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Editorial

Dear Colleagues and Readers

I am so glad to present Volume 4, Issue 4 of the *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* (IJHCS). As usual, the journal included many articles dealing with multidisciplinary issues written by authors from different countries and different disciplinary affiliations. Such contributions enormously enriched the content and output of the IJHCS.

I sincerely thank our respected authors for selecting the IJHCS, our reviewers for reviewing the selected articles for this issue and the Administrative Board for its contribution to helping the IJHCS achieve this success. Next issue will be published in June 2018 and your valuable contributions are welcome till 20 May 2018.

With Best Regards,

Dr. Hassen Zriba
Editor-in-Chief

The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies (IJHCS)

Psychological and Academic Problems Encountering Female Talented Participants at Saudi Universities: Northern Border University as a Case Study

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to investigate the psychological and academic issues encountered by female talented students at Computer Sciences and Community College at NBU- Rafha' Branch. This is an attempt to suggest suitable solutions to the psychological problems (i.e., alienation, superficiality, fluctuations in morale and academic ones (i.e., boredom and insufficient educational resources). The population of the study consists of (60) students whereas the instrument is a questionnaire. The results of the study indicate that alienation, superficiality, fluctuations in morale (low vs. high) show high effect on students' performances; however, boredom, insufficient educational resources meet the students' needs. The study concludes that there are lack of workshops, field trips, high ambition and low productivity among the students due to the persisting problems.

Keywords: psychological, academic, talented, alienation, fluctuations, boredom.

Introduction

The focus on talented students started officially in 1969 in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia when the cabinet of ministers approved the educational policy document in the kingdom. In it, the document stated the importance of considering the needs of talented students in the Saudi educational institutions. However, the real attention focused on talented female students in 1997 at the time "Talented and Gifted Female Students Care" program was launched and put into action in the second semester of the academic year 1998. Believing in the importance of this students population and the need for meeting their needs, the educational policy in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia issued a document in 1390 Hijri in which there is a need to identify talented students to care and provide them with the necessary means and tools to develop their talents within public school environment by developing special education programs for them (Al Sorour,2014)

As students encountered environmental problems and frustrations, they may lose the talent aptitude; to shed light on some of the problems and clarify ways to control and manage them; the researchers draw the attention of educators to provide the optimal educational environment, improve services and develop teachers' skills while interacting with talented students. It is due to the fact that they need a help to invest their potentials which are of great importance in performance. Lack of psychological care for high achieving students shown by not creating an optimal environment that may maintain talented students' well- being may also lead to tarnish their potentials.

In the literature, Abu Zaitoun (2014) examined the nature of the differences between talented students with high emotional intelligent levels and those ones with low emotional intelligent; to get good result, a sample of (350) students have been selected randomly from King Abdulla II Schools for Excellence. The study aimed to account for the variance in emotional intelligence level by using the scores obtained on the counseling needs estimation checklist. The results indicated that there was a statistical and significant difference at the value of ($\alpha=0.05$) in favor of the talented students with low emotional intelligent levels. At the time, the study showed a negative statistically significant correlation between emotional intelligence score and counseling needs. However, the social relationships domain and physical needs domain accounted for (0.17%) of the total variance in both emotional intelligence.

Al Aseeri (2014) conducted a study to investigate the most prevalent problems facing gifted students from their teachers in light of some demographic variables, namely, gender, qualification and teaching experience. The sample of the study included (111) gifted teachers and gifted male and female students at Aseer District in the academic year (2012/ 2013). For data collection, a questionnaire containing (4) domains was developed including self, family, school and social problems. Validity and reliability for the instrument were obtained. Results of the study found moderate level of self, family, school and social problems from gifted teacher' perception.

However, there were no statistical and significant differences found in gifted students, teachers' genders, qualifications and teaching experiences.

Al Ghamdi (2014) attempted to identify levels of relationship among female gifted students at Al Baha Region- KSA in so far as social and academic adjustment are concerned. The random sample was (89) and out of 41 students who were at seventh graders and 48 were first secondary school grade. For data collection, social adjustment and academic scales were administrated to the sample students. The results of the study indicated that level of social adjustment among female gifted students at KSA was moderate for both seventh and first secondary school grade. The means scores for the first secondary school grade students was ($M=3.47-69.4\%$). It was also found that the level of academic adjustment among female gifted students at KSA was moderate for both seventh and first secondary school grade.

Al Hattab (2014) examined the effect of coping problems among a sample of gifted students on their class attention during classes. The sample of the study consisted of (30) male and female gifted students selected from some of the Jordanian public schools. The sampled subjects were assigned into two groups based on their school counseling records. The first group of the study consisted of (15) male and female gifted students reporting coping problems while the second group totaled (15) male and female students with no history of coping problems. To achieve the aim of the study, the elimination for visual attention scale was employed which is one of the instruments that require the subject examined to focus his/ her attention for a specific time period to identify the required response. This instrument was adapted to the Arab culture by Blass (2014) examined the relationship between social and emotional problems experiences by gifted students and their underachievement. The study used the descriptive analytical design based on a comprehensive review of previous published articles in some of the psychological and educational databases. Results of the study indicated that most previous studied reported has a negative statistically significant correlation between the prevalence of social and emotional problems among gifted students from one hand and level of underachievement from another. Results of the study reported that emotional and social problems experienced by gifted student result from environmental factors such family pressures, school and community.

Rollin and Cross (2014) attempted to identify the psychological changes among American gifted students selected from one residential institution for gifted students. The sample of the study consisted of (40) gifted students selected using simple random sampling. To achieve the objective of the study, the Youth Psychological Outcomes Scale was employed for data collection from the sampled subjects. Results of the study found that the most significant changes among gifted students were psychological changes, self - experiences, academic adjustments, social adjustments and social comparisons. The gifted students experience certain academic and behavioral changes to adapt with the various school challenges.

Jarwan (2015) classified gifted and talented students problems to three major categories: (i) cognitive problems such as the inadequacy of instructional curriculum in meeting the needs of this population, talented and gifted students underachievement (ii) emotional problems such as oversensitivity, emotional intensity and perfectionism and (iii) career problems such as career decision making difficulties, determining career goals difficulties and the desire to change majors.

In short, most of previous studies reported different problems which were experienced by gifted students. Nonetheless, these studies agreed on the fact that gifted students are exposed to psychological stress resulting from the psychological, academic and social problems that they encounter in their life course (Renzulli, 2000).

Problem of the Study

The gifted and talented female students encounter in the university study- as it is true for average students- to several behavioral, social, academic, health and psychological problems. The university pays much effort on providing health, educational, psychological, career counseling and social services for this students' population. The burden of identifying giftedness and talent among the female gifted and talented students lies on the shoulders of the university, particularly, while attempting their field of giftedness and talent. As the researcher sensed the need for determining the problems encountered by female gifted and talented students in the university as to develop appropriate strategies to address them as the university can provide effective strategies to address their needs and also meet their needs to ensure the best social, cognitive and psychological development. The study is an attempt to identify the most prevalent psychological (i.e., alienation, superficiality, fluctuations in morale) and academic problems (i.e., boredom and insufficient educational resources.) encountered by female gifted and talented students and suggest some strategies to address them.

Objectives and Questions of the Study

The objectives of the study are attempts to find strategies to overcome the problems faced the talented female students of the sample; therefore, the following questions are posited.

What are the most prevalent psychological problems that encounter the sample from their point of view?

What are the most prevalent academic problems that encounter the sample from their point of view?

Methods of Study

Sample of Study

The sample of study consists of (60) female gifted students from the community college, pharmacy, computer sciences female students at NBU at Saudi Arabia- Rafhaa branch for the academic year 2014/2015.

Instrument of the Study

The instrument of the study is a questionnaire measuring psychological and academic problems that encounter the sample. The questionnaire consists of the final format of (34) items and the scores are registered up to 4 point as per Likert scale.

Validity of the Instrument

To test the validity of using internal consistency for the questionnaire domains, Pearson coefficients are calculated to measure the relationship between the individual items of the questionnaire and the total score on each of the items' domain and to obtain the correlations between the individual domains and the total instrument.

Results and Discussion

To achieve the objectives of the study, SPSS statistical software is used for data analysis.

Means, standard deviations are used to identify the responses of subjects on each of the instrument items.

Pearson Correlations are calculated to check the internal consistency of the instrument.

Cronbach alpha is calculated to test the reliability of the instrument.

First: Results pertaining to the first question of the study stating "What are the most prevalent psychological problems encountered by female gifted and talented students at Northern Borders University at Saudi Arabia from their perceptions?"

To answer the question, namely, (what are the most prevalent psychological problems that encounter the sample from their point of view?), means and standard deviations are calculated in Table (1).

Table (1):Psychological problems: Items of Means and Standard Deviations

No.	Problem	M	SD's
1	I worry when thinking about my future after graduation.	1.98	1.032
2	The university does not appreciate my giftedness and high achieving.	1.88	1.073
3	I feel that I am not psychologically comfortable in the university.	1.78	1.032
4	I feel ungifted.	1.59	0.989
5	My family is ignorant with respect the meaning of giftedness and the importance of its development.	1.46	1.061
6	My family does not pay attention to the psychological problems I experience.	1.42	1.065
7	I find it difficult to express my opinions and feelings.	1.62	1.128
8	I don't feel motivated to finish the projects and	1.49	1.156

	activities assigned to me.		
9	I feel very bored when being at the university.	2.73	1.078
10	My ideas are not taken seriously by the educators and university administration.	2.38	0.945
11	I find it very difficult to adapt with the social situations.	1.38	1.135
12	It's hard for me to make new friendships with my colleagues.	2.55	1.021
13	Some educators are annoyed by the question I ask in class.	1.32	1.032
14	I don't receive the suitable support I need.	1.25	0.951
15	I feel alienated and superficial	3.59	0.975
16	I am easily irritated.	2.61	1.04
17	My morale swings between high and low.	3.41	1.116

Table (1) shows the means and standard deviations responses of the sample. It is obvious that the item (15) stating " I feel alienated and superficial" receives the highest mean (M=3.59) while the item (17) stating "My morale swings between high and low" has the lowest mean (M=3.41). This result indicates that the participants experience such problems with high levels. As for the item (9) stating " I feel very bored when being at the university" scores the means of (2.73). Item (16) stating "I am easily irritated" had a means of (2.03). Item (12) "It's hard for me to make new friendships with my colleagues" scores the means of (2.61). Item (10) stating " My ideas are not taken seriously by the educators and university administration" has the means of (2.38). These scores indicate that female gifted students experience these problems with moderate levels. As for the remaining items, the means scores in the range of (1.25) and (1.98) that indicates the low levels of these problems among the sample.

To sum up, the results related to the problems of alienation, superficiality feelings and fluctuations in morale (high vs. low) are classified the first in the listed psychological problems experienced by gifted female students. These results are consistent with the results of the relevant literature that is examining the same psychological problems faced the gifted students. As contrasted to the current sample, it experiences oversensitivity towards criticism and this may explains the fact that the female gifted students are sensitive in nature and may focus on criticism that make him/ her feel alienated and superficial. Furthermore, the sample's motivation and morale among report have sometimes low levels and in other situations high levels. This is due to the fact that the variations of the responses are visible at both the university and the community levels. Some of the society members understand the talented students' abilities and support them; thus, this fact raises their self-confidence and promotes their morale. Other society members do not understand the gifted students' abilities; therefore, they show frustrating responses towards them; the responses make them feel frustrated and disappointed. As for the academic issue,

namely, boredom the results show that the participants exaggerate in remembering their mistakes; they hold high burdens and tensions in various social situations. With respect to their abilities to establish friendships with other colleagues, gifted students lack the necessary social skills that may help them socially interact with other students. Not taking the sample's ideas into consideration, the university educators and administration have been ranked the second prevalent problem in aggravation to the population of the study; this result is consistent with the sentimental psychological state of the gifted student experiencing frustration in the university which is visible in their feeling of boredom, anger, neurotic and may have not the necessary ability to control them. Sometimes, the participants avoid showing their giftedness and talent to be able to adapt with their average peers to be socially accepted by them. This fact is explained if someone is confident when average students do not understand the nature of giftedness and has negative attitudes towards gifted ones. As for the psychological problems relating to family and future anxiety, previous literature confirmed that family is the most important social support resource for gifted students, and it can understand them. Future anxiety is not a significant problem for gifted students as per the previous studies. They confirmed that the gifted students report high levels of self-confidence and self esteem and they believe in their personal abilities. This result is also consistent with the previous studies investigating the psychological problems among gifted students as they reported several of them; they include frustration and lack of trust in others; such problems are significantly related to low morale levels and oversensitivity by others as they feel unconfident in some social situations.

Second: Results pertaining to the second question, namely, «What are the most prevalent academic problems that encounter the sample from their point of view? are shown in the applications of the means and standard deviation for female gifted students are shown in (Table 2).

Table (2):Academic problems domain: Items' Means and Standard Deviations

No.	Problem	M	SD's
1	The university is inappropriate scientific environment for gifted and high achieving students.	1.83	1.11
2	There are no educational resources for gifted students.	3.53	0.952
3	Low levels of using instructional and learning technology	1.43	0.96
4	Lack of instructional aides for gifted students.	3.47	0.714
5	Absence of field trips for gifted students.	3.23	0.813
6	The works and projects presented by gifted students are not handled suitably.	1.23	0.633
7	The instructional situations created in university do not motivate creativity.	2.21	0.806

8	Educators do not encourage scientific fiction ideas while learning scientific topics.	2.81	1.102
9	Educators in the university lack the necessary competencies.	1.17	0.842
10	Lack of resources and references relating to the learning material.	2.35	0.961
11	Lack of electronic resources and databases.	1.29	0.905
12	The tests employed in the university assess only memorization abilities.	1.74	1.188
13	Teaching courses is only theoretical.	2.63	1.117
14	Lack of encouragement for scientific research.	1.68	1.125
15	Lack of seminars and workshops to enable expressing personal ideas.	3.35	1.1
16	I feel bored of the traditional instructional curricula used for instruction in the university.	3.73	1.12
17	I am very ambitious but suffer from low productivity in academic work.	3.19	1.231

Table (2) shows the academic problems domain by applying the means and standard deviations. Item (16) stating " I feel bored of the traditional instructional curricula used for instruction in the university" reports the highest means (M=3.73); while, the item (2) stating " There are no educational resources for gifted students" and item (4) stating " Lack of instructional aides for gifted students" report the of means of (3.47). The item (15) stating " Lack of seminars and workshops to enable expressing personal ideas" scores the means of (3.35); while, the item (5) stating "Absence of field trips for gifted students" scores the means of (M=3.23). The item (17) stating " I am very ambitious but suffer from low productivity in academic work" has the means of (M=3.19). These scores confirms that participants experience academic problems with high levels. As for the item (8) stating " Educators do not encourage scientific fiction ideas while learning scientific topics", the means is (M=2.81); however, the item (13) stating" Teaching courses is only theoretical", has the means of (2.63). The item (10) stating " Lack of resources and references relating to the learning material" has the means of (2.35). As for the item (7) stating " The instructional situations created in university do not motivate creativity", it scores the means of (2.21). These results indicate that gifted female students experience moderate levels of academic problems. It can also be noted that scored means for the remaining items range between (1.83) and (1.17). This variation shows that students experience the academic problems in the items with low levels.

To sum up; the problems related to gifted students in so far as boredom, lack of learning resources, lack of instructional aides, low levels of seminars and workshops, lack of field trips, high levels of ambition and low academic work

productivity are regarded the most prevalent and significant academic problems. However, problems related to low encouragement by the educators to suggest scientific fiction ideas for the gifted female student while studying scientific topics in class by using theoretical instructional methods, to lack of adequate resources related to the course content, and to lack of encouragement by the university educators in the learning situation for creativity and innovation are regarded less effective problems reported by the gifted female students. These results are consistent with the previous studies indicating the inability of traditional curriculum in meeting gifted students needs which lead to their boredom in the average class. This may lead to some tension in the relationship between the gifted student and the educator who, in turn, they do not fully understand the characteristics of the sample students; this tension leads to maladjustment of the sample; this result is confirmed in the current study.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the abovementioned conclusions, the researchers recommend the followings:

- To develop and design special programs targeting gifted female students and to create extended educational activities able to meet their needs.
- To organize workshops and educational programs for educators; the workshops and the educational programs must address the social, psychological and academic characteristics in addition to the gifted students' needs that must be fully handled in the learning situations.
- To pay more attention to the curricula that are employed in the instructions of the gifted students and to provide adequate databases that are able to meet their needs.

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From extra-linguistic pragmatic competence to more complex competences among children at an early age

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Abstract

The present research finds it interesting to study first language acquisition at an early age from a pragmatic perspective. This research is based on a longitudinal study of the speech of three Tunisian children from the age of one year to the age of four. Consequently, the different competences and skills acquired throughout this period are classified into different types. Then, a comparison is done to see the time of their manifestations in the speech of each child. Subsequently, these utterances are analyzed in relation to their context. The findings reveal that pragmatic competence starts to appear at an extra-linguistic level from the age of one year, and it starts to appear at a linguistic level from the age of two. This shows that, even before the age of three, children are aware of different aspects of pragmatic competence. It is also shown that at the age of two, children are only able to produce different pragmatic strategies but comprehension is delayed to the age of three. Besides, the present research highlights the tight relationship between the early acquisition of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence and the early appearance of more complex skills and competences later.

Keywords: pragmatic competence, language acquisition pragmatic strategies.

It is only recently that child-language studies have been interested in the study of pragmatic competence among children. Pragmatic competence is concerned with language use; it is related to the ability to produce and understand language in context. Therefore, pragmatic competence is related to the speaker's skill in using language in order to achieve different goals as it is related to the receiver's ability to go beyond form in order to understand the hidden messages of language (Bialystok 1993: 43). In this context, extra-linguistic pragmatic competence can be similarly defined but the difference lies in the focus on acts like facial expression and intonation made by children. As to the cognitive competence, Willis (1996) says that "Everyday cognitive competence is defined as the ability to perform adequately those cognitively complex tasks considered essential for living on one's own in this society" (<https://www.ethicshare.org/node/594517>). Moreover, Timothy (2010) defines cognitive competence as "the degree of success in functioning within a specific environment" (<http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/1990-97439-018>). Cognitive competence has always been linked with one's ability to think and to reason about his actions and his speech while living in a social community.

Clark (2003) says that "children are eager to communicate" (Clark 2003: 330), but the question is related to the way they communicate. Therefore, it is interesting to know the age when children can master pragmatic and cognitive competences, and when children are able to master some skills after reaching a given cognitive development while speaking their first language. Divergent attitudes towards these issues have emerged.

Researchers have a variety of views towards the age in which children are ready to master different competences whether linguistic, communicative, pragmatic or cognitive. Moreover, disagreement arises upon the age in which children start to make cognitive development and to master different cognitive skills. In what follows, views about the appearance of pragmatic competence are presented.

1. Views towards the appearance of pragmatic competence

Researchers have a variety of views towards the age in which children start to acquire pragmatic competence at both levels comprehension and production. These views range from denial to recognition of the presence of pragmatic competence.

1.1. Views denying the presence of pragmatic competence before five years of age

Different researchers have attempted to show that children's speech is most of the time literal at both levels; understanding and production. They argue that, at an early age, children are not aware of the different pragmatic rules as they can only acquire linguistic competence and some aspects of communicative competence.

Clark and Clark (1977), state that "the speech of young children learning their first language at earliest stages is mostly confined to assertions and requests" (Clark and Clark 1977 as cited in Bialystok 1993:44). They admit that these requests used by children just to fulfill a variety of daily needs like eating and drinking.

Papafragou (2006) also argues against children's early awareness of the different pragmatic strategies. He indicates that an "early work on number of phenomena from speech acts to figurative languages showed that very young communicators were egocentric, oblivious to others interlocutors' intentions, and hence insensitive to subtle pragmatic aspects of interpretation" (Papafragou 2006: 722-723). These views show that very young communicators are not able to take speakers' hidden intentions into consideration as they show children's inability to convey hidden messages. In this respect, a variety of researchers assert the idea that children learn these pragmatic skills during the school years.

Different researchers assert that it is only at the age of five or even later that children are able to acquire some aspects of pragmatic competence. Others admit that pragmatic competence does not grow naturally among children but it is learnt at school.

Becker (1982) admits that it is only at the age of five that children will produce more complex requests (Becker 1982: 46). In this context, he says that "the development of children's use of requests and the variety of direct and indirect means for expressing those requests is an impressive achievement in the preschool years" (Bialystok 1993: 46). It is a clear admission that these pragmatic skills are learnt in the school. Apart from these views, views acknowledging the presence of pragmatic competence from the age of three are presented.

1. 2. Views showing the presence of pragmatic competence among three-year olds

A variety of studies start to acknowledge the presence of some aspects of pragmatic competence before the age of five. Therefore, they admit three and four year olds' ability to use different pragmatic strategies at both levels production and comprehension.

Shatz and Closkey (1984) explain that pragmatic competence is obvious in the speech of the preschool children. They maintain that preschool children can make the difference between the varieties of types of speech acts. They explain that "young children's responses are not governed by a literal interpretation" (Shatz and Closkey 1984 as cited in Bialystock 1993: 45).

A more recent view, supported by Clark (2003) shows that two-year-olds' ability to understand speakers' implied messages is but an interpretation of the current context and it does not spring from a genuine understanding of speakers' intentions (Clark 2003:307). In fact, Clark acknowledges two year olds' ability to respond appropriately to speakers' intentions.

Different studies admit that the presence of pragmatic competence starts to emerge in the speech of children from the age of three. In this context, Boubakri (2010) studies two groups of three and four year old Tunisian children. The experiment comes up with a variety of results. It shows that the majority of children show awareness of pragmatic competence. It is also shown that children can produce and understand pragmatic strategies. In this respect, Boubakri (2010) says that "children are not only keen to convey their intentions in an implicit way but they are also able to unveil the implicit intentions of others" (Boubakri 2010: 72). This study has also shown that at the age of three and four children are more proficient in producing pragmatic strategies than understanding them. Besides, Boubakri (2010) states that

“the development of pragmatic competence takes place in parallel with children’s biological, psychological and cognitive development. Consequently, Pragmatic competence matures gradually among children and it does not wait for them to reach a certain age or to enter school in order to learn it and this research proves that from the age of three, children have the ability to use and understand different pragmatic strategies” (Boubakri 2010: 76). It is also important to say that at the age of three it is easier for children to produce pragmatic strategies than understanding them.

As a conclusion, the classified literature shows a variety of divergent views towards children’s early acquisition of pragmatic competence. Some researchers show a total denial of the existence of this competence before the age of five. Others start to acknowledge the occurrence of pragmatic competence in the speech of three and four year olds. Besides, the present research is a continuation of a previous research which argues that pragmatic competence is only acquired at the age of three (Boubakri 2010). In this context, the present research finds it interesting to study the presence of pragmatic competence in the speech of children who are younger than three years. Therefore, extra-linguistic pragmatic competence, linguistic pragmatic competence and more complex competences can be studied. In what follows, views about more complex competences are presented.

2. Views towards the emergence of cognitive development and different cognitive skills

Cognitive development is defined as “the process whereby a child’s understanding of the world changes as a function of age and experience” (<http://www.essortment.com/jean-piagets-theory-cognitive-development-50905.html>). In this context, Piaget’s theory rests upon the fact that “movement from one stage to the next occurs when the child reached an appropriate level of maturation and was exposed to relevant types of experiences”. He rather admits that children cannot reach a highest cognitive ability if they did not go through a variety of experiences (<http://www.essortment.com/jean-piagets-theory-cognitive-development-50905.html>). This theory is criticized by some researchers who consider that children’s cognitive development is not a universal process, but it differs from one child to another.

As an example, the understanding of metaphor requires the ability to map the properties of a concrete object into an abstract one. According to some researchers, before the ages of four children cannot acquire such a cognitive skill. In this context, Ozçaliskan (2005) shows “children’s deciphering the meaning of metaphorical motion events by the age of four” (Ozçaliskan 2005: 306). In fact, such view is debatable and the present research studies the presence of metaphor in the speech of children under study.

Perspective taking is another cognitive skill and the majority of researchers delay its presence to the age of seven or even after. Holzma (1997) says that “perspective taking is a cognitive skill that does not develop in human being until the person is about seven years of age” (Holzma 1997 : 151). It is obvious that before the age of seven the speech of children is not always egocentric. Consequently, researchers have divergent views towards the moment in which children make cognitive development and master different cognitive skills. A closer look at children from the first stages they start to utter their first words, and given that pragmatic competence should be studied from two perspectives; linguistic and extra-linguistic, important conclusions can be drawn. It is also important to point that any early occurrence or a total absence of pragmatic competence may influence children’s acquisition

of a variety of competences and skills later in their life. Taking into consideration these two orientations, the present research opts for attaining significant results as far as children's first language acquisition is concerned.

3. Research problem

To study the acquisition of pragmatic competence, it is important to focus on the different aspects of this competence separately. These aspects can be divided into linguistic and extra-linguistic. It is also possible to make the difference between aspects belonging to language understanding and the ones belonging to language production. In this respect, a way is opened to the study of pragmatic competence at earlier stages. Accordingly, it is possible to study this competence from the age of two or even earlier. In addition, a variety of child-language studies have been trying to make the link between the acquisition of linguistic competence and communicative competence which may prepare for the acquisition of pragmatic competence, but little has been done to account for the early appearance of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence and its role in reflecting children's ability to acquire more complex skills and competences later in life.

The early acquisition of pragmatic competence can be considered as a sign to an early cognitive development which prepares children to an early acquisition of more complex cognitive skills and competences enabling them to behave appropriately in a given speech community. Consequently, the present research finds it interesting to study the different aspects of pragmatic competence separately accounting for the age of their appearance. It also shows that any early acquisition of these aspects leads to an early acquisition of more complex skills and competences.

4. Research hypotheses

The present study aims to show that since aspects of pragmatic competence are seen from two perspectives linguistic and extra-linguistic the presence of the latter can be manifested in the speech of children from the age of two or even from the time children start to utter their first words. Consequently, it is hypothesized that:

- 1/The extra-linguistic aspects of pragmatic competence can be acquired by children from the age of two or even earlier.
- 2/The linguistic aspects of pragmatic competence start to appear in the speech of children earlier than the age of three.
- 3/The different pragmatic strategies acquired from the age of two are not as sophisticated as the ones acquired at the age of three and four.
- 4/The early acquisition of pragmatic competence prepares for the early acquisition of more complex skills and competences.

5. Methodology

This section is divided into three parts. The first part presents the framework, the second introduces the research instruments and the third part presents the type of study.

5. 1. Framework

This research is based on Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969-1979) Speech Act Theory. In any speech act, there is an illocutionary force and a propositional content. The illocutionary force presents the hidden intention of the speaker lying behind that propositional content. Austin and Searle make the difference between the illocutionary force and the propositional content of speech acts. They also show the importance of the illocutionary force of speech acts. They agree upon the fact that the more a speech act is indirect, the more is the discrepancy between the propositional content and the illocutionary force, so more effort is needed on the part of receivers to find the illocutionary force of a given speech act.

5. 1. 1. Austin's speech act theory

Austin (1962) suggests three types of speech acts which are locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts (Austin 1962, as cited in Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 70). In this context, the present research opts for studying the speech of young children, accounting for these three layers of speech acts. It is also important to show the significance any early mastery of such linguistic features of pragmatic competence.

5. 1. 2. Searle's classification of speech acts

Searle (1969) revises Austin's classification of speech acts and he focuses on the intentional side of speech acts. In this respect, Mey says that "Searle's taxonomy of speech acts is more oriented towards the real world" (Mey 1993: 169-170). Searle proposes five types of illocutionary acts which are assertive, commissive, directive, expressive and declarative speech acts. The present research studies the presence of these categories of speech acts in the speech of the children under study, as it attempts to account for the early acquisition of such complex features of pragmatic competence.

5. 1. 3. Grice's Cooperative Principle

Grice (1975) proposes four types of maxims which should be respected interlocutors. These maxims are:

(1)The QUANTITY MAXIM: (i) Make your contributions as informative as is required.

(ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

(2)The QUALITY MAXIM: (i) Try to make your contribution one that is true.

(ii) Do not say what you believe to be false.

(iii) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

(3)The RELATION MAXIM: « be relevant ».

- (4)The MANNER MAXIM: (i) « Be perspicuous ».
- (ii) Avoid obscurity of expression.
 - (iii) Avoid ambiguity.
 - (iv) Be brief.
 - (v) Be orderly (Grice 1975: 78-79)

Grice proposes four universal maxims to be respected in all conversations. The violation of these maxims, however, reflects given intentions speakers want to convey and this is applicable to the speech of young communicators.

5. 1. 4. Brown and Levinson's notion of Politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987), attempt to make the link between politeness and the notion of face. This notion is derived from Goffman (1967). According to them, the term face refers to “the public self image that every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown and Levinson 1987 as cited in Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 321), and it consists of two related aspects:

- (I) Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves,
rights to non-distractions... , to freedom of
action and freedom from imposition.
- (ii) Positive face: the positive consistent self-image or
'personality' (crucially including the desire that
this self-image be appreciated and approved of)
claimed by interactants.
(Brown and Levinson 1987: 321).

Brown and Levinson distinguish between the acts which threaten negative face and the acts which threaten positive face and they propose two strategies to avoid the act of threatening both negative and positive face. These strategies are going 'on record' and going 'off record'. In fact, the present research aims at showing whether these two strategies are manifested in the speech of children.

5. 1. 5. Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development

Piaget's theory studies the way children adapt with their environment, and he shows that this process is mastered by mental organizations known as schemes used by children in order to depict the world. He insists on the need to strike a balance between schemes and the environment (<http://www.edpsycinteractive.org/topics/cogsys/piaget.html>). In order to adapt to the environment, Piaget admits that children go through two processes which are assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is defined as “the process of using or transforming the

environment so that it can be placed in preexisting cognitive structures”. Accommodation is “the process of changing cognitive structures in order to accept something from the environment” (<http://www.edpsycinteractive.org/topics/cogsys/piaget.html>). This study shows the way and the age when children are able to go through these two processes.

5. 2. Research instruments

The present research makes use of a variety of tools which are presented in what follows.

5. 2. 1. Tools for collecting data

A variety of tools are used while listening to and recording the speeches of children in order to collect data.

5. 2. 1. 1. Note taking

The research depends on note taking as a main instrument of collecting data. Such an instrument provides the research with the ability to get access to the speech of the children and more importantly to account for the context of their speech. Moreover, note-taking is applicable everywhere especially that the children are observed in a variety of places and across a variety of activities, so taking notes is the most practical way to recall their spontaneous speeches.

5. 2. 1. 2. Story telling

Story telling is used in parallel with note taking. These stories are told by mothers whenever they are trapped by their children’s funny responses.

5. 2. 2. Austin’s three types of speech acts

The research uses Austin’s three facets of speech acts.

Austin (1962) proposes three types of speech acts:

- Locutionary act: the utterance of a sentence with determinate sense and reference.
- Illocutionary act: the making of a statement, offer, promise, ect. in uttering a sentence, by virtue of the conventional force associated with it (or with its explicit performative paraphrase).
- Perlocutionary act: the bringing about of effects on the audience by means of uttering the sentence , such effects being special to the circumstances of utterance.

(Austin 1962 as cited in Levinson 1983:236)

Austin's three types of speech act show the ability of speakers to act through saying, and they make the hearer aware of the intentions of speakers. Consequently, this is what the present study examines in young children's use and understanding of their first language.

5. 2. 3. Searle's classification of speech acts

Searle (1979) classifies speech acts into:

- Assertives (using language to tell people how things are, as in concluding, asserting, hypothesizing).
- Directives (using language to try to get them to do things, as in requesting, advising, pleading).
- Commissive (using language to commit oneself to doing things, as in promising, undertaking).
- Expressives (using language to express our feeling and attitudes, as in apologizing, thanking, welcoming).
- Declarations (using language to bring about changes into the world through utterances, as in declaring wars, nominating a candidate)

(Searle 1979: 30).

Searle's classification of speech acts makes it easy to grasp the intentional side of any speech act, and this is what the present study aims to identify in children's use of these different kinds of speech acts.

5. 3. Type of study

It is a longitudinal study of the spontaneous speeches of three young children. The children have been observed from the age of one year when they start to utter their first words to the age of four years. Data are collected throughout the period of four years. The purpose is to see the time when pragmatic competence whether linguistic or extra -linguistic starts to emerge and the extent to which such early acquisition is significant. The speech of the children is studied quantitatively and qualitatively. In the first part, the data collected for each child are classified in a table in relation to the type of competence or skill the child is able to go through at each age. Then, an attempt is made to compare the time of the development of these competences and skills among the three children. The qualitative analysis, however, focuses on the analysis of the utterances taken from the speech of these children for the purpose of showing the way children are able to develop a variety of competences and skills through time while speaking their first language.

5. 3. 1. Subjects

The subjects are three Tunisian children growing in South Tunisia and they speak Arabic as their first language. The children are observed from the age of six months to the age of four. The three children are boys who do not suffer from any speech disorder. The children are observed in a variety of contexts; at home and in outside spaces speaking with peers and unfamiliar adults. They are also observed in formal contexts like classrooms. This process provides the opportunity to study the development of children's competences and skills in more than one context. The subjects are pre-existing persons, who are not made on purpose for the experiment, but they live naturally in these different contexts, and this is of great importance for the research which seeks to study the natural development of numerous competences and skills in the speech of children.

5. 3. 2. Selection criteria

This research studies the speech of three children to see the time when each competence and skill starts to emerge in their speech. The children are observed throughout a long period of time because such a variety of competences and skills could not appear abruptly, but they rather develop gradually in their speech. The development of such competences and skills is not universal, but the time and the way of their appearance differ from one child to another. The research studies the different competences simultaneously to see if the development of any competence influences the acquisition of the subsequent one. In fact, all the children are boys and they are not aware of the study.

5. 3. 3. Procedures

After collecting data, the research starts with a quantitative study of the utterances to see the types of competences and skills prevailing at each age. The qualitative study is interested in the analysis of the utterances to see the different types of the acquired competences and skills used on the part of these children.

5. 3. 4. Data collection

Data collection is based on the observation of three children during a period of four year-length. These children are observed from the age of one year to the age of four. In each year, each child is observed twice. Each session is done after six months and lasts eight hours. In other words, throughout the four years each child is observed every six months. The period of eight hours spent with each child starts from the morning to the afternoon to survey the children across a variety of activities. The children are observed while interacting with parents, playing with peers, eating and speaking to unknown adults. Note taking is used in order to recall the whole speech of the children, so their conversations, dialogues, quarrels with others are all taken as notes. Throughout these sessions children are asked some questions to stimulate them to speak. The aim of this activity is to collect data from children's spontaneous speech, in natural contexts, across a variety of activities and with a variety of people. The data are transcribed, stored in the computer and classified in terms of types of turns during the period of four years.

5. 3. 5. Data analysis

This section describes the quantitative and qualitative analyses.

5. 3. 5. 1. Quantitative analysis

The data collected are classified in a table. The first colon presents the exact age of the child from one year to four years of age. Colon two presents the first type of pragmatic competence which appears at an extra-linguistic level and this colon is divided into two colons one is devoted to language production the other is devoted to language comprehension. The third colon presents the second type of pragmatic competence which appears at a linguistic level and it is divided into language production and language comprehension. Colon four presents the manifestation of cognitive development. Colon five signals the presence of some types of cognitive skills. This process opens the way for a comparison between children's ability to acquire a variety of competences and skills through time.

5. 3. 5. 2. Qualitative analysis

This part presents the analysis of the utterances collected throughout the period of four years. The utterances showing the use of linguistic and extra-linguistic pragmatic strategies, signs of cognitive development and mastery of some cognitive skills are to analyze. Finally, it is also important to show the significance of any early appearance of a given competence or skill.

6. Findings and discussion

This section is divided into two main parts. Part one is concerned with the findings of the quantitative study and the second part is concerned with interpretation of the findings.

6. 1. Findings

Each child whose speech is examined is presented with name and age. Their speech is classified in terms of type of competences and skills acquired in each six months; from the age of one year to the age of nine. Therefore, a way is opened to a comparison between the three children's ability to master a variety of competences and skills in their first four years. In what follows, the quantitative analysis is presented and the classification of the speech of Rayaane according to types of turns is presented in table 1.

Type of turns age	Extra-linguistic pragmatic competence		Linguistic pragmatic competence		Cognitive developme nt	Cogniti ve skills
	Producti on	Comprehensi on	producti on	comprehensi on		
1 year	X	0	0	0	0	0
1year+6 months	X	0	0	0	0	0
2 years			X	0	0	0
2years+6mont			X	X	X	0

hs						
3 years			X	X	X	0
3years+6mont hs			X	X	X	X
4 years			X	X	X	X

Table 1: Classification of the speech of Rayaane

Table one shows that from the age of four, Rayaane is able to acquire the majority of preliminary and complex competences and skills. In what follows, the speech of Firas which is classified according to types of turns is presented in table 2.

Type of turns age	Extra-linguistic pragmatic competence		Linguistic pragmatic competence		Cognitive development	Cognitive skills
	Produ ction	Compre hension	Produ ction	Compre hension		
1 year	0	0	0	0	0	0
1year+6months	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
2years+6months	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
3years+6months			X	0	0	0
4 years			X	X	0	X

Table 2: Classification of the speech of Firas

Table two shows that it is only at the age of three years and six months that Firas is able to acquire some competences and skills. In what follows, the classification of the speech of Wael is presented in table three.

Type of turns age	Extra-linguistic pragmatic competence		Linguistic pragmatic competence		Cognitive development	Cognitive skills
	Produ ction	Compre hension	Produ ction	Compre hension		
1 year	0	0	0	0	0	0
1year+6years	0	0	0	0	0	0
2years	0	0	0	0	0	0
2years+6months	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
3years+6months	0	0	0	0	0	0
4 years	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3: classification of the speech of Wael

Table three shows that even the age of four, Wael is not able to acquire the different types of competences and skills.

With reference to tables 1, 2 and 3, we can notice that children start to acquire the different competences and skills at different ages; for instance, each child starts to understand the pragmatic strategies produced by others at a specific age and in what follows, a comparison of the acquisition of linguistic pragmatic competence in language production is presented:

	Rayaane	Firas	Wael
age	2 years	3 years+ 6 months	0
comparison	Rayaane > Firas > Wael		

Table 4: comparison between children' ability to understand pragmatic strategies

It is noticeable that Rayaane is able to produce pragmatic strategies from an early age. Firas starts to acquire such a competence at a later age, to the age of four Wael does not acquire this competence. In what follows, table five presents a clear comparison between the three children.

		Rayaane	Firas	Wael
Extra Linguistic pragmatic competence	production	1 year	0	0
	comprehension	0	0	0
Linguistic pragmatic competence	production	2 years	3 years + 6 months	0
	comprehension	2 years + 6 months	4 years	0
Cognitive development		2 years + 6 months	0	0
Cognitive skills		3 years + 6 months	0	0

Table 5: ages of children's mastery of competences and skills

Table five shows that Rayaane is able to acquire these competences and skills at earlier ages in comparison with Wael and Firas. A comparison between the three children's early acquisition of different competences and skills is presented as follows:

Rayane > Firas > Wael

The quantitative study leads to a significant finding which is the idea that the early manifestation of extra- linguistic pragmatic competence helps in the early acquisition of more complex competences and skills later in life; for instance, it is possible to refer to Rayaane whose speech is characterized by the use of extra-linguistic pragmatic strategies from the age

of one year. Rayaane starts to acquire the subsequent competences and skills from early ages too, especially when we compare him with Firas and Wael whose speech lacks the appearance of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence. They acquire the different competences and skills at later ages. The interpretation of this finding is presented in section 6. 2. which is concerned with the qualitative analysis.

6. 2. Interpretation and Discussion

With reference to the findings of section 6.1 and more specifically to the case of Rayaane, it is shown that the early appearance of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence opens the way for an early acquisition of more complex competences and skills later in life. The remaining question now is about the way these skills and competences develop in the speech of these children, and what is the significance of their early appearance. The qualitative analysis is meant to answer these two questions through the analysis of the utterances of the subjects. These subjects are introduced by their names.

Child 1: Rayaane

The speech is classified on the basis of the time when Rayaane is observed throughout the period of four years.

One year

It is shown that from the age of one year the speech of Rayaane is characterized by the use of some aspects of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence. From the age of one year, Rayaane uses some facial expressions and body movement signs to express certain needs. Accordingly, when he asks for water Rayaane makes a request relying not only on the linguistic features he utters but also on the use of falling intonation. He also signals with hands to the needed object. In this context, he says:

“ماما اعطيني” + **falling intonation** + **moving hands**

“Mum, please give me” + **falling intonation** + **moving hands**

This strategy is frequently used in the speech of Rayaane whenever he asks for something. Rayaane’s requests can be achieved through asking directly for things, but he keeps on making a number of extra-linguistic signs like facial expressions, falling intonation and body movement which always accompany his requests. These extra-linguistic features are important to achieve the perlocutionary effect of the speech act of request. Referring to Austin’s “perlocutionary act”, the real intention of Rayaane cannot be achieved if the falling intonation did not accompany the request. It is true that the child is too young to be considered as a skillful user of such strategies, but if it is the case we should not gloss over it and it is important to acknowledge the benefits of the presence of such early and appropriate use of requests whenever they exist.

Two years

Rayaane’s use of such extra-linguistic features is frequent in his speech to the age of two years, when it becomes obvious that he starts to develop another competence at such an early

age. It is noticeable that Rayaane starts to produce more complex and sophisticated requests. In two occasions Rayaane refers to the same person differently. He says:

Occasion 1

falling intonation + عيشك "ترسميلي كرهبة يا فتونة"

« Please **Fattouna**, can you draw a car”+ falling intonation

Occasion 2

" فاتن فاتن بابا جاء "

« **Faten, Faten** dad is coming »

Rayaane uses two different cases of person deixis while referring to the same person. The difference lies in the structure of the proper noun as it lies in the way he respects the principle of politeness. On the second occasion, Rayaane uses the usual form of the proper noun "Faten = فاتن". On the first occasion, however, when the child is in need to something to be done as a response to the request, Rayaane endears the girl "fattouna = فتونة" in order to show proximity. Moreover, Rayaane uses the word "please = عيشك" as a sign of politeness and this word is accompanied with a falling intonation. Whenever there is a request, Rayaane opts for using a variety of linguistic and extra-linguistic pragmatic strategies which may push the listener to respond appropriately.

Two years and six months

As the child grows older, he starts to acquire a multiplicity of more complex competences and skills. One day when Rayaane was watching television, his mother stood in front of him to clean the vase in a way he cannot watch television, so he says:

" بنتفرج عليك انت؟ "

«Am I sitting here to watch you? »

Through this utterance, Rayaane wants to say something implicitly. Instead of asking his mother directly to move, Rayaane goes through a different strategy to convey the message implicitly. Instead of using the speech act of request, Rayaane produces a representative speech act describing a state of affairs. At the same time Rayaane waits for the appropriate response on the part of the mother.

Throughout the same session, it is noticeable that Rayaane is not only able to produce linguistic pragmatic strategies, but also to understand pragmatic strategies produced by others. For instance, when he was playing with his older sister, Rayaane hit her face, so his sister says "هكا وجهي راهو" = this is my face you know!". After that, Rayaane says "it's ok = باهي" and he took his hands back. It is obvious here that Rayaane is able to understand the implicit meaning of the utterance, and he makes the appropriate response. Rayaane is able to understand that the representative speech act is in fact a directive speech act of request used by his sister to tell him to stop beating her violently.

In a third occasion, Rayaane uses a variety of complex structures to refer to unfamiliar items and in what follows there is an example.

الفرماج الاحمر ""

« red cheese »

In fact, Rayaane uses the noun phrase « red cheeseالفرماج الاحمر » not to refer to cheese with a red color, but he wants to speak about « harissa = هريسة » which is a Tunisian food made through red pies having a red color. According to Piaget's term, this strategy is called accommodation. Therefore, Rayaane tries to change a pre-existing cognitive schema of « cheese = فرماج » to accept a new entity which is « harissa = هريسة ». Therefore, he accommodates a coming entity from the environment to a preexisting cognitive structure in his mind, and this is what Piaget refers to as cognitive development. In fact, Rayaane uses the pre-existing schema of cheese as the head of the noun phrase which is pre-modified by the adjective "red = احمر" to refer to the initial color of «harissa = هريسة ». It is obvious that from such an early age Rayaane reaches a given cognitive development and he uses words in an intelligent way.

3 years

At the age of three, Rayaane's speech is developing, and he keeps on using the same strategies of producing and understanding a variety of pragmatic strategies as to the cognitive development, which is clearly manifested in his speech.

3 years and 6 months

At this age Rayaane starts to acquire new skills which are the process of understanding and producing metaphors. According to some researchers, such a cognitive skill cannot be acquired before the age of four. On the other hand, Rayaane is able to understand his mother when she uses the metaphor « كسررتلي راسي = you are breaking my head ». In fact, Rayaane is able to understand that his mother uses a metaphorical expression, as he is able to respond appropriately by keeping quite. In addition, Rayaane uses expressions like « نهى طيارة = Nouha is a plane » whenever he admires something done by his sister. In fact, such a metaphorical expression is often used by local older people and it is used appropriately in the speech of Rayaane.

It is concluded that Rayaane shows an early acquisition of a variety of competences and skills. From the age of one year, Rayaane starts to produce a variety of extra-linguistic pragmatic strategies. In fact, such an early acquisition of this competence paves the way for the production of linguistic pragmatic strategies from the age of two years and six months. Therefore, Rayaane is able to convey messages in an implicit way. Once Rayaane is able to produce pragmatic strategies to express ideas implicitly, his ability to understand these strategies made others becomes easier. Consequently, Rayaane responds appropriately to others' indirect requests. From the age three years and six months, Rayaane shows a great deal of cognitive development to adapt to the environment. Moreover, it is obvious that such an early acquisition of these competences and skills is significant in the sense that any early acquisition of one competence opens the way for the subsequent one to be acquired at an earlier age; for instance, a child cannot understand a pragmatic strategy if he is not able to

produce it and this fact is obvious in Rayaane's speech. In fact, the early appearance of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence is one of the factors which decide about the early appearance of linguistic pragmatic competence and its absence may delay the appearance of the subsequent competences and skills. In what follows, the analysis of Firas's speech may support such finding because this speech lacks the presence of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence.

Child 2: Firas

The speech is classified according to the time when Firas is observed throughout the period of eight years.

One year

At the age of one year and even later, we can notice a total absence of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence, and it is only at the age of three years and six months that Firas starts to show the ability to produce some pragmatic strategies.

3 years and 6 months

In two different occasions Firas refers to the same person using two different types of person deixis. He says:

In the first occasion

« هيكى انتصار ما حبتش تلعب معاي »

« **That Intissar** doesn't want to play with me »

Occasion 2

« نصورهيا مديلي البيبة من فوق »

« Come on **Nassoura** give me that car »

It is noticeable that Firas tends to change the structure of the person deixis used to refer to the same person according to the current context. In the first occasion, Intissar refuses to play with Firas, so he uses the demonstrative pronoun "that = هيكى" before the proper noun "Intissar = انتصار". Consequently, through the use of such a distal term before the first name of Intissar, Firas wants to make a distance between himself and his sister. This happens when the boy is angry at her. In the second occasion, however, Firas uses just the first name of his sister with a kind of endearment. The absence of the distal term in such a situation reveals that Firas wants to show proximity when he is satisfied with his sister. Consequently, it is obvious that Firas produces two pragmatic strategies depending on the current context and on his psychological state.

4 years

Firas is able to produce more complex requests, but this happens at a later age in comparison to Rayyane who starts to acquire such a competence from the age of two. In this context, Firas produces requests like:

“ انا شربت حليبي الكل ”

“I drank all my milk”

This utterance, which seems to be representative speech act describing certain state of affairs, is used by Firas to convey an implicit message. Therefore, the representative speech act is initially a directive speech act of a request conveying that Firas waits for a response on the part of his mother who has to give him chocolate.

At the age of four, Firas is also able to understand the different pragmatic strategies used by others. When he was in the kitchen asking for an explanation to every instrument there, the mother says “ احكي زيد = carry-on speaking”. When the mother utters this sentence, Firas immediately stops speaking. In fact, such a response is a result to Firas’s ability to understand the implied meaning of his mother’s utterance. The mother opts for violating the maxim of manner and she does not say what she really intends to say. In spite of such complicated indirect request to stop speaking and disturbing his mother, Firas is able to go through a complex inferential process, and he understands the hidden message of the mother. Then, he responds appropriately. Simultaneously at this age, Firas shows ability to express him-self when he refers to unfamiliar items. He uses expressions like « قطو الفريجيدار = the refrigerator cake » in order to refer to ice cream. According to Piaget, this process is called assimilation and such a technique of adapting to the environment is considered by Piaget as a sign of intelligence. The child usually knows « قطو شكلاطة = chocolate cake », but he does not know how to find the suitable name of ice cream. Therefore, he uses an expression which does not present any entity in the environment “ قطو شكلاطة = chocolate cake”. Firas adapts such an unfamiliar item to a pre-existing cognitive structure in his mind related to “chocolate cake = قطو الشكلاطة”. In fact, such techniques and processes are signs of the beginning of cognitive development which are frequent in the speech of Firas.

At the age of four years and two months, Wael shows ability to acquire different cognitive skills; for example his speech is less egocentric. Moreover, He frequently uses metaphors like “ انا شوماخر = I’m Chomakher” and “ انا اسد = I’m a lion”. Such utterances show that Firas is able to make indirect analogies. In fact, we should not deny the instinctive nature of children who attempt to look strong and clever. Consequently, this tendency may support children’s cognitive development. In comparison to Rayyane who starts to understand metaphors from the age of 3 years and six months, it is only at the age of four years and two months that Firas reaches such a cognitive skill. Such a difference is significant. Moreover, this difference refers to a variety of reasons like the absence of an early acquisition of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence which is a sign of intelligence. This competence has an important role in paving the way for an early acquisition of more complex skills and competences. At this age, Firas is also able to show a great deal of acquiring different cognitive skills like perspective taking. It is obvious now that the speech of Firas is no longer egocentric as it used to be at the age of two and three when he used to produce utterances like « نلعبو في الكورة انااتوا = we are playing football, me now » and « انا هادي دارنا = this is my our house”

At the age of four, Firas starts to use different person deixis in addition to the personal pronoun « I = انا », especially when he refers to people he is familiar with like his mother, father and his sister. In fact, such a skill as part of cognitive skills is important to acquire

because it paves the way for the acquisition of cognitive competence which makes the child a good receiver and producer of language in a given speech community. Rayaane starts to acquire such a cognitive skill at an earlier age in comparison to Firas, so an earlier acquisition of cognitive competence is expected to take place too.

Child 3: Wael

In comparison to Firas and Rayaane, Wael's acquisition of the different competences and skills is late. At the age of four years, Wael is still saying "امس اليوم غدوة باش نمشولمدنين" = **yesterday, today, tomorrow** we will go to Medenine". At this age, Wael is still unable to choose the suitable deixis whether person deixis, place deixis or time deixis. We can also notice the absence of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence in his speech. Moreover, he did not show any sign of cognitive development.

It is shown that Rayaane, Firas and Wael's acquisition of these different skills differs from one another. In fact, Rayaane is the first one who starts to acquire these competences and skills. Therefore, he starts to acquire the linguistic pragmatic competence from the age of two years; however, Firas starts to acquire this competence at the age of three years and six months and Wael acquires it later. Among the three children, Rayaane is the only one who acquires extra-linguistic pragmatic competence; for instance, from the age of one year Rayaane starts to use falling intonation and facial expressions to down tone requests. Consequently, he acquires the subsequent skills and competences at earlier stages.

Though the children acquire these skills and competences at different ages, these competences and skills are similar. Whether in their first four years or in their first two years, all children are able to produce indirect requests by attenuating the illocutionary force of directive speech acts in order to avoid damaging the hearer's negative face. Moreover, all children can respond appropriately to indirect requests. In addition, children show cognitive development in the sense that they use different techniques in order to adapt to the environment especially when they refer to unfamiliar items. Children are also able to acquire some cognitive skills like metaphor production and understanding, and as they grow older their speech becomes less egocentric. The difference, however, lies in the time of acquiring these competences and skills. Therefore, it is inevitable to conclude that the thing which distinguishes Rayaane's speech is his ability to acquire extra-linguistic pragmatic competence from the age of one year. The acquisition of such a competence is, in fact, a sign of intelligence, as it explains Rayaane's early acquisition of the different pragmatic competences, cognitive development and the different cognitive skills. In fact, such an early acquisition of competences and skills can be directly linked to the early acquisition of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence which paves the way for an early appearance of subsequent and more complex skills and competences later in life. It is noticeable here that these competences and skills are interrelated in the sense that the early acquisition of a given competence decides about the early acquisition of the subsequent one. Any delay in the acquisition of one delays the acquisition of the following. Therefore, the appearance of each competence takes its departure from the existence of the previous one, and the acquisition of each one prepares for the next one to appear. It is concluded that the early acquisition of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence, which usually paves the way for an early acquisition of the subsequent competence, makes the child a mature speaker and receiver of language.

Consequently, it is important to reveal that the early mastery of these processes opens the way for the acquisition of a more sophisticated skill known as the cognitive competence which has always been considered as the real bridge taking the child from the state of being an eager communicator to be a proficient speaker of his first language.

Consequently, parents have to check the early presence of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence in order to guess about their children's future acquisition of the different competences and skills, which make them good producers and receivers of language.

7. Conclusion

The present study argues that the early appearance of pragmatic competence takes place first at an extra-linguistic level. Then, children start to acquire some linguistic aspects of pragmatic competence. Once children are able to produce pragmatic strategies they will be able later to understand them. In fact, the early appearance of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence is crucial in the early appearance of more complex skills and competences. It is true that the early appearance of extra-linguistic pragmatic competence is important to the early appearance of subsequent skills and competences, but this research does not gloss over the importance of the exposure to the environment and the importance of the biological growth which contribute to the appearance of these competences and skills.

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A Bird's Eye View of 'Language and Law'

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Abstract

The importance of language to mankind is such that not only all national constitutions have one or more provisions on language but so do all regional and international organizations in their conventions, treaties or similar instruments. The paper explores this fact, using empirical evidence. The relationship between language and law is not only in terms of which language is the official language, or which languages are official languages, but also in terms of how legal texts and lawyers use languages and also what are the linguistic characteristics of legal texts and statements, the study of which is referred to in the paper as 'legal linguistics'. The paper points out that "legal language is not only used in written legal texts but also in statements made by lawyers as well as in conventions, treaties and similar instruments of regional and international organizations". The last topic of the paper is linguistic rights. Linguistic rights are human rights but linguistic rights, like any human right, are only binding if they are enshrined in a national constitution or in a convention, treaty or similar instrument of a regional or international organization.

Keywords: Human right, natural right, legal right, legal language, legal linguistics, national constitution, official language, regional organization, international organization, United Nations.

1. Introduction

There is and, indeed, can be no community without language and this is true not only of human communities but also animal communities, the reason being that for any community to survive, its members must interact and language is an essential and the most important tool of community interaction. It follows that there are expectations and laws or/and regulations regarding the choice and use of language in a community, a nation and even regional and international bodies.

Not only are language and law essential to mankind, as there is no human community without language and all nations have explicit or tacit legislations or legal provisions, but language and law have important and necessary connections. Such connections have motivated the establishment of associations of 'language and law', such as (a) the *International Language and Law Association (ILLA)*, which publishes the *Journal Language & Law (JLL)*, and (b) the *International Association of Forensic Linguistics (IAFL)*, which publishes *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law (IJSLL)*.

There are two main ways in which language and law are connected, which will be successively explored in this paper, namely:

- Legal provisions and regulations concerning language; and
- The use of language in law.

The discussion of these two topics will be followed by an examination of linguistic rights before the conclusion.

2. National and Organizational Linguistic Provisions

2.1 Determination of official languages

There are two main entities that regulate the choice and use of languages, namely (a) countries and (b) international and regional organizations. At country level, all constitutions have provisions regarding language and all international and regional organizations have similar linguistic provisions in their conventions or treaties. In this paper the terms *national linguistic provisions* and *organizational linguistic provisions* refer, respectively, to (a) linguistic provisions in national constitutions and (b) linguistic provisions in conventions and treaties of international and regional organizations. In both cases, the main issue is the choice of an official language or of official languages.

The general picture of the choice of official languages is as follows:

- (a) If a country is monolingual, the sole language is, in general, declared the official language;
- (b) if a country is multilingual, one indigenous language is chosen or a few indigenous languages are chosen; however, many former colonies and other former dependent

- territories have adopted as official language the official language or one of the official languages of their former master, which is the case of most African countries; and
- (c) In international and regional organizations whose member countries do not have the same national official languages, not all national official languages are picked as organizational official languages.

Table 1 and Table 2 below provide examples of national official languages at organizational official languages, respectively.

Table 1 Some national official languages

REF. #	COUNTRY	OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S)
Some European countries		
1	Albania	Albanian
2	Austria	German
3	Belgium	Dutch, French, German
4	Bulgaria	Bulgarian
5	Croatia	Croatian
6	Estonia	Estonian
7	France	French
8	Great Britain	English
9	Greece	Greek
10	Italy	Italian
11	Germany	German
12	Poland	Polish
13	Romania	Romanian
14	Russia	Russian
15	Switzerland	German, French, Italian, Romansh
16	Turkey	Turkish
Some African countries		
17	Algeria	Arabic, Berber
18	Angola	Portuguese
19	Benin	French
20	Botswana	English, Tswana
21	Burkina Faso	French
22	Burundi	Kirundi, French
23	Cameroon	French, English
24	Cape Verde	Portuguese
25	Central African Republic	French
26	Congo (Democratic Republic of Congo)	French

27	Congo (Republic of Congo)	French
28	Egypt	Arabic
29	Ghana	Arabic
30	Morocco	Arabic, Berber
31	Mozambique	Portuguese
32	Nigeria	English
33	Rwanda	English, Kinyarwanda
34	South Africa	Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, Zulu
35	Zambia	English
36	Zimbabwe	English
American continent		
37	Anguilla	English
48	Antigua and Barbuda	English
39	Antigua and Barbuda	English
40	Bahamas	English
41	Barbados	English
42	Belize	English
43	Bolivia	Spanish
44	Canada	English, French
45	French Guiana	French
46	United State of America	English
47	Argentina	Spanish
48	Brazil	Portuguese
49	Cuba	Spanish
50	Ecuador	Spanish
51	Grenada	English
52	Guyana	English
53	Mexico	Spanish
54	Peru	Spanish

Table 2 Official languages of some international and regional organizations

REF. #	ORGANIZATION	OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
1	United Nations	Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.
2	European Union	Official languages of all member states
3	African Union: English, French, Spanish Portuguese, Arabic and Swahili	French, Spanish Portuguese, Arabic, Swahili
4	Commonwealth of Nations	English

5	Francophonie ('Organization of French-Speaking Countries')	French
6	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMERSA)	English, French, Portuguese, Arabic
7	Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)	English, French, Portuguese
8	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO/OTAN)	English, French
9	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)	English
10	International Labour Organization (ILO): English, French	English, French, Spanish
11	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD/OCDE)	English, French

Tables 1 and 2 clearly show the weight of political history as a determining factor in choosing an official language: :

- The fact that the names of most European languages are derived from the names of nations suggests that the countries were built by a community speaking one language; and
- That many countries have Arabic, English, French, Portuguese or Spanish as official languages is due the history of conquests, colonization and immigration.

2.2 Example of constitutional linguistic provisions

National constitutions do not only determine official languages but also deal with other linguistic issues, as shown by the linguistic provisions of the current Constitution of Zambia, that is, the Constitution of Zambia as amended by the Zambian Parliament on 1st January 2016. The Constitution of Zambia contains linguistic provisions dealt with in the context of the following topics:

- Freedom of expression;
- Rights of suspects;
- Rights of accused persons and detainees;
- Political parties;
- Language policy; and
- Interpretation of the Constitution.

2.2.1 Freedom of expression

According to the Constitution of Zambia (henceforth 'the Constitution'), Article 34, a person's freedom of expression includes (a) freedom to hold an opinion, (b) freedom to receive or impart information or ideas, (c) freedom of artistic creativity, (d) academic freedom, and (e) freedom of scientific and technological research, as prescribed.

It is noteworthy that language is only involved if and only if expression is done using language

2.2.2 Freedom of speech

Article 46 of the Constitution provides that a person who is suspected of committing an offence is entitled to (a) remain silent and (b) be informed in a language which that person understands of the (i) right to remain silent and (ii) consequences of remaining silent.

2.2.3 Rights of accused persons and detainees

Article 48 the Constitution provides that, unless the Constitution provides otherwise, “an accused person or a detainee has the right (a) to remain silent, (b) to be informed in a language which that person understands of the (i) right to remain silent and (ii) consequences of remaining silent, (c) to be informed, as soon as reasonably practicable, of the reasons for the arrest or detention (i) in a language which that person understands, (ii) in the case of a visually impaired person, in Braille or tactile diagrams, (iii) in the case of a deaf person, in sign language, or (iv) in another appropriate means of communication.”

2.2.4 Political parties

Articles 48 and 100 of the Constitution deal with political parties. Article 60 paragraph (3)(a) provides that “A political party shall not be founded on a religious, linguistic, racial, ethnic, tribal, gender, sectoral or provincial basis or engage in propaganda based on any of these factors. Article 100 provides conditions for a person to qualify to be nominated as candidate for election as President. A linguistic condition is that the person must be “**fluent in the official language**”, that is, English.

2.2.5 Language policy

Zambia’s language policy is determined by Article 258 of the Constitution which reads in full as follows:

- (1) The official language of Zambia is English.
- (2) A language, other than English, may be used as a medium of instruction in educational institutions or for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes, as prescribed.
- (3) The State shall respect, promote and protect the diversity of the languages of the people of Zambia.

2.2.6 Interpretation of the Constitution

The final provision of the Constitution on language is the subject matter of Article 267 which, concerning language, provides, in paragraph 2, that “If there is a conflict between the English version of this Constitution and a different language version, the English version shall prevail.”

3. THE USE OF LANGUAGE IN LAW

Discussing the use of language in law means discussing how language is used in law. However, 'how language is used in law' may mean either (a) how language can be utilized in law to achieve an objective, (b) legal language, in terms of vocabulary and style, or (c) a combination of (a) and (b). When dealing with (a), the main topic is forensic linguistics, the study of how language can be used, for example, to identify a criminal or potential criminal. This section explores successively (a) and (b) under the headings 'forensic linguistics' and 'legal language'.

3.1 Forensic linguistics

The noun 'forensics' refers to the use of scientific methods to get evidence in courts of law, especially in criminal and civil courts. The related adjective 'forensic', means either (a) applying scientific methods to get evidence in courts of law, especially in criminal and civil courts or (b) pertaining to courts of law or a particular court of law. The noun determined by the adjective indicates the discipline used. Hence, forensic linguistics is the application of linguistics to solve problems in courts of law, especially in criminal or civil cases.

As stated in the introduction, there exists an international organization devoted to forensic linguistics called the *International Association of Forensic Linguistics* (IAFL), which publishes the *International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law* (IJSLL)

3.2 Precision in the use of words

Precision in the use of words is cardinal in law. One day, in a meeting with members of staff of the School of Law of the University of Zambia, located in Lusaka, I said that the provision, in the Constitution of Zambia, to the effect that 'The official language of Zambia shall be English' was incomplete because it did not specify 'what English' as there are several Englishes. To substantiate my claim, I gave the following fictitious case:

- Mr. X, an American, comes to Zambia and differs with Mr. Y, a Zambian, who slaps him on the ground floor of a building;
- Mr. X reports the incident to the police, using the word 'first floor' instead of 'ground floor'.

I told the meeting that since what is called 'ground floor' in British English is called 'first floor' in American English so that British English 'first floor' is 'second floor' in American English, the accused may win the case as Zambia has adopted British English. I added that it was not enough to replace the sentence 'The official language of Zambia shall be English' with the sentence 'The official language of Zambia shall be British English' and the correct sentence was 'The official language of Zambia shall be contemporary Standard British English' because, like any language, British English has several varieties and changes with time.

3.3 Legal linguistics

The term 'legal linguistics' has been used as a synonym of 'forensic linguistics'. In this paper, the term is used to refer to the study of legal words as words, like any word in linguistics, and legal texts like any text in linguistics. It follows that, in this paper, legal linguistics is the scientific study of legal language.

Legal texts are not only characterized by the contents but also by the use of certain words and their style. Characteristics of legal language include, inter alia:

- Use of legal technical terms, a fact explaining why there are dictionaries, glossaries or lexicons of law or legal terms, just like in other academic disciplines have special dictionaries, glossaries or lexicons;
- Use, in some languages, including English, of archaic words;
- Use of peculiar syntactic constructions, such as 'to cause something or someone to do or to be';
- Special writing style of the various types of legal texts, called legal drafting; and
- Use, in many, if not languages, of Latin legal maxims, due to the fact that the legal system in western world has evolved from Roman law, which used Latin.

Latin legal maxims are like proverbs: both proverbs, in any language, and Latin legal maxims are used in argumentation, although sometimes they are treated as if they were legal provisions.

It is worth noting that legal language is not only used in written legal texts but also in statements made by lawyers as well as in conventions, treaties and similar instruments of regional and international organizations.

4. Law and Linguistic Rights

There is and, indeed, can be no community without language and this is true not only of human communities but also animal communities, the reason being that for any community to survive, its members must interact and language is an essential and the most important tool of community interaction. It follows that there are expectations and often regulations or laws regarding the choice and use of language in a community, a nation and even regional and international bodies.

A distinction is made between 'natural rights' and 'legal rights'. Natural rights are rights that human possess by virtue of being humans and, consequently, are based on or derived from 'natural laws'. One example of natural right, often cited, is the 'right to life'. Legal rights are rights based on customs and national laws or regulations or on supranational laws, regulations, conventions, treaties and similar instruments. However, a natural right may also become a legal right just in case, for example, it is enshrined in a legal text, for example a national constitution. The following question then arises: are linguistic rights natural rights or legal rights? Linguistic, or language, rights do exist and generally considered to be

While the concept of human right is clear, there is no definite list or categorization of human rights, a fact which led the United Nations system to come up with a list to be agreed upon by all its members. The United Nations Charter merely offers a basis for the promotion of human rights, including linguistic rights, as, in the last part of its Article 55, the United Nations Charter provides that the United Nations shall promote “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion”. To implement this declaration, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted, in 1948, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR). Since then there have been several United Nations treaties concerning human rights on specific topics and binding upon all members of the United Nations.

From what has been stated above on human rights, a distinction is to be made between (a) natural rights, that is, those rights owned by an individual by being a human being, and (b) legal rights, those individual rights enshrined in laws, conventions, treaties and similar documents as well as those rights contained in customs.

The following is noteworthy:

- Some natural rights are enshrined in laws, in which case they both natural and legal; and
- Some rights are linguistic rights, or language rights.

Table 3, below, provides a set of examples of linguistic rights.

Table 3 Official languages of some international and regional organizations

REF. NO.	DATA	SOURCE
1	<p>Right to use minority language</p> <p>The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) is a European treaty adopted in 1992 under the auspices of the Council of Europe to protect and promote historical regional and minority languages in Europe.</p>	The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML)
2	<p>Right of silence “the right of someone charged with an offence or being tried on a criminal charge not to make any statement or give any evidence”</p> <p>“The right to silence is often cited as a prime example of the fairness of the English criminal system, but has also been criticized as unduly hampering the conviction of criminals.”</p> <p>p 320</p> <p>Right of audience “The right of an ‘advocate to be heard in legal proceedings. Barristers have the right of audience in the Crown Court, High Court, Court of Appeal, and House of Lords. Solicitors have a limited right of audience in some Crown Court centres specified by the Lord Chancellor. In the country courts and magistrates’ courts both barristers and solicitors can appear. Many administrative tribunals have no rules concerning rights of audience and a party may be represented by any person he chooses.”</p> <p>p. 320</p>	<i>Concise Dictionary of Law</i> (Elizabeth A. Martin (Editor). Oxford University Press, 1983
3	<p>Freedom = “” The state of being free, the absence of restriction. P. 234</p>	<i>Barron’s Dictionary of Legal Terms</i> , Fifth edition (Stephen H. Gifis, 2008. New York: Barron; Educational Series, Inc.

	<p>Freedom of expression = “general term referring to the freedom of press, religion, and speech.”</p> <p>Freedom of press = “the right to publish and circulate one’s views, as guaranteed by the First Amendment. Closely related to FREEDOM OF SPEECH</p> <p>P. 234</p>	
4	<p>Freedom of speech (also called freedom of expression, regarded as one of the features of a democratic society. In Britain, it is possible to criticize the government and express opinions on current events. There are, however restrictions on freedom of speech, for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defamatory statements are a tort and the victim may sue for damages. • Leaking information which puts national security at risk is a criminal offence. • Reporting details of court proceedings which the court has forbidden to be published, such as the identity of a rape victim. <p>p. 105.</p>	<p>A-Z Law Handbook (Jacqueline Martin and Mary Gibbins. Philip Allan Publisher Ltd, 2012</p>

The following points sum up the discussion of linguistic rights:

- Human rights are divided into natural rights and legal rights
- Some natural rights are also legal rights just in case there are enshrined in laws, which include national constitutions;
- All national constitutions provide for linguistic rights, mainly by picking one or more language as official language or official languages; and
- Linguistic rights are human rights but, like any human right, they are binding if and only if they are enshrined in texts such as national constitutions or conventions, treaties and similar instruments of regional and international organizations.

5. Conclusion

This paper offered an overview of the multifarious nature of the relationship between law and language. Because of the importance of language in society, there are linguistic provisions in national constitutions as well as all regional and international organizations.

The paper also pointed out the specific nature of language as used in law, the study of which is referred to, in this paper, as 'legal linguistics'.

The inter-relatedness of Sala and other Bantu Botatwe Languages (Ila, Lenje, Soli and Tonga) in Zambia

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Abstract

The inter-relatedness of Sala and other Bantu Botatwe languages in Zambia is a study which involved a lexicostatistical survey on the inter-relatedness of Sala, Lenje, Soli and Tonga. According to Doke (1954), Bantu Botatwe refers to the language group comprising the seven languages of the Tonga group, namely Ila, Lenje, Lundwe, Sala, Soli, Tonga and Twa. The affinity of these languages is generally accepted. However, no systematic study of the lexicostatistical analysis has been made. The purpose of this study is to make a contribution to the existing knowledge in comparative Bantu linguistics by conducting a lexicostatistical survey on the degree of inter-relatedness of the languages investigated.

The study specifically focused on Sala, one of the least documented languages in the Bantu Botatwe Group, to establish its degree of inter-relatedness with Tonga, the language used for initial literacy and as a school subject in Sala-speaking areas. Further, the study included Lenje and Soli, making a total of four languages studied.

'The Swadesh list' of two hundred (200) vocabulary items, was the basis for comparison. Three informants (Translators) of above forty-five (45) years of age were carefully chosen from each language using purposive sampling.

The data collected were analyzed using the lexicostatistical method whose results were presented in tables and graphs. Established cognates were coded: a plus (+) sign for cognates; a minus sign for non-cognates; a hash (#) sign for the second set of cognates; a caret (^) sign for the third set of cognates.

The study employed the tenets from historical and comparative linguistics and lexicostatistics theoretical framework.

The study established that Sala's degree of inter-relatedness with other three languages studied, ranges from 67 percent to 81.5 percent. The highest percentage of inter-relatedness is between Sala and Lenje at 81.5 percent followed by Sala and Tonga at 80 percent, Sala and Ila at 70 percent while Sala and Soli is at 67 percent. The researcher concludes that the speech forms like Sala and Lenje, Sala and Tonga, are dialects of the same language due to a high degree of mutual intelligibility based on the vocabulary and lexicostatically. Sala and Ila, Sala and Soli are distinct languages though their inter-relatedness is 70 and 67 percent respectively.

Keywords: Sala, Bantu Botatwe Languages, lexicostatistical survey and analysis.

Introduction and Background

Sala is one of the least documented languages in the Bantu Botatwe Group. The aim of this paper is establish its degree of relatedness with Tonga, the language used for initial literacy and as a school subject in Sala speaking areas.

Sala is a language spoken along the boundaries of Central, Lusaka and Southern provinces. For example, Lusaka-west, Nampundwe and Shibuyunji. Fortune (1959:38) states that Sala was added by Doke (1954) to the Bantu Botatwe group sometime after Guthrie's classification. The preliminary investigations carried out by the researcher with Mr. Underson Mwiimbu, Headman of Kambya Mwiimbu Village, Chief Shakumbila, in the presence of a group of his subjects in March 2011, revealed that the Sala people originated from Gwembe Valley in Southern Province. One man by the name of Choongo and three ladies namely, Chintu, Mungalu and Maninga ran away from Gwembe and settled along the Kafue River. Later on, these people crossed the Kafue River and settled in Chipapa area. After some years, they moved to Lilayi, and later on moved to Farmers, along the Mumbwa-Lusaka Road. Those who remained moved on to Chabota and from Chabota they moved and settled at Shabasonke (Oral interviews: His Royal Highness Chikumbe Chibamba).

On the other hand, other people who were interviewed within Chief Shakumbila's chiefdom claim that Salas were Lenjes. According to themef, at one point one group decided to break away from the Lenjes, and the Lenjes called the group 'basala' meaning 'they have chosen to separate.' Since then they continued to call them "ba Sala" (oral interviews: J. B. Mwinga). During the oral interviews by the researcher, Chief Shakumbila, confirmed that the geographical area occupied by the Sala people stretches from Landless Corner on the Great North Road through Namakolongo in the north. From there, it goes up to Kabile, via Mashili Dam, Mwembeshi River in the north east; passes through Makombwe stream and Nsanje hill in the east. Kapili Kamamvwa is in the south east while in the south the area encompasses Kafue plains, Chise, Kabulungwe and Masene. In the south the area covers Kakombwe hill, Makombe Dam and crosses the old Mongu road and further joins Kabwe road at four miles in the north. The nearest church to the chief's palace visited during the survey shows that Sala people use Tonga Bibles and Hymn books, while discussions are conducted in both Sala and Tonga. Tonga is used in schools. Sala is surrounded by other languages such as Ila, Lenje, Kaonde Ila, Kaonde and Tonga. The 2010 Census on Population and Housing report did not record how many people speak Sala in this area.

The study of the syntactic structures and morposyntax of the Lenje and Tonga noun phrase [which the researcher did at the MA level] motivated the researcher to carry out further investigations on local languages and in particular in the area of lexical cognates.

Methodology

Research Design

This study applied a qualitative approach supplemented by quantitative data. It was qualitative because the researcher used narrative or textual descriptions of the phenomenon under study. The inventory of basic vocabulary of the five languages which was used for the analysis to establish their degree of inter-relatedness was verified by native speakers of each language through face to face interviews, for translation, verification and clarification of the data. The study was partly quantitative in the sense that it applied some statistical figures such as percentages of inter-relatedness for the five languages under study, for the purposes of conclusions and interpretations. According to Bynon (1977), the Lexicostatistical method is a mathematical or statistical study of basic vocabulary of two or more languages. This paper describes the vocabulary of the five languages in a systematic way to clearly show the lexicostatistical percentages.

Study Location

The research was undertaken in the following areas within Zambia: Situmbeko Village, Mumbwa; and Chief Shakumbila's Palace, Mumbwa and the surrounding villages. It was also largely desk research, as dictionaries, grammars and other written materials on the languages under study were used to check the vocabulary items.

Study Population

For this study, the population is divided into two: firstly, the researcher targeted the native speakers of Ila, Lenje, Sala, Soli and Tonga, from different parts of the country. In particular, these people were in the age group of 45 years of age and above, chosen on account of their level of competence in their particular languages.

Sampling Techniques

The researcher employed purposive sampling, which uses a technique, where the researcher purposely chooses people, who, are thought to be relevant to the research topic. Therefore, the researcher purposively chose to interview competent native speakers of the languages under investigation because they could provide information relevant to the research topic. The researcher targeted both males and females of 45 years and above for translation of the Swadesh list, because they are believed to have purer forms of the vocabulary in their native languages. Most of the young people in urban areas have lived in a mixed environment that makes it difficult to know, use and maintain proper forms of their native languages. Some do not even use their native languages at home and have lost the pure forms of their native languages due to urbanization. However, young people (learners) in the age range of 13 to 19 were also purposively sampled for comprehension tests.

Moreover, the researcher used purposive sampling during the process of testing the performance of the learners of local languages. Only those who were in the local language classes were purposively sampled as respondents. These were in the age range of 13 to 19.

Snowball sampling is a type of referral sampling which uses a process of chain referral: When members of the target population are located, they are asked to provide names and addresses of other members of the target population, who are then contacted and asked to name others, and so on and so forth. Sudman and Kalton (1986) used snowball sampling to create sampling frames and are sometimes associated with probability sampling (Goodman, 1961). The researcher utilized snowball sampling because it is a method that uses initial subjects where the desired characteristics are identified using the purposive sampling technique. The researcher identified the few subjects, who named others that they knew had the required characteristics until the researcher got the number of cases required.

Linear snowball sampling is when the first respondent recruits one more person for the survey, who in turn recruits one more person for the survey. In this study, the number of people interviewed increased in a linear manner. The related links provided good discussion of this form of surveying. Snowball sampling is the non-representative sample, but it was an effective means of surveying people with common traits who would otherwise have been difficult to find. The advantage of snowball sampling is that it is easy to implement.

Ethics

The researcher did not force any participant, but voluntary participation was sought and permission to use people's names was granted for those that have been named in this study. As suggested by White (2000) and Bunns (2000), the researcher explained the nature and purpose of the research to the informants. Identified participants were willing to participate.

Findings

The section discusses and analyses the 200 word list used in the study in order to establish the degree of relatedness amongst the languages under investigation. These languages include Ila, Lenje, Sala, Soli and Tonga. The findings, discussions and analysis are based on the following specific objective: Establishment of the degree of inter-relatedness between Sala and other Bantu Botatwe languages namely, Ila, Lenje, Soli and Tonga. Previous studies of Bantu languages and their criteria for determining cognates are discussed in this section. Further, the degree of inter-relatedness among the languages being examined, the group averages and the hierarchy of relationship has been discussed. Also, the cognate retention from Proto-Bantu and shared cognates, as well as sound changes, and the historical implications have been discussed. The section closes with a summary of findings.

Criteria Used for Determining Cognates

Previous scholars have used different criteria to determine cognates. According to Swadesh (1955:124-126), cognates are established from the word lists. Swadesh suggested a 200 word list of basic vocabulary, which he used in his lexicostatistical studies. For Swadesh (1955:124-126) the relatedness of any group of languages is supposed to be approximately comparable to the number of cognate words present in the words making up the list. The major

reason for using the specific basic vocabulary lists instead of random words is that the basic vocabulary learnt in childhood is likely to change slowly over a period of time.

The Swadesh list comprises names of body parts, names of some domestic and wild animals, simple verbs and nouns for everyday activities. Swadesh (1955) also suggested different guidelines to determine cognates such as universality, culture terms and duplication. He believes that items should be universal that is, having characteristics common to all languages. For example, some items like 'ice', 'freeze', 'sea' and 'snow' may have some concepts in African languages, but the same concepts are alien to some of the African societies that may not have such items. For example, since it is not common to have snow in Zambia, that fact alone makes the concept alien.

In Tonga 'ice' is translated as *caanda*. However, the researcher has observed that the concept still remains alien because the word *caanda* is not commonly used since the item it refers to is not usually found in the Tonga society. The item 'freeze' is translated as *kwaanda* in Tonga, which commonly affects the plants in the garden, fields or bush, but does not carry the concept of 'freeze' especially for frozen food in the fridge, which is well known to people using fridges. Therefore the concept of *kwaanda* still remains alien. Similarly, in areas where only rivers and dams are common, the concept of sea remains alien.

Thus, Swadesh (1955:24) suggests that culture terms should be excluded from comparative word lists due to their retention of cultural elements, a factor that makes them 'too closely correlated with fluctuations in the cultural situation to serve as an index of the passage of time.' He also suggests that in terms of duplication, only one word ought to be used where a concept is expressed in different ways. For example, man/male is expressed by one term in this study. Nevertheless, in the languages under study, the concepts 'man', 'male' and 'gentleman' are expressed by different terms. In Tonga, 'man' is represented by two terms: *mulombwana*, and *mwalumi* depending on the Tonga Dialect one is using. For those using Valley Tonga, the term *mwalumi* is applied, while those using Plateau Tonga, the term *mulombwana* is applied. The word woman/female is expressed by two different terms. These are *mwanakazi* and *mukaintu*. The two terms are dialectal. Valley Tonga uses *mwanakazi* while Plateau Tonga uses *mukaintu*. Therefore, following Swadesh's suggestion on duplication, this study, has, from the two lexical items (*mulombwana*, and *mwaalumi*) referring to 'man', only used the term *mulombwana*. Similarly, the word *mukaintu* has been used to represent the two lexical items for woman/female. The study has used the two words; *mukaintu* and *mulombwana* that come from the same dialect, which is Plateau Tonga. *Mu-* refers to a prefix for singular, and *ba-* in *bakaintu* marks the plural form. For example, the word *mukaintu wangu* 'my wife', *bakaintu bangu* 'my wives.' *Ba-* may also be used to denote respect and not the plural form. Thus *bakaintu bangu* is still 'my wife' but denoting respect. Throughout the study, Plateau Tonga has been used because the researcher is a Plateau Tonga native speaker and for consistency.

On the other hand, Gudschinsky (1956) suggested that any pair of equivalent morphemes may be registered as probable cognates if a minimum of three pairs of comparable phonemes or

phoneme clusters are found to agree. For example, in this study, the word for cloud exhibits the following numbers of phoneme: In Tonga it is *kumbi* ‘cloud’. In Ila, ‘cloud’ is *nkumbi*. However, these have been considered as cognates in the mentioned languages due to their phoneme clusters (-mb) that are found to agree in the languages. Another example is the vocabulary item *mu-nyama* ‘animal’. It has phoneme clusters /-nyama/ which amount to a stem in all the languages under study. The item qualifies to be cognate due to this. There is also a phoneme cluster in the vocabulary item *munwe* ‘finger.’ It has phoneme clusters /-nwe/. In Ila, Lenje, Sala and Tonga it is called *munwe*. Hence the item fits to be cognate. The vocabulary item ‘die’ has phoneme cluster /-fwa/ in Kaonde Ila, Lenje and Soli. As mentioned above, the morphemes *-fwa*, *-mbi*, *-nwe*, *-nya* are equivalent morphemes in the languages given as examples.

Blount and Curley (1970) made no reference to sound correspondences. They considered those items where there was only one phonetic change, as cognates. For example, if a pair of items with an equal number of phonemes differed in one phoneme only, and if for example the difference was only in the feature ‘voice,’ that pair was considered to be cognate. This study has borrowed Blount and Curley’s criteria of cognates. Therefore, using Blount and Curley’s (1970) criteria,

- (a) Sala, *buzuba* and Soli, *busuba* both meaning ‘day,’ qualify as cognates despite having one phoneme which differs in voicing. The phoneme [z] from *buzuba* is a voiced alveolar fricative while the phoneme [s] from *busuba* is a voiceless alveolar fricative.
- (b) The Lenje *ku-lya* and the Ila, Sala, Soli and Tonga *ku-lya* ‘to eat’ qualify to be cognates as they do not differ in phoneme or voice. The phoneme [l] from *ku-lya* is an alveolar lateral approximant which is voiced.
- (c) The Soli *ku-kweela* and Tonga *ku-kwela* ‘to pull’ are regarded as cognates in this study regardless of the difference in vowel length manifested in Soli. Again, there is no difference in voice, which may not be considered cognate using Blount and Curley’s other criteria.

Nurse and Philippon (1980:26) took sound correspondences into account and considered two or more items to be cognates if they were derived from the same single item in a hypothetical common ancestor language by direct oral transmission. Borrowing Nurse and Philippon’s criteria, the study shows that, for example,

- (a) the Proto Bantu *-yàmà* ‘animal’ is *-nyama* and is cognate in all the five languages being explored,
- (b) the Proto Bantu numeral *-na*, *-ne* ‘four’ is cognate to Ila *syo-ne*; Lenje *sho-ne*; Sala *zho-ne*; Soli *chi-na-i* and Tonga *to-ne*.
- (c) the Proto Bantu verb *-cek* ‘laugh’ is cognate to *ku-sek-a* in Ila; Lenje, Sala, Soli and Tonga.

The lexical items in the above examples (a), (b), and (c) have evidence of sound correspondence, and are regarded as cognates by being derived from single items in Proto Bantu and taking sound correspondence into account.

Establishing Percentages of Relatedness

The percentages of inter-relatedness between the languages studied were established from the 200 translated basic vocabulary items (Swadesh List). The basic vocabulary items were analyzed and established cognates were coded. For cognates, a plus (+) sign was used while a minus (-) sign was used for items not judged to be cognates. A hash (#) sign was used for the second set of cognates while a caret (^) sign was used for a third set of cognates where in a list of seven items three groups of languages were found to be cognates. In order to determine the number of cognates in all the eight languages under study, counting of cognates was carried out after coding. The total number of cognates for each language was divided by two hundred (200) and then multiplied by one hundred (100) to establish the percentage of inter-relatedness between the languages considered in this study. The data has been exemplified using tables.

This study established the percentages of the degree of inter-relatedness between the five languages namely Ila, Lenje, Sala, Soli, and Tonga. The results are discussed below, beginning with the percentages of relatedness between Sala and the other four Bantu Botatwe languages. Then the percentages of inter-relatedness were collapsed into a chart for each language's relatedness with other four languages studied.

Sala

The degree of relatedness between Sala and other four languages under study was determined as shown below.

Sala and Tonga	80%
Sala and Soli	67%
Sala and Lenje	81.5%
Sala and Ila	70%

The above data is collapsed in the following figure:

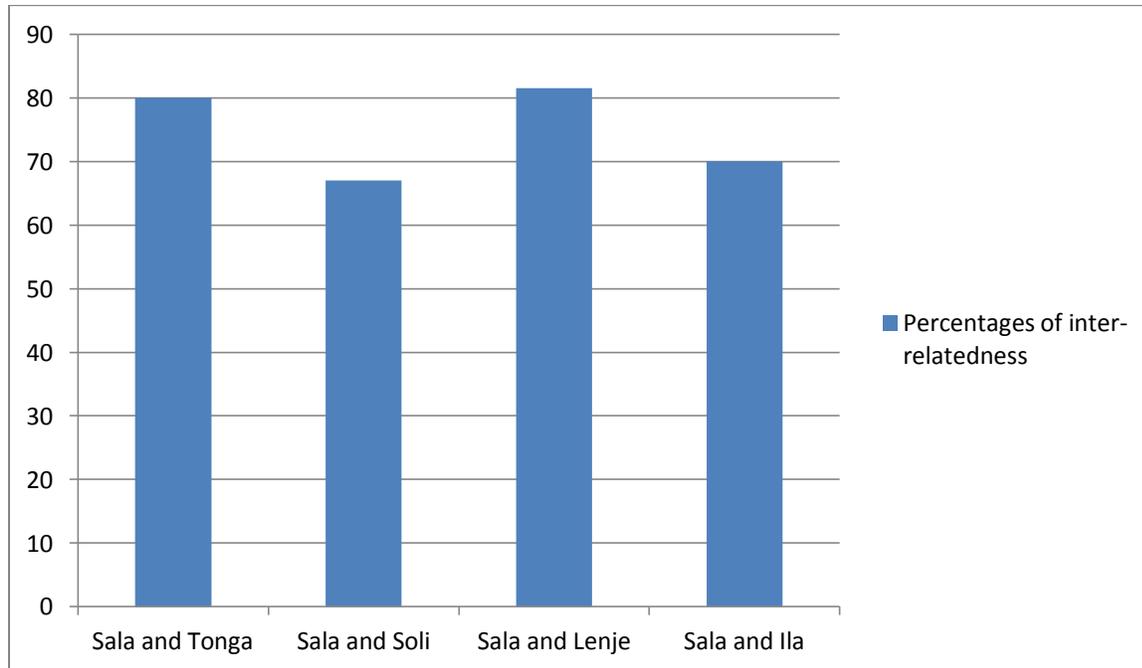


Figure 1: Sala’s degree of inter-relatedness with other languages.

Figure one above is showing in graph form, the percentages of the degree of inter-relatedness between Sala and the other four Bantu Botatwe languages indicated in the graph. The highest percentage of relatedness is between Sala and Lenje at 81.5 percent, followed by Sala and Tonga at 80 percent while Sala and Ila are at 70 percent. The lowest in the group is Sala and Soli at 67 percent.

From the above data, it is evident that the degree of inter-relatedness between Sala and other Bantu Botatwe languages under study, particularly Tonga, Ila, Lenje and Soli is high, as it is at 67 percent and above.

Conclusion

As was pointed out in the background to this study, Tonga is taught to Sala children in schools. The figure above has shown that the degree of inter-relatedness between Sala and Tonga is at 80 percent, which is relatively high. Therefore, Sala children may have no major difficulties in learning in Tonga since the degree of inter-relatedness based on the results of the present study between these two languages is quite high.

The Researcher believes that it is good that the Ministry of Education has chosen Tonga as a language for literacy and as a school subject in the Sala speaking areas.

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La Migration Peule Et Ses Conséquences En Afrique Sub-Saharienne : Quelques Réflexions Sur *La Brousse Ardente* De Cyprian Ekwensi

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Résumé

*Cyprian Ekwensi s'est véritablement signalé à la critique en 1954 lors de la publication de son premier grand roman *People of the City*, suivi de *Jagua Nana* en 1961, et *Burning Grass* en 1962. Le roman est traduit de l'anglais au français sous le titre de *La Brousse Ardente* en 1978. Dans ses huit grands romans, Ekwensi ne cesse de questionner l'Afrique aux plans sociaux, politiques et culturels. Cet engagement inscrit au cœur de ses préoccupations, fait de sa production romanesque une critique d'une Afrique en perpétuel mouvement dans un monde en pleine mutation. Le roman est donc une création artistique de l'auteur entre le réel et l'imaginaire. Il est un récit d'une société pastorale du nord du Nigeria. *La Brousse Ardente* d'Ekwensi sous forme d'un conte remue les expériences personnelles du vieux Mai Sunsaye et celle de ses gardiens de troupeaux. Dans cette société, lorsqu'on brûle l'herbe dans les plains, les bergers – Fulani descendent avec leurs troupeaux vers le sud du pays où se trouve les Rivières du fleuve Niger. Le vieux Mai Sunsaye, un père de famille, héros de l'histoire, souffre du Sokugo, la maladie d'errance. Affectée par ce sort, Mai Sunsaye quitte sa famille un jour, à l'insu de tout le monde en poursuivant un pigeon. Au cours de ses errances, il retrouve Fatimeh qui grâce à sa connaissance des herbes et des médicaments traditionnels guérit ce dernier. Le roman nous laisse donc à réfléchir sur les courants des migrations en Afrique sub-saharienne en général et la migration de la société peule en particulier. Nos réflexions à travers ce conte nous permettront évidemment de tirer des leçons. Par ce fait, ce conte peut contribuer directement à amener des solutions liées à l'insécurité dans la sous-région ou aux d'autres problèmes relatifs à la migration. Ce conte pourrait même être un tremplin pour le développement de la région de Tahoua et celle du nord du Nigeria où la menace de Boko Haram est trop accentuée. Malheureusement, Malgré sa noblesse et ses adhésions aux principes du Pulaaku le code moral de la société peulh, la société est soupçonné d'être impliquée dans les multiples problèmes de l'insécurité entre le Nigeria et ses pays voisins : le Niger, le Cameroun, et le Tchad. Cette communication s'articule donc autour de ces quatre axes : les parcours littéraires de l'auteur, la forme et le fond dudit roman, les personnages importants du roman et les conséquences de leurs déplacements, la signification de cette œuvre aussi bien que la vision du monde de cet auteur populaire Nigérian dont les œuvres romanesques traduites de l'anglais en français circulent dans l'Espace francophone en Afrique de l'ouest.*

Mots Clés : Littérature, Migration, Culture, Société, Transhumance, Conséquences, Insécurité, Développement.

Abstract

Cyprian Ekwensi became a true critic in 1954 when he published his first major novel People of the City, followed by Jagua Nana in 1961, and Burning Grass in 1962. The novel is translated from English to French under the title of The Burning Grass in 1978. In his collection of short stories as well as his eight great novels, Ekwensi continues to question Africa on social, political and cultural levels. This commitment, which is at the heart of his concerns, makes his production a critique of an Africa in perpetual motion in a changing world. The novel is therefore an artistic creation of the author between the real and the imaginary. It is a story of a pastoral society in northern Nigeria. Ekwensi's novel in the form of a tale stirs the personal experiences of old Mai Sunsaye and that of his herdsmen. In this society, when the grass is burned, the shepherds - Fulani descend with their flocks to the south of the country towards the River Niger. The old Mai Sunsaye, a father, a hero of history, suffers from Sokugo, the wandering disease. Affected by this sort, Mai Sunsaye leaves his family one day, unknown to everyone by pursuing a pigeon. During his wanderings, he finds Fatimeh who thanks to her knowledge of traditional herbs and medicines cures the latter. The novel thus leaves us to reflect on the currents of migration in sub-Saharan Africa in general and the migration of the Fulani society in particular. Our reflections through this story will obviously allow us to draw lessons. As a result, this tale can directly contribute to insecurity-related solutions in the sub-region or to other migration-related issues. This tale could even be a springboard for the development of the Tahoua region and that of northern Nigeria where the threat of Boko Haram is too strong. Unfortunately, despite its nobility and adherence to the principles of Pulaaku the moral code of Fulani society, the tribe is suspected of being involved in the multiple problems of insecurity between Nigeria and its neighboring countries: Niger, Benin, Cameroon, and Chad.

Keywords: Literature, Migration, Culture, Society consequence, Insecurity & Development.

Introduction :

Les Peulh constituent l'un des plus importants groupes des sociétés traditionnelles de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Leurs sociétés s'étendent du Sahel au Cameroun à la lisière tropicale en passant par le Nord du Nigéria où ils cohabitent avec les Haoussa. Nomades et semi-nomades, les Peulh mènent la vie pastorale et libre de leurs ancêtres. Grâce aux djihads islamiques de Chaikou Amadou, des Almamy de Guinée, des Lam Toro, et du Cheikh Ousmane Dan Fodio, au début du XIX^{ème} siècle, des empires ou royaumes Peulh sont fondés au Fouta Toro, au Fouta Djallon, au Massina et à Sokoto. Shehu qui porta le pseudonyme *Ousmane dan Fodio*, naquit dans une famille de lettrés musulmans en 1754 à Maratta, actuellement situé au Niger. En 1804, à Gudu au village Tabkin Kwato, le 21 février précisément, Shehu et ses disciples proclamèrent ainsi la guerre sainte religieuse (le jihad). Parlant du Jihad et particulièrement de l'empire de Sokoto, l'historien africain Elikia M'Bokolo (1992 :51)) rappelle que : Le jihad initié par Ousmane dan Fodio fut sans précédent dans l'histoire du Soudan central, par son ampleur et ses conséquences. Il donna naissance à l'empire de Sokoto qui s'étendait sur un immense territoire allant de l'Aïr au nord, à la limite de la forêt équatoriale au sud, des pays de la Volta à l'ouest, aux abords du lac Tchad à l'est. Ce fut le cadre d'un puissant mouvement d'intégration de peuples divers, appartenant désormais à une communauté musulmane identique : l'umma. L'empire, fondé et dirigé par des lettrés préoccupés de pureté islamique, fut une véritable théocratie régie par la sharia. A sa tête se trouvait un souverain. Il portait le titre de khalife ou sarkin musulmi (variante locale de amir al-muminim), c'est-à-dire Commandeur des croyants. Quant à la l'organisation politique de la dynastie, Elikia M'Bokolo rappelle également que le principe dynastique caractéristique de l'islam classique s'imposa. En ce qui concerne la vie et la carrière littéraire d'Ousmane dan Fodio l'auteur avance que ce dernier fut avant tout un mystique, un pédagogue, un savant voué à l'activité intellectuelle et qui écrivit de nombreux ouvrages de théologie, de jurisprudence, de littérature, poèmes en arabe et en ajami (écriture d'origine arabe), etc. Son fils et successeur, Muhammad Bello (1817-1837), eut la tâche d'organiser administrativement le nouvel empire avec un gouvernement central, une capitale, Sokoto, qui abritait le palais du khalife, ainsi que des gouvernements provinciaux structurés en émirats. En 1824, les Blancs et particulièrement le lieutenant Hugh Clapperton rendit sa première visite à Kano et ensuite à Sokoto. Les empires Peulh fondés étaient si bien structurés et si puissants que seule la colonisation européenne put arrêter leur expansion. Les Peulh ou Fulani en Anglais dont Ekwensi raconte l'histoire dans *La Brousse ardente* sont restés des pasteurs même s'ils se sont sédentarisés aujourd'hui dans leur grande majorité. Ainsi, ils observent strictement le code moral de la tradition peulh : *pulaaku*, maîtrise de soi, patience, humilité, et savoir vivre à la manière ancestrale.

Cyprian Ekwensi : L'homme et l'œuvre

Ekwensi est né le 26 septembre 1921. Il est d'origine Ibo, un des trois grands groupes ethniques de la fédération du Nigéria. Grâce à sa carrière professionnelle, Ekwensi a voyagé et vécu dans toutes les trois grandes régions du Nigéria. C'est pourquoi il connaît non seulement la culture traditionnelle de sa société mais aussi les coutumes et modes de vie de toute la société nigériane. Il transpose ces réalités de la société nigériane dans ses œuvres littéraires. Il enseigne

pendant deux ans avant de rejoindre la Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) comme journaliste. Il occupe ce poste jusqu'en 1966. Quand la guerre civile commence, Ekwensi est nommé conseiller spécial du colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, le président de ladite république du Biafra qui prit fin en 1970, trois ans seulement après sa proclamation. En somme, Ekwensi était dans toutes les professions au Nigéria : ingénieur, enseignant, pharmacien, journaliste, homme d'affaires, écrivain et homme politique. Néanmoins, de toutes ses fonctions professionnelles, sa carrière d'écrivain est la plus connue. Ekwensi tombe gravement malade en Juin 2007 et est Il y subit une intervention chirurgicale suite à laquelle il meurt finalement le 4 novembre 2007 à l'âge de 86 ans. Mais avant sa mort, l'auteur de *La Brousse ardente* a publié ainsi un grand nombre de textes et de livres pour enfants. A ce jour, huit romans ont été publiés par Ekwensi. Ses sept (07) premiers romans ont tous été publiés aux éditions Heinmann et dans la collection African Writers Series. Le tableau ci-dessous présente l'ensemble de ses œuvres romanesques voire ses grands romans :

	Titre original	Titre en français	Année de publication
01	<i>People of the City</i>	<i>Les Gens de la Ville</i>	1954
02	<i>Jagua Nana</i>	<i>Jagua Nana 1^{ère} éd.</i>	1961
03	<i>Burning Grass</i>	<i>La Brousse ardente</i>	1962
04	<i>Beautiful Feathers</i>	<i>Les Belles Plumes</i>	1963
05	<i>Iska</i>	<i>L'Iska</i>	1966
06	<i>Survive the Peace</i>	<i>Vive la Paix</i>	1976
07	<i>Divided We Stand</i>	<i>Divisés Nous Sommes</i>	1980
08	<i>Jagua Nana's Daughter</i>	<i>La Fille de Jagua Nana</i>	1986

De la forme au fond de la Brousse Ardente (Burning Grass)

Malgré la subdivision du roman en vingt et un chapitres, les événements et la narration sont structurés en trois grandes parties : la première partie présente les événements malheureux qui se passent dans la famille du personnage principal Mai Sunsaye. L'arrivée de la jeune fille Fatimeh va causer la dispersion de cette famille. Et enfin, le personnage principal Maisunsaye quitte la famille de façon mystérieuse à l'insu de tout le monde ; la deuxième partie du roman porte essentiellement sur les croyances traditionnelles des Fulani et particulièrement sur le phénomène du « sokugo » ou la maladie de l'errance qui est un mauvais sort qu'on jette à quelqu'un et qui le pousse à un destin picaresque ; dans la troisième partie du roman, Mai Sunsaye retrouve Fatimeh et la ramène chez Rikku ; mais à sa grande surprise, son fils habitué déjà à la vie chez Kantuma, a cessé d'aimer Fatimeh. Heureusement, grâce à sa connaissance des médicaments traditionnels et des herbes, Fatimeh qui était la base de la division et de la dispersion de la famille Sunsaye dès le début, guérit maintenant Mai Sunsaye de sa maladie du « sokugo ». Revenant chez lui où les populations le préfèrent comme chef de Dokan Toro, Mai Sunsaye, après avoir évincé son rival Ardo de son poste, s'installa comme le chef du Village. Malheureusement, il n'a pas longtemps occupé le poste. Il tomba malade et mourut après trois jours de fièvre.

Résumé du roman

Dans *La Brousse ardente*, Cyprian Ekwensi raconte l'histoire des Peulhs du Nord du Nigéria. Le roman raconte l'histoire d'un vieux, père de famille et berger appelé Mai Sunsaye. Il vivait tranquillement dans sa famille qui comprenait sa femme, ses trois fils et une petite fille. Un jour, pendant qu'il était assis sous un arbre en train de lire son coran, brusquement une jeune fille se présenta devant lui, poursuivie par un homme. L'homme prétendit que la fille appartenait à son maître. Mai Sunsaye eut pitié de la jeune fille, consulte ses deux fils et puis décide d'acheter celle-ci contre cinq têtes de bœufs. Ainsi, depuis ce jour, Fatimeh, une jeune Kanuri devient un membre de la famille Sunsaye. Son arrivée dans la famille va provoquer des rivalités, d'abord entre Mai Sunsaye et Shehu, le premier propriétaire de la jeune fille et ensuite entre les deux fils de Mai Sunsaye qui tous les deux aiment cette jeune beauté incontestable. Hodio, le frère de Rikku, décide de s'enfuir avec la Jeune Fatimeh, laissant son petit frère Rikku souffrant du chagrin d'amour. Ainsi, Rikku demande à son père Mai Sunsaye d'aller chercher la jeune Fatimeh. Un jour, la famille de Mai Sunsaye constata l'absence du vieux Sunsaye dans le foyer. Aussi, du fait de la rivalité entre Mai Sunsaye et Ardo pour le poste d'administrateur du village, celui-ci jette un sort au protagoniste sous la forme d'une maladie appelée « sokugo », autrement dit la maladie qui fait errer les hommes dans le monde. Affecté par ce sort, Mai Sunsaye quitte sa famille en poursuivant un pigeon. Au cours de cette errance, il retrouve Fatimeh. Après donc son séjour chez Fatimeh, il est débarrassé de sa maladie du sokugo. Il revint alors chez lui à Dokan Toro où il fit partir Ardo de son poste et s'installe lui-même comme chef du village *Dokantoro*. Affecté un jour par une maladie, Mai Sunsaye trouve la mort. Dès lors, sa famille quitte le village parce que les superstitions peulh considèrent l'endroit où survient un décès comme un milieu maudit.

La Société Peule Et La Conséquence De Sa Migration : Le Cas De *La Brousse Ardente*

Dans ce roman, la présentation des personnages est fondée sur la présence de plusieurs acteurs. Les personnages sont présentés sous des formes différentes. D'une part, le personnage principal et sa famille, d'autre part, les personnages importants ou secondaires.

Le personnage principal Mai Sunsaye et la conséquence de sa migration

Mai Sunsaye signifie "l'homme aux oiseaux". Le nom du personnage principal est donc métaphorique et symbolique de l'histoire du roman autour de laquelle toutes les actions se déroulent. Mai Sunsaye est un vieil homme. Il est peul et berger. Son âge n'est pas précisé dans le roman, mais il règne sur une famille de cinq personnes : sa femme, ses trois fils et une petite fille. Mai Sunsaye habite paisiblement dans sa famille, et possède un troupeau que ses enfants conduisent régulièrement au pâturage. Sur le plan social et moral, malgré sa vieillesse, le vieux Mai Sunsaye est un homme énergique, de taille moyenne, brave et généreuse. Il n'a jamais été lâche dans sa vie. Moralement, c'est un homme qui mène une vie très simple, et qui aime contempler ses bêtes. Mai Sunsaye n'est pas timide et il est prompt devant le danger. Fervent musulman, Mai Sunsaye est attaché à la foi islamique. Il fait les prières de jour comme de nuit régulièrement. Il lit et écrit couramment l'arabe. Sa connaissance de la langue arabe lui permet aussi de lire son coran. Traditionnellement, Mai Sunsaye est attaché à la culture peulh ; il est toujours fier de lui-même, de ses valeurs, de son origine, de sa tribu et de son destin. Comme tout Peul, sa vie est généralement guidée non seulement par le code moral du *pulaaku*¹, mais aussi par la foi islamique à laquelle il est très attaché. En tant que marabout, il donne des amulettes, des charmes et des herbes aux gens. Sur le plan social, Mai Sunsaye est un véritable leader, il est aussi un démocrate qui aime son peuple et qui en est aimé. Il est un bon administrateur de village. Ses qualités vont susciter une rivalité entre lui et *Ardo*, le chef tyrannique et méchant. Mai Sunsaye après avoir souffert de la maladie du « *sokugo* » il en est finalement débarrassé. Mais comme la mort n'a pas de remède, il meurt après la réunification de sa famille auparavant dispersée.

Les membres de la famille Sunsaye et les conséquences de leurs déplacements.

Mai Sunsaye est un père de famille de sept personnes comprenant sa femme *Shaitu*, *Jalla*, le fils aîné, *Hodio* le deuxième fils, *Rikku* le troisième fils, *Leibe*, une petite fille. La sixième personne est *Fatimeh* une esclave que Mai Sunsaye a rachetée et qui est devenue aussi un membre de la famille. Il y a aussi *Fiddiggo*, la femme de *Jalla*. Les noms des personnages du roman ont une signification religieuse et sont retenus pour honorer de grandes figures de la religion musulmane. La famille vivait en paix, pratiquant le métier de berger. L'arrivée de *Fatimeh* provoque sa dispersion. Nous nous contenterons d'analyser ici le rôle que chacun des personnages joue dans le déroulement des événements du roman.

Shaitu : « la mère de Rikku »

¹ Pulaaku signifie le code moral de la société peul : maîtrise de soi, retenue,

Elle aime son mari à qui elle donne des conseils de temps en temps. Elle partage avec lui tous ses problèmes. Elle est aussi fermement attachée aux croyances traditionnelles comme nous le notons à travers ce passage: La vie de *Shaitu*, comme celle de tous les bergers Fulani, était dominée par des croyances qu'elle ne pouvait pas expliquer. Elle acceptait les événements mais les associait avec des objets inanimés et des circonstances particulières. Un talisman pouvait porter chance....Un homme peut abattre son ennemi en criant son nom et lançant une aiguille vers le ciel. Un homme peut envoyer son ennemi errer jusqu'à la mort en le frappant avec le *sokugo*, le charme d'errance...c'était conclut-elle, ce qui était arrivé à son mari. Elle croyait fermement aussi aux présages et aux sorts². En tant que femme Fulani, *Shaitu* va souvent vendre le lait au village. Quand son mari est absent, elle est responsable de la gestion de la famille et des troupeaux. Elle est le symbole de la vertueuse femme Fulani, gardienne de la tradition peulh. C'est la raison pour laquelle elle observe les funérailles et le deuil à la mort de son mari. Elle se déplace la plus part de temps de leur camp aux villages voisins pour des raisons commerciales.

Jalla

C'est le fils-aîné qui quitte la famille au début du roman. Il est indépendant car il possède lui-même plus de mille têtes de bétail. Il a son propre campement près de Malendo. Après avoir séjourné en ville, il oublie certains aspects de la tradition. C'est pourquoi il se présente au *sharro* sans faire les préparations nécessaires. Sa manière de vivre, son habileté et sa mentalité ont changé. Voilà pourquoi il veut faire son mariage sans observer les rites traditionnels. Il échoue d'ailleurs à l'épreuve du *sharro*, humiliant ainsi la famille Mai Sunsaye, mais aussi sa fiancée Fiddiggo qui fait la remarque suivante: « Puis tu t'es enfui du Koboko ! Au nom d'Allah, tu n'es pas de taille à regarder une fille droit dans les yeux »³. Il joue un rôle significatif dans le roman. A travers son personnage, l'auteur veut montrer un aspect de la tradition peule. C'est pourquoi il se marie à Fiddiggo, une fille de son ethnie, comme le veut la tradition peule qui encourage l'endogamie. Il représente également les jeunes générations qui ne veulent pas se marier avant d'avoir possédé leur voiture, construit leur maison ou d'être riches. Quant à lui il se déplace le plus souvent avec ses troupeaux en pratiquant la coutume peulh de transhumance.

Hodio

C'est le deuxième fils de Mai Sunsaye. Il conseille son père "d'acheter" l'esclave Fatimeh contre cinq têtes de bétail. L'auteur le dépeint ainsi : *Hodio* était de cinq ans l'aîné de *Rikku*. A dix-neuf ans, il était grand, dégingandé, athlétique comme un léopard, étroit de hanches et large d'épaules. La famille reconnaissait en lui un homme d'une infatigable énergie⁴. Naturellement, *Hodio* est courageux. Dès le début, il est mécontent de son frère *Rikku* et il déclare ouvertement un jour son intention de nuire à son frère et à son père pour les raisons suivantes : *Hodio* était toujours jaloux de la préférence que l'on montrait pour *Rikku*. Il parla fort de façon à ce que son père l'entendit. Il avait aussi dit qu'un jour il ferait quelque chose pour blesser père et fils, tous

² Cyprian Ekwensi. *La Brousse ardente*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1978, p. 25.

³ Idem, p.105.

⁴ Idem, p.11.

deux, profondément⁵. Hodio fait figure de révolté dans la famille. Bien que la tradition ne lui permette pas d'épouser Fatimeh : Hodio le savait, mais aussi il écartait les objections de Fatimeh lui parla à nouveau. Il propose qu'i s'en iraient et vivraient en ville où personne ne se souciait de la tradition et des coutumes⁶. Beaucoup de jeun émigrent des villages aux villes. Ainsi Hodio va s'installer en ville où il pratique le métier de producteur de sucre à l'aide d'un moulin. Il se déplace donc en raison économique.

Rikku

C'est le troisième enfant du personnage principal. On le connaît comme le plus aimé des enfants de Mai Sunsaye. A l'âge de quatorze ans, il peut amener le troupeau aux pâturages. Il est le seul qui reste au campe avec Mai Sunsaye, pratiquant l'élevage, après le départ de Jalla et Hodio pour la ville. A propos de Rikku, Mai Sunsaye dit à Ligu : Vous voyez, je préfère ce garçon à tous mes autres enfants. Jalla est devenu riche. Hodio, lui, est courageux, mais faible en amour; Rikku est le plus jeune des garçons⁷. Suite à la destruction du campement de Mai Sunsaye par les gens d'Ardo, Rikku quitte le village pour aller chez Ligu où il devint le gardien de ses troupeaux. Il rencontre son père chez Ligu, et lui raconte ses expériences vécues surtout avec les gens d'Ardo et Belmuna le chasseur. Rikku est un si beau garçon que Kantuma, en le voyant pour la première fois, ne peut cacher son amour : « Tu es très jeune dit-elle. Tu es en fait plus beau que je ne le pensais en te voyant de loin. Je t'aime et je veux que tu vives ici »⁸. Rikku ayant grandi au village, n'est donc pas habitué à la vie de la ville. Il hésite en répondant à Kantuma que la vie en ville tranche avec son origine rurale et des valeurs qui la sous-tendent : Je suis le fils d'un berger. Nous vivons dans les pâturages. Pour nous, la vie de la ville, ce n'est pas la vie [...] je suis habitué au manque de confort. Nous vivons une vie simple. Le sol est notre lit et la nature est toujours notre compagne. Mais, surtout, Allah chasse la mouche de la vache qui n'a pas de queue⁹. Chez Kantuma, Rikku change complètement son mode de vie et sa mentalité. Kantuma : Lui apprit à jouer aux cartes. Elle avait un vieux jeu de ludo et, après avoir joué avec elle quelques temps, Rikku oublia sa mission et souhaita l'avoir rencontrée plus tôt.¹⁰. Habitué déjà à la vie urbaine en général et chez Kantuma en particulier, Mai Sunsaye comprend le comportement de son fils : Un petit garçon qui s'était amouraché d'une femme plus âgée que lui, une femme qui vivait à Kontago et qui avait une plus grande expérience du monde que lui¹¹. A travers le personnage de Kantuma, l'auteur souligne la transformation subie par les Peuls. Devenue citadine, elle oublie la tradition au profit des nouvelles valeurs modernes telles que : les jeux de ludo et de cartes. Après la mort de Kantuma, Rikku devient triste. Il cesse d'aimer Fatimeh et renonce même à se marier tôt. L'attachement de Rikku et Hodio à la ville montre le mouvement des villageois vers les villes pour travailler dans les usines ou faire du commerce.

⁵ Cyprian Ekwensi. *La Brousse ardente*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1978, p. 14.

⁶ Idem, p. 16 - 17.

⁷ Idem, p. 121.

⁸ Idem, pp. 126.

⁹ Idem, p. 127.

¹⁰ Idem, p. 129

¹¹ Idem, p. 165

L'auteur souligne aussi des aspects de la vie urbaine où beaucoup de femmes ou des jeunes restent célibataires.

Leibe

Elle est la cadette de la famille Mai Sunsaye. Elle est très jeune ; c'est elle qui raconte à la mère comment son père a quitté la famille : Leibe raconta comment les hommes d'Ardo avaient lâché un pigeon avec un talisman attaché à la patte et comment le pigeon s'était envolé sur un arbre tandis que Sunsaye le poursuivait. Ce n'était qu'une petite fille et Shaitu en écoutant les détails qu'elle donnait, savait qu'elle racontait ce qu'elle avait vu¹². Elle participe activement aux côtés de la famille à la recherche de Jalla, Hodio et puis Mai Sunsaye. A l'âge de neuf à dix ans, elle est déjà fiancée. A travers son personnage, l'auteur condamne la pratique des mariages précoces qui est très répandue chez les peulhs.

Fatimeh

Elle est d'origine kanuri. Fatimeh est une esclave que la famille de Mai Sunsaye achète. Elle a dix-huit ans. A cet âge, elle apprend beaucoup de choses chez la mère de Rikku. Aimée par Rikku, puis par Hodio : « Fatimeh aimait Rikku, mais Rikku était trop jeune. Vous comprenez ? Hodio voulait Fatimeh. Il était fort, il l'a prise et s'est enfui »¹³. L'arrivée de cette esclave dans la famille provoque des conflits entre les deux frères qui sont toujours à couteaux tirés. Expliquant la situation de ses fils à Ligu, Mai Sunsaye dit que ses deux fils Rikku et Hodio se querellent entre eux au sujet de Fatimeh. Perturbé par son amour pour Fatimeh, Rikku tombe malade. Il ne cache même pas devant sa maman son amour pour Fatimeh. Cette dernière lui fait les reproches suivants : Mais tu ne touches plus à tes repas. Tu ne fais pas attention quand tu traies les vaches. Tu passes la nuit à errer sans dormir, maudit le jour où ton père amena cette esclave (...) ¹⁴. Et pour consoler son fils, il appelle donc l'enfant et le fait asseoir près de lui. Il lui fait comprendre que quand on perd une fille, on prend une autre. On va avoir des ennuis, pas mal d'ennuis Grâce à ses connaissances, elle réussit à débarrasser Mai Sunsaye de sa maladie.

Fiddiggo

La fille que Jalla aime depuis longtemps. Elle aime Jalla également, mais elle n'est pas contente de lui parce qu'il s'est enfui de la scène du Sharro: c'est pourquoi Jalla saisit les deux mains de Fiddiggo et lui dit: « *Fiddiggo tu es à moi. J'ai assez de bêtes pour satisfaire ton père* ». ¹⁵ Fiddiggo qui n'est pas du tout contente de son action, répond brusquement en riant : « *Je ne veux pas de ton bétail (...). Puis tu t'es enfui loin du Koboko !* ». ¹⁵ Toutefois, elle finit par devenir la femme de Jalla malgré sa déception. Ayant donc déjà présenté le résumé, la structure et la société peule à travers *La Brousse Ardente*, nous aborderons à présent les thèmes et la signification dudit roman d'Ekwensi.

¹² Idem, p. 25.

¹³ Idem, p.121 – 122.

¹⁴ Idem, P.18

¹⁵ Idem, P. 105

Le thème des conflits et des rivalités sociopolitiques dans l'œuvre

Le roman d'Ekwensi aborde ces thèmes pour refléter la réalité sociopolitique de l'Afrique sub-saharienne aujourd'hui. Les conflits se présentent à des niveaux différents : la crise politique entre Mai Sunsaye et Ardo sur la chefferie du village, la crise sociale entre la famille Sunsaye et Shehu, et les cavaliers de Kantuma et ceux de Ligu qui combattent les fidèles de Shehu. La rivalité entre les deux leaders Mai Sunsaye et Ardo émane d'une élection où Mai Sunsaye est démocratiquement élu par le peuple au poste d'Ardo. L'Ardo sortant, bien que battu, cherche plutôt par tous les moyens à écarter le nouvel élu de son trône. Comme souligne Ekwensi, 1962 :105 « C'est Ardo le rival de ton père et ses hommes. Depuis que le peuple a choisi ton père pour chef, Ardo n'a jamais été heureux. Il avait pensé se débarrasser de lui par des propos insidieux¹⁶»

Cette rivalité entre les deux hommes a eu comme conséquence l'éloignement de Mai Sunsaye de sa famille par la voie de l'enchantement. Dans ce genre de rivalités, il arrive qu'une victime tombe dans la démence ouvrant ainsi la voie du règne à son ennemi. Le conflit entre Sunsaye et son rival constitue le centre nerveux de l'intrigue de ce roman. En effet, les autres thèmes du roman découleront des tournures que la vie de Sunsaye a prises. De nombreux conflits ont émaillé les événements de ce roman. Il s'agit des combats physiques entre Hodio et Shehu sur l'affaire de Fatimeh, du combat de Ligu, Kantuma et Sunsaye sur l'affaire de Rikku et enfin du combat entre Shehu et Chikeh sur l'affaire de sa femme, Amina. Au début du roman, à travers la présentation de Shehu, le récit annonce des moments difficiles pour la famille de Sunsaye pour avoir racheté Fatimet, la petite esclave. L'ancien combattant belliqueux appelé Shehu les poursuivra pour les tuer. Mais, Hodio, le fils de Sunsaye se décide, confiant dans ses gris-gris, d'affronter Shehu : « Il entendit Shehu rire : « Ha, ha, ha, » un rire enroué et satisfait qui sentait la bière de Mais à plein nez. Il sentit le froid de frisson de l'impuissance descendre le long de son dos. Il était seul au milieu de ses ennemis. « Nous, nous n'allons pas le tuer maintenant dit l'un des hommes. Toi, sale brigand ! Hurla-t-il. Prépare-toi à la mort lente du voleur » « Hodio, dont la colère montait, luttait et désespéré il sentait le piège se renfermer sur lui et éprouvait une totale impuissance à s'en dégager. » « Tu ignores toujours mon avertissement. Continua Shehu. Des idiots comme toi devraient être coupés en morceaux laissés pour proie aux vautours non aux hyènes. Ce n'est pas assez d'envoyer mes esclaves te battre !¹⁷ ». Mai Sunsaye apprend aussi l'intention belliqueuse de Shehu d'amener Rikku et Chikeh hors du Nigéria dans le désert. Ainsi, mobilise-t-il une forte armée pour combattre Shehu et ses gens : « ...l'escarmouche fut courte et âpre. Les chevaux piétinaient les membres des hommes qui étaient tombés. Les chameaux gémissaient. Les Arabes avaient sorti leurs couteaux et s'en servaient dans un impitoyable corps à corps. [...] les bergers attaquèrent avec une vigueur redoublée. Sunsaye trébucha sur son corps et se leva. C'était le corps de Shehu qui l'avait fait tomber¹⁸ » La mort de Shehu signifie la libération de Rikku et Chikeh. Au cours du même combat

¹⁶ Idem, P. 105

¹⁷ Idem, P. 111

¹⁸ Idem. P. 73.

que Rikku perd sa bien-aimée Kantuma. La représentation de ces conflits témoigne de l'insécurité qui caractérisait la vie des sociétés traditionnelles africaines. Des pratiques de l'esclavage dans les sociétés traditionnelles du Nord du Nigeria donnent son épaisseur psychologique à *La Brousse ardente*.

Le thème de l'esclavage et son contexte en Afrique

Christiane Passevant et Lorry Portis, ont défini l'esclavage comme l'état de servitude. Ces auteurs estiment que c'était en 1501, que le roi Ferdinand d'Aragon et la reine Isabelle, la catholique, autorisaient l'importation d'Africains en Amérique. Depuis lors, pendant trois siècles, les Africains sont enlevés et transportés aux Antilles et sur les deux continents américains. Par ce passé, selon ces derniers (1995 :pp.152-158.) « Tous les pays d'Europe occidentale participent au commerce des esclaves, soit en tant que négociants, soit en tant qu'acheteurs : les Portugais, les Espagnols, les Anglais, les Hollandais, les Français, les Danois, les Suédois, etc.¹⁹ » Dans certaines conditions de servitudes, des hommes libres peuvent devenir esclaves : les prisonniers de guerre, les délinquants, les personnes endettées ou enlevées par des marchands arabes et africains. Ces victimes prennent une valeur marchande et permettent à ceux qui les possèdent d'accéder à des produits précieux comme l'or, la soie, ou le diamant. Malgré l'abolition de la pratique esclavagiste, le phénomène a persisté dans plusieurs sociétés traditionnelles africaines. La société peulh aussi bien païenne que musulmane est une société esclavagiste. Au nord du Nigeria, l'avènement du jihad de Cheikh Usmanu Danfodiyo a aggravé ce phénomène éreinté par notre auteur. La pratique de l'esclavage est un phénomène réel dans les sociétés africaines qui considèrent les esclaves comme des « outils humains » et des sous-hommes. Ils sont victimes de discrimination sociale puisqu'ils n'ont pas le droit de se marier avec les nobles ou de posséder des biens. Les traditions musulmanes montrent une tolérance à l'égard des esclavages. Mais en même temps, libérer un esclave comme l'a fait le héros de *La Brousse ardente* est un grand geste conseillé en islam. Dans tous les cas, la justice est une exigence islamique, surtout à l'égard de la femme : « si vous craignez d'être partiaux à l'égard de vos femmes, n'épousez alors qu'une ou des esclaves achetées à des prix d'argent. »²⁰ L'islam a interdit de les battre, ou de les tuer, de les mépriser ou même de les insulter. Au contraire, l'islam a ordonné de les traiter humainement car Allah dit dans le Coran : « Traiter avec bonté vos pères et mères, vos parents, les orphelins, les pauvres, vos voisins immédiats ou non, vos compagnons de tous les jours, les voyageurs sans abri et les esclaves.²¹ ». « Nous comprenons pourquoi dans *La Brousse ardente*, le vieux Sunsaye, fermement attaché à la foi islamique, a eu pitié de la jeune Fatimeh et le fait entrer dans sa famille. Ainsi, mal considérés et maltraités, les esclaves cherchent à échapper de l'emprise de leurs maîtres, souvent très méchants à leur endroit. C'est le cas de Fatimeh alors esclave de Shehu. Les sociétés traditionnelles font des cicatrices sur les visages de leurs victimes afin de pouvoir les reconnaître même pendant les guerres. » La société peule est l'une des sociétés où la pratique est très prononcée car on considère certains Peulh comme des

¹⁹ Idem. P. 161.

²⁰ Christiane Passevant, Larry Portis, *Dictionnaire Black : cinéma, littérature, social musique, sport, arts, sciences*, Paris, éd. Jacques Grancher, 1995, p-p. 152-158.

²¹ La voie du musulman, p. 649.

nobles « dimo » et les autres comme des esclaves « maccube » quelles que soient leurs richesses ou Donc par le passé, la pratique trouve sa source dans des circonstances diverses. Comme on l'a vu dans le coran on est esclave de la famille soit par héritage, soit par captivité ou soit par rachat. Seulement, comme c'est toujours le cas de Fatimeh, les esclaves ne sont pas maltraités, ils profitent de la même éducation familiale qu'elle soit traditionnelle ou religieuse que les enfants de leurs maîtres. Pour ce qui est de la vie sentimentale, l'auteur nous présente comment Hodio est le type de Peulh libre et fier de lui-même. Celui-ci suit Fatimeh à la rivière et lui dit de se préparer à fuir avec lui parce qu'il l'aime et veut qu'elle devienne sa femme. Mais Fatimeh refuse la proposition de Hodio, parce qu'en tant qu'esclave, elle ne peut pas espérer être l'épouse d'un Fulani noble, libre et fier comme ce prétendant. Si leur père est chef, ils peuvent prétendre à sa succession. Cette disposition traditionnelle explique pourquoi les rivalités et conflits si courants dans les familles royales africaines.

Vision Du Monde Littéraire Chez Ekwensi : Le Cas De La Brousse Ardente

Parlant donc de l'écrivain africain et de son rôle significatif dans un pays en voie de développement, Ekwensi admis que certains problèmes de nature politique ne devraient pas être dévoilés par un écrivain car le fait de les dévoiler peut aggraver ou engendrer une crise politique dans une nation comme la nôtre. En effet, Ekwensi ajoute que le devoir d'un écrivain engagé, c'est de dévoiler la vérité. A ce niveau, Ekwensi tire une sonnette d'alarme en disant que l'écrivain en dévoilant la vérité, doit faire attention pour ne pas toucher des sujets sensibles susceptibles d'engendrer des crises sociopolitiques graves. Une lecture attentive de l'œuvre d'Ekwensi montre une évolution thématique dans ses écrits romanesques. En ce qui concerne la femme, l'étude a permis de mettre l'accent sur ses fonctions sociales, économiques ainsi que sa vie sentimentale dans des traditionnelles africaines en général et sa fonction dans la société Peulh du Nord du Nigeria en particulier. *La Brousse ardente* où il montre que la femme Peulh peut être très riche sinon plus riche que l'homme dans cette société. Ligu est l'exemple de la femme qui est riche parce qu'elle possède mille têtes de vaches. Raison pour laquelle ses louanges sont faites par des griots et même ses adversaires du Sharro. Shaitu représente la femme traditionnelle peulh qui aime son main de toute son cœur elle l'accompagne et le soutient donc Jusqu'au bout de son problème. L'auteur souligne aussi que l'Afrique actuelle est riche de ses valeurs sociales et culturelles. Le patrimoine culturel africain comprend les langues, les religions ancestrales (animisme) et les religions acquises au contact de l'Orient et de l'Occident (l'islam et le christianisme), les institutions sociales, politiques (la royauté chez les Peulh économiques (l'élevage et l'agriculture Nos sociétés de départ ont connu des processus démocratiques à travers lesquels l'accès au pouvoir se faisait par élection. Autrement dit, il existait notamment chez les Peulh du Nord du Nigeria une forme de démocratie qui régissait la vie en société bien avant l'intrusion dans cette contrée, comme partout ailleurs en Afrique, des normes occidentales. En ce qui concerne l'agriculture, l'élevage et la valorisation de la terre, Ekwensi a montré l'importance des cultivateurs, des éleveurs et des pêcheurs qui favorisaient et boostaient la production animale et agricole dans les sociétés traditionnelles peulh. En plus des produits animaliers, on trouve le mil, le sorgho, le maïs chez les Peulh. Pour illustrer la survivance de certaines cultures traditionnelles, l'univers romanesque de *La Brousse Ardente* montre comment la culture du Sharro est toujours vivante et pratiquée chaque année chez les Peulh en général et

dans les sociétés Peulh du Nord du Nigeria en particulier. L'esclavage était connu dans la société Peulh : Cette culture esclavagiste est ainsi mise en exergue dans *La Brousse ardente* pour montrer comment la pratique du commerce de « l'homme par l'homme » était très répandu » dans les sociétés peulh du Nord du Nigeria. L'étude a montré comment Fatimeh, une Kanuri était devenue esclave d'abord chez Shehu et ensuite chez Mai Sunsaye l'héro de *La Brousse ardente*. Achetée et adoptée dans la famille Mai Sunsaye où elle a grandi, Fatimeh était élevée par Shaitu, la femme de Mai Sunsaye. Pour montrer la survivance et l'efficacité de la médecine traditionnelle pour guérir certaines maladies, Ekwensi a souligné que sauf les médicaments traditionnels peuvent guérir certaines maladies. Il montre donc comment Fatimeh a pu guérir Mai Sunsaye de sa maladie du *sokogo*. Les sociétés traditionnelles ont aussi une conception magico-religieuse du monde. Superstitieux, les hommes croient aux sorts et aux présages, en même temps qu'à l'existence d'un monde invisible, parallèle à celui dans lequel vivent les humains. Ce monde est celui des ancêtres et d'autres forces surnaturelles telles que les génies, les sorciers, etc. Dans *La Brousse ardente* par exemple, Mai Sunsaye, le personnage principal, est un marabout doué de connaissance qui lui permet de se prononcer sur l'avenir de ses clients. Ekwensi a critiqué ce métier traditionnel en montrant que même le marabout peut en être victime. Chez les Peulh du Nord du Nigeria par exemple, la croyance persiste sur l'existence de « korinrawa » (une fée ou un génie qui parcourt la brousse Dajin Baunna et qui apparait aux gens dans la journée comme dans la nuit toujours habillée en blanc). Ekwensi a montré aussi dans *La Brousse ardente* la survivance des croyances au présage et au sort. Cette conception est à la base de son récit romanesque : la croyance au « sokogo » la maladie d'errance qu'on jette sur Mai Sunsaye et qui le fait errer dans la nature. Cette croyance a été aussi à la base de la croyance sur l'efficacité du « baduhu » ce talisman que Hodio a porté pour abattre Shehu son adversaire. Le talisman peut rendre invisible une personne. Toutes ces pratiques sont perceptibles dans la vie réelle de nos sociétés. Les Peulh du Nord du Nigeria en particulier, sous l'influence arabo-islamique, se sont convertis à l'Islam et sont devenus créateurs d'empires théocratiques comme Sokoto grâce au Cheikh Ousmane Dan Fodiyo (1754 – 1817). Grâce donc au « pulaaku » le code moral de la société peulh, un peulh acquiert les qualités de la vie comme la patience, la retenue, la maîtrise de soi, l'endurance de la vie, la honte, etc. Le « pulaaku » qu'on enseigne à un enfant peulh est à la base de l'éducation traditionnelle que chaque enfant doit acquérir d'abord dans sa famille et puis chez les notables, les adultes et les vieillards qui sont commis à la tâche d'assurer la survivance de cette coutume. Pour détourner l'Afrique de ses valeurs ancestrales. Nous pensons donc que la tradition africaine est une entité vivante qui doit être protégée et entretenue pour sa survie. Il est par conséquent nécessaire que les traditions africaines soient intégrées dans les plans de développement nationaux des Etats africains en général et le Nigeria et le Niger en particulier. Tous les plans de développement social, économique, politique et technologique de l'Afrique devaient donc puiser dans ces traditions. Le développement de l'Afrique contemporaine aura alors un fondement culturel et sera non seulement autocentré mais aussi ouvert à la coopération et à la politique internationale.

Conclusion

Cette communication a été présentée en quatre axes majeurs. Le premier axe a abordé les parcours de l'auteur sa Biographie et sa Bibliographie. L'aperçu biographique de Cyprian Ekwensi, sa formation et sa carrière professionnelle ont montré qu'il était un intellectuel qui embrassait toutes les professions. En effet, il a été ingénieur, enseignant, pharmacien, journaliste, homme d'affaires, écrivain et homme politique. Malgré toutes ces fonctions, Ekwensi était plus connu sur la scène littéraire comme auteur populaire Nigérian. On a constaté que l'œuvre littéraire d'Ekwensi comprend huit romans célèbres. Des huit œuvres qui constituent le corpus littéraire de l'auteur, nous avons tirés le corpus romanesque de cette communication²² Elle nous a permis de répondre aux questions ethnologiques soulevées par les traditions des sociétés nigérianes en mutation dans le roman traduit en français de l'écrivain anglophone Cyprian Ekwensi : *Burning Grass* ou *La Brousse ardente*. Ce premier axe du travail a permis de souligner les valeurs fondatrices de l'Afrique traditionnelle chez les Peulh du Nord du Nigeria. En définitive, partant de cette importance de la tradition africaine nous suggérons que cette tradition africaine doit être le socle sur lequel le développement de nos deux pays se construit. Pour ce faire, elle doit donc être étudiée pendant cette conférence de Tahoua Sakola dans toutes ses facettes dans le but de saisir la mentalité et la conception que les peuples ont du développement. Ainsi, chaque citoyen peut devenir réellement un capital humain utile dans ce processus du développement de sa société et de son pays du Nigeria et du Niger : A propos des cultures, Ekwensi maintient qu'il faut faire vivre certaines même s'il faut les moderniser : la culture de Sharro chez les peulh. Par exemple, au regard des sociétés traditionnelles qui sont en perpétuel changement, Ekwensi tire la sonnette d'alarme. En effet, la décadence morale emporte nos sociétés modernes avec en toile de fond le règne de l'argent et la corruption des valeurs. Enfin, Ekwensi laisse comprendre que la modernité n'est pas en soi mauvaise. Elle a favorisé le développement du savoir et des technologies en Afrique dans l'urbanisation, le transport et la santé. Mais elle traîne des aspects néanmoins négatifs qui mettent en péril les valeurs fondatrices des sociétés africaines. La posture idéologique d'Ekwensi qui s'appuie sur une esthétique empreinte d'originalité a nourri notre perception de cet auteur. Cette étude nous a permis de constater qu'il y a une dimension panafricaniste et humaniste dans sa conception du monde. Ses œuvres en général et *La Brousse Ardente* en particulier, dénoncent les problèmes sociaux et politiques mais aussi éclairent sur les chemins à suivre pour mettre les sociétés africaines sur la voie du développement. Elles enseignent le lecteur sur les dérives qui tirent nos sociétés vers la décadence mais expriment aussi les attitudes à tenir pour échapper au désastre dans un monde impitoyable qui ne cesse de se globaliser.

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Pratiques langagières « des enfants de la rue » en Côte d'Ivoire : une analyse morpho-lexicale et syntaxique du cas nouchi

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Résumé

Le groupe nominal « les jeunes de la rue » désigne des locuteurs composés de badauds et de jeunes déscolarisés à hétérogénéité linguistiques qui prennent la rue comme lieu de prédilection. La nécessité d'intercompréhension de ces jeunes qui ne maîtrisent pas la langue française va générer le « langage de rue » dénommé le « nouchi ». C'est une sorte de « pidgin » qui connaît un essor et qui se glisse subtilement dans la communication de la quasi-totalité de la population ivoirienne. La présente contribution se focalise sur les conditions d'émergence de ce « langage de ghetto », son procédé d'enrichissement lexical, sa syntaxe et ses fonctions socio-communicationnelles.

Mots clés : contexte sociolinguistique, description morpholexicale, analyse syntaxique, valeur communicative.

Abstract

The nominal group "street youth" refer to speakers made up of onlookers and out of school youth with linguistic heterogeneity who take the street as their favorite place. The need for intercomprehension of these young people who do not master the French language will generate the "street language" called "nouchi". It is a kind of "pidgin" that is booming and slips subtly into the communication of almost all of the Ivorian population. This contribution focuses on the conditions of emergence of this "street language", its process of lexical enrichment, its syntax and its socio-communication functions.

Keywords: sociolinguistic context, morpholexical description, syntactic analysis, communicative value.

A l'instar des autres colonies françaises de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, la Côte d'Ivoire a hérité de la langue française. Selon L. Sosso (1946 :46), les besoins administratifs du moment nécessitaient la formation des hommes qui, en plus d'une connaissance passable de la pratique du français, pouvaient acquérir des notions rudimentaires d'arithmétique et de système métrique. Ainsi, à l'origine, l'enseignement du français à Elima¹ n'était donc pas destiné à l'acquisition de connaissances encyclopédiques mais à la formation d'une catégorie de collaborateurs dont les interprètes coloniaux et les commis administratifs. Cette nécessité était d'importance capitale pour faciliter les échanges avec l'occident, vu la pluralité linguistique des peuples africains. Mais après quelques années, des trente-trois (33) premiers élèves inscrits à l'apprentissage du français à Elima, l'usage de la langue française va connaître une nette progression. En effet, selon les études de P. Ray (1954), on notait déjà des taux de scolarisation de 7% en 1951 et 15% en 1954. Cette ascendance va déterminer l'adoption de ladite langue comme langue officielle en Côte d'Ivoire au lendemain des Indépendances en 1960. Désormais la langue française devient le principal véhiculaire utilisé dans les administrations publiques, dans l'enseignement, dans les relations diplomatiques, etc. « *Même les ouvriers sur les chantiers, les petits employés /.../ sont obligés de communiquer entre eux ou avec leurs patrons dans une langue qu'ils ne maîtrisent qu'imparfaitement* » (J. N. Kouadio, 2008 :184). Il en est de même pour les jeunes déscolarisés et les enfants de la rue. Cette situation va aboutir à plusieurs variétés du français telles que le français de moussa, le français ivoirien et le nouchi. Dans la présente contribution, nous nous intéressons à la pratique langagière des « enfants de la rue » qui sont, pour la plupart des déscolarisés ou des analphabètes. Vivant dans la rue, il s'impose à eux la nécessité de cohabitation et d'intercompréhension. Leur hétérogénéité linguistique va générer « le langage de la rue », un médium communément dénommé « le nouchi ». L'objectif de l'étude consiste à examiner les caractéristiques essentielles de ce « parler de la rue » dans une perspective grammaticale et discursive. Elle se fonde sur les interrogations suivantes : Quel est le mode d'enrichissement lexical du nouchi ? La grammaire du nouchi est-elle différente de celle du français standard ? Par ailleurs, quelles sont les fonctions communicationnelles de ce langage de rue ? Pour mieux répondre à cette série d'interrogations, nous déclinons le travail en trois axes : le premier examine le contexte sociolinguistique de la Côte d'Ivoire. Il permet de montrer les grands groupes ethniques dont découle l'hétérogénéité linguistique des jeunes de la rue. Le second se focalise sur le mode de fonctionnement du nouchi. C'est un volet qui aborde son mode d'enrichissement lexical, ses paramètres morpho-lexical, syntaxique et sémantique. Le dernier axe se centre sur les fonctions communicationnelles de ce « créole ivoirien ». Toutes ces sections seront précédées d'un cadre théorique qui aura pour but d'évoquer sobrement la méthode de constitution du corpus et les théories linguistiques utilisées dans l'étude explicative et descriptive des expressions nouchi.

1. Cadre théorique

Cette étape évoque la méthode de constitution du corpus et la théorie grammaticale utilisée dans la section descriptive et explicative de l'étude. A cet égard, il faut noter que le travail repose sur un corpus assez hétéroclite dans le sens qu'il est composé d'expressions provenant de plusieurs sources. Il s'agit, en l'occurrence, de « Gbich » (onomatopée nouchi reproduisant

¹ - Elima est une région du sud de la Côte d'Ivoire où les colonisateurs ont ouvert la première école primaire.

le bruit d'un violent coup de poing et qui signifie « on ne veut pas t'écouter, va-t'en ») et de « Go Magazine » (go signifie « petite amie » en nouchi) qui sont des quotidiens ivoiriens. L'option de ces journaux humoristiques est motivée par le fait que plusieurs de leurs articles sont régulièrement rédigés en nouchi. Les extraits phrastiques de ces quotidiens sont complétés par des segments énonciatifs de textes écrits ou oraux relevés sur les pages Facebook ou entendus. Vu la pluralité des documents sources, chaque expression évoquée sera accompagnée de référence.

Au niveau de la théorie linguistique, nous recourons à la grammaire structurale. L'usage de ce courant a pour objectif de faire l'inventaire des unités constitutives et d'en décrire les règles de fonctionnement à différents niveaux de structures. Ainsi, au niveau de sa composante morpho-lexicale, nous étudions la forme des mots nouchi dans leurs différentes constructions et emplois, ainsi que l'interprétation liée à cette forme. Sur le plan syntaxique et sémantique, l'étude examine le procédé de combinaison utilisé, les règles appliquées dans la linéarité des expressions nouchi et les sens contextuels véhiculés. Suite à cette précision, nous abordons le volet relatif au contexte sociolinguistique.

2. Contexte sociolinguistique de la Côte d'Ivoire

L'évocation du tableau sociolinguistique de la Côte d'Ivoire permet de montrer le contexte d'évolution de la langue française, l'image de la composition dialectale des « enfants de la rue » et des jeunes déscolarisés. Ce rappel est déterminant parce qu'il est à la source de l'émergence de la variété nouchi.

A cet effet, il faut noter que la Côte d'Ivoire a la notoriété d'être classifiée comme un pays à diversité linguistique. Toutefois, l'inexistence d'une étude dialectologique récente et approfondie rend difficile l'estimation exacte du nombre de langues parlées en Côte d'Ivoire. J. N. Kouadio (2007) corrobore cette affirmation en disant que « *La prudence que l'on observe généralement à propos du nombre exacte de langues parlées en Côte d'Ivoire est dictée par l'absence d'un inventaire exhaustif de toutes les langues parlées et de leurs variantes dialectales* » (2007: 69-85). Néanmoins, conformément aux résultats de recherches menées, à cet effet, par C. Kassoro (1999) et J. N. Kouadio (2007), l'on arrive à la conclusion que la Côte d'Ivoire compte environ une soixantaine de langues qui sont le reflet de quatre grands groupes linguistiques ou aires culturelles non caractérisées par une langue dominante. Il s'agit, notamment, des Kwa, des Kru (Krou), des Gur (Gour) et des Mandé. Toute cette diversité linguistique se retrouve dans la rue, ce qui implique la nécessité de trouver un médium à mesure d'assurer une harmonieuse cohabitation et une bonne intercompréhension pour cette catégorie de locuteurs de cultures différentes. Marqué par une combinaison du français et de langues locales, ce véhiculaire va subir une forte influence langagière de certains groupes ethniques, plus représentés sur le territoire ivoirien du fait d'un nombre de traits culturels qui les caractérisent. Il s'agit, en l'occurrence, du groupe Mandé en général, dioula et bambara en particulier. Ce clan ethnique est composé d'un peuple nomade qui exerce dans le commerce et dans le transport pour la plupart. Selon T. Kalilou cité par Konaté Yaya (2016 : 4), « *ces commerçants et transporteurs mandings fréquentent les marchés et les routes, répandant leur langue sur toute la surface du territoire, dans les villes comme dans les banlieues, ce qui fait qu'elle est la langue la plus répandue sur le territoire avec une expansion continue* ». En plus, « *dans les milieux de marginaux, les petits Dioulas sont les plus nombreux* » (J. N. Kouadio, 1990 :183). Ainsi, la commune d'Adjamé, carrefour

commercial des communes d'Abidjan et désignée comme la zone d'émergence « du langage de rue », présente une forte concentration de locuteurs dioula. Les données statistiques² du recensement général de la population de ladite commune en mai 2014 confirment cette situation par la présentation du résultat suivant : Adjamé : 372.9788 dont 39 % de Mandé. En effet, la présence massive de locuteurs dioula dans le petit commerce et dans le milieu des marginaux dans les rues de ladite commune « explique qu'au départ plus de la moitié du vocabulaire nouchi effectivement utilisé par les jeunes était d'origine dioula ». (R. Caummaueth, 1988 : 125). La dimension lexicale de ce langage de ghetto porte, de ce fait, les stigmates culturels de la concentration dioula dans les rues d'Adjamé. Ce volet sera explicitement exemplifié dans la section consacrée à la morphologie-lexicale du nouchi, mais à présent, il convient de définir le lexème nouchi.

3. Définition du nouchi

Plusieurs linguistes ont mené des recherches sur ce langage de ghetto. L'allusion est faite, notamment, à Kouadio N. Jérémie (1990), Blaise M. Ahua (2006), Hilaire Bohui (2013), etc. Les résultats de ces recherches sont remarquables par leur contiguïté sur la définition du morphème « nouchi ». Ainsi, les études de J. Kouadio (1992 :182) mentionnent que ce terme est composé de deux mots originaires des parlers susu et dioula. Le « nou » signifie « nez » et le « chi » renvoie à « poil ». La définition littérale du terme serait alors « poil du nez ». Le *dictionnaire et anthologie sur le nouchi* de Germain-Arsène Kadi (2017) précise que les poils qui débordent du nez représentent l'image des enfants dénudés dans les rues des quartiers précaires des banlieues abidjanaises. Pris dans ce sens, un Nouchi était assimilé à un malpropre au début.

Dans le quotidien *Fraternité Matin*, en date du 06 septembre 1986, les journalistes Alain Coulibaly et Bernard Ahua ont produit un article intitulé « le nouchi, un langage à la mode ». L'article fait savoir qu'à l'époque, le nouchi était considéré comme un code, un langage secret usité par les enfants de la rue et les jeunes marginaux pour échanger des informations sur des personnes à voler ou à escroquer. Le recours à ce mode de communication évitait alors d'éveiller le soupçon des victimes. Ils ajoutent que c'est plus tard que ce « parler de rue » s'est transformé en un phénomène langagier à la mode.

Quelle que soit son origine, il faut noter que cette « parlure de ghetto » a enrichi son répertoire lexical au fil du temps et s'est étendue à l'échelle internationale. Or, conformément à la conception des dialectologues et des géo-linguistes classiques, la force d'une langue réside dans son aptitude à traduire toutes les inflexions de la pensée et à décrire les réalités sociales des locuteurs. Cette remarque suscite une interrogation capitale : comment les nouchiphones procèdent-ils pour dynamiser leur univers lexical en sorte que ce « langage de rue » connaisse une expansion si rapide ? En d'autres termes, quel est le mode de fonctionnement des nouchi ?

4. Mode de fonctionnement du nouchi

² - nous présentons ici les données reçues de l'Institut National de Statistique, RGHP du 15 mai 2014

Dans cette section, nous examinons le fonctionnement de « ce langage de rue » sur deux points : l'un se focalisera sur le volet morpholexical et l'autre sur le volet syntaxique.

4.1. Etude morpholexical

La morphologie lexicale évoque la description synchronique des mots d'une langue selon son mode de fonctionnement dans le système linguistique. Elle prend en compte les procédés classiques comme la dérivation, la composition, la conversion et non classiques tels la formation de mots par onomatopée ou par abréviation. Toutes ces opérations linguistiques sont mises à profit par les nouchiphones dans le processus de dynamisation de leur univers lexical, mais avec une récurrence du phénomène d'emprunt à la langue dioula en particulier.

4.1.1. L'emprunt au dioula

« Lorsque deux langues sont en contact, même par l'intermédiaire de milieux sociaux limités, elles s'empruntent réciproquement des mots plus ou moins nombreux » (Chevalier et al., 1990 : 46). Etant à la charnière entre les langues hôtes ivoiriennes et le français qu'ils ne maîtrisent pas, les nouchiphones vont emprunter plusieurs termes aux langues ivoiriennes pour consolider leur répertoire lexical. La frange des déscolarisés étant dominée par les jeunes dioula comme évoqué plus haut, les termes empruntés proviendront en grande partie de la langue dioula. Les séquences énonciatives suivantes en présentent une illustration :

E³ (1) : « L'Etat nous aide pas, donc nous on doit **mouroumourou, sogo sogo** pour manger aussi ou bien. » (Réponse d'un microbe⁴ à un enquêteur anonyme : extrait d'une vidéo postée par Djoni pagneko sur facebook)

« **mouroumourou, sogo sogo** » [murumuru] ; [sɔgɔ]. D'origine bambara, les deux expressions, qui présentent ici un phénomène de reduplication linguistique, réfèrent à la même réalité. Le « mourou » désigne le couteau et « sogo » évoque l'action de couper avec une arme blanche. Ainsi, « mouroumourou » et « sogo sogo » sont utilisés dans une forme verbale pour signifier faire des entailles à quelqu'un à l'aide d'un couteau ou d'une machette. Nous précisons que la machette et le couteau sont les principales armes d'attaques d'une catégorie d'enfants de la rue communément dénommés « les microbes ».

Sur ce, E (1) se traduit ainsi : « L'Etat ne nous aide pas donc nous devons tuer ou découper la population à la machette pour nous nourrir. »

E (2) : « Si nous on te **couma** là kè que tu joues au **bramogo**, c'est ton **djaba** » (Gbich n °892 du 08 au 14 décembre 2016, p.3)

«**couma** » [kuma] signifie en dioula « parler ». Ce mot est utilisé dans une forme verbale.

« **bramogo** » [bramɔgɔ] est un substantif composé de « brave », terme français mutilé par apocope et du vocable dioula « mogo » qui veut dire homme. Ainsi « bramogo (brave mogo) » signifie brave homme, l'allusion étant faite au héros des films western.

« **djaba** » [gaba]. Utilisé comme substantif, ce terme veut dire « oignon » en dioula. Dans ce contexte, il renvoie aux « larmes ». Cet emploi tire son sens de ce que l'oignon frais a un effet brûlant dans les yeux.

Sur ce, E (2) se traduit ainsi : « Si on te parle que tu joues au héros, tu vas pleurer. »

³ - (E) signifie ici énoncé.

⁴ - le terme « microbe » désigne communément une catégorie « d'enfants de la rue » que l'Etat appelle « les enfants en conflit avec la loi ». Ceux-ci sèment la terreur sur leur passage en tuant impunément.

E (3) : « *Bahbièdeni* comme toi là kè hen ! Même ceux qui ont *fagan* que toi là kè hen ! Moi ye *fini ça*. » (expression prise le 5 août 2017 à la ferraille d'Abobo, un quartier populaire d'Abidjan)

« *bahbièdeni* » [ba : bièdeni]. Il s'agit d'un terme injurieux en dioula qui signifie « bâtard ».

« *kè hen* » [kɛ : ā :] sont des particules discursives. Elles n'entraînent aucune conséquence sémantique en cas de leur suppression. Ces particules fonctionnent dans le langage nouchi comme des « marqueurs de structuration et de balisage conversationnel » (J. Mouchon, 1980) ou comme des ponctuants sonores étant donné qu'elles ont pour rôle essentiel d'opérer une segmentation de l'énoncé en portions propositionnelles : *bahbièdeni* comme toi là *kè hen* ! (séquence 1) *Même ceux qui ont fagan que toi là kè hen* ! (séquence 2).

« *fagan* » [fagã]. Ce terme fonctionne comme un substantif ; il signifie force ou vigueur.

E(3) veut dire : « Les bâtards de ton genre, même ceux qui ont plus de force que toi, je les terrasse. »

E (4) : « A Yopougon *djandjouya* a refait surface ; va derrière ancien cinéma dialogue et *dja djandjou* de ton goût ou bien ; en tout cas, ce sont les *yêrê yêrê* ; rendez-vous à 19h » (Gbich ! n°931 du 14 au 20 septembre 2017 p.7)

« *djandjouya* » » [gãguɣa] veut dire la prostitution.

« *djandjou* » [gãgu] est une prostituée.

« *dja* » [ga] est un mot qui véhicule ici le sens de prendre. Cependant, dans un autre contexte, il peut avoir le sens de tuer ; tel est le cas dans l'énoncé : *le policier a dja le mogo là pour rien*.

« *yêrê yêrê* » [jɛɛjɛɛ] signifie vraies dans le sens de belles prostituées.

E (4) se traduit ainsi : A Yopougon, la prostitution a refait surface ; va derrière l'ancien cinéma dialogue et prends la prostituée de ton choix ; en tout cas, ce sont les vraies ; rendez-vous à 19 h.

E (5) : « Oh là ! Faut *dah bla çan* lui là, ce pas un *tchè sérieux*. » (Propos recueilli lors de mon passage dans un garage à Williasville le samedi 06 mai 2017)

« *dah bla çan* » [dabl : a sã] est une expression dioula qui signifie « cesser de parler ». Elle est accompagnée de la particule discursive « *çan* » qui n'a aucune incidence sur le sens de l'énoncé.

« *tchè* » [tʃɛ] : renvoie à un garçon dans le sens de l'homme

L'énoncé signifie ceci : « Oh là !, cesse de parler, cet homme n'est pas sérieux, c'est un malhonnête. »

4.1.2. Emprunts à d'autres langues et Créations des nouchiphones

En plus des emprunts à la langue dioula, l'on assiste aussi à l'intégration de lexèmes provenant d'autres langues comme le bété, le français, l'espagnol, l'allemand, etc. Certains subissent l'opération d'affixation, de composition avec les phénomènes d'aphérèse ou d'apocope. D'autres se caractérisent par le phénomène de désémantisation / résemantion ou de conversion catégorielle. A cela, s'adjoignent les propres créations du ghetto. Examinons les différents cas dans les énoncés en infra :

E(6) : « Attends *yé* vais te couma ; quand son *padré* a débarqué, c'était *gâté* même là là. » (Ismael Koulibali, élève de Tle A, racontant les faits du lycée le 14 /10/2017).

« *yé* » [yɛ] est une déformation phonétique de pronom « je » : le phonème [ʒ] est prononcé [ɥ]

« *padre* » [pa : dre] : terme d'origine espagnol signifiant « père »

« *débarquer* » : ce mot signifie, dans le contexte standard, faire sortir quelque chose d'une embarcation ou forcer quelqu'un à quitter son poste (se faire débarquer). Dans le contexte nouchi, il subit une conversion sémantique ; en d'autres termes, il observe une variation de sens pour traduire l'idée de « venir précipitamment, ou arriver précipitamment ». Il en est de même pour « gâter » qui est désémantisé et résemantisé ici pour exprimer l'idée « d'incontrôlable ».

E (6) se traduit de la sorte : « Attends je vais te parler ; quand son père est arrivé précipitamment, la situation était devenue incontrôlable. »

E(7) : « *Eh ! Maman tu as pris une nouvelle cotché ? Mais là là c'est mal nice.* » (Go magazine, n° 682 du 11 au 17 octobre 201, p. 10)

« *cotché* » [kotʃe] : vocable d'origine espagnol (coche) qui signifie ici voiture.

« *mal nice* » [malnais] : locution adverbiale composée de « mal », un adverbe et d'un terme anglais « nice » (jolie, beau). Dans la langue française, l'adverbe « mal », antonyme de « bien », est convoqué pour évoquer des faits nuisibles, destructeurs ou immoraux ; dans son usage, il permet donc d'apporter un jugement dépréciatif. Or, dans le contexte nouchi, il exprime l'idée contraire. Autrement dit, dans sa distribution, il accroît le degré mélioratif du terme avec lequel il est combiné. C'est donc un marqueur d'intensification ou un « focalisateur-emphatiser ». Le phénomène de désémantisation et de résemantisation le transforme en synonyme de l'adverbe « très ». Dans ce sens, « mal nice » signifie alors « très nice », c'est-à-dire « très beau ».

E(7) se traduit ainsi : « Eh ! Maman tu as pris une nouvelle voiture ? Mais elle est très belle. »

E(8) : « *Mon vié père, faut sciencer un peu, walà ton petit ou bien.* » (Gbich ! n°911 du 20 au 26 avril 2017, p.9)

« *vié* » : déformation morphologie de l'adjectif « vieux ». le phonème [Ø] est remplacé par [e]. Le groupe nominal « vié père » n'est pas utilisé, dans ce contexte, pour marquer l'âge très avancé d'un individu mais plutôt pour souligner sa catégorie sociale. C'est une suite employée pour désigner les personnes opulentes. Dans les énoncés nouchi, « vié père » fonctionne toujours dans sa linéarité énonciative avec « walà ton petit » en posture finale.

« *walà ton Petit* » : « Walà » est une déformation phonético-phonologie du présentatif « voilà ». Quant à « petit », contrairement à sa signification courante qui est d'ordre quantitatif ou qui fait allusion à une taille inférieure à la moyenne, il évoque ici la condition d'existence médiocre du locuteur. Les expressions « vié père » et « walà ton petit » fonctionnent comme des entités siamoises pour traduire l'idée de clivage existant entre deux catégories sociales opposées : d'un côté, la catégorie des économiquement forts (les viés pères) et de l'autre celle des pauvres (les petits). « *Vié père, Walà ton petit* » est donc un cri de cœur, une demande d'aunôme.

« *sciencer* » : verbe nouchi ; terme formé à partir de la dérivation suffixale du nom « science ». L'adjonction de « er » à la base donne l'infinitif « sciencer ». Sa valeur sémantique dépend du contexte. Dans d'autre situation communicationnelle, il peut signifier « regarder avec dédain ou avec envie ». Cependant ici, il signifie « aider ».

E(8) veut dire : « Homme opulent, aidez-moi, le pauvre, donnez-moi un peu d'ardent. »

E (9) : « *Eh mon petit si tu veux bakro, djiki, yéé prend mon devant.* » (Conducteur d'un mini car s'adressant à son apprenti. Enoncé recueilli le 09/07/2017)

« **bakro** » [bakrɔ] est une création de ghetto qui signifie « dormir ». Au dire de Nach, la chanteuse ivoirienne considérée comme la porte-parole des nouchiphones, ce mot serait créé à partir d'une interjection onomatopéique (*croh ! croh ! croh !*) qui est la reproduction phonique d'un ronflement.

« **djiki** » [giki] est un terme dioula qui traduit l'idée de descendre.

« **Prendre mon devant** » : groupe verbale signifiant « progresser, avancer ». Dans cette suite, on observe un phénomène de transfert catégoriel. En effet, le syntagme « devant » se catégorise d'ordinaire en français soit comme une préposition, soit comme un adverbe qui exprime une antériorité spatiale. Combiné avec le déterminant possessif « mon », il devient ici un substantif. De la catégorie adverbiale, on passe à celle du substantif. Il s'agit, en nouchi, d'un groupe de mots inséparables qui exprime une idée unique et qui joue le rôle d'un verbe.

E (9) se traduit de la sorte: « Eh mon petit ! Si tu veux dormir, descends je vais progresser. »

E (10) : « Si tu veux **prendre dra**, faut couma encore yé vais te **montrer coulère**. » (Gbich ! n° 915 du 18 au 24 mai 2017, p.10)

« **prendre dra** » : prendre (français) + dra (nouchi). Cette expression est créée à partir de « être dans de beau drap » qui signifie être compromis ou se retrouver dans une situation grave. Elle traduit ici « être humilié »

« **coulère** » est une déformation phonético-phonologique du substantif « couleur » le phonème [œ] est incorrectement prononcé [ɛ]. La suite « montrer coulère » vient de l'expression française « en faire voir de toutes les couleurs ». Dans le contexte nouchi, elle est synonyme de « prendre dra ».

E(10) signifie alors : « Si tu veux être humilié, continue de parler, je vais t'en faire voir de toutes les couleurs. »

E(11) : « Si après un **wano** tu **gagnes temps**, ta femme va **faire en pompier** ou bien. » (Extrait d'une chanson de D.G Arafat)

« **wano** » [wa:no] est un substantif originaire de l'anglais « one » (adjectif cardinal), c'est-à-dire « un ». La morphologie a subi une suffixation en « o » pour donner « wano ». De la catégorie grammaticale d'adjectif cardinal, on passe à celle du substantif. La suite « faire un wano » en nouchi, se traduit par « faire l'amour à sa femme sans la satisfaire ».

« **gagner temps** » : au lieu de fonctionner comme un syntagme verbal, cette suite de mots (verbe (gagner) + nom (temps)) est employée sous la forme d'une locution verbale, c'est -à-dire une suite de mots indissociables exprimant l'idée unique de « partir ou quitter le lit ».

« **faire en pompier** » est une locution verbale composée de « faire » (Verbe +préposition (en) + nom (pompier). L'expression a été créée à partir de la fonction du pompier qui consiste à éteindre l'incendie. Dans le contexte nouchi, « un petit pompier » est un amant.

E(11) se restructure littéralement ainsi : « Pendant l'amour, si tu te lèves du lit sans satisfaire ta femme, elle se trouve un amant à mesure d'éteindre sa flamme sexuelle.»

E(12) : « Là là les **bahomann** vont **prendre dra** aujourd'hui là. » (Propos d'un apprenti gbaka⁵ recueilli 28 /07/2017)

« **bahomann** » [baoma :n] : mot formé à partir de la combinaison d'une interjection onomatopéique imitant la détonation d'une arme à feu (baho! baho !) et du terme anglais

⁵ - En Côte d'Ivoire, les « gbakas » désignent les mini-cars servant de transport en commun dans certaines communes d'Abidjan

« mann » (homme). « Bahomann » est usité pour désigner les détenteurs d'une arme à feu, c'est-à-dire les policiers et les gendarmes en nouchi. C'est un « bahomann » veut dire c'est un policier ou un gendarme.

Au vu de ce qui précède E (12) signifie : « Les policiers vont être humiliés aujourd'hui. »

E(13) : « *Mariage politique finit toujours par **goumin-goumin**.* » (Gbich, n°936 du 23-25 octobre 2017, page de titres)

« **goumin-goumin** » [gumẽgumẽ] est un substantif qui signifie chagrin d'amour. Ce mot est une création de ghetto

E(14) : « *Laisse mon **dahico**, je bois plus, je suis **gnènè**.* » (Extrait d'une Chanson du Groupe révolution)

« **dahico** » [daiko] est un substantif qui veut dire ivresse. Il s'agit d'un terme qui tient son origine de la langue anglaise du verbe « to die » qui signifie mourir. Dahico fait donc allusion ici à l'état second dans lequel se trouve le locuteur du fait de l'alcool.

« **gnènè** » [ɲɛnɛ] est un verbe modale ; il se combine avec la copule « être » dans la conjugaison nouchi. Il s'agit d'un terme originaire de la langue bété. (Sexe féminin). « Être gnènè », c'est devenir incontrôlable, perdre la raison du fait de l'effet de la boisson.

E(14) signifie : « laisse-moi m'enivrer, je suis un pauvre con »

Comme nous pouvons le constater, les procédés de création des mots utilisés par les jeunes de la rue sont multiples. Ces « locuteurs de ghetto » recourent aux systèmes d'emprunt, aux opérations d'affixation, de conversion et de composition pour dynamiser leur répertoire lexical. A cela s'ajoutent les créations propres des nouchiphones. Mais comment les expressions, une fois créées, sont-elles distribuées dans la linéarité phrastique en nouchi ? La section qui va suivre cherche donc à savoir si ce « langage de rue » a ses principes syntaxiques propres ou fonctionne-t-il selon l'ordre canonique du français standard de type P => SN1 (Sujet) + SV (Prédicat) + SN2 (Complément) ?

5. La syntaxe du nouchi

« *La syntaxe présuppose le découpage des énoncés en unités réutilisables* » C. Muller (2002 :19-20). L'auteur précise que « *tout énoncé résulte de plusieurs structurations différentes, ayant chacune leur logique : celle de la hiérarchie des prédicats et de leurs arguments ; celle de l'intégration en syntagmes* » (Ibidem). Par l'intitulé « La syntaxique du nouchi », nous entendons examiner l'architecture des phrases nouchi afin de comprendre la manière dont les nouchiphones distribuent les différentes parties du discours pour aboutir à une unité significative. En d'autres termes, il s'agit d'étudier comment les mots entrent en rapport les uns avec les autres lors de la mise en phrase. Pour apporter un éclairage sur ce point, nous allons décrire la structure de quelques phrases, en procédant en premier lieu par un démembrement en groupes syntagmatiques et en second lieu par une segmentation en blocs propositionnels.

- Le démembrement en groupes syntagmatiques :

P⁶(1) : « *Mon vié père, faut **sciencer** un peu, **walà** ton petit.* »

« Mon vié père » : Syntagme nominal, mis apostrophe

« Walà ton petit » est une suite qui fonctionne ici comme un présentatif

« Faut sciencer un peu » : groupe verbal.

⁶ - P. signifie phrase

P(1) => SN + GV + Présentatif

P(2) : « *Attends, yé vais te couma ; quand son padré a débarqué, là là, c'était gâté même.* »

P(2) est une juxtaposition de deux phrases : une phrase simple et une phrase complexe. La subdivision en groupes syntagmatiques de la phrase simple donne le résultat suivant :

P (2-1) « *Attends, yé vais te couma* »

« *Attends* » : impératif qui fonctionne ici comme un marqueur discursif dont le but est de capter l'attention de l'interlocuteur,

« *Yé* » = groupe nominal sujet représenté par un pronom personnel « yé »

« *Vais couma* » : groupe verbal

« *Te* » : groupe complément (ici pronom personnel « te »)

On a alors : P => **GN1** (pronom) + **GV** + **GN2** (pronom personnel)

GN1 [« *Yé* » (groupe sujet)] + **GV** [« *Vais couma* » (groupe prédicatif)] + **GN2** [« *Te* » (groupe complément)]

- **La segmentation en blocs propositionnels.**

P (2-2) : *Quand son padré a débarqué, là là, c'était gâté même.*

« *Quand son padré a débarqué* » : proposition subordonnée temporelle ; introduite par la conjonction de subordination « quand »

« *là là, c'était gâté même* » : proposition principale

P (2-2) => proposition principale + Proposition subordonnée

P (3) : « *Si après un wano tu gagnes temps, ta femme va faire en pompier ou bien.* »

« *Si après un wano, tu gagnes temps* » : proposition subordonnée de condition ; introduite par « si ».

« *C'était gâté même ou bien* » : proposition principale

P (3) => Proposition principale + Proposition subordonnée

De cette description structurale, nous retenons que le nouchi n'a pas un ordre syntaxique particulier. En d'autres termes, la hiérarchisation des blocs syntagmatiques de type P => SN1 +SV + SN2 (ou SN Complément) est analogue à celle du système français. En plus, on distingue des phrases simples et des phrases complexes dans la langue nouchi comme dans le système français. Toutefois, après une analyse exhaustive de l'usage de certaines parties du discours, on remarque que la syntaxe nouchi s'illustre par un nombre de particularités que nous égrenons en quelques points :

- Au niveau de la distribution du pronom personnel « nous » et de l'indéfini « on », nous notons un emploi concomitant des deux lexèmes. Ce phénomène est observable dans les séquences énonciatives ci-dessous :

E (1) : « */.../ donc nous on doit mouroumourou, sogo sogo* »

E (2) : « *Si nous on te couma /... /* »

Cet emploi combiné transforme les deux entités en une locution pronominale, remplissant la fonction de sujet. Cette « migration » en usage locutionnel permet le figement du prédicat verbal à la troisième personne du singulier si bien que « devons » est supprimé du vocabulaire nouchi et remplacé par « doit ». Dans la coalescence de propriétés syntaxiques des deux syntagmes, le pronom personnel « nous », (troisième personne du pluriel) dilue ses propriétés syntaxique et sémantique au profit de celle de l'indéfini « on ».

- Concernant la distribution de la locution conjonctive « ou bien ». Dans le système français, cette locution coordonne des alternatives comme dans l'exemple « *Tu veux un orange ou bien une mangue* ». Elle se positionne entre les deux entités objet d'option. Son degré de cohésion syntaxique dans la linéarité phrastique ne lui octroie pas un caractère

explétif. En d'autres termes, sa présence est nécessaire dans la construction sémantique de la phrase ; elle ne peut donc être supprimée sans entraîner une agrammaticalité syntaxique. Cependant, tel n'est pas le cas dans la syntaxe nouchi. Pour plus de précision, nous allons décrire le comportement syntaxique et sémantique de ladite locution dans les exemples ci-après :

E (1) : /.../ *on doit mouroumourou, sogo sogo pour manger aussi **ou bien**.*

E(4) : /.../ *dja djandjou de ton goût **ou bien**.*

E (10) : /.../ *ta femme va faire en pompier **ou bien**.*

E(7) : /.../ *walà ton petit **ou bien**.*

On remarque que dans la syntaxe nouchi, la locution conjonctive de coordination occupe la posture finale de phrase. De plus, elle donne, à priori, le sentiment de fonctionner comme une suite interrogative ; mais en réalité, tel n'est pas le cas puisqu'elle n'amène pas ici une interrogation. En fait, son usage n'a pas pour rôle de connaître le sentiment de l'interlocuteur sur l'objet de la communication mais plutôt de canaliser celui-ci à adhérer à la situation. Dans ce contexte, elle permet de solliciter l'adhésion de l'interlocuteur, de conduire subtilement celui-ci à prendre parti pour la cause de l'énonciateur. Dans cette perspective, « ou bien » observe « une conversion fonctionnelle » pour s'inscrire dans la catégorie des particules discursives. Ce type d'emploi particulière par lequel l'actant invite l'interactant à partager sa cause, à attirer son attention sur ce que le premier aimerait que le second remarque, est dénommé « *marqueur d'appel à l'écoute* » (G. Dostie, 2004 :37). Les marqueurs d'appel à la connivence du co-énonciateur servent à solliciter l'écoute de ce dernier, à demander une ratification ou une approbation discursive (Ibidem. : 47). « Ou bien » fonctionne alors comme une entité « anodine » ou un « colorant émotionnel » dans le sens qu'elle n'exerce aucune contrainte syntaxique dans l'énoncé mais permet simplement de charger le sens de la phrase d'une nuance affective.

- L'autre de point se rapporte à l'emploi de l'adverbe non prédicatif « ne ». Premier terme de négation du composé morphématique discontinu « ne...pas », « ne » est souvent omis dans les énoncés nouchi. Certes, en français, il existe des énoncés dans lesquels l'on omet simultanément les deux termes « ne » et « pas / plus » comme dans l'expression « T'occupe ! » ou « T'inquiète ! » (ne t'occupe pas de cela, mêle toi de ce qui te regarde). Mais, selon C. Muller (2002 : 19-20) « l'antéposition du pronom « te, t' » en position frontale permet de pallier des particules de négation ». Or, il n'en est pas le cas dans la syntaxe nouchi. En effet, les nouchiphones suppriment le « ne » dans leur parler pour ne conserver que le lexème final de la négation « pas, plus ». Les exemples en infra présentent la situation.

E(1) : « L'Etat (...) nous aide **pas**, donc nous on doit mouroumourou.

E (5) : *oh là ! Faut dah bla ça lui là, ce (...) **pas** un tchè sérieux.*

E(11) : *laisse mon dahico, je (...) bois **plus***

A cette liste de points particularisant la syntaxe de ce « langage de rue », s'ajoute celui de l'usage du lexème « là ». Dans les grammaires classiques, *là* est décrit comme un monosyllabe appartenant à la catégorie des indices d'ostension. Ses fonctions fondamentales consistent à marquer le cadre spatio-temporel dans la situation d'énonciation et à servir de coordonnant à deux séquences phrastiques. Or dans les énoncés nouchi, « là » fonctionne comme un décor discursif dans le sens où il ne joue aucune fonction syntaxique et

sémantique. C'est une partie du discours qui sert simplement de « meublage » énonciatif, comme on peut l'observer dans les exemples ci-dessous :

E(5) : /.../ *quand son padré a débarqué, c'était gâté même là là.*

E(6) : *Eh ! Maman tu as pris une nouvelle cotché ? Mais là là c'est mal nice.*

E(11) : *Là là les bahomann vont prendre dra aujourd'hui.*

Dans les trois énoncés, « là » est en usage dupliqué. De plus, il n'est pas contraint à un figement positionnel quelconque dans la mesure où il bénéficie d'une propriété de mobilité syntaxique qui lui octroie la possibilité d'occuper soit une posture frontale (E11), soit une posture médiane (E6) ou finale (E5) d'énoncé. La fonction de « meublage énonciatif » s'explique par le fait que la suppression de « là » n'a aucune incidence sur le sens de la phrase. De façon pragmatique, on voit que la valeur sémantique de « *Là là les bahomann vont prendre dra aujourd'hui* » est analogue à « *Les bahomann vont prendre dra aujourd'hui* ».

En somme, nous retenons que la syntaxe du nouchi est analogue à celle du français standard au niveau de la construction des phrases où $P \Rightarrow SN1+SV+ SN2$. De plus, on distingue des phrases simples et complexes dans le nouchi comme dans le système français. Cependant la syntaxe nouchi se démarque de celle du français standard en certains points du fait qu'elle se caractérise par un certain nombre d'agrammaticalités syntaxiques. Ces agrammaticalités s'observent au niveau du mésusage de la particule de négation, de l'emploi redupliqué du phénomène « là », de l'inconvenance de la locution coordinatrice « ou bien », laquelle est usitée comme un marqueur discursif à valeur phatique, toujours en position finale de phrase. Suite à cette section, nous abordons la fonction communicationnelle de ce « langage de rue ».

6. Les fonctions communicationnelles du Nouchi

Evoquer les fonctions du nouchi dans le consortium des autres variétés telles le français populaire ivoirien (FPI) et le français standard est très complexe dans la mesure où toutes ces variétés se partagent la même aire linguistique. Néanmoins, nous pouvons résumer les fonctions de ce « langage de rue » en deux principaux points : sur le plan culturel et sur le plan pragmatique.

Au niveau culturel, il convient de mentionner que ce « langage de ghetto » milite en faveur de la valorisation culturelle de la Côte d'Ivoire. En effet, de l'analyse des particularités morphologiques et sémantiques en passant par les particularités syntaxiques, l'étude a montré que les nouchiphones recourent constamment aux termes et expressions ivoiriennes (le dioula, le bété, etc.) pour enrichir leur univers linguistique. Ce faisant, ils contribuent à l'expression de la spécificité ivoirienne. Dans cette perspective analytique, nous convergions vers la vision de L. S. Senghor (1979) qui affirmait, dans la préface *du lexique du français au Sénégal* de Pierre Dumond et de Dominique Gontier, que nous sommes pour une langue française, mais avec des variantes, plus exactement des enrichissements régionaux. En puisant constamment dans le revoir lexical de plusieurs groupes linguistiques de la Côte d'Ivoire, le nouchi permet de promouvoir les langues ivoiriennes.

An niveau pragmatique, le nouchi reste un moyen de communication intercommunautaire. En effet, comme souligné dans les pages antérieures, la rue accueille des « enfants sans domicile » et des jeunes déscolarisés provenant des quatre grands groupes linguistiques de la Côte d'Ivoire, chacun avec ses charges culturelles. En utilisant tous ce véhiculaire, des liens très forts se tissent entre eux. Dans cette optique, le nouchi devient un facteur de rapprochement et de cohésion non seulement pour les enfants de la rue et les jeunes déscolarisés mais aussi pour tous ceux qui l'utilisent. Nous faisons allusion, notamment, à tous les locuteurs que sont les élèves, les étudiants, les jeunes du black, les conducteurs des mini cars communément dénommés gbaka. Aujourd'hui le nouchi est devenu un véritable véhiculaire entre plusieurs couche sociales.

Pour conclure, il faut noter de l'analyse des particularités morpholexicales et sémantiques, l'étude a montré que les nouchiphones recourent constamment aux termes et expressions locales pour l'enrichissement de leur champ lexical, ce qui est une manière de faire la promotion de la culture ivoirienne. Sur le plan syntaxique, on remarque que ce langage de ghetto copie la structure phrastique du français standard de type $P = SN2 + SV + SN2$, mais il évoluant en marge des normes syntaxiques concernant la distribution d'un certain nombre des parties du discours. Au début, ce parler de rue servait de code à une catégorie de jeunes déscolarisés ne maitrisant pas le français. Ceux-ci s'en servaient pour échanger secrètement des informations sur les personnes qu'ils projetaient agresser. Mais Aujourd'hui, le nouchi est devenu une mode, un véritable facteur de rapprochement pour toute la jeunesse ivoirienne, à telle enseigne qu'il intéresse de plus en plus les chercheurs nationaux et internationaux, ceux-ci ayant pour objectif de laisser des traces écrites sur cette forme de « créole ivoirien ».

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Acculturation of Halal Food to Chinese Food Culture through the Ancient Silk Road and Hui Minority Nationality

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Abstract

This meta-analysis study examined the acculturation of halal food to the Chinese food culture. Acculturation is a sociocultural transition through which a group of people or an individual assimilates to a different dominant culture or a country by adopting a set of linguistic skills, social traits, and dietary practices of the host culture. Consuming halal food prepared according to certain Islamic regulations is a mandatory religious dietary obligation required of all Muslims irrespective of where they live or travel to. The word "halal food" in Arabic denotes food that is legal and permissible to consume. Among other dietary requirements, Islamic tenets require the consumption of meat obtained only from animals that have been slaughtered according to strict rules, prohibiting consuming porcine food products, meat from beasts, dead animal meat, animal blood, and any quantity of alcohol. Islam and halal food traditions were introduced to China in the early 7th century through the Central Asian, Arab, and Persian merchants, soldiers, and missionaries who trekked the treacherous ancient overland and maritime Silk Road trade routes. Throughout its history, China has been a non-Muslim country hitherto halal food practice has been securely acculturated and even has been flourishing as a seminal constituent of the contemporaneous Chinese food culture. This paper discusses the three key factors that have contributed to the effective acculturation of halal food to the Chinese food culture. First, the role of the Chinese Hui Minority Nationality has been living, practicing Islam and halal food consumption uninterruptedly in China for nearly 14 centuries. Second, the existence of the ancient Silk Road that then served as a gateway to northwestern China for the migratory Muslim progenitors of the modern-day Hui people. Third, the open-mindedness of the Chinese people that enabled them to readily accept non-traditional Chinese food ingredient imports from foreign cultures, which has led to the relative facilitation of the natural acculturation of halal to the Chinese food culture. This paper further investigates the current economic impact of halal food on the burgeoning halal products market that has the potential of positioning China on the global halal food map as one of major producer and exporter in the international halal products economy that is valued at approximately \$2.3 trillion.

Keywords: Acculturation, Halal food, Islam in China, Silk Road, Chinese Hui Minority Nationality, Dietary practice.

1. Introduction

Halal food is described as the kind of food that does not contain any constituent of food that Muslims are not permitted to consume as prescribed by the Quran (*Arabic*, القرآن) (the sacred text of Muslims), and further clarified by the Sunni traditions known as the (Hadith, *ha-deeth*) that is relied upon together with the Quran to explicate how Muslims should comply with these dietary regulations and put them into practice on a regular basis. The foods that are permissible under the Islamic dietary laws and protocols must be clean pure, safe, and wholesome to consume under specific conditions outlined in the Quran and Hadith. The term Haram (*Arabic*: “حرام”), which means in Arabic forbidden or prohibited is the antithesis of halal (Halal Food Authority; Riaz and Chaudry 2-4; Khattak, et al. 285; Prepared Foods). Riaz and Chaudry further explain that based on the laws and regulations of halal food, it is haram for food to be extracted or mixed with porcine byproducts or contaminated with any other non-halal foods (5, 11, 13). For these reasons, halal food that is allowed under the Islamic dietary laws must be stringently free of any semblance porcine derivatives, fat or blood from any prohibited consuming animals, and any quantity of alcohol. Furthermore, any animals and poultry sold in the market under the halal meat label must be slaughtered in conformity with certifiable strict religious guidelines are only permitted for consumption by Muslims (Kittler, Sucher, and Nelms 92; Junru, 61, 96; Newman, Early Chinese Food 21, 23). In all Muslim majority countries and non-Muslim countries with significant or minority Muslim populations, there are active halal food certification agencies and bodies that regulate, safeguard, enforce, and issue certificates to businesses in compliance with halal standard dietary laws and guidelines (see Fig. 1).



Fig 1. Halal Food Logo Used in Most Muslim Countries as an Accreditation Issued by Halal Certification Boards to Restaurants, Halal Meat Butcher Markets, and other Halal Food Products
Source: <http://www.holidayssg.com/guide-to-muslim-travel-in-taiwan-part-1-halal-food/>

Chaudry and Riaz estimate that, currently, there are close to 122 global halal food certification organizations. They include government-administered, locally-governed, non-profit non-governmental organization (NGO), and private for-profit agencies and business that standardize and issue halal certifications in countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines (288-301). In the U.S., there are several similar agencies among them the Islamic Food and Nutrition Council of America, the Halal Advisory Group, and the Islamic Society of the Washington Area. Worldwide, Malaysia and Indonesia are considered the foremost authorities in halal food industry standards and have the most recognized advanced and robust certification systems. Consumers search for foods that are authentically certified as halal because it helps them to clearly distinguish the acceptability of halal foods products for consumption. (Prepared Foods; Riaz, *Fundamentals of Halal* 71-76). According to the Quran and the Islamic jurisprudence, Muslims should refrain from a specified list of forbidden or taboo foods and beverages. The topmost prohibited foods on the list are pork and pork byproducts, with drinking any quantity of alcoholic beverages, consuming meat from beasts or dead animals such as a horse, dog, donkey, and blood of any animal are among the list of impermissible foods (Counihan and Van Esterik 67, 70-71; Junru 13, 53, 61; Gillette 167). The Arabic-English translation of the inclusive meaning from a Quranic verse states “*He (God) has forbidden you only dead animals, and blood, and the swine, and that which is slaughtered as a sacrifice for other than God*” (*Quran, Verse 2:173*). This Quranic verse also covers prohibiting consuming the flesh of any dead animal through strangling, beating, sickness, or falling from a height, as well as being devoured by wild beasts (Stacey).

For millennia, food has been an essential component of the Chinese history, identity, and patrimony. Research by Koctürk-Runefors refers to the strong connection between food and cultural identity as a “value” connection. The author further explains that some “value” foods that are deeply connected to a culture or an ethnic group carry more “value” to that culture or ethnic group; and therefore, it might be difficult to change or substitute over time (157-150). Historically, classic Chinese food can be traced back as far as (5000-3200 BC) at which time the Yangshao culture flourished during the late Neolithic period in the Yellow River central planes (Chang, *Chinese Food Culture* 25; Pollard 69-70). This ancient Chinese civilization was founded clustering around the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River, especially in Gansu, Henan, Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Hebei Provinces (see Fig. 2). The Yellow River and Yangtze River jointly contributed to making China one of the earliest civilizations to cultivate farmland, build canals, develop irrigation systems, and raise crops. As early as 5,400 BC, Chinese could domesticate foxtail millet, hemp, and animals in the fertile land of the Yellow River Valley. Further, Chinese could also build underground storage structures in caves to warehouse the crops they had raised (Junru 9; Chang, *Chinese Food Culture* 6, 72; 89). On the upper and middle ranges of the Yellow River Plains where the early Middle Yangshao settlements subsisted, archeologists discovered building structures that could have been utilized as storage depots to stockpile dehydrated grains. Archaeological artifacts also revealed that the Yangshao culture dedicated much effort to reclaim and cultivate wasteland for raising crops such as chestnuts, cereal crops, rice, and millets for both

animal fodder and human consumption. Further, archaeologists unearthed pottery cooking bowls and tools such as grinding stones for making rice flour (Chang, *The Archaeology* 12) (see Fig. 2). Until 500 BC, there has been no recorded history or any archaeological finds of a systematized practice of how the prehistoric Chinese produced and cooked their food.



Fig. 2. Map of the Hui Muslim Concentrated Areas and the Provinces in the Yellow River Planes in China Marked by Blue-Inked Dots. Source: Adapted from All Nations 2414 Blogger (2012). Accessed in June 12, 2016. <http://allnations2414.blogspot.com/>

The early Chinese philosopher and teacher Confucius (551 BC-479 BC) was a pioneer in establishing the first structured guidebook for preparing, cooking, and eating Chinese food. Some Confucius' culinary techniques are still being followed by the Chinese people currently (Newman, *Early Chinese Food* 21, 23).

Throughout the history of civilizations, people's dietary behaviors have been profoundly influenced by geography, cultures, and traditional eating habits. For various reasons, even in one country or culture, people usually prepare and consume a variety of food ingredients for different purposes or beliefs. Kittler, Sucher, and Nelms describe food habits or food culture as the traditional ways through which people consume food, including how their food is cultivated; purchased; warehoused; prepared, and the way food is served and to whom is presented (2). The

authors further illustrate that the significance of this process is unique to humankind, as food functions vary according to each culture in classifying food to reflect its priorities and identity (4-5, 7). Food habits may also be employed as an important, or even a determining cultural criterion in a group of people who share the same food denoting their eating patterns, cooking styles, and behaviors toward food. However, even within the same culture, dietary behaviors do not necessarily have to be homogenous. In most instances, they are not the same because of the availability of food natural resources and sociocultural factors such as diversity in demographics, religious beliefs, and socioeconomic strata (Chang, *Chinese Food Culture* 6, 7-8). An analytical study of food culture suggests that when people within the same culture resort to eating the same food, they do that by the necessity for survival where food can be measured only by the caloric value it provides. However, people with heterogeneous cultural or socioeconomic backgrounds would customarily have different diets and broadly eat differently with a variety of choices. Similarly, those people with different religious beliefs would commonly have different dietary regulations that dictate what is permissible to eat and what is not (Valera).

In China, culinary traditions have evolved over the centuries, as new food ingredients were discovered, inventive cooking techniques were created, and new gastronomies were introduced with the advent of every imperial dynasty. Commencing with the founder of the Qin Dynasty, Ying Zheng (259-210 BC), emperors wielded their unbridled authority to obtain and stockpile the best food delicacies. Emperors also conscripted first-rate cooks from all over China to make a variety of the most delicious food for them, their families, and their concubines. Imperial food traditions represented each Chinese dynasty's unique cooking style and the best cuisine at the time (Chang, *Chinese Food Culture* 27; Wilkinson 646-647). Through the ancient Silk Road, during the rule of the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), explorers, merchants, and migrants negotiated the treacherous overland trade routes across the rugged mountains of Central Asia trekking toward Xinjiang (Uyghur) in northwestern China carrying with them exotic food ingredients and introducing them for the first time to the indigenous Chinese cuisine (see Fig. 3). Foods such as sesame, pomegranate, grape, walnut, watermelon, carrot, muskmelon, fennel, celery, lima beans, cucumber, and other food spices are some of the non-native foods and spices that came originally from West and Central Asia brought into the central Han Chinese regions. During the North and South Dynasties (420-589 AD), originated in India, eggplant proliferated into China together with the proselytization of Buddhism. The potato was brought into China through the southeastern coastline Provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian. The potato plant was carried as food for the seaman on board ships by European mariners from the Andes in South America to ports and territories across Asia and Africa. Incipiently, the potato was introduced and planted only in two aforesaid Chinese provinces, and later it was planted in some other provinces (Junru19; Malik 263). During the Mongolian Empire's excursion of Central Asia and the Middle East in the (mid-12th to the early13th centuries), which resulted in an involuntary immigration of many Muslim soldiers, various foreign foods and cooking styles were transported with them into China for the first time. After those foreign foods have been introduced to the indigenous Chinese food, many of them endured and maintained their foreign origin and native names. This transformation of the traditional Chinese food culture surprised many Chinese cooks to learn that different kinds of their basic food ingredients were originally imports from foreign

lands such as peas, onions, and coriander from Bactria (present-day Afghanistan) (see Fig. 3) were all introduced for the first time to the traditional Chinese food during the Han Dynasty (Boulnois and Mayhew 65; Wood, Frances 59-60). Regarding embracing foods from outside China, the Chinese people are not particularly overly nationalistic to the extent that they would not accept any food imports, and that some of these alien foodstuffs have been willingly accepted for many centuries by many of the Chinese people. The major contribution that Muslims made to the Chinese food culture is the introduction of different cooking style such as steaming, roasting, stewing, and braising of food. Moreover, because of the Islamic dietary restriction regarding animal meat consumption, lamb and mutton were also introduced to the Chinese food culture with the arrival of the Central Asian Muslims to Xinjiang in northwestern China via the overland Silk Road (see Fig. 3). Currently, lamb and mutton dominate the meat cooking ingredients throughout China (Chang, Chinese Food Culture 7; Junru 18; Reilly).

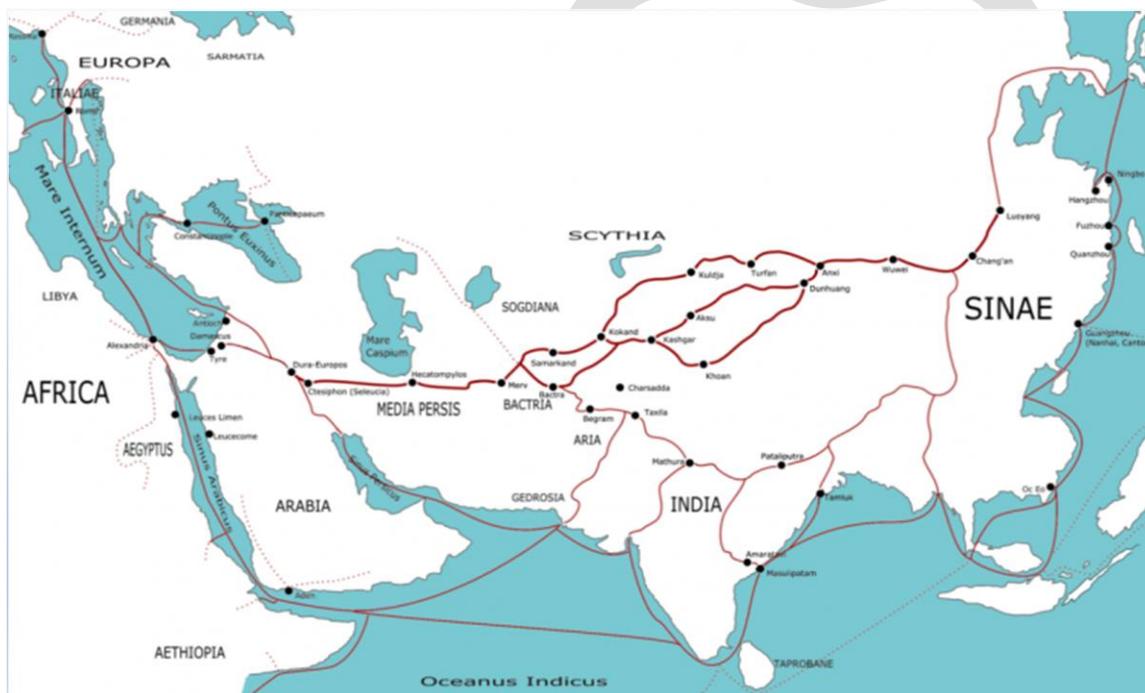


Fig 3. Map of the Overland and Maritime Ancient Silk Road Trade Routes. Permission to Copy this Illustration by Shizhao (2012) is Granted by the GNU Free Documentation License (Version 1.3, 3 November 2008). Source: Mark, Joshua J. (2014). Accessed in June 16, 2017. <http://www.ancient.eu/image/146/>

Congruent with many other ancient cultures such as ancient Egypt, Chinese dietary habits are influenced by deep-rooted health promotion beliefs and medicinal advantages that are associated with each kind of food consumed. Junru maintains that the curative qualities of food have been considered exceptionally important to the Chinese diet since ancient times. The author further purports that the Chinese have constantly given a special attention to the food they

consume for the main purpose of preserving their health and prolonging their life. Compared with medicine, Chinese believe that food is much kinder to the body (84). Accordingly, in the Chinese culture, the health and healing beliefs in food have a significant influence on how the food is purchased, prepared, and eaten. The prevailing perception about food consumption in China is that food preparation, as well as the kind and amount of food consumed by an individual, is intimately relevant to that individual's overall health and longevity. In general terms, food does not only affect one's physical and emotional health, but also the selection of the appropriate kind of food at the right time must also be dependent upon one's overall health condition at a particular stage of the life cycle such as being elderly or ailing. To illustrate the importance of the timeliness of meals, the Chinese philosopher Confucius said "*bu shi bu shi*", which translates into "*meals are not to be had if it is not the appropriate time for them*". Food, therefore, is similarly considered as part of the traditional Chinese medicine utilized to achieve health maintenance, as well as healing of many maladies. Consequently, the regulation of one's diet is a constant exercise of disease prevention and treatment that has been practiced for centuries. The Chinese people are especially preoccupied with food and the Chinese way of eating is characterized by an array of beliefs and ideas about food, which may affect the way food is prepared and consumed. In the Chinese culture, food is placed at the center of, or at least, amalgamates with or symbolizes many social interactions and health behaviors (Chang, Chinese Food Culture 9a; Junru 32). Many ancient and modern cultures classify certain foods as essential for strength, energy, and mental sharpness. Some cultures also include food health beliefs such as creating equilibrium between the body and soul. In ancient China, nutritionists were considered among the highest-ranked among all health professionals (Kittler, Sucher, and Nelms 41). For thousands of years, in the Chinese culture, there has been time-honored belief that an illness is thought to be related to a bodily imbalance or deficiency between a negative energy called "*yin*" and a positive energy called "*yang*" that can be remedied by a prescribed dietary intake such as herbs and special ingredient soups and multi-grain porridge. Furthermore, the Chinese people further believe in the importance of maintaining one's good health condition through sustaining a balance between the five elements of well-being known as "*wuxing*" valued for good health in the Chinese culture, which include Metal (*Jin*), Wood (*Mu*), Water (*Shui*), Fire (*Huo*) and Earth (*Tu*) (Henderson, John 686-688; Lin; Roberts 20).

2. Literature Review

2.1 Role of the Ancient Silk Road as a Gateway to Halal Food into China

The ancient overland Silk Road (see Fig. 3) was a global commercial thoroughfare traversed by traders, missionaries, warriors, and monks around (138 BC). The Silk Road was not only one road but a network of trade routes that meandered through several countries and connected the Eastern and Western Ancient Civilizations. Emperor Wu of Han, the seventh Imperial Ruler of the Chinese Han Dynasty (156-187 BC) ruled Han China for 54 years. He envisioned establishing global trade relations with other major commercial centers to the west of China in Persia, Central Asia, the Middle East, and eventually Europe. During his reign, the ancient Silk Road was partly developed expanding on pre-existing overland trade routes in China's western territories. The Silk Road trade routes became thoroughfares to trade Chinese

commodities, including the silk fabric to be transported westbound via caravans to Persia, India, the Middle Eastern Region, and the Roman Empire. On China's eastern territories, Xi'an City (then called *Chang'an*) in Shaanxi Province was the ancient Capital City of China became a starting trade hub for the Silk Road and grew into a major crossroad between China, the Middle East, and Europe. Xi'an also served as a way station for foreign traders and travelers, as well as a permanent place of residence for many others, including the ancestors of the current Muslim Hui (Esposito 443-444; Pollard 238; Elverson 11, 24; Boulnois and Mayhew 67). Historically, the term Silk Road "*Seidenstrassen* in German" was originated by the German geographer and explorer Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833-1905 AD). He coined that phrase in 1877 denoting the then popular trade of the Chinese silk fabric using a loosely linked network of overland trade routes stretching from Xi'an City in northwestern China to Central Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean, then to Europe. The Silk Road was also linked to the Persian Royal Road, which was developed during the Achaemenid Persian Empire (500-330 BC). The Persian Royal Road functioned as one of the main routes of the Silk Road connecting northern Persia (present-day Iran) to the Eastern Mediterranean Sea in Asia Minor (present-day Turkey) and incorporated postal stations alongside the trade route with fresh horses for messengers to quickly deliver messages throughout the empire (Mark). The Silk Road was not used only for commercial trade, but also for warfare, the slave trade, cultural, and religious exchanges. These various exchanges made substantial contributions to the development of the Chinese, Persian, Muslim, Indian Subcontinent, and European Civilizations (Turner; Bentley 31-32; Esposito 462-466). As it can be observed in Figure 3, the ancient Silk Road map illustrates how Islam was introduced to China by two different means. The first was through a diplomatic delegation of four Muslim emissaries led by an envoy by the name of Saad Ibn Abī Waqqās. The delegation sailed the Arabian Peninsula to China in (651 AD) with an invitation to the Tang Dynasty Emperor Yung-Wei to embrace Islam. Although the Emperor held an audience with the Muslim delegation, he declined the invitation to convert to Islam, and to show his respect toward Islam and the delegation, he ordered the construction of the first mosque in China in the southern seaport city of Canton (modern-day Guangzhou). Because of the relative success of the mission by delegation, Muslims missionaries and merchants were encouraged to travel to China to invite the Chinese Hans to embrace Islam and trade with their Chinese counterparts. Eventually, they had a positive economic impact on the Chinese commerce, especially during the Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD). Whereas some of these merchants returned to their native homelands, some others stayed behind and settled in China permanently where they lived confined to designated Muslim enclaves. Over time, they got married to women of Han, Miao, and Yao derivation and had children with them. In accordance with Islamic tenets, children of a Muslim father are duty-bound to be raised as Muslim, which brought about the formation of the present-day Muslim Hui Minority Nationality (Lipman 24-26; Olson 397, 340; Foltz 96). The second, was through the ancient Kingdom of Khotan in Central Asia, which was one of the largest settlements adjacent to one of the ancient Silk Road's main routes (present-day Xinjiang in Western China) (see Fig. 3). In 1006 AD, the Central Asian Muslim Turkic Dynasty (999-1211 AD) concurred Khotan, which resulted in the conversion of most of the Khotan's residents to Islam followed by their neighboring oasis communities, making Islam is the dominant religion in Xinjiang even at present. With the emergence of Islam in northwestern China, those converted Muslims (modern-

day Uighur and Hui) of Khaton (Xinjiang) began practicing consuming halal food as one of their religious requirements. From there, in due course, halal food burgeoned throughout China as the Chinese Muslim Uighur and Hui moved out to live in different locations in China, especially relocating to the southeast toward the cities of Xi'an in Shaanxi Province and Kaifeng in Henan Province. Currently, these two cities have a visible sizeable Muslim Hui minority (Hansen 3, 28, 65; Dillon 40) (see Fig. 2). The Chinese used both the overland and maritime Silk Road routes to export their silk fabric as a high-value commodity westward to the rest of the world. Chinese silk was used in China since at least (3600 BC), and had been found in Egypt from around (1000 BC) and was used in Europe from 300 years later than Egypt. Not only the Silk Road promoted trade exchanges of the Chinese silk fabric and other goods, but also facilitated the exchanges of other products, artistic culture, and religious beliefs such as Buddhism and Islam between the South Asian and Western Civilizations (Turner 1; Foltz 1, 4, 23, 37, Szostak).

2.2 Acculturation of Halal Food to the Chinese Food Culture

Dietary acculturation demonstrates adopting new eating habits and food culture by a group of people of another predominant host culture or country. Traditionally, dietary acculturation represents the voluntary adoption of a set of dietary practices and food consumption patterns by an immigrant ethnic group of a host culture or country (Cannon & Yaprak, 232; Jamal, 14; Laroche et al., 215). Food culture in China is considerably diverse and influenced by its vast geographical diversity and manifold natural resources, as well as its considerable ethnic diversity with a *mélange* of multi-ethnic groups and religious faiths. Every region and ethnic minority nationality in China prides itself on having authentic cooking styles that represent its inimitable dietary customs and cultural background (Junru 53). Among that *mélange* of ethnic groups in China is the Muslim Hui Nationality. The Hui ancestors migrated to China during the Tang and Ming Dynasties (7th century to mid-13th century AD). When they came to China, they settled first in the southwestern and northwestern regions, as well as around the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River Basin. Unlike other Chinese Muslim nationality groups such as the Uzbeks, Kazaks, and Tatars, the Muslim Hui have their own distinctive style of producing and cooking halal food. The Hui's dietary practices are mainly influenced by their observance of Sunni Islam, which is also the religion of their Arab, Turkic, and Persian ancestors (Dillon 3; Newman, *Islamic Cuisine in China* 7, 35a). The practice of halal food consumption by the Hui people in China for since the 7th century is one of the four key reasons that facilitated the progression of the acculturation of halal food into the traditional Chinese food culture. The second key reason is the Chinese open-minded attitude that opened the door for accepting non-traditional Chinese foodstuff imports from foreign cultures, which led to the relative facilitation of the natural acculturation of halal food. The third key reason is derived from state-funded research findings that suggest that the Muslim Hui people as an ethnic group that possesses a hereditary predisposition for effective market skills. The findings further infer that those inherent skills were passed down to the Hui people by their Arab and Persian merchant forefathers who migrated to China between the (7th-9th centuries). Those Hui inherited bazaar-oriented skills what made the Hui people particularly successful in managing their halal food business in China for all these centuries (Gillette 45). According to Parker, currently, the Huis dominate halal food production and retail in China. The fourth key reason is that, for the nearly 1400 years that halal

food has been in China, it has not attempted to supersede the traditional Chinese food or competed with it. In fact, halal food in China has been flourishing economically and culturally together with the traditional Chinese food. Affirming this datum from my personal extensive experience and first-hand field observations being in China for a few years, halal food appears to be complementing the traditional Chinese food, and it has been positively embraced and enjoyed equally by both the Muslim and non-Muslim Chinese alike. Historically, the only period at which the practice of halal food by the Chinese Hui Muslims was prohibited occurred as an exception during the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 AD). In late 1270's, the Mongolian ruler and grandson of Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, issued an anti-Muslim declaration to ban the practice of slaughtering of animals by employing the obligatory Muslim rituals. Instead, Khan compelled them into following the Mongolian method of slaughtering of animals, which was incompatible with their Islamic dietary halal tenets. This coercive decree by Kublai Khan was unintentionally discontinued in 1287 because of the deterioration of his reign (Junru 19; Dillon 11, 24, 27, 139; Elverson 24, 39; Johnson).

Halal food was introduced to China about 1400 years ago. In Mandarin Chinese, the word "halal" translates into "pure" and "true". The concept of halal food is based on Islamic dietary laws that stipulate that any food and beverage consumed by Muslims must be both pure (clean) and true (unadulterated) according to the Quranic and Hadith specifications. This binding dietary practice influences how Muslims slaughter animals for food consumption, and how they should prepare their food accordingly. Muslims believe that the doctrines provided by the Quran to be the literal and true words of God; thus, they are sacred and must be taken literally. Even though the modern-day Chinese Hui people have been maintaining to be observant Muslims, at the same time, they could also maintain their Sino-Muslim ethnic identity. They speak Mandarin Chinese, and for the most part, they have assimilated well into the prodigious Chinese Han culture through adapting their Muslim identity to the local community customs. Hitherto, through assimilation, the Hui Nationality is one of the most successful Muslim minorities not only in China. One of the key reasons for their successful enculturation can be ascribed to the many centuries living in a relative harmony with the Chinese Han majority's culture. Despite centuries of successful assimilation, the Hui people have not lost their Muslim or ethnic identity. Throughout, the Hui people could also preserve their distinctive halal food culture (Dörrer; Parker).

Halal food in Arabic called (حلال) and in Chinese called (清真食品, *qingzhen*). This dietary practice has been observed by the Chinese Hui Muslims for nearly 14 centuries. The ancestors of the present-day Chinese who Hui came to China through both the maritime and overland Silk Road routes at different stages did not only transport their Islamic religion into China, but also their traditional halal butchering of animals for food consumption, their unique cooking styles, and other Islamic dietary practices (Newman, *Islamic Cuisine* 7, 35a; Dillon 24). In addition to the Chinese ethnic Han majority, the Hui Minority Nationality (*Chinese*: 回族) is one of 55 other ethnic minority groups that were officially recognized by China in 1964. According to the 2010 census, the Hui Ethnic Nationality ranks among them as the third largest ethnic nationality with nearly (10.6 million, 1.6 %) preceded by the Zhuang (16.1 million) and the Manchu (10.6 million) as being the two largest ethnic minority groups, respectively (Dillon

1; Hub; Pew Research Center, Mapping the Global, National Bureau of Statistics of China) (see Fig. 4).

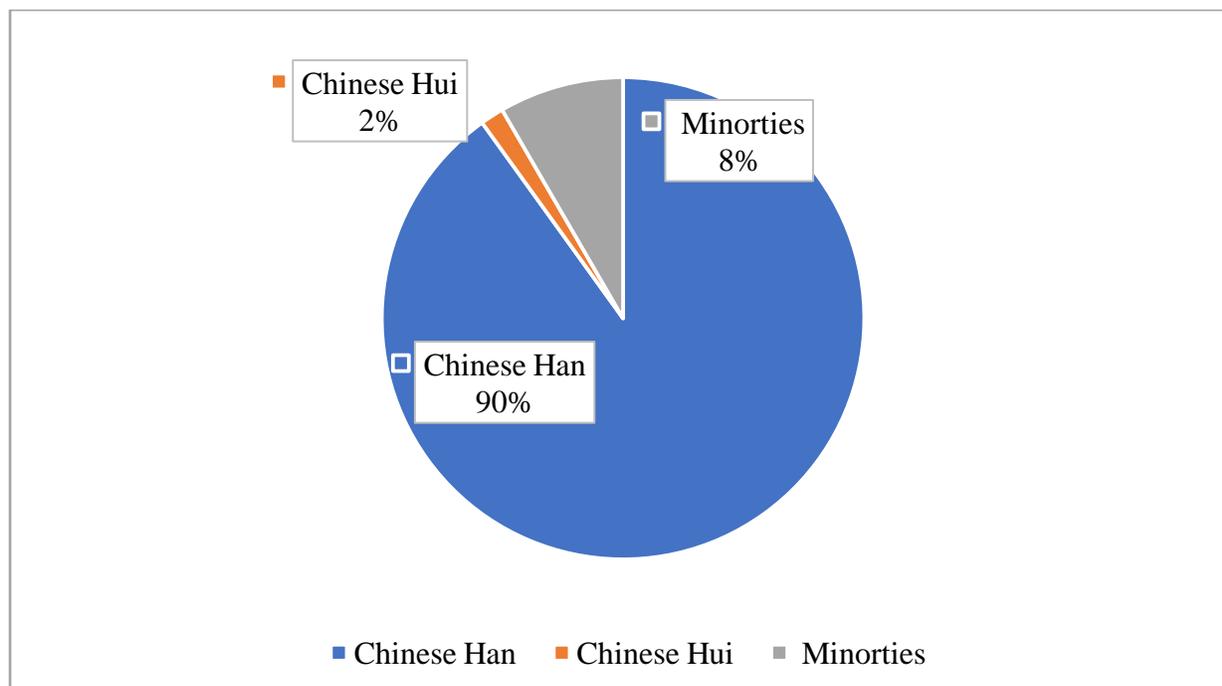


Fig. 4. Population ratios (%) of the Chinese Han Ethnic Majority Nationality (90%), Chinese Hui Ethnic Minor Nationality (2%), Compared to All the Chinese Ethnic Minorities (8%). Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China. “The 2010 Population Census of China, vol. 1, 2011.

The name “Huihui” is an original variant of the current “Hui” name is derived from the Chinese word denoting “foreign guests” or “outside visitors”. The name “Huihui” was coined during the Yuan Dynasty (1276-1368 AD) to designate the Hui people collectively as “non-Chinese residents” who came to China migrating from Central Asia, Persia, Turkey, and the Arab regions (Gladney 25-26; Lipman 24). Currently, a sizable population of the Hui communities resides in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region (NHAR) located in the northwestern frontiers of China. Nearly 20% of the entire Muslim Hui population in China inhabits Ningxia (Parker). Other Hui communities in greater or smaller population proportions have a conspicuous presence in Xinjiang, Shandong, Shaanxi (Xi’an), Gansu, Qinghai, Hebei, Henan, and Yunnan Provinces (see Fig. 2). The current Hui’s progenitors were Muslim missionaries, merchants, soldiers, and sailors, as well as Persian traders and Central Asian herdsmen, came to China during the Tang Dynasty (618-905 AD). The Han Nationality (*Chinese*: 汉族) constitutes the dominant ethnic majority group among all the Chinese ethnic nationalities with about 91.59% of the total Chinese population of nearly 1159.4 million (see Fig. 4).

In recent years, the demand for halal foods has been growing exponentially, not only in the U.S., Canada, and Europe, but also in Southeast Asia, the Arab Middle East, North Africa, and

Australia. In the last three decades, the halal food industry has become one of the fastest growing global consumer markets in the world. Excluding the banking and financing sectors, currently, the total global halal industry, including halal food, non-food products, and related services is valued at about \$2.3 trillion (Africa Islamic Economic Foundation 140-142; Bodied). The Pew Research Center reports that by 2030, the global Muslim population is expected to constitute nearly (26%) of the total world's population with a projected total population of nearly 2.2 billion Muslims (The Future of the Global Muslim 13-14). In a different but related report, Lipka and Hackett estimate that the world's Muslim population is expected to grow by (32%) in the forthcoming decades. In 2015, there were nearly 1.8 billion Muslims, and by 2060 this number is forecast to increase up to 3 billion. The authors further illustrate that, in 2015, Muslims comprised nearly 24.1% of the total global population, and 45 years later, Muslims are expected to comprise more than (31.1%). A relevant projection by Deutsche Welled estimates that the current global Muslim population is expected to increase by two-fold in a few decades compared with their non-Muslim counterparts. Recent several global Muslim population analyses suggest that four in ten of the most populous Muslim countries in the world that are contributing to the rapid population growth are in the Southwest and Southeast Asia, and Asia-Pacific Regions. Chiefly among them are Indonesia (209.1 million) (*one in every eight Muslims in the world lives in Indonesia*), Pakistan (176.2 million), India (167.4 million), and Bangladesh (134.4 million) (Pew Research Center, 10 Countries with the Largest; World Atlas). Because of this rapid expansion of the global Muslim population, the demand for halal products is not only for foodstuffs but also for non-food goods that have been fueled by the increasing purchasing power of the current global Muslim population of nearly to 2 billion. Subsequently, the halal food industry is estimated to grow at an annual rate of nearly (20%). One of the major drivers for the halal market expansion is that the purchases of halal products are not exclusive to the Muslim consumers only. One of the rationales for this relatively recent phenomenon is that halal market has been increasingly attracting and gaining more acceptance among the non-Muslim consumers who associate the word "halal" with a positive representation of pure, ethical, and hygienic food and non-food products consumerism (Bodied). In the U.S., research by Green and Gammon found that halal food sales are rising not only among the fast-growing U.S. Muslim population but also among the young American non-Muslim millennials who have embraced halal food as a healthier dietary alternative to fast food. For that reason, since 2010, the sales of halal food have increased by a rate of (30%). Currently, halal food business in the U.S. has reached a trading volume worth \$20 billion. This trade volume represents nearly (70%) increase from the 1999 halal food business. Similarly, the number of halal food restaurants and related stores has been growing at a fast pace. Presently, Many U.S.-based businesses either produce or distribute halal food and non-food halal products. Some U.S. States have passed state laws to regulate halal food certification and proper labeling to ensure both safety and compliance with halal food standards (Diabetes Care and Education DPG 191). Because of the global increasing interest in halal food, the halal food trade logo has been used worldwide as a symbol to promote quality assurance and represent high-value food preference (see Fig. 1).

Halal food market research findings indicate there is a steadily growing global trend of more demand for halal products. In 1999, the total expenditure of Muslims in the U.S. on halal

food products was valued at \$12 billion, of which nearly \$3 billion was spent on meat and poultry alone (Riaz, Examining the Halal Market, 81-83). Similar findings by the Islamic Food and Nutrition Council of America (IFANCA) indicate that in 2010, the U.S. halal food market was valued at \$17.6 billion annually, which represents \$5 billion increase in nearly one decade (Prepared Foods). Further, halal market research suggests that the greatest share of halal food production and distribution is dominated by non-Muslim countries with small Muslim minorities. Global trade data of halal meat shows that Brazil is the largest producer and exporter of halal meat products netting \$4.73 billion, followed by India (a Hindu-majority country) with \$2.11 billion, and Australia reaching \$1.63 billion. With lesser market shares, Argentina, New Zealand, and the U.S. are other non-Muslim countries that produce and export halal meat globally. Those non-Muslim countries dominate close to (90%) of the global halal meat market. In contrast, the major halal meat, both beef, and poultry, importers are Muslim-majority countries, including Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Algeria, and Egypt. To illustrate a typical case, Muslims in Malaysia spend an average of (14%) of their household food budget on halal meat. Malaysia imports close to (60%) of its halal meat needs from non-Muslim countries such as India, Australia, and New Zealand (Thomson Reuters 4, 9; Africa Islamic Economic Foundation). When the One Belt, One Road Initiative (BRI) has been fully implemented, China will be positioned to become the dominant producer and exporter in the global halal market. In September 2013, China launched an ambitious economic initiative called One Belt, One Road. This initiative is aimed at reviving the ancient maritime Silk Road trade routes (see Fig. 3). One of the economic aims of this initiative by China is to seize this opportunity to improve the logistical infrastructure between the east and the west to expand on the halal food trade with the Muslim Middle Eastern countries with about 400 million people, as well the South and Southeast Asian nations with Muslim populations of nearly 700 million. In 2015, China reached a bilateral trade agreement called the Sino-Malaysian Halal Food and Muslim Supplies Certification and Industry Cooperation to trade in halal food products, especially halal meat. To accommodate the expansion in global halal food production and trade, China has created a new infrastructure to support its global halal food trade strategy, including halal food and non-food supplies manufacturing centers such as the Wuzhong Halal Industrial Park located in the Hui Muslim Autonomous Region of Ningxia, which hitherto has attracted 218 national halal food manufacturing and trading corporations. Globally, China is projected to invest nearly \$150 billion a year in the 68 countries that have signed up to join the BRI trading consortium of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road. Most of these 68 countries are Muslim-majority countries in South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East were once trading partners with China when the ancient Silk Road was operative (see Fig. 3) (Wee Sile; Parker; Chohan 1-7).

Research by McCracken theorizes that there is a strong connection between the stable value of cultural identity and a consumer's behavior that moves constantly with the consumer from one place to another (71-84). This theory may explain the Muslim consumer's behavior toward their habitual halal food consumption as a cultural identity value that moves with them from one country to another even if it is a non-Muslim country such as the Muslims who immigrated to the U.S. The migration and settlement of the ancestors of the Muslim Hui in China, and at the same time maintaining their practice of Islam and halal food consumption

would also substantiate this theory by McCracken. Several other studies have shown similar findings. A study examined the association between self-identity, halal meat consumption, and dietary acculturation in the present-day Chinese Muslims reveals that the religious identity associated with the consumption of halal meat can potentially make the decision-making process more complex for the Muslim consumer. This study also found that there is a positive attitude toward the “behavioral intention” to consume halal meat. The authors further explain that halal meat marketing policies can be influenced by acculturation-related strategies of how the halal meat is marketed and distributed. This positive perception by halal meat consumers is projected to increase marketing campaigns targeting the growing halal meat, and generally, halal food consumers in China and globally (Zafar et al. 6, 18). In a different but related study in France, similar findings were reached where French Muslim respondents reported an overall positive personal attitude about consuming halal meat. They also reported being influenced by their peers and their perceived control over making decisions regarding consuming halal meat, which can also serve as a predictor of the intention to purchase and consume halal meat (Bonne, et al. 367-386).

3. Methods and Data Sources

This study employs meta-analysis research methodology to review, synthesize, and examine the reported results from a multitude of germane previously published research. In this study, meta-analysis is utilized descriptively and deductively as a guide to answer the research question and test the hypothesis, draw conclusions regarding the results, and make recommendations for further future research. Meta-data amalgamated from relevant qualitative studies were then used to review, summarize, and synthesizes the currently available literature on the acculturation of halal food in China and globally. The review and examination of the reported results by scholarly are taken from journal articles, printed books, published theses, and written and electronic articles from trusted sources. These results were then systematically reviewed and meta-analyzed to identify commonly occurring effects or variations in the effects of the acculturation process of halal food. The meta-data obtained from the analysis were reviewed and examined to answer a three-part research question that has stimulated the current study. The three-part research question was (1) whether halal food has been effectively acculturated to the Chinese food culture (2) are there sufficient evidence-based data that can test the hypothesis of the effectiveness of the acculturation process in China (3) what is the magnitude of the economic impact of halal food and non-food products industry on the Chinese and global food economy?

4. Conclusion

This paper examined the evolution of the acculturation of halal food to the Chinese food culture from the early 7th century to modern-day China. The historical data presented show that the acculturation of halal food was effective both culturally and economically. The support for this argument has been supported by the historical fact that halal food has endured in non-Muslim China for approximately 14 centuries and still thriving not only in China but also worldwide, as this paper has established. Because of this realization, China is currently reversing the role by taking the acculturalization of halal food from China to many Muslim and non-Muslim majority countries through its monumental One Belt, One Road Initiative (BRI),

including to the Muslim countries that once transported Islam and halal food to China starting with early 7th century AD. Among the reasons for the successful acculturation are: (1) through the ancient Silk Road, the Muslim merchants, missionaries, and sailors brought their practice of Sunni Islam and halal food to China and they were able to maintain their Muslim and culture identity for centuries (2) many of those 7th-century Muslims put down roots in China, married Chinese women, and became the forebears of the modern-day Chinese Hui and other Muslim groups (3) there are three fundamental facilitative conditions that led to the eventual acculturation of halal food to the traditional Chinese food culture. First, the innate practical bazaar skills that the Hui people have inherited from their ancestral Arab and Persian merchants enabled them to manage their halal food business effectively for so many centuries. Second, the open-mindedness of the Chinese people facilitated their acceptance of foreign foods from different cultures. Third, the existence, at the time, of both the overland and maritime Silk Road trade routes that played a seminal role as an entryway for many of the early Muslim emigrants who introduced and acculturated Islam and halal food practice to China. Owing to the acculturation of halal food that started in China 1400 years ago, China is currently investing billions of dollars to develop the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region (NHAR), Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia Provinces located in the northwestern frontiers of China to turn into a global producer and exporter of halal food and non-food products (see Fig. 2). The global halal food and lifestyle sector expenditure were estimated to be valued at \$ 1.9 trillion in 2015. With a projected global Muslim population of close to 2.2 billion by 2030, the enormous economic project called “One Belt, One Road” or the “modern-day Silk Road” has the potential of placing China as a global frontrunner commanding the largest portion of the halal market economy worldwide (Chohan 1-7; Hoo; Parker; The Future of the Global Muslim 13-14; Thomson Reuters 4, 6; Wee Sile).

Declaration of Conflict of Interest

The author of this manuscript declares having no conflict of interest to disclose concerning its contents, drafting, publication, or application.

Submission Declaration and Verification

This original manuscript has not been published previously nor submitted to be considered for publication elsewhere. If accepted for publication, it will not be published elsewhere.

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Audio visual Translation: a Case of Subtitled Cartoons

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Abstract

Audiovisual products in different languages are now widely distributed throughout the world, and subtitling as a branch of audiovisual translation is of considerable importance today. Subtitling of foreign cartoon movies into Persian is a new event in our country and it needs to be studied thoroughly. The aim of the study was to find the most common strategies adopted in animated movies subtitled from English to Persian based on Gottlieb(1994) 's strategies. To achieve this goal, three subtitled cartoon movies namely Merry Madagascar, Up and Cloudy with the Chance of Meatball were selected and fifteen sentences of them were chosen at random. Then, these sentences were compared with their Persian subtitle. The results indicated that transfer strategy was applied with the highest frequency in the Persian subtitle.

Keywords: Audio-visual translation, Cartoon, English language, Persian subtitle, Strategies, Subtitle.

I. Introduction

With the rapid development of technology in recent years, more information is transferred to Audiovisual Translation or formats (AVT). People watch different AVT products. Gottlieb (1998) identifies two dominant methods for film translation: (a) subtitling and (b) dubbing. Then, he maintains that the first one is referred to as captions, or is transcription of film or TV dialogue which is presented on the screen simultaneously. He also stresses that subtitles are usually presented at the bottom of the picture consisting of one or two lines. Gottlieb also mentions some distinctive features for subtitling: (a) semiotic composition: multiplicity of channels, and (b) time and duration. By multiplicity of channels he considers the four channels as follows:

1. Verbal auditory channel such as lyrics, dialogues, etc.
2. The non- verbal auditory channel such as music and sound effects
3. The verbal visual channel like written signs on the screen
4. The non- verbal visual channel like picture composition.

As for time and duration, two issues are taken into account: (a) text production time, (b) the time of text presentation to the Target Language (TL) readership.

He defines two types of subtitling in connection with technical processes: (a) open subtitles (obligatory) such as cinema subtitles, (b) closed subtitles such as TV subtitles for the deaf. Delabastita (1989, 1990) views AVT from descriptive translation studies and considers the semiotic aspects of it especially cultural ones. He highlights ideological forces which are applied in AVT. So, there are many wide issues involved in AVT. Dias Cintas (2009) mentions that AVT production creates many problems for unsuspecting viewers because of unknown dialect, and sociocultural variation in addition to overlapping speech and interfering diegetic noises and music. In subtitling the audience sees the original soundtrack, so two language systems operate simultaneously. (Pettit, 2004) Producing a subtitle is not an easy task, so, as Ivarsson (1992) asserts subtitler task is more difficult than that of the translators, since all audiences can see the original product. This research considers subtitling strategies in subtitling English cartoons to Persian language. AVT needs close attention on how to subtitle specific cultural, dialectal and expression so that they can be more comprehensible to the intended readerships. So, it is of an absolute necessity to consider it. It is hope that this study be helpful for translators, subtitlers especially Persian subtitlers, and students of translation. Subtitling is referred to as a written translation of TV films for the target audience which is presented simultaneously at the bottom on the screen. (Luyken, et al., 1991)

Screen translation covers two main types of linguistic production: revoicing/dubbing, subtitling. Subtitles can be defined as ‘transcriptions of film or TV dialogue, presented simultaneously on the screen’. (Luyken, et al., 1991, p. 187) The types of subtitling available can be divided into two categories: intralingual and interlingual subtitling. Intralingual subtitling deals with the production of subtitles that remain in the same language as the original and are used for the deaf or hard of hearing, or for language learners. Interlingual subtitling, on the other hand, refers to both a change in mode and language, going ‘from one language into another

language, and from spoken dialogue into a written, condensed translation which appears on the screen.' (Gottlieb, 1998)

Furthermore, because people read more slowly than they speak, most subtitles represent summaries rather than verbatim accounts of what are said on screen. Omissions are virtually unavoidable and the subtitled text often, represents a crude simplification of the aural text. Subtitles, however well formulated, can interfere with the integrity of individual shots and the development of the visual narrative. In short, they distract from on-screen activity and perhaps most seriously, regardless of whether or not they are needed, they prove very hard to ignore as studies have shown. (Delabastita, 1989, p. 98)

I.1. Subtitling as Translation

This study discusses subtitling exclusively in its interlingual meaning, as a means of translation between two languages. Gottlieb (2004b) provides the following definition for subtitling: " subtitling is the rendering in a different language of verbal messages, in filmic media, in the shape of one or more lines of written text, which is presented on the screen and in sync with the original verbal message." (p.135)

I.2. Constraints of Subtitling

All types of translation have their specific set of constraints, which makes perfect conveyance of meaning impossible. Gottlieb (2002b) claims that many different factors caused these constraints and many agents are involved in the production of subtitles. What makes subtitling different from other types of translation is the fact that it involves both technical and contextual constraint. Gottlieb (2002b) mentions that subtitlers are faced with formal (quantitative) and textual (qualitative) constraints. Textual constraints are those imposed on the subtitles by the visual context of the film, whereas formal constraints are the space factors (a maximum of two lines are allowed, with some 35 character each) and the time factor. The duration of a subtitle depends on the quality and complexity of the text, the speed of the dialogue; the average viewer's reading speed (150 to 180 words per minute) and the necessity intervals between subtitles.

I.3. Subtitling Strategies

To assess the quality of subtitling, Gottlieb (1992, pp. 161-170) has devised a set of strategies used by subtitlers. His model ordering from the most frequent strategy to the least one which is explained as follows:

1. Transfer: the most frequent subtitling strategy which is producing full expressions and the adequate rendering of original film segments and provides a more or less adequate rendering of the SL material into the TL.
2. Paraphrase: the second most frequent subtitling strategy. It concerns the production of altered expressions from the original film segments.
3. Condensation: It is the shortening of the text in the least obtrusive way possible.

4. Decimation: an extreme form of condensation where even potentially important elements are omitted, i.e. loss of semantic or stylistic information in the process of subtitling.
5. Deletion: it refers to the total omission of parts of a text.
6. Expansion: it refers to making implicit information explicit in the TL
7. Transcription: It is the reproduction of a particular usage, fulfilling the textual function of how the language is being used.
8. Dislocation: it is adopted when the original employs some sort of special effect.
9. Imitation: the production of identical expressions through equivalent rendering of original film segment. It is applied for subtitling segments such as proper nouns, international greetings, etc.
10. Resignation: it describes the strategy adopted when based on different reasons such as cultural differences, no translation solution can be found and meaning is inevitably lost. It refers to the rendering of untranslatable elements resulting in a distorted content.

Gottlieb (2004b) conducted a study and concluded that in subtitling from English to Denmark, most of localisms were rendered into their original form: i.e. the strategy of retention was used with 55% and substitution sharing 17% placed the second.

I.4. Research Question

What is the most common subtitling procedure in the subtitle of English Cartoon movies in Persian?

I.5. Theoretical Framework

This study is based on Gottlieb (1994)'s strategies. Considering subtitling strategies, he mentions the following strategies: (a) transferring; (b) expansion; (c) condensation; (d) paraphrase; (e) imitation; (f) transcription; (g) omission; (h) resignation; (i) decimation and (j) dislocation. So, this research is an attempt to identify these procedures in the act of subtitling from English to Persian.

ii. Methodology

The data used in this study was gathered from three original English cartoon movies subtitled to Persian namely Merry Madagascar, Up, and Cloudy with the Chance of Meatballs whose scripts are available on the Internet. These three cartoons are in the same genre: comedy and family animation. And fifteen sentences of them were selected randomly and compared them with their Persian subtitles.

Merry Madagascar (family, comedy animation): it is about Christmas holidays, and Alex, Marti, Gloria, and Melmen want to exist from Madagascar and go to New York but Santa's sled falls in that island, and he loses his memory. Then, these friends distribute the gifts among children with the hope that they return to New York and find their desires.

Up (family, comedy animation): this story is about an old man living alone in a city. Many tall buildings surround his house and municipality is going to destroy his house. Thus, city officials ask him to leave his house but he does not vacate it, therefore, he decides to fly with the house. To reach his goal, he attaches many kites to his house and travels by the house and experience many exciting events.

Cloudy with the Chance of Meatballs (family, comedy animation): this story tells about an inventor who invents a machine which turn the water to food. So, people called him a local hero.

As mentioned above the aim of the study was to find translational strategies which were applied in subtitling. To fulfill the goal of the study, three English cartoons subtitled into Persian were selected. And fifteen sentences of these cartoons were chosen randomly. Then, these sentences were compared with their Persian subtitle to identify subtitlers strategies. Finally, the frequency and percentage for each subtitle strategy were counted.

III. Results and Analysis

To find answer for the research question and reach the objective of the study, descriptive findings of this research are presented in tables and figures as follows:

Table 1

The Frequency and Percentage of Strategies Used in Merry Madagascar

Transfer	8	53.33 %
Paraphrase	1	6.66 %
Expansion	3	20 %
Condensation	2	13.33 %
Deletion	1	6.66 %
Imitation	0	0 %

Table 2

The Frequency and Percentage of Strategies Used in Up

Transfer	10	66.66 %
Paraphrase	2	13.33 %
Expansion	1	6.66 %
Condensation	1	6.66 %
Deletion	0	0 %
Imitation	1	6.66 %

Table 3

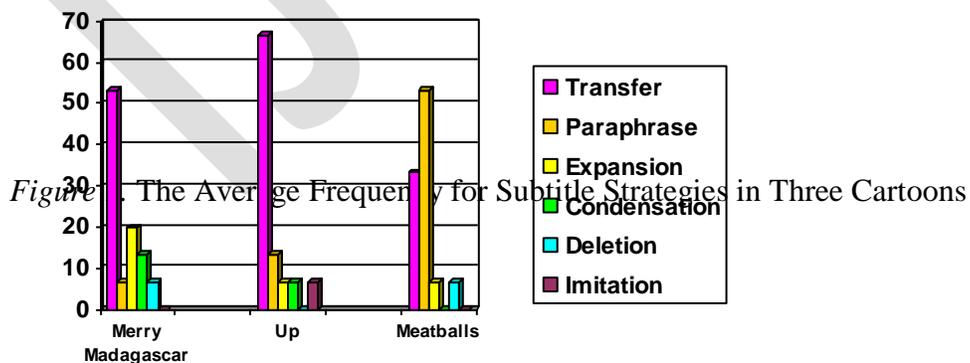
The Frequency and Percentage of Strategies Used in Cloudy with the Chance of Meatballs

Transfer	5	33.33 %
Paraphrase	8	53.33 %
Expansion	1	6.66 %
Condensation	0	0 %
Deletion	1	6.66 %

Imitation	0	0 %
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Table 4
The Total Frequency and Percentage of Strategies Used in All the three Cartoons

Transfer	23	51.11 %
Paraphrase	11	24.44 %
Expansion	5	11.11 %
Condensation	3	6.66 %
Deletion	2	4.44 %
Imitation	1	2.22 %



According to these tables and figures, transference has the highest frequency and percentage in all these subtitling strategies. So, based on these results we can say that Persian subtitlers tried to preserve the original structures of these cartoons during subtitling process.

Many be they wanted to convey the form and style of English language to Persian, or it can be claimed that Persian subtitler wanted to familiar his audiences with the English context and culture, or maybe he tried to create a new subtitling strategy in Persian language. New Mark (1988) argues that the first and best rendering is literal one. So, based on his view, we can say that it is evidence that there is grammatical correspondence between Persian and English in this case.

IV. Discussion and Conclusions

Subtitling is a new phenomenon and widely used in today's world. So, it is necessary to consider it. This study was an attempt to categorize subtitling strategies in three English cartoons subtitled to Persian and sought to identify the most common strategies used in them. According to the results of the study, among the selected sentences of these three cartoons, four strategies of Gottlieb's (dislocation, resignation, decimation and transcription) were not used at all. Transfer strategy had the highest percentage (51.11%) and after that paraphrase, expansion, condensation, deletion and imitation had the most percentage which were 24.11%, 11.11%, 6.66%, 4.44% and 2.22% respectively. The results of this study can be considered as a guideline for subtitlers to improve the quality of their translation. Also, they can be used in training future translators and subtitlers.

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Appendix

Merry Madagascar

transfer	
I thought the left already.	من فکر کردم که اونا قبلا رفتن.
I shot down Santa.	من بابانوئل رو زدم.
You're the most beautiful deer I've ever seen.	تو زیباترین گوزنی هستی که من تا به حال دیدم.
Now, go find Big Red.	حالا برو بیگ رد رو پیدا کن.
What are we gonna do now?	ما می خوایم الان چی کار کنیم؟
Skipper, get us to the nearest post office.	کاپیتان، ما رو به نزدیکترین اداره ی پست ببر.
What'd you get, Alex?	تو چی گرفتی الکس؟
He got his memory back.	اون حافظه اش رو بدست آورده.

Paraphrase	
I think I broke my collarbone.	فکر کنم استخوان رانم شکست.

Condensation	
Maybe for some people , saying goodbye is really hard.	شاید واسه ی بعضیا خداحافظی کردن واقعا سخت باشه.
All your presents are my presents .	همه ی هدایای شما مال من هستن.

Deletion	
We were snatched from our beloved Central Park Zoo .	ما رو از پارک حیات وحش مورد علاقمون ربودند.

Expansion	
I did it, everybody!	من کارشو ساختم بچه ها
Now, bring me the presents!	حالا هدیه هاتون رو واسه من بیارید.
Why don't you give one to your girlfriend, Amelia.	چرا تو همین حالا یه هدیه به دوست دخترت املیا نمی دی.

Up

Transfer	
He goes around Mount Everest!	کوه اورست رو دور می زنه!
I'm a wilderness explorer.	من مکتشف سرزمین های ناشناخته هستم.
But this snipe had a long tail.	اما این نوک دراز یه دم درازی داشت.
With this baby, we'll never be lost.	با این عزیز ما هیچ وقت گم نمی شیم.
My knee hurts.	زانوم درد می کنه.
The bird is calling to her babies.	پرنده داره بچه هاشو صدا می زنه.
We don't want to take advantage of your hospitality.	ما نمی خوایم که از مهمان نوازی شما سوء استفاده کنیم.
Does anyone know where they are?	کسی می دونه اونا کجا هستند.
Don't jerk around so much, kid!	زیاد وول نخور بچه!
I'm here for him.	من برای اون اینجا هستم

Paraphrase	
Thought you might need a little cheering up.	گفتم که شاید لازم باشه یه کم خوشحالت کنم.
You ready to go?	آماده هستی ن برای رفتن؟

Condensation	
My wife and I, we were your biggest fans.	من و همسرم، از طرفدارهای پر و پا قرص شما بودیم.

Expansion	
I'm gonna help Kevin!	من می خوام برم به کوین کمک کنم.

Imitation	
Hey, Ellie!	هی، الی!

Cloudy with the Chance of Meatballs

Transfer	
You seriously spend a lot of time alone.	تو واقعا مدت زیادی رو تنها گذروندی.

I'm working with the mayor now, Dad.	من الآن با شهردار کار میکنم، بابا.
Hoist those sails.	اون بادبان ها را ببرید بالا.
You got cut.	زخمی شدی.
Your lab is breathtaking.	آزمایشگاهت هیجان انگیزه.

Paraphrase	
What is the number one problem facing our community today ?	مشکل شماره یک جامعه ی کنونی ما چیه؟
They escaped and bred at a surprising rate .	اونها فرار کردند و به سرعت زاد و ولد کردند.
It's OK , it's just pain.	مسئله ای نیست، فقط دردم گرفت.
You never made a request.	تو هیچوقت درخواستی نداشتی.
I guess I'll just get out of your way.	فکر کنم بهتره از سر راهت برم کنار.
I can turn it off .	میتونم خاموشش کنم.
I have a macaroni on my head.	یه ماکارونی روی سرمه.
Manny, hit the wipers.	مانی، برف پاکن رو روشن کن.

Deletion	
Looks pretty cloudy there, intern.	اونجا به نظر ابری میاد، کارآموز.

Expansion	
When it rains, you put on a coat.	وقتی که بارون میباره، روپوشت رو میپوشی.

Saint Veneration and Nature Symbolism in North Africa

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Abstract

In spite of the recent rise of fundamentalism within Islam, Muslims have continued to engage in religious activities involving the veneration of natural objects, usually in connection with the veneration of saints. These practices represent the modification of the pre-Islamic beliefs into saint veneration rituals, enabling them to exist within monotheism. This paper aims to demonstrate how saint veneration is connected with natural objects and how saint-associated natural objects obtain their symbolic function at certain sanctuaries along the border between Arab and Amazigh villages in South Tunisia. It is discovered that at the sanctuaries of established saints, the veneration of natural objects is explained as originating from saints' actions and preferences during their lifetimes. Such explanations are valid for villagers in places where human saints have a major presence. On the other hand, in places where archaic Amazigh traditions are well preserved, more importance is attached to the natural objects and the ancestral or spiritual saints than to the historical figures. It is assumed that the elements of indigenous animism have survived the pressure by Islam under Arabization, and it have been transformed into something acceptable within Islam, namely, belief in saints, or jinn used by saints.

Keywords: Saint Veneration, Nature Veneration, Islam, Amazigh culture, History of religions.

1. Introduction

The veneration of nature is at the foundation of the history of religions. In animism or polytheism, natural objects such as trees, forests, mountains, and oceans appear as sacred and are regarded as deities. From the perspective of the long history of religions, this type of religion is much more general and prevalent among many religious cultures than monotheistic teachings, which eliminate such beliefs. However, even though monotheism restricts belief in the sacredness of natural objects within its doctrine, the symbolism of natural objects and beliefs in their power have persisted, concealed through various modifications, and have supported the development of monotheistic religions. Even within Islam, which has recently been characterized by a heated rise of fundamentalism, people have continued to practice religious activities in which nature is venerated and to regard these as Islamic religious practices. These have been modified into practices of saint veneration to reconcile them with monotheism, and have retained their own unique characteristics through their fusion with Amazigh culture, which has existed since long before the invasion of the Arabs into North Africa (Doutte 1984, Gellner 1969, Crapanzano 1973, Bel 1938). Saint veneration at many sanctuaries in North Africa emphasizes the connection with nature. This paper aims to demonstrate how saint veneration is connected with natural objects and how saint-associated natural objects obtain their symbolic function at certain sanctuaries along the border between Arab and Amazigh villages in South Tunisia.

2. Materials and Methods

There are several main frameworks for discussing saint veneration, which is widely observed in North Africa. Otsuka has critically expanded Waardenburg's idea of "official Islam" and "popular Islam" into "Islam of the intellectuals" and "Islam of the people," with the latter said to include saint veneration (Otsuka 1989; Waardenburg 1979). Akahori (1995) construed the two poles of social classes in the religious practice of Islam as wide sociality and sophisticated intelligence, respectively. He claimed that this bipolarity is theoretically contained within the beliefs and practices of all Muslims. In general, saint veneration is categorized within one end of the continuum; the "small tradition," "popular Islam" or "wide sociality". Even Sufism, the most sophisticated form of saint veneration, is regarded as an uncontrollable element that works under a different system from "authentic" or "authorized" Islamic doctrine. For this reason, saint veneration has kept its characteristic tolerance, which permits it to include pre-Islamic or "pagan" elements.

The presence of "pagan" elements such as the veneration of nature within Islam has already been mentioned and discussed by several European scholars (Smith 1889, Canaan 1927, De Bunsen 1910, Doughty 1921). On the relations between saint veneration and nature veneration, Takaki has pointed out a certain influence of animism on saint veneration in south Tunisia (Takaki 2000), and Dermenghem has claimed that the personality or action of a saint can effect or initiate the veneration of natural objects (Dermenghem 1954), whereas Westermarck has argued that nature worship often disguises the form of saint veneration, thus nature worship generally precedes saint

eneration (Westermarck 1926). The poor organization of the scholarly discussion about the veneration of natural objects and saints seems to have developed because of the broadness of the terms and the many varieties of forms of saint veneration. As Gellner has pointed out, the concept of a “saint” includes “a few fully personalized saints, more semi-personal ones, and still more wholly impersonal ones” (Gellner 1969). Any discussion of sainthood in Islam must consider the diversity and ambiguity of the concept of sainthood, as shown by the range of Islamic saints from known descendants of the Prophet and noble missionaries whose lives are recorded in hagiographies to impersonal saints such as natural objects or spiritual beings.

Kerrou has categorized the characteristics of the people from local Tunisian history who are regarded as saints as (a) ascetic scholars (*ālim-zāhid*) in the early times, (b) monk-warriors (*murābit*), (c) master saint (*cheikh-walī*), (d) saints of Sufi sect (*walī-tariqa*), and (e) mystic madman (*majdhūb*) (Kerrou 1998). The saints whose veneration I noted in my survey of the villages of South Tunisia do not fit into categories (a), (b), (d), or (e)¹ because they are found in the limited villages between Arab and Amazigh, so it is difficult to find historical heroes of martyrs, early ascetics, or Sufi of *tariqa* (sect). Based on the previously accepted categories listed above, but customized to fit local legends and practices of veneration, I propose the four new categories of “Missionary saint,” “Local saint,” “Ancestral saint,” and “Spiritual saint” to more accurately classify the saints venerated in my study area. “Missionary saint” is a person originally from abroad or other region who visits the place for religious study and fulfilling the mission of Islam, and this saint can serve to convey the proper idea of Islam to the local community. On the other hand, “Local saint” is someone who lives in his/her original community and is not well-known to other areas but is venerated among local people in an indigenous manner. Some of these local figures are an “Ancestral saint,” regarded as the legendary ancestor of each community, and the veneration function to unite the tribal community (Takaki, 2000). The above three types are human saints while the “Spiritual saint” is an impersonal or semi-personal character, who is fused or identified with a spirit.

This paper refers to these categories with regard to pilgrims’ visits (*ziyāra*) to the sanctuaries in South Tunisia and discusses them in terms of integration with natural objects, such as trees or mountains, in the context of *ziyāra*, which is a common form of pilgrimage despite the significant time investment required. It is far removed from the approach to saint veneration that regards the saint as a historical figure and is instead on the level of “Islam of the people.”

This study is based on fieldwork and interviews conducted in August 2014; July 2015; May, July and December 2016; and January, May and August 2017 in South Tunisia, especially in villages B, M, Z, and T in the governorate of Gabes located at the north end of Jebel Demmer. B and M are Arabic-speaking villages and Z and T are

¹ Only Sidi Thāmal in village B fits the category of (c) master saint (*cheikh-walī*) among my survey. Because the evidence on the master saint is not enough, this category is included in “Local saint” for efficient analysis.

Amazigh-speaking. The Arabic-speaking village B is located in the end of the flatland between the Demmer mountain chains, and the Amazigh-speaking village T is located in the depth of the mountains and village Z is located on the edge of the mountains. Although it is an Arabic-speaking, village M has been strongly affected by the Amazigh culture due to its location in the mountains of the Amazigh territory. All four villages are located in a hot semi-arid climate surrounded by rocky desert among the mountains, with an annual average temperature around 20 °C and about 200 mm of annual rainfall. The people support themselves through the cultivation of olives and some wheat and the pasturage of goats or sheep in the desert area. This survey concerns the oral and written information collected through basic interviews with pilgrims and inhabitants as well as participant observations on the pilgrimages and rituals of families in the four villages of the governorate of Gabes.

3. Results

3.1 Sidi Gnaoua in Village Z

The *zāwiya*² called Sidi Gnaoua is found 2 km west in the new village of Z; the people of Z and other neighboring areas like to visit it. Most of them do not know the origin of the saint, but according to several informants, Sidi Gnaoua was a servant who came to this place accompanying his master, Sidi Ali Mganni. The saintly master became ill and, knowing that his time of death was approaching, ordered his slave to bury him “where the mule will stop;”³ before dying, the master promised the servant that, as a reward for his fidelity and obedience, “the name of the servant will be more venerated than that of the master” (Libaud 142). Both of them are buried in the burial chamber of the *zāwiya*.

Gnaoua means either a slave or a member of an ethnic group originally from the south of the Sahara; it also refers to the music and rituals associated with this ethnic group. It is worth noting that a group of three or four Gnaoua musicians is also called Sidi Gnaoua (Hunwick 2003, Takaki 1992, Zawadowski 1942). This makes it seem likely that the servant was of a sub-Saharan ethnic origin. Sidi Gnaoua is a big *zāwiya* with more than 10 cells for pilgrims. It was constructed by the Bey of Tunis in the early 20th century and renovated by a Frenchman who had a dream of Sidi Gnaoua. The capacity and the fame of the *zāwiya* permits pilgrims to develop brotherhood with many other visitors from different villages.

In front of the *zāwiya*, there is an olive grove belonging to Sidi Gnaoua. According to A (70s, male) from village M, when he was young, boys and girls got together there and enjoyed music. This reminds us of the reports of orgies combined with agricultural rituals referred to as the “Night of Error” or “Night of Happiness” in several places in North Africa (Basset 1920, Provotelle 1911, Takaki 2000, Laoust 1920). It seems to be based on a symbolic relation between sexual practice and agricultural fertility, frequently seen in archaic religions (Eliade 1949). East of the grove, at the top of a hill,

² *Zāwiya* generally means a religious institution related to a saint, e.g., mausoleum, school, or lodge for pilgrims. In the narrow sense, it refers to a religious center of *Sufi tarīqa* for collective practices.

³ This is the common feature of the burial process of saints; many saints in south Tunisia such as Shīkhadra'a or Sidi Bouhlel are said to have been buried in this style.

is the mausoleum of a saint called Sidi Louijen, who is said to have been a relative of Sidi Ali Mganni. Visitors often proceed from (1) the *zāwiya* of Sidi Gnaoua, to (2) his olive grove, then to (3) Sidi Louijen, and finally return to Sidi Gnaoua to stay the night. Some of them additionally go to another *kobba* (a shrine with a dome or conical roof) of a saint named OnmHadīfa, on a hilltop to the southeast, after visiting Sidi Louijen. In summer, many people gather in this sanctuary and hold *hadra* (collective ritualistic performances). These are normally led by Sufi *tariqas* such as Aissaoua or Qadiriyya along with professional musicians, but sometimes pilgrims initiate them spontaneously.



Picture 1. Zāwiya of Sidi Gnaoua



Picture 1. Olive grove of Sidi Gnaoua and Sidi Louijen

On the day before the night of henna, part of the succession of wedding ceremonies⁴ in the local tradition, the families of the bride or groom each visit their venerated saints. The sites visited at this time should be the same sites where the bride or groom asked for their marriage before. The purpose of these visits is to perform the promised offering (*wa'ada*) in return for the completion of their request. The family of B (30s male) is from village M, where his parents still live, working in pasturage, and olive farming. B and his brothers are now working outside the village, though his married sisters live in the new village M and the center of village M. During the study period, B was married to his paternal cousin who had been living in the new village M. A *ziyārato* Sidi Gnaoua was performed by the family members of the groom, while the bride's side of the family visited another saint called Sidi Ahbed in village M who is related to their ancestor.

Twenty members of the family, including children, arrived at the sanctuary in the morning, whereupon the male members performed the ritual of sacrificing (*dhubīhah*) goats at the sacrificial place on the south side of the *zāwiya*. They recited the name of God as is done when animals are slaughtered outside the context of the pilgrimage. The female members visited the burial chamber and offered *bukhōr* (incense) and *bsisa* (a sweetened paste of gram flour and olive oil) to the saint and ate the *bsisa*. They then prepared food using the sacrificed meat while the groom and the rest of the family danced and made music, sometimes with other pilgrims. After eating the meat, they started the dancing and music again in front of the saint's coffin while smoking *bukhōr*.

⁴ Traditionally they perform a series of ceremonies for wedding (Louis, et al. 1972). Recently, those are reduced except some ceremonies such as *goffa* (trousseau), *ziyāra*, *henna*, *jahfa* (parade).

They put a bowl of henna on the coffin during this party. Any visitors were welcome to join this celebration. At the climax, the aunt of B put henna on his right little finger as a sign of blessing from the saint. At the end of the *ziyāra*, the bride and his brothers visited the olive tree in the grove in front of *zāwiya*. It was important that this tree should be the same tree where he asked for marriage before. B walked around the olive tree counterclockwise as he offered his thanksgiving.

Sidi Gnaoua is a complex sanctuary of several saints whose origins are unclear. Because it is a big *zāwiya* thanks to donations from the government and its followers, it enables people to come together not only from neighboring villages but also from Gabes or El Hamma. Because of its location, which is not inside any of the local villages, it is easier for the site to attract the loyalty of pilgrims beyond the villages. This function of enabling brotherhood is characteristic of the mainstream type of Missionary saints. There are many examples of personalized saints who traveled across borders to teach the Quran to local people. Sidi Gnaoua does not seem to have been a missionary but nevertheless has a similar function as missionary saints, creating unity that can overcome local boundaries (Venema 1990). There is no precise information about the olive grove and Sidi Louijenon the hilltop, but the fact that they are the location for meetings of unmarried girls and boys in the field shows the possibility of a ritualistic function of the olive trees or the grove with the symbolism of terrestrial and human fertility. At the sanctuary of Sidi Gnaoua, the sacredness of the place and saints are expressed through the symbolic action of climbing the hill as an experience of ascending to the sky, while the marital ritual of visiting the olive trees represents an experience of the earth or trees. These are frequently seen in many sanctuaries of religions all over the world (Eliade 1959).

3.2 Sidi Yakhref in Village Z

Sidi Yakhref is a sanctuary inside a mountain near village Z and its neighboring Amazigh village J, and the most of its pilgrims are from these villages. The name of the saint is Sidi Yakhref Sherif el Mediouni, died 1306 A.D., of unknown origin. From his name, it seems that he was not a local person but rather may have been from Mediouna in Morocco. Based on the inscription on the tomb plate, this saint was from a family of *sharīf* (descendant of the Prophet), and was the father of another saint named Sidi



Picture 3. Zāwiya of Sidi Yakhref



Picture 4. Olive tree of Ghdir Insaïd

Mahres Mediouni, who is buried in Tunis. He had companionship with the local people through a local secretary named Ali Ben Mohammed Al Mahroze Azrawi. The saint's descendant tribe is called Wlad Bel Elghīt, and they maintain his *zāwiya* in the mountain where they used to live. They have excavated a deep cave and built troglodytic houses which are connected by tunnels inside the mountain spreading to its ridges⁵. Only the family could climb to the top without taking the longer outside route.

The villagers visit this place to ask for help with communal and personal issues. It is especially important for the community that newly married girls make the *ziyārato* report their recent marriage. In summer, a few months before her marriage, a bride should go to visit Sidi Yakhref for thanksgiving and to request the next marriage for accompanying only unmarried girls from among her family and friends, sometimes with married women to help the preparation for cooking. During the *ziyāra* of L (20s, female), who was planning to get married two months later, she was accompanied by eight other unmarried girls. They climbed the mountain carrying cooking utensils and materials from its foot through a saint's olive tree called Ghdir Insaïd. On the way during this pilgrimage, the girls had to separate into pairs and talk about the boy in whom each girl was interested, uttering his name and his mother's name. When they arrived, they offered a candle, *bsisa* and *bukhōr* to the saint's coffin, and started cooking. There is a cabin near the small *zāwiya*, but no other buildings for cooking. The simple foods such as soup and vegetables were prepared in the open air by the girls who accompanied the

⁵ Cave dwelling is quite popular in this area because of the climate condition and the possibility of enemy attacks, according to the history of the area (Bruun 1898).

bride. The others waited for the lunch while singing and playing music.

After eating, all of the girls except for L looked for a grass called *gddīm*. They bundled five leaves of it and made a knot while chanting “*Yārab̄ithēbet*” (Please God make me good marriage), a phrase from the Quran and their desired partner’s name. Each knot should be tied firmly so that it will not loosen, which would indicate the incompleteness of the wish. Whenever a girl’s request is accomplished, she must be the organizer of the next *ziyāra* and bring other girls to SidiYakhref to give them the opportunity to wish for marriage, and she must visit the saint with her close family three days prior to her marriage to offer animal sacrifice. Seven days after the marriage, the bride should visit the site again, this time alone with her new husband, and put their names on the stone.

There are two olive trees affiliated with this sanctuary on the south and north sides of the mountain. The south one is where the saint preferred to stay for *khalwa* (silent meditation), and the north has an individual legend. It tells that, long ago, when there had been a drought for several years, an old man from Wlad Bel Elghīt found the tree almost dried up, so he prayed to God for rain. Shortly after, dark clouds covered the sky and rain started to fall. The rain never stopped until the water came halfway up the mountain of Sidi Yakhref. The people of village Z, hearing of the abundance of water in this place, came to carry it away for their own use. When the level of water had decreased by half due to their heavy use, the remaining water turned red. Knowing this warning sign, the old man who had prayed for rain then declared that the rest of the water was for this tree, and stopped the people from taking any more. Thus this olive tree is called GhdīrInsaīd (reservoir of Insaīd). Insaīd is a local male name but it is unknown whether this name refers to the tree or the man. People regard this legend as a sign of the supernatural power of the tree. For this reason, older villagers prefer to visit this tree rather than the mausoleum of SidiYakhref.

Girls climb the mountain speaking the names of boys and their mothers, clarifying the boys’ maternal origins for the saint, in order to get an oracle regarding whether these boys would be good matches for the girls. The practice of asking oracles to tell the future (especially regarding the harvest) by visiting or sometimes sleeping at a tomb is found distinctively in the saint veneration of North Africa and is considered to have derived from the practices among the Amazigh tribes in the Roman era (Brett et.al. 1996). SidiYakhref is said to appear in dreams to the pilgrims and devotees to give oracles. A late female descendant of SidiYakhref whose name was Dadaouish was said to be able to speak to the saint in dreams when she stayed in the cave of the mountain. He offered to give her anything she wanted, and did indeed give her a treasure, according to her legend.

Despite the distant origin of SidiYakhref, he left offspring in the community, and this family have served as *khadem* (or *wakīl*: caretakers)¹ for the site. The villagers have venerated the saint so that he has become deeply embedded in the local customs. The visitors to his shrine are limited to those from the villages Z and J, where his descendants still live. He is considered a nearly local saint although he was also a kind

of missionary. The placement of an oracle on a mountain or inside a cave on a mountain is similar to practices in spiritual veneration that are frequently seen in caves among mountains in Morocco (Crapanzano 1973, Westermarck 1923, Doutte 1984). It is also possible that the practice of climbing to petition for a wedding is symbolically related to an advent harvest ritual. The celebrated power (*baraka*) manifests in the form of the saint, as well in nature as grass, trees, and the mountain and caves. The set of legends associated with this sanctuary is made up of the symbols of natural objects although SidiYakhref does not have a specific relation with spirits. The veneration of this saint absorbs plenty of the elements of nature worship though his basic character is that of a saint embodying the teaching of the Quran as well as an ancestor of the villagers.

3.3 Shīkhadra'a between Villages B and M

The sanctuary of Shīkhadra'a is located in a valley 5km away from village B facing the mountains of village M. The *zāwiya* is on the top of a mountain and the lodge on its foot. According to his *khadem*, the original name of the saint was Mohammed Lakhdar, though most of the pilgrims do not know this. Instead, he is called by his local name, Shīkhadra'a derived from his social position (*shaykh*) and the geographical location of a mountain top, which is called an "arm" (*dra'a*). He died about 400–500 years ago in Sakia el Hamra in West Sahara, a place that is famous for many sanctuaries of Sufi saints. The role of his *khadem* has been taken by a family descended from Sidi Ali Boumedien, a local saint with a sanctuary near Shīkhadra'a. This is because Shīkhadra'a had no descendants in this place. According to an older source who belongs to the family of the *khadem*, the saint was the descendant of Fāṭima al-Zuhrā', a daughter of the Prophet, and originally came from Algeria as a missionary to this area and taught them about the Quran.



Picture 5. *Zāwiya* of Shīkhadra'a

It is popular among the people of the area to visit the *zāwiya* of Shīkhadra'a to pray for his *baraka* and to ask for a specific request, such as a good match for marriage, a good job, or sometimes healing of an illness. Shīkhadra'a is said to have been a talented healer; he usually cured patients by putting his hand, rubbed with warm olive oil, on the affected part of the body and casting a spell. The name of the saint, Shīkhadra'a, refers not only to himself but also to the mountain where his mausoleum is located. He preferred to stay under the olive tree that is now venerated by pilgrims.

A pilgrim named R(80s, m) used to go on *ziyāra* to Shīkhadra'a twice a year in the

past, usually during the summer or winter holidays, or at the holidays of *Eid*. This *ziyāra* with four people was planned to ask for success and prosperity in the marriage of R's daughter (40s). They arrived at the foot of the mountain in the morning, where a small house was open for visitors as a free lodging facility. Originally, this was the house of the family of the *khadem*, Sidi Muhammad, Sidi Salem, Amar, and Eljeb. They served as the saint's *khadem* for many generations and some of them are regarded as saints also. This family of *khadem* produced several saints. Sidi Muhammad, the latest of them, was a great-great-grandfather of Eljeb, previous *khadem* and late husband of the present *khadem*. According to the family, the mother of Sidi Muhammad dreamed of Shīkhadra'a before his birth, with an oracle that this lineage would end after three generations and that her son will be the last saint of this lineage. This Muhammad renewed the mausoleum of the *zāwiya* at the top, and he himself was also buried next to Shīkhadra'a. The sons of Muhammad and Eljeb, his grandson, were buried in the mausoleum of the family. Eljeb had no sons, so the lineage ended with him as the oracle had predicted. Although the present *khadem* stated that there have been no saints after Muhammad, pilgrims regard the members of this family to have spiritual power inherited from Shīkhadra'a, and naturally treat them as saints by visiting their mausoleum as well as that of Shīkhadra'a. In spontaneous saint veneration, arising in the absence of a system of canonization, the border between "saint" and "not saint" is very ambiguous. The interpretation depends finally on each person's experience and sense although there is typically a general consensus in the community.

The present *khadem*, H (female, 60s) lives at this place with her daughter and takes care of the mausoleum of Shīkhadra'a and those of other saints, the mountain path to the top, and their house. This sanctuary is small and does not have the patronage of *tariqa*, but they have visitors constantly and it has been the focus of the local people's worship.

For the sacrifice of animals, visitor should select a place that is in alignment with the *zāwiya* of Shīkhadra'a at the top of the mountain and his olive tree, which is called *Shajara Shīkhadra'a* (Tree of Shīkhadra'a) near the house. The saint used to practice *khalwa* and sleep under the olive tree during his lifetime. It was owned by him and later by his *khadems*. Using this place for sacrifice is obligatory, as it shows the importance of the olive tree. The animal should face the direction of Mecca when it is sacrificed, as is customary according to Islam. Additionally, its face should be turned in a downward slope toward the outside of the sanctuary because it is taboo to step over the blood from the body of a sacrificed animal. If someone breaks this rule, it is believed that this person will be cursed or possessed by *Jinn*. One visiting family took a sheep to the top and sacrificed it in front of the mausoleum of Shīkhadra'a, which is the more traditional style⁶.

⁶ The family of R had also followed this style until recently. Due to his aging, he could not continue. He asked the *khadem* whether it would be permitted to change the process, then she asked God by meditation, and finally he got the permission.



Picture 6. Olive tree of Shikhadra'a



Picture 7. Zāwiya of Shikhadra'a on the top

Cutting and dividing the meat is done by a male family member. Some parts other than the meat, heart and liver are given to the *khadem* to use or to sell for funds to repair the sanctuary. As *khadems* are determined to remain volunteers who do not receive money from visitors directly, these are their main sources of income. The women of the family cook the heart and the liver (*kebda*) as offerings by tearing them apart and throwing small parts to a venerated object or place; this action is called *tatīsh* in the area and frequently seen in *ziyāra*. Then, they share the rest as food among the other pilgrims and the *khadem*. Before the sun sets, they start to climb up the mountain. The older pilgrims stay at the place; it is not a problem if not all family members complete the pilgrimage, as long as the mother of the petitioner, who once climbed there for the same purpose herself, is with her.

Soon, the pilgrims arrive at the place called the tree of Shikhadra'a (*Shajarat Shikhadra'a*), a big olive tree located in the date grove at the foot of the mountain. There they perform *tatīsh* with *bsisa*. Small pieces are thrown around the olive tree to please the tree. Through the date grove, where embankments keep water for the trees, the pilgrimage path goes up the mountain. It is a rocky and steep footpath that takes 40 minutes to reach the top. At the top of the mountain is a white mausoleum with a *kobba*, similar to other places in Tunisia. Afterward, some pilgrims visit the holy spring called *el ayn* behind the mountain and come back to the lodge. The history of this spring is unknown but we can assume it is because the spring water in such a desert mountain is rare.

According to legend, it was the saint's will that the place of his mausoleum should be determined by where the donkey carrying his coffin stopped as with Sidi Ali Mganni. Because the saint died abroad, his fellows conformed to his wish, sending his coffin off with a donkey. The donkey arrived at the foot of the mountain and climbed up it without resting, finally stopping at the very top of the mountain. It was surprising that the place was covered with stone and was very suitable for constructing a tomb. People thought that this was an expression of the *baraka* of the saint.

There are two coffins inside the mausoleum; the large one at the back is that of Shikhadra'a, and the other one is that of his *khadem*, Sidi Muhammad, who renewed this mausoleum in his days. The pilgrims prayed there, naming their specific wish, and

performed *tatīsh* with *bsisa* and offered *bukhōr* to Shīkhadra'a. Each of them is supposed to eat *bsisa* at the place of the mausoleum. Each person who eats it congratulates the pilgrim on the completion of this visit, saying “*Inshallah Ziyāra Makboura!*” (Please accept this *ziyāra*!). As most *ziyāra* are conducted for a specific purpose, this chanting is a prayer for the acceptance of this *ziyāra* and the fulfillment of the pilgrim’s wish. We can also observe the importance of communal dining. The sense of duty for both giver and receiver is clearly distinct from the normal custom of sharing food. Any food taken along during the visit is basically offered to the saint or the tree and should be shared with all people who attend the occasion. Pilgrims invite male members of other families to share their meal. Meanwhile, they also provide plates for their female family members and the *khadem*.

Evidently, Shīkhadra'a was a type of Missionary saint, and he does not have any descendants in this place. However, the family of his *khadem* is treated equally as his descendants and they have bequeathed his sanctuary and his *baraka*. In the same time, this sanctuary is well localized through combination with plenty of natural objects like mountain, tree, and water. The sanctuary’s olive tree is not just an additional place along the route to the top but also a symbol of a certain power of the saint. The story of the olive tree as told by another pilgrim (L, male, 60s) shows that it is not just a stop on a pilgrimage path. One family who visits this place repeatedly once skipped the olive tree of Shīkhadra'a and went straight to the top of the mountain. The donkey that carried their burdens suddenly slipped in the middle of a steep, craggy path, and tumbled down to the foot of the mountain. It finally stopped in front of the olive tree, without injury. People thought it was a warning for their inattention to the olive tree. Subsequently, they now never skip their visit to the tree before going up to the top. This is what every family I interviewed in the lodge claimed: it is obligatory to visit the olive tree first. This story shows the autonomous importance of the olive tree. Furthermore, considering the emphasis on the priority of visiting the olive tree before the mausoleum, visiting the olive tree seems to be a primal element in their *ziyāra*. It could be a phenomenon preceding the worship of the saint because in this region we find many sacred trees apart from historical sacred figures, as shown in the next example.

3.4 Shamseddīn and Sidi Ali Boumedién between Villages B and M



Figure 1. Map of *zāwiyas* and venerated objects near Shikhadra'a

They have a *zāwiya* of Shamseddīn near Shikhadra'a on the north side of the mountain, and also a *zāwiya* of Sidi Ali Boumedién on the south, each located in a valley. Although neither can be seen from the other, they are closely connected by the mountain paths; this can be seen from the top of the mountain of Shikhadra'a. Indeed, pilgrims often visit these three sanctuaries consecutively, and we can see that this isolated place has been favored by saints and pilgrims. The deepest valleys away from village B, facing the mountains of Dahar, are close to village M via the mountain paths, so that many people from village M visit these sanctuaries. Among the three, Shamseddīn is the oldest saint. Shamseddīn Zemzmi is said to have been a descendant of the Prophet, born in the Arabian Peninsula, who visited this place as a missionary in Hijrī 470 (A.D. 1077-1078). He established a Quranic school (*madrassa*) and married a local woman named Mzēta, which became the local name of this area. According to the *khadem* of this saint, many saints of the southern region learned at his Quranic school which was located in the same place as his *zāwiya*. There are more than 10 cells for pilgrims in his large and respectable *ezāwiya* of the Ottoman era. The coffins of the saint and his wife are set in the burial chamber in the center of it with his *shajara* (family description) that is kept in the ministry of Religious Affairs in Tunis showing his authenticity. This saint attracts people from as far away as Gabes or Jerba Island as well as the neighboring villages. The place is often packed with pilgrims, especially in the

season of Eid al Kbīr and Eid al Fitr.

It is clear that this sanctuary has served as a religious center for South Tunisia with its large *zāwiya* and its madrasa. Shamseddīn has his related olive tree just near to the *zāwiya*, and its olive fruits are supposed to be given to the poor. Remarkably, however, the olive tree seems not to be visited by many pilgrims because, as it is a *mazār* (shrine) of a saint who died nearly 1000 years ago, the tree is supposed to perish, according to the *khadem*. This explanation shows that visiting olive trees as shrines of saints, as also seen at the *zāwiya* of Sidi Ali Boumedien, is more of a local phenomenon, and reveals the discomfort that arises from my “equation” of folk customs and “authentic” Islamic saints. In this sanctuary, where something closer to “authentic” Islam is practiced, folk customs such as visiting sacred trees are not encouraged. In such places, natural objects are said to be given their blessed powers due to their subordination to the saint. Thus, the explanation of the sacredness of natural objects by Dermenghem suits this type of “authentic” Islamic saint.

The local saint Sidi Ali Boumedien (A.D. 1224-1290), whose *zāwiya* is located in the valley to the south of Shīkhadra'a, is said to have been a descendant of a brother of Shamseddīn. He studied the Quran at the madrasa of Shamseddīn and became *hiskhadem* there. According to a local legend, when Sidi Ali Boumedien touched a dried olive sapling, it turned fresh and green in the blink of an eye. Upon learning about this miracle, Shamseddīn told him he should not be a *khadem* but rather that he himself was a saint. So, Sidi Ali Boumedien left his master and took up his place in the nearby valley. There is a gap of at least 100 years between the ages of Shamseddīn and Sidi Ali Boumedien, and it is unlikely that they actually lived together as contemporaries, but it is possible that they had a communication in a dream as a *khadem* and his late master saint. Generally speaking, it is not a problem for venerators whether saints had communication in their lives or after their deaths.



Picture 8. *Zāwiya* of Sidi Ali Boumedien and the mountain of Shīkhadra'a



Picture 9. Sacred carob tree and the votive clothes

The olive tree touched by Sidi Ali Boumedien still exists at the back of his *zāwiya*, which people visit to ask the saint or the tree for favors. One pilgrim (70s, male) said that, before this *zāwiya* was constructed, pilgrims had visited the tree. At one point he saw so many votive clothes hanging on the tree that it had no space for more. Now, fringes or strings of wool are tied to the olive tree instead of clothes. In addition, there is a sacred carob tree in the opposite valley in between the *zāwiya*, with a *kobba* 1.5 meters high in front of it. This tree is regarded as a female saint, and many clothes are tied to its

branches as seen in the old days of the olive tree of Sidi Ali Boumedien. Visitors offer candles and *bsisa* to it and tie their clothes to it while wishing for their personal requests such as marriages or jobs.

Pilgrims to Sidi Ali Boumedi en firstly visit his coffin to recite a phrase from the Quran and to state their request, then those who have special requests, mostly women, visit the olive or carob tree. It is normal for them to visit the *kobba* of Shīkhadra'a on the top of the mountain after the *zāwiya* of Sidi Ali Boumedien. The sanctuary of Sidi Ali Boumedien is a complex of multiple saints and multiple sacred spots. This saint has plenty of descendants in this village, and each of the 18 clans provides one of the *khadem* who trade off working week by week for the *zāwiya*. They have a large-scale *zerda* (festival for a saint) every July which gathers many pilgrims and includes a *hadra*. Sidi Ali Boumedien is a local saint because he did not commit to international mission work beyond the national boundaries as Shamseddīn did. This may be why the archaic belief in tree veneration has not been eliminated from his sanctuary; on the contrary, his sainthood is strongly connected with tree veneration as revealed through the renewal of the olive tree. The veneration of Sidi Ali Boumedien and Shīkhadra'a represents a syncretism of Islamic saint veneration and nature worship.

These complex sanctuaries of multiple saints and natural objects can be understood as a result of syncretism of sainthood and the local tradition, as well as of the Islamic purpose to spread Quranic teaching and the acceptance of the folk religiosity regarding nature existing since before the Islamic invasion.

3.5 Camoul Brel in Village T

Compared to the other three villages, village T is notably deep in the mountains and has thus been able to preserve its indigenous Amazigh culture relatively free from the religious control of Islam. In this village, the veneration of olive trees, which has been disappearing under Islamization in other regions, is still practiced in the form of saint veneration. The local people identify the sacred old olive trees as saints or spirits. Among them, Camoul Brel is said to be the most powerful olive saint; it is located in a valley in a rocky desert 6 km from the village center. Camoul Brel is the name not only of the olive tree but also of a female saint and a female spirit, both of whom are associated with the site. Camoul means a house and Brel is a male name, so we can guess that Brel was the name of a *khadem* who used to live in this sanctuary. The name of the place seems to have turned into the name of the saint. The villagers have many stories about people having seen the female spirit dressed in a white cloth in this place, and they hold this place in awe as well as venerating it. It is taboo to visit this place for any purpose other than *ziyāra* because it is a “hot”⁷ (haunted) place. People who break this taboo will incur such punishments as going mad or experiencing disastrous misfortunes.

As Camoul Brel is considered to have strong power to bring down danger, people avoid entering the sanctuary and even passing near this place on the road if they are not

⁷ A place possessed by spirits is called *boukashouna*, namely, hot place.

performing a *ziyāra*. For pilgrimages to Camoul Brel, the sacrifice of a goat or sheep is an obligation, whereas in other places this is not always the case. The animal sacrifice is performed by a male pilgrim. The animal is held facing Mecca and set between the tree and the shrine so that it may be offered to both sites. Its *kebda* is cooked separately with salt, and offered to the tree from all sides in a clockwise direction and to the shrine by *tatīsh*, then shared with other pilgrims. Along with the remaining meat, pilgrims then prepare couscous and/or other foods to eat there. The leftover couscous is brought back to the house and shared with other relatives, as it is regarded as being full of *baraka*.



Picture 10. Offering *bukhōr* to Camoul Brel



Picture 11. Camoul Brel and its *kobba*

Anyone can do the cooking, but the *tatīsh* of the *bsisa* and *kebda* and the offering of the *bukhōr* should be done by a woman, typically by the mistress of the family or a female petitioner who comes to ask the saint for a special wish.

At Camoul Brel, women tie their *hizēm* (traditional woolen belt for women) or scarf to a branch of the olive tree to make their wish. This knot (*okda*) should not be untied until the wish is fulfilled. The branch on which it is tied should have no other knots. The colors of these votive clothes are chosen according to the nature of the request. If the wish is for a wedding, the cloth should be red, which is the color of a bride's veil, and if it is for a baby, the cloth should be a white *hizēm*, which is worn by married women and used as a belly band, or a similar white cloth. The pilgrim C (female, 30s) and her mother S (female, 60s) mentioned that only women can perform this ritual of tying cloth to olive trees and that olive saints only do favors for women. If the petitioner is a man, his mother or wife will make the request to the tree. Just as there is a special spiritual relation between an olive saints and its *khadem*, women are likewise believed to have strong connections with such olive trees.

At the same time, we can observe the understanding that the olive tree itself is female as depicted in various folktales concerning Camoul Brel and other trees. The following is a story about Camoul Brel that is typically told during a *ziyāra* to it: After making a *ziyāra*, a man picked olive fruits from Camoul Brel and stuffed his pockets. When he was about to leave the place, something was thrown toward him from behind. With trepidation he turned and saw a beautiful woman. Surprised, he slipped and all of the fruits fell out of his pockets. He shut himself in his house and did not talk to anybody for six months (B, female, 90s).

The stories of olive saints in village T typically describe the appearance of a woman near the tree and a punishment for a violation of the prohibition, which usually

consists of an attempt to privatize the sacred (Kitagawa 2017). In these stories, the sacred olive trees or the spirits possessing them have personalities and miraculous powers to seduce men, give punishments and blessings, and request sacrifice as same as human saints do. In the village, spirits are called *jinn* (male), *jinniya* (female) or *malak* (angel), and the veneration of spirits have been influenced by the archaic belief since before the rise of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. They are described in the Quran as being among the beings created by God. The concept of *jinn* is originally from Arabia but has been integrated into the beliefs of each local small deity or spirit, which are now called *jinn* wherever Islam has prevailed (Akahori 2008). Among these four villages as well as in other regions of North Africa, people consider a wide range of their life experiences to be influenced by *jinn*, and accordingly they venerate, soothe and fear them and are sometimes possessed by them (Crapanzano 1980). Especially in village T, spirits are identified with trees or caves as well as saints or ancestors, which implies the residue of old local beliefs regarding nature and deities.

Trees and other natural objects are the sites of “the manifestation of the sacred” (Eliade 1959) whatever is recognized as saints, spirits, ancestors, or any supernatural power, and they function as symbols. The manifestation is based on the symbolic relation between the image of the blessing olive tree and of saints or spirits as supernatural beings and also that of the mother⁸. The symbol of a tree as a gateway between this world and the other world, as expressed elsewhere in the World Tree (Yggdrasil) and the Axis Mundi, can be seen in many religions. The beliefs concerning sacred trees in village T explicitly use such symbolism of the tree, particularly with regard to the trees representing saints in the Islamic framework. In the belief in olive saints such as Camoul Brel in village T, archaic elements of animism seem to have survived in “disguise” as saint veneration or even been legitimized by the Islamic authority.

3.6 SidiYakoub and Sidi Thāmal in Village B

The village of B is located at the edge of the plain between Jebel Demmer and the gulf of Gabes. The village was previously located at the top of the hill facing the flatland on the East; after independence, the villagers started to make a new village at the foot of the hill around the mausoleum of SidiYakoub and SidiThāmal. Today, in fact, these two saints are in the center of the village. SidiYakoub, whose proper name is Elghouth Ahmed AbouYakoub Belabbes (-A.D.1532), was from Sakia el Hamra, West Sahara according to the official record of the village. He aspired to go to Tunisia in the age of Bey and contacted the *shaykh* of the village who was named Ali Ben Thāmal. Sidi Yakoub built a madrasa near the mausoleum of SidiThāmal which had been built in 850 Hijrī (A.D. 1446/1447). Sidi Yakoub was also buried next to Sidi Thāmal. Near their mausoleum there is an olive tree for each saint, and every Friday as well as on the occasion of the *zerda* in October, pilgrims first go to the olive tree of SidiYakoub where they sacrifice animals, offer candles, *bukhōr* and *bsisa* to the coffins of the saints, then go to a small shrine called *diwan* about 100 meters away to offer a *hizēm* (belly belt). This place used to have an old date palm tree where Sidi Yakoub preferred to stay

⁸ About the female image of olive trees, see Kitagawa 2017.

according to the legend. In the old village of B, there is a *kobba* of Sidi Thāmal near the old jujube tree (*sidra*) where the saint preferred to meditate. When people ask this saint to fulfill their wishes, they visit his coffin and his olive trees in front of the mausoleum; when the request is fulfilled, they go up to his *kobba* on the mountain to offer the promised visit. Given the relation between these saints and the jujube or the date trees, it is obvious that the saints' action is the origin of these instances of tree veneration. In the case of the olive trees and their affiliated saints, however, no such explanation is given, and people visit the olive tree because of the inherent worth or power of the olive tree itself. It is clear from the order of their *ziyāra*in the sanctuary. The implication is that the custom of visiting olive trees seems to be conducted more autonomously than other trees.



Picture 12. Olive tree of SidiYakoub



Picture 13. Kobba and the jujube tree of SidiThāmal

Although the two saints in village B have been venerated in association with the rich symbolism of natural objects, their *zāwiya* and its madrasa were destroyed in 2012 by local Salafists in the upwelling of Islam fundamentalism associated with the Arab Spring. Although the demand from the villagers for its reconstruction was huge, the local government rejected this plan several times to avoid provoking the Salafists into making another attack on the saints. Eventually, however, their request was accepted and as of the summer of 2017 the sanctuary is under construction. The destruction of the *zāwiya* and its madrasa was undertaken by adherents of the fundamental side of Islam who believe that saint veneration does not fit in with strict Islamic teaching. It must be a very strict religious pressure that could see the *zāwiya* of a saint who contributed to the spread of Islam as a target for attack, not to mention nature veneration. A steady stream of criticism against saint veneration and folk religiosity has been delivered by the fundamental theologians and jurists such as Ibn Taymīya (1263-1328) and his intellectual heirs, the Wahhabists, who have destroyed *zāwiya* since the 19th century.

In the other three villages, there were attacks by Salafists on small *kobba*, but these were not the total destruction of any other venerated *zāwiya*, and any conflict that prevented the government from starting reconstruction for years was not heard except in village B. This is probably because the other villages are located deeper in the mountains and are more strictly controlled by the villagers, who take their autonomy seriously and who were critical of the fundamentalism that was popular among urban dwellers and younger Muslims at that time. Religious tolerance has been preserved because these villages are in the geographical, political, and religious periphery.

4. Discussion

In addition to the above cases of saint veneration, I have observed several other pilgrimages to saints related to natural objects in four villages, and classified them into four categories according to the practices of the pilgrimage, hagiographies, and legends.

The villages vary in the extent to which they are exposed to Arabization; village B, which is located in the flatland, is an Arabic-speaking village and has been exposed to the fundamentalist movement as seen in the destruction of the *zāwiya* of Sidi Yakoub and Sidi Thāmal. Villages M and Z are the next most exposed. There are various views about the origin of the people of village M (Menouillard 1912, Ben-Hamza 1977): although they do not speak Amazigh, the village's location has allowed them to be influenced by the surrounding Amazigh culture, even though they are said to be Arab in origin. While village Z remains an Amazigh-speaking community, straddling the border between the plain of Gabes and the mountains of Amazigh, it is exposed to Arabization to some extent, which may explain why the people left their old community deep in the mountains a few decades ago. On the other hand, village T is located deep in the mountain chain, without direct access to Gabes except through village M or Z, and accordingly has kept its Amazigh language and culture conservatively. Village T does not have a venerated saint who came to this village as a missionary, and the villagers seem to prefer visiting local saints combined with spirits and ancestors to venerating "authorized" Islamic saints.

<i>(Name of saints)</i>	<i>(Location)</i>	<i>(Type)</i>	<i>(Natural objects)</i>
Sidi Yakoub	Village B	Missionary	tree, spring
Sidi Thāmal	Village B	Local	tree, mountain
Shikadra'a	Village B/M	Missionary, Localized	tree, mountain, spring
Sidi Ali Boumedien	Village B/M	Local, Ancestral	tree, mountain
Shamseddin	Village B/M	Missionary	tree
Sidi Mbarak	Village M	Local/ Ancestral	tree, mountain
Lalla Belboula	Village M	Local	tree, cave, mountain
Sidi Ahbed	Village M	Ancestral/(Spiritual)	tree
Sidi Gnaoua	Village Z	Local/(Missionary)	tree
Sidi Louijen	Village Z	Local	mountain
Sidi Yakhref	Village Z	Missionary/ Ancestral	tree, mountain
Sidi Abdelkader	Village Z	Missionary	tree, mountain
Camoul Brel	Village T	Spiritual	tree, cave
Onm Azīza	Village T	Spiritual/ Ancestral	tree, cave
Onm Rabbēs	Village T	Spiritual	tree, cave
Onm Zīn	Village T	Spiritual/ Ancestral	tree, cave

Table 1. Classification of saints related to natural objects in four villages

The above survey results suggest that a high level of Arabization correlates with the veneration of more authorized saints such as missionaries. The more a village has been Arabized, the easier it was to find established saints. It is also possible that, in villages such as B or Z that lie on the border between Arab and Amazigh land, such "authentic" saints who had learnt Islam properly or who were relatives of the Prophet were intentionally established there to be a foothold of Islamization. On the other hand, though we could find local saints in all villages, saints who were affiliated with

particular local tribes and respected as ancestors were seen only in villages where Arab influence is low. Furthermore, a saint identified with a spirit, not just related to it, was only seen in village T, the remotest village. This shows the correlation between Amazigh culture and animism. It is assumed that whatever elements of indigenous animism, veneration of small local deities or tribal ancestors have survived suppression by Islam under Arabization, and it have been transformed into something acceptable within Islam, namely, belief in saints, or jinn used by saints.

At the sanctuaries of established saints, the veneration of natural objects is explained as originating from saints' actions and preferences during their lifetimes, as Dermenghem has indicated. Such explanations are valid for villagers in places where human saints have a major presence. On the other hand, in places where archaic Amazigh traditions are well preserved, more importance is attached to the natural objects and the ancestral or spiritual saints than to the historical figures. These are understood to be far older than any human saints and to possess unusual powers, which is why they should be revered and venerated. In such places, natural objects have their own reality rather than merely serving as backdrops in the stories of the saints.

5. Conclusion

Sainthood in Islam is not endowed by any religious authority, unlike canonization in Catholicism; instead it is determined by unspecified people who commit to the saint's veneration. The qualities that make a person a saint are not only faithfulness but also unusual power to heal disease, to bring about a good marriage, or to grant a petition; above all else, a saint has some quality of sacred reality. It is obvious that people feel the closeness of the natural objects surrounding their lives and feel the reality beyond a human scale of the natural objects which exist far longer than a person's lifetime. This could be expressed as the worship of sacred mountains or sacred trees in a polytheistic culture, as in Japan. In Tunisia, however, religious sensitivity toward natural objects has been altered into a form that can suit Islam.

In this paper, we have considered how saint veneration in South Tunisia includes aspects of nature worship and how believers can have different views of different types of saints. We conclude that saint veneration's absorption of nature veneration uniquely originated in the religious tension between open sensitivity to reality and keen sensitivity of longing for One God. These complex beliefs regarding nature and saints are still experienced by the people symbolically and directly to various extents.

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Les Conduites Sexuelles Deviantes Et Le Vih/Sida Chez Des Adolescentsa Yamoussoukro

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Résumé

Cette étude s'intéresse aux conduites sexuelles déviantes et au VIH/SIDA chez des adolescents. Elle s'est déroulée dans la ville de Yamoussoukro. L'échantillon est composé de la manière suivante : 27 Adolescents infectés et 7 affectés ; 11 parents ou substituts de parents ; 2 médecins ; 3 personnels des ONG. Certains adolescents infectés par le VIH, vivent entre culpabilité et angoisse. Ils n'ont plus d'ambition, de « rêve ». Dans leur comportement transparait l'agressivité, les comportements déviantes comme le vol, la prostitution, la consommation d'alcool, de drogue, de cigarette.

Mots clés : infectés- affectés - vulnérable-délinquance sexuelle - Comportement à risque- Adolescents.

I- Introduction

Le SIDA est l'un des problèmes de santé publique les plus inquiétants à l'échelle planétaire. Cette maladie est causée par le Virus de l'Immunodéficience Humaine (VIH). Ce virus est transmis par des sécrétions organiques du corps humain. Il s'attaque au système immunitaire et fini par le rendre inopérant. La plupart des personnes décèdent d'infections ou de cancers dont elles auraient pu se défendre si leur système immunitaire n'était pas atteint. Il n'existe jusqu'à ce jour aucun traitement pour enrayer cette pathologie bien qu'il ait des médicaments qui retardent l'évolution.

La pandémie du VIH apparait comme une véritable menace pour le devenir des enfants et leurs familles. Malgré d'importants résultats atteints et des signes de stabilisation de la progression de l'épidémie du VIH, l'Afrique subsaharienne reste la région la plus touchée avec 68% des personnes vivants avec le VIH et 72% de décès liés à l'infection en 2009 (ONUSIDA, 2010). Si la situation du VIH en Afrique subsaharienne est aussi préoccupante, c'est en grande partie liée au fait que les adolescents de 10 à 24 ans qui comptent pour plus du quart de la population d'Afrique subsaharienne (Nations Unies, 2008) sont aujourd'hui au cœur de l'épidémie du VIH avec 45% des nouvelles infections en 2007 (ONUSIDA, 2008).

En Côte d'Ivoire, les données épidémiologiques disponibles montrent que les jeunes de 15 à 24 ans sont parmi les couches les plus touchées de la population et ils constituent la moitié des nouvelles infections (Yoman, 2012). A ce titre, il faut ajouter les grossesses précoces, les mariages précoces, les violences basées sur le genre. Une telle situation chez des adolescents compromet inévitablement le développement du capital humain et social nécessaire pour une vie adulte de qualité, développement tributaire des conditions dans lesquelles ils vivent et de l'environnement dans lequel s'opérera la transition vers cette vie adulte (Loyd, 2005). Tout en rappelant que les jeunes de 20 à 24 ans représentent plus de 34% de la population ivoirienne, ce qui fait environ 7 millions de vies humaines, DE BRUN (UNICEF, Côte d'Ivoire) souligne que cette population cible ne possède pas toujours les informations, les compétences qu'il faut et n'a pas toujours accès aux services pour la prévention et la prise en charge d'une infection à VIH.

Prévenir la transmission du VIH au sein de cette population adolescente reste un des investissements les plus porteurs à long terme et une des voies les plus sûres de changer le cours de la pandémie (ONUSIDA, 2006). Certes, d'importants efforts ont été faits et la lutte contre le VIH commence à porter ses fruits (ONUSIDA, 2010). Mais la vitesse de propagation du VIH et l'impuissance de la médecine à y faire face pour le moment commandent davantage d'action (Lloyd, 2005).

En Côte d'Ivoire, la prévalence du VIH dans la population sexuellement active de 15 à 49 ans est estimée en fin 2003 à environ 7% selon le rapport 2004 de l'ONUSIDA. Face à cela, de nombreuses actions ont été menées en vue de lutter contre la propagation de la maladie. Le PNPEC sur le plan médical des personnes infectées par le VIH/SIDA et la

mise en place des établissements menant des activités de prise en charge, de CD et de PTME. Avec une séroprévalence nationale qui a baissé jusqu'à 3,4%, la Côte d'Ivoire figure toujours parmi les pays de l'Afrique de l'ouest les plus affectés par l'épidémie de VIH/SIDA et est classée comme pays à épidémie généralisée (Yokouidé, 2012). 100% des jeunes de 15 à 24 ans sont exposés au VIH, 82% sont vulnérables et 3% sont extrêmement vulnérables (OMS, 2012). Beaucoup d'adolescents sont infectés et/ou affectés par le VIH/SIDA. La pathologie du SIDA touche le système biologique et affectif de l'adolescent déjà en crise et cela le perturbe profondément (MOH, 2011). Certains adolescents infectés par le VIH vivent entre culpabilité et angoisse. Ils n'ont plus d'ambition, de « rêve ». Dans leur comportement transparait l'agressivité, les comportements déviants comme le vol, la prostitution, la consommation d'alcool, de drogue, de cigarette (MOH, 2011). Le manque de maturité émotionnelle à laquelle font face les jeunes les expose à avoir des relations quelques fois non planifiées (Dutreuil, 2007). Une simple curiosité, tout comme le désir d'agir à l'instar des autres sont autant d'éléments explicatifs de l'adoption d'un comportement sexuel chez les adolescents. Un comportement sexuel dangereux est souvent un élément intrinsèque du comportement des adolescents qui englobe la délinquance, l'alcool et la drogue.

Au vu de ce qui précède, quels sont les déterminants sociocognitifs de l'infection du VIH/SIDA sur les adolescents infectés et/ou affectés ?
Quelles sont les incidences de l'infection ou de l'affection du VIH/SIDA sur le développement des conduites déviantes des adolescents ?

1- Objectif

Analyser d'une part le lien entre les problèmes de communications interfamiliales et l'infection au VIH/SIDA et d'autre part entre l'infection au VIH/SIDA et les déviances sexuelles

2- Hypothèses

- ✓ Le manque de communication entre les adolescents et leurs parents expose les adolescents à l'infection au VIH/SIDA.
- ✓ Des adolescents infectés et/ou affectés par le VIH/SIDA développent des comportements déviants parce qu'ils ne donnent plus de sens à leur vie.

3- Cadre de référence théorique

Nous avons utilisé la théorie sociocognitive développée par BANDURA (1986). Selon cette théorie, le fonctionnement et le développement psychologique doivent être compris en considérant trois facteurs en interaction : le comportement, l'environnement et la personne. Ces facteurs s'influencent réciproquement mais n'ont pas forcément le même impact. Dans cette théorie, les sujets sociaux ne sont pas des organismes réactifs formatés par des contingences socio-psychologiques ou dominés par des pulsions dissimulées au plus profond de leur psyché. Ils sont disposés à s'auto-organiser, à se comporter de façon proactive, à activer des mécanismes d'autoréflexion et d'autorégulation. Dans ce cas, l'adolescent devrait avoir tous les moyens de prévention à sa disposition afin d'éviter l'infection du VIH/SIDA.

Or, les adolescents ne reçoivent pas réellement d'éducation sexuelle venant de leurs parents ; le sexe étant considéré dans certaines familles africaines comme un sujet tabou. Par ailleurs, dans les programmes de prévention, les adolescents sont classés parmi les enfants. Par conséquent, ils ne reçoivent pas toutes les informations nécessaires en vue d'éviter les comportements à risque à l'infection du VIH/SIDA.

II- Méthodologie

1- Terrain, population et échantillon

Notre étude s'est déroulée dans la ville de Yamoussoukro. Le taux de prévalence dans cette ville est de 4,8% supérieur à la moyenne nationale qui est de 4,7% (Dodié, 2009). Nous avons opté pour les adolescents infectés et/ou affectés par le VIH/SIDA. Notre population est composée des adolescents infectés et/ou affectés par le VIH/SIDA parce qu'ils sont les principales sujets de notre étude. L'adolescence est une période captivante ; l'enfant qui a peur deviendra l'adulte qui ose (ZAZZO, 1972). L'adolescence est aussi une période créatrice, ne serait-ce que dans le domaine des sentiments ; l'affectivité étant plus intérieur, plus intense, plus passionnée. Etant un moment privilégié de l'éveil affectif, l'adolescence est encore une confrontation avec la société. Cette période tumultueuse l'amène à adopter très souvent des comportements dérogatoires. Nous avons eu à interroger : 27 Adolescents infectés et 7 affectés ; 11 parents ou substituts de parents ; 2 médecins ; 3 personnels des ONG.

2- Techniques de recueil de données

Trois (03) techniques de recueil de données ont été utilisées dans cette étude: la documentation, les entretiens et l'enquête interrogation.

2-1 Documentation

De façon générale, les recherches en sciences sociales, sont cumulatives. Les chercheurs s'appuient sur des documents et autres productions scientifiques, en rapport avec l'objet d'étude. C'est à partir des travaux sur un objet donné des prédécesseurs que de nouvelles études sont réalisées, en vue de les faire évoluer ou les approfondir.

2-2 Entretien

L'entretien peut être défini comme un procédé d'investigations scientifiques, utilisant un processus de communication verbale, pour recueillir des informations en relation avec le but fixé (QUIVY et CAMPENDOUT, 1995). L'entretien a permis d'échanger avec toutes les catégories de populations, composant l'échantillon.

Ces entretiens ont cependant varié selon le degré de liberté (questions ouvertes et questions fermées) et le niveau de profondeur qui a conditionné la qualité des réponses, (réponse « riches, complexes », « précises et univoques »), mais aussi, parce que nous voulions obtenir le maximum d'informations.

L'on a eu recours à l'entretien libre avec les acteurs affectés et l'entretien semi-dirigé avec ceux infectés, tous menés de façon individuelle en vue de les mettre en confiance et de leur permettre de s'exprimer librement sans être influencés par la présence d'autres individus.

2-3 enquêtes interrogation

L'on a eu recours à l'enquête interrogation au regard de l'objectif de recherche. Moyen de communication entre l'enquêté et l'enquêteur, il consiste à poser par écrit à des sujets, une série de questions relatives à une situation donnée. Cela permet de recueillir les opinions, les attentes, et le niveau de connaissance ou de conscience du problème ou de tout autre point intéressant et nécessitant des réponses écrites.

3- Méthode d'analyse des données

Nous avons utilisé l'analyse qualitative. Elle vise à recueillir des informations de type descriptif s'intéressant au vécu et au détail d'expérience individuelle. Elle nous a permis d'apprécier l'effet du problème, d'appréhender les répercussions psychosociales du VIH/SIDA chez les adolescents infectés et/ou affectés.

Comme toute activité de recherche, avec des êtres humains, notre enquête soulève des questions éthiques relatives au respect des adolescents participants et de leurs droits. Nous avons suivi un protocole qui vise à informer les participants de la confidentialité des données, de l'anonymat, de leurs droits, des conditions matérielles de l'enquête. Ce protocole veille à ce que les répondants participent volontairement à l'enquête, qu'ils aient une compréhension complète de l'objet de recherche afin d'obtenir leur consentement éclairé. Pour obtenir le consentement des participants, il nous fallait présenter l'objet de la recherche. Il s'agit d'une étude qui prendra la forme d'une discussion, d'un échange au cours duquel nous discuterons de leur vie en générale, et de leur vie après l'annonce positive de leur statut sérologique. Nous avons insisté sur l'importance de l'honnêteté des réponses pour que notre analyse ne soit pas biaisée.

III- Résultats de L'enquête

Il ressort des résultats de l'enquête qu'un certain nombre de facteur peut expliquer le comportement déviant des adolescents infectés et affectés par le VIH. L'on peut citer entre autre : le déficit de communication entre parents et enfants en ce qui concerne la sexualité, une construction de modèles de comportements sexuels par imitation des adolescents et l'absence de prise en charge psychologique qui fait dire à l'infecté que sa vie n'a plus de sens.

1- Déficit de communication parents/enfants

Tableau 1 : terme de communication parents/enfants

	Ayant un débat sur la sexualité		N'ayant pas un débat sur la sexualité	
Adolescents affectés ;	2	7.40%	25	92.60%
Adolescents infectés	0	0	7	100%
Parents ou substituts de parents	3	27.27%	8	72.73%

Source : enquête de terrain

Il ressort de notre enquête que la plupart des personnes interrogées affirme n'avoir pas de débat sur la sexualité en famille. Au niveau des affectés, 2 adolescents soit 7.40% affirment avoir eu des débats sur leur vie sexuelle avec leurs parents. Par contre 25 soit 92.60% des adolescents affectés disent n'avoir jamais abordé de débats sur leur vie sexuelle avec leurs parents. Pour les adolescents infectés, aucun ne reconnaît avoir une fois eu un débat avec ses parents sur sa vie sexuelle. Quant aux parents, seul 3 soit 27.27% reconnaissent discuter de vie sexuelle avec leurs enfants. Les parents assurent la responsabilité de mises en garde sur les risques d'un mauvais comportement sans pour autant discuter précisément de la sexualité avec les adolescents comme l'illustre les propos de ces adolescents (A.A, 17 ans et B.F, 19 ans) : « on n'aborde pas ce sujet-là à la maison. Il arrive que ma maman dise à mes sœurs de savoir gérer leurs règles pour ne pas qu'elles tombent enceintes. Mais moi, on ne me dit rien. Je n'ose pas m'approcher de ma maman ou de mon papa pour avoir des informations sur la sexualité » et « c'est rare qu'on parle de ça à la maison. C'est souvent quand on parle des MST ou du VIH/SIDA à la télé que les parents en parle au passage ». Les parents évitent donc de prendre en main la responsabilité de transmettre cet aspect de la vie aux adolescents.

2- Construction de modèles de comportements sexuels par imitation

A la question : comment vous avez obtenu les informations sur la sexualité et le VIH ? Voici la réponse des enquêtés.

Tableau 2 : espace d'apprentissage et d'acquisition des notions de sexe par les adolescents

	Par le biais des amis		A travers les médias		Lors des sensibilisations	
Adolescents affectés	10	37.03%	8	29.62%	9	33,33%
Adolescents infectés	4	57,14%	1	14,28%	2	28,57%
Parents ou substituts de parents	8	72,72%	0		3	27,27%

Source : enquête de terrain

37.03% des adolescents affectés interrogés lors de cette enquête acquièrent des notions de sexualités grâce à leurs amis. Pour 33,33% de ces adolescents affectés, leur espace d'apprentissage de la sexualité est les campagnes de sensibilisation contre les MST et les grossesses précoces. 29.62% des précédents ont pour espace d'apprentissage, les médias (télévision, les journaux, les revues à caractères pornographiques, les magazines...).

En ce qui concerne les adolescents infectés, 57,14% reconnaissent avoir tout appris de la sexualité grâce à leurs amis. Pour 28,57% des infectés, ils attribuent leur éducation sexuelle aux différentes campagnes de sensibilisation sur les MST/SIDA et les grossesses précoces en milieu scolaire. Les adolescents, n'ayant pas de cadre institutionnel d'apprentissage de la sexualité se construisent eux-mêmes des modèles de comportements influencés par les aînés sociaux et/ou par le cercle d'ami en témoigne si bien K H, 19 ans : « mon oncle qui est jeune venait toujours avec des filles à la maison. Il montrait que la présence des filles le rendait très heureux. J'ai eu envie de faire comme lui ». Dans la même logique, « lorsque j'allais faire le "show" avec des amis, ils étaient avec leurs copines et je lisais la joie de vivre sur leurs visages... c'est comme ça que j'ai pris goût » (B.F, 19ans). Avec ces exemples, on note que l'imitation devient ainsi le fondement du lien social. En effet, la seule réalité sociale est l'existence de consciences individuelles liées les unes aux autres par les lois de l'imitation qui est le processus par lequel les individus inventent en s'imitant.

3- VIH/SIDA et comportements déviants ou délinquants

Tableau 3 : comportements déviants pouvant entraîner des contagions nous avons établi un tableau des actes posés.

	Adolescents affectés		Adolescents infectés	
	Nombre	Pourcentage	Nombre	Pourcentage
Utilise un préservatif lors des rapports	27	100%	2	28,57%
Consomme de la drogue ou de l'alcool	10	37,03%	7	100%
A plusieurs partenaires sexuels	2	7,04%	7	100%
Signifie son statut sérologique à son partenaire	20	74,07%	0	

Source : enquête du terrain

A la lecture de notre tableau, la quasi-totalité (100%) des adolescents affectés utilisent des préservatifs lors de leurs rapports sexuels. Par contre seul 28,57% des adolescents infectés utilisent des préservatifs lorsqu'ils ont des rapports sexuels. On observe une multiplication des partenaires sexuels chez les adolescents infectés. Eux tous affirment avoir plusieurs partenaires sexuels 100%. Aucun d'entre eux ne signifie son statut sérologique à son partenaire sexuel. Ils se réfugient tous dans la drogue et l'alcool. Par contre une grande partie des adolescents affectés signifie leur statut sérologique à leur partenaire 74,07%. Ils évitent d'avoir plusieurs partenaires sexuels. Seul 7,04% des adolescents affectés interrogés ont plusieurs partenaires.

3-1 Utilisation d'alcool ou de drogues par des adolescents infectés/affectés par le VIH/SIDA

L'usage de drogue, quoique n'étant pas un phénomène nouveau, est devenu de nos jours un vrai problème de société. Certains adolescents, après le résultat positif de leur sérologie, plongent dans la dépression. Ils perdent le goût de la vie ; ils n'ont plus d'ambition, de but, de « rêve ». Ils cherchent un moyen d'oublier leur état d'infecté. Pour cela, certains adolescents consomment l'alcool ou la drogue. C'est le cas de A.A 18ans et de K.K 19ans : *« depuis le jour où ma maman m'a annoncé qu'elle n'est pas ma mère biologique, que mes parents biologiques sont morts du VIH/SIDA lorsque j'avais 3 ans, et que moi aussi j'ai le VIH en moi car je suis née avec ça. Je n'ai plus eu envie de vivre. Pour oublier un peu que je suis malade, j'ai commencé à boire de l'alcool, à fumer la cigarette »,* et *« lorsqu'on m'a annoncé que je suis séropositif, je ne croyais pas et je suis allé refaire mon test dans un autre centre. Et labà encore, on m'a dit le même résultat. J'étais découragé de la vie. Moi qui ne buvait pas avant, j'ai commencé à suivre mes amis dans les maquis, dans les fumoirs pour faire comme eux ».* Certains adolescents affectés, qui ont un ou les deux parents infectés par le VIH/SIDA, s'adonnent aussi à la consommation de drogues pour surmonter, selon eux, la stigmatisation qu'ils subissent de la part de leur entourage. C'est ce que raconte K.S 20 ans : *« mon papa a tellement maigri que tout le monde sait qu'il a le SIDA. Les gens nous regardent bizarrement dans la cour. Les "tanties" de la cour ne veulent plus causer avec ma maman. Quand je vois ça, j'ai mal au cœur. Donc je préfère rester avec des amis, boire un peu et fumer un peu pour ne pas penser à ça. ».*

3-2 Prostitution des adolescents infectés/affectés par le VIH/SIDA

Des adolescents nous ont relatés qu'ils avaient un seul partenaire et ont décidé d'opter pour la fidélité. Sachant qu'ils n'étaient pas infectés par le VIH/SIDA avant d'entamer cette relation, ces adolescents conclurent que c'est par les rapports sexuels avec leur partenaire qu'ils ont été contaminés. Ils n'ont plus d'estime de soi ; ils se disent à quoi bon protéger ce corps qui a été souillé. Pour cela, certains d'entre eux se sont livrés à la pratique de la prostitution. C'est le cas d'O.S 20 ans : *« je n'avais jamais eu de rapport sexuel lorsque je l'ai connu. Il était le premier homme dans ma vie. Quand j'ai su que j'étais séropositive, je me suis confiée à lui et il m'a avoué que lui aussi est infecté. Il le savait 3 mois auparavant. J'étais tellement découragée, déçue, que j'ai décidé de me livrer à tous ceux qui voulaient de mon corps. Je suis entrée dans la prostitution. ».* Certains adolescents, victimes d'abus sexuels, de viols, s'adonnent à la prostitution car ils n'ont plus de respect pour leur corps qui a été souillé à leurs yeux. C'est le cas de K.A 20 ans : *« j'étais encore vierge lorsque mon oncle a abusé de moi. Je n'ai plus eu de rapports sexuels avec quelqu'un d'autre jusqu'à ce que je fasse mon test du dépistage du SIDA. Après l'annonce de mon résultat qui est positif, je n'avais plus envie de vivre (...). J'ai commencé d'abord à coucher avec tous ceux qui me draguaient ; ensuite à vendre mon corps pour de l'argent ».*

3-3 Non-notification du statut sérologique au partenaire sexuel

De façon générale, divulguer son statut sérologique au partenaire qui risque d'être infecté apparaît comme un devoir moral dicté par le principe selon lequel il ne faut pas nuire à autrui et l'idée selon laquelle le partenaire a le « droit de savoir » à quels risques il s'expose. Le devoir de divulguer cette information est ancré dans la nécessité de prévenir la propagation de l'infection. Mais, dans bien des cas, il est plus difficile de notifier sa séropositivité à son partenaire sexuel qu'à des amis de confiance ou à sa famille, par crainte d'être rejeté ou blâmé par celui-ci. C'est ce qui est arrivé à K.E 18 ans : *« je me suis mariée à 19 ans. J'étais encore vierge. Quelques mois après mon mariage, je suis tombée malade et c'est là qu'on m'a annoncé que j'étais infectée. Or, mon mari s'avait qu'il était déjà infecté avant notre mariage et il ne m'a pas parlé de ça avant qu'on se mari. Il dit qu'il avait peur que je ne l'épouse plus, que je le rejette (...). Il a gâché ma vie (...) »*. Certains adolescents continuent d'avoir des rapports sexuels non protégés avec leurs partenaires sans même leur dire qu'ils sont infectés par le VIH/SIDA. C'est le cas de K.I 19 ans : *« je ne sais pas si mon copain est infecté aussi, mais je continue d'avoir des rapports sexuels non protégés avec lui »*.

IV-Discussion

L'objectif assigné à cette étude est de connaître le lien entre l'infection et l'affection du VIH/SIDA et les comportements déviants des adolescents. De cet objectif général se dégage deux spécifiques qui sont : évaluer les connaissances et les attitudes des adolescents vis-à-vis de la sexualité ; et examiner les effets de l'infection et de l'affection du VIH sur le comportement des adolescents.

Les recherches de cette étude montrent que des adolescents ont une faible connaissance sur la sexualité et adoptent des comportements à risques. L'infection et l'affection du VIH chez certains adolescents les conduisent à avoir des comportements déviants. En effet, le VIH/SIDA est une maladie qui n'a pas encore de traitement de guérison. Pour cela, des adolescents infectés et/ou affectés par cette maladie, qui se voient vivre avec cette maladie pour toujours, perdent "le goût" à la vie. Ils n'ont plus d'ambition, ni de rêve. Ils violent les normes, les valeurs et les lois de la société dans laquelle ils vivent.

Au vu des résultats obtenus, nous pouvons affirmer que l'objectif de cette étude est atteint. L'hypothèse générale se libelle comme suit : il existe un lien entre le VIH/SIDA et les comportements déviants chez des adolescents. Celle-ci se subdivise en deux hypothèses spécifiques que sont : 1- le manque de communication entre les adolescents et leurs parents expose les adolescents à l'infection du VIH/SIDA ; et 2- des adolescents infectés ou affectés par le VIH/SIDA développent des comportements déviants parce qu'ils ne donnent plus de sens à leur vie.

Dans la théorie sociocognitive de BANDURA (1986), les sujets sociaux sont disposés à s'auto-organiser, à se comporter de façon proactive, à activer des mécanismes d'autoréflexion et d'autorégulation. Les adolescents qui devraient avoir tous les moyens de

prévention à leur disposition afin d'éviter le VIH/SIDA ne reçoivent pas réellement d'éducation sexuelle venant de leurs parents. Le sexe est considéré dans certaines familles comme un sujet tabou. Cette théorie explique l'hypothèse selon laquelle il y a un manque de communication entre les adolescents et leurs parents.

Cette étude montre qu'il y a véritablement peu de communication, entre les adolescents et leurs parents. Les parents mettent en garde les adolescents sur les grossesses non désirées sans pour autant discuter précisément de la sexualité. Par conséquent, les adolescents n'ayant pas de cadre institutionnel d'apprentissage de la sexualité, se construisent eux-mêmes des modèles de comportements influencés par les aînés et par le cercle d'ami. Aussi, chez les adolescents, le préservatif est vu comme un geste pour « se préserver de l'autre » et une réaction de méfiance, démarche qui est contraire à leur représentation de l'amour.

Des adolescents qui sont infectés par le VIH/SIDA adoptent des comportements déviants tels que la consommation d'alcool ou de drogue, la pratique de la prostitution et la non notification du statut sérologique au partenaire sexuel parce qu'ils n'ont plus goût à la vie. Ils n'ont plus de but, d'ambition, de rêve.

Conclusion

Au regard de ce qui précède, nous retenons que différentes études ont montré que les difficultés économiques, les violences sexuelles, les guerres, contribuent à la propagation du VIH dans la population. Ces causes détériorent la santé de l'individu et fragilisent la santé économique globale du pays. Les adolescents sont infectés par le VIH/SIDA à la suite de comportements à risque tels que la non utilisation du préservatif, l'utilisation de même seringue dans la consommation de drogues, les relations sexuelles avec plusieurs partenaires. L'individu infecté, est traumatisé, angoissé. Son état de santé a des conséquences sur sa famille dans le domaine de l'économie, dans la main d'œuvre.

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La Problématique Du Travail Des Enfants A Travers Le Commerce Ambulant En Milieu Urbain Ivoirien

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Résumé

La présente étude se propose d'examiner les logiques sociales qui structurent le travail des enfants à travers le commerce ambulant en milieu urbain ivoirien malgré l'interdiction de ce phénomène et la promotion de la scolarisation de ceux-ci. Pour atteindre cet objectif, une étude de terrain a été menée sur trois sites à savoir Siporex et Wassakara dans la commune de Yopougon et grand carrefour de Koumassi dans la commune Koumassi lieux de leur présence. Le recueil des données s'est fait par les approches quantitatives à travers le questionnaire et qualitatives à travers les entretiens libres qui ont permis d'aboutir aux résultats suivants : la présence des enfants dans le commerce ambulant se justifie par l'origine sociale des parents, permet une reproduction sociale car issus de parents eux-mêmes commerçants, constitue une stratégie commerciale des commerçants et contribue à la mobilisation des ressources financières des structures familiales.

Mots clé : travail des enfants, commerce ambulant, reproduction sociale, stratégie et mobilisation des ressources.

Introduction

Le travail des enfants constitue une préoccupation majeure pour les organisations humanitaires tant au plan national qu'international. Considéré comme une atteinte au droit de l'homme, certaines organisations telles que le Bureau International du Travail (BIT), l'UNICEF, le Bureau International Catholique de l'Enfance (BICE), etc. mènent des actions et établissent des politiques en vue de son éradication (N'Zi, 2014).

Ainsi pour freiner ce phénomène, l'OIT (Organisation Internationale du Travail) a adopté le 19 juin 1976 la convention, n°138 portant sur l'âge minimum d'admission qui stipule dans son article 3.1 que : « *l'âge minimum d'admission à tout type d'emploi ou de travail qui par sa nature ou les conditions dans lesquelles il s'exerce, est susceptible de compromettre, la sécurité ou la moralité des adolescents ne devra pas être inférieur à 18 ans* ».

Dans cette même optique, la convention n°182 représentant la loi n°210-272 du 30 septembre 2010 porte interdiction de la traite et des pires formes de travail des enfants. A son article 5, cette loi définit le travail dangereux des enfants comme « *un travail, qui, par les conditions dans lesquelles il s'exerce, est de nature à :*

- ✓ *Mettre leur vie en danger ;*
- ✓ *Les priver de leur enfance, de leur potentiel et de leur dignité ;*
- ✓ *Nuire à leur santé et à leur développement physique et moral ;*
- ✓ *Les empêcher d'avoir une assiduité scolaire ou d'avoir l'aptitude à bénéficier de l'instruction reçue ».*

En Côte d'Ivoire, la production agricole ivoirienne et particulièrement cacaoyère est accusée d'être basée sur le travail des enfants au point d'être menacée d'interdiction du marché américain.

Face donc à cela, le gouvernement ivoirien élabore un plan d'action national et de lutte contre l'exploitation et le travail des enfants en Côte d'Ivoire (2012-2014). Ceci en collaboration avec des organismes non gouvernementaux tels que save of children, children of africa, etc.

En effet ce plan vise à contribuer à une réduction significative des pires formes de travail des enfants. Ainsi, il est constitué de quatre (4) principaux axes qui sont : la prévention, la protection, la poursuite et la répression, le suivi et l'évaluation. De plus le Comité National de Surveillance des actions de lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail (CNS) a été mis en place afin d'opérationnaliser les programmes et actions engagés par le gouvernement dans la lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail des enfants sur la base d'une analyse de l'ensemble des problèmes majeures qui affectent leur vie. Ce processus implique une redéfinition des priorités relatives aux actions en faveur des enfants victimes et en un recentrage des interventions.

Malgré toutes ces mesures prises en vue d'éradiquer le phénomène, le travail des enfants devient préoccupant en ce sens qu'il interfère avec la scolarisation des enfants. Ainsi, selon le

BIT (2011) apparaît d'abord, qu'entre 14 et 17 ans, seuls 27,9% des enfants travaillant dans le commerce sont scolarisés contre 55,9% pour ceux âgés de 5 à 13 ans, 75,3% des garçons astreints à un travail à abolir dans le commerce fréquentent l'école, ce chiffre tombant à 46,2% pour les filles, soit près de 30 points d'écart en dessous du taux de scolarisation de leurs homologues de sexe masculin. Dans le groupe des 14 à 17 ans, la situation des filles est encore plus dramatique : elles ne sont que 23,2% à être scolarisées.

Sur les 303 358 enfants occupés dans une activité économique en rapport avec le commerce, 251 017, soit près de 83%, sont astreints à des travaux dits dangereux. Ce phénomène s'observe aussi bien chez les filles que chez les garçons, en milieu urbain (85% des enfants) tout comme en milieu rural.

Dans les communes de Yopougon et de Koumassi, en appui aux actions de l'Etat et des lois interdisant le travail des enfants, des campagnes de sensibilisation ont été organisées par les différentes municipalités en collaboration avec *save the children*. Dans les quartiers comme Wassakara et Siporex des projections de films ont été réalisés pour la sensibilisation des parents sur les méfaits du travail des enfants et des bienfaits de la scolarisation des enfants.

Deux années après ces actions des municipalités, l'observation empirique dans les quartiers de Siporex et de Wassakara et de Koumassi grand carrefour montre la présence constante des enfants dont l'âge est compris entre 5 et 18 ans dans la rue et se faufilant entre les véhicules pour proposer aux conducteurs, aux passagers et aux passants des articles de commerce. Dans l'exercice de cette activité, ceux-ci sont livrés à eux-mêmes et s'exposent à plusieurs risques dont les accidents de circulation, les brimades des plus âgés sur les plus petits, les disparitions.

En somme, malgré toutes les mesures prises par l'Etat ivoirien de façon générale en vue de la de l'interdiction du travail des enfants et des actions des municipalités de Yopougon et de Koumassi en vue d'accompagner le gouvernement ivoirien dans la lutte contre le phénomène du travail des enfants dans ces communes, l'on remarque la présence de ceux-ci aux abords des trottoirs de Yopougon Siporex, de Wassakara et du grand carrefour de Koumassi exerçant leurs activités commerciales. Ceci nous amène à nous interroger sur les logiques sociales structurant la persistance du travail des enfants de Yopougon Siporex, Wassakara et du grand carrefour de Koumassi? Comment ces populations se représentent-elles le travail des enfants ?

Notre hypothèse est que le travail des enfants dans le commerce sur les trottoirs de Siporex de Wassakara et du grand carrefour de Koumassi est une reproduction sociale de l'identité socio-culturelle des parents et contribue à la mobilisation des ressources dans la structure familiale.

L'objectif général visé par cette étude est d'analyser les logiques sociales structurant la persistance du travail des enfants dans les quartiers de Yopougon-siporex, de Yopougon-wassakara et de Koumassi grand carrefour.

Méthodologie

Pour la réalisation de cette étude, nous avons interrogé principalement les enfants mineurs exerçant un commerce ambulancier dont l'âge varie entre 05 et 18 ans ainsi que certains parents sur les sites de l'étude.

Le recrutement des acteurs a été fait à l'aide d'une combinaison de l'échantillonnage accidentel et de l'échantillonnage de volontaire. Comme outils, nous avons élaboré un guide d'entretien pour les parents des enfants commerçants et un questionnaire adressé aux enfants commerçants mineurs.

Cela nous a permis d'interroger à travers le principe de la saturation 13 parents 4 commerçantes et 3 clientes et dans l'approche quantitative 120 enfants sur l'ensemble des trois sites.

En outre, nous avons utilisé la méthode compréhensive. Elle nous a permis de mieux comprendre les facteurs explicatifs du commerce ambulancier mené par ces mineurs dont l'un des droits fondamentaux est de bénéficier d'une éducation scolaire et qui au lieu de cela se retrouvent aux abords des trottoirs. Les théories de la reproduction sociale et de la socialisation ont permis d'expliquer le phénomène.

Résultats

I. Caractéristiques Socio-Anthropologiques Des Enquêtes

Cette dimension renvoie aux études de morphologie sociale au sens large, c'est-à-dire ne se limitant pas à la stratification mais portant sur les modes de vie, les appartenances, l'identité, etc. Les thématiques restent classiques (famille, habitat, profession, etc.) mais la nouveauté est sans doute la prise en compte de la multiplicité des scènes sur lesquelles interviennent les acteurs et leurs appartenances. Afin de mieux cerner ce phénomène, nous avons retenus dans notre étude les acteurs suivants : les enfants exerçant dans le commerce ambulancier et quelques parents de ceux-ci.

I.2 Les enfants

La population cible est représentée par les enfants exerçant dans l'activité commerciale sur les sites de Yopougon-Wassakara, de Yopougon-Siporex et du grand carrefour de Koumassi.

I.2.1 Le sexe

Tableau 1 : Répartition des enfants selon le sexe

Sexe	Valeur absolue	Valeur relative en %
Féminin	90	75
Masculin	30	25
Total	120	100

Source : Notre enquête 2015

Le tableau ci-dessus nous révèle que environ $\frac{3}{4}$ des enfants exerçant dans l'activité commerciale sont de sexe féminin. Cela trouve son explication dans les facteurs culturels. En effet, dans la société africaine particulièrement en Côte d'Ivoire, la femme est appelée à gérer plus tard le foyer. Cette fonction future de la petite fille qui deviendra femme et qui consiste à confiner cette dernière dans les ménages, permet à certains peuples de préparer la petite fille à assumer cette fonction. Cette préparation se fait dans la majorité des cas au détriment de la scolarisation. Ces peuples ont tendance à scolariser les garçons que les filles. En plus dans ces peuples, la gestion du foyer par la femme signifie qu'elle doit apporter les ressources nécessaires à la survie du foyer. La recherche de ces ressources passe le plus souvent par l'exercice de petits commerces.

I.2.2 L'âge

Tableau 2 : Répartition des enquêtés selon l'âge

Ages	Valeur absolue	Valeur relative en %
05-10 ans	9	7,50
11-14 ans	54	45
15-17 ans	57	47,5
Total	120	100

Source : Notre enquête 2015

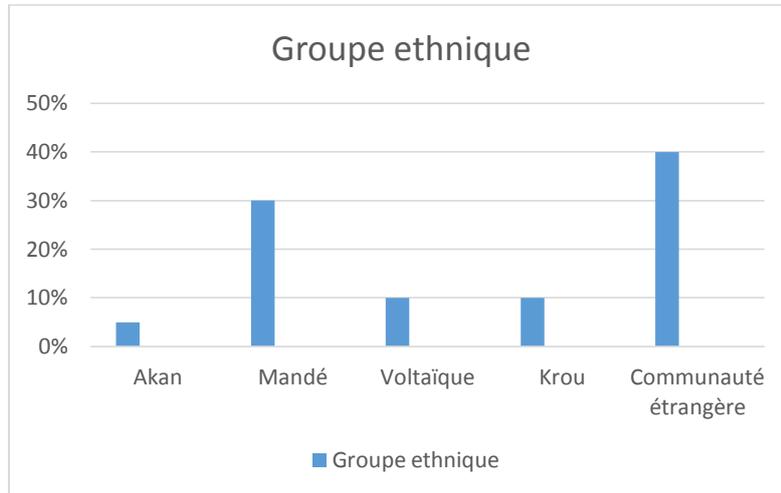
La majorité des enfants se retrouvant dans le commerce (92,5%) ont un âge compris entre 11 et 17 ans. Cette tranche d'âge représente l'âge des personnes qui terminent le cycle primaire (CP1-CM2) et qui devraient être au secondaire (Sixième-Terminale). Cela signifie que les élèves du secondaire sont plus en proie à se donner au commerce ambulancier. Cela s'explique par le phénomène du décrochage scolaire qui affecte principalement cette catégorie de personnes et ensuite par la non scolarisation des filles dans cette catégorie. C'est ce qui ressort des propos K.A 35 ans, commerçante d'aubergines au marché de Wassakara et employeuse de C.S 11 ans quand elle affirme ceci :

« J'avais besoin de quelqu'un pour m'aider dans la vente des marchandises c'est là je suis allée la chercher. Mais quand je la prenais, elle ne partait pas à l'école ; ses parents ne l'ont pas mise à l'école. Cela fait deux mois qu'elle travaille avec moi »

A cela, il faut ajouter le cas des personnes qui ont été inscrites à l'école coranique comme en témoignent les propos de K.F 12 ans et vendeuse d'œuf sur le trottoir de Siporex : *« on m'a mis à l'école coranique mais je n'ai plus continué »*.

I.1.2 Le groupe ethnique

Graphique 1 : Répartition des enquêtés selon leurs groupes ethniques



Source : Notre enquête 2015

Le graphique ci-dessus nous révèle que la majorité des parents dont les enfants exercent dans le commerce ambulante provient du nord de la Côte d'Ivoire. Ce groupe est composé de communautés étrangères constituées en majorité de maliens et de burkinabés peuples issus de deux pays voisins et frontaliers à la Côte d'Ivoire et du groupe ethnique mandé du nord constitué de malinké, de dioula, de mahouka et de koryaka peuples originaires du nord de la Côte d'Ivoire. Cela s'explique de par leur origine culturelle rattachée au commerce. En effet, ce groupe détient le monopole du commerce et privilégie donc l'initiation au commerce dans l'éducation de leur progéniture communément appelé « dioula », l'histoire de ces peuples démontre *« qu'il servait d'intermédiaire entre les populations africaines et les arabo-berbères, pour le commerce. Cette élite de commerçants mandingues portait le nom de Dioulas, qui signifie en malinké « commerçants » petit à petit cette élite de marchands devint de plus en plus indépendante, car grâce au commerce, ils ont pu enrichir de telle façon qu'ils se sont détachés peu à peu de l'aristocratie du Ghana. Devenant puissants économiquement, ils commencèrent à adopter un mode de vie nomade, de riches marchands ambulants. Avec le nomadisme qu'ils ont adopté, ils se répandirent, de l'Ouest à l'Est, du Sénégal au Niger, et du nord au sud du Sahel africain aux forêts de Côte d'Ivoire. »*

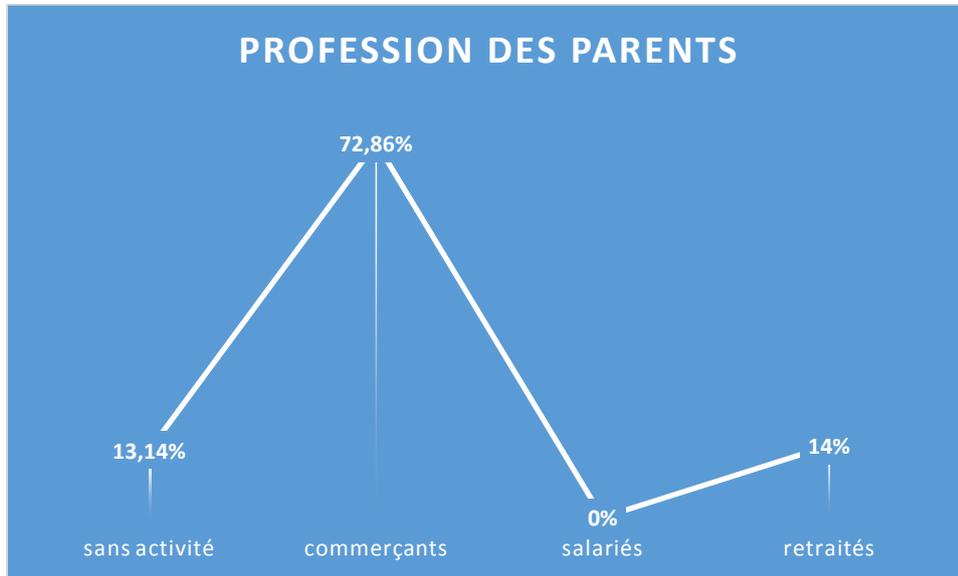
D'autre part, les Mandé du sud particulièrement les Gouros, Yacouba détiennent le monopole de la vente des produits vivriers. Cette activité nécessite également une main d'œuvre abondante pour l'écoulement de ces denrées périssables, ce qui explique l'utilisation de cette main d'œuvre infantile, maîtrisable et moins coûteuse.

Par ailleurs concernant le groupe Akan, il ne représente que 10% de nos enquêtés qui utilise les enfants surtout comme des aides-ménagères. C'est le cas des Akan du centre (Baoulé) et Akan de l'est (Agni et Abbron). En outre, les Krou ne représentent que 10%

I.3 La situation professionnelle

I.3.1 La situation professionnelle des parents enquêtés

Graphique 2 : Répartition des enquêtés selon la profession du père



Source : Notre enquête 2015

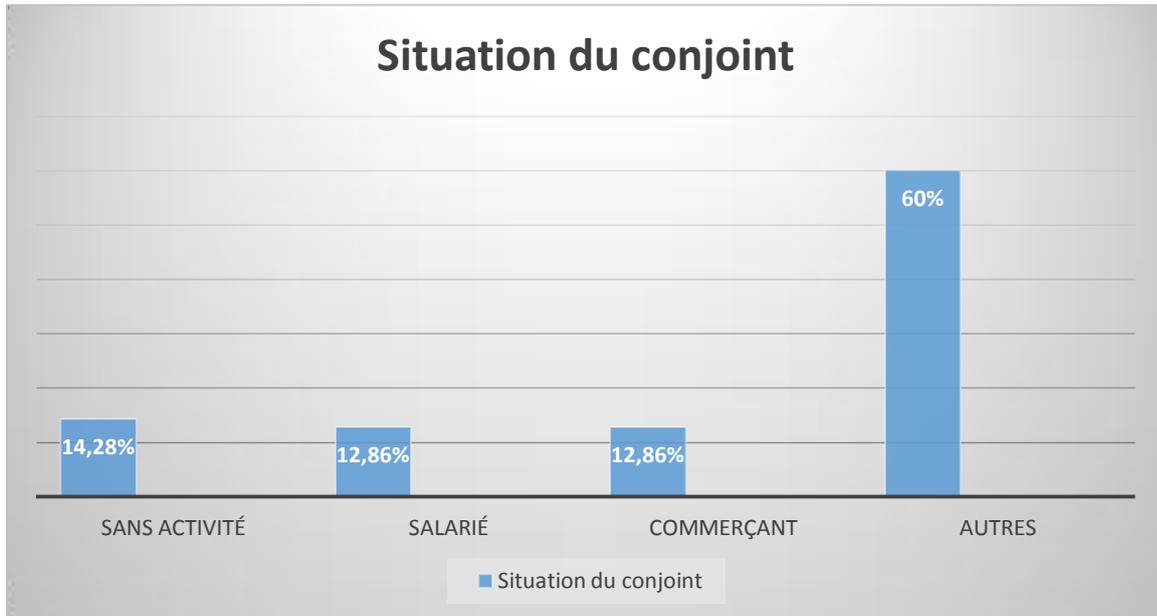
Il ressort du graphique que la majorité des enfants qui se retrouve dans le commerce ambulants sont issus de parents commerçants (72,86%). Ainsi l'activité commerciale exercée par ces enfants n'est pas une activité qui leur est nouvelle, mais participe de leur formation et constitue une reproduction sociale. En effet, les parents eux-mêmes commerçants préparent leurs progénitures à leur succession, à perpétuation de leurs activités. Le travail des enfants ici n'est donc pas perçu comme un travail au sens des institutions internationales mais comme un processus d'apprentissage et de formation. C'est donc ce qui explique en partie la présence massive des enfants dont l'âge est compris entre 11 et 17 ans car c'est dans cette tranche d'âge que les parents initient les enfants à l'exercice d'une activité.

I.1 Les parents

Le graphique ci-dessus nous montre que la plupart de nos enquêtés sont de sexe féminin. Cette s'explique d'une part par le fait que les marchés de Wassakara et de Siporex sont

I.3.2 La situation professionnelle des conjoints de nos enquêtés

Graphique 3 : Répartition de la situation professionnelle du conjoint de enquêtés



Source : Notre enquête 2015

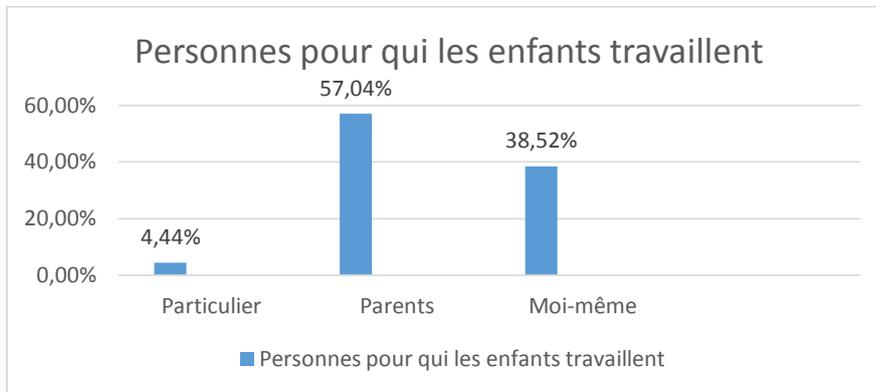
Le graphique ci-dessus nous indique que la plus part des conjoints de nos enquêtées soit 60% ont pratiqué des activités professionnelles dont les revenus varient en fonction des opportunités de l'environnement économique telles que transporteurs, travailleur à la zone industrielle de Yopougon etc...

De ce fait, pour assurer les charges de la maisonnée et aider leur époux dans les dépenses, ces femmes commerçantes usent de toutes stratégies telles que *“travailler avec des enfants”* pour l'essor de leur activité commerciale.

Comme le témoigne TS, 29 ans, commerçante de chaussures *« moi mon mari est chauffeur, c'est lui qui fait les dépenses de la maison mais je l'aide un peu quand je peux »* et BL, 32 ans, commerçante de vivrier *« mon mari est travailleur à la zone, quand je vends au moins ça nous permet de faire nos dépenses »*.

II : Représentation Sociale Du Travail Des Enfants

II.1 Travail des enfants comme aide-familiale



Source : Notre enquête 2015

Il ressort de ces résultats que l'activité exercée par les enfants appartient à la cellule familiale et cela concerne 95,56% des enfants. Ceux-ci travaillent en effet, comme des 'aides-familiales' pour leurs familles ; ils aident à multiplier les sources de revenus de la famille. Comme l'explique T.A, 14 ans, vendeuse de jus, « *je vends pour ma tante, le soir je lui donne ce que j'ai vendu ; c'est elle qui garde* ». L'activité menée par les enfants permet à la cellule familiale d'assurer la survie de la famille.

Comme l'affirme T.K, 11 ans, cireur « *c'est moi-même qui veut vendre pour avoir un peu d'argent donc si je veux je donne à ma grand-mère pour garder, si je veux je garde pour payer ce que je veux* »

Par contre, les 4,44% qui ont la liberté de garder leur propre recette sont eux-mêmes propriétaires de leur petite activité.

Il ressort de tout ceci que l'exercice de l'activité commerciale contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait penser sur l'exploitation des enfants par les structures, constitue un cadre de formation des enfants. Car comme le présentent les résultats les enfants exercent cette activité soit pour leurs parents soit pour eux-mêmes.

Tableau 3 : Contribution journalière

Contribution journalière	Nombre d'enfants	Pourcentage
Oui	17	14%
Non	103	86%
Total	120	100%

Source : Notre enquête 2015

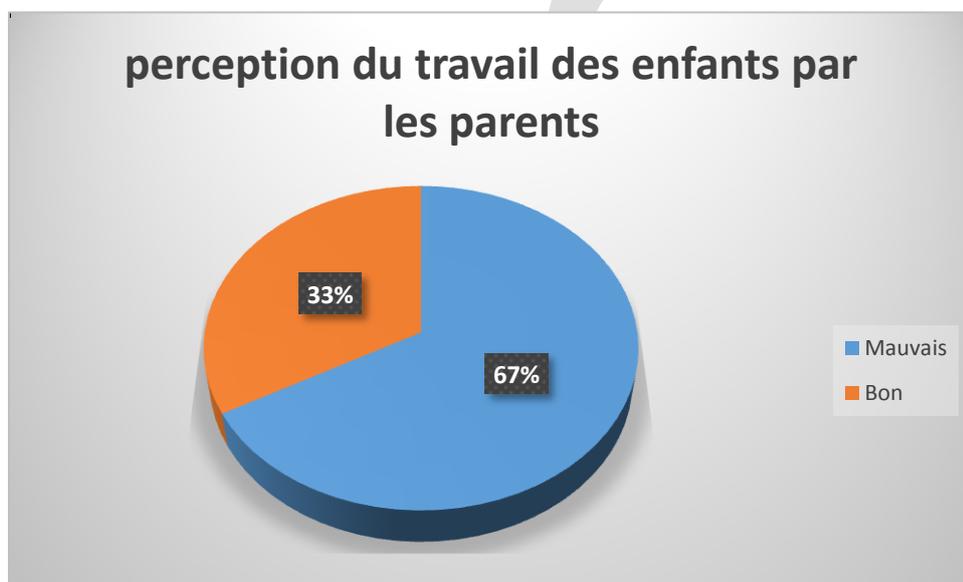
Le tableau ci-dessus indique également que 86% de ces commerçants mineurs ne contribuent pas directement aux dépenses quotidiennes du ménage en déboursant une somme

journalière étant donné que la recette journalière à chaque vente aux parents. Cependant 14% de ces commerçants mineurs contribuent de temps à autre c'est-à-dire en cas de besoins à certains besoins tels que les besoins alimentaires. Comme le témoigne KM, 17 ans, vendeuse de sachet plastique « *des fois, quand c'est chaud, elle me demande de compléter 500 francs pour popote* ».

Ainsi l'exercice de cette activité commerciale permet aux enfants de participer soit directement aux dépenses de la maisonnée soit indirectement. Soit indirectement car ce dernier utilisant cet argent pour ses besoins personnels cela atténue également les charges de ses parents à son égard.

II.3 La représentation sociale du travail des enfants

Graphique 5 : Répartition de nos enquêtés selon les représentations qu'ils se font du travail des enfants



Source : Notre enquête 2015

Les résultats ci-dessus indiquent deux catégories d'opinions ou de perception de la part des parents. La majorité de ceux-ci (67%) estiment qu'il n'est pas approprié de faire travailler les enfants. Ces parents malgré leur opinion sur le travail des enfants sont impuissants face au phénomène. Deux catégories de contraintes expliquent cette impuissance. La première est relative au décrochage scolaire des enfants. En effet, la plupart des enfants abandonne l'école très tôt. Les parents se voient donc dans l'obligation de les initier au commerce car eux-mêmes sont commerçants. Le travail des enfants devient donc en ce moment une formation ou une initiation à la pratique du commerce. Il est donc un moyen de reproduction sociale. Ainsi, au sens Bourdieusien du terme la reproduction sociale des parents ici est un héritage pour les enfants. La reproduction est donc une socialisation, une intégration

dans un système de valeurs qui est ici représenté par l'activité commerciale (Bourdieu et Passeron, 1964). La deuxième contrainte est relative à la situation économique des parents. En effet, les parents vivant dans une situation économique faible estiment que l'enfant par l'exercice d'une activité peut contribuer à la constitution des ressources familiales. Ainsi, l'activité de l'enfant est un moyen ici de formation et de capitalisation des ressources financières familiales. C'est en substance ce qui ressort des propos de IJ, 38 ans et commerçante de vivriers au marché de Wassakara quand elle dit : « *on sait que ce n'est pas bon de faire travailler les enfants mais on va faire comment ? si on l'a mise à l'école et qu'elle refuse d'y aller, on est obligé de lui apprendre à vendre pour puisse le faire quand elle grandira. Donc pour le moment elle vient m'aider en apprenant à vendre ainsi demain quand elle sera dans son foyer elle pourra vendre pour elle et n'aura pas de problème pour s'occuper de sa maison, de ses enfants et de son mari* ».

La deuxième catégorie de parents environ 33% estime que c'est bon de faire travailler les enfants. Pour ceux-ci le travail qu'exercent ces enfants est un apprentissage, une formation pour leur futur métier comme en témoigne OM, 30 ans « *ça là, elle sait vendre quand elle va grandir on va faire pour elle-même, elle apprend en même temps* ». De ce fait, ils perçoivent ce travail comme une sorte d'initiation, d'apprentissage au commerce pour leurs enfants.

Graphique 6 : Répartition des enquêtés selon le vœu de changer l'activité de leurs enfants à l'avenir



Sources : Notre enquête 2015

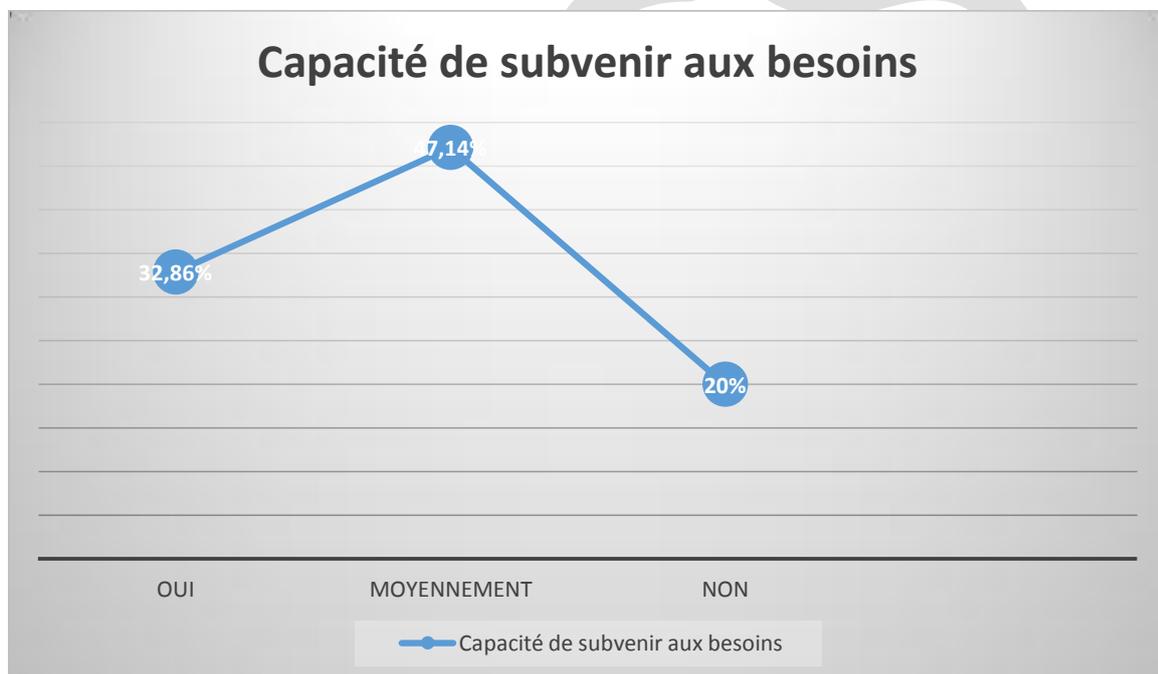
Le graphique ci-dessus nous montre que seul 32,14% de nos enquêtés envisagent un autre métier pour leurs enfants. En effet, ceux-ci préfèrent leur laisse le choix vers d'autres métiers. Comme le témoigne BM, 30 ans « *si après elle veut faire couture ou coiffure, ça dépend d'elle* ». Quant aux 67,14% ils préfèrent que leurs enfants continue l'activité commerciale mais dans de meilleurs conditions c'est-à-dire quitter le commerce ambulante pour un commerce plus stable (sur place) comme le témoigne OM, 30 ans « *après on va lui donner sa place, elle va vendre ou bien on va faire centenaire pour elle* ».

En effet selon la théorie de la reproduction sociale de Pierre Bourdieu qui la décrit comme « une pratique sociale d'une génération à l'autre par la transmission d'un patrimoine, qu'il soit matériel ou immatériel ». Pour mieux illustrer ce phénomène, il donne l'exemple « un fils d'ouvrier qui a plus de chance de devenir ouvrier que de quitter sa classe sociale et de même qu'un fils de cadre aura plutôt tendance à devenir cadre à son tour que de changer de classe sociale ». Ainsi, il en est de même pour ces parents commerçants dont les enfants ou protégés ne fréquente plus l'école ou n'ont pas été inscrit à l'école d'envisager pour l'avenir de ceux-ci l'exercice d'une activité commerciale.

II.4 Les motivations des parents

II.4.1 La satisfaction des besoins fondamentaux

Graphique 7 : Répartition de nos enquêtés selon leur capacité à subvenir à leurs besoins



Source : Notre enquête 2015

Selon le graphique ci-dessus 32,86% arrivent à subvenir à leur besoins et 47,14% y parviennent moyennement soit une tendance de 80% parviennent à subvenir à leurs besoins depuis l'exercice de cette activité commerciale. Ainsi l'exercice de cette activité a aussi des répercussions au niveau social.

Selon KS, 40 ans, commerçante de vivriers « mon mari est à la retraite, c'est moi je mets mon enfant à l'école, je paye terminale, je paye courant, je paye l'eau, je donne l'argent de popote, je donne déjeuner de mes petits-enfants, je paye transport 800 francs par jour, moi-même je vends »

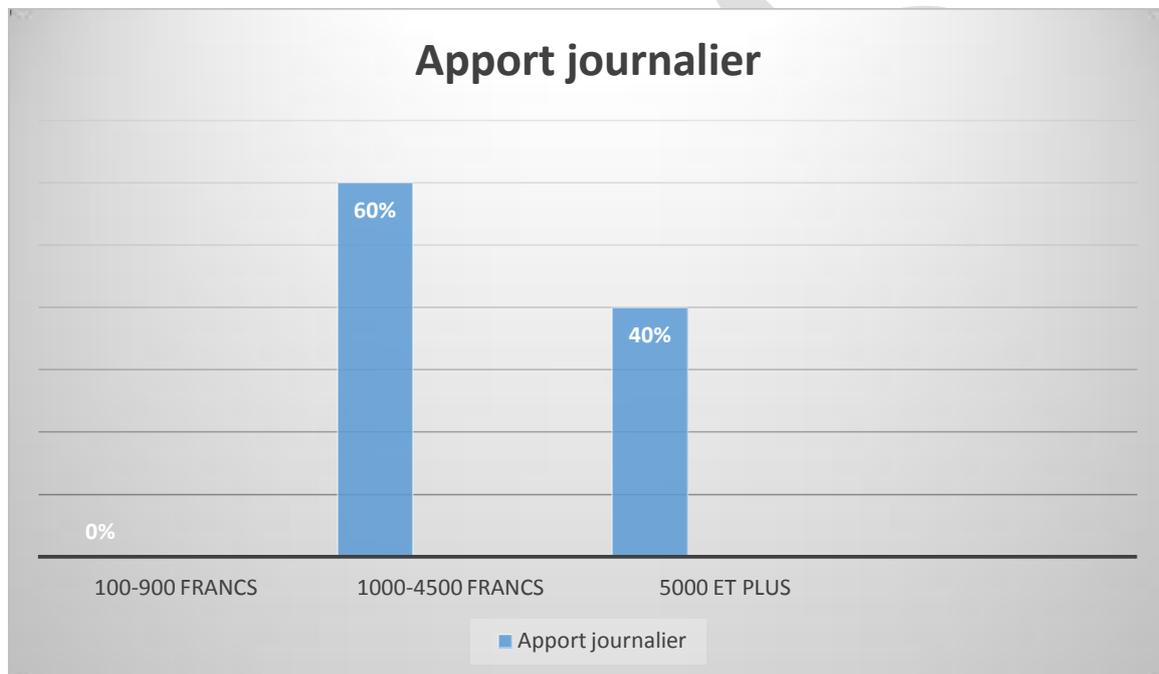
Il en est de même pour TS, 35 ans, commerçante de poissons fumés « *elle m'aide, c'est avec tout ça qu'on mange, on s'habille* »

KN, 30 ans, commerçante de banane plantain « *je fais le marché, avec l'argent je peux aller au village si il y a problème* ».

Le travail de ces enfants peut paraître à priorité sans effet mais se faire aider par des enfants dans activité commerciale est une source de diversification de gain. Cela est source d'épanouissement sociale pour ces parents.

II.4.2 Le commerce ambulante comme stratégie de vente

Graphique 8 : Répartition de nos enquêtés selon leur apport journalier



Source : Notre enquête 2015

Ce graphique nous montre les recettes journalières rapportées par les enfants à leurs parents. Ici l'on constate que la recette minimale est au moins *1000 francs par jours* ; étant donné que ces enfants vendent tous les jours, ils pourraient donc faire une recette mensuelle de *au moins 30000* ; soit *360000 francs au minimum l'année...*

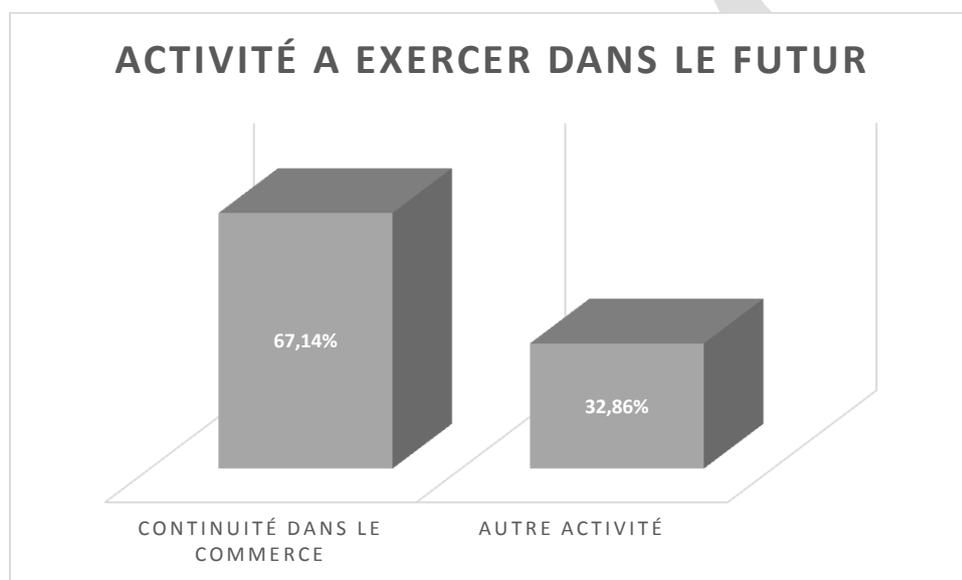
En outre certaines femmes procèdent par un contrat journalier avec les enfants comme le témoigne les propos de KA, 31 ans, commerçante de banane plantain « *moi je n'ai personne pour m'aider à vendre, pour écouler vite ma marchandise je peux prendre une petite venue pour ramasser la marchandise à la gare ; si elle vend pour 5000 francs, je lui donne 1000 francs ; si elle vend 10000 francs je lui donne 2000 francs* ». Il ressort de ce qui précède que l'utilisation des enfants ici dans le commerce est une stratégie de vente. En effet, les

vendeuses placées à l'intérieur des marchés à Wassakara et à Siporex, utilisent les enfants pour exposer les marchandises aux abords des trottoirs bordant les différents marchés. Cela permet d'écoulement rapidement sa marchandise. Cette stratégie permet la maximisation des gains journaliers.

En plus les enfants dans le commerce attirent la sympathie de certaines clientes qui préfèrent acheter leurs marchandises au lieu de le faire auprès des adultes. C'est en cela qu'une cliente affirmait ceci : « *quand je vois les enfants entrain de vendre, ils me font pitié donc parfois je préfère payer avec eux parce que je me dis que si l'enfant ne vend pas bien il pourra ne pas avoir à manger le soir* ».

II.4.3 Le commerce ambulante comme un moyen d'initiation ou d'apprentissage

Graphique 9 : activité à exercer à par les enfants à l'avenir



Source : Notre enquête 2015

L'exercice de cette activité n'est pas pour les enfants un phénomène passager ou temporaire. L'activité commerciale constitue pour les enfants une véritable activité et ne désirent pas changer d'activité une fois majeurs ou adulte. Cette vision concerne 67,14% des enfants exerçant dans l'activité commerciale. Ceux-ci désirent rester commerçants tout au long de leur vie à l'exemple de leurs parents commerçants. Cette vision des enfants est partagée par les parents qui estiment exercer le commerce est une formation pour les enfants afin qu'ils puissent le faire et devenir autonomes une fois adulte.

C'est ce qui ressort dans les propos de KR, 30 ans, commerçante d'aubergine quand elle affirme « *on l'a mise à l'école elle n'a pas pu y aller si donc l'école ça n'a pas marché ; elle va faire commerce ! C'est pas mauvais donc ce qu'elle fait actuellement elle est en train d'apprendre quand elle sera grande elle saura faire et se prendra en charge* ».

Pour TS, 35 ans, commerçante de poissons fumés et BM, 33 ans, commerçante de gombos frais, elles-mêmes ont appris à faire le commerce auprès de leur mère et cela leur permet aujourd'hui de subvenir à leurs besoins.

Ainsi au-delà des besoins de satisfaire leurs besoins fondamentaux, il existe également une forme d'initiation à la vie adulte.

Conclusion

Au terme de cette étude qui porte sur 'le travail des enfants en Côte d'Ivoire : cas des commerçants ambulants aux abords des trottoirs de la commune de Yopougon-Siporex et Yopougon-Wassakara' et de Koumassi grand carrefour, certains aspects essentiels qui expliquent la persistance de ce phénomène ont été mis à jour.

En effet les caractéristiques sociodémographiques des parents expliquent la présence des enfants dans la rue exerçant le commerce ambulant. Car la majorité des enfants retrouvés dans l'activité ont des parents exerçant soit l'activité commerciale ou sont employés d'usine. Ainsi, la condition sociale des parents explique en partie la présence des enfants dans l'activité commerciale ambulante. L'exercice de l'activité commerciale par les enfants constitue aussi un moyen de formation et de socialisation de ces enfants mais surtout est une reproduction sociale car les enfants ont tendance à exercer l'activité de leurs parents.

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Britain and British Muslims: A Long- Lasting Relation of Assimilation and Pro-action between East and West

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Abstract

The current relation between Britain and its British Muslim citizens has been continuously a relation of assimilation and pro-action. This paper seeks to show whether the effects of British colonialism in the Indian sub-continent may by themselves account for the subsequent conflictual relation between a Western exclusive consensus and an Eastern insular one. It is an attempt to examine if, under some other ample impacts of changing local and global times and politics, other local and global circumstances need to be considered in the apprehension of the ongoing relation between East and West, currently termed North and South. Excluding some vital individual needs, the present assimilation-pro-action theme seems to have penetrated different minds and spaces despite the hindrances of distances and frontiers.

Keywords: Assimilation, Consensus, Global, Local, Mainstream, Multiculturalism, Pro-action.

“Once one assumes an attitude of intolerance, there is no knowing where it will take. Intolerance, someone has said, is violence to the intellect and hatred to the heart.”¹

Mahatma Gandhi

Introduction

The relation between Britain and the Indian sub-continent is a four-century connection though both regions are thousands of miles apart. It seems that the past will never die as long as its fingerprints can be traced in the Eastern as well as the Western part of the globe. In fact, the current relation of assimilation and pro-action between Britain and British Muslims may be a continuation to the colonial and post-colonial practices. In this sense, Colonialism and the subsequent Partition of the Indian sub-continent may by itself account for the current confrontation between assimilation and pro-action in the British Muslim case.

Research work on British assimilation policies and British multiculturalism are profuse, particularly in the opening decades of twenty-first century. For instance, in 2003, Humayun Ansary worked on British Muslims and analyzed the obstacles facing the possibility of their integration². In 2003, Mohamed Siddique Sedon, Hussain Dilwar and Malik Nadim examined the issue of loyalty, identity and belonging among this community³. In 2004, Robin Richardson and Angela Wood evaluated the extent of educational achievement of British Muslim learners and traced the factors accounting for the hardships involved in their integration. In 2007, Tariq Modood has defended British multiculturalism against its prominent antagonists. He has shown that the inclusion of ethnic groups is not possible within the narrow forms of liberalism.⁴In 2016, Amir Ali traced the roots of British multiculturalism to South Asia and argued for the “compatibility” of Islam and liberal democracy.⁵In the same year, Lasse Thomasse perceived that the politics of inclusion and identity should be viewed as struggles over how these identities are represented.⁶Yet little has been done on whether the past can by itself account for the current confrontation between the

¹ Mahatma Gandhi, quoted in “Brainy Quotes”, in www.brainyquotes.com/quotes/mahatmaghandi160719

² Humayun Ansari, *Muslims in Britain* (London : Minority Reflects International, 2003).

³ Mohammed Siddique Sedon, Hussain Dilwar and Malik Nadim. *British Muslims: Loyalty and Belonging* (Leicester : Islamic Foundation, 2003)

⁴Tariq Modood, *Multiculturalism* (Cambridge Polity Press, 2007)

⁵ Amir Ali, *South Asian Islam and British Multiculturalism* (London: Routledge University Press, 2016)

⁶Lasse Thomassen, *British Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016)

British assimilationist processes and the British Muslim pro-action in a world deeply impacted by changing times and changing politics.

The corpus of this paper is composed of a sample of government Acts and reports, as well as a selection of some British newspapers' headlines dealing with the issue of British assimilationist and presumably multicultural policies and the extent of their relevance to the British Muslim case. To these, the theories of some New Historicist thinkers will be methodologically applied. This work is composed of four major parts. In the first part, I will disclose the roots of the relation of assimilation and pro-action between Britain and British Muslims. In the second part. Some aspects of such a relation in contemporary Britain will be revealed to see whether the past is enough to account for the present confrontation between assimilation and pro-action. The fourth and final part will show the possible risks, dangers and tensions awaiting both Britain, Europe and the Indian sub-continent because of such a conflictual relation. To reveal the extent of connection between the past and the present in the British Muslim case, I will be using Frantz Fanon's theory of language as being a valuable tool in the assimilation of immigrants and its role in the mobilization of citizens. The same perspective will rely on Benedict Anderson's theory of "Imagined Communities" according to which some sort of solidarities among some communities are built on false consensual tenets despite the inhibitors of space and time.

Louis Althusser's theory of "Interpellations" will be used to explore the pitfalls of closed consensus to the British Muslim case. In the context of Social Science, to be interpellated is to identify with a particular idea or identity whenever the same conditions resurface. At the same time, I will be using Pierre Bourdieu's "Production Theory" which situates artistic works and educational provision within the social conditions of their production, circulation and consumption, particularly in the capitalist system. It therefore follows that rather than being spaces of individual instruction, schools in a capitalist system are considered as preparing instruments to feed the capitalist machine. The idea is that capitalist systems usually make of schools the space of indoctrination and an exercise in ideologies at the expense of the purely human issues of the dominated fractions of society. Similarly, I will be using William Labov's "Integration or Disintegration" theory which deals with the price to be paid by lower-class citizens in return for their integration in a dominant mainstream society.

Colonial times

The long-lasting relation of assimilation and pro-action in the British Pakistani case started more than four centuries ago with the 1600 Charter to East India Company obtained from Queen Elizabeth I, that gave English merchants a monopoly over all trade between India and Europe, even though the first objective of the company was to secure access to the spices in the East. This monopoly proved to have prepared the path for an expansion of the British Empire in India. By the mid eighteenth century, the East India Company became one of the greatest mercantilist enterprises in the world. It turned to arms and overt militarization, thereby transforming its influence into territorial occupation and land acquisition. The company thus won enough land in the midst of battles with Indian Muslim leaders who

objected to the explosion of the micro-economies of the community and to the loss of their lands⁷.

In the meantime, the assimilation process of the Indian Muslims was under the scrutiny of the British politicians in Britain. When the East India Company's Charter came up for renewal in 1813, the British Parliament mandated the allocation of 100 000 rupees a year for the promotion of native education, both "Oriental" and Western. In 1823, a Committee of Public Instruction was set up in India. In 1834, Thomas Babington Macaulay became its president and declared that "A single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." A thoroughly English educational system was to be introduced which in Macaulay's words, would create "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect."⁸

The first step in the pro-action of Indian Muslims took place in 1857. It was the Indian Mutiny, a renowned incident in the relation between Britain and the Indian Muslims. Being upset with a forced acculturation through modernization, vehicled essentially by Western education and Christian proselytisation, the Sepoys, Indian Muslims who served as soldiers in the Bengal army tried to overthrow the British in India. The event showed a popular movement against innovation of various kinds, and a repulsive attitude towards Western civilization. The Mutiny was defeated, but the lesson learned by the British colonial powers was that socioeconomic inconveniences are liable to arouse religious fervor among the Indian Muslims.⁹

The 1858 Proclamation of Queen Victoria instituted British administration and governance over Indians. At the beginning of its communication with the area, the British Government disliked what Indian Muslims had tried to do to the British presence in their country. A Western educational system in which English was the means of instruction, and a proliferation of Christian missionaries constituted the assimilating tools for the British officials to acculturate the Indian Muslim Community. Unlike Indian Hindus who showed some sort of willingness to be assimilated into the Western lifestyle, Indian Muslims expressed a sense of refusal to British ways and culture.¹⁰ The role of the Deobandi Islamic school between 1600 and 1900 was crucial in the mobilization of the Indian Muslim public opinion in its attitude toward colonial Britain.¹¹

The pro-action process of the Indian Muslims continued when Indian Muslim activists began to think about "the necessity" of establishing an independent "Islamic" country. Poor Indian Muslims were easily targeted and lured by the gradual growth of the 1906 Muslim League through which they expected to live in a purely separate "Islamic" dominion. Mohamed Ali Jinnah and Mohamed Iqbel managed to mobilize the Indian Muslim

⁷ David G. Mandelbaum, "Hindu-Moslem Conflict in India", *The Middle East Journal* (London: Routledge, 1947), p.375.

⁸ Quoted in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso 1996), p.91.

⁹ Philips Talbot, "The Rise of Pakistan." *The Middle East Journal* (London : Routledge, 1948), p.392.

¹⁰ Burten Stein, *A History of India* (Oxford : Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p.74.

¹¹ Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), p87.

community and to instill in its mindset the idea that “Islam is in danger”. The anti-colonial religious leaders rejoiced at the condition of Britain to give independence to India in return of acknowledging the birth of Pakistan as an independent “Islamic” country. But the Partition of the Indian sub-continent along religious lines in August 1947 signaled the foundation of a legacy, which, Britain would reap its repercussions. Fanon’s contention of language, ethnic culture and beliefs as being powerful mechanisms to produce an “inferior Other” at the expense of fundamental ethnical issues can be a valid means to discern the role of the religious fervor in the mobilization and the pro-action of the Indian Muslims.¹²

The birth of the “midnight children” did not eradicate the amount of deprivation and warfare the citizens of the new born dominion witnessed. In his analysis to the areas where Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs lived together, Philip Talbot, an associate of the Institute of Current World Affairs in India between 1938 and 1948, reported that “the Partition resulted in an unofficial warfare which rooted 10 million people from their homes and brought about sharp economic distress and disintegration of the social fabric... and cut 75 million Pakistani off from such Indian resources as iron coal and India’s heavy industry, and from India’s supply of trained administrative officers and technicians.” After the death of its first head of State, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, and the assassination in 1951 of its Prime Minister; Liaqet Ali Khan, political instability and economic difficulty became prominent features of post-independence Pakistan¹³.

The pro-action of the Indian Muslim activists missed the hybridity of Pakistan itself. In fact, the new “Islamic republic” of Pakistan is a blend of what Anderson’s generally describes as an “imagined communities” built on false consensual tenets, which have made of Islam, in this case a means to ease its integration in the global configuration while leaving behind plenty of unresolved, unexamined issues. The number of Muslims in India is nearly the same as that in Pakistan (about 150 million today). Apart from the fact that Pakistan is a mixture of Hindus, Sikhs, Afghans, Sinds and Muhajris who differ in their religiosity and perception of the world, the 1971 Bangladesh independence after a bloody, ruthless war showed that the pro-action of the Indian Muslim leaders was at the expense of their coreligionists in the Eastern part of the country.

Post-colonial era

The rebirth of the same confrontation between the British assimilationist policies and the Islamic pro-active attitudes found its way into British soil. Starting from the 1950s, Britain witnessed an influx of Muslim immigrants fleeing poverty and religious persecution in the Punjab and the Pakistani part of Kashmir. The background of Muslims’ immigration into Britain is diverse, making them a “community of communities” who differ in their degree of religiosity, their socio-economic status and their attitude toward the universe. But the majority of these originates from the turmoiled regions of the Indian sub-continent. The close connection between Britain and these would-be British citizens allowed them to “enjoy” the provisions of the 1948 British Nationality Act¹⁴ which considered them the “Subjects of the Crown”, though the British Governments with the collaboration of their new established

¹²Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Grove Press,1952), p18.

¹³Philips Talbot, ” The Rise of Pakistan”, *The Middle East Journal*, P.393.

¹⁴ British Nationality Act, 1948 , in www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1948/56/pdfs/ukpga/19480056enpdf.

partners in the ex- colonies tried hard to limit their number through increasing passport fees, denying passports to applicants without firm prospects of establishing themselves and demanding deposits to cover possible repatriation costs.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the unchecked, unresolved issues of the Indian sub-continent penetrated such towns as Bradford, Birmingham, Burley, Leeds and Oldham. The main policy to meet the requirement of the second generation of the British Pakistani community was again to do with assimilation. Between the 1960s and the early 1970s the role of British Muslim school children was to fit in to an assumed monocultural Britain, to settle down and in the course of time to move up the socioeconomic scale. This meant primarily English as a second language teaching to the second generation of immigrants to help them assimilate into the mainstream British society. Language centers, dispersal policy, Educational Priority Areas Programmers and extra-curricula activities constituted the major means of the British Education Department to assimilate immigrant school children.¹⁶

. In this context of acculturation, Fanon takes the example of what language can do to a black man living in a predominantly white society. He sees that being colonized by a language has larger implications for a black man's consciousness. He views that "To speak means to use a certain syntax and possessing the morphology of such and such a language, but it means above all assuming a culture and the weight of a civilization"¹⁷. This means that speaking a language entails that one accepts, or is coerced into accepting the collective consciousness of the speakers of that language, fostering the cultural hegemonic models of the dominant group. Fanon's argument gives some logic to the British treatment of the increasing number of newcomers, The number of new arrivals tends to determine the degree of political commitment and influence the reaction of the dominant group in its attempt to a sweeping calcification of the constituents into the expectedly absorbing receiving society.

Even nowadays, the cultural assimilation of British Muslims has even gone further to generate a whole English language teaching policy for some sections of British Muslims. A sample of ex-Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron's declarations of the issue resonates the 1960s British language centers established for the assimilation of the whole immigrant children to the mainstream British society. He continuously warned that "There were 190.000 British Muslim Women who speak little or no English... We will change

¹⁵ Ian R. G , Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939 : The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (London : Routledge,1997), pp24-47.

¹⁶David L. Kirp, *Doing Good by Doing Little, Race and Schooling in Britain* (San Fransisco: University of California Press 1979), pp.42-43.

John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain*(London: Macmillan Press,1993),pp.90-97.

Alan Little, "Educational Policies for Multiracial Britain", *Education in the Eighties: The Central Issues*, ed. Brian Simon & William Taylor (London: Bradford Academic Education, 1981) p.67.

Hylland Townsend & Michael Brittain, *Organization in Multicultural Schools* (London: Nelson Publishers, 1972), p.24.

Francine Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Birkshire: NFER, 1974) pp.129-30.

And M.I. Reid, "Voluntary Extra-Curricula Activities", *Comprehensive Education in Action*, ed.T.G. Monks (London: NFER, 1970), p.23.

¹⁷ Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* pp. 1-2.

that...: If you don't improve your fluency, that could affect your ability to stay in the UK."¹⁸, "A £ 20m fund to teach Muslim women in the UK to speak English will tackle segregation and help them resist the lure of extremism...if you are not able to speak English, you are not able to integrate"¹⁹, "Migrants on spousal visas may have to leave if English doesn't improve"²⁰, and "Islamic religious schools which teach anti-semitic conspiracy theories and fill children with poison and hate will be investigated and closed down"²¹. Such an attitude falls in line with what Labov sees in his "Integration or Disintegration theory". He maintains that "...in our present social system, the best way for a lower class youth to achieve social mobility (...) is by breaking away from his group. The social and psychological price for this is well-known."²²

The textile industry boom of the 1960s and early 1970s in the Northern English towns eased the assimilation of the second generation of the British Muslim community. However, the effects of globalization, engendering a high unemployment rate among the community, led the British Government to think about multiculturalism as a means for their integration. In its 1977 *Green Paper*, the Labour Government stated that, "British society is a multicultural, multiracial one, and the curriculum of schools must reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up (British) society... the curriculum of schools must reflect the needs of this New Britain."²³ In the same vein, the 1985 Swann Report advocates the idea that

A multicultural society as Britain would in fact function most effectively and harmoniously on the basis of pluralism, which enables, expects and encourages members of all ethnic groups, both minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures, whilst allowing, and where necessary assisting, the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within a common framework²⁴.

Nevertheless, the 1988 Education Reform Act showed that the Conservative Government wanted to preserve the underpinnings of the mainstream British society through a National Curriculum to be carried out by all local education authorities. Through the "Core" and

¹⁸ David Cameron, quoted in Rowenna Mason and Harriet Sherwood, "Cameron' Stigmatising Muslim Women" with English Language Policy", in www.theguardian.com/Politics/2016/jan/18/david-cameron-stigmatising-muslim-woman-lear-english-languagepolicis, 18 January 2016.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ David Cameron, quoted in Tom Whitehead, "David Cameron : Muslims Silent Majority Must Tackle Islamist Extremism", in <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/11939380/davidcameron-extremists-and-hate-preachers-like-paedaphiles.html>, 19 October 2015.

²² William Labov, *Language in the Inner City in the Black Vernacular* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), P.291.

²³ Smith Ball, *Education Reform* (Buckingham : Open University Press, 1988), p.75.

²⁴ Department of Education and Science, "Education for All" (known as the Swann Report), (London: HMSO, 1985), P.329.

foundation subjects, the British National Curriculum legitimately aimed at the preservation of a secular white Anglo-Saxon Protestant society.²⁵ Bourdieu sees that

The field of cultural production is the area par excellence of clashes between the dominant fractions of the dominant class, who fight these sometimes in person but more often through producers oriented towards defending their “ideas” and satisfying their “tastes”, and the dominated fractions who are totally involved in the struggle. This conflict brings about particular markets in which the different fractions of the dominant class can find products adjusted to their tastes, whether in the theatre, in painting, fashion, or decoration.²⁶

What Althusser calls “Interpellations” can be applied to the long-lasting relation of assimilation and pro-action between East and West in the British Muslim case. Althusser gives the example of a “policeman shouting someone’s name in the street, and that person’s recognition that such a salutation means himself.”²⁷ It is the process through which one recognizes himself as belonging to a particular identity when the stocked features of that identity are interpellated. Conditioning the citizen to accept their lot and behave in a certain way may be applied to a situation when an insular, narrow-minded attitude toward the world is met with another closed consensus, engendering pro-action that is a negative response, rather than reaction and resistance. Among the British Muslim community the Western “closed consensus” of the mainstream British society gave birth to an Eastern “closed consensus”. The response proved to be as much pro-active toward a disguised multiculturalism as their Indian Muslim ancestors had been toward the assimilationist policies of the British Raj in the Indian sub-continent.

Practically, multiculturalism proved to be exclusive, nihilistic and a shield to various kinds of marginalization and alienation among the British Muslim community. Such subsequent newspapers’ headlines commenting on the state of British multiculturalism as “Why Multiculturalism Has Failed?”²⁸, “Why the Dogma of Multiculturalism Has Failed Britain?”²⁹, “Cameron: My War on Multiculturalism”³⁰, “The Failure of British Multiculturalism”³¹, and “Has Multiculturalism Failed?”³² must have alerted large sections of the British public opinion about the inconveniencies of the culture of multiculturalism. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, over two-thirds of the British Muslim citizens are

²⁵Ibid., p.76.

²⁶Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p.102.

²⁷Louis Balibar Althusser, *Reading Capital* (London : New Left Books, 1970), p.82.

²⁸Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, “Why Multiculturalism Has Failed?” in www.telegraph.co.uk”, 23 May 2000.

²⁹James Black, “Why the Dogma of Multiculturalism Has Failed Britain?” .in www.dailymail.co.uk.7 July 2006.

³⁰Oliver Wright and Jerome Taylor, “Cameron: My War on Multiculturalism”, in www.independent.co.uk ,15 December 2010.

³¹Soren Kern, “The Failure of British Multiculturalism”, www.gatestoneinstitute.org .11 February 2011.

³²Josh Lowe, “Has Multiculturalism Failed?”, in www.newsweek.com., 24 January 2017.

living under the poverty line³³. However, instead of fighting all aspects of discrimination in employment, housing, education and healthcare, the British Muslim activists further aggravated their isolation and deprivation. Their narrow-minded consensus was composed of a purely religious retaliation that could further marginalize the subjects. The *madrassas* (Q'uranic schools), the Islamic private schools, the unelected short-lived Muslim Parliament and the Islamic political parties could not at all decrease the soaring unemployment rate among the British Muslim community, or improve the educational performance of the British Muslim pupils. About 50 per cent of young British Muslims were unemployed in Oldham, and Bradford ranked 148th in the scholastic test scores of 2001.³⁴ In the same vein, according to the Office for National Statistics, around 33 per cent of British Muslims of working age have no qualifications, the highest proportion of any religious group.³⁵

In their attitude toward the Western ethnocentric attitude of the mainstream British educational system, the British Muslim activists tended to be wrongly 'faithful' to their past. Instead of being politically active within the existing system, they appeared to be pro-active in the sense that they replied with another Eastern closed consensus. As they did not manage to understand that the religious dimension during the mobilization of the Indian Muslims for an independent "Islamic" Pakistan should have been a temporary one, they could not escape yet another "interpellation" in contemporary Britain. Their concentration on the identitarian and the ethnic issues of the communities was at the expense of the vital human needs of many British Pakistani citizens. Among this population, the reliance on religious loyalty will later on become the means to express a sense of deprivation and marginalization.

Internal dynamics

Colonialism is at the root of the confrontation between assimilation and pro-action in the British Muslim case. Some other internal dynamics need to be taken into consideration, however. The growth of British Muslim settlements could give certain advantages, but could simultaneously result in disadvantages to the community there. It is true that British Muslims could find the job opportunities, accommodation and companionship they looked for. They were also grouped together and could eventually develop a sense of community, organize themselves and produce their own leaders, which has negatively fostered a sense of self-seclusion among the community. Besides, their concentration in certain areas seems to have led to other hardships. When the British textile industry collapsed in the late twentieth century, many cities with large numbers of British Muslims, ended up with soaring rates of unemployment which affected whole families and neighbourhoods. In a study published by the Independent Race and Refugee News Network in 2001, it was found that British Muslims living in such areas constituted a string of Britain's most impoverished 1 per cent.³⁶

³³Robin Richardson and Angela Wood, *The Achievement of British Pakistani Learners* (London: Trentham Books, 2004), p.57.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Riazat Butt, "Wanted: Faith in the Future", in www.theguardian.com, 1 April 2008.

³⁶Carol Pakham, "School Exclusion", *Welfare, Exclusion and Political Agency* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.162.

Historically, Britain was a pioneer in building on the importance of universal self evident human rights respecting universal self-evident civil and religious liberties. Britain has already passed and signed up different local and global Acts and Conventions which have to do with civil rights and liberties. For instance, locally it passed the 1679 Habeas Corpus Act³⁷, the 1689 British Bill of Rights³⁸, issued the 1998 British Human Rights Act³⁹ and the 2006 Religious Hatred⁴⁰ Act. At the same time, it ratified Article 2 of the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights⁴¹, the 1953 European Convention of Human Rights⁴², the 1967 International Convention on Civil and Political Rights⁴³ and the 1992 United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities⁴⁴. Theoretically, these commitments protected civil and religious liberties forbade internment without trial and sued incitement of religious hatred.

The average age among the British Muslim population constitutes a characteristic likely to intensify such a pro-active attitude. According to the 2011 census, British Muslim citizens numbered only about 2,70 million of the whole population of the United Kingdom. For the first time, their number topped 3,114,992 million in 2016, 5.4 per cent of the population, compared with just 950, 000 in 1991. However, while British Christians have the highest median age of forty-five, Muslims has the lowest of twenty-five.⁴⁵ Adolescents as they are, these youths can be easily fuelled into releasing their discontent and their despair, as an expression of their dispossession and their growing marginalization, whenever the occasion presents itself. Their resentment crystallizes around loyalty to religion, particularly in response to such white racist groups as Combat18 and the Nazi League, or such extremist political parties as the National Front or the British National Party.

A selection of British newspapers' headlines shows that the problem of integration of British Muslims in relation to Britain's safety has become the focus of media coverage, particularly after the series of global terrorist attacks in the opening decades of the twenty first century. Such suspicion-filled headlines as "UK Newspapers Express Outrage While Calling for Action over Paris Attacks"⁴⁶, "Britain Unveils Plans to Fight Extremism in Young

³⁷ Habeas Corpus Act 1679, in www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/cha2/31/2/confents_

³⁸ British Bill of Rights 1689, in www.britannico.com/topic/bill-of-rights-british-history.

³⁹ British Human Rights Act, 1998, in www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/42/contents.

⁴⁰ Religious Hatred Act 2006, in www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/1/schedule_

⁴¹ United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights Act 1948, Article 2, in www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights.

⁴² European Convention of Human Rights 1953, in www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/1963.Pdf.

⁴³ International Convention on Civil and Political Rights 1967, in www.shch/EN/ProfessionelInterest/EEPF/arp_x.

⁴⁴ Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992, in www.ahch.org/documents/guideMinoritiedeclarationen.Pdf.

⁴⁵ John Bingham, "Number of Muslim Children in Britain Doubles in a Decade", in www.thetelegraph.com, 11 February 2015.

And Lexi Fennigan, "Number of UK Muslims Exceeds Three Million for the First Time", in www.telegraph.co.uk, 31 January 2016.

⁴⁶ Ray Greensdale, "UK Newspapers Express Outrage While Calling for Action over Paris, Attacks", in www.theguardian.com 15 November, 2015.

Muslims”⁴⁷, “Cameron’s Government and British Muslims: a Difficult Relationship”⁴⁸, “Cameron’s Anti-terror Plans Alienate Muslims”⁴⁹, “Political Correctness Is the Incubator of Islamism”⁵⁰, “Great Britain-Worth Saving?”⁵¹, “Quarter of British Muslims Sympathise with Charlie Hebdo Terrorists”⁵², and “This Country is Pro-Muslim. It Is Giving Succor to the Extremists Who Would Destroy Us”⁵³. The whole set have made the whole British Muslims an easy target for Islamophobic attitudes, verbal abuse and physical violence.

External dynamics

The possible rise of the number of European Muslims in the coming decades may account for growing worry and fear among large sections of Western societies. A 2016 Pew Research Centre report found that the number of Muslims living in Europe could reach 30 million under “zero migration”, 7.4 per cent of Europe’s population by 2050. Their number could possibly attain 58.8 million, 11.2 in a “medium migration” scenario, and 75 million in a “high migration” case. Besides researchers found that the possible increase in this number is mostly because European Muslims are on average 13 years younger than other Europeans and have comparatively a higher birth rate.⁵⁴ The increase of the number of European Muslims cannot be ascribed solely to the repercussions of colonialism or immigration. While colonialism certainly has led to the immigration of large waves of Muslim citizens to the continent and has had a significant effect on the Muslim population growth, many researchers have addressed this matter for quite another reason: high conversion rates. A 1999 UN survey showed that between 1989 and 1999, Europe’s Muslim population grew by more than 100 per cent, 4.5 million in France, 3.2 million in Germany, 2 million in Great Britain, and the rest dispersed over Europe as a whole and especially in the Balkans⁵⁵. In France, of an estimated six million Muslims in 2013, about 100,00 are thought to be converts, compared with 50,000 in 1986.⁵⁶ In Germany, at least 20,000 people have converted to Islam in recent years. In Spain,

⁴⁷ Stephen Castle, “Britain Unveils Plans to Fight Extremism in Young Muslims”, in www.nytimes.com, 19 October 2015.

⁴⁸ Matthew Weaver, “Cameron’s Government: and British Muslims : A Difficult Relationship”, in www.theguardian.com, 18 January 2016.

⁴⁹ Newsroom, “Cameron’s Terror Plans Alienate Muslims”, in www.vocfm.co.zo, cameron-anti-terror-plans-alienate-muslims, 12 August, 2015.

⁵⁰ Amil Imani, “Political Correctness Is the Incubator of Islamism”, in www.islammatch.org, 13 July 2005.

⁵¹ Daniel Pipes “Great Britain-Worth Saving?”, in www.writewords.org.uk, 21 November, 2005.

⁵² Matthew Holehouse, “Quarter of British Muslims Sympathize with Charlie Hebdo Terrorists”. *The Telegraph* (17 November, 2015).

⁵³ Melanie Philips, “This Country Is Pro-Muslim. It is Giving Succor to the Extremists Who Would Destroy Us”, *Daily Mail* (8 July 2008).

⁵⁴ Samuel Osborne, “Europe’s Muslim Population Projected to Increase by 50 Million by 2050 in High Migration Scenario”, in www.independent.co.uk, 30 November 2017.

⁵⁵ Haroun Yahia, “Islam: The Most Rapidly Expanding Religion in Europe”, in harunyahya.com/en/Articles/3400/islam-the-most-rapidly-expanding, 2 July 2005.

⁵⁶ Maia de la Baume, “More in France Are Turning to Islam, Challenging a Nation’s Idea of Itself”, in www.nytimes.com, 3 February 2013.

about 50,000 native Spaniards have converted to Islam in the first decade of the twentieth century⁵⁷.

The tolerant atmosphere in Western Europe tends to constitute a safe destination for Muslim immigrants. Some Western European States have opened the gates in front of a large number of Muslim asylum seekers fleeing political persecution in their home countries. For instance, the newer Muslim migrants to Britain are from countries experiencing conflict: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Somalia and Syria⁵⁸. In their adopted countries, these immigrants could take out citizenship and could exercise some religious-political activities with the knowledge and tolerance of Western states. For a long time, North African community organizations and Islamic political groups have exploited the underpinnings of democracy in the French republic. In Britain, the Muslim communities established their own mosques, Q'uranic schools and Islamic political parties under the protection of the law. What is at stake in contemporary Western European societies is the extent of seclusion and self-segregation to which these Muslim organizations have taken their adherents.

The settlement and the rapid growth of the Muslim population in Western Europe have thus caused a great concern among Western policymakers. The economic decline in the continent has affected the political mood within the region. When the European economy went into decline during the mid 1970s after the huge increase in the oil price, the growing unemployment rate negatively influenced the attitude of both European politicians and extremist groups toward immigration. The same scenario took place in Europe after the recent global economic recession. In 2017, the European Commission maintained that "The European economy is in the midst of the deepest recession since the 1930s."⁵⁹ Some governments rushed to stop the stream of immigrants. Each country brought in restrictive laws preventing large-scale immigration, although exceptions were made for close relatives of workers already in Europe. In Britain, the immigration was halted as early as 1981 when the British government decided to control the influx of immigrants into the country.⁶⁰ In Germany, it was not until 1993 that immigration was curtailed. These restrictive measures appeared to have been efficient, but the roots of an Eastern culture, incompatible with the mainstream European societies have been already planted in the continent. Anderson uses the phrase "unbound serialities" to refer to the various thoughts and cultural patterns which are able to build such solidarities among an infinite number of people. He says

Unbound serialities of the everyday universals of modern social thought are typically imagined and narrated by means of the classic instruments of print-capitalism, namely, the newspaper and the novel. They afford the opportunity for individuals to imagine themselves as members of larger than face-to-face

⁵⁷Soeren Kern, "Europeans Increasingly Converting to Islam", in www.gatestoninstoneinstitute.org, 27 January 2012.

⁵⁸"Migrant Crisis: What Is the UK Doing to Help?", in www.bbc.com/news/uk-34139960, 28 January 2016.

⁵⁹European Commission, "Economic Crisis in Europe: Causes, Consequences and Responses", in ec.europa.eu, 27 January 2017.

⁶⁰Richard Skellington, *Race in Britain Today* (London: SAGE Publication, 1996), p.80.

solidarities, of choosing to act on behalf of those solidarities, of transcending by an act of political imagination the limits imposed by traditional practices.⁶¹

In opposition, the growth and popularity of some far-right groups within the Western societies may be another source of anxiety regarding intercultural dialogue. Some extremist members in Western Europe were regular protesters against Muslim workers in the continent. From the 1980s onwards, these people have been accused of causing the soaring rates of unemployment in many Western European countries⁶². In the contemporary context of Western Europe, the situation of intercultural living seems to be more alarming. Far-right groups and organizations have exploited the early twenty-first century events in the United States, Spain and Britain to fuel mainstream Western societies against the dangers the Muslim communities in Europe may pose to their security.

Britain constitutes a part of a whole trend of far-right wing activism sweeping all over Europe. In Germany, nationalistic far-right politics, outlawed since the Second World War reemerged in 2015. The Patriotic Europeans Against Islamic West, known as Pegida, organized mass demonstrations calling for strict controls on Muslim immigration. In France, the Front Nationale won 20 per cent of the vote in the 2015 local elections and Marine Le Pen was one of the two candidates in the second round of the 2017 presidential elections. In Sweden, Sweden Democrats became the third largest party in the 2014 elections. In Denmark, the Danish People's Party dislodged the left from the government in 2016. In Norway, the Progress Party has been a junior partner in government with Conservatives since 2013. In Finland, the Finns Party became the second largest party in the 2015 elections.⁶³ In the 2017 elections, the Dutch Freedom Party won a handful more seats than in 2012⁶⁴. In the United States, Alternative for America was a politically active group in the 2016 election of Donald⁶⁵ Trump.

The anti-Muslim and anti-immigration sentiments swept the European Parliament. In its 2014 elections, far-right parties gained enough seats and had their own bloc, which gave them access to the European Union funding. Led by Marine Le Pen of France's National Front, the group included the Dutch Party of Freedom, Italy's Lega Nord, and the Austrian Freedom Party. It seems that the economic and cultural insecurity are at the root of the emergence of far-right politics in Europe. The euro financial crisis involving Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal struck just as Europe was faced with mass influx of people from the Middle East and Africa seeking asylum as well as a movement from poorer EU countries to

⁶¹Benedict Anderson, *The Specter of Comparison: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (London: Verso, 1998), p.79.

⁶²Humayun Ansari, *Muslims in Britain* (London: Minority Reflects International, 2003), p.9.

⁶³ Andrey Sheehy, "The Rise of Europe's Far- Right", in harvardpolitics.com/world/rise-of-far-right, 11 February 2017.

⁶⁴ Anna Holligan, "Dutch General Election 2017", in www.bbc.com/news, 16 March 2017.

⁶⁵ James Cool, "US Election and the Rise of the Far – Right", in www.bbc.com/news/rlrction-us-2016-37899026, 7 November 2016.

richer ones. Since the global economic crash of 2008 unemployment throughout Europe has jumped from 7 percent to nearly 11 percent and most countries cut benefits⁶⁶.

In Nordic countries, a traditionally renowned spot for generous welfare states, it seems that the incompatibility between immigration and the Scandinavian job market is at the root of anti-immigration sentiments in the region. The increasing fiscal strain that recent influx of immigrants has imposed on generous welfare state systems has given birth to a growing popularity of far-right political parties. As many jobs in these countries require specific skills, only attainable from vocational institutions, immigrants with general or no skills have difficulty finding jobs, which negatively affects generous welfare regimes: these immigrants are not only unable to pay taxes and contribute to the economy, but also, by being unemployed and drawing welfare benefits, they add to the country's fiscal burden. Libertarian economist, Jeffrey Miron says: "We should liberalize immigration because it will restrain the welfare state⁶⁷.

The Western media seem to have a lot to say about the possible future size of the Muslim population in the world. Such newspapers' headlines as "Muslim Population in Party of Europe could TRIPLE by 2050"⁶⁸, "Why Muslims Are the World's Fastest-Growing Religious Group"⁶⁹, "World's Muslim Population More Widespread Than You Might Think"⁷⁰, "World's Muslim Population Will Surpass Christians This Century, Pew Says"⁷¹, "Islam Set to Become World's Largest Religion by 2075, Study Suggests"⁷², and "Islam Will Be Largest Religion in the World by 2070, Says Report"⁷³ could put more pressure on the Western world in its suspicion over the possible growth of religious fundamentalism among the future generations of the Muslim communities.

Possible risks and dangers

The rebirth of the confrontation between the Western explicit and implicit assimilation policies and the Eastern pro-action in a new context was not without a number of risks and dangers to the British society. Too great was the deficiency in fundamental human

⁶⁶Kaiyang Huang, "Immigration and the Nordic Welfare State's Model", in harwandpolicies.com/word/political/economy/immigration-and-the-nordic-welfare-state-model, 1 March 2001.

⁶⁷Julian Coman, "How the Nordic, Far Right Has Stolen the Left's Ground on Welfare?", in www.2015/jul26/scandinavia-far-right-stolen-left-grand-welfare, 26 July 2015.

⁶⁸Alexander Robertson, "Muslim Population in Parts of Europe Could TRIPLE by 2050", in www.dailymail.co.uk, 29 November 2017.

⁶⁹Michael Lipka and Conrad Hackett "Why Muslims Are the World's Fastest-Growing Religious Group?", in www.pewresearch.org, 8 April, 2017.

⁷⁰Drew Desilver and David Masci "World's Muslim Population More Widespread Than You Might Think", in www.pewresearch.org, 31 January 2017.

⁷¹Bill Chappel, "World's Muslim Population Will Surpass Christians This Century, Pew says", in www.wnyc.org, 2 April 2015.

⁷²Olivia Rudgard, "Islam Will Be Largest Religion in the World by 2070, Says Report", in www.thetelegraph.co.uk, 1 March 2017.

⁷³Hurriet Sherwood, "Islam Set to Become World's Largest Religion by 2075, Study Suggests", in www.theguardian.com, 5 April 2017.

ethics in the British Muslim case to be covered by the propaganda of multiculturalism, or to be drowned in spiritual alibis and supplanted by religious and identitarian discourses, thus alienating even more the British Pakistani citizens. A new generation of the community was lost between East and West. British Pakistani youths were torn between the attractions of a Western society and the precepts of their conservative parents, and between the secular mainstream British school system and the rigorous madrasah discipline, the very limited means of their families, and the rising cost of living.⁷⁴ Finding themselves in such a strained situation, the British Muslim youths resorted to religion. Attending religious sermons in mosques, paying frequent visits to Pakistan to learn Arabic and boasting religious knowledge became popular practices among these citizens. Compared with the first generation of the community, the young generation of the British Muslims, were more engaged in keeping close connections with the religious institutions of the Indian sub-continent. Among these citizens, many were idle unemployed youths who devoted their time to worshipping, Q'uran memorization and interpretation.

Some early indications of the repercussions of the long-lasting relation of assimilation and pro-action in the British Muslim case already came to the fore. From April to July 2001, the Northern English towns of Oldham, Burnley and Bradford witnessed violent confrontations between racist gangs and young Asians among whom there was a large number of British Muslim youths. These incidents culminated in the injury of about 200 police officers and an enormous damage in these areas.⁷⁵ The London bombing of July 7th, 2005 in which three British Pakistani youths were said to be involved, caused the death of more than 50 innocent citizens producing a terrible shock to the British people. British Security Services were reported to have foiled a plan to bomb British planes at the Heathrow airport. Accusing fingers were again pointed to the Muslim community in Britain.⁷⁶ The situation is as well alarming after the successive of terrorist events in different parts of the globe, particularly after the "Arab Spring" in the second decade of the twenty-first century. the globally televised scenes, images and reports on the 9/11 attack in the United States, the 2004 Madrid bombing, the 2015 Charlie Hebdo attacks, the 2015 Bardo terrorist acts, the 2017 Brussels tragic scenes, with the ongoing civil wars in the Middle East have all touched upon the future of the world's safety and security and ended up with the Muslims⁷⁷.

The risks and dangers awaiting the entire British society may be more intensified by intra-State conflicts involving the Muslim population throughout the world. Thanks to advances in global communications, local issues in many parts of the world are globalized. British Muslim youths may quickly respond to the broadcasting of confrontation in Palestine, Lebanon, Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, and South Thailand. They may use them to publicize and win support for their own religious-political perspectives. Some radical

⁷⁴ Ehsan Masood, "A Muslim Journey", in www.prospectmagazine.co.uk, 17 August 2005.

⁷⁵ Sarah Sultoon & Graham Jones, "Far-Right Accused over UK Riots", in www.cnn.com, 27 June 2004.

⁷⁶ Cahal Milmo, "Four London Bomb Suspects Appear in Court." *Independent* (9 August 2005): 4. And Arun Kundnani, "From Oldham to Bradford: The Violation of the Violated", in www.faithfreedom.org, October 2001.

⁷⁷ WSNews Graphic, "Timeline: Terror Attacks Linked to Islamists Since 9/11", in graphics.wsj.com/terror-timeline-since-911, 14 November 2015.

Islamic organizations and political parties, such as the Lebanese *Hizbu-Allah*, the Palestinian *Hamas*, the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban, and the Somali *Shabab-al-Mujahideen* now, offer alternative interpretations of events involving the Muslim communities all over the world to those presented by the West-controlled media. Their propagation of liberating “Muslim lands” is thus able to gather support among the disillusioned and the alienated.

Findings

The colonial legacy accounting for the post-colonial rebirth of a long-lasting relation of assimilation and pro-action tends to be only part of the answer regarding the British Muslim case. A combination of some internal and external dynamics needs to be fully considered in the examination of such a currently hot issue. Locally, a domestic economic recession, coupled with a fallacious British multiculturalism as being a disguised colonial and post-colonial assimilationist practice seem to have triggered a British Muslim pro-action among an economically and culturally lost young generation. Taking advantage of a comparatively tolerant mainstream culture, some sections of these citizens have grown ‘religiously’ fundamentalist, engendering a subsequent counter-reaction of anti-immigration and anti-Islam British far-right groups.

Globally, the long-lasting relation of assimilation and pro-action between Britain and some sections of its British Muslim population has been simultaneously under the effects of some other current external dynamics. Post-modern advances in communication technologies have instantaneously covered some intra-State conflicts involving the Muslim communities in different parts of the globe. In many cases, the subsequent feelings of powerlessness and humiliation have engendered another global pro-action among the marginalized and disillusioned European Muslims in the midst of a growing European anxiety toward the possible demographic increase of European Muslims in the few coming years. Additionally, a combination of a recent global economic recession, affecting even some European traditionally generous welfare states, and the emergence of political Islam, particularly after the ‘Arab Spring’ in the Middle East and the North of Africa have boosted the popularity of some European far-right groups and political parties which have simultaneously influenced European mainstream politics and fuelled a global Muslim pro-action.

Conclusion

“Ghosts coming from the past”, to use Karl Marx’s expression, arises to unearth connections between the present and the ill-buried unresolved issues from the colonial past. In the British Muslim case, the confrontation between the assimilationist West and the pro-active East is an issue for which Britain is responsible, and a past from which she can neither disconnect herself, nor liberate her citizens whose ancestors happened to have taken part in its underpinnings. Nevertheless, the past is only part of the answer in the British Muslim case. Some current internal and external dynamics seem to have greatly contributed in the emergence of a possibly everlasting confrontation between a local British mainstream hegemonic drive of assimilation and a local narrow-minded attitude of pro-action among British Muslims ; and between a globally growing mainstream intolerance and a globally reciprocal insularity among large sections of the Muslim world.

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Voices, Looks and School Experiences of Young People in Situation of Deprivation of Liberty

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Abstract

The present study aims at presenting part of a research, carried out with young people in situation of deprivation of liberty, students of the State School Meninos do Futuro, located in the Socio-educational Center of Cuiabá – Pomeri/MT. The theoretical-methodological dialogue that the Critical Realism (BHASKAR, 1998) maintains with the Critical Discourse Analysis (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001; 2003), and the Representation of Social Actors (VAN LEEUWEN, 1997; 2008), brought significant contributions to the accomplishment of this study. It is a qualitative research of ethnographic nature. The analyses clarified through written production and interviews, the relevance of the school, rapport with teachers and meaningful learning. The school proves to be an institution which contributes to humanization and emancipation, providing conditions for social inclusion.

Keywords: Young people, Deprivation of liberty, Public school.

1. Presentation

This study aims at presenting part of a research about the representation of young social actors, students of the State School Meninos do Futuro, located in the Socio-educational Assistance Center of Cuiabá/MT, male internment, in the Pomeri Complex, an institution which belongs to the Department of Justice and Human Rights of the State of Mato Grosso – Sejudh/MT. According to Anchieta:

The Pomeri Complex is the name given to the first Integration Center of Bodies and Powers of Assistance to Children and Adolescents, especially of restriction and deprivation of liberty, of the capital of the State of Mato Grosso. One can see the origin of the name given to the Pomeri Complex.: POMERI, according to some Indigenous ethnicities Ikpeng (Karibe) and in the Xavante society of Mato Grosso, it is a ceremonial where adolescents face a process of 'reclusion' for around eighteen months where they are prepared for the exercise of citizenship in their respective communities (2011, p. 09).

The young people meet socio-educational measures of deprivation of liberty, as stated in the Child and Adolescent Statute – CAS, Law n.8.069, June 13, 1990/Brazil. It is assumed that these subjects, in their utterances, categorically reveal, in their written productions and in interviews, discursive linguistic representations. Therefore, the study aimed, from the students' utterance, to understand the relationship between school, teachers and learning.

The aim is to listen to historically silenced voices, clarifying through the students' reports, the relevance of the school in the life of each one, rapport with the teachers and meaningful learning. Data were generated through the students' written productions as well as the recording of informal interviews and participant observation. Knowing this social context was of fundamental importance to know if in fact, it represents a place of humanization, emancipation or oppression, and may or may not provide conditions of social (ex)inclusion.

The theoretical assumptions underlying this work offered critical-discursive tools to carry out the analysis. The theoretical-methodological dialogue that Roy Bhaskar's Critical Realism hereafter CR, (1998), Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, hereafter CDA, (2001,2003), and Theo van Leeuwen's Representation of Social Actors (1997, 2008) brought significant contributions for the concretization of this research. It is a qualitative research of an ethnographic nature, with priority to understand the daily life where these young people live, from a historical, political, social and ideological point of view.

2. Theoretical-methodological Perspective

2.1 Critical Realism

The Critical Realism, hereafter CR, briefly presented here, started in England, in 1975 and has as exponent the philosopher Roy Bhaskar. The CR is an important theoretical framework for this research, since it is a philosophical movement, especially

the philosophy of science, originally British although it has been disseminated to other countries, including Brazil, through a circle of followers.

Papa (2008, 2009) and Barros (2011) understand that social life is not a closed system. Unlike this, it contains an open system, in which any event is governed by mechanisms or emerging powers which operate simultaneously. In an open system, for instance, it is not possible to identify certain sequences of events, otherwise the experimental activity would not make sense.

According to Papa (2008, 2009) and Barros (2011, 2015), the CR establishes the understanding of the intensity of levels of reality, in which “the causal determinants” are hidden, in which their causal agents and their powers are inserted. Thus, this understanding is guided by various relevant characteristics that relate to the phenomena of the practices of strategy, corroborating prior practices (the “what” of the practice), as a perspective (the “how” of the practice) and as philosophy (the “why” of the practice).

The CR understands that social life is not a closed system. Unlike it, it closes an open system, in which any event is governed by mechanisms or emerging powers which operate simultaneously. In an open system, for instance, it is not possible to identify certain sequences of events, otherwise the experimental activity would not make sense (PAPA, 2008, p. 145)

Thus, human action does not unfold in a structural vacuum, and structures do not constitute an immutable system of positions that subjects simply reproduce. As we have seen, the Critical Realism seeks to transcend the perspectives of the dominant currents of scientific thought and opens a new paradigm of the critical analysis of reality. The assumptions of the Critical Realism, present a conception of transcendence and emancipation as essential elements in the construction of articulated knowledge about social life, especially in relation to micro and macrosocial structures.

2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

In the 1980s, an approach developed by Norman Fairclough, of the University of Lancaster, called Critical Discourse Analysis, emerged in England. In 1992, Norman Fairclough’s book *Discourse and Social Change*, was launched, developing topics poorly grounded on his prior publication, *Language and Power*, showing for the first time his critical theory for the discourse analysis. The Critical Discourse Analysis has been developed and disseminated in Brazil, in post-graduation programs, in the area of social sciences, in several Brazilian universities.

The author developed a method that comprises the composition of discourse as, simultaneously, three dimensions of analysis: text, discursive practice and social practice. Such a triad must be understood as a sole achievement in the functioning of the discourse. These three dimensions have the purpose of establishing a linguistic theory which provides relevant data to the Social Sciences, analyzing the text not only in its structural version, but also in its organizational form, that is, of production and consumption – discursive –, and in its eminently social function, that is, as a common and concrete practice to our daily life.

In this sense, the theoretical-methodological proposal of CAD is based on a transdisciplinary scientific approach to language studies as a social practice. Fairclough (2001) recognized the fundamental value of the dialectics that the discourse establishes with society, constituting, at the same time, social representations, identities, beliefs and knowledge.

Fairclough (2003) chooses to address three main types of meaning – *Actional, Representational e Identificational*. The author relates the multifunctionality of the language to the triad which supports his work: *genres, discourses and styles*, as well as the three main ways in which discourse presents itself as a part of the social practice: *ways of acting, ways of representing, ways of being*.

In this study we will give attention to the representational meaning, taking into account that the discourses include representations of how the events are socially constructed, therefore the discourses, as a way of representation, integrate essential points in the dialectical relationship between language and other components of social life.

2.3. Representation of Social Actors

The theoretical-methodological proposal by Theo van Leeuwen (1997; 2008), the theory of representation of social actors, has been applied as a tool in the critical discourse analysis, disseminating debates. It shows the ways in which social actors can be represented linguistically.

From this perspective, social actors are represented as agents or as patients. However, “there need not to be congruence between the roles that social actors actually play in social practices, and the grammatical roles they are given” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 32). Thus, under the conception of representation of the practice it is possible to investigate the lexicogrammatical choices made, the institutional, cultural and social contexts in which they are realized and, also, the purpose for which these preferences are carried out, inferring their implicit relevance and which plans are achieved.

Van Leeuwen (1997) borrows the expression “social actors” to represent people in a discourse. The author investigates the different ways in which the social actors can be represented in a text. Van Leeuwen (1997) classifies the representation of social actors as a set of linguistic elements which work together and can function to include or exclude people and groups. The ways of representation can be related to the linguistic choices that the subjects make to express their experiences in the world. Thus, the theorist has two essential categories for this representation, called Exclusion and Inclusion.

Exclusion representation occurs when there is suppression or concealment (second plan) of the social actor. In the first, there is no reference, along the text, to the social actors in question. The concealment occurs when the participant is placed in a second plan. In this case, which can be the result of simple ellipses which occurred in infinitive and coordinate clauses, the exclusion is not total, since excluded social actors

may not be mentioned in relation to a certain activity, but they are mentioned in other parts of the text, and can be retrieved.

In the inclusion representation, the social actors are linguistically materialized in the text and can take different roles in this division of social roles. Therefore, it is possible for the social actor not to be the integral agent in the clause, being able to exercise another function according to the linguistic structure analyzed.

3. Methodological Paths

In this study, we opted for the qualitative research, of ethnographic nature. To get the answers to these questions and reach the pursued objectives, the choice was for a methodological theoretical perspective of a critical nature, focused especially on the categories of representation of the social actors cited by Theo van Leeuwen (1997, 2008) and for the discourse, as a social practice, by Norman Fairclough (2001, 2003).

Accordingly, we present the questions that guided the present study: what are the students' representations in relation to school, teachers and learning? How are these representations materialized in the texts? Are there or not (in)congruence present in the students' productions and interviews?

In this sense, the data were generated through a written production, composition with the theme "My School"; a recording of informal interviews; and participant observation. In this study, we sought to group the compositions, the transcriptions of the interviews and field notes, in a way that it would be possible to re-read the material comprising the relations between the data of different sources. Three written productions and three student interviews were selected. It was sought to investigate the linguistic aspects of relevance and verify the various ways the social actors can be represented.

4. Social Actors

The students Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, fictitious names to preserve the identity of each one, are the social actors participating in this research. They are young people between 15 and 17 years of age. Socrates, attends the elementary school in the Meninos do Futuro State School, son of separated parents, drug users, who currently are unemployed. Plato, attends the elementary school Meninos do Futuro State School, was a drug user, is a recidivist and lives with his parents. Aristotle, attends high school, currently lives with his mother, stepfather and a sister.

5. Data analysis

From the analysis of written production and interviews, some categories emerged, such as Relevance of the School: Rapport with Teacher; and Meaningful Learning. Next, we analyze each of these categories and present the analyses of written production of the students Socrates and Aristotle.

5.1 Relevance of the School

The students' written productions reveal how important the school is to them. In

the excerpt from the essay presented below, Socrates expresses his representations in relation to the school unit he attends.

My school here is everything, I was able to overcome my difficulties, learned many things with the teachers that pick on me, because they want to teach the best for me. I believe that if I were in the streets I wouldn't be interested in studying here. (Sócrates, 15 years old, in 20/01/2011).

When talking about the school, Socrates shows its importance in the context of deprivation of liberty. Thus, in the sentence “my school here is everything”, there is exclusion by suppression of the Socio-educational Assistance Center of Cuiabá – Pomeri, because there are no marks in the representation; he excludes the social actor directors, managers, guiding and technical agents as well as the activities performed by them.

In the case of inclusion, we note the relevance of roles attributed to the school, which can be activated or passivated. The activation occurs when the social actors are represented as active in relation to a certain activity, therefore, when referring to the school as “my school is everything”, he shows, in his words, that the school actively participates in his life in the context of deprivation of liberty. Thus, there is inclusion by *activation* in Socrates' words. Activation “occurs when social actors are represented as active and dynamic forces in an activity” (VAN LEEUWEN, 1997, p. 187), that is, the participants are actively involved in the process in question.

Socrates, in stating: “I believe, if I were in the street I wouldn't be interested in studying as I am here”, he uses the adverb of place ‘here’ to identify the school, active and meaningful in the context of deprivation of liberty. We note that the social actor directors, managers, guiding and technical agents of Pomeri are not present in the sentence, they are excluded from the text by suppression; there is no reference to them in any part of the text. Integrated into the sentence, the word “street” means to Socrates the “society” and/or the “community school” refers to the idea of failure, due to the exclusion of the educational environment and by their social conditions. Socrates includes only the school “here” in the context of deprivation of liberty as the only space of freedom as an objective possibility, despite the difficulties posed by the hostile and repressive environment of the socio-educational system.

Aristotle also expresses representation about the school. He wrote:

When you talk about school, you have to talk about the teachers. In the Meninos do Futuro State School there are several professionals able to pass on to me something very important that a man has to have. The character, education, respect, knowledge and I need the subjects. (Aristotle, 17 years old, in 20/01/2011).

In the fragment “when you talk about school, you have to talk about the teachers”, the category of inclusion by *activation* or *passivation* occurs. *Passivation* occurs in the sentence when the social actor is represented as the one who submits to the

activity or is affected by it. In this case, “when he talks about the school”, *passivation* is performed through participation, because the social actor “school” is the center of Aristotle’s speech. Other social actors explicitly represented actively in the young man’s sentence are the teachers: “you have to talk about the teachers”, since the conception of ‘school’, to Aristotle, is restricted to the valorization of teachers in the educational process.

Aristotle, when emphasizing that “in the Meninos do Futuro State School there are several professionals able to teach me something very important that a man has to have”, translates that the social actors are represented by *nomination and categorization*. What differs *nomination from categorization* is the fact that the first represents the participants by their unique individual identity; and the second, represents the participants by functions and identities that they share with other participants. The *nomination*, according to van Leeuwen (1997), is generally recognized by proper nouns, used in a formal or informal way.

Aristotle once again shows, in his words, that the teachings occur simultaneously with the understanding and valorization of the professionals involved in the educational process, in the environment of deprivation of liberty. In this sense, leads us to think that it is in the core of school education that lies the intertwining between the teacher, education and life.

5.2 Rapport with the teachers

In their majority, the written productions, besides revealing the importance of the school, relate affectivity as a way of approachability which enables the construction of knowledge in the classroom. Socrates expresses this in the following excerpt.

I learned many things with the teachers that pick on me. (Socrates, 15 years old, in 20/01/2014).

It can be seen that Socrates reaffirms the relationship between teacher and student, when he states: “I learned many things from the teachers that pick on me”, creating interdiscursivity among the teachers that establish limits and rules, being those the ones considered good teachers. He attributes good education to the teacher that demands respect, maintains the discipline of the group, an attitude considered determinant for the success of learning, highlighted in the excerpt.

I learned a lot from the teachers that pick on me (Socrates, 15 on 20/01/2014).

The lexico-grammatical choices “I learned”, “many things” and “teachers that pick on me” show that in the relationship teacher-student, thus understood, the purely classroom boundaries are exceeded, and this provokes in the elements involved distinct forms of acceptance of the “self” and of the “other” that, undoubtedly, affects their lives in society. The use of the verb “learned” shows that Socrates appropriates of the necessary knowledge about the subjective aspects present in the teacher-student relationship, which modulate the success of the teaching-learning process. By saying “many things”, he values the quantitative impact of this process. However, in the sentence “teachers who pick on me”, the teacher shows himself in the pedagogical

praxis, it is him who regulates the time, the space and the roles of this relationship. It is observed in Socrates' speech, that it is not an authoritarian but rather dialogical relationship, based on meeting the intellectual and affective needs of the students. In this case, the inclusion occurs by *activation* of the social actors "teachers", since they are actively represented in his text.

Aristotle highlights in his text the importance of being treated with love and attention by the teachers:

[...] I get along well with all the teachers, because I realize that they do what they do well and for love. [...]. Their relationships with the adolescents are good. [...] they give us a lot of attention, congratulations teachers of Meninos do Futuro school. (ARISTOTLES, 17 years old, 20/01/2011)

It is interesting to highlight the emphasis the adolescent gives to the issue of approachability of the teachers, supported by affection and care for him and his classmates. When he says, for instance, "All teachers I get on well, because I realize that they do what they do well and for love", Aristotle uses the expression "I get along well" to express his affective bond with teachers. He recognizes the teacher's engagement when he mentions: "do what they do well and for love", attributing love and affection to the pedagogical action of the teachers. In the excerpt "their relationships are good with the adolescents", Aristotle highlights the success of the affective relationship between teachers "they" and students "we". When he says, "they give us great attention", he highlights the concentrated attention of the teachers to the students, showing rapport and respect. The representation of social actors by *collectivization* occurs. Finally, he shows gratitude when he says: "congratulation teachers of the "Meninos do Futuro" school, recognizing the teachers' commitments.

5.3 Meaningful learning

Still in the written production of the students, it is possible to see the meaningful learning, full of meaning and experiential for the students:

Everything I have done I am very happy with what I learned about the studies and I will leave with dignity without owing anything to society not as a young offender but as Socrates. (Socrates, 15 years old, in 20/01/2011).

Thus, in stating "Everything I have done I am very happy with what I learned about the studies and I will leave with dignity without owing anything to society not as a young offender but as Socrates", the young man shows the articulation with the following statements: studies/education and dignity. One highlights that the studies seem to assume an individual meaning for him, related to the idea of liberty, happiness and dignity.

The young man makes it clear that the essence of the school is at the heart of the teacher-student and teaching-learning relation, based on a dialogical and hopeful relationship able to promote changes as a way of intervention in society. In this way, Socrates is represented in the text in an active way, representation taking place by *appointment*, revealing his unique identity. By using the expression "not as a young

offender”, he attributes to himself a passive role, occurring the category of passivation by subjection, since he becomes the subject of passivity. But, when he says “yes as Socrates”, the student marks the need to show a change of attitude towards society, according to Bhaskar (1998, p. 410), at the level of internal structure, empowering himself with autonomy and social emancipation, occurring the representation of social actors by *specification*, by *individualization*. For Socrates, “society” represents the collectivity, in which case *collectivization occurs to treat social actors*.

Socrates introduces himself to the world, that is, shows his ethos (the self-image) of a citizen that fulfilled his responsibilities and is ready for social life. It is noted that the use of *activation* in the place of *passivation*, in the student’s discourse, occurs due to the need for him to be represented discursively as a “dignified” active social subject in a process of transformation, development and progress in “society”. In his text, he makes this relation with school, teachers and learning.

It also reiterates the ideal of learning when he says “I am very happy with what I learned about studies”. When he states “I am very happy”, Socrates expresses his gratitude for what he learned in school and highlights the importance of studying (learning). Ideologically he inspires himself and instils the idea of meaningful learning, embedded in the discursive formation of hope, change and self-transformation. The meaningful learning seems to be a social practice present in the daily life of teachers and students, when he states “I learned about the studies”, enjoying unconditional freedom in the moments of learning and valorization of the studies.

Aristotle revealed interesting aspects about learning:

I work hard to learn what is taught here because I know that the intentions are the best and I know learning and education have to come first. [...]. The works are differentiated for us. (Aristotle, 17 years old, 20/01/2011).

Although he is in a repressive place, Aristotle, in saying “I work hard to learn what is taught here, shows desire to learn, dedication, effort and a self-discipline. When the young man refers to himself, he uses the pronoun “me”; in this way, the representation of the social actor by beneficiation occurs. It is a way of the young man to become evident in the discursive event, whose identity is strengthened, in an effective way, internalized by values, beliefs and desires.

In saying “what is taught here”, he shows the importance of the teaching-learning process in the Meninos do Futuro State School. One may notice the relevance of the teacher in promoting meaningful learnings. In this case, the inclusion of the social actor “school” occurs by activation and exclusion by suppression of the social actor Pomeri.

When concisely stating “because I know the intentions are the best”, he refers to the good practices of the teacher, who sustains in the classroom the valorization of the social and affective dimension in the relationship with the students, since the wealth of the pedagogical relationship is based, regardless of the context in which the school is inserted in the dialogic ways of interaction. Aristotle, in stating “I know I need

learning”, reinforces a positive / consensual evaluation of the importance of school education. He recognizes that “education must come first”, so that he can assert his right to citizenship, expectations that the inmates show in relation to the access to knowledge and improvement of living condition, when released.

It is also observed, in the fragment under analysis, “the works are differentiated for us”, that the young man recognizes that the pedagogical actions of the school are supported by more democratic, citizen and emancipatory practices, based on significant pedagogical proposals for the adolescents undergoing socio-educational measures.

Aristotle, even studying at a community school, makes some considerations on the meaningful learning at Meninos do Futuro State School.

The fragments analyzed contribute to the demonstration that the school within the Socio-Educational System has fulfilled its role of providing knowledge and affectivity.

6. Some considerations

Although I am in a very repressed and isolated place, whose walls are the materialization of the separation between the free community and young people in a situation of deprivation of liberty, serving as barriers to prevent escape, but also as a symbol of rejection from society, the students, in their speeches, pointed to the importance of the school, the space where they can take advantage of the time to acquire knowledge and where they meet and can make new friends, living with other people, which favors companionship. In the representation of these “voices”, the school is referred as a place where they like to be, a commitment in favor of freedom and a possibility to change their lives.

The young people show, in the written productions, a critical and positive perspective in relation to school, teachers and the teaching-learning process through meaningful learning, highlighting that their organization contributes to their humanization and social insertion. Therefore, in view of the results achieved, it can be inferred that the young people like the school, feel welcomed, in the condition of subjects who participate in the reflection of the world and their own history, taking responsibility for their acts and the changes they make happen. The school was identified by the student as a place of communication, of personal interactions, where he can show himself without masks, it seems, therefore, as an opportunity for socialization, in so far as it offers him other referential possibilities for construction of his identity.

It is observed that, in the speeches of students of the Meninos do Futuro State School, that the school is a pleasant place, capable of contributing to the young people’ lives in a situation of deprivation of liberty and society in general, through meaningful and participative learning and coexistence based on the valorization and development of the other and themselves. The school, in this context, can become an opportunity for inclusion. It is important that its structure and pedagogical actions ensure an education which seeks the emancipation and social transformation.

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The Emergence and the Use of Indigenous Tanzanian Music traditions in Christian Worship in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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Abstract

This paper discusses delineates how indigenous music traditions were introduced and eventually became the main staple of Dar es Salaam-based Christian churches in Tanzania. It argues that cultural revivalism of indigenous forms of music in church helped to transform Christian worship, shape people's experiences and spread the church in general. It begins by establishing the functions of music in traditional pre-colonial contact African societies and during the introduction of Western Christian faith. Moreover, it shows how the new Christian faith, in turn, also shapes the music traditions in contemporary Christian worship in Tanzania. Finally, the paper discusses the extent to which this music brings new changes in contemporary Christian churches in Dar es Salaam.

Keywords: indigenous music tradition, Christian church worship, indigenous Tanzanian music traditions, cultural revivalism, Tanzanian music, Tanzanian church music.

1. Introduction

Before proceeding with the major discussion of the main issue, it is worth conceptualising what indigenous Tanzanian music traditions entail. It is also important to explore from the start the concept of 'music tradition'. The term "music" as widely used, we must fully realise, is a largely Western-derived concept that refers to organised sounds that cause an aesthetic affect. This does not mean there are no comparative terms in African communities. In fact, somewhat comparable terms refer to the sounds performed by African people and are owned by African societies that function for African people. In Africa, the term 'music' relates most frequently to the sounds that focus on social needs. These ideas are supported by Nketia (1979), Dibango (1991), Gunderson (2010) and Agawu (2003), who insist that African music in its various manifestations is made up of ordered sounds in the image of Africa.

Some African scholars define African music, basically, as the music performed by Africans. Nketia (1979) is of the view that African music-making is generally organised for events that take place during African social occasions. The performers are members of the community or a group of that community who come together for enjoyment or recreational activities of particular music. The nature of African music performance is based on accompanying different activities in the sense that it is not music just for listening to. African music originates from the African community and is an integral part of the community. In fact, it is community music. Also, African music allows different ranges of performers, young and old, skilled and unskilled, to partake in addition to providing for spontaneous and authentic expression of emotion. This understanding is important in understanding the place of African music even long before Christianity came knocking on the doors of any African society.

Similarly, significant is to understand what 'Indigenous Tanzanian music tradition' means. This concept largely refers to the local music that originated from the country's ethnic music. This music existed before the colonial intrusion and is still being performed in the rural areas. Normally, this music is built upon Tanzanian rhythms, as it is not necessarily borrowed from internationally-common usage (Merriam, 1981:141). In this article therefore, it presents an identifiable Tanzanian ethnic sound and includes a diversity of ethnic traditional dances (*ngoma*) and songs (*nyimbo*) (Askew 2002 and Mkallyah 2015) that accompany rituals, story-telling and recitations.

On the whole, indigenous music has been studied by different scholars in Africa. Talking about music in African communities, Nketia (1974) Agordoh (1994) Agawu (2003) and Gunderson (2010) suggest that the power of uniting the people in the society is contained within African indigenous music. They say that African music is usually organised as a social event at social functions where a group of members of a community come together for enjoyment or leisure, and for recreational activities. Through these activities people are bound together as they also share different ideas and socio-economic activities.

2. Theorising cultural revivalism

I build on Kwame Gyekye's (1997) construing cultural revivalism as "efforts by formerly colonised subjects to overcome a certain consciousness or complex implanted by colonialism, usually referred to as colonial mentality that made them overvalue modes of thoughts." When the missionaries came in Africa and Tanzania in particular they introduced New Christian faith whereby Western culture such as hymns were used in sermon and African music was prohibited. Missionaries who was also the argment of colonial rulers made Africans to believe that Western culture was superior and accepted by the God and African culture include indigenous music tradition was barbaric and evil. Therefore, it was not acceptable in Christian church worship. This notion undermined Africans thoughts as well as African culture in general. Although Indigenous music tradition was undermined by colonialists, slowly it become emerged in Christian church worship due to efforts done by Africans to awaken the colonialists to understand what does African music mean. Therefore, the use of cultural revivalism in this article views on two sides one, the efforts done by missionaries or colonialists to undermine indigenous music traditions; and second, the process of liberalising African thought by making them free in their own land. This process adopts the ideas of the first president of Republic of Tanzania Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere on reviving Tanzanian culture in 1962. He advocates that "the country's resolve to revive Tanzanian culture including Traditional music, marginalised and often treated with contempt during the colonial period" (Mkallyah 2015). This will be observed through emergence and the use of indigenous music tradition in Christian church worship.

3. Function of Indigenous Tanzania Music Tradition in pre-colonial contact

One can even go a step farther and proclaim that indigenous Tanzanian music traditions are intrinsic to the Tanzanian experience. Indeed, they have a cultural aspect that cannot be separated from the identity of a Tanzanian. Moreover, as an aspect of culture, music is a dynamic culturally-relative element. Talking about the work music performed in Sukuma society, Gunderson (2010) states that music plays a major role in labour as well as in identifying culture. In labour, music helps to energise otherwise tiring workers and instead encourages them to work for elongated periods. By doing so, people become entertained and encouraged to work tirelessly. In many Tanzanian societies, music traditions are also used to teach and help people work in different activities, as well as entertain them (Mapana, 2007).

The centrality of these indigenous Tanzanian music traditions naturally also made them an integral part of the cultural rites of passages such as initiations that allow a child to progress from childhood to adulthood (Mapana, 2007). These rites bring changes of behaviour. These music traditions are also used to pass on knowledge from one generation to another. They also help to shape people's behaviour. When people in society misbehave, music is frequently used to remind them of the value of good behaviour (Mluma, 1983). Older Tanzanian music traditions were used to educate the people as well as maintain love and harmony in society (Khamis 2004, Mapana 2007 and Sanga 2017).

Another area where such music plays a significant role in society has to do with weddings. Mkallyah (2005) states many traditional African forms such as traditional dances,

story-telling, recitations and songs are commonly used in weddings. During the field, the researcher observed two weddings from Wamatengo and two from Wahaya. Among the Wamatengo, the *lindeku* dance and songs are performed during community ceremonies such as weddings, or when people gather to drink local brew. In many Tanzanian societies, weddings are at the centre of human activity, knowledge, values and society belief transmitted from one generation to another (Agordoh 1994). It is a coming-of-age process in which every human being in a society takes part. Among the Wahaya, all the members of society participate in wedding ceremonies. Applicable wedding music covers the whole process of marriage (Maburuki, 1998). There are also songs specifically meant for the bridegroom and songs for the actual wedding celebration.

Such music has also been known to bring solidarity in society and mobilise people in different activities, including fighting. Kapinga (2009) notes that the battle music of the Wahehe played a significant role in spurring them on to gallantly continue fighting. Indeed, the war songs function to mobilise soldiers for war and encourage them to fight heroically, oftentimes against the odds. The Hehe use the *kiduo* dance, which is performed when the fighters celebrate their victory. Also among the Wanyamwezi, music played the same role for the Milambo soldiers (Nketia, 1974) and the song “*oh Sase jabela mitwe*” is specifically used to celebrate victory. Furthermore, various scholars have discussed the social effects of music in Tanzania. These have included Songoyi (1983), who discussed musical effect on social change among the Wasukuma and Teri (1983), who examined the effects of music in emotionally consummating a marriage during wedding ceremonies of the Wachagga. All these studies attest to the value of Tanzanian music traditions.

Even more significantly, Tanzanian music traditions have been identified as major means to recognize the country’s cultures. Liwewa (2009) observes that the Wamakonde still cherish and uphold their cultural values because of their ability to harmonise religion, music healing and cultural beliefs such as myths, taboos and customs. The use of music in healing helps to identify the Umakonde culture. In this regard, the process of curing physical, psychological and biological ailments combine with religious verses, herbs and spirit powers. Moreover, Nketia (1974), Gyekye (1997), Mapana (2007), Askew (2002), Barz (1997) and Sanga (2010) have written about the identity of culture in Tanzanian societies.

What this presentation demonstrates is that the social functions of Tanzanian music traditions in older religious traditions have been of paramount importance in most Tanzanian communities (Sanga 2008 and Fargion 2013). The Wamakonde, Liwewa (2009) explains, value healing-music as an important element of society because of the power of the musical sound (i.e. loud dynamics, strong accentuation and strong feeling of beat which forces the body to follow specific musical idea). It is this musical power, which is associated with the process of healing among the Wamakonde already described. Indeed, this music is believed to help relax tense body muscle, hence providing the energy the soul needs to become active and overcome an ailment. When the energy of music is sustained with variations, intensity of vibrations, the confrontation of the body makes the feeling of ill-health go away. The tiredness of the body is further re-tuned

to normality through the sound of music. In this regard, the Wamakonde believe that the use of healing music helps to maintain social as well as religious beliefs.

On the whole, music in indigenous religious traditions played and plays a decisive role in instructing people, specifically the youth, on morality and other social issues. It familiarises them with social values and communally-accepted norms and attitudes (Kidula 2013). During wedding celebrations among the Haya, music is also used to educate the youth as well as older community members on taking care of their families. Music also reminds men of their social obligations and responsibilities as heads of their respective families and women as family care-givers. The youth, on the other hand, are taught how to obey and help the elders in different socio-economic activities. Thus, music was a major means through which members of the society were instructed from one generation to another on their societal beliefs and values (Lihamba, 1985). In older religious traditions, music is also used as a medium through which the history and religious beliefs of various ethnic groups and clans were handed down to successive generations (Sanga 2008 and Mkallyah 2016). Among the Nyamwezi and Sukuma, when a woman gives birth to twins, special music *mbina ya mabasa* is performed at the house. These societies use music performance to preserve and develop the history and societal beliefs of the culture. Generally, older religious music traditions serve as a symbol, an identity and a backbone of Tanzanian societies handed from one generation to another (Mkallyah, 2005). This was the scenario that existed long before the advent of Christianity and Western Christian music.

4.0 Introduction of Western Christian faith

4.1 Foreign Music and the History of Christian Church Music

Eventually, with the missionaries coming to Africa foreign music was introduced on the African shores. Foreign music in the history of church music in Tanzania may be observed through the influences of two major groups: the Christian missionaries in their attempt to win over African converts when spreading their religious beliefs and ways, and the colonialists in a more direct, forceful way, trying to control all the aspects of cultural thought of the indigenous peoples. In consequence, both of these externally-induced forces have contributed to the present state and traditions of Christian church music in Tanzania.

In fact, the missionaries, who established the Christian faith in Tanzania in 18th century, also imposed Western music on African convents and other institutions of religious learning (Barz, 1997). The missionaries used Western hymns in their prayers. Before doing any work in the morning, they usually met together and prayed. In health centres, before taking care of patients, doctors, nurses and the patients were required to pray and sing hymns (Mchome, 1992). Music was a part of treatment because the agent of missionaries, who also were the doctors and nurses, used to make the patients believe that without prayers and singing hymns there was no effective treatment (Munga, 1975). Indeed, Barz (1997) asserts that music had a dual effect: it helped to spread the Christian faith and was also used to heal people. For example, the nurses helping the sick believed that through prayers and hymn singing they received knowledge regarding how to treat and care for the patients. Consequently, people believed that they were

healed through music. After prayers, some Christians also used hymns while walking, cleaning the surroundings and cooking. Slowly the hymns started to spread the Christian faith among Africans. Non-Christians who attended health centres, dispensaries or hospitals also gradually joined in the prayers and later became converted as well (Baur 2005).

Singing hymns was also regarded as an emblem of being 'civilised' in the community (Douglas, 1963). A person who used hymns in one's daily activities was regarded as a 'sophisticated' and 'educated' person. As a matter of fact, Africans who used hymns and dressed in trousers and shirts and combed their hair in 'modern' fashion were considered 'trained' and enhanced their chances of getting a job from the missionaries and work in convents or for colonial officers. Generally, during the colonial period (officially dated as 1887-1961), the colonial establishment in Tanzania increased the role of hymns in prayers as well as in the community (Barz, 1997). After all, as noted earlier, many of colonialists were Christians by religion and, therefore, they used hymns in their prayers. The colonialists used to pray in the mornings and evenings. They also built churches at each of the colonial headquarters, where they prayed. Church hymns were also used in some of the colonial music entertainment locations (Douglas, 1963 and Sanga 2017). Through entertainment, many African servants also sang hymns and later became converted (Weman, 1960).

Western music, especially hymn-singing, was a technique deployed by the colonialists to spread colonial culture in Tanzania. Since the colonial administrators gave priority to Africans who imitated their manner of dress and behaviour in providing employment opportunities, it was only natural that many of the Africans who also wanted a bit of modernity tried to follow suit. Moreover, the colonial administrators also used educated people as puppets they employed to explain the colonial ideology to Africans (Lihamba, 1985 and Sanga 2017). They also informed colonialists on the information they needed on Africans such as the fertile land, mineral areas and tax-evaders (Mluma, 1983). In this regard, the hymns were also deployed to consolidate colonial power.

Colonial intrusion in Tanzania played a significant role in spreading hymns as well as the Christian faith through the schools they introduced for the African elites. To get the public servants they needed, the colonial administrators introduced schools alongside those of missions where Africans were educated. In these schools, Africans learned about European culture, with the hymns being taught and sung by all students as part of their education. African students were not allowed to sing African songs, which were then considered barbaric, since they were required to graduate praying and praising the European culture (Douglas, 1963). At home, the students attempted to convert their parents to European culture and ways. They also taught them how to sing the hymns they had learned at school, how to pray, how to dress like the Europeans. Such indoctrinations further helped to change their mind-sets and paved way to their conversion to the Christian faith and the colonial system. Tanganyika's new president, Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere, when addressing the new Parliament on 10 December 1961, said:

Some of us, particularly those of us who acquired a European type of education, set ourselves to prove to our colonial rulers that we had become 'civilised', and that we meant that we had abandoned everything connected with our own past and learnt to imitate only European

ways....when we were at school we were taught to sing the song of the Europeans. How many of us were taught the songs of the Wanyamwezi or of the Wahehe? Many of us have learnt to dance the 'rumba' or the 'chachacha', to 'rock 'n'roll' and to 'twist' and even to dance the 'waltz' and the 'foxtrot'. But how many of us can dance, or have heard of the 'gombe sugu', the 'mangala', the 'kongo', 'nyanguumumi', 'kiduo' or 'lelemama?' [A] lot of us can play the guitar, the piano or other European musical instruments. How many Africans in Tanganyika, particularly among the educated, can play the African drum?

Through school hymns and other means, colonial power spread to individual families. This situation helped to expand the colonial system and the Christian faith and, simultaneously, undermined African cultural traditions.

The missionaries and colonialists shaped African people's minds through their education of Africans. Before the advent of European colonialists and missionaries in Tanzania, the means of passing knowledge on from one generation to another was the responsibility of community elders (Mlama, 1983; Lihamba, 1985; Agordoh, 1994; Nketia, 1979). After the penetration of colonialists and missionaries, Africans started to depend on the new colonial institutions. Some of the hymns sung in the colonial education institutions praised the colonialists as the good rulers who were accepted by God (Lihamba, 1985). In schools and other education institutions, brass bands were started in which hymns were also popular. Moreover, European anthems were taught in schools to enable African students to sing and praise the colonial rulers. Later, the European anthems were also used during church worship. Thus, missionaries and colonialists complemented each other. In fact, the more the colonialists expanded, the farther the influence of Christian churches spread.

One also notes that the introduction of the Christianity in Tanzania played a significant role in undermining African culture including, specifically, indigenous music. The colonialists and missionaries from the outset denounced African dances and songs as barbaric and devilish (Mlama 1983). As a result, the converted Africans were prohibited from performing indigenous music because indigenous songs were synonymous with pagan songs and were associated with evil. As such, indigenous music was prohibited in a Christian environment. Out of ignorance and lack of understanding, the missionaries and colonial administrators found African indigenous music meaningless to them and, instead, emphasised European hymns during the colonial period (Mlama, 1983; Lihamba, 1985). This was a technique used by the colonial administrators to promote European culture in Tanganyika.

Moreover, the use of hymns by Africans was responsible for the entrenchment of European languages. Although Africans did not understand what they sang, they started to learn foreign languages such as English. In other words, the missionaries and colonialists used the singing hymns as a technique for encouraging Africans to learn new languages (Mkallyah, 2005). In spreading Christianity, the missionaries themselves faced various problems such as the language barrier that made Africans fail to understand what they preached and sang in the hymns. To solve this problem, the missionaries learned African languages and thus were able to understand African culture much more meaningfully. Some of missionaries and church administrators started to learn African languages. For example, Hyslop who served as Anglican

Church administrator in East Africa specifically Tanzania and Kenya learnt different African languages such as Turkana, Akamba and Giriama (Odwar 2005). He also started to translate hymns into African languages such as Kiswahili (Barz, 1997; Odwar 2005). The translation of hymns into African languages introduced a different system of cultural values. It brought European culture into African culture. By understanding the meaning of the hymns, many Africans started to sing hymns and later became converted. In addition, many church books, particularly hymn books, were written in Kiswahili. With the translation of European hymn books into Kiswahili, it was easy to distribute the hymns to different Tanzania Christian denominations (Barz, 1997). Simple hymns were also adapted by new political choirs formed during that period.

The understanding of African culture and traditions loosened the hard-line the missionaries had initially taken against Africans and their ways. Eventually, the use of Tanzanian music traditions started blending with foreign music materials and brought about changes in the contemporary church music used in Tanzania. Barz (2004) observes that the adaptation and transformation occurring in the system of music aesthetics entailed that contemporary Lutheran choirs, for example, remained flexible to accommodate changes. The transformations occurred in the form of music elements such as melody, harmony, scale and instruments. Presently, some Tanzanian church choirs use brass instruments, guitars or keyboards (organs) to accompany their songs (Sanga, 2006a: 252).

4.2 Indigenous Tanzania Music Tradition during the Christian Faith

The transformation in the church, however, was gradual. As already noted, during the introduction of Christian churches in Dar es Salaam, there was confusion and a general misunderstanding regarding the use of indigenous Tanzanian music traditions during Christian worship. The missionaries did not understand Tanzanian music traditions, their usage, functions, and performance in general due to their failure to comprehend African music and misconceptions about things African. This problem primarily stemmed from the missionaries' attempt to define African music using Western concepts, beliefs and aesthetics. And yet, African music is, indeed, different in terms of the way it is composed, performed, used and even the way it elicits participation, let alone its functions (Askew 2002 and Gunderson 2013). The missionaries' negative attitude towards indigenous African music tradition was also detrimental to the development of African culture following the advent of Christianity and colonialism.

African converts persons, who were caught singing indigenous songs or found participating in African performances such as rituals, dances and weddings, were branded as sinners who had to confess their sins. Munga (1975:211) explains the African response to Western Christian religion thus:

The important point to remember is that in their approach, the Western Christian missionaries had the attitude that Western European culture was superior to African culture. This attitude was concomitant with the denigration of African culture by the Western Christian missionaries. Hence the refusal of the Western Christian missionaries to accept... the use of any African musical instruments as accompaniments in singing of songs and

hymns in churches, to mention only a few practices among that were not acceptable to the missionaries.

Ignoring indigenous Tanzanian music traditions in Christian churches pandered to the designs of missionaries and colonialists bent on developing Western culture in Tanzania at any cost. The Christian Church was thus both a religious and a Western cultural institution that imposed Western cultural values and practices on Tanzanian Christian converts. The Africans—who accepted Christianity—were also compelled to accept Western cultural values and practices. Consequently, the introduction of Christianity was to a large extent responsible for inculcating Western hymns in Africans, and eventually ended up undermining indigenous Tanzanian music traditions (Mlama, 1983; Mkallyah, 2005; Mapana, 2007). Barz (1997:145-146), discussing the performance of religious and social identities, writes:

The seeds for the colonial penetration of East Africa were planted initially in the Lutheran and Roman Catholic missions and schools. Music was used from the beginning in the indoctrination and the teaching of Western ideology...These choruses were used to “attract” younger children to the religious education offered by the missions with the ultimate goal of conversion to Christianity.

It was not until missionaries started to learn African languages that things started to change for the better for African as the missionaries’ distaste for African culture dissipated and slowly traditional dances and songs were introduced in the church surroundings. Eventually, different African performances such as traditional dances, rituals, story-telling and recitations started being accommodated during church ceremonies. Later, indigenous Tanzanian music traditions were also performed during the actual church worship and traditional dance songs became part of the tunes in the liturgy. On this point, Rweyemamu and Msambure (1989:23) attest:

The missionaries also found music to be one of the important means of making people active in worshipping God... A lot of enchanting old European melodies, more often mingled with African tune and rhythm were modified so as to form Church music and were taught to the people.

In fact, the change of heart on the missionaries worked for the better. They found that the incorporation of traditional music could help them as they resorted to the use different techniques to convert people, particularly in areas where the people resisted embracing Christianity due to the cultural barrier. Among the Wamakonde, for example, it was difficult to introduce Christianity due to polygamous traditions and the application of traditional medicines. Therefore, missionaries incorporated elements of indigenous rites in Christian ceremonies and tried to integrate indigenous ceremonies so that they could serve Christian ends. Gradually, the missionaries used indigenous music and other traditional ceremonies such as dances to serve the church (Kidula 2013). Moreover, converted Makonde children underwent initiation in a way similar to their pagan age-mates but the accompanying celebrations, such as the *mapiko* masquerade, dances and songs would take place on the mission square (Weman 1960; Mkallyah 2005).

Although missionaries helped improve the health of Africans by building free hospitals, health centres and nursing colleges, the imposition of Western music on African churches and health centres initially undermined African cultures and practices. Over time, however, Africans employed in these church-run institutions started to use indigenous tunes even when they used Western instruments and the resultant tunes eventually reached the ears of missionaries. As Barrett (1971:33) quoted by Barz (2003) points out, “The traditional talent for music creativity began to emerge again. First, Christian words were set to traditional tunes; then completely new compositions were produced.”

5.0 Christian Faith and Cultural revivalism in Tanzania

5.1 How the New Christian Faith Shapes the Music Traditions in Contemporary Christian Worship in Tanzania

After Tanzania attained its political independence from Britain in December 9th, 1961, music in many churches took a new turn. Nation-building in the new nation rekindled by the nationalistic fervour and euphoria also entailed reviving and developing Tanzanian cultures shunted to the margins by the missionaries and colonial administrators. The neo-African government emphasised African dances, songs and arts in general. In his bid to revive Tanzanian culture, the first president of Tanganyika and later Tanzania, Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere, formed the Ministry of Culture responsible for reviving and developing Tanzanian culture that, naturally, included the revival of indigenous music.

It was time for all Tanzanians to be proud of and recapture the African traditions that were hitherto largely undermined by Europeans and missionaries in general. Also, independence brought a change in people’s minds whereby African cultural expressions, specifically music that was ignored by the missionaries and their agents, now seemed meaningful in both the political and church arenas. In different parts of Tanzania indigenous music was used in different political choirs, schools and colonial institutions. It was also time missionaries and local composers began to modify European hymns more freely by adopting local melodies and including African traditions.

This was the first step in the emerging and incorporation of indigenous music in church services and considered it as part of the religious repertoire. The local melodies were rearranged and written in church hymn books (Barz 1997). In 1945, in the Lutheran church, for example, *The Christian Book Songs* and *Sing to the Lord* were published in Kiswahili using African local melodies. For the Roman Catholic followers, the Mass of “Our Father” composed by Fr. Stephen Mbunga in 1958 used traditional melodies from Songea (Sanga, 2006a, 2013).

The heightened awareness of Tanzanians on using indigenous music in different activities brought about the desired changes in church worship. Subsequently, different styles of indigenous Tanzanian music traditions emerged in church worship (Mkallyah, 2005). Moreover, African music instruments such as drums, shakers, whistles, and bells were used to accompany Tanzanian music traditions when performed in church worship (Sanga, 2006a).

The use of Tanzanian music traditions in church worship also played a significant role in the expansion of the Church in Tanzania (Kidula 2013). Through performances of Tanzanian music traditions, non-believers were allowed to attend mass as part of taking part in the performance. In the process, the pagans were accorded an opportunity to listen to the word of God and learn about the Christian practices and thus revisited their misgivings about Christians. Such exposure increased the conversion rate among non-Christian believers. In other words, the use of Tanzanian music traditions had the effect that even the missionaries had not envisaged. Barz (1997:146), when discussing the music and mission in his study of the performance of religious and social identity, notes:

Music was used from the beginning in the indoctrination and the teaching of Western ideology....These choruses were used to 'attract' younger children to the religious education offered by the missions with the ultimate goal of conversion to Christianity.

Moreover, the translation of the Bible into vernaculars that went together with indigenous music brought many Africans to church. The Gospel was also preached in vernaculars such as Kinyakyusa, Kinyamwezi, Kipare, Kichagga, and Kisukuma (Mchome, 1992). Furthermore, indigenous tunes which were sung in vernaculars were used to support Gospel preaching in church worship. This made the African church members feel that they were in their own land and made them uphold the church (Mbiti, 1968, Sanga 2013, Mkallyah 2016). In addition, Western hymns were translated into vernaculars and used in Christian church worship. African music instruments were also used to accompany translated Western hymns. Sometimes, both Western and African music instruments were used to accompany translated Western music (Sanga, 2006a; Mapana, 2007). Afterwards, the new song books (mention its title) of traditional tunes were written in the vernacular, and later Kiswahili were used in church worship (Barz, 1997).

Generally, the use of Tanzanian music traditions in church worship was initially limited. Until then, indigenous Tanzanian music traditions were not considered relevant to or appropriate in church worship by the missionaries. This negative attitude towards African traditions and cultures made the Africans feel inferior in their own land and in their own African Christian worship (Mbiti, 1968, Askew 2002 and Gunderson 2013). Thus, concerted efforts by the Tanzania post-independence government to revive African culture and raise the awareness of Tanzanians on the use of Tanzanian music traditions in different activities, including the church, helped to bring about a big change not only in the attitudes of Tanzanians but also in re-orientating church worship so that it was not more receptive to the integration of African traditional values and music traditions.

5.2 Music used by the Four Christian Denominations

Although historically Christian churches, in general, introduced Western hymns, each denomination had different ways of using music. Generally, Church music tends to be in tandem with the church's theological point-of-view. As each Christian denomination has a different theological orientation, the music allowed in church during worship can also differ. In the Lutheran Church, for example, indigenous Tanzanian music traditions are used in the church service (Sanga 2001, 2006a; Mkallyah, 2005, 2016). Discussing the performance of spirituality and disaffection of choirs in Lutheran churches, Barz (1997:402) mentions the sources of music

used in church services as European hymnody, traditional Tanzanian/East African rhythmic and melodic elements, West- and Southern-African Choral singing traditions, African-American spirituals and Gospel music. These music traditions were performed during the service, at Gospel meetings, concerts, festivals such as Cantante Domino and Lutheran church competitions.

In the Anglican Church, music is an integral part of the service. Mapana (2007) observes that the *muheme* tradition is one of the music traditions used in the Anglican Church worship. Moreover, Peterson (2006) makes the same observation with regard to the indigenous Tanzanian music traditions used in Anglican Church worship based on the Wagogo music traditions, that is, in addition to the conventional Western hymns. Modern or popular music performed by the youth also features in the Anglican Church services.

It is also true in the case of the Roman Catholic Church that music plays a big role in fulfilling the service. Many scholars have noted that indigenous Tanzanian music traditions are one of the music traditions used in the church (cf.). Mbunga (1968) supports this idea by mentioning the music used in Catholic services. The Mass, for example, used a tune from Songea in southern Tanzania. To make contemporary Tanzanian church service more Tanzanian, Fr. Malema (1990: iv) said he collected different Tanzanian ethnic tunes, rearranged and published them in the book entitled *Nyimbo za Kikwetu*, which is now used during the Roman Catholic Church services in Tanzania. Moreover, Sanga (2001; 2006a) notes that as in the Roman Catholics believe in the Holy Trinity, and call on the Virgin Mary in their prayers, the music so composed for use in the church also offers praise to the Virgin Mary.

The Pentecostal group of churches, including the Assemblies of God, has different theological lines of thought from that of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and the Anglican Church. For example, the church ignores the Eucharist celebration and their music is not based on the Eucharist. Nevertheless, in the Assemblies of God, music is also used to fulfil the needs of the service. In fact, different scholars have noted that different music genres have been used in church worship of this denomination. Barz (1997) and Kidula (2013) confirm that African music and popular music were used in worship in this church. In addition, African music instruments accompanied translated Western hymns. Sometimes, both music instrument types, Western and African, are deployed in singing translated Western music, indigenous Tanzanian music and popular music (Sanga, 2006a; Mapana, 2007).

5.3 The Emergence of Newer Tanzanian Music Traditions in the Church

With renewed verve, once-derided Tanzanian music traditions became a mainstay of the Christian worship in local churches. This explains why it was imperative to establish in this study an understanding of the emergence of the use of Tanzanian music traditions in the Church, particularly considering how initially African music traditions were treated with contempt by early missionaries. Indeed, Mkallyah (2017, 2016), Peterson (2006), Barz (1997), Semzaba (1983), Mlamba (1983) and Lihamba (1985), all highlight the fact that colonialists and missionaries destroyed African performing arts by treating African artists and their works of art as barbaric. As a result, African music traditions could not enter, let alone, survive in the early

mission churches. Ranger (1994) observes that it was very difficult for African worshipers to understand and obtain the anticipated “religious” feelings from Western hymns. Ranger (1994: 285-286) quotes Thomas as saying, “The missionaries came in our village; they sang and preached but we did not understand what it meant”. Barz (1997), Sanga (2006a) and Mbunga (1963) make similar observations.

But the transformation in the church over time was far-reaching. Martin (2000), for example, mentions different foreign styles that have been incorporated in contemporary music of Tanzania, which have also become popular in Christian churches. These include Congolese Jazz, Cuban Rumbas, other Latin American styles and even Hip Hop. Some of the elements from these music types have been adapted by church choirs, which have imitated their rhythms and eventually deployed them in the church services, primarily because of their popularity. Although Martin does not, explain why and how these styles are being used in church services and neither does he explain what has made them become popular in Tanzania’s church music, it is evident that cultural fusion benefits from many competing influences.

On the whole, all these transformations have led to even more innovations within the church that are helping to blend the old and the new way of singing Christian songs. Barz (1997:256) discusses how indigenous music from different ethnic groups in Tanzania helps to establish popular music styles used in the churches:

The newer urban *kwayas* [choirs], such as the Lutheran *Kwaya ya Vijana* [Youth Choir] in Dar es Salaam, dynamically interact with the social, economic, and political transformation typical of a developing country. As members of Tanzania’s over one hundred and twenty *makabila* (ethnic groups) come together in the country’s urban centres, new social identities are emerging, often adopting new popular musical badges.

Furthermore, Anderson (1981:179 as quoted in Barz, 1997:9) suggests that the use of Tanzanian music in Christian church worship helps to make music that simultaneously copies previously unused, existing styles and creates new styles while, at the same time, maintaining the use of older music traditions:

In Tanzania choirs of enthusiastic young people have sprung up all over the country [since independence]. Some have copied styles of popular bands, turning Gospel music into something which sounds very contemporary. Others have created their own hymns, both words and music, as well as developing their own musical instruments.

This music is a product of transformation and change that is an expected feature for many contemporary Tanzanian music traditions.

At the end of the day, the current church music practices, we witness in Tanzania’s Christian worship specifically in Dar es Salaam is an amalgamation of many traditions. Indeed, the church traditions have had contact with both Tanzanian and non-Tanzanian traditions, African and non-African traditions. It is the church which exists in Africa, specifically in Tanzania, which started during the missionary establishments. The introduction of the new Christian faith in Tanzania inevitably led to the interaction of traditions. When the missionaries

came to Tanzania, they imposed Christianity and at the same time imposed their cultural attributes (Mlana, 1983). In prayers, for instance, they used Western languages as well as Western hymns.

Generally, these indigenous Tanzanian music traditions play a big role in fulfilling the society's needs as well as the church. Talking about the performance of religious and social identity, Barz (1997) asserts that indigenous Tanzanian music traditions are also deployed in church competitions. Through the performance of these music traditions, a choir fulfils the competition obligations and helps to identify the culture from which the traditions emerged. These indigenous Tanzanian music traditions are also used in church festivals such as those held by the Lutheran Church (Kidula 2013).

Talking about the music performed in contemporary society, Dibango (1991) states that the people who play modern music are the same people who play traditional music but they vary throughout Africa, depending on the people's customs, their colonial history and their religion. This brought about an interaction of traditions from different cultures. In the Tanzanian contemporary church specifically in Dar es Salaam, the music traditions are played by the same people who play modern music and Tanzanian music traditions in terms of songs and music instruments (Mapana, 2007). There are some differences in the use of these music traditions from one denomination to another depending on their nature of worship and doctrine. But generally, all denominations adopted indigenous Tanzanian music traditions that help to convert people and increase the members of congregation. In fact, the indigenisation process helped to farther spread Christianity all over the country. It also helps make people feel free during worship in their own land and change their ideas that were cemented in their mind that Christianity only oppressed them and destroyed their culture. Moreover, the use of indigenous Tanzanian music traditions in Christian Churches helped people to know that church is an area of African music.

6. Conclusion

This paper has largely concentrated on the use of indigenous Tanzanian music traditions in Tanzanian societies specifically in church services. It has theorised cultural revivalism and discussed how indigenous Tanzanian music traditions are used during Christian church worship in Tanzania. Moreover, it has tried to determine the use of indigenous Tanzanian music traditions in shaping the religious experience on participants during church worship. The article has also illuminated on the use of indigenous Tanzanian music traditions in contemporary Christian church worship. It has demonstrated that the church that previously was dominated by missionaries and their initial misgiving about African traditions has now adopted and integrated indigenous Tanzanian music traditions in worship. Now Tanzanian members of the congregation in different denominations are free to use the music with roots in their own culture and participate in the church worship without a fear of being ostracised from Christian worship as it was in the early missionary days.

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Links between Medical Mistakes and Social Injustice. An Exploration

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Abstract

The paper explores links between medical mistakes, usually considered highly personal events, and social injustice. These links are one more reason for the necessity of addressing healthcare issues within a justice framework.

Keywords: medical mistakes, social injustice, healthcare outcomes.

1. Introduction

Healthcare has become the U.S. largest industry (\$1.6 trillion); it is daily encountered by thousands of people (Health Care Industry Statistics, 2016). By paying approximately \$10,000 per year for their healthcare, Americans spend ca. 3 times more than people in other economically developed countries (Alonso-Saldivar, 2016). However, population health level and performance outcomes of the healthcare system, such as, equity, access, and efficiency do not measure up (OECD Health Statistics 2017; Health Systems in Transition, 2013). This raises questions with regard to access, affordability, and quality improvement. Both the continued existence of quality and access gaps for members of minority groups (health disparities) and medical mistakes are considered important cost and quality influences. Although there has been a push to make healthcare delivery more equitable and, in general, minimize preventable deaths and other adverse events (Sharpe 2004, 2015; Sharpe & Faden, 1998; Rosner, Berger, Karg et al., 2000; Rubin & Zoloth, 2000; Runciman, Merry & Walton, 2007; Wu, McCay, Levinson et al., 2017; Levinson, 2012; Leape, 2001; Surbone & Rowe, 2015; Powers & Faden, 2008), the rate of medical mistakes has remained high and health gaps between historically marginalized or neglected groups and whites continue to exist, as do other disparities (Healthy People: 2010, 2020; Transforming Healthcare, 2013, Joint Commission Center for Transforming Healthcare, 2016; Powers & Faden, 2008). The latter concerns especially the uninsured and those with low income and educational levels (National Healthcare Quality and Disparities Report, 2016). As for errors, evidence – based approximations consider them one of the leading causes of death in the U.S. (circa 210,000-440,000 annually) (AHRQ=U.S. Agency for Healthcare, Research, and Quality, 2015; McManes, 2016; James, 2013; McCann, 2014).

Health disparities, defined as population specific differences in the presence of disease, health outcomes, and access to treatment and health management options that are connected to wealth, class, socio-economic status and/or geographic location have been mainly researched as social justice and fairness issues (Freeman, 2015, 31-32; Levy & Sidel, 2005, 2-21; Breveman, 2014). Because access to care was prioritized, much of the research focused on distributive justice. More recently, however, luck and relational utilitarian theories have been added (Francis, 2017).

Harms that are associated with medical care have been addressed within the contexts of professionalism, the establishment of trusting and collaborative relationships between patients/guardians/families/friends and healthcare givers as well as socio-cultural and legal responses to wrongdoing and wrong-doers, esp. restitution, punishments, remediation, and apology laws. The bio-ethical principles of non-maleficence, autonomy, beneficence, and justice provided the general framework for these debates. With the 1990s, when it became clear that mistakes are not just a problem of some “bad apples,” who lack in character, the debate changed to include healthcare system quality improvement and changes in the professional culture. In recent years, questions of responsibility and behaviors of collective agents, moral repair, and the embodied experience of illness and injustice have gained in importance. Since mistakes are framed as individual wrongs/injustices, that is, single events that should not but have happened to an individual and, indirectly, to their friends and family, social justice issues are not a primary concern. Moreover, the

focus on quantifiability and measurability of outcomes (quality improvement) of healthcare delivery favored a biomedical mistake model, which, understandably so, neglects links to social injustice. Health disparities research mentions higher exposure of minorities and the poor to medical mistakes but a detailed exploration is missing. Because many of the influences on both inequities and mistakes are the same (e.g., access to, price, and utilization of tests, standard treatments and levels of care, successful and culturally appropriate communication and education levels), one could assume the existence of a relatively strong connection between the two phenomena. This, in turn, leads to the question of whether and to what degree quality improvement of healthcare, including mistake reduction, can be done without addressing existing or perceived social injustices.

At the center of the following exploration are, therefore, possible connections between mistakes and social injustice and, with it, the human costs of medical mistakes. Philosophically, the paper is grounded in phenomenology, which, because of its experiential orientation, allows for adding embodied experience and the experiencer to the picture of systemic links between medical mistakes and health disparities. This allows to also take into consideration process character of mistakes and injustices and their dependence on perceptions in addition to special circumstances and media influences that impact the processes of valuing and the construction of ideals (Francis, 2017, 5-7).

The exploration of the interconnectedness of social injustice and mistakes will rest on working definitions and a taxonomy of injustices.

2. Working Definitions and Taxonomy of Injustices

2.1. Medical Mistakes

Although definitions and taxonomies of medical mistakes differ, their common thread is the knowledge, skills, and competence dependency of mistakes (Runciman, Merry & Walton, 2007, 10, 112-123). Another influence is expectations. The literature also distinguishes mistakes and errors from intentional acts that have harm as their purpose. Within the framework of measurability of healthcare quality, mistakes are understood as unintentional actions that take place while performing a routine task or a wrong, delayed, or incomplete diagnosis and/or wrong, delayed, or inadequate treatment after a correct diagnosis (Preventable Medical Errors, 2013; James, 2013; Surbone & Rowe, 2015, 1; Sharpe, 2004, 61-62). Consequently, they are deviations from good judgment, or digressions from or violations of what is recognized as reasonable treatment, standards of good care, and evidence based “best practices” (Munson, 2012, 890-904). These deviations can but do not necessarily lead to immediate, delayed, or long-term adverse effects for the patient (James, 2013).

Narrative bio-ethics, virtue ethics perspectives, and graphic medicine, by focusing on the interaction within the patient/families/friends/guardians – healthcare-giver relationship and the complexity of the values that are guiding the expectations and behaviors of these actors framed the issue mainly under the aspect of experience. Here, mistakes are “suffered through;” they are bodily experienced (often inscribed into the body) and affectively memorized. This requires to consider ethnicity, culture, religion, social and economical status, age, gender, disability, health condition, power relations and social media influences when analyzing how mistakes happen, how they

are experienced, and are or should be dealt with (Halpern, 2001, 106, 132-133; Walker, 2006; Berlinger, 2005; Vannatta & Vannatta, 2013, 35-44). Following this train of thought, the implementation of evidence-based “best practices” also depends on how treatment and care options are negotiated with patients and/or their advocates. The trust/distrust dynamic then influences the levels of collaboration and understanding of errant and harmful behavior. Since both, caregiver and receiver, factor in their perceptions of “good practices” and “reasonable” resource utilization, conflicts can arise.

For the purposes of this research, a synthesizing approach to medical mistakes has been chosen: they are personally or indirectly experienced incidents that

- might cause or did cause harm as a result of deviations from professional standards, “best practices” and “average” professional skills while in medical care;
- might not have a (clearly determinable) legally responsible originator;
- happen in an environment, in which the cared-for trusts the care-giver with his/her life and respective health condition, expecting as less harm as possible (physical, psychologically, and financially);
- are embedded in the process of negotiating the acts and levels of professional support in the management of the condition of the cared-for, and
- deserve an explanation, an apology, and/or remediation (including restitution).

2.2. Injustice

In general, injustice refers the quality of unfairness and/or undeserved outcomes or distribution of opportunities. However, as Shklar (1990), Anderson (1999), Walker (2006), Levine (2010) and others have convincingly argued, injustice (and justice) concerns also the quality of relations between individuals and/or social groups, which, amongst others, are evaluated with regard to respect for one’s dignity, personal circumstances, ability to make informed choices, and expectations towards the restoration of people’s sense of being valued as a person. In their discussion of distributive social injustice in healthcare, Levy and Sidel (2005) brought also stereotyping, stigmatizing, and abusive perceptions and behaviors into the picture, in addition to exposure to societal conditions that adversely affect the health of particular population groups, including conditions in households, workplaces, and communities.

In addition to these trains of thought this paper will utilize the taxonomy of injustices that Shklar’s *Faces of Injustice* provided (1990). Note that the following types of injustices can be complementary or overlap:

- (1) Active and passive injustice, that is, acts of committing injustice versus acts that allow for injustice to happen because of indifference or the refusal of individuals to prevent acts of wrongdoing when they could and should do so (an expression of a civic attitude) (Shklar, 5, 39-50, 98);
- (2) Intentional and unintentional acts of injustice; the latter can be due to a lack in knowledge or the presence of compulsion or a strongly limited systemic set of choices, see point 6);
- (3) Immediate and latent injustice. Both can be cumulative because they happen repeatedly or in conjunction with other acts of injustice (Shklar);

(4) Invalidated or validated injustice because of rule-governed prohibitions (7) and, connected to it, legally recognized and remedied injustices versus those who do not show up in official inventories, although they might become part of social memories (36);

(5) Feelings of injustice that can occur in both individuals and groups because of broken rules, promises, trust, and disappointed hopes and expectations as well as negative expectations that have been met (10-11, 37-39). This can happen when people are under the impression that they were denied a promised benefit or when their expectation of getting rejected because they belong to a particular social, racial, or ethnic group comes true. Rather than perceiving the repudiation as a misfortune, it can be seen as victimization and undeserved treatment (40-66, 83-84; Walker, 5-33);

(6) Injustice resulting from systemic functioning. Systems can be pre-programmed to be unjust (Shklar, 100-113). Injustices can also occur because of the high complexity of a system, its interactions with other systems, and because of contradictory systemic rules, information overflow, and fragmented awareness of the actors.

What these forms of injustice have in common is that they are experienced, “lived” injustices that are interpretative recalled or tried to be forgotten. Their memorization and retelling depend on how the individuals or groups are framing the event, which, in turn, is influenced by others, their own background valuations, the media, and fact-checking efforts. Consequently, whether something is called an injustice depends on what individuals or groups perceive as unfair treatment and, also, what they had hoped to be granted by or protected against in form of government rules and regulations (social contract expectations). This turns injustice into a phenomenon with complex meanings, which are emotionally charged and, thereby, open to re-interpretation, historical change, and a more or less long afterlife (Kregel, 2009). The connection with “membership” in particular groups (racial, ethnic, class, socio-economic status, and/or geographic region) makes them social injustices.

3. Links between Medical Mistakes and Social Injustice

Medical mistakes and injustices have in common that they result from personal interaction with representatives of the healthcare delivery system (individual level) as well as from the complexity of interactions of compound agents within the rule-governed system in which the process of caring /treating a patient takes place (system level). This makes the intersections of individual and system levels with reference to “good professional judgment” and “deviations” from “best practices” and “good care” especially important for the possibility of a synergy between mistakes and social injustices.

The following list will provide some insights but is by no means comprehensive.

3.1. Forms of immediate, latent, and cumulative social injustice

If a “reasonable” patients/guardians feel that their wishes were ignored or not tried to be correctly understood and/or that they were biasedly and unfairly treated because they belong to a particular racial, ethnic-cultural, language, or income group (poverty), they might consider this not just as the “wrong path of action” but also as social injustice. That is, unsuccessful or distorted communication (related to educational level, language barriers, different value interpretations, and circumstantial

conditions, such as a patient's nervousness and pain levels) as well as biased communication and/or cultural incompetence cannot only lead to adverse events but these events can simultaneously be perceived as social injustices. As error analyses document, prejudices and biases against patients/guardians, even if subtle or unconscious, increase the possibility of deviations from best practices (Surbone & Rowe, 116-121; Sabin et al., 2009). In such cases, healthcare givers might be seen as originators of acts of active and intentional or un-intentional or of passive social injustice (by not interfering in biased behavior).

Another possible overlap of perceptions of wrong action and social injustice is associated with the "tyranny of unrealistic expectations for both the sick and the well (Nyland, 2008). News and social media are constantly discussing existing or newly emerging school or alternative medical therapies and technologies. Some illnesses are stigmatized, others de-stigmatized and, often, unrealistically high hopes are raised that "the" cure has been found. People who assume that they, too, deserve the chance to be treated might make demands. If they belong to one of the above-mentioned minority groups, the possibility is given that they regard rejections or disappointed hopes as social injustice.

The mix of individual, systemic and/or extra-systemic factors that can lead to an overlap of mistakes and social injustice is also evident in the following cases, which are linked to best practice recommendations. These recommendations reflect also the need to flatten the cost curve (Surbone & Rowe, 52-55, 128-129). That is, if, when and what quality of care or tests will be available to a patient and within what time frame does also depend on his/her insurance type and status (uninsured/insured, coverage, copayment amount). Moreover, whether and when a patient will seek medical help, feels able to go through with the proposed treatment and/or to afford the prescribed medications are contingent on his/her financial situation as well. Other influences are the types of medical facilities that are available in the area, considerations concerning waiting times, transportation (e.g., distance, cost, road and traffic conditions), care for others, the need to take time off from work (e.g., income loss or difficulties to make arrangements), and immigration status (Hasnain-Wynia et al., 2007; Garfield, Majerol, Damico & Foutz, 2016). These factors, in addition to price-building mechanisms, put both patients and medical caregivers in complicated situations with value conflicts and precarious discourses under time constraints. An informed recommendation would require knowledge of the patient's financial, economic, and family situation. Just asking might cause feelings of embarrassment and discrimination. If the caregiver wanted to offer cheaper alternatives, he/she needed extensive knowledge about price and efficacy of the many medications that belong to certain classes of medications or about tests. In cases where there is no cheap alternative available or when a cure exists but is unaffordable to the patient (because of price-building mechanisms, e.g., bipolar, Hepatitis C, or ALS meds), and the doctor cannot put the patient into a trial group that makes treatment available at an acceptable price, all he/she can do is watch over the deteriorating condition of the patient, hoping that the treatment becomes affordable before, for instance, cirrhosis or cancer of the liver sets in. In addition to allowing for harm to happen, the doctor will, against his/her intentions, violate essential personal and professional ethics principles

and contribute to social injustice. It is easy to see that, in such situations, patients can easily have their disappointed hopes disappointed or their negative expectations met, and feel doubly rejected by “the system,” individually and as a person that belongs to a disregarded group.

With view to the factors that influence whether and when care is sought, it seems to be justified to assume that they contribute to a vicious cycle in which medical mistakes and social injustices feed on each other: Prolonged time without the necessary medical intervention tends to complicate the clinical picture. Thus, diagnosing might get harder and more procedures and coordination necessary, which raises the probability of unforeseeable adverse events. And being underinsured or uninsured and/or living in rural, poor, medically underserved areas increases the likelihood of postponing seeking help and/or experiencing treatment differences and lower testing and cancer survival rates, as data for African-Americans and Hispanics, or the elderly show (2014, 2016 National Healthcare Quality and Disparities Report; Molina, Silva, & Rauscher, 2015; Freeman, 2015; Heiman & Artiaga, 2016; Dilworth-Anderson, Pierre, & Hilliard, 2013). African Americans, especially women, are disproportionately late tested or undertreated for HIV (Andrews, 2016; Arya, et al., 2010). These phenomena are linked to the (often cumulative) effects of past discrimination and social inequality, which objectified in form of measurable effects, such as the presence of diseases and/or health outcomes, such as higher rates of conditions, worse treatment outcomes, and higher rates of death and disability. (Hardimon, 2013, 16-17; Administrator, 2016). Socially inflicted trauma and high stress levels, substance abuse, exposure to toxic substances, and food insecurities, delayed diagnoses or treatment – they all left their traces and got “incorporated” into the body of those who suffered through it. The body becomes literally the “body of evidence” that reminds oneself and others of harmful, unwanted and/or undesired acts to which one was exposed because of belonging to a particular group. With it, the event enters collective memory and will be affectively retold. If there exists already a history of injustice and humiliating and harmful acts that were committed by others, such as police forces, border patrol, government bureaucrats, or in form of job discrimination, the memory will add to that history of personal and group humiliation. Moreover, by retelling, stories change; other first or second hand experiences might be mixed in, and hopes, expectations and emotions are expressed, such as, fear, anger, hurt, and protest. Hence, the stories serve to create or consolidate a collective identity of victimhood and neglect and, also, biases against the healthcare system and other institutions. One example of the influence of social memory is the story of West-Baltimore’s Bon Secours hospital, in which memories of the Tuskegee experiment and the Henrietta Lacks story mixed with personal experiences of medical maltreatment and anecdotes of past and recent encounters with police and city administrators. Despite improved care, many African Americans from the area still seek care only with utmost caution and last minute (Hancock, 2016).

Another group of overlaps between mistakes and systemic social injustice occurs because of biases that are inherent to best practice recommendations. These guidelines are not always based on best but on available evidence, enforceability, financial and, even, political considerations. That is, they also depend on political

decision-makers and other processes, as the controversies around mammograms and some colon cancer tests show (Bloomberg; Surbone & Rowe, 52-55; 128-129; Dickenson, 116-117; Study Revives, 2017). Furthermore, the evidence for recommended diagnostic tests and treatments is based on “Mr. Average” as patient, that is, the data is gained from a pool that looks on average like a middle-aged, 70kg heavy white male with at least a high-school education and health insurance. Women, children, the elderly, and racial and ethnic minorities are still underrepresented in trials, despite improvements (Williams, 2004; About Clinical Research, 2005). Attainability and clarity of evidence and the time frames for the development of new or improved treatments and tests also influence the research, especially when sponsored by pharma and med-tech industries. Many projects focus rather on acute than chronic illnesses or on severe rather than less severe conditions, on rare diseases vs. common ones, or on middle-aged patients instead of the elderly or young kids.

Another potential source of systemic injustice and particularly of future importance concerns the need to single out certain groups for special tests and/or treatments based on genetic lineage or area of origin in order to fight diseases that are more prevalent or aggressive in some populations (e.g., more aggressive breast cancer, risk factors for intracranial atherosclerosis in African Americans or lupus in Asian and Hispanic women (Preidt, 2017; Qiao, et al., 2017; Lupus among Asians and Hispanics, 2017). Being singled out or not, if not explained well, can be perceived as discrimination. Another source of mistakes or the perception thereof that can be misinterpreted as discriminatory is the misinterpretation of statistical evidence. Lastly, medical mistakes are linked to systemic social injustice via malpractice lawsuits: Tort law reforms in many states have made it more complicated and expensive to gain the necessary evidence. Poor plaintiffs are at a clear disadvantage because the burden of proof is on their side and the amount of money capped.

Conclusions

Unsuccessful communication, social memory, and media influences play a big part in letting medical mistakes become part of or contributors to intentional or unintentional immediate and/or latent or cumulative social injustice, as do access to, availability of and willingness to utilize facilities and services. Vice versa, discriminatory acts within the healthcare system or the perception thereof, aided by other acts that are considered unjust treatment of minority groups belong to the factors that increase the likelihood of the occurrence of mistakes on both individual and systemic levels. Consequently, and paradoxically, medical error reduction needs restored trust in the system in addition to individualized patient-centered care and a higher degree of availability and affordability of insurance, care, and medications. It seems safe to assume that reductions in coverage or price increases will show in increased mistakes and a sense of injustice. – To what degree, will be up to further investigations.

Other questions that require more research are connected to the complexity of the healthcare system and its interactions with different environments and the fallibility of the human element in it. Because of it, avoidance of mistakes is impossible. Increases in “cultural competence,” new technologies, and faster access to

more information will alleviate existing problems but also create new ones. What then are reasonable and realistic expectations towards people who work within the healthcare system or outside of it but providing services that are related to health and wellbeing? What kinds of support systems can be provided for health professionals that do not only train them for precarious communications but also provide emotional and other stress management support?

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Death as an Overarching Signifier in Don Delillo's *White Noise*

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Abstract

The American novelist Don Delillo represents one of the most renowned contemporary writers whose fiction works are haunted by an everlasting ontological investigation into the meanings of human life. He was able to register in his fiction works the general moods of his culture, to capture its generic tastes and desires, to wrest profound meanings from insipid everyday experiences and to meditate on human existence as a whole. Delillo endeavored to distill the consciousness of his society and age through the interplay of characters, events, imagery and themes in order to produce many memorable masterpieces among which the most acclaimed are Americana, White Noise and Underworld.

Delillo's continuous philosophical and intellectual brooding gravitates around the perplexing theme of death which seems to represent the binding thread that conjoins his numerous novels. Admittedly, many of his novels end with the death of one of his lead characters after having been assailed for a long time by both fears and dangers. Accordingly, death in Don Delillo's fiction is not merely a theme he unwittingly approaches; it is, instead, a sensible quintessential representation of the spirit of the age in which he writes and an aesthetic reflection on what it means to exist in America in the second half of the previous century. Although death is essentially an intimate matter that is interwoven into the texture of our private everyday lives and a personal experience we go through unaccompanied, Delillo was able to transform it into an aesthetic concern by conjoining both its apocalyptic and its ordinary aspects (James 120). He diffused it in his fiction and reflected the ways in which it is interspersed in the fabric of contemporary American culture and consciousness.

The aim of this paper is to explore the theme of death in Don Delillo's White Noise through the different ways the characters respond to their existential crises and fears in a society that is extensively dominated by technology, the media and consumption. This paper represents an endeavor to analyze the significance of this leitmotif and the meanings related to it by focusing especially on the major character Jack Gladney in his strenuous journey towards recognition and self-awareness.

Keywords: death, fear, crisis, technology, postmodern subjectivity.

1. Introduction:

Delillo's second novel *White Noise* published in 1985 encompasses his dystopian representation of American life and culture in a world dominated by technology, the media and conspicuous consumption. This novel represents Delillo's attempt to portray a vision of life unremittingly haunted by the specter of death which looms indistinct beyond the purview of the characters minds. In this acclaimed work of fiction, Delillo takes his readers beyond certainty and firmness into the undiscovered land of possibility- the possibility of critical thought which endeavors to counteract the gloominess of contemporary existence in a world heading towards its end (Boxall 11). As Delillo testifies in *White Noise*, although the contemporary subject guarded himself adequately from the fear of death by being surrounded by all sorts of technologies, products and gadgets and by immersing himself in domesticity, death remains a pending unresolved mystery at the forefront of human preoccupations as it keeps reminding humans of its presence and of its indubitable coming. Death, as Delillo shows, lurks beneath the layers of domestic life and whatever humans do to distract themselves from it, remains their major anxiety.

In an interview by Maria Moss, Delillo declared that while writing *White Noise*, a sense of death lingered with him until he finished the novel: "I felt a hovering sense of death in the air... it was like a cloud hanging over my right shoulder. Soon as I finished the cloud lifted" (16). Significantly, Delillo opens up in *White Noise* a space of contention between life and death as an existential possibility that is both sought and shunned. This novel, as Tom LeClair avers, depicts "a deepening of the American and human mystery by means of a narrow and relentless focus on a seemingly ultimate subject-death" (14). In this work of fiction, death resonates conspicuously as a transcendental beyond, beyond the characters powers to control and manage and beyond their capabilities to conceptualize and synthesize. Death is, as Mark Osteen avers, "less an event" that randomly takes place in the course of the novel "than a quality in the air" (497). It is a dark and gloomy apprehension that preserves action in process and keeps experience unfulfilled. Indeed, by focusing on this tricky ultimate subject, Delillo intended to reveal that since the human sense of fear is so intense and because it is profoundly experienced, there seems to be nothing left for us but to live in belligerence with ourselves and with the world around (DeCurtis 118). This sense of estrangement, malaise and conflict is brought to the fore through the lead character Jack Gladney in his journey through life.

2. Death as an overarching signifier in *White Noise*:

Death is, without doubt, one of the most perplexing issues the subject is continuously haunted by. It is a disturbing possibility that is always in process, silent but not absent, free-floating in the background of our lives, sneaking indistinct, seeping unremarked "beneath the surface of our perceptions" (DeCurtis 119). Death is, for many of the characters of Delillo's novel, the far horizon looming at a safe distance, and it is never lost of sight. It is always present evincing their limits but enheartening them to keep going beyond. Death is, for them, an overarching signifier and an ultimate truth which exists beyond any reasonable doubt. In fact, many of these characters are haunted by its

omnipresence as they always hold it in view in their daily lives. Delillo's *White Noise* is, in fact, about the ubiquity of the fear of death and what it generates in the human soul when the subject becomes unable to curb its impact. Hence, the fear of death reigns supreme over the subject's consciousness and becomes an omnipotent human adversary.

From the outset of the novel, an ominous overtone could be sensed by the reader through Jack Gladney's and Babette's musings about the eventuality of their deaths as they keep asking each other a fundamental question around which much of their existence revolves: "who will die first?" (Delillo 11). This existential wondering about death often pops up unexpectedly in the course of the narrative, sometimes well-embedded in the structure of the text following up the previous threads of thought and contributing to the fulfillment of meaning (Delillo 11, 42, 73, 87, 107), while some other times it appears completely dissociated from what is being said or discussed simply free-floating in the narrative (16, 41). Babette, from her side, affirms that she wants to die first and is appalled by the eventuality of Jack's death "unexpectedly, sneakily, slipping away in the night" and ponders about "The emptiness, the sense of cosmic darkness" and the misery she would experience in his absence. Jack, from the other side, contends that Babette's absence would leave "a hole in space and time" and create a "profound depth or void" that cannot be remedied (Delillo 58).

Jack and Babette would many a time ponder about the nature of death, its essence and the way it approaches and takes control of the human body. Their obsession with death reflects, in a way, Delillo's conception of it as a powerful intrusive element and a very mighty obtrusive force that greatly affects the assumptions, attitudes, desires and motivations of the living. Hence, life and death are represented in *White Noise* not as separate exclusive entities but, instead, as two inextricably connected inclusive stages separated only by a very fine and fragile barrier. Accordingly, as Jack asserts, "the dead have a presence" in life in us and through us and "perhaps we are what they dream" (Delillo 40). Although Jack and Babette openly debate this macabre topic and continuously discuss the imminence of their deaths, each one of them perseveres in dissembling and masking his own extreme fear. The Gladney's fear of death is so intense that it seems to take control of both their bodies and souls. In fact, they describe this overwhelming dread in the following way:

"I do want to die first," she said, "but that doesn't mean I'm not afraid. I'm terribly afraid. I'm afraid all the time."

"I've been afraid for more than half my life."

"What do you want me to say? Your fear is older and wiser than mine?"

"I wake up sweating. I break out in killer sweats."

"I chew gum because my throat constricts."

"I have no body. I'm only a mind or a self, alone in a vast space."

"I seize up," she said.

"I'm too weak to move. I lack all sense of resolve, determination" (Delillo 113).

Death, as Delillo certifies, is the primal preoccupation which unites every human being as we are all death-bound. We are all doomed to perish alone, each following his own path, fulfilling his own destiny, and suffering his own plight. Jack and Babette are, in effect, aware about this inalienable truth and they seem to be reluctant in preparing themselves for their final one-way peregrination. Hence, as the shadow of death looms indistinctly and its presence is felt intensely in their lives, they have no other option than to keep questioning the essence of death and keep pondering about what happens when a person dies. In this sense, Sarah Goodwin and Elisabeth Bronfen assert that “there is no knowing death, no experiencing it and then returning to write about it, no intrinsic grounds for authority in the discourse surrounding it” (qtd. in Vågnes 77). Consequently, this absence of satisfactory knowledge makes Jack and Babette catechize about the absence of a world beyond death or an afterlife and brood whether death is nothing but a uniform white noise that continues endlessly:

“What if death is nothing but sound?”

“Electrical noise.”

“You hear it forever. Sound all around. How awful.”

“Uniform, white.”

“Sometimes it sweeps over me,” she said. “Sometimes it insinuates itself into my mind, little by little. I try to talk to it. Not now, Death” (Delillo 114).

In the absence of metaphysical religious explanations of death due to the inexistence of religious credence and the inability of religious systems to provide the subject with undeniable conclusions, the characters of *White Noise* tend to contemplate death in a variety of alternative ways. Death is, in fact, contemplated as a never-stopping white noise, “just documents changing hands,” (4) “a swan-dive graceful, white-winged and smooth,” (10) “an inert element in the air we breathe,” (11) “a waiting period,” (21) “the end of attachment to things,” (22) and as “a wild ride through the forest” (Delillo 57). Indeed, these different conceptions of death testify that no system of explanation could, in any possible sense, alleviate the postmodern subject’s malaise and provide satisfactory answers to his existential interrogation about life and death in a post-religious world.

Significantly, Jack Gladney’s concern about death develops as the novel progresses into a mortal dread that continuously haunts his conscious as well as unconscious existence. He attempts to subdue his intense fear of death by resorting to different alternatives among which immersion in family as well as academic life, turning to technology, brooding about his existence, and attempting to kill Willie Mink. Another important strategy that Jack adopts to counteract his death fear, as Peter Boxall avers, is through seeking “immersion in the empty time of his narrative as an antidote to his fear of death” (111). Essentially, he encourages himself and others around to “enjoy these aimless days while they can” (Delillo 18) as they will uncompromisingly lead to their ultimate death. Accordingly, Delillo is affirming in this way the unadulterated truth from which there is no escape: “the aim of all life is death” (Boxall 111). Paradoxically, life, in this way, derives its essence, its plot and its significance from the finality of death itself. In this way, as Slethaug contends,

Delillo's aim "here is not only that an existential awareness of death gives life meaning; his point is rather the Freudian one that life inexorably moves toward death" (81).

While his friend Murray Siskind insists on the necessity of organizing one's life in accordance with a clear plot because for him "to plot is to live," Jack Gladney has a completely opposed opinion as he contends that organizing one's private life in accordance with a preset plan would lead to the direct encounter with what one fears most: death. Jack strongly believes that "all plots lead deathward" since, as he affirms, "we edge nearer death every time we plot. It is like a contract that all must sign, the plotters as well as those who are the targets of the plot" (Delillo 26). What Jack proposes here is that any attempt to escape death further intertwines the self and entangles it in labyrinthine death processes. In this way, to refrain from acting according to a clear plot is an attempt to "slow things down, to wallow in the dense layers of family life" (Boxall 112) and thereby to confound and mislead death through complete immersion in domesticity. However, this apathetic attitude further distances Jack from the essence of life and immerses him in a living death. This attempt to ward off death through plotting not to plot by following a "plotless time" represents Jack Gladney's fatal flaw as it further submerges him in the emptiness of a deathly temporality (Boxall 112). This deathly temporality is epitomized at the end of the novel by the postmodern sunsets which, as Boxall contends, proclaim the end of the world, offer a vision of the present at the point of apocalyptic extinction and depict the present as "an endless continuation, an immaterial, despatialised temporality" (112). Subsequently, the immaterial death in *White Noise* gets finally materialized by the Airborne Toxic Event which is essentially brought about by the aftereffects of technological development and caused by noxious chemical substances like Nyodene Derivative. These lethal substances dispersed in the air of the peaceful town Iron City and transformed its natural sunsets into "ruddled visionary skyscapes, tinged with dread" (Delillo 64). As Boxall asserts, although the deathliness which inhabits the present escapes our grasp and is "difficult to spot" as it "remains unnamable and unlocatable," Delillo succeeded in the best of ways in finding "deathly possibility inhabiting those very technologies that promise to eradicate death, to bring the unknown future under the control of the present" (10).

In *White Noise*, death pervades personal as well as social life and extends its influence to all facets of the characters' existence. Death even infiltrates the Gladney's recreational television watching. In this respect, the family would often gather around the TV screen attracted by mediated death and televised disaster from other parts of the world. Death, in this sense, transforms into pure spectacle and renders the whole family "totally absorbed in these documentary clips of calamity." As Jack Gladney avows, "every disaster made [them] which for more, for something bigger, grander, more sweeping" (28). The televisual medium, in this case, separates the Gladneys from real death and acts as a filter that allows them to experience only its safe mediated form. However, whether it is mediated or real, the shadow of death keeps hovering around the characters and affecting their quotidian experiences.

For Babette, the fear of death is a constant concern which colors her everyday experiences. Although she adamantly tells Jack that she wants to die first so that she may

not suffer from loneliness in his absence, Babette's unparalleled fear of death forces her to resort to a pharmaceutical drug called Dylar as a way to subdue her unassailable fear. She is in the depths of despair to the extent that she offers to have sexual intercourse with the Dylar project manager in order to obtain the magical pills. Dylar, the latest neuro-chemical pharmaceutical drug, is supposed to act on the person's psychological drives through its "controlled dosage" (Delillo 70). Dylar is as Babette asserts:

the benign counterpart of the Nyodene menace. Tumbling from the back of my tongue down into my stomach. The drug core dissolving, releasing benevolent chemicals into my bloodstream, flooding the fear-of-death part of my brain. The pill itself silently self-destructing in a tiny inward burst, a polymer implosion, discreet and precise and considerate (Delillo 79).

Babette, in this way, as Anne Longmuir contends, intends to counteract her deathly apprehension through a sophisticated chemical technology and her attempt "highlights the fact that, despite scientific and technological advances, man is still beset by a fundamental dread: the fear of death" (293). Dylar, in fact, instead of distancing Babette from her fear of impending death by isolating the "fear-of-death part of the brain," further immerses her in her dread by wreaking havoc in her mind and making her "confuse words with the things they referred to" (Delillo 113).

The question that Babette and Jack keep repeating and which keeps reverberating in the different parts of the text reflects the deep anxiety at the heart of the postmodern subject's existence as a whole. As Delillo clearly shows in *White Noise*, the subject in contemporary societies is surrounded by all sorts of threats: noxious "gene-piercing" chemical substances (13), "industrial wastes," (13) "chemical" spills (44), "psychopharmaceutical" drugs (70), and "radiation" (Delillo 65). As in the case of the Gladneys, contemporary subjects feel that their vital spaces are becoming endangered by many of the aftereffects of science and technology and believe that their bodies and subsequently their lives are constantly under threat which results in a ceaseless fear of impending death. What Delillo's *White Noise* proposes is that death encircles contemporary subjects from all sides. As Delillo affirms, in addition to all the hazards that exist outside home which include "toxic spill, Cancerous solvents from storage tanks, arsenic from smokestacks, radioactive water from power plants," death dwells also inside of the American homes. In this same respect, Heinrich, Jack's son, asserts that:

The real issue is the kind of radiation that surrounds us every day. Your radio, your TV, your microwave oven, your power lines just outside the door, your radar speed-trap on the highway. For years they told us these low doses weren't dangerous.... Forget spills, fallouts, leakages. It's the things right around you in your own house that'll get you sooner or later (Delillo 100).

In a similar sense, Mark Whitaker et al. propose that the Bhopal catastrophe in India, which was brought about by a chemical leak and which killed more than 2500 people, "raised a frightening question: could it happen here?" (128). *White Noise*, in effect, conveys in a succinct way the intense fear that spread across the US after the Bhopal

tragedy took place. Crucially, Melinda Beck et al. contend that a “cloud of concern wafted through communities all across the nation in the wake of the Bhopal tragedy” because of the shocking dimension of possible risk threatening their lives. Significantly, as Melinda Beck et al. avow, the quantity of noxious chemicals in use in America is staggering:

An estimated 6,000 U. S. facilities make possibly hazardous chemicals. There are approximately 180,000 shipments by truck or rail every day in the United States of everything from nail-polish remover to nuclear weapons. More than 60,000 chemical substances are in use—and federal regulators don't even know how many pose health dangers (130).

A very similar concern about the various potential risks invading contemporary society is clearly portrayed in Delillo's *White Noise*. This state of permanent peril is internalized by all the characters and results in an intense fear of impending death. Significantly, Death in Delillo's novel is technologically induced, scientifically concocted and essentially self-incurred by human beings. It is the result of the toxic spill caused by the derailment of a tanker carrying lethal chemical substances which spread out over the town and jeopardized the lives of the citizens in the peaceful Iron City.

After being exposed to toxic fumes and being contaminated by the toxic substances, Jack and his family became growingly concerned about their personal safety and mostly overwhelmed by an intense fear of death. The lethal substance Nyodene D. seeped unnoticed into Jack's body and “death has entered” (Delillo 55). It penetrated the pores of his skin unremarked and proclaimed Jack as “dying and yet separate from the dying” (55), a death “too deep to be glimpsed” (76) yet very imminent. Jack's imminent death is chemically induced and graphically rendered through the simulated evacuation agent's computer scan. It is rendered graphically, televised and mediated through graphics, data and “computerized dots that registered” his “life and death” (54) making him “tentatively scheduled to die” (75) a death that remains unremittingly in process and continuously “in the works” (Delillo 75).

Jack Gladney's fear of death, in a sense, mirrors Don Delillo's own consideration of death as “something that is *almost* there” always in process inextricably interwoven into the texture of everyday domestic life, always hovering around and always seeping “beneath the surface of our perceptions” (Decurtis 119). In fact, Delillo expresses deep anxiety in relation to some preeminent perils threatening to wipe out human presence altogether. He embeds the fear of death in his fiction as a reaction to the different dangers surrounding the subject in contemporary societies. From the threat of nuclear war, to the spread of toxic substances and fumes, the subject finds himself caught in an inextricable web of rhizomic dangers that defy his presence and threaten to annul his existence.

These continuous threats keep the subject wavering in an intermediate state of crisis between life and death not knowing where exactly to situate himself, among the living or maybe among the dead. Delillo, in this sense, depicts a postmodern world in which the subject hardly finds any certainties to attach himself to as “the borders of reality are so difficult to define” (Slethaug 63). Accordingly, as Stephen Burn contends, “in DeLillo's

postmodern world it is the vacuum left by religion that drives his characters to fill the void with some substitute body of meaning” (181). In this kind of world which is dominated by consumerism, the media and all types of technologies, including chemical technology, life becomes ephemeral and death becomes extensively artificial. In this respect, Jack asserts: “there’s something artificial about my death, it’s shallow, unfulfilling. I don’t belong to the earth or sky. They ought to carve an aerosol can on my tombstone” (Delillo 103).

Ultimately, Jack and his wife Babette seem to unwillingly accept their plunge towards death in complete passivity and helplessness. The kind of death they seem to dread most, is, by no means a natural, God-given plight but, instead, an artificial man-made calamity. In fact Jack Gladney asserts that the death approaching him and his family is “made in the laboratory, defined and measurable” (Delillo 74). Paradoxically, instead of assuaging Jack’s pain and alleviating his death throes, science and chemical technology are leading Jack into his most dreaded demise.

3. Jack Gladney's journey from fear to recognition:

Jack Gladney, as is the case of many contemporary subjects, seems to find great difficulty integrating himself into his immediate social environment, reconciling himself with the world around and subduing his deep existential malaise. In effect, he would wake up many a time awe-struck contemplating the nature of death and the way it approaches human souls: “is this what it’s like, abrupt, peremptory? Shouldn’t death, I thought, be a swan dive, graceful, White-winged and smooth, leaving the surface undisturbed?” (Delillo 12). He would some other times wake up “in the grip of a death sweat. Defenseless against [his] own racking fears. A pause at the center of [his] being” (22). In another instance, Jack would mistake Babette’s father Dickey, who pays an unanticipated call on Babette and Jack in their house in the early morning when they are still asleep, for death or “death’s errand-runner” presaging his “journey out” (89). This experience submerges Jack in an escalating fear of death which grows frantically and unrestrainedly beyond any stable sense: “I was scared to the marrow. I was cold and hot, dry and wet, myself and someone else. The fist clenched in my chest” (89).

Jack endeavors to outwit this constant fear of impending death by working in the department of Hitler studies and through simulating the image of Hitler both visually and viscerally. Hitler, in fact, gave Jack Gladney “something to grow into and develop toward” (Delillo 11). Accordingly, Jack supplements his name with two invented initials (A. K.) and tries to “grow out into Hitler” (11) by gaining more weight, developing “massiveness” and wearing “glasses with thick black heavy frames and dark lenses” (11). His attempt to counteract death by simulating the symbol of atrocious death, is as Delillo asserts in his interview with Decurtis, “a perverse form of protection” (119). Hitler, in fact, caused so much damage to humanity that Jack believes he could exploit such a deathly reputation as a kind of camouflage and “disappear inside the vastness, the monstrosity of Hitler himself” (119) to outmaneuver his fear. His fear is so profound that he considers Hitler “larger than life” as well as “larger than death itself” (Delillo 105). Murray Siskind best expresses Jack’s intentions by stating that:

"It's totally obvious. You wanted to be helped and sheltered. The overwhelming horror would leave no room for your own death. 'Submerge me,' you said. 'Absorb my fear.' On one level you wanted to conceal yourself in Hitler and his works. On another level you wanted to use him to grow in significance and strength (Delillo 105).

As Murray Siskind avers, although Jack's fear of death is so intense, hiding in the shadow of Hitler seems to be just an abortive attempt to ward death off. Since "there's no escape from death" (105), as he clearly states, the individual has only to learn how to "repress," to "disguise," to "exclude," and to "bury" his trepidation (105). Thus, in order to "survive in the universe", the subject has to seek refuge in "repression, compromise and disguise" (105). Murray Siskind attempts to appease Jack Gladney's fears of death by suggesting that he should relinquish his ties with material life through adopting the Tibetan way of contemplating death. He, in fact, urges Jack to consider death a gateway towards rebirth and towards a new life: "death is a waiting period, basically. Soon a fresh womb will receive the soul. In the meantime the soul restores to itself some of the divinity lost at birth" (Delillo 18). In this primeval Tibetan way, the restoration of the soul and its preparation for its passage between life and death does not take place through the means of religious rites and metaphysical practices but essentially through yielding to nature's course, accepting death the way it comes and renouncing any "attachment to things" (18). Technology would, according to Murray Siskind, provide Jack with another way to neutralize his fear of impending death: "you could put your faith in technology. It got you here, it can get you out ... it's what we invented to conceal the terrible secret of our decaying bodies" (104). The continuous development of modern technology, according to Murray, could attenuate and thereby delay the effects of approaching death through its various techniques and systems: "new devices, new techniques every day. Lasers, masers, ultrasound" (Delillo 104). Hence, technology, as Murray contends, saves lives and prolongs them as it "provides new organs for those that wear out" (104). It, ultimately, has the ability to introduce considerable alterations into the essence of death in contemporary societies.

As Murray proposes, technology seems to have a double role. On the one hand, it has the potential to free the subject from death; while, on the other hand, it has the ability to further immerse him in his deathly condition. Technology as Murray contends, "creates an appetite for immortality on the one hand" and "threatens universal extinction on the other" as it is "lust removed from nature" (104). As Gregory Salyer avows, whether technology is "lust removed from nature, meaning removed from experience" or "the sacred expelled from the profane" doesn't seem to make much difference as "all of these ideas are connected and all move toward the same end, which is death" (48). Technology is, as Gladney affirms, a "seeping falsehearted death" (Delillo 13) that further complicates the subject's life and reduces it to a state of limbo from which there seems to be no viable escape. Therefore, technology gets discarded by Jack and is considered as an ineffective way to restrain his dread.

Another option for Jack would be, according to Murray Siskind, to believe in life beyond death, the rebirth of the soul and the resurrection of the dead as he tells Jack:

“Seriously, you can find a great deal of long-range solace in the idea of an afterlife” (Delillo 104). This religious interpretation of death and the belief in the existence of an afterlife gets also repudiated by Jack who considers it a mere “self-delusion” (104) in the absence of deep religious credence. Surprisingly, Murray Siskind, from his side, considers the way out of this vicious circle of death to be through consumer culture and its many supermarkets which seem to provide him with certain transcendental and uplifting meanings and in which “everything is concealed in symbolism, hidden by veils of mystery and layers of cultural material.” The supermarket, as he proposes, takes over the role of religious systems and “recharges us spiritually, it prepares us, it’s a gateway or pathway” which is “full of psychic data” (Delillo18). The supermarket furnishes the “transitional state between death and rebirth” (18) with waves, radiation, voices, sounds, codes and “ceremonial phrases” that make up “the layers of unspeakability” which give this experience it’s very definition (18).

None of the different proposals Murray suggests seems possibly able to help Jack to get rid of his persistent and unassailable death fear. Only experiencing a death itself would possibly be able to decimate this fear. In this regard, Murray Siskind informs Jack that people are divided into two broad categories in the way they approach death. They are either “killers” or simply “diers.” He asserts that “most of us are diers. We don’t have the disposition, the rage or whatever it takes to be a killer. We let death happen. We lie down and die” (106). Murray encourages Jack to dare and defy death by inflicting it on others and thereby enter in “direct confrontation” with his feebleness: “if he dies, you cannot. To kill him is to gain life credit. The more people you kill, the more credit you store up” (Delillo 106). While Murray contemplates death in purely theoretical and speculative terms and considers it, like violence, as a “form of rebirth” (106), Jack, as a response to Murray’s advice and blinded by his “male rage,” (107) goes to greater lengths with his questioning and walks on the edge of death. He, in fact, enacts a mock-epic shoot-out with Willie Mink to take revenge for his promiscuous affair with Babette. Through this act of murder, as Boxall contends, Jack Gladney intends not only to inflict pain and death on the male who had a sexual relationship with his wife and thereby to prove “his sexual power,” but also, “like a kind of 1980s Frankenstein, to kill death itself, to pit Eros against Thanatos” (Boxall 127).

However, this encounter with real death is a far cry from providing jack with satisfaction and contentment as it leads only to “disappointment and shock” (Delillo 114). Jack’s closeness to real death and his approach to an indiscernible anchorless liminal space separating the condition of the living and the state of the dead and the trauma it caused resuscitate his feelings and restore his humane attitude: “my humanity soared” (114). Surprisingly, he saves Willie Mink from death by taking him to a hospital in a fit of “epic pity and compassion” (115) and in a moment of recognition and self-awareness. Although death gets reified in Willie Mink, Jack remains unable to subdue it and incapable of gaining control over it at least at the symbolic level.

Ultimately, the death he faced through the shout-out scene is, this time, neither the product of his fertile imagination nor simply a mediated TV representation. The violence

and hazard he went through are shockingly real and the pain caused by the “bullet hole” in his wrist (Delillo 114) is excruciatingly authentic. This unparalleled experience limited Jack’s distance with his most feared end and exposed to him the demarcation line that delimits the boundaries between the two worlds: the world of the living and the most dreaded world of the dead. It also revealed to Jack the difference which exists at the heart of his ceaseless contention with Murray Siskind about their common plight: death. All along the novel, Jack Gladney's intensifying fear of death anesthetized him, numbed him and ultimately deprived him of his ability to experience life in its fullness and in its overwhelming intensity. Only at the end of the novel that Jack becomes able to redeem his senses after getting involved in a shoot-out scene with Willie Mink, the delirious scientist who defiled his wife in return for the Dylar pills. Significantly, he describes this epiphanic experience in the following way: “with the restoration of the normal order of matter and sensation, I felt I was seeing him for the first time as a person. The old quirks were set flowing again. Compassion, remorse, mercy” (Delillo 114). This thrilling act of violence takes Jack out of the common and the usual and stimulates him to feel grand and majestic:

Something large and grand and scenic. Is it better to commit evil and attempt to balance it with an exalted act than to live a resolutely neutral life? I know I felt virtuous, I felt blood-stained and stately, dragging the badly wounded man through the dark and empty street (Delillo 114).

Ultimately, Willie Mink’s approach to tangible death, his foretaste of doom and the sight of real blood gushing out of open bullet wounds stimulate Jack to break free from the chains of his detachment and to reconnect with his previous humane self. In this very respect, his confrontation with real death through the redemptive violence he undertook made him experience himself anew, restore and reestablish his sense of self and regain confidence in life as an undisputable possibility and as a never-ending mystery. Death, in this sense, paradoxically, opens up life for Jack on endless undiscovered possibilities yet to come and whispers to him many of its undisclosed mysteries. Jack eventually rediscovers himself anew as a real subject facing real death and reclaims his jeopardized self. Only then would Jack Gladney recall Winnie Richard’s conjecture about death and start believing in it. Significantly, Winnie reflects Don Delillo’s own view of death as an essential element in the life of every human being as it gives life its meaning and grants it its signification. Life, as she contends, would be both meaningless and worthless in the absence of death:

I think it is a mistake to lose once sense of death, even one’s fear of death. Isn’t death the boundary we need? Doesn’t it give a precious texture to life, a sense of definition? You have to ask yourself whether anything you do in this life would have beauty and meaning without the knowledge you carry of a final line, a border or limit (Delillo 85).

In this way, as Delillo puts it, in his search for redemption, the subject needs to reconcile himself with the fear of death in order to be able to ease life’s tensions and contemplate its secrets. Hence, the subject must make recourse to action, even if it is of an insignificant nature, in order to counterpoise the power of death and to make life prevail. Death should

also be contemplated as the boundary that reanimates the subject whenever he loses interest in life and “unless the inevitability of death is recognized and accepted, life itself is no more than a slow death” (Slethaug 81). Death ultimately gives shape to a precedently shapeless life and establishes pattern in an otherwise chaotic existence.

4. Conclusion:

In *White Noise*, Delillo plays on the dialogic dichotomy between the characters desire for life and their fixated invocation of death in order to tighten the fabric of his prose and give more solidity and richness to the texture of his novel. By juxtaposing the opposed leitmotifs of life and death, Delillo tightens the structure of the text and fills it with a very dense web of rhizomic meanings. Death in *White Noise* is an overarching signifier that binds the elements of the text together and dominates the lives of all the characters. It is a primal preoccupation which paradoxically both instigates the characters actions and restrains them from any significant action. Although each character tries to approach his preoccupation with death in a different way from all the others, they all share this essential dread and keep being haunted and absorbed by it. Only at the end of the novel that Delillo allows his lead character Jack Gladney to take his destiny in his own hands, to face his racking fear, to regain confidence in life as a wide range of possibilities and to accept death as a necessary evil. Ultimately, the fear of death, as Don Delillo certifies all along the novel, is inextricably interwoven into the subject's existence and cannot be dissociated from it. Therefore, the subject must learn how to accept the fear of death and to coexist with it before experiencing actual death. Death, as Delillo depicts it, infiltrates all facets of human life and keeps being the obscure human enemy. Ultimately, death never dies as it is always in process and endlessly in the works.

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Orature and Eco-Engagement in Tanure Ojaide's *Songs of Myself*

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Abstract

*Gabriel Okara, J. P. Clark and a number of poets from the Niger Delta region of Nigeria have engaged with the ecological devastation of the oil-rich Delta in their poetry. However, Tanure Ojaide appears to be the most prolific and activist of contemporary poets of the region; his poetic aesthetic charts a different approach to understanding the unabated ecocide in the Niger Delta. This paper examines Ojaide's poetics of fusing two aesthetic practices: oral traditions — native to Urhobo people of the Niger Delta region — and the modern scribal form to evoke a peculiar petro-lore in the collection *Songs of Myself*¹. How does folkloric tradition frame Ojaide's poetry? How does his engagement with folklore engender an aesthetic of petro-lore particular to the Delta? This essay will draw on ecocritical theories to examine these questions as well as analyze the poet's eco-concerns in *Songs of Myself*, in order to demonstrate the poet's unflinching engagement with environmental entanglements and tensions.*

Keywords: Environment, Orality, Tradition, Folklore, Niger Delta.

Introduction: The Nurturing of a Hybrid Poet-Priest

Tanure Ojaide is a poet by training and priest by birthright – every first born male child of Urhobo is traditionally a priest². Ojaide's nurture in orality started from childhood as he spent his formative years with his grandmother³, uncles, and elders in an oral community. In an oral society like Urhobo, the old and aged are the repository and custodians of folklore, proverbial lore, folktales, songs and chants. These diverse knowledge systems are encoded with the history, experiences, codes and ethics of the people which are orally transferred from generation to generation. Studies demonstrate that oral tradition form the foundation of African societies and connects the performer and the audience in a communal experience. It unites the past and the present and also influences written works as evinced in Ojaide's melding of two distinct forms – the written and the oral.

Although the primacy of this in situ oral training cannot be overemphasized, Ojaide received further grounding in his research of the 'Udje Songs of Urhobo people' and its compilation into *Poetry, Performance and Art: Udje Dance Songs of the Urhobo People* in 2003. Udje's dialectics of conflict/criticism and lampooning manifests to a great degree in *Songs of Myself*. This is in line with Chris Anyokwu⁴ observation that 'the oral poet during his/her apprenticeship must study and internalize folk history, mythology, and the metaphysics of his/her people so as to be able to act as the mouthpiece of their culture'(3) and Ojaide's experience attest to this. With such an interiorization, 'the poet is thus at once historian, seer, raconteur, dramatist, singer, and philosopher' (Anyokwu 2) and these embodiments are revealed in his writings.

Also armed with the formal education and studying different literatures of the world, it can be said that Ojaide benefits from both oral and written traditions of literature. J. A. Cuddon⁵ defines tradition as 'the inherited past which is available for the writer to study and learn from. Tradition also connotes the writer's native language, literary forms, codes, devices, conventions and various cultures from the past' (730). He adds that every writer starts with some form of tradition behind him, like a backdrop. This is also T.S. Elliot⁶ position in *Tradition and the Individual Talent*, that no poet has 'his complete meaning alone' because the poet benefits from 'the existing monuments' of the past, be it oral or written and 'the most individual parts of his work are those in which his ancestors assert their immortality most vigorously'. Cuddon's definition fits our purpose perfectly as we limit tradition to all artistic proportions of the past in which a newer/living poet stands as heir. Tradition runs deep in the living poet and reasserts itself in his creativity whereupon the poet may modify or alter tradition, however slightly or greatly to accommodate modern realities.

Informed and influenced by the socio-cultural and socio-political occurrences in his milieu, Ojaide commingles both inherited traditions to criticize the oil soaked Delta. The poet's deployment of folkloric forms to interrogate environmental devastation will be questioned. Such interrogations will be engaged through the analysis of orality and environmentalism in *Songs of Myself*. The poet's portrayal of environmental degradation will be probed to identify the resolutions proffered as he decries the petro-capitalism ravaging the Delta environment and the

people. How does Ojaide then deploy modern scribal mechanics to further his oral fecundity and eco-activism?

Urhobo Oral Tradition

The Urhobo's were once ecosystem people who depended on their natural environment for subsistence; with fishing and farming as the mainstay of their economy. Hence, their folklores revolve around nature, which they are familiar with. Their imagery, symbolism and anecdotes are informed by the flora and fauna, aquatic lives, animals and are deployed effectively to convey meaning. This resonates with Ojaide's submergence in Urhobo oral aesthetics and mythology which he deploys as the bedrock of his writings. Tayo Olafioye⁷ holds that:

An individual is sometimes best defined by the cultural personality he or she wears, more importantly so, a writer whose works wear such cultural outfits. This is the portrait that imprints itself on the creative landscape of Tanure Ojaide ... (1)

Ojaide not only wears the cultural insignia of his people as 'the poet laureate of the Niger Delta region'⁸, he is inseparable from Urhobo culture or cosmology hence his works become an extension of himself – written, but garbed in the aesthetics of Urhobo orature like Udje dance songs, lores and nature oriented proverbs. Funso Aijeyina⁹ calls this 'the return to the roots' and adds that the Ojaide's deployment of oral tradition gives relevance and vitality to his craft. On his dependence on Urhobo orature, Ojaide¹⁰ clarifies that his roots run deep into the Delta, hence, he calls on images, symbols, references derived from Urhobo folklore and the unique flora and fauna of the region to give a distinctive tone to his poetry. Thus, in this vein of anchoring on the Delta environment and worldview, Enajite Ojaruega¹¹ avers that 'Ojaide taps deeply into the cosmology, ontology and epistemology embedded in the folklore of his people' and forges a distinctiveness in his galvanization of oral aesthetics to excoriate the ecological crisis in the Niger Delta region.

Eco-engagement

The term Ecocriticism, originally coined by William L. Rueckert in 1978 in the essay 'Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism', has evolved as the frame through which the troubled relationship between cultures and the environment is registered. It is an 'ecological-environmental perspective' (Glen Love) that decenters the human and builds the consciousness of the interconnectedness of all things while troubling the binary of human and the nonhuman. Cheryl Glotfelty's¹² definition of Ecocriticism as 'the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment' lends credence to an eco-centric approach in 'evaluating texts and ideas in terms of their coherence and usefulness as responses to the environmental crisis'. Defining Ecocriticism, M. H. Abrams¹³ opines that it is 'The critical writings which explore the relations between literature and the biological and physical environment conducted with an acute awareness of the devastation being wrought on that environment by human activities'. The destructive extraction occurring in the Delta and the resultant crisis of ecocide, bio-extinction, disaster capitalism, oil spillage, gas flares, blowouts,

deforestation and toxic pollution of seas, rivers and farmlands of the Niger Delta region have attracted numerous literary and critical exegeses.

Different writers have written in response to the anthropocentrism in the Delta as an environmental crisis. From Ken Saro-Wiwa¹⁴ who before his death characterized the incessant despoliation of the Delta as a form of ‘genocidal violence’ perpetuated by the ‘slick alliance’ of oil corporation and government, to Tanure Ojaide, who deploys oral aesthetics for resistance dialectics which climaxes into environmentalism. Ojaide in this work lends credence to Lawrence Buell’s¹⁵ assertion that Ecocriticism must be ‘conducted in a spirit of commitment to environmentalist praxis’ (Environmental Imagination 430) as he attempts a rescue of the environment from capitalist destruction. If, like Scott Knickerbocker¹⁶ said ‘poems best succeed at awakening one to the natural world through the emotive and rhetorical power they have over readers, and this power derives from the particular form that content takes’ (3), then Ojaide’s environmentalism is portentous in his use of oral aesthetics to resist the never ending environmental destruction of the Delta.

Orature in *Songs Of Myself*

Songs of Myself is made up of ninety-one poems and the collection is sub-divided into four sub-sections: (I) Pulling the Thread of the Loom, (II) Songs of Myself, (III) Songs of the Homeland Warrior and (IV) Secret Love and Other Poems. In this collection of poems, the poet’s anchor in oral technique is a deliberate choice which resonates with Ojaruega’s¹⁷ assertion that ‘Ojaide uses orature not only to establish a cultural identity for his work but also organize style and form to effectively express his themes’ (143, The Place). I begin this analysis with Ojaide’s flexibility of language which incorporates English, Pidgin and Urhobo language in the collection thereby showing the poet’s interest in reaching the different language users in Nigeria and specifically in the Niger Delta where pidgin is commonly used as the language of communication and commerce. Specifically, the poem ‘We dey chop akara dey go’ (133) exemplifies the poet’s fusion of pidgin and English to reach a lyricality employed to mock and protest the exploit and abandon culture of oil corporations.

We dey chop akara dey go / if moin-moin no dey
In place of clean rivers, /Shell dey build boreholes
We dey chop akara dey go /if moin-moin no dey (133)

Pidgin is a language prevalent in the Niger Delta region and is often used as rhetoric of mockery and ridicule. Ojaide mirrors the suffering of the indigent denizens and criticizes the State and Shell for ignoring the plight of a people whose environment is exploited for the country’s economic sustenance. A reader must read in-between this poem and discard its overt comical nuance to deduce the deep concerns the poet evokes with the playful tone of this poem. The explicit message of dispossession and suffering is conveyed by the symbol of eating small balled ‘akara’ due to the unavailability of ‘moin-moin’; the latter being a healthier desert, richly spiced, and more filling than the former. The repetition of ‘We dey chop akara dey go / if moin-moin no

dey' after every couplet counterpoints the dialectics of exploitation and also enforces the tonality and lyricism of the poet's language.

Writing on language, Anyokwu¹⁸ avows that the 'critical inquiry of language in cultural production is even more necessary in the appreciation of poetry owing to the fact that poetry involves a more nuanced, more involved, highly imaginative and heightened deployment of language' and Ojaide's strategic language use maps a communal involvement. I find Adrian Roscoe's¹⁹ explication that 'just as Okot's lines are largely free of inert language, so his actual choice of diction shows a preference for the plain and common core [...] we must see it as conceived partly within the realms of orature' (44) to hold true for Ojaide as the poem below demonstrates the author's simple yet deep diction, nuanced with nature tropes that unveils the Niger Delta environment to the reader.

Dede-e dede-e
The cotton tree stands unnoticed amidst iroko and palm trees
but its soft sheets of fabric cover the entire world's nakedness
Dede-e dede-e
It's not the hulk that gives one power, boasts the black ant after
stabbing the elephant's butt and downing the giant of the jungle
Dede-e dede-e (14)

The repetition of the refrain 'Dede-e dede-e' – an 'onomatopoeic expression of "gently" in Urhobo language' (*Songs* 15) enforces communal involvement in the invocation and performance of the song. The riverine locale yields its rich flora and fauna like the Iroko (a major trope), the cotton tree and palm trees as imagery. These trees have both mystical and spiritual connotations in Urhobo worldview. Interestingly, Ojaide symbolizes the plight of the Urhobo and other minority tribes of the Niger Delta region as the cotton tree who struggles to cover/garb the entire nation in its richness and wealth and goes unnoticed against forest giants like the Iroko and palm trees – the major tribes. Just as is prevalent in folklores, the author engages with familiar nature tropes of the region and draws his metaphor, anecdotes and imagery from them.

Another oral technique Ojaide engages is the call and response technique which elevates the lyricality of the poems. In 'The song uplifts the minstrel' (18), the lines 'Water empowers the crocodile / the song uplifts the minstrel' is repeated after every couplet to foreground communality between a priest and his acolytes or participant audience during oral performance.

water empowers the crocodile/ the song uplifts the minstrel
the sun smiles its way across the earth
the full moon smothers the night with a silvery sheet

water empowers the crocodile/ the song uplifts the minstrel
the wind fans harmattan flames with pagan flourish
the peacock enthralled with a fanfare of rainbow colours
water empowers the crocodile/ the song uplifts the minstrel (18)

The language is simple and steeped in nature imagery with a preponderance of alliteration, repetition and rhythm. Written in the nature of chants, the poet employs anecdotes and proverbial

lore to examine life's certainties and uncertainties. The minstrel is a priest to the Urhobo pantheon.

The Urhobo's have different deities they believe in and worship. A favourite of Ojaide is 'Aridon' - the god of memory and song/poetry among the Urhobo people and the poet's muse. Ojaide²⁰ unpacks the essentialism of Aridon, childhood and memory thus; 'Memory is very important to the poet. Among my Urhobo people, poets and singers worship Aridon, god of memory...Aridon is represented by a thread which is meant to take one back to the source of past experiences'. In 'No hunger', the poet reaffirms that 'Aridon's favorite suffers no hunger/in the famine of songs/ The minstrel suffers no hunger/in the famine of songs' (160). In identifying the dispossession and alienation of the people from their culture and land, the poet notes that 'The god of songs suffers no hunger/in the famine of ardent worshippers'.

In 'Questing' (Songs 20), Ojaide presents his search and desire to 'Ewwerhe Amre', deity of seeking and finding, success and greatness thereby asking for a metaphysical intervention.

I seek the iroko king of trees to proliferate
But the entire species barely survives poachers;

I seek a land swept clean of kleptomaniac leaders
But the population has become a thieving army (20)

Worthy of note is the fact that Ojaide considers the deforestation and diverse forms of ecocide in the region irrevocable and beyond human capability thereby warranting supernatural intervention. This intervention of the gods is also needed to rid the country of corrupt leaders and citizenry.

Where Ojaide lampoons or satirizes, it is in line with the Udje tradition of critiquing flaws to enforce moral and ethical codes²¹. In the poem 'To the new wordsmiths' (78), the poet cautions new writers in the Horatian vein to critically examine their work before public consumption and to study the ancients, so as to learn from tradition.

they stump their hairless chests as new wordsmiths,
and they must be enjoying the cyber-world of tweets.

the child calls himself a man to gain applause
but ask a bearded one to crack the walnut for him

and see children pass Ogun, Idoto, and Tamara
without pause in a journey without destination;

An ardent follower of tradition, it is interesting that Ojaide invokes the deities Ogun and Idoto which is also his reference of their poet-priests; Wole Soyinka and Christopher Okigbo respectively. Ojaide rebukes writers who fail to learn from tradition as immature with the image of 'hairless chest', 'amateur fishers', 'child' and learners who talk from 'mouths with forked tongues' (78-9).

Alu and Suwa²² note that 'the poet demonstrates his expertise knowledge of his people's culture far and above what the modern age would ordinarily permit. The Urhoro/African praise

names, animal imagery, animal names, traditional appellations, sea animals and bird names and value placements from the oral sources fill his poetry, portraying how versatile he could be in cultural matters. The wealth of Urhobo culture thus litters the poems...’ (141). The duo offers an apt analysis that holds true even for the collection under review. Suffused with the deep and rich riverine image of the Niger Delta, it is evident that the poet persona (a priest) is addressing his people first, by utilising the flora and fauna of his once familiar environment to aid comprehension.

In “Lamentation” (32), the poet embraces the Urhobo, nay African dirge style and queries:

Can I be the mouth of the earth/to cry out what it suffers
From men and women/that daily trample as if trash

And also comments on capitalist predation:

Even as the earth groans dying/by the minute in dignified silence
Can I be the mouth of the earth/to cry out what it suffers all the time? (32)

I agree with Ezenwa-Ohaeto²³ that ‘Tanure Ojaide has undoubtedly transformed his Urhobo oral aesthetics in his poetry collections... his conscious artistry and the exploitation of the song tradition, the aphorisms, proverbial lore, allusions to folktales, conscious refrains and traditional mockery, abuses and curses associated with the Urhobo make the orality of his poetry interesting and relevant’ (149). The lines below from ‘Consolation’ highlight these devices.

The god of short folks is tall so tall
up there his height touches the sky—

I ran away from a cobra coiled on my doorstep
explaining it as the warrior fleeing to recoup— (100)

Ojaide ‘incorporates the structure and rhythm of traditional oral poetry with end-words rhythmically and structurally linked to the beginning of the next line’ (Ezenwa-Ohaeto 137) and sustains his domain as a raconteur who utilizes oral tradition to transmit contemporary realities to the present generation and the future.

Songs of Eco-engagements

The poet’s focus in the third section titled ‘Songs of the Homeland Warrior’ and dedicated to the memory of Isaac Adaka Boro and Ken Saro-Wiwa is undoubtedly on environmental degradation in the Delta. But in a collection suffused with land informed imagery, every poem bears the nuance of environmental consciousness and charts a course different from Saro-Wiwa’s trailblazer/leader of peaceful protests and Boro’s warfare. Byron Caminero-Santangelo²⁴ notes that the conditions in the Delta has worsened since the demise of Saro Wiwa and ‘in their efforts to address growing despair and frustration, the delta poets Tanure Ojaide and Ogaga Ifowodo have drawn on and transformed Saro-Wiwa’s narratives of resistance’ (170). The poems in this section are lamentations that climax into rage over the escalating degradation of the Niger Delta region and the diverse ramifications this holds for the indigenes of the region. In *Songs of Myself*, Ojaide attempts to ‘preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community’²⁵ and highlights the gross exploitation of the human and nonhuman nature and argues for the preservation of the flora, fauna and all biotic life in the Delta. His persistent call

for a stop to the blatant exploitation of nature is a direct response to the persistent and escalating ecocide ravaging the region of his birth. This is once again a cry for help for nature.

Ojaide is not on the path of peace talks as demonstrated by the militarized title of the section and his expressing of an 'aestheticized rage in the form of sad songs' (Egya quoted in Caminero-Santangelo). When reading the poetics of Ojaide, aside from the deep synchronicity with the aesthetics of Urhobo orature, the poet's unwavering concern for the despoiled Delta environment remains unshakeable and activist. The poet positions modern poetry as a vehicle of social agitation and resistance against ecological despoilers as he laments the lost Delta environment. As Ojaide unpacks environmental degradation in *Songs of Myself*, we often encounter a recurring trope of memory, but this memory is a festering yet excruciating wound that demands salve and urgent healing.

Ojaide²⁶ states in an earlier work that 'childhood is vital, because it is the repository of memory... My Delta years have become the touch-stone with which I measure the rest of my life. The streams, the fauna, and the flora are symbols I continually tap... Home remains for me the Delta, where I continue to anchor myself'. When he anchors on his childhood memory of the pristine Delta, the visionary poet embodies the twin role of 'a rememberer and a reminder'²⁷ and nostalgia fuels his agitation for change. Presently, it is no longer the Delta of his memory but a scarred and violated image whenever he looks upon it. All the beauty and biodiversity of this wetland and mangroves now resides 'Only in his Memory' as the following poem shows:

Only in memory
thrive the affluent residents of the wetlands
the black anthill... / the oko bird...
the flutter of butterflies... / the armada of newly hatched fish...

Only in his memory
the exuberance of his irrecoverable youth
where he still hugs green-garmented herbs
kisses the beauties that converge on the rain-flushed land (*Songs*120)

The poet misses the Delta where 'in early hurricanes in the village we caught/mudfish that we thought fell from the sky/it turned out to be the tastiest fish;' (*Songs* 118) and no longer 'recognizes his lost land' (120). The poet bemoans the catastrophe that has occurred in his homeland with terror provoking imagery like 'scars of burns', 'toxic fumes', 'vast groove stripped of its divine garment' (120). This concern is made more affective to the reader due to his nature deployment style – 'rain-flushed land', 'full moon', 'thundering storms' (120) – that reconstructs the past to show the disparity with the present.

In tracing the causal agent of the environmental degradation in the Niger Delta region, Ojaruega adds that 'the extraction of crude oil from the land and water spaces as well as gas flaring activities have led to pollution of the region's land, water and air'. The oil companies clear huge forests to create more extraction points thereby endangering soil nutrients and causing deforestation. In the poem below titled 'The zestful river lost its fine fingers' (*Songs* 122), Ojaide laments the slow violence of deforestation which Rob Nixon²⁸ unpacks as the kind of violence

that lacks not only the immediacy but also the potency of a burning or falling tower but lethal and aggravating nonetheless..., 'low in instant spectacle but high in long term effects'.

The forest that for long stood erect has its
legs amputated by multinational poachers

to post proud profits at the Stock Exchange
the refuge of green vandalized by intruders

All the groves and beauty spots disfigured
by constant exposure to acid showers. (*Songs*... 122)

The monstrosity of the act of deforestation is expressed in words like 'legs amputated', 'disfigured', 'vandalized' (*Songs* 122) to foreground the cruelty that is perpetuated on the Niger Delta ecosystem. The poet deploys the literary tool of personification to centralize and humanize the suffering of the trees, forest and the ecosystem. This centralization defamiliarizes the pain and forces it to resonate with the readers.

It is significant that Ojaide lampoons the multinational oil corporations as 'multinational poachers', 'intruders' (122), 'those who control armies and capital'(130), 'vultures' (31), 'robbers', 'monsters' (112) and 'violators' (113). The aim of such imagery is to show their barbarism and impress the reader with their deep pockets, arrogance and the connections to recklessly exploit, destroy and get away with profits. The image of 'vultures' symbolizes the oil corporation's profiteering from disaster capitalism in the chaotic Delta region. Ojaide's choice of this image is informed by the gross exploitation that has turned the Delta region into a dead zone where lives are destroyed. But the vultures persist to pick on the carcass of the wasteland. This image unveils the dark grim realities of the ecocide in the Niger Delta region to the reader. The persistent image of death and decay maps the region as irrevocably destroyed and the poet's call for urgent change may be too late.

By intruding, the oil corporation unsettles the denizens and violates their way of life which was once intricately interwoven and informed by land pedagogy. It is the disappearing land practices and culture genocide that Ojaide also mourns in the poem titled 'Skies without birds' (31).

Where there are no birds children see no kites
to coast along the skyline, no sunbirds to shoot;

where there are no birds elders see no falcons
to celebrate gleefully the year's constant renewal;

There are no birds in Nembe but residents spot
vultures, which itself confirms the deathful state.

The ramification of disappearing or extinct birds, fishes and plants that were once native to the Delta not only endangers the ecosystem, but ruptures orally transmitted knowledge systems thereby affecting the psyche of the present and future generations.

Our folksongs lie to the young of today
Who see nothing even of soft wood

not to talk of hardwood or forest
and no rivers left in the land to ply (*Songs*...116)

Ojaide poses questions about the trauma of cultural genocide and the fracturing this inflicts upon an individual. In line with evoking such dire realities of the desolate Delta environment, Ohwovoriole²⁹ quoting Eruvbetine states that 'all poets in their works depict experiential realities that uncover, explore and interpret salient truths...these truths synchronize the inherent contraries that define man, his endeavors and the world'. What Ojaide presents is the onset of intergenerational trauma that will plague the future generations of the Niger Delta region due to government's nonchalant and oppressive paradigm. Ojaide³⁰ in an earlier work clarifies thus:

In Africa, a poet is not only a specially gifted person but also a gauge of his society's condition. More perceptive than the man of common disposition, he sees through the surface of things, through what appears to the rest of the society as opaque.

This keen perception informs the poet's lament in 'Can I Still Call From The River Nun' (114) where the poet bemoans the loss of the River Nun and indeed other fresh water bodies of the Niger Delta region and objurgates the oil exploiters in a powerful poem that evokes the memory of Gabriel Okara's 'Call of the River Nun'. Once pristine, the river Nun is now poisoned and polluted with oil spills and other toxic waste. The poet laments the 'endangered iroko, mahogany', 'poachers', 'toxic flames', 'vagabond flares of raging gas', 'black clouds of fumes', 'poisoning of resident waters' and shows how such ecocidal acts turns a beautiful landscape and seascape into an 'abused land'. The poet queries, 'Can the river bird still be heard and summoned/to perch and dance on the reed in the tide'? This is an intertextual reference to Okara's 'where river birds hail your silver surface flow' in the second verse of 'The Call of the River Nun'³¹. Whereas the river calls out to Okara to return to its magnificence and soothing splendor, Ojaide mourns the loss of the sublime beauty of the river and its diverse inhabitants.

In juxtaposing Okara's serene and the unpolluted River Nun, which was written in 1950 with the 2016 River Nun that Shell is dredging, the poet achieves his aim of tracing and positioning the despoliation in the famous River Nun in Bayelsa State. This is significant because the reader gets a rounded perspective between the past and the present. This intertextuality matters because it reveals Ojaide's reliance and influence from poets that came before him. In utilizing the dialectics of questioning, the poet builds on an Urhobo oral aesthetic to interrogate the pollution of water bodies in the region with its fragile ecosystem. For Ojaide, the Delta is now reduced to a 'wasteland' filled with 'ghosts of all kind' (*Songs* 129). From 'evergreen ghosts standing beside wilted branches', to 'ghosts of the game tribe' and ghosts of iguanas and falcons'. The sojourner poet returns home to meet ghosts; dead plants, animals and a destroyed ecosystem, instead of the

‘beauties and abundance’ of lush green foliage, trees, pristine seas and rivers with the abundance of fishes.

Provoked to use fiery words to exemplify his passion for the environment, the poet wants to ‘raise an army to rout ghosts and reinstate life’ (129). But the thing about war is the losses it places on the environment. Ojaide proposes a hostile engagement with the environmental despoilers using ‘crossfire’, ‘artillery exchange’ and the striking down of those spreading ‘afflictions’ and ‘harm ...without qualms’ (*Songs* 127) and employs the radical acts of ‘the homeland warriors called militants’ (*Songs* 112) as a resistant trope in this collection. the poet concludes that the despoilers of the Niger Delta region would extract carefully (not destructively) ‘if they had their gods here/if they buried their ancestors here/if their arts was inspired by this landscape/if they raised their children in this community’ and most importantly, ‘if this land affirmed their humanity’ (*Songs* 113).

To the poet, the militants are the ‘defenders of their haunted homeland’ (*Songs* 115), but Cajetan Iheka³² cautions that ‘while these violent activities draw attention to the problems, showcase the agency of the participants, and represent legible assertion of a right to a better life, they are also injurious not only to fellow humans but to the strange strangers in the environment as well’. In addition to that, militant violence is counter-productive because it aids oil corporations to evade oil spill cleanups because they blame such pollution on pipeline vandalisms and illegal bunkering. The militants diminish the credible and peaceful protests of non-violent groups whose works are smeared in their sea of explosion.

Conclusion

Tanure Ojaide is a cultural hybrid who builds on the duality of his experiences (oral and written) to create a unique art. As shown, Oral tradition informs, influences and is the bedrock of Ojaide’s poetics in *Songs of Myself*. Urhobo songs and folklore takes primary position in this melodious and rhythmic collection as if written for oral performance. Ojaide’s poetics embody a communal ethos that extends to other tribes of the Niger Delta region and dexterously plays with the diverse oral techniques. Ensconced in Urhobo oral tradition, Ojaide’s authenticity lies in his framing of contemporary realities affecting his people in their cultural aesthetics thereby enforcing Elliot’s³³ stance that ‘this historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal and of the timeless and of the temporal together, is what makes a writer traditional. And it is at the same time what makes a writer most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his contemporaneity’. Being both traditional and contemporary, Ojaide merges orality with environmental advocacy to birth a spectacular form of poetry to criticize, educate and raise objection against environmental degradation.

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Interdisciplinary Studies Today: Featuring the work of Prof. Nevena Stojanovic

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Feature Article: Dr. Nevena Stojanovic

Since we are at the threshold of a new calendar year, it is time to reflect on unique and major contributions to the field of interdisciplinary studies in 2017. To that end, we are talking to Dr. Nevena Stojanovic, Lecturer at West Virginia University, who in Fall 2017 had the honor to serve as the Keynote Speaker and an Honorary Guest Speaker at two international interdisciplinary conferences, organized by Advena World and held in the Washington, DC, metro area, USA. On October 27, Stojanovic delivered the keynote address at the 2017 Global Conference on Humanities, Literature, Cultures, and Arts, presenting her work on interdisciplinary pedagogical methods. On December 1, she was an Honorary Guest Speaker at the 2017 Global Conference on Research, Education, and Policy, where she presented her work on digital humanities and radical performance art.

The methods that she recommends for teaching cultural texts of the past optimize students' understanding and effective analysis of old writing styles across the disciplines. Similarly, her study of the interplay of digital humanities and radical performance art delineates the path of the integration of performance art into college education and of leading the students towards civic engagement.

HZ: Your work on teaching old cultural texts was noticed by Advena World, and they invited you to be the Keynote Speaker at their international interdisciplinary conference. In the humanities, we are often faced with students' resistance towards the writing styles of the past, so what are your recommendations for the instructors who teach older texts?

NS: One of the methods that I recommend in my article on teaching nineteenth-century literature is transmediation. It raised approval from my colleagues at the interdisciplinary symposium. This method allows students to imagine a nineteenth-century novel, short story, play, poem, or any other literary text, in a different genre, and rewrite it or resketch it in that new genre. For instance, some of my students resketched a humorous nineteenth-century novel as a comic strip, which enabled them to analyze the ideological coding embedded in the novel. They were able to see why the author portrayed his characters in a humorous way and how the cultural context in

which the novel was published shaped the author's message. This method can be used in classes on history, philosophy, sociology, etc. Students could rewrite an old historical document or an old philosophical text in a new genre, which would help them decipher the reasons behind the author's aesthetic choices or selection of historical data.

HZ: The topic of your honorary guest address was how radical performance art and digital humanities could work together towards the optimization of the results of our teaching and our students' learning in the humanities. Since the online medium of teaching and learning is one of our primary assets in higher education of the twenty-first century, how could we incorporate performance art, this quite often underrepresented artistic area, in our digital learning environments in order to enhance the outcomes of our students' humanistic education?

NS: In my study, I contend that Guillermo Gómez-Peña's website *La Pocha Nostra* has helped this performance artist reshape the existent artistic cyberspace through the inclusion of marginalized voices via the Internet. Gómez-Peña's performance art group called La Pocha Nostra has been staging live radical performances in different locations in the United States and beyond its borders, motivating audiences to eradicate ethnic stereotyping. The group's website, also named *La Pocha Nostra*, plays an important role in making these performances accessible to cyber-migrants from all over the world. I argue that La Pocha Nostra's performance venues and website could be used to inspire and enable their visitors to eradicate mechanisms of stereotyping in everyday life through the interactions with the staged stereotypical specimens of different ethnic groups and through the temple of confessions on the *La Pocha Nostra* website. In my honorary guest lecture, I demonstrated how the activities that I had designed and tested could be used in classes on literature, sociology, history, communications, philosophy, etc.

Based on the interest raised by her interdisciplinary scholarly work, Stojanovic was invited to serve as the Keynote Speaker at the April 2018 Global Conference on Education, Humanities, and Society Development in Washington, DC. Her presentation will deal with her recent findings on the effective pedagogical methods for helping students build top-quality research projects across the disciplines. All these events highlight the importance of interdisciplinary research in contemporary academia.

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