformations in the emerging modern world system, the “backcountry drugs” exploration period was finished soon, by the end of the eighteenth century. Then, a new phase of economic stagnation fell over the north region for a long time. This lower period was only surmounted several decades later with the upcoming of a new natural resource extracted from the forest, rubber. The new world transformation unleashed by industrial capitalism also caused a big revolution in economy and social life as a whole in the Amazonia. Rubber became one of the most important raw materials to the new industries that arose in main capitalist states. It was largely used from domestic objects to tires, ships and even weapons. Because of this, the rubber trees naturally located in the forest represented the initial point of a productive chain that had its end in the big American and European industries. Thus, the most profitable stage of the productive process was located outside of the country. This means that, despite the economic and contingent growth, the north region level of income was still dependent on the oscillations of this international vegetal commodity market.

In the late nineteenth century, the income was concentrated in the hands of rubber “colonelcy”, leading to an intensive social and territorial disparity, main feature of the rubber economic summit in Brazil. Life in emerging cities like Manaus and Belém was deeply contrasted with a semi-slavery condition of work disseminated around rubber trees in the jungle. Once more, the articulation of the territory was made by the only natural way available, the Amazon River. It also means that income flows were directly established from one inner point to the outland. There was no other inside connection in order to stimulate any kind of domestic exchange that could make any kind of improvement in income distribution. The problem is that, with the increase of the international competition in the rubber market, the decline of the big cities and its colonelcy happened suddenly. After the great demand for Brazilian rubber, the Amazonian economy came across another long period of economic stagnation. Obviously, domestic economy was not prepared for a crash like that in the rubber commodity market.

During the post war period, about half a century later, a new source of natural product came up helping the regional economy to get out of stagnation. Again, the alternative for development passed through a new complex of commodity extraction and exportation. The new findings were part of a scientific exploration developed by a group of scientists working for the American multinational corporation U.S. Steel in the 1960's. This group collected and analyzed some samples of the soil in the Amazonian region of Carajás National Forest (6°S, 49°W) and discovered the existence of gold, tin, bauxite, manganese, nickel, copper and other rare minerals, besides the biggest iron ore reserve in the world. Researchers showed that, because of its remote origin, the Carajás region assembled some favorable conditions to the existence of expressive natural deposits of minerals with great economic interest. Since the early seventies, a range of investments in the exploration of these mineral resources started a new life in the Carajás region, once more supported by primary exportation practices. Rapidly, the investments conducted to the creation of a new communication line

from the interior to the coast, this time by land in the southeastern Amazonian region.

2. Current Amazonian exportation practices

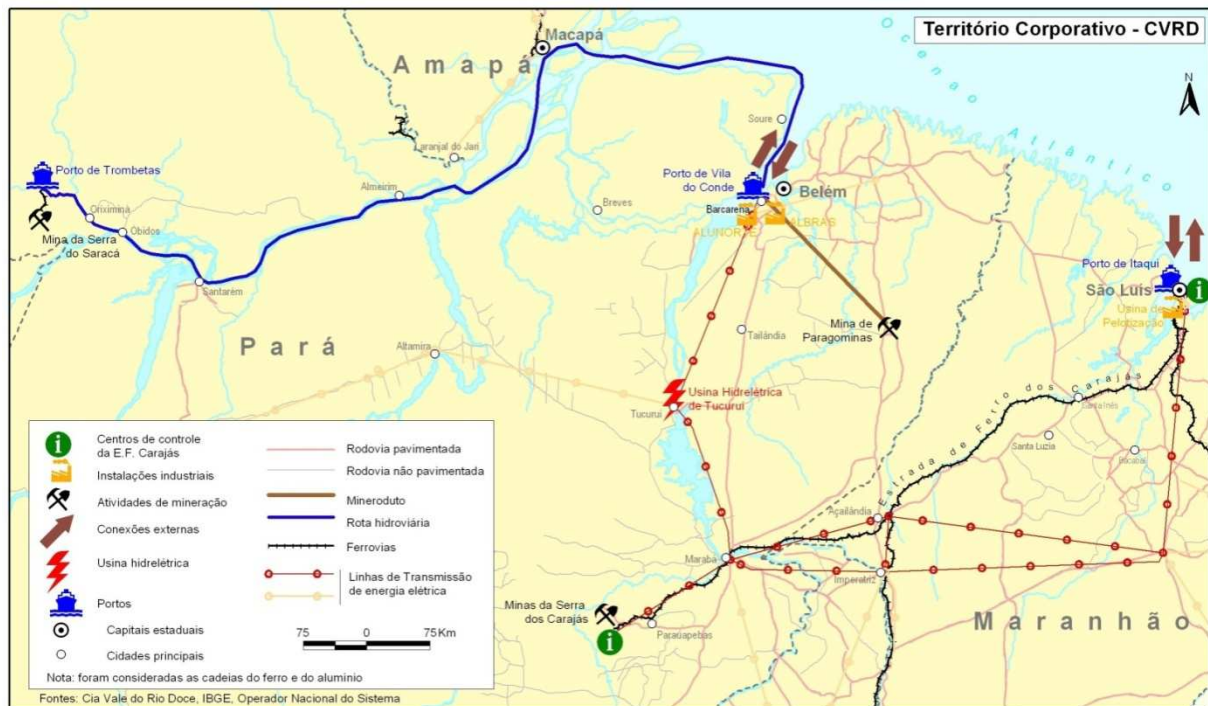
Nowadays, Pará, second biggest Brazilian State in terms of territorial extension, is the Federative Unit in which primary exportations have the most significant participation in composing GDP. Studying this case helped to understand how Brazil, almost two hundred years after its formal independency, still realizes a fragmented and disarticulated territory, especially in its northern region. Considering the Brazilian primary exportation legacy and the fact that all exportations in Pará represented 28% of the state's final income level in 2011⁴⁰, the thesis is that excessive product specialization accompanied by high levels of capital concentration still leads to an asymmetric development that creates a fragmented and disarticulated territory. The only articulation that emerges is directly turned to the principal exportation practices. As 70% of everything that goes on board from Pará is extracted in the huge mineral reserve of Carajás, the priority is to execute infrastructure transportation projects that serve the demand for products extracted there.

Therefore, primary minerals exportation is an extremely important factor to the transportation network evolution in the region. Thus, Pará has only two main articulation tracks, both establishing paths from one point in countryback to another in the coast. The oldest is the course of the Amazon River and the other is the recently constructed railway that connects the iron ore reserve in Carajás to the Ponta da Madeira Sea Port, about 900 km away. The first one is the same that served as the main path for the "countryback drugs" and rubber exportations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. The second one is much younger and created by man as part of the big military logistic projects in the 1970's to support the mineral extraction. Few years later the State Company⁴¹ responsible for the mineral activities in Carajás was privatized and the territory became a land under stressed influence of the new Joint Stock Company named Vale.

Since the beginning of the operations in the Carajás region, the Government Company at that time built a multimodal logistic complex that involved, besides the proper activities in the mine, the Tucuruí power plant, the 892 km-railway transportation path and the maritime boarding terminal in the city of São Luís. The current operation of this complex logistic system used by Vale is very illustrative of what is intended to be shown in relation to the purposes of articulation and national space configuration, as it can be seen in the following map.

⁴⁰ Data obtained from SECEX, the Brazilian Department of Planning and International Commerce Development. It is important to mention that the average of Brazil is 10%.

⁴¹ Vale do Rio Doce State Company.



Source: Becker and Stenner, 2008.

The Brazilian government not only contributed but also planned, financed and executed most part of the logistic that is nowadays in operation under the control of this privatized company. By the 1990's the government transferred to private entrepreneurs the stock control of this company that was part of the main basis of the great national logistic plan projected for Carajás.

In this context, the territory use is no longer an exclusive responsibility of the government, becoming, in great part, a space of a corporative practice. The new mentality that starts to be disseminated in terms of society articulation and its territory is much more selective and asymmetric. Nowadays, in the northern region of Brazil the logic of capital followed by capitalist corporations interested in natural resources extraction dictates the rhythm of the national territory reconfiguration. Currently, using its complex logistic structure Vale can sell its minerals at competitive prices in the world market. Becker (1991) says that,

Operating in planetary scale, big corporations try to break territorial limits of the nation states in order to get privileged positions and locations, dealing directly with local and regional portions which interests do not always coincide with national goals, originating regional structures directly articulated to the world economy. (BECKER, 1991)

In the past twenty years there was a significant increase in the value of Pará exportations, especially from 2001. While from 1991 to 2001 this increase was around 70%, going from 1.5 to 2.2 billion dollars, the following ten years registered an incredible increase of 800%, going from 2.2 to 18.3 billion dollars⁴², because of the high prices obtained by these commodities in the world market. It is evident that what is faced now is another economic growth cycle

42 Data from SECEX, the Brazilian Department of Planning and International Commerce Development, got in: <http://www.mdic.gov.br>, last visited in January 2012.

motivated by a momentary valorisation of the primary product, as it has been seen before with backcountry drugs and rubber.

Thereby, the articulation generated in the inner territory of Pará serves the logistic needs of the great economic groups that have business in that region, especially Vale. The corporative logic of this huge mining company has been responsible for the establishment of the largest part of the transportation infrastructure in Pará and consequently has been dictating the rhythm of the territorial transformation. The matter is that this way the intention of development is directly linked to the profit purposes behind the main primary exportation practices locally installed. This growth dynamics has its own plans for the territory, mixing the purpose of the company and the government duties.

Presently, about fifteen years after the privatisation of Vale, the corporative logic of the new company has been dictating the development and territorial configuration rhythm of Pará State and Amazonia as a whole. Some of the main effects of this economic development dynamics are: low productive diversification, high external economic vulnerability face to the international economy oscillations, high levels of asymmetry comparing to different sub regions, infrastructure investments conditioned to the good financial health of the main exporting company, low economic dynamism of farther places from the exportation paths used by the mining company and a deep income concentration. For the Amazonian population these effects have meant a significant increase on the social conflicts, high internal migration flows, territorial disarticulation outside main exportation routes, high demand for quality public services and consequently low quality of life in general terms.

Conclusion

The Brazilian historical fact that exporting basic products has always been the most used way for the insertion of Brazil in the world economy is no news. From the Portuguese colonization to the most recent years of the Republic, the natural potential of the Brazilian territory has always been seen as a great trump of the national policy to insert itself in a foreign context. Thus, and especially stimulated by the liberal theory of the comparative advantages, the primary products have always ended up composing a significant part of the Brazilian basket of exports.

The research that forms the basis of this paper has shown that until today the tendency to the formation of big exportation paths has been dictating the development rhythm and the territorial articulation through the new exploration areas in expansion in Brazil. From Carajás region, for example, where the main reserve of iron ore in the world is currently located, is much easier to travel 900kms by train towards the ocean using the exportation path operated by Vale than travelling the same distance towards any other direction inside the country. Firstly, it confirms the idea that until today the financing priorities are still destined to the exportation paths of primary products in detriment of building a better developed national connectivity network. Secondly, it demonstrates that even though Brazil has not been able yet to catch up with the most advanced economies, the country is better aligned to the world economy than to its own national borders.

What can be understood is that this current tendency suggests a return to the historical foreign insertion pattern, which resembles the natural resource exploration model that provided the first economic growth impulses in Brazil. This finding can be clearly seen in the new economic area in expansion towards the Amazon Forest in the northern region of the country. The conclusion reached suggests that the continuity of this tendency could be associated with the intense liberal globalization disseminated by the economic orthodoxy and absorbed by the political dominant class of the country. The search for quicker return of private investments in detriment of a true national project of development ends up favouring only a privileged portion of the population and territory. At last, this asymmetry keeps the Brazilian transportation system beneath the expectations of integration, featuring a great bottleneck to the economic and social development of the country as a whole.

The new issues that can be raised now concern the future of the natural resources exploration in Amazonia. Is it possible to use the natural resources in order to lead a structural transformation process in Brazil? Which way is best, industrial policies or free market activities? The role of political efforts and its possibilities to transform the national productive bases towards a new concept of social and economic development is the main issue that should be discussed, particularly considering the Amazonian natural resources abundance.

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INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF ARTS AND KNOWLEDGE FOR COEXISTING WITH GOLDEN EAGLES – ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES IN “HORSEBACK EAGLE-HUNTING” OF ALTAI-KAZAKH FALCONERS

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Abstract

The Altai-Kazakh society in western Mongolia has for centuries kept a unique and long-lasting tradition of horseback falconry that relies on the taming of the Golden Eagle. The art and knowledge surrounding “eagle-hunting” are regarded not only as an intangible heritage, but also as a distinctive tradition for coexisting with the Golden Eagle. This research intends to record a precise local ethnography of the Altai-Kazakh falconers. The primary focus of this paper is to describe specific local methods for taming the Golden Eagle as well as their contribution and impact on nature. The research is based on intensive anthropological fieldwork with participant observation and interviews carried out at Sagsai Village in the Bayan-Ölgii Prefecture (from 29th July 2011 to 26th January 2012). First, the paper shows a brief ethnographic description of falconers in each stage of the taming process, (1) capture, (2) taming, (3) feeding, (4) training and (5) release. Second, through theoretical considerations of these customs, it is assumable that falconer’s interventions have brought about positive effects and contributions to the avifauna of the Golden Eagles in Altai Mountains.

Keywords

Falconry – Altai-Kazakh – Mongolia

Introduction

Falconry is truly an intangible cultural heritage which can be traced back over a thousand of years. Altai-Kazakh falconers in western Mongolia only tame huge female Golden Eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos daphanea*) (Fig.1). This custom is explicitly recognized as an intangible cultural heritage. However, it is possible to say that the true meaning of this eagle-taming and hunting practice can be seen in the posterior development of a cultural domain that allows for the coexistence with the Golden Eagles. Therefore, the primary focus of this paper is to describe the art and knowledge surrounding the taming of the Golden Eagle and to



Fig. 1 Altai-Kazakh Falconer



Fig. 2 Altai Golden Eagle

describe how local falconers have contributed to, and benefited, the propagation of the Golden Eagle.

The research is based on concentrated participant observations, interviews, and my own experiences taming a Golden Eagle at Sagsai (Сарсай) Village in the Bayan-Ölgii (Bayan-Ulgii/ Баян-Өлгий) Prefecture in Mongolia (Map.1). The fieldwork took place for 5 months, extended from 29th July 2011 to 26th January 2012. In Sagsai community I stayed at the family house of a young falconer. Traditional ethnographic art and knowledge were observed in 24 informant falconers in Sagsai and its vicinity.

Through fieldwork, I describe (1) brief ethnographies of art, knowledge and tradition of Golden Eagle taming; (2) theoretical considerations concerning the taming process. Finally, I conclude that taming customs of Altai-Kazakh falconers have for centuries achieved a distinctive harmony with the Golden Eagles.

1. Capture and Release of the Golden Eagle

1.1 Sagsai Eagle-Hunters in Present

Golden Eagles in the Altai region are its biggest subdivision of eagles (Fig.2). The adult's body length ranges from 66cm to 90cm, and weights between 5~6 kg. The wing span of the adult female reaches to 234cm (Gombobaatar & Usukhjargar 2011: 55). This is because; Red Fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) and Corsac Fox (*Vulpes corsac*) is the primary target for the hunt (Fig.3). The custom of eagle-hunting has been aimed neither at "food acquisition" nor "trophy sport-hunting". Rather, in the context of the classical falconry the "in-situ" goal is that of "fox-hunting" for fur-acquisition.

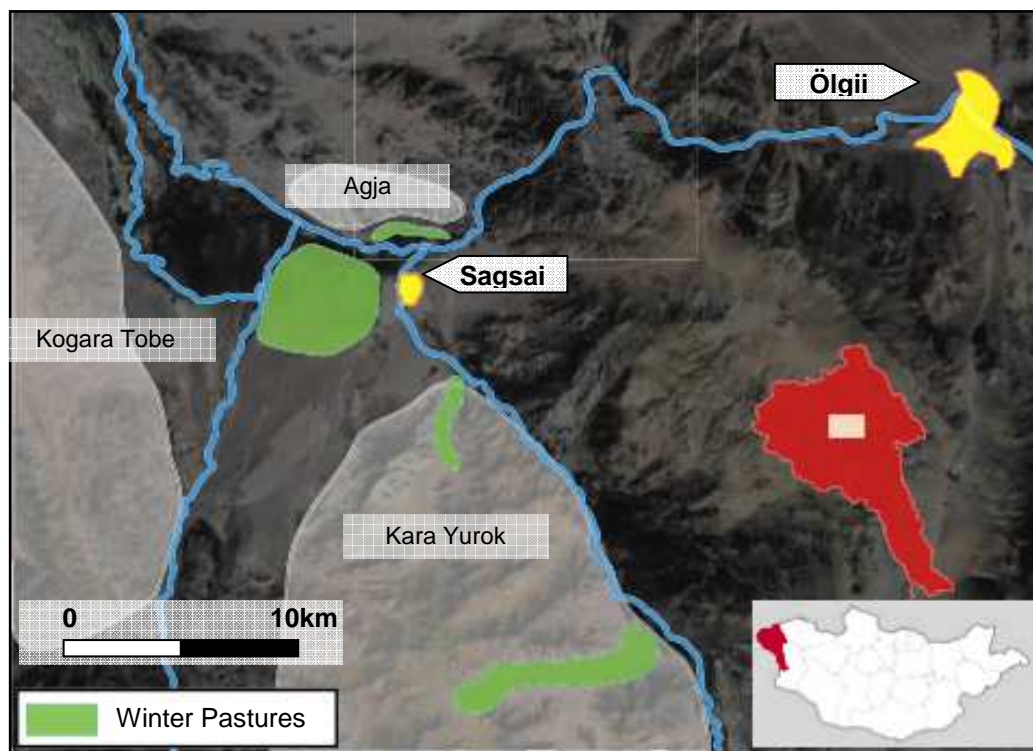
The Kazakh name of the "Golden Eagle" is "Burkut (Бүркіт)". "Falconer" is called "Burkutchu (Бүркітші)" which literally means "eagler" or "eagle-hunter." In fact, Altai-Kazakh falconers only tame female Golden Eagles, whereas a wide variety of raptors birds can be found in western Mongolia. This trend for the selection of female hunting birds was also observed in the early stages of European falconry in Germany during the 8th-11th century (Wietske 1997). In addition, in medieval British falconry, female raptors were regarded more highly than male. The female eagle's hunting ability is more than that of the male individual. Her body size is larger and stronger, and she is more insistent on chasing and seeking the prey thanks to a strong motherhood instinct for breeding her chicks.

Currently, about 400 eagle-hunters are estimated to live in the Bayan-Ölgii Prefecture (Баян-Өлгий Аймаг 2003: 3). Contemporary falconers are divided into 2 types of groups depending on their life style; one is “settler” and the other is “animal-herder”. Most of them are animal herders. In the area of my fieldwork around the Sagsai territory, there are 24 falconers (14 families) living in Sagsai village and neighboring pastures, 7 are settlers (6 families), and 17 are animal-herders (9 families). The age of these falconers varies from 16 years old to 80 years old. It is confirmed that there are 24 eagles tamed by these falconers.

1.2 Capture and Release

Traditionally, most falconers directly capture their eaglet “barapan (балапан)” from her aerie before their flying ability is fully developed. Eaglets are captured in the mid of June. 5~7 week-aged juveniles (eyas) are preferably sought due to the much gentler taming (“to man” in the falconer’s vocabulary) than young birds (haggard). Most often the biggest chick is chosen from two eaglets. Eaglets normally leave their nest after 12 weeks (Parry-Jones 2000: 14-15). It is said by local falconers that Altai Golden Eagles usually lay two eggs in every March, hatch in May and eaglets leave the nest around the 20th of July. In the vicinity of Sagsai, eagle aeries are everywhere and it is possible to find them easily in the rocky cliffs even close behind of their winter houses (Fig.4). Some young eagles (or passage eagles) are captured with a net for sale and trade.

The taming period of an eaglet usually lasts 30~45 days even when disciplined by a skilled falconer. The important thing is have the eaglet stay on the right hand and feed them there every day. Although they tame mostly chicks, falconers usually have scratches and wounds on their arms and hands. In the usual custom, the male eagle is never used for taming or hunting.



Map. 1 Sagsai and its Winter Pastures

Table. 1 Female Golden Eagle's Names

| Years | Given-Name | Actual Age | Moulting |
|-------|------------|------------|----------|
| 1st | Barapan | 0 | 0 |
| 2nd | Turneck | 1 | 1 |
| 3rd | Tas-Tulek | 2 | 2 |
| 4th | Kum-Tulek | 3 | 3 |
| 5th | Ana | 4 | 4 |
| 6th | Kana | 5 | 5 |
| 7th | Sana | 6 | 6 |
| 8th | Yu-Tulek | 7 | 7 |
| 9th | Sun-Tulek | 8 | 8 |
| 10th | Artin | 9 | 9 |
| 11th | Bartin | 10 | 10 |

* According to names of in Dayan Region

Female eagles are called "erek (елек)" with 11 given names according to her age and number of moulting (Table.1) (other variations are also mentioned by Бикумар (1994: 104-105)). However, the male eagle is only called "salcha (салца)" which means "yellowish" which has a negative connotation, namely "immature" in the local language. There are no other given names provided for the male. In the Altai-Kazakh tradition, falconers generally do not give a given-name to their eagle.

In the local tradition, 5 year old eagles are released to the wild nature again at the end of the winter season. Golden Eagles reach sexual maturity when they are 4~6 year-old and become physically strongest during the same period. The reason why the strongest eagles are intentionally released into nature is that falconers hope that they find a partner in the mountain and produce eaglets for the new generation. Therefore, 5 year old female eagles are called "ana (ана)" which means "mother" in Kazakh falconer's term. After the release of their eagles, falconers embark to find new eaglets in the mountain. In Sagsai village, pre-adult eagles, such as 2~5 year-old eagles, are the most commonly kept.

However, 5 year-old eagles would not be actually released until they were 8 year-old and some of them would be kept for even more. This is because nowadays the decrease of the frequency of hunting activities has entailed a decrease in the physical burden of eagles. In Sagsai Village, 2 of 24 falconers hold 11~12 year-old eagle.

2. Rapport-Making in Feeding and Training

2.1. Feeding

A large amount of the Golden Eagle's diet is composed of raw animal flesh in its wild state. Yet under feeding conditions, eagles come to eat many sorts of meats and flesh of domesticated animals as well as rabbit, marmot, pigeon, fox, dog in addition to cooked meat, dead flesh and carrion or offal. However, sheep and goat liver are never fed to eagles, as it is believed to be a cause of food

poisoning, although it is fed to eagles in zoo parks. Furthermore, some eagles are able to eat river fish (dace and trout) very well (Fig.5) despite Altai Golden Eagles not being really piscivorous in nature. The flesh of the fox is thought to be ideal for winter time. A Golden Eagle's dietary preference is presumably decided in accordance with the feeding environment provided by humans as well as by its parents.

However, a concern held by all falconers is that eagles' diets often overlap with those of humans. An adult eagle is fed by her falconers about 300~500g of flesh almost every day. The quantity of meat is great and amounts to up 50~70kg diet



Fig. 3 A Eagle grasping a Fox



Fig. 4 An Eyrie of Golden Eagle

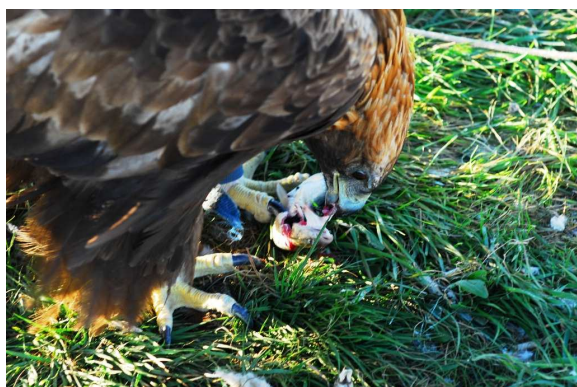


Fig. 5 Eagle Eating Dace



Fig. 6 Feeding with "Enseam Manner"

annually which is equivalent to about 3~5 sheep. This becomes a serious burden on the falconer and his family's food supply. Therefore, falconers frequently need to go hunting to shoot and trap food for feeding obligation.

In summer time, meat, blood and organs are everything that is given to eagles. Technically speaking, it is possible to accelerate feather-moulting (change of feathers) to let her weight increase. Many falconers are not really conscious of this phenomenon. However, falconers feed them 300~500g of bloody flesh once every day. It seems enough to keep their eagles healthy during the moulting period. In order to sponsor a good working relation, feeding an eagle on the arm is beneficial. An eagle then becomes comfortable eating flesh in mantling posture.

In winter time, falconers never feed them fat nor blood. Also, feeding time is set in the night time around 21:00~23:00. The feed quantity is not greatly changed. However, as a rule, meat and flesh are chopped into small pieces from

September. Besides, the fat is trimmed off thoroughly from the meat. The blood is washed off from the chopped flesh, and this flesh is then soaked in water for hours (Fig.6). This is a local practice, carried out for "enseam" purposes, as understood in European hawking and falconry.

When the eagle eats blood and fat their stomachs become full. As a result, she would not be motivated to hunt as she would be satiated. Falconers must follow these feeding regulations so that their eagles feel little satisfactions and are always feed at a minimum with bloodless meats without fat. They are also less satisfied as they have to eat by swallowing small pieces of flesh, as opposed to devouring off lumps of flesh as they do in their natural habitat. Falconers need to drive their eagles to this insatiable hunger in order to hunt. These feeding regulations make eagles seek foxes and preys insistently.

In a practical sense, fox (or corsac) flesh is thought of as the ideal food for eagles during winter. The whole body is very muscular with a low fat ratio and the amount of blood is also usually scarce. It is possible to take in approximately 4~5kg of flesh from the body of an adult fox. This amount is enough to provide feed for 10~14 days.

In the case falconers faced a shortage of feeding flesh, there are some solutions, as illustrated by a young falconer; he used the dead body of a dog bought from his neighbour for 10,000₸ (7~8 USD). However, this is not what usually happens. His family has a relatively small number of livestock and the feeding expenditure often becomes a burden. Consequently, fox-hunting is one of the obligatory conditions for eagle-ownership due to the fact that without it the feeding expenditure will become an extreme burden.

2.2. Training

Hunting training is normally started from September. In traditional times, such as 100 years ago, falconers spent every day of September and October for eagle-training until hunting activities started. Young juveniles (0 year-old) are not yet big enough. Initially falconers accelerate their growth through daily feeding. For adult and pre-adult eagles (from 1 year-old), the moulting term goes from April to the end of August. During it eagles lose their stability in flight. In addition, falconers are occupied with animal herding and mowing pasture for winter hay-stock in every July and August. For that reason, hunting and even training would not be carried out from the end of March until September.

There are some methods to eagle training. Firstly, a falconer calls their eagle from perch in standing posture. After staying their eagle on the perch, a falconer turns his back on his eagle with a hidden fox or rabbit leg "chakle (шакыру)" on his right hand (Fig.7). After walking away some meters, he shows the leg meat to bird and has her fly to his right hand. When the eagle flies onto the hand, the falconer gives it some pecking of meat before returning the eagle to the perch to repeat the same training many times. In every feeding time, falconers repeat this training persistently until the birds get into the habit as if it were a conditioned reflex. Well trained eagles eventually fly to their masters upon them turning their back without any other commands.

Secondly, lure-dragging training; a fox pelt lure "chulga (шырга)" is used for more practical training (Fig.8). A falconer some meters away from the eagle drags a fox pelt on the ground, to emulate a running fox. In the early stage of

training, especially for young eagles, a small bit of meat is hidden inside of the lure. If the eagle successfully flies to assault the lure, a falconer drags the lure on the ground for a further distance. After repeating this, lure dragging for further distances is applied. Both training methods are carried out in standing and horse-mounted position. In the local tradition, the subordination of the eagle is regarded as a token of initiation into adulthood.

It is well known that many Golden Eagles have an unpredictable temper for training, and even some old falconry books in Britain recommend against its training (Ford 1982: 113-114). However, Altai eagles are basically submissive if the master falconer has built a good rapport with them. The important thing is everyday contact with the eagle, to personally take and put the head-hood, to perch it on the hand and to feed it enough to elicit camaraderie.

3. "Coexistence" with Golden Eagles: the surmise

3.1. Capture: Survival from Siblicide (Cainism/ Fratricide)

It is presumable that Altai-Kazakh falconers have contributed to the survivability and the reduction of mortality between eaglets and pre-adult Golden Eagles for many centuries.

Falconers generally capture the biggest female eaglet (eyas) from her aerie. They may contribute to reduce the mortality caused by "Siblicide (Cainism/ Fratricide)", the brother/ sister-killing phenomenon. This is quite common in the raptor world. An elder eaglet kills its younger brothers or sisters by attacking them or pushing them out from their nest. In the case of Japanese Golden Eagles, the survival ratio of the second and third eaglet is considered less than 1~3%. In theory, an eagle couple can at most breed only one eaglet per year.

Killed chicks are often eaten by other brothers or sisters, or given to others by their parents (Tordoff 1998: 184). For example, falcons usually breed 3~4 chicks and as their feeding situation deteriorates, chicks begin to fight each other. In the case of goshawk, three-week-old chicks also fight each other in order to eat (Boal & Bacorn 1994: 748-750). A positive correlation between the aerie size and siblicide has also been pointed out (Sekiyama 2007: 22-25). However, for species such as Booted Eagle (*Hieraaetus pennatus*), there are no records of the siblicide phenomenon (Garcia Dios 2003: 261).

In any case, it is recorded that stable numbers of captive (survived) specimens who were tamed by falconers from the end of 1990's is about 400. Eagles normally reach sexual maturity when they are 4~5 years-old. Namely, 5~6 generations of them reached sexual maturity by 2010. Roughly counting back 400 released female adults and assuming them to have coupled, it is possible to say that approximately 850~1,075 (circa ± 400) adults individuals potentially survived during those 10 years (even applying a 50~75% pre-adult mortality rate).

In general, the population growth is mostly influenced by adult survival followed by pre-adult survival and then productivity of fledglings (Whitfield, Fielding,



Fig. 7 Training in Standing Posture



Fig. 8 Training with Fur-made Lure

Mcleod & Haworth 2004: 319). Nevertheless further ornithological approaches are necessary; a falconer's capture and release custom provides some contribution for eagle propagation and offers a potential reduction of the mortality rate of pre-adult Golden Eagles by means of reducing the death of eaglets from siblicide.

3.2 Release: Becoming a Skillful Hunter in Wild Life

It is highly likely that eagles trained by falconers will become skilful hunters even after going back to nature. Falconers release their manned eagles to the nature when they reach 5 years old, now mostly releasing them when they are 8 years-old.

The hunting frequency of the Altai Golden Eagle is unclear. For instance, the wild goshawks in Sweden have a hunting cycle in which predation is done every 4~5 hours on average (Kenward 1982: 69-80). But falconers probably have their eagles hunt more often than they do in their wild state. Fox predatory is also not frequently happen in nature. Fox is not considered as an ordinary hunting target of wild Golden Eagles (Hock 1952). Most of eagle's diets consist of lagomorphs, birds and small mammals in general. As to the situation in eastern Kazakhstan, their major consumption is considered to be rodents such as susliks (*Citellus*) and gerbils (*Rhombomybs*) (Sánchez-Zapata et al. 2003: 71-77).

However, in old times, most falconers very frequently went fox-hunting every 2~3 days and some went every day. Through training and actual fox-hunting, tamed eagle's hunting ability is highly developed and strengthened during life with falconers. They obtain a matured hunting ability. This resulted in an efficient capability to provide stable feeding to their eaglets.

The dietary attitudes of released eagles include even scavenging. I never heard that the Golden Eagle was predatory to domesticated animals. However, goat or sheep wool was observed at their aeries. It is presumable that eagles also eat for daily consumptions dead domesticated animals or those killed by wolves. Thus, the released eagle's hunting ability and dietary attitude has become versatile. Their food availability range is much wider than wild-bred females or male eagles.

3.3 Manning: Acquisition of "Non Humanphobic" Characteristics in Wild Life

Once accustomed ("manned") to human society, such eagles become "non humanphobic" even after their flight back to nature. Released Golden Eagles in the Altai Mountains do not fear human activity as much as others eagles. Golden Eagles are undoubtedly threatened worldwide mostly because of human interference into its habitat; such a kind of large-sized eagles is indisputably more sensitive to human influences. Their density is negatively related to crop field, road construction and power lines (Sánchez-Zapata et al. 2003: 71-77).

However, Golden Eagles will not be frightened and will often share their territory with humans. This is seen in the nesting behavior of local Golden Eagles that have built their aeries very close to villages and even behind of a herder's house. During my summer research in 2011, I easily found 3 aeries around Sagsai pasture territory. 2 aeries are situated 6.4km south from village. One of them is only 100m south and the other is 160m west from herder's house. In addition, a nest found in the north parts is just 90m behind a winter house.

These nests were potentially built by once tamed eagles in seeing the fact that many human-used commodities such as groves, wire, bags, and belts were found inside them. This shows possibility that local Golden Eagles have gained "non-humanphobic" characteristics and results in their "acquaintance/adaptation" with local herders in the Sagsai vicinity.

Consequently, Altai-Kazakh falconers and Golden Eagles might have been sharing their living spheres with each other for hundreds of years. Therefore, it may be assumed in a sense that falconers are unconsciously contributing to developing the hunting abilities of female eagles.

Conclusion

This paper presented brief ethnographic aspects of the rapport-building process between Altai-Kazakh falconers and Golden Eagles. Their custom provides enough clues to establish a "cultural background" for coexistence with the Golden Eagle and other birds of prey in the contemporary world.

Theoretically speaking, falconer's intervention to Golden Eagles in each stage of (1) capture, (2) taming, (3) feeding, (4) training and (5) release correspond to the (1) survival of eaglets, (2) gaining of non-humanphobic characteristics, (3) wide availability of dietary preferences, (4) process of becoming a skilled hunter, and (5) propagation of eagles. Falconers have provided conscious/ unconscious contributions to the propagation of the Golden Eagle. There are even possibilities to rise up individuals in the Altai mountainous region. In this sense, discontinuation of livestock husbandry will have a serious impact on the maintenance of traditional falconry (Soma 2007, 2008).

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LE SEXISME "CACHÉ" DES PROFESSEURS D'UNIVERSITÉ EN TURQUIE

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Résumé

De nos jours, comme le discours contre la discrimination est hégémonique suite au long combat féministe, de peur d'être considéré(e) comme sexiste voire anti-démocratique, on ne peut pas soutenir ouvertement le patriarcat. Pourtant, on peut observer une contradiction entre les attitudes antisexistes déclarées et les pratiques sexistes observées. Bien que cet écart soit implicite à toute catégorie sociale, la catégorie des professeurs pourraient en fournir un exemple frappant. En Turquie, alors que les universitaires féminins forment le tiers des cadres, le sexisme perdure dans la vie universitaire. Ceci signifie que l'hypothèse selon laquelle le sexisme diminue au fur et à mesure que le niveau intellectuel s'élève peut s'avérer invalide.

Mots clés

Sexisme – professeurs d'université – contradictions entre les attitudes et pratiques

Introduction

Le système patriarcal persiste dans le temps et dans l'espace. Le fait que la femme est le "deuxième sexe" n'a pas perdu sa qualité d'universalité même s'il a changé de visage historiquement au gré des demandes socio-économiques. Le patriarcat légal, légitime et appliqué de la société traditionnelle s'est transformé en un patriarcat latent et sournois. L'idéal de l'égalité que l'on souhaite réaliser par référence à l'homme ne supprime pas le système patriarcal, au contraire, les valeurs propres des hommes sont sujets à l'exaltation comme étant les valeurs uniques représentant toute l'humanité et indépendantes des sexes. Aussi notre recherche a pour but de déchiffrer le sexisme caché qui continue de persévérer dans les attitudes. Cette recherche vise à montrer que les individus qui se disent égalitaires ne le sont pas mentalement et ne sont pas conscients de ce fait et « mentent » à cause de la pression sociale. Notre hypothèse essentielle est : malgré les déclarations contraires, le sexisme continue, dans une large mesure,

dans les mentalités et de ce fait, les pratiques quotidiennes sont également sexistes.

1. Un aperçu du sexisme contemporain

Historiquement parlant, la division sexuelle du travail est organisée dans le cadre de l'antagonisme entre l'espace public et l'espace privé. La société traditionnelle reflète le mode de vie des nécessités de la structure rurale où la famille est l'unité de production fondamentale. Avec la révolution industrielle, la famille cesse d'être l'unité de production ; la scolarisation liée à la main-d'œuvre qualifiée requise par l'industrie donne la possibilité aux femmes de participer à l'espace public sur le même pied d'égalité que les hommes. Pourtant, la qualité patriarcale de la société traditionnelle ne se dissout pas pendant ce processus de modernisation imposé par la révolution industrielle.

L'une des composantes importantes de la transformation socio-économique réalisée lors du passage de la société traditionnelle à la société industrielle est le mouvement de la première vague féministe qui s'est nourrie du discours fondé sur le triptyque liberté-égalité-fraternité de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme. La première vague féministe ainsi que le processus de modernisation qui l'inspire ne remet pas en cause la virilité ; son souci est de revendiquer des droits égaux pour la femme. Ainsi, sans en être conscient, on valorise l'homme. L'égalité que l'on souhaite réaliser par référence à l'homme ne supprime pas le système patriarcal, au contraire, les valeurs propres des hommes sont sujets à l'exaltation comme étant les valeurs uniques représentant toute l'humanité.

La critique de cette modernité qui « libère » les femmes selon l'idéal-type de l'homme correspond à la mise sur agenda politique et scientifique de la pluralité des réalités liée aux débats sur les identités dans lesquels se trouve également la deuxième vague du féminisme. L'énoncé de Simone de Beauvoir, en 1949, qui dit que « l'on ne naît pas femme, on le devient » et la déception causée par les manques de l'égalité juridique provoquent l'apparition de la problématique du genre. Interpréter le statut des femmes avec cette problématique revient à remettre en cause la structure culturelle patriarcale ainsi que la socialisation sexuée. Les codes culturels patriarcaux se constituent de l'exaltation des valeurs attribuées à l'homme et crée de cette façon une hiérarchie entre les sexes. Il s'agit d'un climat culturel où l'on affirme toutes les caractéristiques attribuées à l'homme et on dévalorise toutes les caractéristiques attribuées à la femme et où l'on légitime la dépendance de la femme par rapport à l'homme. La critique féministe vise à déconstruire cette relation de pouvoir dans tous les domaines.

Ce gain de conscience scientifique, psychologique et social ne se réalise pas seulement chez les féministes et les femmes mais il se diffuse à toute l'opinion publique et contribue à la délégitimation du discours patriarcal au moins au niveau de l'attitude affichée. Pourtant, le dilemme entre les attitudes déclarées ou les attitudes que l'on se sent forcé à déclarer et les pratiques quotidiennes continue à être expérimenté par tout le monde. Le volet d'attitude antisexiste de ce conflit d'attitude et de comportement est exposé d'une façon maladroitement chez un citoyen ordinaire ; il est exposé d'une façon plus subtile dans les milieux socioculturels favorisés.

Jusqu'aux années 1960, la plupart des psychologues sociaux partageaient de tout cœur l'idée selon laquelle connaître les attitudes d'un individu, c'est pouvoir

prédire ses actes. Déjà en 1928 LaPiere, à partir des recherches sur les préjugés racistes, déduit : « il n'y a pas de lien entre ce que les gens disent qu'ils vont faire et comment ils agissent réellement dans une situation spécifique. » (LaPiere 1928 : 102-111) Dans les années 1960, Festinger concluait qu'un changement dans les attitudes des gens n'entraînait pas toujours un changement de leur comportement. (Myers & Lamarche 1992 : 41) Les influences sociales et culturelles sont des facteurs essentiels à expliquer le décalage entre l'attitude et le comportement.

Les valeurs nouvelles issues de la critique de la modernité, en engendrant un souci de ne pas se montrer antidémocratique (à ne pas confondre avec ne pas être antidémocratique !) ont commencé à créer une pression sociale qui empêche de soutenir ouvertement la société patriarcale. Pourtant, comme nous l'avons montré plus haut, la déclaration des attitudes antisexistes ne signifie pas que l'attitude essentielle de l'individu est antisexiste. L'individu peut exprimer une telle attitude avec le souci d'être comme il faut à cause de la pression sociale. Cette déclaration peut ne pas être un « mensonge ». L'individu qui est coincé entre ce qui est et ce qui doit être peut se « mentir » à lui-même. Le constat de l'attitude « réelle » est presque impossible, l'attitude étant un processus mental. On peut se référer soit à l'avis déclaré de l'individu sur le sujet soit à sa pratique concernant le sujet pour comprendre son attitude ; on ne peut pas accéder à l'attitude directement.

On peut constater que partout, sans distinction de sexe et de milieu social, malgré le fait que l'antisexisme perd du terrain en ce qui concerne les discours et les attitudes, le patriarcalisme continue dans les pratiques, les actes et les comportements. Ce « sexisme » paraît contradictoire avec l'antisexisme déclaré.

La Turquie qui a expérimenté son processus de modernisation avec l'occidentalisation depuis le 19^{ème} siècle, a consolidé son Etat-nation et s'est transformée d'une société rurale à une société urbaine et industrielle au 20^{ème} siècle et ce fait a influencé les attitudes et comportements relatifs aux rapports du genre. Dans le processus de la modernisation de la Turquie qui s'est déroulé essentiellement au 19^{ème} et au 20^{ème} siècle, on a voulu égaliser complètement l'homme et la femme et dans les années 1980 qui correspond *grosso modo* à la deuxième vague féministe en Turquie, dans le cadre de la critique de la modernité, on a remis en cause le sexisme en mettant en avant l'idée de l'égalité malgré les différences. On peut avancer que les relations féodales continuent toujours à exister en Turquie, pourtant le sexisme a perdu sa légitimité sociale dans une large mesure. (Yaraman 2007 : 16-19) Même si les élites socioculturelles notamment, avancent des attitudes presque militantes antisexistes, dans la vie quotidienne, ces mêmes élites gardent leur qualité patriarcale. Sur ce point, on peut mentionner la recherche de Yaraman sur les dirigeantes des organisations de femmes : ces dirigeantes, malgré le fait qu'elles encouragent les masses à lutter contre le sexisme, font partie de celles qui contribuent à la reproduction du patriarcat. (Yaraman 2010 : 698-704)

Le système patriarcal/sexiste qui continue à préserver son hégémonie dans le sens gramscien du terme, est reproduit dans les universités qui sont les instruments idéologiques de l'Etat par les professeurs qui sont les intellectuels organiques, malgré le fait qu'ils déclarent le contraire. Cet antagonisme d'attitude et de comportement est l'une des causes psychologiques des pratiques

patriarcales et pour la lutte contre le sexisme, il est important de déchiffrer cet antagonisme d'un point de vue sociologique et individuel.

2. Méthode

Dans notre étude de terrain réalisée en partant de ce constat, l'échantillon est formé de 257 professeurs dans la première partie de la recherche et de 100 professeurs dans la deuxième partie de celle-ci, l'échantillon est réparti entre 21 universités turques . On a fait une enquête en deux étapes à partir de cet échantillon. Dans la première enquête, à côté des questions démographiques, on a posé une devinette⁴³ développée par Yaraman déchiffrant les schèmes cognitifs sexistes et dont la validité a été testée a figuré.(Yaraman 2002 :98-105)

La situation de "mise en examen" qui peut être causée par la devinette et qui peut engendrer l'inquiétude et l'empêchement chez l'interlocuteur a été écartée par l'ajout de deux devinettes sans rapport avec la devinette principale mais les réponses ne sont évidemment pas considérées dans l'évaluation. Comme il s'agit d'une enquête faite à l'échelle de la Turquie, on a voulu écarter les difficultés liées aux transports par des appels téléphoniques. L'envoi des questions sous forme d'enquête n'a pas été retenu en pensant au fait que, pour ne pas avoir honte, les personnes intéressées pouvaient demander les réponses à d'autres personnes. De ce fait, pour pouvoir capter les bonnes réponses, les questions ne sont pas laissées entre les mains des interlocuteurs. La deuxième enquête a été formulée pour être appliquée au même échantillon. Sur ce point, on a voulu interroger les attitudes et comportements des interlocuteurs en ce qui concerne l'égalité des sexes. Comme il n'y avait pas d'inconvénient de laisser les questions entre les mains des interlocuteurs cette fois, on a procédé par l'envoi des questionnaires par la voie électronique. On a envoyé l'enquête aux mêmes professeurs. Mais ceux qui répondent à la deuxième étape sont restés au nombre de 22 et comme ce chiffre n'est pas considéré comme suffisant pour la recherche, on a établi un échantillon supplémentaire qui a les mêmes caractéristiques et on a assuré que le nombre de répondants à la deuxième enquête fut 100 (dont 25 sont des femmes et 75 sont des hommes.)

La raison pour laquelle on a fait deux enquêtes est d'empêcher d'avoir la bonne réponse par effet d'association, avec l'existence des questions qui mesurent le degré du sexisme au même endroit que la devinette. L'évaluation statistique montre la différence quantitative entre la réponse à la première enquête qui déchiffre le sexisme caché non déclaré et la deuxième qui met en lumière les réponses des questions sur les attitudes et comportements relatives au sexisme.

A la première enquête ont participé 257 personnes dont la moyenne d'âge est 51,8+_7,2. Le groupe de travail se composait de 39 femmes et 155 hommes dont la moyenne d'âge est 51,9+_7,1 enfin le groupe de contrôle⁴⁴ se composait de 13 femmes et de 47 hommes dont la moyenne d'âge est 51,4+_7,4. ⁴⁵

⁴³ Un père et son fils sont partis faire une promenade en automobile. Ils sont impliqués dans un accident. Le père est tué, le fils est dans un état critique. On amène le fils à l'hôpital ; et on le prépare pour une opération. Le médecin arrive, voit le patient et s'exclame : « Je ne peux pas l'opérer ; c'est mon fils ! » Comment cela se peut-il ? La réponse éventuelle est : « C'est la mère le chirurgien. »

⁴⁴ Nous avons construit ce groupe de contrôle à qui l'on a fait subir l'enquête en inversant la devinette essentielle, pour pouvoir éliminer les autres facteurs, comme le niveau

3. Discours égalitaire, pratiques sexistes?

L'idée de l'égalité malgré les différences ou la parité qui sont nées de la critique du processus de modernisation a engendré une prise de conscience dans l'opinion publique et ceci a provoqué la délégitimation de discours patriarcal au moins au niveau de l'attitude affichée. Dans le contexte de la Turquie, l'égalitarisme contre le sexisme est répandu parmi les couches qui ont profité du processus de modernisation en faisant des études supérieures. Parmi les professeurs d'université qui font partie de ces couches supérieures et qui reproduisent l'ordre en assurant l'enseignement correspondant, seul 4 % déclarent que les femmes et les hommes ne sont pas égaux. 91,3% des femmes réclament que les femmes et les hommes sont égaux et le pourcentage des hommes soutenant cet énoncé est 87%. 8.7% des femmes pensent que les femmes sont supérieures aux hommes ; il n'y a pas d'homme qui pense à la supériorité d'un sexe sur l'autre.

Malgré le fait que la question "la femme et l'homme sont-ils égaux ?" reçoit une réponse positive, la devinette que nous avons mentionnée plus haut n'a pas trouvé de réponse correcte dans la plupart du temps, le taux de ceux qui n'ont pas su que la mère est le médecin est de 85,3%; pourtant dans le groupe de contrôle, le taux de réponses correctes, c'est-à-dire le taux d'individus qui ont su que le père est le médecin est de 41,5%. Pourtant, le taux des personnes interrogées qui ont mentionné la profession de médecine parmi les trois métiers les plus convenables pour les hommes (25%) est presque identique à celui des personnes interrogées qui ont mentionné que la profession de médecine figure parmi les trois métiers les plus convenables pour les femmes (24%). En partant de ces résultats, on ne décèle pas un sexisme manifeste concernant les attitudes relatives à la médecine. Malgré le fait que l'on ne connaît pas exactement le nombre de médecins qui sont des femmes, on peut estimer quand même qu'environ 25 à 30 % des médecins sont des femmes.

Malgré le fait que le taux de ceux qui pensent que les hommes et les femmes ne sont pas égaux est de 4% chez les professeurs interrogés, la conscience des individus formée par la socialisation sexiste dont l'origine se trouve dans la division sexuelle du travail, résiste à la transformation. La structure cognitive qui organise la pensée est formée par les schèmes sociaux et le genre est un thème important pour ces formations. Les schèmes sont des éléments abstraits et ils apparaissent comme des préconceptions pour le processus cognitif. Ils influencent l'information qu'on ne voit pas dans les situations sociales, comme la

d'intelligence, qui pourraient influencer les réponses: Une mère et son fils sont partis faire une promenade en automobile. Ils sont impliqués dans un accident. La mère est tuée, le fils est dans un état critique. On amène le fils à l'hôpital ; et on le prépare pour une opération. Le médecin arrive, voit le patient et s'exclame : « Je ne peux pas l'opérer ; c'est mon fils ! » Comment cela se peut-il ? La réponse éventuelle est : « C'est le père le chirurgien. »

⁴⁵ Le pourcentage des professeurs femmes en Turquie est 23%. Ce pourcentage est 18.7% aux Etats-Unis (source : Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, (directrice des études féminines et des études de genre de l'Université Koç, İstanbul), *Türkiye'de Kadının Konumu* (le Statut de La Femme en Turquie), *Koç Üniversitesi Kule Dergisi*, no.31, le 31 janvier 2012. Ce pourcentage est 18.5 % en France (en 2007-2008) (source : http://media.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/file/statistiques/34/4/ni0825_36344.pdf, consulté le 24.04.2012).

devinette de notre questionnaire. On compte sur les schèmes préexistants quand on rencontre une nouvelle information. Quand on procède à une information par les schèmes, on fait moins attention aux détails de la situation. On se comporte en conformité aux schèmes qui nous influencent. Ainsi, comme les résultats de notre enquête le montrent, étant le système central de schèmes sociaux, le genre influence à la fois la pensée et l'action. (Howard & Holander 1996 :68-89) Bien que les attitudes explicites changent plus rapidement, la pensée « enracinée » et donc les comportements résistent au changement.

3.1. Les tâches ménagères

Les tâches ménagères, avec leurs prolongements divers, forment l'un des domaines les plus importants qui cause l'inégalité. Les tâches ménagères continuent à avoir une dimension sexiste malgré l'existence des discours égalitaristes. On ne peut pas penser au travail des femmes en le séparant des tâches ménagères parce que les femmes, contrairement à la plupart des hommes, endossent un double travail : le travail professionnel et les tâches ménagères réalisées gratuitement.

Comme le montre François de Singly, notamment dans les couples, les femmes sont plus désavantagées que les hommes en ce qui concerne les obligations de la vie du couple. (de Singly 1987) La famille, avec les obligations des tâches ménagères qu'elle implique, constitue un obstacle pour les femmes tandis que les hommes, contrairement aux femmes, mobilisent la famille pour leur réussite professionnelle en s'appuyant sur le travail des femmes pour la reproduction de la vie. (Kaufmann 1992) L'idée et la pratique qui considèrent que les tâches ménagères sont une occupation des femmes est loin d'être égalitaire. La participation des femmes au travail salarié n'a pas changé les rapports dans les ménages. Ceci constitue un très grave problème concernant l'égalité des sexes à cause de l'effet de chaîne.

Notre recherche confirme ce fait. La division du travail traditionnelle et sexuée continue à exister malgré les déclarations d'attitudes égalitaristes : 69.4 % des professeurs pensent que la garde de l'enfant doit être prioritairement assurée par la femme. 45.8% des professeurs féminins défendent cette position contre 77% des professeurs masculins. Le mythe de maternité qui est l'argument principal de l'« emprisonnement » des femmes dans l'espace privé et qui est une caractéristique des rapports de production précapitalistes et traditionnelle est poursuivi par le capitalisme industriel qui a rendu possible l'accès des femmes modernes à l'espace public dans le souci de créer une main-d'œuvre bon marché. Les concepts de la « violence symbolique » de Bourdieu ou celui du « sexisme bienveillant »⁴⁶ de Glick et Fiske peuvent nous aider à comprendre ce phénomène de reproduction volontaire de la division sexuelle du travail en valorisant la femme par le biais de la maternité.

L'« exaltation » du rôle de mère de la femme limite son existence dans l'espace public d'une façon physique et mentale. Les femmes transfèrent

⁴⁶ Ces deux concepts renvoient aux codes sexistes qui sont reproduits par les femmes victimes de ces codes d'une façon volontaire et inconsciente. P.Bourdieu; **Domination Masculine**, Seuil, Paris, 1998 et P.Glick&S.T.Fiske; "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory:Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism", **Journal of Personality and Social Psychology**, 1996, Vol.:70, No:3, pp. 491-512.

« volontairement » le pouvoir aux hommes dans les domaines économique et politique en s'attachant à leur rôle de mère, domaine dans lequel elles sont soi-disant « supérieures » aux hommes. A cause de ce « don » de maternité, les femmes font face aux problèmes de ne pas avoir le même salaire que les hommes à travail équivalent, à ne pas pouvoir avancer dans leur travail et à être sous-représentées dans le domaine politique. En outre, les femmes qui ne sont pas des mères parce qu'elles ont choisi les réussites publiques se sentent mal à l'aise ou bien c'est la société qui les met mal à l'aise, et ce, du fait qu'elles n'ont pas pu accomplir leur mission prioritaire d'être mère. La division sexuelle du travail est répandue également chez les professeurs : le taux des femmes qui déclarent assurer la plupart des tâches ménagères est de 56% tandis que ce taux est de 18.7% chez les hommes. Lorsque les hommes font des tâches ménagères, on remarque que les tâches qu'ils font sont plutôt des tâches « masculines ». Comme le confirme notre recherche également, les tâches relatives à la réparation qui constituent la partie « masculine » des tâches ménagères sont réalisées dans la plupart du temps par les hommes. Dans notre recherche, le taux des hommes qui disent assurer la plupart des tâches de réparation est de 72% tandis que chez les femmes, ce taux se situe à 8%.

3.2. Le travail et la représentation politique

La participation des femmes au travail rémunéré, étant un acquis de la modernité, reçoit un soutien important. Bien que l'on attende des femmes qu'elles fassent la majorité des tâches ménagères et que l'on ne devine pas la réponse de la devinette, 60.6% des professeurs souhaitent que les femmes travaillent dans toutes les circonstances. Ce taux est de 87.5% chez les femmes. Lorsqu'ils sont interrogés sur les niveaux de revenus des individus formant le couple, seul 24.5% des professeurs ont déclaré que le revenu de l'homme doit être supérieur à celui de la femme. La violence symbolique/ le sexisme bienveillant tend à s'effacer devant les nécessités de la vie.⁴⁷ Ceci montre également que le modèle de travailleur qui était spécifiquement masculin tandis que le travail féminin salarié était considéré soumis aux nécessités familiales ponctuelles est en voie de disparition.(Guionnet & Neveu 2009 :161)

En ce qui concerne la représentation politique, en Turquie, les femmes ont obtenu leur droit de vote en 1934 et en 1935, le pourcentage des députées est environ de 5%. Actuellement, le pourcentage des députées dans le parlement est de 14,38%; pourtant, les professeurs qui ont mentionné que le pourcentage des femmes dans le parlement doit être au moins 50% est de 46.9%. Chez les femmes, ce taux s'élève à 83.3%. Actuellement, dans le cabinet des ministres, parmi les 26 ministres, il n'y a qu'une seule femme.⁴⁸ Mais 38.8% des professeurs (72% des femmes) souhaitent qu'au moins la moitié des ministres soit composée par les femmes. (Yaraman 2006 : 14-22) Malgré des déclarations égalitaristes, les élites politiques ne sont pas enclins à prendre des mesures qui garantiront une plus grande participation des femmes.

⁴⁷ Les salaires des professeurs sont environ de 2000 Euros.

⁴⁸ Dans le cabinet des ministres, il y a cinq professeurs masculins et pas de professeur féminin.

Conclusion

Notre recherche qui a pour but de déchiffrer le sexisme caché a montré que le sexisme continue de déterminer nos attitudes malgré les déclarations opposées. Les individus qui se disent égalitaires ne le sont pas mentalement et à cause de la pression sociale démocratique et sans en être conscients, ils tendent à mentir. Ceci est vrai aussi dans les milieux universitaires où les professeurs contribuent à reproduire le système patriarcal et sexiste. Cette recherche vise à montrer que l'égalité des sexes est loin d'être réalisée même dans les milieux socioculturels élevés.

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PREOCCUPATION WITH WEIGHT AND EATING PATTERNS OF YOUNG CYPRIOT AND LEBANESE WOMEN: A CROSS CULTURAL COMPARISON STUDY

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Abstract

This comparative cross-cultural study explores the prevalence of preoccupation with weight and eating patterns among young women in Cyprus and Lebanon. Data was collected by means of self-administered questionnaires to 200 women from each culture. To gather the data for this study, the Dutch Eating Behavior Scale was used for the assessment of eating behaviors. Body Mass Index (BMI) and Weight directed behavior were also calculated. The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient was used to determine whether there is a linear relationship between students' BMI and eating behaviors. Findings suggested that with respect to culture and pre-occupation with weight, Cypriot women are more pre-occupied with their weight. However, Lebanese women received higher emotional and external eating scores. In addition, a positive relationship between Body Mass Index, restrained and emotional eating was found in both cultures. These findings infer that Cypriot women possibly develop pathological eating patterns as a result of this pre-occupation with their weight, while Lebanese women's problematic eating is the result of responding to emotional and external cues. Understanding the underlying causes of eating deviations could lead to better prevention efforts in two cultures where the rise in eating disturbances has been alarming.

Keywords

Weight directed behaviour- eating patterns- cross-cultural study

Introduction

Eating in response to environmental cues has been strongly implicated as a prominent aspect of eating behaviour which is influenced both by learning and experience. It has been proposed that individual differences in susceptibility to weight gain and problematic eating behaviors may be partly explained by a variability in the response to these cues (Lindeman and Stark, 2001). Different theories have described these responses which can be classified as individual eating patterns.

Psychosomatic theory describes 'emotional eating' as the consumption of food which occurs when an individual responds to arousal states such as anger, fear, or anxiety by excessive eating (e.g. Polivy, Herman, & McFarlane, 1994; van

Strien, Frijters, Bergers, & Defares, 1986). Emotional eating has been linked with various forms of overeating such as obesity and bulimic tendencies (e.g. Eldredge & Agras, 1996; van Strien, 1996). Ogden (1993) argued that emotional eating might be a consequence of the general psychological vulnerability related to eating disorder psychopathology. Despite indications that emotional eating is problematic, empirical documentation of this phenomenon is not as extensive (Nquyen-Rodriguez, Unger, & Spruizt-Metz, 2009).

Externality theory focuses on 'external eating' which is eating in response to food-related stimuli regardless of the internal state of hunger or satiety (Schachter, Goldman, & Gordon, 1968). 'External eating' is considered to be the outcome of a personality disposition. Both theories view an individual's misperception of his/her internal state prior to eating as a contributing factor in the development of obesity (Robbins & Fray, 1980).

Finally, individuals may react to being overweight by consciously restricting their food intake regardless of whether they are emotional or external eaters (Rodin, 1978). Restrained eating is defined as a persistent fixation on dieting and weight, and the amount of food eaten is restricted for the purpose of weight loss or maintenance. In the theory of Restrained Eating, both 'external' and 'emotional eating' are considered to be consequences of intense dieting (Polivy & Herman, 1976). Thus, dieting may act as a stressor which causes emotional responsiveness and eating is a distraction from one's worries. Empirical investigations of these patterns in different cultural groups have been limited.

A cross-sectional study in the Netherlands assessed overweight-level and overeating in relation to dietary restraint, emotional eating and external eating, using the Dutch Eating Behaviour Questionnaire (DEBQ). It was found that an individual's final level of body weight may possibly be determined more by people's tendency toward emotional eating than by people's sensitivity to environmental food cues.

Nolan, Halperin, and Geliebter (2010) studied the responses of 232 male and female participants using the Emotional Appetite Questionnaire (EMAQ) which includes ratings of tendency to eat in response to both positive and negative emotions and situations. Emotional eating significantly correlated with BMI. As BMI increased so did reported negative emotional and situational eating whereas as BMI decreased, reported positive emotional and situational eating increased.

Therefore, empirical investigations indicate that emotional eating is an implicating factor in body weight and BMI either by moderating the relationship between overconsumption and overweight or leading to higher BMI while external eating appears to have a less stronger influence on overeating and body weight.

In exploring emotional eating in different cultures, Luomala, Sirieix, and Tahir (2009) found that Finns react to negative emotional experiences by excessive, indulgent, and luxurious food treats and to positive emotions with solitary eating patterns. In contrast, Pakistani students associate a social and everyday eating activity to both positive and negative emotions. As for French students, they associate social and luxurious eating patterns with positive emotions, and, in the case of negative emotions, they prefer solitary eating activities. The authors suggested that the role culture plays in emotional eating activities is difficult to establish and is probably more subtle and indirect in emotional eating.

Other studies have also investigated the relationship between culture, emotional patterns and eating behaviours. Hawks et al. (2003) found that women in the US were more likely to initiate eating for emotional reasons, while women in Japan were more likely to eat for environmental reasons. These results suggest that national differences in the cultural environment may impact individual motivations for eating.

The aim of the present study was to examine weight-directed behaviour and eating behaviours as they relate to BMI in a European country, Cyprus and a Middle Eastern country, Lebanon. These two countries share many similarities, including their small size, the emphasis on extended family, the central role of religion, the importance of food in family life, and the prominent portrayal of western ideals in the way of living. Both Lebanese and Cypriot societies are exposed to rapid social changes including, changing roles for women (e.g., Silverstein & Perlick, 1995) and Western media, with its portrayals of thin female bodies (e.g. Becker, 2004; Levine & Smolak, 1998). Through the modernization process, these societies have lost some of the social norms that have traditionally protected women from weight concerns. As excessive weight concerns appear to be a proximal risk factor for maladaptive dieting behaviours and the development of eating disorders, it is important to uncover the factors that contribute to the development of these attitudes in young girls and adult women.

Reports of eating disturbances in the Middle East were rare in the past (Abdollahi & Mann, 2001; Afifi-Soweid, Najem Kteily, & Shediak-Rizkallah, 2002; Al-Adawi et al., 2002.) However, this has changed and reports of risky eating behaviors have appeared in Middle Eastern countries. Afifi-Soweid, Najem Kteily, and Shediak-Rizkallah (2002) found alarming rates of preoccupation with weight and disordered eating behaviours in Lebanese female students just beginning their college education. BMI was found to significantly influence eating and weight directed behaviours. They suggested that this population may be more at risk than that of Saudi Arabia, because of its longer westernization history; therefore, the seeming higher risk for students in Lebanon could possibly support—the “westernization” hypothesis.

Also, Tamim et al. (2006) investigated risky weight control measures (vomiting or pills) among university students in Lebanon and assessed their relation to demographic, scholastic, and health risk behavioral characteristics. Among participating students, 6.1% reported practicing risky weight control measures. Analysis indicated that females constituted the majority of adolescents using risky weight control measures (74%), as they have been acculturated into the dominant philosophy in which a strong emphasis is placed on thinness, and because of the media influence on remodeling their life styles.

Cyprus has witnessed a noticeable rise in eating disorders during the last few years. Katsounari (2009) conducted a cross-cultural study investigating self-esteem and depression in relation to eating disordered attitudes in Cyprus and Great Britain. Results revealed higher rates of eating disordered attitudes and depressive tendencies in Cypriot women. According to Katsounari, there are many reasons which could explain these findings including cultural, climate-linked, economic factors and changes in body shape values.

The current cross-cultural study was designed to examine pre-occupation with weight and eating behaviours (emotional, external, restrained eating) and their relationship to BMI in two distinct cultural contexts. Given the general eating disorder vulnerability in the Cypriot culture and the mediational factors which promote the risk for body dissatisfaction among Cypriot women (Katsounari, 2009), it was hypothesized that Cypriot women are more likely to engage in weight-directed behaviors as well as emotional, external and restraint eating compared to Lebanese women.

1. Methods

1.1. Participants

The study included 398 female undergraduate students aged 17-25 from the humanities and health sciences. The Lebanese volunteers (N=198) were recruited from two campuses of the Lebanese American University, one in the center of Beirut and one in the North (Byblos), and had a mean age of 19.6 years (SD=1.48). The Cypriot participants (N=200) were recruited from Frederick University in Nicosia and had a mean age of 20.03 years (SD=1.86). These ages reflect the typical age at which students attend university in these two countries.

Lebanese and Cypriot participants completed the questionnaires after class. The two groups represented universally distinct cultures since all the Lebanese and Cypriot participants were born and raised in Lebanon and Cyprus respectively.

The present study was approved by the Ethics Committee of Frederick University and the Committee on Human Subjects in Research (CHSR) of the Lebanese American University. Students were informed of the goal of the study, that participation was voluntary and that information would be kept confidential.

1.2. Measures

Measures included the BMI and the Dutch Eating Behavior Questionnaire (DEBQ) for Assessment of Restrained, Emotional, and External Eating Behavior (van Strien, Frijters, Bergers & Defares, 1986a).

Weight directed behavior was determined by four statements indicating whether participants were trying to lose weight, gain weight, maintain their weight or not trying to do anything about their weight.

Body Mass Index (BMI; weight in kg/height in metres²) was calculated using self-reported height and weight.

The Dutch Eating Behaviour Scale (DEBQ; van Strien, Frijters, Bergers, & Defares, 1986) was developed originally in Dutch as a measure of several aspects of eating behavior. It consists of restrained (10 items), emotional (13 items), and external (10 items) eating subscales. The response options range from 1 (never) to 5 (very often), and scores are averaged across subscales with higher scores indicating high levels of restrained, emotional, or external eating. The DEBQ has shown excellent factorial validity and satisfactory concurrent and discriminative validity. For emotional eating behavior, two dimensions were studied: one dealing with eating in response to diffuse emotions (e.g. eating

when feeling lonely, idle or bored) and the other with eating in response to clearly labeled emotions (e.g., eating in response to anger or irritation) (van Strien, Frijters, Bergers, & Defares, 1986).

Instruments that have been previously validated in both populations would have been preferable, but was not available at the time of the study. A formal back translation was used to ensure the accuracy of the Greek translation used in the Cyprus sample. Because Lebanese American University largely operates in English, most participants were comfortable completing the materials in English.

1.3 Statistical analysis

Data obtained were statistically analysed with the SPSS program for Windows, version 18.0 (SPSS, Inc., 2009). Descriptive data are presented as means \pm SEM. Analyses of frequencies were performed and contrasted for the two populations in the study. The Pearson's Correlation Statistical Test was carried out in order to establish whether there was a relationship between each of the three eating behaviours (external eating, emotional eating and restrained eating), BMI and eating behaviour in each group. Independent samples t-tests were carried out to confirm whether the difference between the means of the two samples was statistically significant. Tests applied were two-tailed and statistical significance was defined as $P < 0.05$.

2. Results

2.1. Demographics

The mean weight of the Lebanese participants was 57.8 ± 0.6 kg and 59.1 ± 0.8 kg for the Cypriots. The mean for BMI in the two samples was 21 ± 0.2 and 22 ± 0.29 kg/m² respectively. It should be noted that both samples fell toward the lower end of the range (20–25) considered normal (Garrow & Webster, 1985).

2.2. Weight-directed behavior

With respect to weight-directed behaviour, a higher percentage of Cypriot students was trying to lose weight (56.0 % versus 45.5% for the Lebanese sample), trying to gain weight (4.5% and 3.2% respectively), and trying to maintain weight (26% and 17.6% respectively). On the contrary, a higher number of Lebanese students were not trying to modify their weight (33.7% versus 13.5% respectively).

2.3. Eating behaviors

Regarding the eating behaviour patterns in the two cultures (Table 1), the Lebanese sample had a significantly higher emotional eating score ($M = 37.8$, $SEM = 0.98$, $p < 0.001$) than the Cypriot sample ($M = 32.3$, $SEM = 0.97$). Also, the Lebanese sample had a significantly higher external eating score ($M = 33.3$, $SEM = 0.51$, $p = 0.001$) than the Cypriot sample ($M = 30.8$, $SEM = 0.51$). There was no significant difference in the restraint eating scores of the two cultures.

Table.1- Scores on eating behaviours in Lebanon and Cyprus. Data is expressed at mean \pm SEM. * $p < 0.05$

| | Lebanon | Cyprus |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Restrained Eating score | 29.20 ± .71 | 28.14 ± .67 |
| Emotional Eating score | 37.76 ± .98* | 32.27 ± .97 |
| External Eating score | 33.33 ± .51* | 30.83 ± .51 |

Furthermore, in the Lebanese sample a significant positive relationship was found between BMI and restraint eating ($r = .293$, $p < 0.001$), BMI and emotional eating ($r = .237$, $p = 0.01$), restraint eating and emotional eating ($r = .218$, $p = 0.02$), external eating score and emotional eating score ($r = .321$, $p < 0.001$).

In the Cypriot sample, a significant positive relationship was found between BMI and restraint eating score ($r = .297$, $p < 0.001$), BMI and emotional eating score ($r = .200$, $p = 0.005$), restraint and emotional eating scores ($r = .189$, $p = 0.007$), external and emotional eating scores ($r = .309$, $p < 0.001$). In addition, there was a significant negative relationship between restraint and external eating scores ($r = -.195$, $p = 0.006$).

3. Discussion

With respect to culture and weight-directed behavior, Cypriot females are more pre-occupied with their weight either by trying to gain, lose or maintain their weight. This finding confirms the prediction that Cypriot females would be more concerned with efforts to control their weight. The presence of high concern with weight in this population is related to unique sociocultural elements which determine this kind of behaviour and more particularly to the impact of Western influences on the way young Cypriots perceive the ideal female figure. Other significant sociocultural influences include the influence of media, the impact of a fast paced, modernized living and the stigmatization of obesity in this culture (Katsounari, 2009). Ruggiero (2001a) suggests that Italy, like other Mediterranean countries, has imported Western cultural standards and modern social habits while at the same time attempting to retain its traditional values. The psychological demands resulting from cultural change influences young women's concern about their weight and subsequently their attitudes towards food and eating.

In terms of cultural differences in eating behaviors, our results indicated that Lebanese female students are more likely to respond to either diffuse or clearly labeled emotional states (such as anger, anxiety, fear) by excessive eating (Bruch, 1961, 1964; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1957) or as a response to external food-related stimuli regardless of the internal state of hunger or satiety. This finding is in disagreement with the second hypothesis of the study. It appears that Lebanese females are more vulnerable than Cypriot females to engage in eating behaviors which were shown to be predictive of problematic eating (van Strien, Frijters, Bergers, & Defares, 1986). Therefore, the aetiology of eating disturbances in these two cultures maybe different. Specifically, Cypriot female students have a higher intention of modifying their body weight while Lebanese female students more regularly engage in emotional and external eating.

In both samples, there was a significant positive relationship between BMI, restraint and emotional eating. These findings are in agreement with expectations from related literature and confirm Nolan, Halperin, & Geliebter's (2010) findings. Specifically, both emotional and restraint eating have been linked with various forms of overeating such as binge eating and bulimic tendencies. These forms of overeating are not only contributing factors for obesity but also have connections with anorexia and bulimia nervosa.

In addition, a significant positive relationship was found between emotional and external eating in both cultures, a finding which is in agreement with theory which views these types of eating as related. Therefore, according to our findings and related research, individuals who respond to environmental cues by eating are more likely to respond to emotions by overeating as well.

Also, in both samples, there was a significant positive relationship between restraint and emotional eating. Previous studies found moderate to low associations between these two patterns of eating (Knuiman-Hijl, & Defares, 1985; van Strien, 1996; van Strien, Frijters, Bergers, & Defares, 1986; van Strien, Frijters, Roosen, Waller & Osman, 1998). Our findings agree with Herman and Polivy's viewpoint that emotional eating is more closely related to dieting (often related to overeating) than to overeating per se (e.g. Herman, Polivy, Pliner, Threlkeld, & Munic, 1978).

Conclusion

Female students in both cultures show a high concern for their weight. However, Cypriot females indicate a higher concern with efforts to control their weight. In contrast, Lebanese females engage in emotional and eating behaviors more often, behaviors which have been linked with eating disorder psychopathology. Findings indicate that external and emotional eating styles are related, therefore, young women in these two cultures may show vulnerability towards both eating styles. In addition, intense dieting efforts may lead to relapses and particularly, increase the likelihood to eat in response to emotional cues.

To conclude, this study suggests that a general vulnerability towards eating disorder psychopathology exists in both cultural groups, but the pathways which reinforce this vulnerability differ. In Cypriot young women, a higher pre-occupation with weight, which is mediated by sociocultural agents specific to this culture, is the contributing factor to eating disorder psychopathology. In Lebanese young women, a higher tendency towards emotional and external eating may create a higher vulnerability towards dysfunctional eating. It is important to take into consideration this aetiology when planning prevention and intervention programs in these two cultures. In the Lebanese culture, it appears more pertinent to explore eating response patterns to various emotional states and as a result of environmental cues and attempt to replace them with more adaptive ones. In the Cypriot culture, the pathways which cause the pressure to maintain one's ideal weight should be investigated and address healthier ways of viewing one's body and weight.

Results of this study must be interpreted with caution and taking into consideration the differences between the two populations under study. First, many women in these cultures are reluctant to admit to eating behaviours which may be viewed by others as dysfunctional because of the stigma associated with

eating pathology. Second, a student sample may reflect traits that are characteristics of the student population, but cannot be generalized to a larger or general population.

In conclusion, this cross-cultural study explores eating behaviors and patterns of preoccupation with weight in Lebanese and Cypriot females. Results indicate that eating behavior patterns present an important issue in these two cultures and can help us to better understand the rise of eating pathology in these two cultures. However, more research is needed to explore the etiology of the dominant eating behaviors in each culture.

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