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# The King and His Queen: Henry VIII's Verse and Katherine of Aragon as Center of the Chivalric Court

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#### Abstract

This essay examines the ways in which Henry used poetics and performances to establish the iconography of his court and the relevance, within this context, of Henry's specific choice of Katherine as queen to preside over his chivalric court. Though analysis may now often interrogate the possibility of underlying insecurities motivating Henry's actions, the king's consciousness of his own power and belief in his own ultimate sovereignty are equally important elements of almost every such analysis. However, the court over which a not-yet-eighteen year old Henry ascended in 1509 was a very different animal. Henry may have already begun to conceive of his sovereignty as unimpeachable, but he was a fair distance from being able to enforce that conception. How he handled the problems arising from this gap between desire and action determined many of the more defining elements of his reign, for in these first moments Henry intentionally created, in contrast to his father, and through verse and performance, a court invested in the ideals of courtly love, chose as the subject center for that court the regal Katherine, and began the drive towards absolute monarchy in its most ambitious sense that would make everything that followed possible. In the decisions he made in transitioning the court from his father's to his own and in establishing his own royal identity, Henry VIII created, by example, the definitions of masculinity, courtiership, and chivalric behavior which he expected to be followed in his court and to define his court in history.

Keywords: Henry VIII, courtly love poetry, Henrician poetry

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The images of Henry VIII with which modern audiences are most familiar and most comfortable are all ones of strength and swagger. However, the court over which a not-yet-eighteen year old Henry ascended in 1509 was a very different animal. Henry may, at this relatively young age, have already begun to conceive of his sovereignty as unimpeachable, but he was a fair distance from being able to enforce that conception. How he handled the problems arising from this gap between desire and action would determine many of the more defining elements of his reign, for it was in these first moments that Henry intentionally created, through verse and performance, a court invested in the ideals of courtly love, chose as the subject center for that court the regal Katherine of Aragon, and began the drive towards absolute monarchy in its most ambitious sense that would make everything that followed possible. In the decisions he made in transitioning the court from his father's to his own and in establishing his own royal identity, Henry VIII created, by example, the definitions of masculinity, courtiership, and chivalric behavior which he expected to be followed in his court and to define his court in history.

Almost the first of these decisions was to claim as his future wife Katherine of Aragon. Many motivations are possible, of course, from military ambitions in France, wherein an alliance with Spain might be of use, to the claimed deathbed promise to his father. However, whatever the acknowledged reason, the choice of Katherine is equally linked to the other projects in which Henry immediately engaged in establishing the tone and power of his kingship. Even as her innate regality bolstered Henry's royal image, Katherine's maturity and self-assurance might have struck a familiar and comfortable note for Henry, whose rather domineering grandmother, Margaret Beaufort, had necessarily made a strong mark on the young Henry. Katherine's six years of experience over the young king might have later worked to her detriment, but at the time of his father's death, followed relatively quickly by the death of this same commanding grandmother, these years instead underscored her stability and maturity. Additionally, though royal birth would hardly be a requirement for Henry's later queens, his first wife was attractive not least because of the dynastic stability and nobility she represented. Katherine of Aragon had been, and would be, for every minute of her life, every inch the princess, by her own concept and consciousness of self.

Unlike Henry, pushed into the role of heir by tragedy, Katherine could likely not remember a time in her early life when she was not referred to as Princess of Wales. The marriage of Katherine to Arthur, Prince of Wales, had been contracted when the princess was three years of age. Following Arthur's death, Katherine was quickly pushed into contracting an arrangement with the new Prince of Wales. During the extended arguments between Henry VII and Ferdinand regarding payment of the dowry, the original marriage between Arthur and Katherine itself came into question, and Katherine successfully defended herself in that quarter. This steadiness reflects Katherine's consistency in her self-conception, as well as the ways in which that consistency could become entrenchment. As Antonia Fraser phrases the results of this incident, "If Catherine as a girl could summon up her courage, friendless in a foreign country, to tell Henry VII that her marriage was 'irrevocable', and be proved right, she was not likely to change her mind on the subject in the future" (1993, p. 57). The very certainty of her own worth and regality that made Katherine an attractive choice to a young king desiring to establish his own legitimacy would be the quality that made her such a burden to an established king looking to disentangle himself. At the

time of her marriage to Henry, though, this determination made Katherine only more attractive. Striving to establish his own kingship, Henry was likely drawn to the kind of statement made by marrying a princess of thoroughly noble lineage, one who had thought of herself as the future Queen of England for longer than he himself had been alive.

This self-assurance and maturity, perhaps natural to Katherine, were bolstered by her exceptional and highly specific education. Katherine's education in Spain created her consciousness of her duties as queen and wife. Fraser provides a useful catalogue of the skills Katherine acquired, acknowledging that:

Catherine's intellectual attainments apart, music, dancing, and drawing – the traditional and graceful spheres of Renaissance feminine accomplishment were naturally not ignored. But Queen Isabella also passed on to her daughters another more universal feminine tradition of basic domestic skills...her daughters were taught to spin, weave and bake... (1993, p. 12)

Fraser goes on the point out that these skills "provide[d] a domestic counterpoint to the regality which [Katherine] brought to the English court" (1993, p. 12). Both her regality and her domesticity were only facets of a personality with another striking aspect: Katherine was a thoroughly educated woman. In marrying Katherine, Henry began a trend he followed in most, though not all, of his marriages to come: he chose for his wife an educated woman with the confidence to articulate her own ideas. In choosing how to define his kingship and his court, Henry VIII chose for his first consort someone with the potential to be a partner, even a leader, inasmuch as the basic misogyny of the age would allow.

Alongside these various attractive qualities, Katherine also presented Henry VIII with a subject for his performances of chivalric imagery and poetry. Katherine's queenly air legitimized Henry's kingly boasts; her domestic skills ensured his comfort and legitimized his ideas of special masculine privilege; her intelligence guaranteed an appreciative audience for his art, wit, and argument. In defining himself through verse and performance, Henry privileged certain characteristics and practices as noble, manly, or kingly; in crafting so much of his performance as homage to Katherine, he made statements about what ought to be privileged in courtly women. Katherine's own performance of femininity encompassed domestic skill, courtly pageantry, and no little humanist education, and Henry chose to elevate that particular performance above all others, using his queen as an element in his creation and projection of self. At the beginning of his reign, Henry needed to distance himself from the iconography of his father and, in so doing, create an iconographic identity of his own. This identity needed to promote the Tudor dynasty in general, but also needed to privilege Henry's own specific traits, turning his youth and his aggression into admirable aspects of the ideal king rather than drawbacks. Just as Henry's choice of wife made a statement about the masculine personality he wished to project, so his poetry clarified his own vision of his self and his power. Herman concurs with this argument, arguing that "Henry VIII used verse at the start of his reign to establish his royal identity and to defend himself against his critics" (2010, p. 3). He further argues that, in the process of establishing his poetic and monarchic identities, Henry was also implicitly answering and defending against threats against those identities. As Herman argues, "Defenses respond to attacks...and Henry's asserting his right to live as he would strongly suggests the presence of an unignorable "they" who wanted to restrain the king's liberty" (2010, p. 37). In this case, the "they" likely represents not only the

elderly advisors Herman identifies, but also the external perceptions of kingship generally and of this king specifically.

Herman identifies this thread in the self-defensive tone of "Though sum saith that yough rulyth me." The lyric seems to answer some specific source of critique, offering such specific self-defense as "I hurt no man, I do no wrong / I love trew wher I dyd mary" (Lines 13-14). In response to these attacks, the lyric not only expressly delineates the virtues of the speaker, but also points to royal prerogative through two gestures. The first of these is in a clear reference to Henry's royal motto, referenced in the line "God and my ryght and my dewtye" (Line 3). The second of these is more subtle, lying in the informed audience's response to the repeated theme "Though sum saith that yough rulyth me" (Lines 1, 5, 10, 15, and 20). The lyric, after all, is written by a king: thus, there is, to Henry, an inherent absurdity in the idea of any being, physical or metaphoric, ruling him. Indeed, as would have been becoming increasingly clear, in Henry's construction of his kingship, nothing at all, save God, ought to rule him, and even that limitation was to be defined by Henry's term. The force of the royal voice reverses the conventional, subordinate position of youth, clarifying that the king has become an embodiment of youth who will use his force and energy to rule all others.

A combination of the various facets that Henry saw as central to his identity, including this force and energy, can be seen in an analysis of "Thow that men do call it dotage." The speaker privileges, at various points, youth, nobility, courage, and chivalric, devoted love. Henry writes "Love maynteynyth all noble courage / Who love dysdaynyth ys all of the village" (Lines 13-14), which, as Herman points out, privileges love by necessarily implying that "the person who disdains love...has lost his place in the aristocracy; his disdain marks him as a peasant" (2010, p. 29). Additionally, the poem provides further emphasis on the importance of the lover's faithfulness. The poem closes with the lines "For whoso lovith shuld love butt oone. / Chaunge who so wyll, I wyll be none" (Lines 19-20). The emphasis provided by placing this couplet at the end of the verse, combined with the repetition of devoted love as a motif in Henry's verse, emphasizes the importance of Katherine to Henry's court. For the first several years of Henry's reign, Katherine represented the uncontested feminine subject center, and it was only after almost twenty years of marriage that any real threat to her supremacy was presented. The longevity of Henry's first romance suggests the central importance, to a younger Henry, of stability, chivalry, and an enactment of the kind of love about which romances were written as elements of his court and of his kingship, even after the rather elusive, if not illusive, nature of all of these things must have become clear to him.

This chivalric image was not limited to the voice the king adopted on the page. In the tournaments he reveled in, "King Henry as Sir Loyal Heart or Coeur Vaillant jousted under the colours of his lady, and his Queen" (Fraser, 1993, p. 57). In the court entertainments he demanded, Henry assumed roles in the company of mythical, heroic, masculine figures like Hercules and Robin Hood (Anglo, 1969), assaulting or protecting "feminine" virtues and vices as befitted each respective occasion. However, these images revealed more of the edge that underlined the chivalric poetry the king wrote: each privileged love, yes, but each gave even greater privilege to masculine prerogative.

The general pattern of Henry's masques focused on precisely this: the reassertion of normative structures in the particular figuration of a return to masculine power, specifically represented by the group among which the king stood disguised.

In the early days of his reign, then, Henry adopted a chivalric stance, linked to the courtly love tradition. Henry's monarchic voice bent the conventions of such a stance to meet the demands of a royal speaker. This royal voice became stronger as Henry's reign continued and as his identity stabilized, and eventually Henry stepped away from poetry, apparently entirely, as something no longer necessary to buoy the performance of his power. This kind of adoption, appropriation, and manipulation became something of a pattern in Henry's policy as well as in his poetics, reflecting Henry's growing power to enact his extreme conceptions of power. At the beginning of his reign, Henry took for his queen an educated, deeply religious woman whose entire identity was bound to her role as Queen of England. This woman, though, could not give Henry the single thing he most desired: a male heir. Because Henry was basically incapable of doubting the legitimacy of his own desires, and equally unlikely to doubt his God's willingness to grant him the fulfillment of those desires, Katherine herself became, for Henry, the embodiment of a problem he could not solve and of obstacles which thwarted him. Adding to this anxiety, Katherine was increasingly a physical reminder of male powers that stood more immediately in Henry's way: first as daughter to the deceptive Ferdinand, then as aunt to Charles V. These men were, at least politically speaking, forgiven where Katherine was not, but that speaks to Henry's approach to gender. A threatening man might be forgiven; in theory, the other royal men of Europe were Henry's equals and so could be forgiven once they no longer stood directly in his path. The threat created by power in a woman, though, could not be neutralized. The damage was of a different sort entirely, and even if she gave into the will of the King, she had already done irrevocable damage through the very existence of her challenge. Since, then, the damage could not be undone, a threatening woman could not be forgiven. The subject of his courtly love traditions was useful only so long as she could remain a subject, and Henry's decision to end his marriage reflected his true investment; the imagery which bolstered his masculinity and his power had become more important to his performance of kingship than the chivalric constancy and devotion he had once expressed in his verse.

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#### Poetry Installations for the Toronto2015 Pan / ParaPan American Games: The Poetry of Sport and the Sport of Poetry

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#### Abstract

This paper presents the findings of a project I created as a member of the Latin American Working Group for the Toronto 2015 Pan and ParaPan American Games occurring in July and August, 2015. As an *Ignite* community partner of the Games, and in collaboration with York University, the project aimed to explore the proposed core values and mission statement of the TORONTO 2015 Games, whose stated mission was to "ignite the spirit through a celebration of sport and culture", embracing core values of "joy, purpose, accountability, collaboration and results." The creation of "poet-tree" installations and webpages (creative and photo captured real life installations at various locations, websites, or in physical sculptural and movement formats) with poems or poet's names from the diverse regions of the Americas evoked the sports and the spirit of the culture of each place, and in particular of the connection across the Americas to the Toronto 2015 Pan / ParaPan Am Games. I track the project's progress and present these findings as viewed through recent developments in performance theory and embodied literary theory; the relation to identity, expressions of place and negotiating inter-subjectivities to reflect upon the network of realities which exist beyond national boundaries, as hemispheric and complex conceptions of words and physical action in representations of being. This type of wor(1)d-making is examined by presenting the poems and poets contained in the installations, to trace the expressions found in these examples connecting sports and culture, or reveal their disjuncture.

Keywords: poetry acts and installations, e-poetry, sports, embodied arts, performance theory

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#### Introduction

This paper presents the findings of a project I created as a member of the Latin American Working Group for the Toronto 2015 Pan and ParaPan American Games occurring in July and August, 2015. As an *Ignite* community partner of the Games, and in partnership with York University, the project aimed to explore the proposed core values and mission statement of the TORONTO 2015 Games, whose stated mission was to "ignite the spirit through a celebration of sport and culture", embracing core values of "joy, purpose, accountability, collaboration and results." At the same time, this linked with questions of how to trace the Latin American imaginary in the Games' conception of the Pan American from a Canadian perspective, while also giving space to the enduring legacies of Latin American heritage and diasporic cultures in Canada.

In this paper I aim to track the project's progress and present these findings as viewed through recent developments in performance theory and embodied literary theory; the relation to identity, expressions of place and negotiating inter-subjectivities reflecting realities that exist beyond national boundaries, as hemispheric and global networked conceptions of words and physical action as a representation of being. This type of wor(l)d-making is examined by presenting the poems and poets contained in the installations, to trace the expressions found in these examples connecting sports and culture, or revealing their disjunctures.

#### Parameters of the Texts in Installation and Web-Based Formats

Since the inception of the Pan / ParaPan Am Poet-Tree Project in February 2015, poems received have totaled between 39 and 10 per month, for an overall total of approximately 125 poems to date (July 2015). This data is displayed (below), as a range of entries sent per month (series 1); then subdivided by category of submission—whether (a) sent as an original poem or image composed for the project, or pre-existing and sent in to the installation (series 2); or (b) as the name with or without cited verses of a "favourite" poet from one of the 41 represented nations (series 3); the overall total is indicated in the last column (series 4).

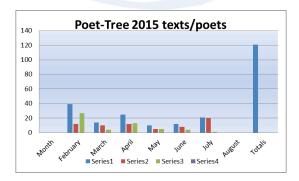


Figure 1: This image summarizes the number of entries.

The listings by country and generation can be found at the project website: <a href="https://www.yorku.ca/laps/dlll/ignite">www.yorku.ca/laps/dlll/ignite</a>. Additional names of poets added to this list were complemented by my research for the 41 countries.

The project, an IGNITE community partner of the Games, welcomed York University members and those of the greater community, including international authors across the Americas, to send in original poems or verses of their favourite poet from one of the 41 represented countries competing in the Toronto 2015 Pan / ParaPan American Games. Each submission, with a sent poem or with the name and/or verses of a poet, was entered to win a monthly prize (from February to August 2015). Poems could be in any of the languages spoken in the 41 countries, to feature sports and poetry in dialogue during this largest multisport and international gathering in Canada to date. Sources consulted were mainly online anthologies for invitations sent. Course related materials were also integrated, such as co-curricular assignments provided to students in Spanish program courses such as AP/SP 3210 Aspects of Spanish American Literature, AP/SP 2200 Introduction to Spanish Literature, and language courses at all levels in Spanish and Portuguese at York University. Calls were also circulated to Latin American cultural and non-profit organizations, universities across Canada and the United States.

Via the poems and images inspired in the concept of the installation at York University's Keele campus—a large site with labyrinthine challenges to locate and traverse—the project linked with other locations through online sites or in physical formats such as meetings, events and performances. In tandem with the research I conducted on this area, these resonances have shaped the expression of the project.

email: poet.tree2015@gmail.com website: www.yorku.ca/laps/dlll/ignite /POETREE2015 @poetree2015



#### Materialization

Poets from each of the represented countries in the Games were invited to send poems, electronically, or handwritten on materials with fibres from each of their countries of origin. Also, poetry aficionados were invited to share the names of their favourite poets to be included in the installation and to submit these electronically, by regular post, or in physical artistic formats. Most opted to send their texts via email or utilizing the online submissions system (machform).

The materials for the project's installation of poems are almost 100% all of recycled, re-purposed materials. York University's spaces were invoked as a reference to the location of the tennis centre and its athletics facilities as official venues for the 2015 Pan Am Games, and as the site of the opening ceremonies for the Par Pan Am Games.

The installation was rendered of paper, string, light adhesives, pinecones, tree branches found in and around Ontario, leaves, discarded wrapping materials, glue, ink, spray paint, feathers, and pencil.

The placing of the texts followed an organic process of arranging these as they were sent in to the project, and as time allowed each week or every two weeks. This represented not the tracing of a map but a sensorial gathering of and placement of textures, perceiving the Pan American ensemble of poems and images as notions of the identities juxtaposed in time and in collectivity.

Poets who embraced the project call and sent in works have included the following: Miguel Avero (Uruguay), Andrés Bazzano (Uruguay), Evgueni Bezzubikoff (Peru), José Cantero Verni (Argentina), Didier Castro(Colombia), Martín Cerisola (Uruguay), Roberto Cruz Arzabal (Mexico), Andrea Durlacher (Uruguay), Ernesto Estrella Cózar (United States/Spain), Kela Francis (Trinidad and Tobago), Paola Gómez Restrepo (Colombia/Canada), David Hernández (El Salvador), Hoski (Uruguay), Lasana Lukata (Brazil), Leonardo Lesci (Uruguay), Irene Marques (Portugal/Canada), Néstor Rodríguez (Dominican Republic), Gustavo Gómez Rial (Uruguay), Santiago Pereira (Uruguay), Marco Quezada (El Salvador/US), Dan Russek (Canada), Priscila Uppal (Canada), Carmen Urioste (Spain/United States), Enrique Winter (Chile), Ed Woods (Canada), Edgar Yáñez Zapata (Venezuela/Canada).

The movement from the singular to the plural manifestation of self-understanding is complex, a radical departure from predominant individualism evident in 21<sup>st</sup> century notions of self. Inherent in this is what Luce Irigaray has presented in her 2002 book, *Between East and West: From Singularity to Community (European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism.* In the lack of differentiation from a group, a person has no say nor autonomy from "group think" (many times created in a part we do not control, but whose discourses present us with already made structures). As Irigaray points out, we feel most comfortable studying history today. We may also feel the absence of a connection to a larger sense of self, as that posited by our possible "plural" selves, as Butler and Athanasiou offer as a way to address our social concerns. Where can we trace the intersections of these potentially revitalizing forms?

In *Hypterext 3.0*, George Landow traces how we read in hypertext, contrasted to the traditionalist approach privileged since the Guttenberg revolution of print. From the perspective of post-structuralist through, as Landow posits, an expanded type of reading, prevalent since the internet age, engages the phenomenological full spectrum of senses, privileging a mobile approach to the text that does not follow a linear approach (though aspects of linearity may be retained), but rather a path that is unique to each receptor/viewer. This approach was highlighted in the installation's formation, taking as Landow did, the notion of the rhizome to reveal the process: "As Deleuze and Guattari explain, a rhizome is 'a map and not a tracing. Make a map, not a tracing. The orchid does not reproduce the tracing of the wasp; it forms a map with the wasp, in a rhizome. What distinguishes the map from the trac-(61)-ing is that it is entirely oriented toward an experimentation in contact with the real' (12). Maps and hypertexts both, in other words, relate directly to performance, to interaction" (Landow, 2006: 60-61). The body's space, time and action prevailed as foci at each stage of the project, without abandoning the praxis of writing/reading.



Figure 2: This is an image of the installation taken on May 31, 2015.

#### **Bio-Symbols and Language(s)**

In this installation we see the interplay of difference and affinity. Intuitive recognition, a call from the creative impulse, a sight line of continuities and discontinuities. By merging these in the metaphor of the tree, contrasting that of the wave, "[f]-orms are the abstract of social relationships; so, formal analysis is in its own modest way an analysis of power. [...] The tree describes the passage from unity to diversity: one tree, with many branches: from Indo-European, to dozens of languages. The wave is the opposite: it observes uniformity engulfing an initial diversity: Hollywood films conquering one market after another (or English

swallowing language after language). Trees need geographical *discontinuity* (in order to branch off from each / other, languages must first be separated in space, just like animal species); waves dislike barriers, and thrive on geographical *continuity* (from the viewpoint of a wave, the ideal world is a pond. Trees and branches are what nation-states cling to; waves are what markets do. And so on. Cultural history is made of trees and waves - the wave of agricultural advance supporting the tree of Indo-European languages, which is then swept by new waves of linguistic and cultural contact...And as world culture oscillates between the two mechanisms, its products are inevitably composite ones. Compromises, as in Jameson's law, can be imagined in this way. That's why the law works: because it intuitively captures the intersection of the two mechanisms" (Franco Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature (2000) and More Conjectures (2003)" in *World Literature in Theory*, Ed. David Damrosch. 2014 Wiley. 165-66.)

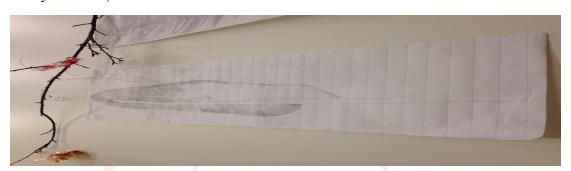


Figure 3: This is a drawing created for the installation by Canadian Tom Jeffery.

Trees as symbols appear in many forms: knowledge, lineage, ethics, code, linkages, merriment, breakage, multiplicity, sustenance, identity vis-à-vis place, *autochthonous* belonging and bridging. Autochthonous as roots and branches—upwards and downwards; mobile as seed and air—beyond (feathers, home and flight) and here as my localities, shared, repositioned, fluid blooming. The predominance of the branches, linked and yet divergent, host the verses as in leaves and seed.

From a hemispheric perspective, the tree denotes diversity and connection across multivalent north-south juxtapositions. Ruptures with underlying foundations in contact, divergent and crisscrossing movements across geospatial tectonic plates, regionalisms, jumps, interruptions, convergences, webs and overviews from the labyrinths of Pan's Americanisms, its root systems, its interweaving veins of the leaves, cross-plantings, reverences: Pan and its Olympian-relations<sup>1</sup>, all of the Pans in dialogue with the natural world, its locations, its embodiments, plural and necessarily focused in each one of us. It is as the American author Paul Auster wrote in 1947: "My skin had become a palimpsest of fleeting sensations, and each layer bore the imprint of who I was."

The project's conception played with the notion of the multifaceted, with "All of the Pans" in the Americas: the shepherd, musician, companion of nymphs, located, in the company of landforms<sup>2</sup>. One whose parentage had many possible origins and some were unclear: in Ancient Greek mythological references it is not confirmed whether Pan was the offspring of the gods of the earth and the sky (is Rhea) or was borne from the figure of Cybele as symbol of the mountain. It is also unclear whether his father was Hermes the Messenger and Communicator of the gods, or the great head of them all, Zeus. Or even another altogether. In these etymologies of the word "pan" the

fluctuation continues in its *combining form* meaning either "all or every" as well as "including or relating to all parts or members", in this case, of the Americas. Its origin, from Greek *pan*, neuter of *pas* all, relates to Greek religion and mythology, as Pan (/pæn/;<sup>[1]</sup> Ancient Greek: $\Pi$ άν, Pan) is the god of the wild, shepherds and flocks, nature of mountain wilds, hunting, and rustic music, and companion of the nymphs. His name originates within the Ancient Greek language, from the word *paein* ( $\pi$ άειν), meaning "to pasture." With his homeland in rustic Arcadia, he is also recognized as the god of fields, groves, and wooded glens; because of this, Pan is connected to fertility and the season of spring. The ancient Greeks also considered Pan to be the god of theatrical criticism. Another reason that the selection of the TREE as symbol for the Pan American, in this case, is an apt one in its performativity of embodiment and of the cultural. (<a href="http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/pan">http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/pan</a>)

The tone of doubt, variance and fluctuation is one often associated with the definition of the Americas in poetry, such as the "CANTO A IBEROAMÉRICA" / "SONG TO IBERO-AMERICA" written by Alvaro Figueredo in Uruguay, on the occasion of a historical celebration following World War II, and winner of the Juegos Florales de México. In a section of this long poetic homage to the countries of the Spanish-speaking Americas, Figueredo referred to the "Latina estirpe" / "Latin Lineage", and wrote:

Sí, pero no... yo dudo y creo, al mismo tiempo me disputan la lengua la rosa y la diatriba.

A veces me conduce una paloma al grito
Y un lirio agujerea a veces mi guitarra.

[...]

Oh Madre, dadme el cóndor que vuela más arriba y el cielo, el cielo, el cielo, el cielo americano.

[Yes, but no. I doubt and I believe, at the same time.

The tongue the rose the diatribe debate me.

Sometimes a dove leads me to a shout and a lily makes a hole in my guitar.

[...]

Oh Mother! Give me the condor that flies even higher and the sky, the sky, the sky, the sky, the [Pan-]American sky.]

(Translation by Maria Figueredo)

The symbolic representation of the tree, thus, encompasses not only the tree itself, its branches, its trunk, its leaves, but also its grounding and subterranean network fed by aquatic systems that crisscross the earth to produce and sustain life, as well as its reaching towards the sky in strengthening its growth patterns and future evolution.

#### Complexities of Minding the "Latino" in the Pan American Imagination

The Poet-Tree 2015 Project was a timely way to engage about Pan American cultural topics especially from the perspective of youth below 40 years of age. How to find methods to engage their views about what is relevant regarding diversity? The capacity to articulate the complexities of these issues, on a case-by-case basis (such as the Latin American immigrant and visitor experience to Canada) in terms of certain cultures in relation to Canada, of the international cultural exchanges from different perspectives, was an extension of the aspect of fragmentation and connectivity that

youth assume as daily occurrence. After all, the Pan Am Games are about youth: a precursor to Olympic qualification, and a coming of age aspect to each participant and to the country selected to host the event. It is, by necessity and in light of these aspects, more fragmentary and preliminary than the conception of the Olympics, which is by its very nature global and set in itself.

On another hand, the Pan Am Games coming to Toronto also made clear an experience that is common to many Canadians: that of living as part or in relation to diasporic communities which provide unique multi-perspectival advantages. The mainstay of Canadian domestic policy and national character has been multiculturalism, particularly since the early 1980s, induced by Liberalism under Pierre Elliott Trudeau, at the same time that Canada received many Latin American immigrants in that first wave of migration. Caused in part by the political crises in the Southern Cone in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina successively rocked by the crises of civil liberties through dictatorship cycles which were to last about a decade each in that period, it was followed by subsequent political strife in Central and the Northern portions of Latin America with issues in El Salvador, Nicaragua and southern Mexico into the late eighties and early nineties. More recently, Cuban migration and Colombian communities have strongly marked a presence, especially in Toronto. In this way, the connection to the country of birth gives rise to a concern for maintaining ties to one's birth country, as well as ways to celebrate one's roots from within the new citizenry. The internet has reshaped the ways that this can be actualized, to such an extent that some critics posit it as a new circle of belonging in itself. Especially for the younger generation, the virtual space becomes a shelter from imposed norms and limits that would hamper self-expression, such as cost factors or closures on marketing access that is controlled by media power systems. Yet, very few had heard of the Pan Am Games, let alone of the ParaPan Am games, prior to its occurrence on Canadian soil; and this is common in countries across the Americas. The Copa América is more well-known, for instance, in Latin America, focused only on soccer, and is watched fervently. Regional Games such as these, and especially those of multisport qualifier competitions such as the Pan Am Games, proceed relatively under the radar of international coverage. In a similar way, poetry can be said to the Pan Am Games of the literary world. These proceed regionally as well. Soccer is an international language. Curling is not; tennis is? How about synchronized swimming or ice skating? What literary equivalent is there for these sports? This is the year of sport in Canada, so that programmatic and infrastructure investments have taken precedence to make this a mainstream question of cultural identity.

One of the most active poets involved in the project, Uruguayan Miguel Avero, was a case in point. Well known outside his native country in translation, he is slowly becoming more so within Uruguayan due not only to the high caliber of his poetry and narrative work, but also, perhaps more so, because of his leadership on a project called "Orientacion Poesía" he leads with two fellow poets, Hoski and Santiago Pereira. Avero was one of the first poets to respond to the Poet-Tree 2015 project's invitation, and took not only to the aspect of contributing poetry—first sending an inedited poem on the topic of writing and the creative process—but later also in writing texts specifically for the project on the topic of sports. He is also a soccer player in Uruguay, and takes this aspect of his life quite seriously, in addition to being an avid reader and considering his main profession that of writer.

Miguel Avero is the author of a poetry collection Arca de aserrín (Ediciones en Blanco, 2011) and of the novella *Micaela Moon* (Travessia, 2014). Five of his poems are included in América invertida: An Anthology of Younger Uruguayan Poets, forthcoming from the University of New Mexico Press (2016), edited by University of Wisconsin professor Jesse Lee Kercheval. In 2012 he received a special mention in the V Concurso de Poesía Joven "Pablo Neruda" organized by the Regional Government of San José and the Pablo Neruda Foundation in Chile. He is among the young generation of poets to have a growing audience outside of his country of birth, especially in online and new anthologies in translation in North America and Europe. His forthcoming books of poetry include La pieza [The Room] and the Que nadie pregunte por ti [May No One Ask about You]). As one of three founders and directors of the collaborative educational project "Orientación poesía" [Orientation Poetry] which he leads in high schools throughout Uruguay with Santiago Pereira and Hoski (Martín Uruguay Martínez), he publishes an online anthology of "ultra" young poets titled En el camino de los perros [On the path of dogs, a cited verse from Chilean writer Roberto Bolaño, perhaps the most well-known Latin American contemporary author in the English-speaking world]: http://www.enelcaminodelosperros.com/ His poem "Water", translated into English by Jona Colson, was published this month in Prairie Schooner literary journal.

#### Themes: Poetry and Sports in Dialogue

The focus on the themes of sports was perhaps the most challenging for most poets contacted, and for students and community members who inquired about participating. Does the poem have to be about sports?—most would ask. My decision to not limit the topic of the poems rested upon several factors: first, as I had seen in the objectives of the Toronto 2015 Games, its mission was to "celebrate sports and culture" (Toronto2015.com); second, its Ignite criteria particularly specified the goal of getting communities involved in the Games, termed "the Peoples' Games", by encouraging each to express what they felt most relevant about their culture; third, in previous iterations of cultural festivals associated with and in tandem with large, international multisport events such as the Olympics, these festivities rarely held as the sole focus the theme of sports, but rather were run as parallel events, such as the Poetry Parnassus in London during the 2012 Olympic Games. The representative poems featured there did not pertain to the topic of sports at all.

Nevertheless, I did somehow intend to tie in the dialogue about the sports events more directly, since it represents a unique opportunity for this. As such, a key reference in Canada in this field is poet and university professor Priscila Uppal. She has two books of poetry published specifically on the topic of sports: *Winter Sport: Poems* and *Summer Sport: Poems*, both edited by Mansfield Press in Canada, in 2010 and 2013 respectively. Poet and novelist Priscila Uppal was born in Ottawa, Ontario in 1974 to a Brazilian mother and a father of South Asian origin. Uppal is a professor of Humanities and Co-ordinator of the Creative Writing Program at York University in Toronto. Uppal served as poet-in-residence for Canadian Athletes Now during the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics and in 2011 became the first Rogers Cup Tennis Tournament poet-in-residence. The Rogers Cup takes place on York University's Keele Campus.

Poetry has gained an international recognition as a vehicle for social integration and understanding, despite its apparent dependence on language skill and linguistic dexterity. As President Barack Obama stated recently during Poetry Month in April, "Poetry helps people understand themselves and each other" [...] "Poetry matters. Poetry, like all art, gives shape and texture and depth of meaning to our lives," "It helps us know the world. It helps us understand ourselves. It helps us understand others, their struggles, their joys, the ways that they see the world. It helps us connect" (http://abcnews.go.com). Yet, how does it do so, especially given linguistic diversity? Translation becomes key and yet is considered secondary. In the Poetry Parnassus mentioned earlier, the works were recited in video and in live readings, in their original language without accompanying translation into English. In Canada, the translation question is even more complex given that there are two official languages—English and French—and that the official languages of the Pan and ParaPan Am Games are English, Spanish and French this year; Portuguese, though spoken by a large percentage of Latin America in Brazil, did not feature as an official language, but had to be dealt with in our Latin American Working Group, and in this project, as part of the communities we were engaging with leading up the Games. For the Poet-Tree installation itself, I placed on the tree poems in their original form as they were sent in. Translations came in to play for the video made of some of these poems, a selection of original verses which had been sent in by May 2015, and in the print materials and power point slides accompanying our main events in July or on our website.

#### The Body in the Wor(l)d, Pan Am Style

There is no one, unitary Pan American perspective; there are entry points, overlapping frameworks, words as ports of entry, vantage points to view the Americas from various vistas; a point of reference is necessary, to avoid falling into facile and erroneous generalizations. What is the vantage point? How does entering via different vantage points predetermine, or not, the outcome of that view?

The dominant languages position our view of the Pan American spaces. Paul Julian Smith, in his book *The Body Hispanic*, argues that the cultural body in society is: "Productive and subjugated: such will be the role of critics who persist in reproducing the images of a dominant order. But if we refuse the reproductive role, then we must return to a body which is particular, but not individual; arbitrary, but not random; material, but not fixed. As the most uncompromising emblem of difference, the body shows us that we need not read the same." Thus, how to produce a map, not a tracing, returning to Deleuze's position—how to produce a real depiction of the bodies interacting with geo-political spaces, rather than a simplified sketch of the main surface appearances? The map could guide to what is there, rather than just characterize main points of what can be described as there from only one surface perspective. Who determines the lines drawn upon the map if not a historic negotiating and struggle for dominance, for persistence, for survival of values as well as in the effort to attain physical excellence and embodied representation.

More than anything this project was born as an experiment in collaboration. At first it was an individual impulse to collect branches on my walks, to save something from the pieces left so as not to disturb that which grows naturally, connected to the source. It later became an experiment in expanded dialogue, relating this to others, to

requiring an expansion of the first impulse to solidify into something of greater scope. In relation to the notion of competing, it went beyond this to a notion of recognizing common ground, to define a point in time and space from which to appraise the Pan/ParaPan American realities as they stand now, from where we find ourselves.

#### Conclusion

Poetry art actions and installations (onsite and online) invite moves in to freedom, connection, community and the rarified type of expression that merges the "sayable" with the "unsayable." A process in constant movement, anchored in the body, the plural connectivity shapes our alliances in Pan-American environments to offer ways "to think about the relational self, understood as plurality" (Butler 2014, 123). They also "confirm the importance of alliances and cohabitation across established categorizations of identity and difference, beyond the very polarity of identity/difference. The heterogeneity of precarious bodies, actions, frameworks, and affective states invites and requires continuous political work of engagement, translation, and alliance, work that veers away from essentialized understandings of identity and representation, and, of course, that effectively opposes nationalist discourses and practices. I understand that such alliances today are confronted with the challenge to engage in an intersectional political reconceptualization of class, race, gender, sexuality, and ability" (2014, 154). In this way they attempt to not only portray, or depict, tracing the real, but to perform the real in a substantive way that speaks to the body, from the body, in real space, for a purpose of connection.

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# Beyond Genre: Black Elements in Radiohead's "Bloom" or Black Music/White Music, What's the Difference?

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#### Abstract

Today's music scene, rather the industrial marketing mechanisms orchestrating the music scene, perpetuates segregation in music. However, such marketing belies the more permeable boundaries between genres or that elements of "black" music still exist in rock or that "white" elements exist in hip hop. One example of black musical elements in a "rock" song is Radiohead's "Bloom" the first track from The King of Limbs (TKOL) released in 2011. Any Radiohead fan can assert that part of the band's popular and critical appeal is their ability to layer sound, creating textured musical experiences. This architectural sound is taken a step further in "Bloom" which has a West African inspired rhythmic arrangement with an anchoring beat at the core and an overlaying of related beats and rhythms. Not only does this destabilize boundaries maintained by the marketing machine of the music industry, but it also raises some interesting cross cultural possibilities as to how the song might function. For example, given the multiple functions of West African music as political/social/spiritual productions, what insights might one gain by analyzing "Bloom" as a spiritual/psychic experience, especially from an African world view? This paper will examine the structure of "Bloom" using J.H. Kwabena Nketia's explanation of West African composition theory and explore the spiritual experience of "Bloom" using Wole Soyinka's theory of the "fourth stage" and the Bantu philosophy of vital force to illustrate the artificialness of the categories into which we place music and cultures.

Keywords: Radiohead, music, polyrhythm, race, spirituality

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#### Introduction

Recently, while manning the karaoke booth in a D.C. bar, a young man came through the door with his girlfriend in tow and made a beeline for me. He leaned over and asked me, one black person to another, "Don't you have any Caribbean music or just black music instead of all this white stuff?" I half expected that question, so I replied calmly "This is black music. We invented it. The very term 'Rock and Roll' is African American slang." He rolled his eyes "Aw Man, why you gotta go back to origins?" and led his girlfriend out of the bar. This encounter highlights two concerns. The first relates to the underlying causes of the young man's ignorance of his own cultural history and his disregard for "origins"—the education system as a whole, still struggling with racial/cultural inequalities in terms of content and orientation, and a willingness to ignore history. The second concern is the very notion that music can be segregated, deemed white or black. While education or lack thereof contributes to the young man's ability to a-historically and glibly proclaim one type of music as black and another as white, this musical segregation results from longstanding practices in the music industry—appropriation and marketing.

Amiri Baraka discusses these practices in Blues People: Negro Music in White America (1963) as he attempts a comprehensive analysis of the Blues as a sociopolitical vehicle. Tracing the history and development of jazz in America from "race music" to "high art," Baraka aligns various forms of jazz and blues with race and class divisions. Ralph Ellison critiques Baraka's argument stating that "his theory flounders before that complex of human motives which makes human history" (253) and that the "concord of sensibilities' which has been defined as the meaning of culture, allows for much more variety than Jones would admit" (252). Rather than the rigid boundaries of Negro music and white music, class and race that Baraka portrays. Ellison argues that "Negro musicians," far from being alienated from the mainstream, have always been shaping it. (255-6). Ellison's critique highlights the undercurrent of Baraka's theory, for while Baraka's discussion tends towards accusations of a middle class mid-brow agenda to dilute "Negro music" and divest it of emotional validity, what is interesting about his argument is the acknowledgement that American popular music is Negro music, or at the very least a version of Negro music. Further, Baraka's argument reveals the interconnectedness between what he assumes to be dilutions and corruptions of African American music forms played by white musicians and the newer forms of jazz and blues which respond to these dilutions. For both Baraka and Ellison, the young man's refusal to go back to "origins" and acknowledge the Black roots of so-called white music would be, at the very least, disheartening. Whether African Americans were derisive about "white versions" of their music or more liberal and accepting of imitation, there would have been little doubt in the minds of the majority of Blacks that it was a form of their music, no matter the level or extent of appropriation, and despite the fact that white musicians were marketed as the king of swing, or true jazz experts. This is also true of Rock and Roll where music made popular by African American artists were re-recorded by white groups and promoted more aggressively than the originals

In Bud Newman's 1985 news article, "Black Artists make White Singers Big; Black Music Bigger," he discusses one of the most overt examples of appropriation and marketing. In the period 1955-56, many "raucous rhythm and blues artists" were covered by white acts such as the Crew Cuts and Pat Boone. These covers were, as

Newman puts it, "lifeless versions which cautious record companies felt were more palatable to white listeners" (11). However, as the article illustrates, the door was widened for R&B in general because if these white re-recordings. As Newman points out, up until the 1950s, such music only played on Black Music stations (11). Keir Keightly also asserts that "Billboard had ranked 'race' and then 'rhythm and blues' hits under their own headings since the 1940s, because the separate pop and rhythm and blues carts were understood to describe two racially distinct markets" (114). While the growing popularity of acts like Little Richard, Chuck Berry, Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin, and the explosion of Motown eclipsed the "whitening" practice by the early sixties, the separation of genres, a reflection of the social reality of Jim Crow laws and segregation, was maintained through labeling<sup>1</sup>. Newman also credits acts like Bill Haley and the Comets (1955) and Elvis Presley (1957) with introducing undiluted rock and roll to white audiences. Presley's covers, according to Newman, retained the "power and punch" of the originals (11). Keightly, however, argues that it is "primarily the institutional demand for new material and novelty sounds," rather than any altruistic push for integration or social change from the listening audience, that facilitated the "crossover" successes of some African American performers, and insists that it is "equally important to recall that throughout the 1950s it is white appropriations and hybridizations of 'black' musical styles that sell the most records overall" (114).

More interestingly, Newman's article suggests a definition for "appropriation" in music makes possible a distinction between adoption and appropriation. Appropriation in music not only involves the commandeering or seizing of a musical form, but also subtracting the "frantic" and "fevered" aspects of the music—aspects which represent a minority's cultural response to socioeconomic oppression. Such responses are not protest per se, but defiant celebrations of life. However, rather than add any depth, causing the artist and his or her audience to communicate intangibles, the music is made "safe" and "palatable," what I would term inert. Something seems to go missing. Adoption on the other hand, as with the Comets (for example), means taking on a musical form and adding something resonant from the artist—a twist or cultural specificity, even the dreaded word "authenticity." An Elvis Presley song, cover or original, bears the stamp of Presley—an indelible Presley-ness that is not readily articulated or empirically measured.

The industry insiders' fear of the un-marketability of African American music can be aligned to Simon Frith's definition of Pop music. According to Frith, "Pop is not driven by any significant ambition except profit and commercial reward. Its history is a history of serial or standardized production and, in musical terms, it is essentially conservative" (96). While applying the term Pop as a genre might be anachronistic in a discussion about the appropriation of African American and other marginalized music by white executives in the sixties, the underlying conservative ideology of Pop in the face of a racially segregated market elucidates the industry's assumptions about the marketability of un-diluted rhythm and blues. Frith also states of Pop music that it "does not have a specific or subcultural communal market/culture. It is designed to appeal to everyone" (95), suggesting that Pop music should have universal appeal.)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Keightly asserts that the separate genres reappeared with the British invasion and the rise of soul music (113).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bud Newman pg 11

However, this universal appeal, as exemplified by the industry moguls, is rooted in white middle class aesthetics and sensibilities. Baraka's chagrin, his distaste for the appropriation of jazz, in part, stems from the paradox of such an exclusionary universality. Further, that this appeal is determined "from on high (by record companies, radio programmers and concert promoters) rather than being made from below" (Frith 96) also suggests that the corporate structure of the music industry is complicit in promoting cultural segregation (or a one-way flow of cultural adaptation/appropriation). Keightly de-mythologizes Rock music, dismantling the idea of rock as inherently anti-mainstream or fringe or authentic, by highlighting the white patriarchal underpinnings of the concept of rock music and the construction of its myth. As he points out, the general belief that rock and roll all but died in 1959 before being resurrected with the British invasion does more than reinforce "the sense of rock as a revolutionary rupture" (116); it also devalues the contributions to popular music by non-white and non-male performers, song writers and industry insiders. Keightly insists that there "is no conspiracy here" before analyzing the privileging of male-ness as in the rock aesthetic and ideology which is codified in "genedered terms, so that 'soft,' 'sentimental,' or 'pretty' become synonyms for insignificance, terms of dismissal, while 'hard,' 'tough,' or 'muscular' become descriptions of high praise for popular music" (117). It is significant that gendered language is also associated with codifying race, colonialism, and imperialism (where non-whites and foreign landscapes are feminized). At the same time, Keightly aligns rock with Pop stating that "[f]or all of rock's appropriation, modification, or outright theft of African-American, agrarian, or working-class musical cultures, it is not itself a form of crossover, nor a subculture incorporated by the dominant culture, nor a counterculture" (126). Rather, rock is a "mainstream phenomenon operating at the very centre of society" (127). In both pop and rock, the notion of appropriation remains tied to race and class, allowing for the political marginalization of the innovators or sources/inspirations for music consumed by the "mainstream"-privileged-white teenage audience. Baraka, Ellison, Newman, Keightly, and Frith's examinations of the politics of popular music reminds one that the segregation of musical genres reflects a part of the larger issues of race and equality in society as housing equality, job equality, and education equality debates, a constant reminder of the socio-economic struggles faced by people of African descent however obfuscated by marginal (but well publicized) successes. However, such segregated marketing belies the more permeable boundaries between genres or that elements of "black" music still exist in rock or that "white" elements exist in hip hop. One example of black musical elements in a "rock" song is Radiohead's "Bloom," the first track from The King of Limbs (TKOL) released in 2011.

Any Radiohead fan can assert that part of the band's popular and critical appeal is their ability to layer sound, creating textured musical experiences. Further, it is the quality of these layers—intricate bass lines, discordant but complimentary guitar riffs, complex drum beats—which makes Radiohead so influential. On their latest album, *The King of Limbs*, they take this architectural sound a step further by layering the percussive elements (a standard drum kits, an electronic drum kit, extra snare and tom-tom drums). Chuck Arnold in a review of the album published in *People* magazine states that "you lose yourself in all of the layered atmospherics" and highlights the "polyrhythmic structure of tracks like ['Bloom'] and 'Ferral'" (47). David Fricke, in his article "Radiohead Reloaded," describes the album as a "lush tangle of samples, drum loops, and glassy vocal reveries" (17). This layering,

polyphonic atmosphere is especially evident on the first track "Bloom" which has a West African inspired rhythmic arrangement with an anchoring beat at the core and an overlaying of related beats and rhythms. Not only does this destabilize boundaries maintained by the marketing machine of the music industry, but it also raises some interesting cross cultural possibilities as to how the song might function<sup>3</sup>. For functions example, given the multiple of West African political/social/spiritual productions, what insights might one gain by analyzing "Bloom" as a spiritual/psychic experience, especially from an African world view? This paper will examine this spiritual experience of "Bloom" using Wole Soyinka's theory of the "fourth stage" to illustrate the artificialness of the categories into which we place music and cultures.

#### **West African Rhythms**

The incorporation of "world music" elements into rock music is by no means a new phenomenon<sup>4</sup>. Beatle's songs such as "Tomorrow Never Knows" (1966) and "Within You Without You" (1967) use sitars and raga composition theories in their instrumentation. Vampire Weekend's "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa" (2008) and "I think Ur A Contra" (2010) draw heavily upon South and West African music respectively. In both bands' cases, these added elements and influences are easily distinguishable and involve the intermingling of "world music" sounds. What is interesting about "Bloom" is that it employs West African rhythmic principles rather than sounds. Instead of using djembe drums or wooden xylophones, for example, the song is structured similarly to West African music using a multilinear rhythmic pattern.

According to J.H. Kwabena Nketia in The Music of Africa (1974), the "melodic and polyphonic forms utilized in African music derive their dynamic qualities from the rhythmic framework within which sound materials are organized" and that "[s]ince African music is predisposed towards percussion and percussive textures, there is an understandable emphasis on rhythm," (125). In "Bloom" this emphasis on rhythm translates into the layered texture of the percussive instruments as well as the rhythmic patterns of guitars and bass. The three percussive instruments—electric drums played by Clive Deamer, full drum kit played by Phil Selway, and the half-kit played by Jonny Greenwood—form the core of the song's multilinear pattern. Each drummer maintains a specific rhythm that overlaps, creating a more complex sound. These rhythms, however, all relate to what Nketia describes as a "fixed time span, which can be broken up into an equal number of segments or pulses of different densities" (126). For example, let us assume that "Bloom" uses a "duple rhythm" based on a time span divided into multiples of two (126)—the electric drum kit uses a fast pulse (8 pulses), the half-kit a moderate pulse (4 pulses), and the full kit a different fast pulse. Further, with the half-kit, the duple rhythm is also additive where, as Nketia notes, "instead of note groups or sections of the same length, different groups are combined within the time span" (129). For example, if the rhythm is duple, and the half-kit is the moderate pulse (4 pulses), then it can be split in 1 + 3 or 3 + 1

website promoting Afro beats in the UK" as saying that "No one talks about this as if it's 'world music' [...] or alien to the culture here."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Radiohead are no strangers to flouting conventional music industry wisdom as one the most influential "indie" bands on the scene and releasing their last two albums over the internet.

<sup>4</sup> Caspar Llewellyn Smith in his article "I'm with D'Banj" in *The Guardian* published 23/6/12 describes the growing interest of African Pop music in the UK and quotes Rickie Davies who "runs a

pulse patterns rather than 2 + 2. While the electric drums use a fast pulse, its function is closer to an idiophone in keeping the time line, a "guideline which is related to the time span" by "externalizing the basic pulse" (131). This externalized basic pulse can have a "more complex form" as is the case with the electric drum kit.

In addition to the rhythmic structures themselves, the structure of "Bloom" also exhibit two principles of African rhythmic arrangements that Nketia identify as grading and spacing. According to Neketia, "rhythms to be combined in [a multilinear rhythmic organization] must be graded in density or complexity in relation to the role of each part as accompanying, response, or lead instrument" (133). With "Bloom" each accompanying instrument, guitars and bass, maintain a distinct rhythmic and melodic pattern, Thom Yorke plays a six-note melody, Ed O'Brian a two-note melody, and Colin Greenwood a complex bass line. Further, each instrument is spaced where the "interlocking part may be arranged in such a way that by their overlapping they form a resultant pattern" (134). Specifically, with "Bloom" these patterns are spaced "in terms of points of entry" creating an "interplay of polyrhythms" (135). In the live version, the first rhythm is the electric drum kit around which the other rhythms are structured. The second rhythm is Yorke's guitar (replacing the opening piano phrase of the album version), followed by O'Brien's guitar, Selway's full-kit, J. Greenwood's half-kit, C. Greenwood's bass, Yorke's vocals, and finally the horn section<sup>5</sup>. Along with grading and spacing, the different tonal qualities of the instruments allow each to "stand out clearly in the form of little 'tunes'" (137-8) while contributing to an overall sound. One should also consider that Radiohead's adaptation of the multilinear rhythmic organization of West African music to European instruments is also influenced by the band's interest in jazz. As Baraka states: "The most apparent survival of African music in Afro-American music are its rhythms: not only the seeming emphasis in the African music on rhythmic, rather than melodic or harmonic qualities, but the use of polyphonic or contrapuntal rhythmic effects" (25). However, while Radiohead's use of European instruments—bass, guitar, and military drum kit—to produce a polyrhythm can be attributed to jazz (very much an American, New World, United States music), the presence of three percussive elements suggests a more recent influence of African derived practices. (Even so, this is "splitting hairs" as the African influence on jazz and vice versa makes singling out a specific source of style increasingly difficult.)

#### "Bloom" and the "Fourth Stage"

While classifying "Bloom" as African music would be overreaching and not the point of this paper, these African elements in the song open avenues of inquiry that may be ignored or underexplored when analyzing rock music—the spiritual influence of the music. As modern Western music is indebted to Afro-American musical forms which, in turn, are indebted to the rhythm and pulse of African music, the music we hear today has maintained, at the very least, the potential to function spiritually. This spirituality is often carried by the drums. As Baraka asserts, Africans "used drums for communication [...] by the phonetic reproduction of the words themselves" (26). Even though Baraka later argues the religious or spiritual significance in African American music was dropped by succeeding generations adjusting to Christian and American life—a stance I disagree with, especially as the blues elicits responses contrary to the sadness expressed in lyrics, tone, mood, and sound—if the drum

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> On the album version, the order is piano, guitar, electronic drum, drum, bass, vocals and horns.

communicated speech, and given that African cultures do not separate the spiritual from the secular, then even if the language is beyond a tangible translation for the average listener, the spiritual message is there. However, unless Western music is religious, either through content or context, analytical focus does not engage the spiritual function of the music. Instead, analyses discuss the emotional content and context of the music. For example, rather than analyzing whether a minor chord arrangement might lead to a submergence of consciousness into another state, the discussion centers on the emotional impact of minor chords (usually associated with sadness or somberness). Neither focus is exclusionary, indeed, they will overlap.

Jazz is a prime example of how a western secular musical form also maintains a spiritual function. In "Jazz Performance as Ritual: The Blues Aesthetic and the African Diaspora" Travis Jackson also discusses jazz's ritual function in society. Like Baraka and Ellison, Jackson links the blues and jazz and asserts that interpreting jazz involves understanding "the performance as a sacred, ritual act" (25). The musicians are heavily invested in the ritual function of the music. According to Jackson the musicians he interviewed are concerned with "being open for transcendence to the 'next level' of performance, the spiritual level" (35). As Jackson states, the "openness" advocated by the musicians "is a way of dealing with the materials at hand (structure, sound, skill, personalities, performing context) and fashioning them into viable and meaningful expression" (48). This interplay is necessary to facilitate players reaching what one "might refer to as trance or possession" where the "performance takes place seemingly on its own" (48). When each performer "successfully synthesize[s] and work[s] with all the materials of a performance" adjusting in each element of space place, and collaboration—"a performance is likely to proceed to the next level" (66). Further, each player, by bringing "something" to the performance injects "soul" into the music. This "soulfulness" as Jackson articulates is linked to the "blues aesthetic" which is "founded in various forms of activity" in African American life and culture—religious, musical and other cultural practices.

While Jackson references the concept of "soulfulness," he does not offer a working definition of "soul." This is in part due to the ethereal or metaphysical aspects of "soul" which does not allow for a concrete definition. At best, Jackson indicates that infusing "soul" into a performance depends on the appreciation if not full participation in African American culture—which is a more accommodating stance than Baraka's. However, most definitions of soul imply a racial exclusivity. For example, according to Leonard E Barrett "in the true world of Black experience, the word [soul] conveys a potent and very special quality of feeling that is unknown to those who are not Black" and that "Soul' signifies the moral and emotional fiber of the Black man that enables him to see his dilemmas clearly and at the same time encourages and sustains him in his struggles" (1). In his Black Arts Movement zeal, Barrett makes the same assumption as Baraka—that "soul" and "soulfulness," the true essence of jazz and blues, is alien to non-Blacks. Yet as Barrett defines soul linking it to the concept of force—"strength, power, intense effort and a will to live" (1)—he leaves open the possibility that any community with such an "intense effort" and "will to live" in the face of trauma, regardless of race, will develop "soul-force," what he describes as "that power of the Black man which turns sorrow into joy, crying into laughter, and defeat into victory. It is patience while suffering, determination while frustrated and hope while in despair" (2; emphasis added). Despite Barrett's reactive

militancy, itself an example of the "compartmentalizing habits of thought" (Soyinka), his definition of soul recalls Soyinka's claims for the universality of the "fourth stage" creative process: any culture (and by extension any subset or individual of that culture) that has experienced trauma formulates a ritual to access the "fourth stage." If the modern trauma of the globalized industrial complex society is the suppression of human expression in favour of materialism, this society will reformulate ritual and ritual activity to ensure creative solutions to survive such trauma.

While several of the reviews of *The King of Limbs* refer to the album and "Bloom" as "a tour of emotional realms", "linger[ing] in states of emotional and physical inbetween-ness—blooming, diving, flirting, floating, falling", "cold-blooded" or "a trippy, almost mystical incantation that careens and caresses". Even though the authors attempt to capture their emotional response to "Bloom," their analyses suggest a deeper psychic/spiritual significance of the song. Also if one compares "Bloom" to "Harry Patch (in Memory of)" with its melancholy string arrangement and Yorke's choir-boy voice juxtaposing the innocence of childhood with the horrors of war, the idea that "Bloom" functions on a spiritual more than emotional level seems more tenable.

As with jazz and soul, one possible explanation for how and why "Bloom" "careens and caresses", "follows strange logic" and hovers in a state of "in-between-ness" is Wole Soyinka's theory of the "fourth stage." According to Soyinka, artistic creativity involves a psychic and spiritual descent into, traditionally, the underworld or chthonic realm which he terms the "fourth stage." Soyinka states that the chthonic realm is "the seething cauldron of the dark world will and psyche, the transitional yet inchoate matrix of death and becoming" (142), the essence of which is "contained and mystically expressed" by the "collective being" of the chorus of traditional Yoruba tragedies (142). The artist must journey across this transitional gulf through the fourth stage, and this trespass of the chthonic realm results in cosmic creativity. There is a direct relationship between this "fourth stage" process and music which often has a ritual function. If "Bloom" is an "incantation" and if one considers that the band acts as dramatic chorus, it is possible to explore the song as both the result of the band experiencing (and re-experiencing) the fourth stage and initiating a fourth stage experience in listeners. In Fricke's article, Yorke claims that figuring out how to play the songs on King of Limbs live "creates an energy that we [Radiohead] want to pursue" and Deamer in the same article states that "every time we play, it [energy] grows. Something slightly different can happen" (18).

This is not to claim that the band intentionally engages the "fourth stage," however, as many musicians attest, they may have experienced a process similar to what Soyinka describes as the "fourth stage." In my dissertation, "African Masking Process: Re-Interpreting Mask and Mas' in Six Anglophone Texts," I expand upon Soyinka's theory to map the process of accessing the "fourth stage," outlining four phases of the process—opening, entering, traversing, and exiting. At the point where playing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Vdovin, Marsha. (2011). "Listen Playlist." *Electronic Musician*. 27.5, 40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Dolan, Jon. (2011). "The King of Limbs." Rolling Stone. 1126, 61-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Vozick-Levinson, Simon. (2012). "Radiohead: The King of Limbs Live From the Basement." *Rolling Stone* 1148, 57

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Arnold, Chuck. (2011). "The King of Limbs." *People.* 75.10, 47

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Dolan p61

"Bloom" live creates energy and grows, Radiohead has already opened and entered the chthonic realm. For the audience, the process is just beginning, for the band, as the main actors are opening the "fourth stage" and leading the way in. The atmospheric and incantatory nature of "Bloom," rather than being "cold-blooded" is otherworldly, leading the imagination outside of the human condition, both lyrically and musically. Adding to the atmospheric harmonics of the multilinear rhythmic organization of "Bloom" live, the lyrics invite the listener to float into a mixture of space and ocean. By the second verse, the audience has entered a strange space and is traversing it by "moving out of orbit," to encounter giant turtles and jellyfish rendered unfamiliar by their context (outer space). By merging ocean life imagery and outer-space imagery, the lyrics produce a space where several forms of being (human and alien) interact—a "fourth stage."

The possibility of interpreting "Bloom" through Soyinka's theory of the "fourth stage" opens up the possibility of investigating the effects of music on community without dismissing it as frivolous or a palliative pastime. What Soyinka describes is a communal ritual experience meant to reconnect participants with a larger-than-life force, a larger-than-life grasp of humanity and its place in the universe, a form of spiritual or psychic catharsis. If we consider music and communal musical performances from an African perspective, communal performances provide "at once an opportunity for sharing in the creative experience, for participating in music as a form of community experience, and for using music as an avenue for the expression of group sentiments" (22). In an increasingly fractured and individualistic society, concerts allow us to gather as a community in the way Patrice Some Malidoma defines it: "Any group of people meeting with the intention of connecting to the power within is a community" (49). In this context, if we contemplate the multiple functions of any song, exemplified here by "Bloom", there are at least two purposes forming a community at a concert. The first is spiritual release. In keeping with Soyinka's theory, the spectators watching the human celebrant(s) enter the chthonic realm participate in the energy such a breach produces. This energy resonates below the cognitive surface, leading to a release, more than emotional or mystical, a release felt deep in an indescribable part of one's being. Gordon Rholehr, for example, in his essay "Sound and Pressure," describes the effects of ska on the underprivileged classes in Jamaica in a similar tone. According to Rholehr the people found ska to be "a release from the daily inferno of their harsh lives" (86). He compares the social function of ska to that of the Blues, describing the latter as "complex—a mixture of submission and rebellion" (87). Rholehr's word choice addresses motivations deeper than emotional, especially as he cites the Afro-centered spiritual influence of the musical forms, and correlates with Soyinka's destructive (submission) and creative (rebellion) forces in the fourth stage.

The communal aspect of these performances also allows for spiritual (re)connection with members of the community. According to Kimbwande Kia Bunseki Fu-Kiau in *African Cosmology of the Bantu-Kôngo* (1980) "to communicate is to emit and receive waves and radiations. This process of receiving and releasing or passing on is the key to human being's game of survival" (113). Thus, within the community of a concert, this communicated energy is amplified in a closed circuit—when the band on stage releases cosmic creative energy, it is communicated to the audience which triggers a release of cosmic energy which is communicated to the band. Performing such communal rituals where each participant builds positive energy could offer a

corrective to the oppressive and isolating aspects of modern capitalist society, as Malidoma states: "in the formation of the community is the possibility of doing together what is impossible to do alone. This acknowledgement is also an objection against the isolation of individuals and individualism by a society in service of the Machine" (49). Performing such a communal ritual with some awareness, could serve as a template each participant could apply to his or her life long after the concert is over.

#### Conclusion

Analyzing a "little rock song" like Radiohead's "Bloom" through an African philosophical lens underlines the artificially rigidity of musical boundaries maintained by the music industry. It also highlights the fluidity of music as expression and experience. Radiohead can be considered genre-less, and a cursory glance at any "office chart" listed on their website confirms that their influences are wide ranging and often pleasantly surprising. Further, the influence they exert on other genres is equally pleasantly surprising, from jazz, reggae, to hip-hop. The limiting notion of describing music as black or white denies this communal performance and obscures the spiritual and political benefits that music might provide. For the audience, participation in the energy the band produces, the experience of the process, leads to a release, more than emotional or mystical, a release felt deep in an indescribable part of one's being, allowing one to move beyond race to appreciate humanity. Black music, white music, what really is the difference?



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# Expressions of Sensory Evidentiality in Journalistic Travelogues: Elements of Persuasive Narration

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#### **Abstract**

In most cases, journalistic travelogues do not only want to share an experience with the reader, they also want to persuade the reader to make the same journey. If this is the purpose, 'evidence' is needed for the truthful presentation of the description. Involving all senses in the description of the perception makes the representation more complete and might contribute to its persuasive effect. In order to analyze this representation linguistically. I have collected a sample of 50 travelogues published in Flemish (Dutch language) lifestyle magazines. I have singled out all instances of mental processes (cf. systemic-functional linguistics) concerning perception, in which the Senser is the journalist. I have categorized the sensory perceptions that are described (also in terms of frequency) and I have drawn up an overview of the linguistic-pragmatic communicative purposes these descriptions have, in relation with the contents being communicated. The corpus shows that in most cases, the journalist does not refer to him/herself as Senser in the processes described. However in some cases, this reference does occur (e.g. 'A deafening shreaking of pelicans reaches me.' vs. 'The shreaking of the pelicans is deafening.'). My central research questions then, are how, when and why this reference is made explicit in travelogues. The discussion of the instances drawn from the corpus will show how persuasive narration can be one of the goals of the explicit mentioning of the Senser.

Keywords: discourse analysis, journalistic writing, evidentiality, representation of sensory experiences

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## Introduction: the journalistic construction of reality

Many authors (e.g. Halliday 1994, Wodak 2001, Fairclough 2003, Verschueren 2012) share the viewpoint that communicating about an event or a state of affairs comes down to reconstructing the situation in language. As this holds for all kinds of communication, it is also applicable to the mass communication produced by journalists. Gauthier (2005:51-52) agrees that journalistic reality is a constructed reality. At the same time, he does not accept an antirealistic view which would deny the existence of facts in their own right. Rather, he contends that journalism "is born of a given reality". Hartley (1992:140) points out that visual perception is a key element in communicating about reality: "The classic OED general definition of 'truth' – 'that which exists in fact' – is commonly verified by taking it to refer to 'that which can be seen'."

In the context of journalistic reporting, the concept of 'eyewitnessing' immediately crosses the mind. Zelizer (2007) gives an overview of how eyewitness reporting has evolved in the history of journalism. She concludes that this kind of reporting shows a certain attrition through the influence of technology and non-conventional journalists, but she also describes three major functions eyewitness reports have had in journalism over time. These are (1) to convince publics of the distant experience or event in a seemingly unmediated style, (2) to craft credible and authoritative narratives for happenings in the real world and (3) to establish journalistic authority (Zelizer 2007: 424-425).

The journalistic authority or authoritative narrative has to do with the fact that the reporter has 'seen the situation with his own eyes'. This enhances the reliability of the information, or as Zelizer (2007: 411) puts it: "Eyewitnessing is thought to offer a kind of proof that is different from that provided by other types of reportorial chronicles."

Hartley (1992) and Zelizer (2007) only refer to visual perception as a basis for constructing reality in language, but handbooks for journalistic writing advise students to use and to appeal to all senses when they write a report. Asbreuk & De Moor (2007:220) give the following advice for making good descriptions: "Make [the reader] see, hear, smell and feel. [...] first make good observations. [...] keep your eyes, ears and nose wide open. [...] Descriptions may relate to everything you see, hear, smell or taste [translation mine]".

In the case of travel journalism, the description of perception is even more important than in mainstream journalism. If readers have not visited a place themselves, they will construct an image of it, based on the description of the journalist. Pan & Ryan (2009) state that the way journalists write about travel destinations is very important for tourism marketing, because the readers consider the journalistic texts to be more reliable than promotional material of the travel agencies and tour operators. Pan & Ryan (2009:627) emphasize the importance of the description of perception in travel stories.

The persuasive aspect of travelogues should be clear by now, but I will not dwell on the marketing perspective here. My research is rather motivated by a linguistic interest in (1) how the journalists' perceptions are rendered in (the Dutch) language and (2) to what effect these perceptions might be described by the journalist. As the linguistic category of evidentiality has established a relationship between the description of perception and giving evidence, this category will offer a useful starting point for my analysis.

## Sensory perception and evidentiality in journalistic texts

Studying perception, proof and evidence from a linguistic perspective automatically brings up the linguistic category of evidentiality, which is defined by Aikhenvald (2004:3) as "a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information". Boye (2010: 304) defines it as covering "meanings that represent the evidence for a proposition".

Several authors have studied perception and evidentiality in connection with mainstream news discourse. For Bednarek (2006), evidentiality is part of epistemological positioning. It is the linguistic rendering of the source of information of the speaker: what the speaker bases his/her knowledge on and how certain the speaker is of that knowledge. In some languages this information is part of the morphology of the verb. In Indo-European languages, it is mostly expressed by modals and adverbs (e.g. 'might', visibly'). Evidentiality can also comprehend the expression of a deviation from the speaker's expectations and knowledge (e.g. by the use of the adverbs 'amazingly', 'surprisingly') or of the scope of the speaker's knowledge (adverbs like 'generally', 'in most cases').

Bednarek (2006) continues with summing up the different bases and sources for epistemological positioning. As we are concerned with sensory perceptions here, I will limit the discussion of the bases for epistemological positioning to those expressions which are related to perception. According to Bednarek (2006:640), for the category where perception is the base for the positioning, the linguistic expressions can be divided into three subcategories: Mental (e.g. 'he looked distraught'), Sensory (e.g. 'he was visibly tired') and Showing (e.g. 'her face betrayed a certain surprise'). In all three cases, the source can be the speaker/writer or a third party. As I focus on the sensory perceptions of the journalists writing the stories, I will restrict the discussion to sensory evidentiality, based on the perception of the author.

It goes without saying that the expression of evidentiality is subjective: it is an interpretation of a situation by the speaker. According to Whitt (2011:350), "[S]subjectivity in language, in its most general sense, is the linguistic realization of a S/W's [speaker/writer's M.T.] presence in the discourse". By implication we can say that the more authors leave out their own persona from the text, the more objective the text will be. In journalism studies, objectivity and subjectivity are controversial and much debated concepts. Following Robinson and Sheehan (1983:34), maybe the term 'objectivistic' should be preferred over the term 'objective' here, but for our purposes, we can adapt the previous definitions.

Hsieh (2008) has analyzed evidentiality in Chinese news stories and has related this analysis to the concepts of subjectivity and objectivity. She states that journalists "engage in attaining a maximal balance between their awareness that they cannot be neutral and their belief that they should fulfill the requirement of objective reporting" (Hsieh 2008: 219). She is interested in how reliable the rendering of a news story is and how the journalist indicates its reliablility. She has found that the journalist does this by means of reportative evidentiality (attributed to external sources) or sensory evidentiality (where the author goes by his/her own perception and takes direct responsibility for the utterance). According to Hsieh, the more journalists emphasize their own presence, be it at a certain location or in their own texts, the more subjectivity the report betrays. This leads to an interesting paradox. Whereas handbooks and authors like Zelizer (2007) advocate reference to the journalist's own perception because it guarantees the truth value of the text, Hsieh (2008) warns against the 'presence' of the author in the text and thinks reported information from third parties (and several sources) to be more reliable.

Clark (2010) also discusses the presence of the reporter as a mediator and finds that this presence is gaining importance. She has compared newspaper corpora of 1993 and 2005 and she has found that in the course of time, sources have been moved to the background and that the writer's impressions have become more important. Verbs like 'look', 'seem' and 'sound' occur more frequently in 2005 than in 1993. Clark contends that these verbs, rather than emphasize the reliability of the news in an eyewitness report, might obscure the fact that the journalist was **not** present in the reported situation and that the news is not firsthand. She identifies an evolution towards a more speculative reporting.

I will compare these findings for mainstream reporting with the corpus of travelogues I have collected and show that there is a difference between the text types. As the travelogues in my corpus are persuasive texts and the relationship with the reader is important in this genre, I will also tie up the notion of intersubjectivity with the discussion. Whitt (2011:350) states that evidentiality is considered as subjective in most literature, but that intersubjectivity, defined as "the encoding of the S/W's attention to or relationship with the addressee in the speech event" can also be a feature of evidentiality. But first I will describe the corpus I have worked with and the ways perception can be expressed in Dutch.

### Corpus

I have collected fifty travelogues from two different Dutch language magazines (25 from each). One is the lifestyle magazine of the best sold Flemish quality newspaper *De Standaard*. The other magazine I have examined is *Uit Magazine*. This is the monthly magazine for the members of the League of the Flemish Car Drivers, established in 1922.

I have opted for a close reading analysis of a sample of 700 processes from each magazine. This amounted to four articles from *De Standaard Magazine* and four from *Uit Magazine*. I define processes in the Hallidayan sense of the predicate of a clause, typically expressed by a verb phrase (Halliday 1994). I have focused on the mental processes concerning perception, in which the Senser is the author. This first analysis is to be considered a qualitative and an exploratory one. The advantage of scrutinizing every process in its own right is that very different types of expressing perception can be found.

## The linguistic expression of perception in Dutch

The ways for expressing perception in Dutch have not been described extensively so far. Much like English and German perception verbs (cf. Whitt 2009), Dutch perception verbs can be labeled as object-oriented, where the perceived object or stimulus is the grammatical subject of the clause (e.g. *de muziek klonk luid* [the music sounded loud]) or as subject-oriented, where a perceiver is the grammatical subject. Within the subject-oriented category, a distinction can be made between agentive verbs [+ volition] (e.g. *ze luisterde naar de muziek* [she listened to the music] and experiencer verbs [- volition] (e.g. *ze hoorde de muziek* [she heard the music]. The subject-oriented verbs describe an act of perception, whereas the object-oriented verbs tend to indicate an assessment or value judgment made by the speaker that is based on perception, as the stimulus of perception is in focus rather than the perceiver (Whitt 2009:1085).

Based on the categories of Whitt (2009) and those of Bednarek (2006) (cf. section 2), I have distinguished different types of expressing perception. I will illustrate each type with an example from the corpus.

The first category is that of subject-oriented perception verbs. The focus is on the perceiver, who is mostly referred to in the first person singular (ex. 1). When the author is part of a group, sometimes the first person plural is used (ex. 2). In some cases, a generic second person occurs (ex. 3). The use of 'generic you' might be a way of involving the reader in the story. All instances in this category can be [+ volition] or [- volition].

- (1) subject-oriented, 1P sg., [+ volition]

  Ik geniet nog gauw van een kop koffie en een stukje taart in de Kiasma galerie [DS-W-17]

  [I enjoy a cup of coffee and a piece of cake in the Kiasma gallery]
- (2) subject-oriented, 1P pl, [- volition] We hebben zicht op de goddelijke Olympos [DS-X-7] [We have a view on the divine Olympos.]
- (3) subject-oriented, 2P, generic, [- volition] *In the train, you see India in different ways* [...] [DS-V-14] [Op de trein zie je India op verschillende manieren.]

A second category is object-oriented. Here the focus is on the act of perceiving. The perceiver can be named (ex. 4) or can be left out of the picture (ex. 5). The perception can be based on the author's own senses (exs. 4-5), on mental inference by the author (ex. 6), or on what a third party/instance shows to the author (ex. 7). For my analysis, I have focused on the instances where the sensory perception and the author are mentioned explicitly.

- (4) object-oriented, [+ experiencer]

  Oorverdovend pelikaangekrijs dringt tot me door. [Uit-X-5]

  [A deafening shreaking of pelicans reaches me.]
  - (5) object-oriented, [- experiencer]

De lucht ruikt kruidig. [DS-V-3] [The air smells spicy.]

- (6) object-oriented, mental inference
- [...] mensen die er veel verzorgder uitzien dan hun huisjes doen vermoeden. [Uit-X-22]
- [...] people who look better groomed than their houses might suggest.
- (7) obj-oriented, showing *Een imker laat trots een druipende raat vol bijen zien.* [DS-X-9] [A beekeeper proudly shows a dripping honeycomb full of bees.]

A third category consists of nominalisations. Ex. 8 shows that these have an implied subject. We can suppose that the subject in this case is the author, or the group the author belongs to, but as I focus on those cases where the author is mentioned explicitly, I have not included instances like ex. 8 in the analysis.

(8) *Na drie kwartier* whalewatching is het de hoogste tijd om naar Paradise Bay door te varen. [DS-Y-25]

[After three quarters of an hour of whalewatching, it is high time to sail on to Paradise Bay.]

A special kind of reference to perception, is the quoting of a third party in the story. The author then reports what s/he has heard somebody else say, as in ex. 9. This is what Bednarek (2006:643) calls HEARSAY, and it is also a way of indicating evidentiality. However, as I have focused on the sensory perceptions of the authors, I have again considered this category to be out of the scope of my analysis.

(9) "They call me the Casanova of Turkey!" *grijnst de atletische, zongebruinde Turk.* [DS-X-4]

["They call me the Casanova of Turkey!", the athletic, sun-tanned Turk grins.]

## The explicit marking of perception

In section 1, I have already mentioned that handbooks recommend using all senses when describing. On the other hand, they also advise not to foreground oneself as a perceiver. Burger & De Jong (2009:55) state: 'Just like for a cameraman, it's better for a writer to stay out of the picture, as long as he is only watching. [...] He only appears when he becomes a player instead of an observer. [...] Moreover, there are no words like 'striking', 'interesting' and 'remarkable' in the description: Botje [author who is cited as an example M.T.] has the readers draw their own conclusions.[translation mine].'

The corpus shows that the journalist does not refer to him/herself often as experiencer in the processes described. However the previous examples show that the reference does occur in a number of cases. Instead of 'there's a deafening shrieking of pelicans', we find examples like 'a deafening shrieking of pelicans **reaches me'**. Apart from the forms the description of perception can take, I also want to find out when and why the reference to the author is made explicit in travelogues, and by implication what the role and importance of the perception of the journalist is in the whole story.

The description of the act of perceiving by the author is an evidential interpretation of the perception. Expressions like 'I guess', 'I suppose' and 'I believe' can be considered to have meanings in a similar vein. Van Bogaert (2006) has shown that they are grammaticalized to some point, but the explicit presence of the speaker in the utterance adds specific (inter)subjective meanings. According to her, they are used (amongst other purposes) "to negotiate epistemic and evidential stance and personal views" (Van Bogaert 2006:146). According to Whitt (2011:351), the presence of the author in the text (subjectivity) and of the relation with the reader (intersubjectivity) always involves a kind of evaluation of the perception. The focus is more on the evaluation than on the perception.

In the case of travelogues, we can assume that these texts describe *the unfamiliar* to the reader, more than any other journalistic genre does. Intersubjectivity might be less at stake here. The texts describe places the reader has not visited (yet), so it is essential that the information should be first-hand, from a journalist who has 'seen the place with his own eyes' and whose senses replace those of the reader. The fact that the journalist has been there, enhances the truth value of the message. At the same time, the text might pave the way for the reader and persuade him/her to make the same journey. The corpus shows that the experiences narrated are seldom negative. Sceneries are beautiful, dishes are heavenly, or at least 'special'. Negative experiences only concern minor details, and are very rare, as in ex. 10:

(10) Mijn ontbijtkoffie smaakt als getrokken van basaltgruis. [Uit-P-2] [My morning coffee tastes as if it is made from basalt grit.]

In the next sections, I will discuss examples of different types of expressing the author's perception from the corpus and explore the possible pragmatic motivations for these expressions.

# Pragmatic motivations for explicitly marking the perception – discussion of examples from the corpus

#### Persuasive narration

Lifestyle articles often have a persuasive aspect, as they are published in magazines which have consuming interests. Pan & Ryan (2009:637) state that travelogues can play "an important role in stimulating potential tourists' travelling desire". In most cases, travelogues (which often are 'sponsored texts', as I have pointed out in section 3) do not only want to share an experience with the reader, they also want to persuade the reader to make the same journey. If this is the purpose, even more 'evidence' is needed for the truthful presentation of the description. Involving all senses in the description of the perception makes the representation more complete and might contribute to its persuasive effect.

## (a) Registration of perception

In some cases, the perception itself is the core message of the proposition. If, as in ex. 11, 'spotting deer' is the cause for a journey, the mentioning of the perception is only obvious.

(11) [...] waardoor we heel wat herten kunnen **spotten**. [Uit-R-6] [[...] which gives us the opportunity **to spot** many deer.]

The mentioning of an act of looking can also be part of the story, as ex. 12 shows. The description of the act helps in building up the tension of the story.

(12) Af en toe wissel ik een blik met mijn medepassagiers, die net als ik niet weten of ze het een tikje akelig of ongehoord spannend vinden. [Uit-X-18] [Every now and then, I exchange glances with my fellow passengers, who – just like me – do not know whether they find this a little scary or outrageously exciting.]

## (b) Emphasis on experiencer

Exs. 13-15 also describe an act of perception, but at the same time they emphasize the narrator/experiencer. This might be a style handbooks plead against, but this type of description occurs in both magazines and with several authors.

- (13) Ik zie hoe het houtskoolzwart van de nacht traag, met een dikke duim, in het blauw van de valavond wordt gewreven. [DS-P-9]
  [I see how the charcoal black of the night is being rubbed with a thick thumb in the twilight blue.]
- (14) De oneindige stilte wordt alleen overstemd door het geluid van de scheepsmotoren. Ik vind die stilte enorm rustgevend. [DS-Y-13] [The endless silence is only drowned down by the sound of the ship's engines. I find that silence very soothing.]
- (15) Ik ben geweldig nieuwsgierig om te zien hoe dat streepje atlas er in het echt uitziet. [Uit-X-6]
   [I am tremendously curious to see what that small belt in the atlas really looks like. [Panama Canal]]

Whereas in ex. 13, it is difficult to establish what the presence of the author in the utterance adds to its meaning, in ex. 14-15, the narrator becomes the protagonist of the story, whose feelings seem to be important for its build-up.

### (c) Emphasis on experience

Other cases show an emphasis on the experience. In those instances the expression of the perception is object-oriented. In this category we often find perceptions other than the visual, as exs. 16 and 17 show. This might indicate that describing an auditory or a tactile perception is unusual in se, so that the process itself gets more attention.

(16) *Oorverdovend pelikaangekrijs dringt tot me door.* [Uit-X-5] [A deafening shreaking of pelicans reaches me.]

- (17) Zware gebouwen laten me klein voelen. [Uit-X-24] [Heavy buildings make me feel small.]
  - (d) Scenic narration and sudden events

Other cases where the author appears before the footlights are when a story is told scene by scene (cf. ex. 18) and certainly when sudden events happen in the narrative, as in ex. 19. Again, this seems to be a way of building up suspense.

- (18) Net als ik de winkel met lege handen wil verlaten, zie ik een vaas in rotsvorm. [DS-W-10]

  [Just when I want to leave the shop empty-handed, I see a vase in a rock-shape.]
- (19) En terwijl de passagiers op de ijsschots rondlopen, zien wij plots de Austral wegvaren. [DS-Y-4]
   [And suddenly, while the passengers are walking on the ice floe, we see the Austral [ship] sail away.]

Sometimes the narration of the sudden event is combined with an expression of a feeling of alienation. The expectations of the author him/herself are at stake, as ex. 20 illustrates, and just like in exs. 14-15, the author is the protagonist of the story. Bednarek (2010) already mentioned evidentials expressing a deviation from the speaker's expectations. Here the deviation is from the author's expectations about herself.

(20) *Ik zie me plots* een wagen met chauffeur delen. [DS-V-4] [Suddenly, I see [find] myself sharing a car with chauffeur.]

#### Conclusions and further research

In this paper I have listed the ways sensory perceptions are expressed in travelogues, with a focus on those cases where the act of perception by the author is explicitly marked and I have explored the possible pragmatic meanings of these markers. I have applied a close reading procedure which has allowed me to identify all possible ways of expressing perception, much more than a key word in context search would have done. The corpus of travelogues from two different Flemish lifestyle magazines I have analyzed, consists of 'sponsored stories', which entails that the texts have a clear persuasive purpose. As the expression of perception has not been described extensively yet from a linguistic viewpoint for Dutch, I have made an inventory of the different grammatical forms which occur in the corpus (object/subject-oriented verbs, +/- volition, nominalisations).

I have argued that the explicit marking of the perception by the author always has an evidential aspect, as the journalists relate the state of affairs or the event they describe to their own personae. The eyewitness stance has always been important in journalism. In this context of sensory perception the visual aspect of this stance should be extended to the auditory, the tactile, the olfactory and the gustatory domains. The perception of the journalist replaces the perception of the reader, it adds flavour to the narrative and it functions as proof for the trustworthiness of the information (Zelizer 2007).

Finally, in order to improve writing courses for future journalists, it would be useful to examine the way the description of personal perceptions and impressions is received by the reader. The precise effect on the reader of the presence of the author (be it as a protagonist or not) in the text and the possible intersubjective elements of this presence are factors which might influence the advice handbooks offer for writing professionally and attractively.

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# University Department Works with Local Health Community to Strengthen Health Communication Strategies.

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#### Abstract

Health is a topic that affects everyone, either through their own personal experiences or those of their family, friends or work colleagues. Yet, for a long time, reporting health consisted largely of statistics on the number of deaths and cases of disease, or reporting on epidemiological data that affect people we do not know. While this is important for health officials, it is of little interest to audiences who demand information that is useful to their daily lives. Research has shown that if effectively used, the media can lessen fear and stigma which are the biggest obstacles to seeking information and treatment about diseases. The paper describes a recent pilot project in Western Australia that aims to fill some of these gaps by empowering people who live with HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) or who work for HIV organisations, to be proactive and share their own stories and experiences of HIV with the media. The project is entitled, Beyond the Red Ribbon: Improving HIV awareness through media education programs, and it is run by Edith Cowan University's journalism department in collaboration with WA AIDS Council (WAAC) in Perth, Western Australia. The participants completed several media education and training sessions on how to communicate their personal HIV stories in the media. The paper evaluates the initial feedback and outcomes. This framework of community and media engagement that underpins the media training and education program has broader applicability for other health promotion and disease prevention initiatives beyond HIV.

**Keywords:** Health communications, journalism, HIV, media, health, sexuality, sharing stories.

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#### Introduction

The latest figures for HIV infections in Western Australia are the highest on record but the diagnosis rate has since shown no sign of slowing. These increases are attributed to a number of factors, such as migration, travel, online forums facilitating sexual encounters, but also because of a rise in heterosexual men and women being diagnosed. HIV is still spreading in WA communities and needs to be addressed together with the increase in sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Gartner, 2013). Figures from the Australia Bureau of Statistics also show that WA has among the highest rates of Chlamydia and Gonorrhea in the country, second only to the Northern Territory (ABS, 2013). Youth Affairs Council Executive Officer Craig Comrie said: "Sexual health should be as important to people in the community as mental health. The reality is the statistics show one in five young people experience mental health concerns. One in five young people in WA have Chlamydia." One area of concern is the fly-in, fly-out workers in WA who travel to Bali during their working breaks" (Comrie, 2013) but other changes that have been linked with the rise in STIs include the use of online dating (Bateson, Weisberg, McCaffery and Luscombe (2012), and a reported decline in safe sex practices (O'Leary, 2015).

Despite the increasing spread of HIV and STIs in WA communities, media coverage of this important health issues remains patchy and sensationalist. Yet academic debate over the past 25 years shows the media has a important role to play. Ratzan (1993) argued that despite differing views on the precise role of the media in reporting HIV, there was broad agreement on the fact that the media are an important and influential source of health and medical information, and that they shape public understandings of, and responses to, the current epidemic. "The media have enormous potential to help stop the spread of AIDS if they could inform the public continuously and accurately about the true nature and scope of HIV risks around the world" (Ratzan, 1993, p. 256). He stressed in the early 1990s that journalists should rise above the epidemic of complacency, stigma, and denial to uncover solutions for slowing HIV infection in the most devastated areas of the world. "Effective health communication is our primary and most potent weapon in preventing the spread of AIDS. Until a vaccine or cure for HIV infection is discovered, communication is all we have" (Ratzan, 1993, p. 257).

The United Nations program on HIV/AIDS stressed the pivotal role that media play in preventing HIV through educating people about HIV. In the UNAIDS publications, The media and HIV/AIDS: making a difference, it states that without an immediate cure or vaccine, then education is the best vaccine against the disease and encourages engagement with the media (UNAIDS, 2004).

Swain (2005) argued that the media, particularly journalists, exercise a significant influence in moulding public opinions and attitudes towards the disease and that much of society's understanding of the disease, including who it affects and its future possibilities, comes from the media (Swain, 2005, p. 258). Yet, coverage of HIV in many parts of the world has been erratic and often journalists frame the epidemic as an emergency rather than a lasting concern. Also, news analysis frequently fails to recognize socio-economic contexts that made it more difficult for some to avoid infection such as poverty, disempowerment, and inequalities (Swain, 2005, p. 259). Research on media coverage of HIV shows that if effectively used, the media can lessen fear and stigma that are the biggest obstacles to seeking information and

treatment (Cullen 2000, p209). However, there has been a disproportionate emphasis in the media on reporting HIV infection rates with little in-depth analysis of the disease or informational content (Cullen, 2000, 2006, 2010). While the language and tone of HIV stories show more sensitivity to people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA), Cullen (2014) argues there is a need to widen coverage and report HIV as a story with medical, political, social, economic, cultural, religious and relationship aspects. Engaging PLWHA to share their stories is particularly important in the delivery and clarification of health messages (Cullen and Callaghan 2010). This last point is supported by the Australian government's national strategy on HIV, which stresses the need to ensure the continuous involvement of PLWHA as key partners in prevention education (Australian Government Department of Health and Aging: Sixth National HIV Strategy 2010-2013).

In an attempt to foster improved and responsible media reporting on HIV and STIs which will allow for better understanding and response to these diseases, the journalism department at Edith Cowan University, in collaboration with the WAAC, developed a pilot project entitled *Beyond the Red Ribbon* that provided both media education and training programs for more than 40 staff at WAAC. The project drew on the successful 'Mindframe' initiative that has resulted in significant improvements in the reporting on mental health and suicide (Mindframe, 2014).

Key to the success of this project was a partnership approach linking community and media in the development and delivery of effective health messages. Such an approach is in line with international, national and state government policy guidelines. For example, the WA Government's model of care implementation from 2010-2014 endorsed a partnership approach to the overall management of HIV and highlights the importance of education and research institutions in this work. ECU's collaborative partnership with WAAC was intended to be a practical example of this policy in practice as better educated journalists, and more stories and shared experiences on HIV and STIs, should impact on public's knowledge and response. By providing community organisations such as WAAC with the skills and knowledge necessary to produce and deliver more effective media messages, and building bridges between these grassroots groups and media organisations who deliver the messages, the project aimed to bring about improved awareness and knowledge of HIV and STIs among the public. More broadly, this partnership project also wanted to investigate and pilot a model or framework of community and media engagement which could improve awareness and responses to HIV and STIs in Western Australia that could also have broader applicability to range of health and disease prevention issues.

## Methodology

The media education program (MEP) had two main components. The first involved engaging with WAAC staff to broaden understanding of how the media operates, and secondly, developing their skills so they competently and confidently share their stories and experiences more effectively in the media.

- Phase 1 Two media education seminars with WAAC staff
- Phase 2 Three media training workshops for WAAC staff

The second phase also involved the design of a media kit, which was distributed to each participant. The content for the media kit was based on feedback gathered from face-to-face interviews with WAAC project participants and qualitative interviews with the Executive Team responsible for the delivery and implementation of the

Mindframe National Media Initiative based at the Hunter Institute of Mental Health in Newcastle, NSW.

In each media training session, the group was asked to assist in defining the strengths and weaknesses as they saw them of different kinds of media engagement — both with traditional media and in their extensive practice and use of emerging or social media. This information then provided the basis for the training, to ensure examples, strategies and recommendations were targeted and related to authentic media queries or topics.

In addition, the trainers used a modified version of the continuous improvement 'plan – do – check – act' model as a framework for the training. The continuous improvement model is recognised as being useful when developing a set of processes that can be repeated or when taking an action that should be evaluated. While participants were not explicitly told this process was underpinning facilitator questions, they were taken through the steps throughout the training as they considered different media options.

As an example, participants were asked to develop some principles that might govern their media response to a controversial topic, such as what they might say to a teenager wanting needles for steroid use. This process represented the 'plan' phase of continuous improvement. Once they had discussed their media messages and strategy in relation to the topic, they were asked to articulate their positions in the same way that they would in an interview — the 'do' phase. The results of the interview were then opened to the group for discussion, allowing the interviewee to discuss how they felt about the process and the messages that they were trying to deliver. This 'check' phase was particularly useful as messages that sounded appropriate during planning could sometimes be garbled or confused when participants had to articulate them in an interview setting. Through the 'check' discussion, messages were refined and original principles were tested. Each cycle concluded with a new, improved set of messages and principles for media engagement as part of the 'act' phase, with participants made more aware of the need to develop their communication skills as circumstances changed.

## **Specific challenges**

Five specific challenges for WAAC were identified through the training sessions, which are recorded here as they may be applicable to a number of similar or related health promotion organisations.

# Challenge one: Increasing use of non-traditional media sources to reach key markets.

WAAC reported that while they still received occasional calls from mainstream media outlets, this level of contact had declined over time as the relative newsworthiness of HIV had decreased. There was also additional 'competition' in the sexual health advisory space as other groups provided media comment on STIs, transmission rates and sexual practices. While WAAC did engage in proactive contact with news media, senior members of the team found journalists were usually disinterested in stories that promoted general health information or which had an educational focus. Mainstream

coverage had tended to be confined to particular events, such as its annual STYLEAID fundraising fashion event or World AIDS Day.

The organisation had recognised it needed to use non-traditional media sources to reach key markets, particularly younger people, so had developed multiple Facebook pages, a Twitter account, Instagram accounts, and a presence on Tumblr. This fragmentation of the media focus meant that more time was required to prepare messages and update each channel (which frequently had a narrow, specific audience, limiting leveraging of content). The time-consuming nature of new media engagement was a key driver in WAAC seeking media advice, as it had become impractical for external communications control to rest in the hands of a few senior team members given the number of different messages and channels WAAC now felt it needed to address.

# Challenge two: Diversifying of voices within an organisation that can speak to media groups.

With the decision to devolve the communications role and empower a larger group to speak on behalf of the organisation, WAAC faced other challenges. One of these related to the number of part-time and casual or volunteer staff within the organisation. The leadership team at WAAC sought to encourage a wide group of people to be able to respond to any media queries and had empowered them to produce their own media content through non-traditional channels. Many of the team were comfortable with this approach, and some had experience in working with journalists or in publishing content in other contexts. The level of experience — and of comfort in representing the organisation — varied significantly, however.

Mock interview scenarios, in which WAAC interviewees were put through moderate to difficult questioning by the trainers in the role of a journalist, found that initial confidence in answering queries could evaporate if questions became contentious. While the sessions had been initiated with the intention of developing staff confidence in talking to the media, the mock interviews had, at times, the opposite effect. A lesson for trainers out of these sessions was that exposing staff members to challenging interviews could be counterproductive if it undermined the willingness of participants to put training into practice out of fear of making a mistake.

# Challenge three: Matching messages to specific markets that are 'at risk' without alienating them

An important principle of WAAC's engagement with its constituency is a commitment to providing non-judgemental advice and support. Its mission includes reducing "social, legal and policy barriers which prevent access to health information" and in training sessions WAAC staff frequently stressed the importance of providing advice without stigmatising people or behaviour. This in turn presents a challenge for WAAC in delivering messages that address risky or unsafe practices. On a number of occasions, staff noted that they tried to balance the need to raise awareness of the dangers in, say, male sexual intercourse without condoms, with the belief that taking a critical stance on this practice could make it less likely for a person to attend a WAAC clinic for advice.

This is a critical distinction for a health promotion group such as WAAC, and distinguishes them from some other services that might, for example, be able to harness admonishing messages like "stop smoking" or "lose weight" that are memorable for their clarity and simplicity. Instead, WAAC's messaging tended to be nuanced or even equivocal on whether someone 'should' or 'should not' do something that carried a risk. On the one hand this meant messages were less likely to be perceived as criticism by key audiences but on the other hand allowed for misinterpretation.

# Challenge four: Developing messaging that fully encapsulate WAAC positions, when these positions can sometimes be deliberately flexible

As noted earlier, the continuous improvement framework used to structure discussions around messages allowed participants in the group to focus on different scenarios and plan the messages they might choose to disseminate if asked about various topics. The option of self-testing of HIV was selected as one potential scenario for discussion, in part because its novelty increased the relative newsworthiness of the topic. At the time of the first media session, there were a number of stories that had been published by the medical community that raised concerns about self-testing, including a relatively high risk of false positive results, estimated to occur in 1 to 2 per cent of tests (RACGP, 2015). The group was asked to develop the WAAC position on self-testing, to determine what messages might be given to a journalist were they to call and ask "is this a good idea". This prompted considerable discussion, with several potential positions emerging: that self-testing could be convenient; that self-testing could be an important tool in increasing awareness of HIV status; that self-testing raised the risk someone might receive a false-positive result; that self-testing was risky if someone reacted badly to a positive result delivered without the advice, support and context provided in a clinic.

Each of these positions is valid and the views were held to greater or lesser degrees by different WAAC staff. This lack of consensus highlights the difficulty in devolving responsibility for representing the organisation to a broad group of people who might be called on to deliver a cohesive organisational position in response to a media query.

## Challenge five: Measuring the effectiveness of new media outreach

As noted, the use of non-traditional media was considered by WAAC as the best option for speaking directly to its different constituencies — many of them hard to reach through mass media publications. A Tumblr page addressed issues and topics of interest to gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender teenagers, for example. An Instagram stream targeted travellers who were anticipating travelling overseas with the intention of having sex while a Facebook page spoke directly to men who had sex with men but who might not specifically identify has homosexual.

Given the relatively niche audiences addressed through these channels, it emerged that WAAC struggled to identify what media outreach was most effective in engaging audiences and what was not delivering an appropriate 'return' on the time or funds invested. The use of popular metrics such as 'likes' on Facebook were also not particularly useful; given the sensitive and personal nature of many of the areas,

WAAC recognised there was a strong disinclination for some people who might be within a target audience to publicly acknowledge a site on sexual practices with a 'like'.

This particular challenge was not successfully resolved in the training sessions, however a number of options for better evaluation of effort were discussed. These included asking people at the point of clinic attendance what WAAC sites or channels they had seen and what messages they remembered, and greater use of analytical measures that count impressions of social content and reach rather than retweets, likes or active sharing.

#### **Outcomes to date**

The pilot project was immediately translated into policy as it had been identified as a vital component of the WAAC's revised media and communications strategy. Andrew Burry Chief Executive Officer of the WAAC said the feedback from the participants has been overwhelmingly positive and appreciative. "Learning what to do when a journalist calls, how to conduct interviews and how to maintain contacts afterwards has been really invaluable in getting essential information out to a variety of communities," he said.

Moreover, and the project will be offered to other state-based AIDS Councils throughout Australia via the Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations. The Australian Society for HIV Medicine (ASHM) asked Cullen to deliver media training workshops for community 134 AIDS leaders from 22 developing countries before and after the World AIDS Congress in Melbourne in July 2014. These workshops offered another opportunity to disseminate information about the project as well as gather information about how the model could be used or adapted for different contexts such as in developing nations. The project broadly addressed the national strategic research priority of promoting population health and well being helping to build resilient communities helping Australians achieve physical, mental and social wellbeing.

More specifically, using feedback from the participants on the content and delivery of both the media education and training program, the project:

- Improved understanding of how the media works on the part of grass roots community organisations such as WAAC;
- Improved skills on the part of grass roots community advocates such as WAAC in handling and exploiting print, broadcast and social media to disseminate their key messages. This is a pilot project, and it is the intention to offer the resources and education programs nationally to AIDS Organizations throughout Australia to improve relationships with media on a national scale;
- The project has provided a framework to develop a broader model for community/media engagement that can be applied to other health and disease prevention issues;
- Improved dissemination of stories and experiences of people living with HIV/Aids and STIs which are key ingredients for effective health communications as they put a 'human face' on these diseases;
- The framework of community and media engagement which underpinned the media education program has broader applicability for other health promotion/disease prevention initiatives beyond HIV/STIs.

## Conclusion

This last point sets the scene for another potential stage of the project - namely the training of health personal working in other health promotion areas such as diabetes and heart disease. As a start, the plan is to approach the WA Health Department and share what was achieved with staff at the WA AIDS Council, hoping they will adopt the 'media training approach' that will incorporate lessons learnt from this pilot project.



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## Handsome Is As Handsome Speaks

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#### **Abstract**

The presented work is a multi-year project of defining essential lingual characteristics for building up a Gestalt of a positive political figure. The paper presents research into psychological and linguistic correlations between the social image of a political leader and his/her speech. Our goal is to shed light upon the interdependence of the person's oratory organization and his/her self-presentation in the eyes of the audience. We believe any human image to be created by a complex integrity of various external and internal factors, such as one's appearance, clothes and mimics as well as the way one placates one's inner ego, or social "I" in the process of communication with the audience.

Our argument is that the positive image of a political leader is a creative product which is determined not only by a sum total of his/her personal qualities, but is mostly generated from the listeners' identification of the speaker with an ideal positive image scenario stored in the listeners' mentality. Hence, this work highlights different conceptions of what being positive signifies for the majority of people and how it affects their taking in and evaluating political leaders in terms of good and bad moral values. The close study of fifty five original political speeches of American presidents dating back from the post-war period to nowadays resulted in singling out the main necessary verbal components of a political leader's positive image which enable him/her to make a desired impact on the audience.

Keywords: Gestalt, political leader, oratory organisation, positive, impact.

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#### Introduction

This work is based on the analysis of verbal characteristics of the original political speeches of the American presidents (John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Bill Clinton, Barack Obama (5 speeches; 1,000 speech samples). It should be noted here that this paper namely looks at syntactic peculiarities of oratories and presents a survey of quite powerful lingual instruments of political image-making. Having been unfairly neglected for a long time, syntax of the language presents a variety of means of making a psychological impact on human minds.

Syntactic structures as the most abstract linguistic code reflect human deep cognitive processes no worse than words or vocabulary, disclosing the speaker's intellectual and psychological potential, and, thus, link the way one thinks and the way one speaks. Individual syntactic speech features are not eye-, or ear-catching, but "work on a deeper level" of one's perception and taking a personality as a whole. This brings syntax closer to reflecting the speaker's inner "*T*", no matter whether it is real or imposed. In our paper, we have tried to highlight psychological and linguistic correlations between a political leader's public image and his verbal self-presentation.

## Gestalt theory application today

Our way of investigation grounds on understanding any linguistic phenomenon as a focused multidimensional formation reflected in its Gestalt properties and qualities and still unequal to their sum total. Today appliance of the Gestalt theory as a part and parcel of the cognitive approach becomes still more popular in different fields of knowledge, like social psychology, individual psychology, Gestalt consulting, management, etc. It's being developed by such outstanding researchers as D. Häffler (1998), F. Perls & P. Goodman (2001), A. Ramat (2002), Irvin and Meriam Polster (2004), G. Skitters (2007). The Gestalt researcher S.V. Chesnokov declares that our mind operates exclusively through Gestalts. In the book *Phenomenology of Dialogues in Gestalt-theory, Mathematics and Logic* (2009), he states that his forty years of studies dedicated to applying mathematical methods of analysis to linguistics prove that all the phenomena of consciousness can be explained only by means of Gestalts, their inter-connection, and changes in their figures.

## **Gestalt theory: ABCs**

There's no absolute linguistic equivalent to the German word 'Gestalt' in English. It can approximately be rendered as 'tangible figure or image'; to be more precise, it is a specific organization of parts building up an organic entity. In other words, a Gestalt is a mental model specifically organized by putting its parts together. These parts make up an organic wholeness bigger than their sum. Historically, the cognitive theory of Gestalts dates to Germany, 1912, where the well-known psychologist Max Wertheimer (1880-1943), grounding upon the philosophic ideas of Christian von Ehrenfels, arrived at the following conclusion. Any world vision – regardless of its simplicity or complication – can be contrasted with a multi-dimensional wholeness built up in human mind. He termed such integral phantom image of the world fragment as "its Gestalt".

Into linguistic studies, the notion of Gestalt was introduced by George Lakoff in his work *Linguistic Gestalts* (1981), where he claimed that all our thoughts, perceptions, emotions, and the processes of cognition are organised by means of the same structures which are called Gestalts. The scholar believed them to be integral and available for analysis. In our research papers, we try to develop the ideas as to there existing possibilities to employ Gestalt approach in linguistic practice.

The formed Gestalts always represent entities, while each of those in its turn is a part of wholeness, characterised by its limitation (contour) and dissection. Psychology views wholeness, subjectness, permanence and structureness as basic features of human perception. On the level of mentality, formation of a concrete notion presupposes creating a certain image or figure against other objects.

## Gestalt theory in our paper

As essence is manifested in phenomena, a complete Gestalt of the object is conceived by means of studying its projections. The more projections undergo analysis, the more exact and vivid the general image of the construct is. In the process of Gestalt analysis, the 'areal' of the object under study is also taken into consideration. We term 'areal' as a hypothetic or textual field where one can see the results of Gestalt object projecting which in our case is a public oratory.

A Gestalt building process is a dynamic operation, consisting in studying the essential characteristics of an object in question consecutively, and foregrounding the so-called 'significance', or 'pregnancy' of the Gestalt. The latter is traditionally understood as a hierarchical distribution of the dominating property in the Gestalt-figure, defining the Gestalt-centre of the object. (E.g. the centre of a person's Gestalt is his face, where the interlocutor usually focuses his attention). The vector shifting of the Gestalt centre testifies to the fundamental changes in its figure.

We argue that studying the Gestalt projections of an object – abstract or concrete – makes it possible to get a multidimensional focused Gestalt of the given formation. The Gestalt construct in human mind is the very model, possessing and objectivising the properties of the original. Hence, our method of investigation suggests first of all singling out appropriate Gestalt projections in the USA presidents' oratory.

## Political actor's public image

We believe any human social "I" to be created by a complex integrity of various external and internal factors, such as one's appearance, clothes, mimics, and peculiarities of one's speech. More than that, people take pains to create this or that image in the eyes of the audience.

Darren G. Lilleker in his book *Key concepts in political communication* (2006), defines political image as a special impression, a construct existing in people's minds which is based upon their ability to decode other people's verbal or non-verbal behaviour. The key-role in this process belongs to the so-called professional marketing. A political public image is a multi-dimensional creation reflected in different verbal and non-verbal spheres of the political actor's activity. Thus, turning to Gestalt analysis here we consider quite motivated.

Creating a public image is always grounded upon moral, ethical or aesthetic concepts rooted or existing in the national mentality in the way of certain symbols, or basing upon well-known precedent phenomena or myths. We want to be taken in positively, we want to be liked by others, and it is a sort of biological law, something close to Darwin's survival law. (No woman will come to the first date looking like a scarecrow, smoking like a chimney, and pissed as a newt if her boyfriend is a neat-looking cigarette fighter and teetotaller. The problem of being liked is even more vital for political actors. Being liked here means being voted for.)

# Political myths as platform for the political image

As Ruth Wodak points it, the main condition of a political myth is its being accepted and supported by society, while the myth itself constructs "a second semiotic 'reality' which mystifies contradictions, ideologies, and so forth" (*The discourse of politics in action: politics as usual*, 2009). Political myths function as cognitive maps structuring and classifying information in people's minds, or as a special "collective memory" of a nation (after D. Bell, 2003).

The President has always occupied a leading position in the life of the country and played a central role on the international political stage. His political image is a result of joined work of image-makers, psychologists, sociologists, speech-writers etc. The head of the state is supposed to inspire confidence and respect with his electorate, which is impossible without people's taking him in as a positive personality. Susanne Tietze & Laurie Cohen rightfully claim treat leadership "not as an individual activity but as a social or collective phenomenon" and conclude that a political image is a specific idea rooted in the human mind about an ideal performer of a certain social role (Understanding organisations through language, 2003).

As our focus is placed upon the generalised verbal Gestalt of the American president's speech, we have turned to the most popular and significant symbol of the USA, i.e. the "western". Grounding upon the data received by Fred Emery and David Martin, who studied psychological effects of western films (those in the genre of western), we have made an assumption that **presidents as leading personalities of American society will use "western" stereotypes for awakening subconscious trust on the part of their nation.** It's rather meaningful that the famous JFK, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, one of the most popular presidents with his nation, declared it in the open that the main positive character of "westerns" manifests standards of national mentality. A positive cowboy (A Mr Good Guy) symbolises the best features of Americans and is a regular character on the magazine covers, billboards, in films and adverts.

## American presidents' oratory: Gestalt analysis

In the process of work, we have tried to compare the syntactic Gestalt of the average positive cowboy character (the speech samples were taken from virtual literary dialogues of "westerns" amounting to 1,000 speech samples altogether) to that of American presidents. For the background of our analysis we have also used the average data analysis of the syntactic organisation of the publicistic text and the author's monologue published by I. Morozova in her monographic research, 2010.

The speech Gestalts in the groups contrasted were studied within the following projections of vision:

- 1) sentence surface structure;
- 2) communicative goal;
- 3) speech strategies;
- 4) pragmatic orientation of the utterance.

The comparative analysis permitted distinguishing a number of similarities and differences existing in the speech patterns employed by the American presidents, in the average publicistic text representation, the author's monologue, and the good cowboy's speech party.

The above mentioned projection types represented in *Figures 1, 2, 3* are built up in accordance with the principles of '*Ehrenfels circles*' reflecting the corresponding use frequency areal of the linguistic phenomenon analysed.

The sums total of all speech constructions under study within the groups considered are delineated in the paper as circles, where three oriented lines running from their centres are conditionally understood as corresponding to the hypothetical maximum use frequency of the speech pattern and taken as 100% each. The average use frequency of the corresponding linguistic phenomenon in the western heroes' speech parties, American presidents' oratories, publicistic text, and author's narrative in modern English novel are identified by dot-marks on each of the given oriented lines. By joining the dots one gets a Gestalt-figure of the communicant's speech features in the concrete projection of vision.

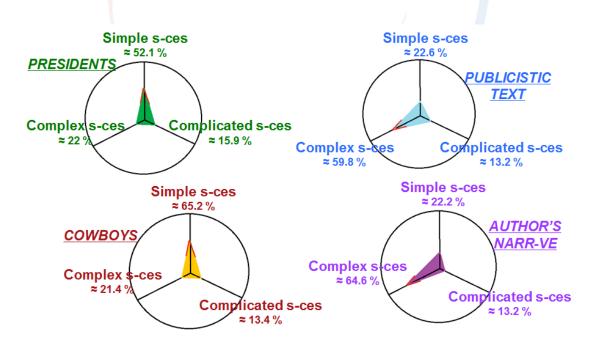


Figure 1. Sentence structure Gestalt projections analysis, where: s-ces – sentences;

NARR-VE – narrative.

<u>Structurally</u>, simple sentences make up approximately 22.6% in the publicistic text, 22.2% in the author's narrative, while the presidents' speeches manifest their use in 52.1%, and the good cowboy's speech party boasts 66.2% of simple sentences (see Fig. 1).

## **EXAMPLES TO ILLUSTRATE FIGURE 1**

## I. Presidents' oratory:

1. The world is very different now. This much we pledge – and more (J. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, 20 Jan 1961).

Both sentences here comprise one predication nexus each and, thus, represent simple sentences.

2. Now, as we stabilized the financial system, we also took steps to get our economy growing again, save as many jobs as possible, and help Americans who'd become unemployed. (B. Obama's State of the Union Address, 25 January 2012).

A number of subject-predicate groups account for treating this remark as a complex sentence.

3. Middle-class and low-income Americans are hurting, with incomes declining; job losses, poverty and inequality rising; mortgage foreclosures and credit card debt increasing; health care coverage disappearing; and a big spike in the cost of food, utilities, and gasoline. (B. Clinton's speech at the Democratic National Convention in Denver, August 27, 2008).

The quoted remark is complicated due to the chain of homogeneous members of various morphological character: attributes: 'middle-class' and 'low-income' (to the subject 'Americans'); 'food, utilities, and gasoline' (to the adverbial modifier 'a spike'); and adverbial modifiers mostly expressed by nominative absolute constructions with the particciple: 'incomes declining; job losses, poverty and inequality rising; mortgage foreclosures and credit card debt increasing; health care coverage disappearing; and a spike'.

It was noted that in their speeches American presidents widely use chains of simple sentences which give a marching rhythm to their oratories and make them sound more action-packed and energetic.

## II. Cowboys' speech

1. "<u>Mebbe you put me in prison to get Charlene."</u> – "On my word, Eli, it wasn't that!"(Haning:48)

The first sentence in the dialogical unity is a simple sentence with one subject and one predicate group.

- 2. "Caroline is right, she tripped and I caught her" (Lewis). The sentence is compound due to three subject-predicate nexi.
  - 3. "This mount's seen dust, and dirt, and rock of all the tracks hundred miles around from here. He'll find the way." (Davis:34).

The underlined sentence is furnished with a chain of homogeneous objects, which complicates its structure.

As seen from above, the surface-structure projections of the speech patterns analysed demonstrate a striking similarity between the syntactic organisation of the western heroes' speech parties and American presidents' oratories.

Figure 2 looks at the preferences in the <u>communicative sentence types</u> in speech of the virtual and actual communicants and shows that those differ quantitatively only in their use of imperatives, which rank second after declaratives in the presidents' speech and in the speech parties of good cowboys (25.5% and 23.4%, respectively). It's noteworthy that both in the author's narrative and publicistic texts their share is no more than 15.2%.

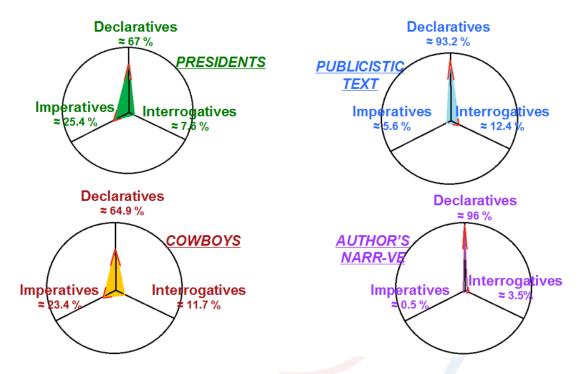


Figure 2. Communicative sentence type Gestalt projections analysis, where: NARR-VE – narrative

## **EXAMPLES TO ILLUSTRATE FIGURE 2**

### I. Presidents' oratory:

1. It's tempting to look back on these moments and assume that our progress was inevitable – that America was always destined to succeed. (B. Obama's State of the Union Address, 25 January 2012).

The sentence is information-giving, declarative.

2. Look at the example the Republicans have set: American workers have given us consistently rising productivity. (B. Clinton's speech at the Democratic National Convention in Denver, August 27, 2008).

Bill Clinton urges his audience to contemplate the Republican way of ruling the country, hence, using an imperative.

3. Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort? (J. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, 20 Jan 1961).

Both these remarks are rhetorical questions, interrogative sentences.

## II. Cowboys' speech

1. "About time some of my friends were showing up," Dick remarked jovially (Payne:55).

The declarative sentence here shows the good cowboy's pondering on his buddies lagging behind.

- 2. "Tell him I'll be at the Headquarters bright and early!" (Griffin: 126) As most of the commands, the sentence is imperative.
  - 3. "Who done this?" asked Rio Jim, and still the shiver of cold metal rang in his voice. (Thomps:119)

The cowboy makes use of a special question.

Here one can also note similar features between the good cowboys' speech and the American presidents' political oratories.

A concept of the positive in the western can be described as a concept of a real man, which in the Wild West meant to be honest, patriotic, to be a leader, a hero, for whom it was possible to kill, but never to betray.

Already at the present stage of analysis we can draw a conclusion that the concept of "honesty" (which is a part of the concept of the positive) is expressed on the level of syntax as clearly built-up sentences, grammatically structured, simple, non-elliptical and affirmative. This conclusion agrees with the psychological theory of "message matrix" suggested by David Lewis, where surface simplicity grants better understanding the message (1996). We can make further conclusions that syntactic transparence of the utterance makes it mentally sound more honest and, hence, more positive, creating the image of 'good' about the character.

Presidents' speeches, as well as those of "good cowboys", are characterised by the **strategies** of "domination" and "co-operation" as seen from *Figure 3*. Here they make up 59.3% and 31.3%, while the same strategies are employed in communication by good cowboys in 61.2% and 28.5%, correspondingly.

- C.f. 1. <u>I've proposed</u> a fee on the biggest banks. <u>I urge</u> the Senate to do the same, and I know they will. They will. People are out of work. They're hurting. They need our help. <u>And I want a jobs bill on my desk</u> without delay (B. Obama's State of the Union Address, 27 January 2010).
- 2. I promise to come. And we'll do it. You stay and just see. (Tuttle:87)

The underlined remarks are performatives from the president's oratory and the author's protagonist in a western novel.

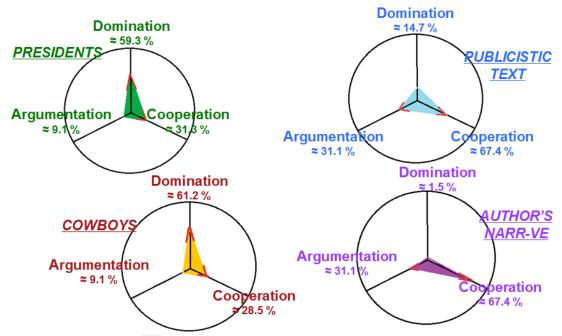


Figure 3. Speech strategy Gestalt projections analysis, where: NARR-VE – narrative.

### **EXAMPLES TO ILLUSTRATE FIGURE 3**

## I. Presidents' oratory:

1. But the devastation remains. One in 10 Americans still cannot find work. Many businesses have shuttered. Home values have declined. Small towns and rural communities have been hit especially hard (B. Obama's State of the Union Address, 27 Jan 2010).

In his speech, B. Obama uses a chain of simple sentences for additional stressing the main idea of his speech, thus, turning to the domineering communicative strategy.

- 2. But I'll do my best. That makes two of us. Our nation is in trouble on two fronts (B. Clinton's speech at the Democratic National Convention in Denver, August 27, 2008).
- B. Clinton's speech at the Democratic National Convention in Denver, on August 27, 2008, is an example of employing the communicative strategy of cooperation. The president is eager to collaborate with his nation.
  - 3. We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed. (J. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, 20 Jan 1961).

The famous JFK uses the strategy of argumentation while explaining his policy to his people. His arguments are built up by affirmatives.

### II. Cowboys' speech

1. "You want them, Mr Jordan? Be right pleased to go get them for you."

"No, let it go. I'll see them in the morning. Good night." (Hogan: 70)

The author's protagonist employs the strategy of domination, thus, showing himself not only as a communicative leader, but also as a master of the situation.

2. "I will. And..." her breath caught, "if you hear anything... anything, let me know. Dick."

"Of course...Don't fret, Lynn." (Payne:32).

The strategy of cooperation helps Dick preserve good terms with the girl and calms her a little bit in the difficult position they are both facing.

3. "I don't advise you to do it. It will give you nothing. I reckon, be wiser stay where we are" (Haning:99).

The strategy of argumentation shows the interlocutor who has the upper hand in the situation.

From the point of view of **pragmatic orientation of utterances** (see Figure 4) in their speech acts, both types of the communicants under consideration demonstrate a steady tendency to affirmatives and performatives, coloured positively. Their shares in the speech parties are 43.2% and 38.3% – in presidents' speeches, and 44.4% and 38.3% – in cowboys' dialogues.

- C.f. 1. Now, I know Wall Street isn't keen on this idea... Now, the House has passed a jobs bill that includes some of these steps. As the first order of business this year (B. Obama's State of the Union Address, 27 January 2010).
- 2. I can read your mind. I can trail you anywhere (Tuttle:71).
- 3. Your folks will all be back in their homes by night (Haning: 102).

Even a superfluous comparison demonstrates an evident similarity in the communicative behaviour of the speakers analysed.

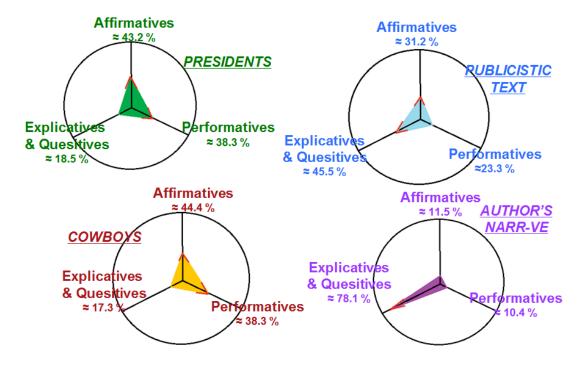


Figure 4. Pragmatic Gestalt projections analysis, where: NARR-VE – narrative.

#### **EXAMPLES TO ILLUSTRATE FIGURE 4**

## I. Presidents' oratory:

1. Clearly, the job of the next president is to rebuild the American dream and restore America's standing in the world (B. Clinton's speech at the Democratic National Convention in Denver, August 27, 2008).

In his speech, Bill Clinton is talking about the President's responsibilities quite confidently stating his point of view by means of an affirmative.

2. Our Constitution declares that from time to time, the President shall give to Congress information about the state of our union (B. Obama's State of the Union Address, 27 January 2010).

The explicative employed by B. Obama aims to interpret the Constitution to Americans.

- 3. To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge to convert our good words into good deeds in a new alliance for progress to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. (J. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, 20 Jan 1961).
- J. Kennedy makes use of the performative promising the sister republics south of the border his support.

## II. Cowboys' speech

- 1. Once I promised to stop you and plumb dead. And I will (Thomps:95).
- The good cowboy firmly stands his ground and employs an affirmative to prove it.
  - 2. He met her gaze, not nearly as certain as he pretended. "You do have a motive. Who wants half a ranch? And your horse looks like it's been ridden hard recently." (Rigsbee)

The given excerpt of the cowboy's speech contains two explicatives and the quesitive "Who wants half a ranch?"

3. I wait here. Not a sound! (Bochmann: 79)

The author's protagonist employs the given above performative to show his readiness to perform an action.

As shown above, the projection of pragmatic speech orientation of good cowboys and American presidents manifest common features in the aspect of communicative strategies as well.

The Gestalt figures of the American President's speech organization made for the four projections considered are marked by an evident shift in their centres and mirroring the character parties of "good cowboys"

#### Conclusion

Today, our investigation results in the following finding. Presidents of the country as national leaders and icons to follow try to create such public images that would coincide with the national understanding of the ideal and, thus, meet demands and hopes of their people to see a living national symbol. Alongside with postulating his good faith, family feeling, and education, a leader's speech should inspire confidence which is impossible without winning the audience over with the evident coinciding pregnancies in their Gestalts. The obtained data demonstrate similarity in the syntactic Gestalts of speech of the real American presidents and virtual positive cowboy characters. They both prefer simple, predication-structured positive statements of the affirmative or performative type. *Handsome is* not only *as handsome does*. *Handsome is as* <a href="handsome speaks">handsome speaks</a>. We can also assume that psychologically the concept of positiveness is associated with the so-called *'primary, or basic knowledge'* (after Slama-Cazacu, 2000), i.e. information coded in simple sentences. Correspondingly, the concept of inner positiveness is reflected on the level of speech in the surface simplicity of the utterance.

Doing their best to create an appealing political image for presidents, their speech-writers consciously or sub-consciously imitate **speech models of national symbols**, this way trying to win over the inner trust with the electorate, who take the President's personality as a living substitute for a legendary hero. We believe syntactic means to have wonderful perspectives in speech making. Aptly employed, they will work with the audience's mentality better than, say, one's style of clothes, age, sex, or appearance. Syntax is power.

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# Illegitimacy of Capital Punishment: Its Unethical Contemporary Resurgence in Igboland, Nigeria.

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#### **Abstract**

Murder was proscribed even as a retaliatory measure as Gen 4:15 cautions: "if any one kills Cain, he will suffer vengeance seven times over". This divine injunction was reenforced by the Decalogue's "You shall not kill" (Ex 20:13) as handed to Moses. Igbo ancestral heritage preserved a similar ethical value as it made Igbo hospitality part of a cherished religiosity. Murder was absolutely forbidden. Blood is considered the principle of life and therefore sacred. Any offender who lets blood must be compelled to placate the goddess of the land or face banishment. The Nigerian-Biafra War incidentally allowed the practice of Jungle Justice whereby infiltrators were instantly killed. Hitherto, robbers like infiltrators receive death sentence from the mob that have lost faith in both the police and the judiciary. The police allegedly connive with robbers, ally with the judiciary, and intimidate people –acts reminiscent of power misuse that makes them lose their ethical relevance. The mob usurps power to rid the society of bandits before they escape. This contemporary societal cleansing clashes with the original ethical position of Igbo people on capital punishment as it enshrines jungle justice despite the intervention of Mary Slessor. This effort calls on Igbo people to control the prevalence of Jungle Justice. It calls on the police to sit up and beckons on all to be guided by the index of a developing society. Nigeria cannot be developing when a segment of the total polity still remain wolves to fellow humans.

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#### Introduction

The biblical narrative after Adam and Eve's dismissal from the Garden of Eden presented Cain as being furious and hostile to his brother – Abel, on account of God's rejection of his (Cain's) offering and acceptance of Abel's. The anger which arose out of this rejection led Cain into fratricide (Gen 4:3-8). Had Cain no other alternative to improve his economy; and how did he economically and socially thrive after he eliminated his brother, Abel? What offence did Abel commit to merit death by Cain's judgment? God's reaction stood out and remains a paradigm in the determination of sentences to murder cases. Igbo ethos does not welcome incidents of murder. Igbo traditional wisdom folk-tale built within the animal-world portrays the protection offered to the chicken by the tortoise when the former was chased by a fox as a predator. It was once said that the hungry fox searched for a prey but could only sight a chicken wandering far around the tortoise's house. It made for the chicken but by some instinct the chicken dived into the tortoise's house and begged for immediate protection before the fox's arrival. The tortoise quickly hid the chicken in a basket at a corner. The fox suddenly rushed into the tortoise's house and inquired of the chicken it saw around the house. The tortoise in response said that it would be better to consult a fortune-teller to be sure of the chicken in question. A fortune-teller was invited by the tortoise. As he came, he divined to the hearing of the tortoise, the fox and the chicken that "that chicken abughi anu oriri", i.e. is not an edible for the fox. The fox with all its power understood the amphiboly as meaning that the chicken is not edible but the fortune teller meant that that chicken is under an astute custodian.

In the light of the introductory biblical reference it becomes pertinent to address any unpleasant incident in Igboland which clashes against the regulation on murder especially in the contemporary Igbo society. Even in the animal world, the feeble ones are protected from ferocious ones. Has the modern age any reason to embark on a "tooth for tat" rather than fine-tuning the culture with Christian elements? It will be necessary to know from where the society lost its bearing, how our culture started to assimilate unusual trends, and the way out of the phenomenon.

## The Meanders of Capital Punishment

Capital punishment is the execution of a criminal convicted of a crime. About the 18<sup>th</sup> century in England it was meted out for a vast number of crimes particularly for those against property. According to the records of The New Encyclopedia Britannica (1994), by 1970, death had been eliminated as a statutory punishment in many countries including Portugal, Denmark, Venezuela, Austria, Brazil, Switzerland, and Great Britain except for treason and piracy. In U.S., the Supreme Court ruled in 1972 for the unconstitutionality of Capital Punishment but a later Supreme Court ruled for the constitutionality of Capital Punishment as life imprisonment would not be effective as a deterrent against crimes. The opposite school of thought, however, maintained that innocent persons were often executed on account of errors of justice. All countries have not specifically opted for or against Capital Punishment.

# The Right to Punish

The authority to punish solely belongs to God as the source of authorities. Human law-makers only partake of God's legislative authority and in some measure have the right to punish. According to Evans L., (1981) all societies bound together by laws and norms can exercise the right to punish transgressors. In most early legal codes, the penalties are those of death, torture, mutilation, exile, the deprivation of civil rights or of

property. In most primitive societies they condescend to the *lex talionis* (Ex 21:28-37)-"an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth". Traditionally, the purpose of punishment had been for prevention, deterrence, and reform. Punishment as retributive involves pain; it is an evil that the offender suffers against his will. It is meant to curb the offender the instincts of committing the offence again. Any punishment, said Bentham J., (1948) is in itself evil because it inflicts suffering and pain. At the same time, the object which all laws have in common is to augment the total happiness of the community. Punishment must not add extra lots of pain to the community. For Evans, punishment should aim at the reformation of the offender's own life. It may sometimes not be adequate; for it is impossible to make any compensation for a life that has been destroyed by a murderer. Even the murderer's execution cannot adequately match the moral iniquity of the offence. All punishment must seek in its measure to arouse a comparable hope otherwise it would simply be vindictive and mere affliction of pain. Punishment might not fit the crime but it should attempt to fit the criminal. It is difficult to find a moral equation between bodily suffering and moral guilt. That explains why Aristotle (Book Two) says that punishment is a kind of remedial treatment and must be a contrary of what it cures.

## Capital Punishment

Three basic views on capital punishment according to Geisler (2010) consist (1) reconstructionism which insists on death sentence for all serious crimes, (2) rehabilitationism which would not allow it for any crime, (3) retributionism which recommends death for capital crimes. Capital punishment has metamorphosed into (life)-imprisonment in many countries that do not uphold the system. Imprisonment which is dissociation from the immediate society remains a form of exile for the offender so that the society would be rid of criminals. For Evans L., the use of prisons as a place of punishment is relatively modern. It is supposedly derived from a religious sense of "seclusion as an opportunity for the contemplation of one's sins" in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Prison, in this respect, is a place where one is prepared for some responsibility. In effect, one is being prepared to be better behaved in any opportune society. The question that must be answered is whether one can be trained for freedom in a condition of captivity? No matter the proper response to this question, the security of the society remains paramount and argues for being remanded in such captivity. The prison remains the proper place of the criminal. Pius XII (1955) sees the prison as purposeful as the punishment makes the offender to return through repentance and expiation to the state of liberation. The seclusion brings back the violator of the law into the order of duty from where he withdraws himself. The offender must welcome what his deeds deserve through the justice of utilitarian ethics. For Bentham J., (1948) there is a justification for punishment through which the greatest good for the greatest number is most effectively secured.

Zero Tolerance to Capital Punishment in Igbo Outlook

Ilogu E. (1986) assembled 24 injunctions and prohibitions which regulate morality in Igboland. Interestingly, none as at now attracts any capital punishment. They are:

- 1. Stealing of yams either from the barn or from the farm.
- 2. Homicide.
- 3. Incest.
- 4. A freeman (diala) having sexual relationship with an Osu (an outcaste), or spending the night especially with the Osu in his or her house.
- 5. Suicide, especially by hanging.
- 6. Poisoning someone with the intention of taking his or her life secretly.
- 7. Theft of domestic fowls especially a hen in her hatching pot where she can easily be taken along with her eggs.
- 8. A woman climbing a palm tree or kolanut tree, especially if she does so with a climbing belt (ete).
- 9. Theft of any kind committed by an Ozo titled man.
- 10. Adultery by a wife.
- 11. A wife throwing her husband down on the ground in the course of a domestic row.
- 12. Deliberately killing or eating any totem animal.... Totem animals include the sacred or royal python, sacred cows, goats or rams associated in one form or another with the community's origins or destiny.
- 13. Deliberately cutting the tendrils of young, growing yams in another's farm.
- 14. Secretly altering land boundaries, especially during the night.
- 15. Willful arson.
- 16. Divulging the identity of the masquerade especially if the offender is a woman.
- 17. A woman breaking confinement by cooking and serving meals during her menstrual period, especially if the husband is an Ozo titled man.
- 18. A widow having sexual relationship while still in the period of mourning her dead husband.
- 19. Dying a "bad death" i.e. death resulting from an infectious disease like leprosy or smallpox, or dying within one year having sworn an oath. Perjury in traditional society is akin to the biblical unforgivable sin and anyone guilty of it was denied the normal courtesies of mourning or a decent burial.
- 20. A cock crowing at an awkward time in the night i.e. between the hours of 8 pm and 5 a.m. which was supposed to be the business time of the spirits and the ancestors. It is the height of impudence to disturb them.
- 21. A husband deliberately breaking or throwing away his wife's utensils.
- 22. A woman giving birth to twins. (This has for long ceased.)
- 23. A baby being delivered with "feet first" rather than "head first".
- 24. An infant cutting the upper teeth first.

It is necessary to note from the above that the long Igbo tradition forbids premeditated murder. It can be recalled that the sixteen year old-son of Ezeudu inadvertently killed by Okonkwo as the latter's gun exploded when he was dancing a traditional farewell at the very funeral ceremony of Ezeudu remained a case in point. Uchendu, Okonkwo's living maternal uncle was certainly disturbed over the child's death but following the customs of the ancestors he was relieved of a terrible consequence. In his words, "It is a female *ochu*" as Achebe C. (1986:91) classified it. Achebe C. (1986:158) translated "*ochu* as murder or manslaughter". At any rate, no matter inadvertent, the offence has

its punitive sanction because it is a crime against "the earth-goddess to kill a clansman" and any man who commits it must "flee from the land" according to Achebe (1986: 87). Okonkwo, the inadvertent killer, suffered other inconveniences apart from the traditionally automatic imposed exile. The exile must last for 7 years. To cleanse the land Okonkwo had polluted with the blood of a kinsman, his house should be demolished with his animals and barns destroyed. As Achebe C. (Achebe: 87) presented the tradition in this way: "if the clan did not exert punishment for the offence against the great goddess, her wrath was loosed on all the land and not just on the offender".

Significant is the stress on exile and immediate departure, as Okonkwo had no option but to 'flee from the clan'. Could he not have chosen to commit suicide? That would have been worse as his diseased body wouldn't be buried by the clansmen, according to the tradition. Nothing hinders one from interpreting the exilic situation or his foreign confinement as "prison par excellence" even in that traditional sense. It means that apart from the walls confining one, one can also be confined in another environment without interactions with fellow clansmen. Such traditional prison had been operative to seclude, protect and reform people towards a better behavior. That is for the female ochu. Achebe C. demonstrates the cases of male ochu as featured in Ikemefuna and Oduche's deaths. The murderer must also flee. After purposely killing Oduche in the course of the land dispute, Aneto was in readiness to flee before he was caught by the "kotma" of the "white man" according to Achebe C. (1986:125). It implies that having fled, culprits may reduce tensions between conflicting parties in the case of a female ochu. The duration of the fleeing does not just placate the land goddess or make up for the crime for premeditated murders. That explains why the culprits property should as well be destroyed. If we were to ask whether the *lex talionis* is being applied by the Christian Igbo race; the answer can be found in this Igbo proverb: *ihe ruo na ito otokiri*, meaning - "after the third count, - an action must be taken". The Igbo person will forgive on several counts, but when taken for granted (and that is the third count), he may likely voice out. Lk 6:29 demands the offer of the other cheek when someone hits the other side of the cheek but to hit thrice would necessitate the sale of one's coat for "whoever has no sword must sell his coat and buy one" (Lk 22:36) as the need calls for it. The Igbo practice of three offences finds some justification in this sword-analogy. An insistence on fleeing supports the Igbo man's aversion to capital punishment. The culprit is offered an opportunity to flee which is equivalent to self-imprisonment. One must not indulge in criminal acts. The latter promotes the case of multiple physical assaults which indeed was the outright cause of the Nigeria-Biafra War. When both cheeks are battered, the situation goes beyond "turning the other check" and calls for selling the coat to buy swords. Achebe C. (2012:84) spoke profusely on the necessity to react over such consistent provocations. In his words:

"... the Northerners turned on Igbo civilians living in the North and unleashed waves of brutal massacres that Colin Legum of *The Observer* (UK) was the first to describe as a pogrom. Thirty thousand civilian men and women and children were slaughtered, hundreds of thousands were wounded, maimed and violated, their homes and property looted and burned – and no one asked questions". Such acts fall under premeditated murders and cases that the Igbo people by tradition are forbidden to be involved in. When provoked beyond the traditional count, a reaction is supposed to follow. The situation for selling coats to buy swords came. Ordinarily the tradition does not hand down a verdict of capital punishment as a reprisal. The reason thereof is because blood should not be let since it is not only precious but sacred. For this reason, Achebe (1986:40) made Ogbuefi Ezeudu to warn Okonkwo not to participate in the killing of

the 'boy that calls him father'. It could be argued traditionally that the way Okonkwo died by suicide was a repercussion of his violation of that tradition never to a kill clan's man, not to talk of the one that calls him "father".

## The Contemporary Outlook

The respect to Igbo tradition seems to be giving way as tempers rise on account of certain situations just as the modern Igbo society questions the rationale behind certain customs and traditions. Surprisingly, as the modern society questions ancient improper customs as killing of twins which is an aspect of killing clansmen, the society embarks on what has been formerly accepted as jungle justice- an instant verdict of capital punishment declared on a culprit on account of a certain misdeed. An examination of the ancient ritual killing of twins will betray the senselessness of the system and how its insistence debunks Igbo people's traditional non-tolerance of capital punishment. How can a tradition pre-condemn an unborn child to death and still washes its hands clean from the scenario of capital punishment? How can a custom pledge absolute loyalty to a goddess that continuously claims the innocent lives of children? The modern society has certainly exposed the error of the ancient custom but has erratically fallen into another blunder whose consequence is equally fatal. Our modern society proffers reasons for behaving the way it does, namely (a) the government agencies like the police and the judiciary have become so corrupt that they misuse the power invested on them to sanitize the society. (b) The more the society permits the situation, the more the society becomes insecure. In its judgment, jungle justice becomes the plausible alternative to take the bull by the horn.

# The Killing of Twins

It must be said immediately that the killing of twins was not an Igbo cosmic phenomenon. It prevailed predominantly within Arochukwu and Ibibio-Efik areas. That twins must be killed as obtained within these enclaves should be traced back to the superstitious rootedness of those people. The towns upheld the belief that twins were evil and must not be allowed to live. Arochukwu people and those of their environs believed that Chukwu-Ibinukpabi, the supreme God abhorred twins. With this erroneous assumption, twin babies were sentenced to death as soon as they leave their mothers' womb. They wondered how humans could resemble lower animals like dogs. goats, cats and chickens to reproduce multiple births. Such a resemblance was considered an aberration of nature and therefore evil. For these animists, God is said to have created one man and one woman at each point in creation. Onukwube O. (2010) infers that families of twins were even looked at with suspicion. The families were reduced to the status of 'ohu'- people whose ancestors were slaves. A man whose wife has given birth to twins was regarded as an outcast, a harbinger of evil and bad luck. Whoever accepted twins accepted bad luck. As a measure to sustain any of the slaves, families who were favoured with the phenomenon of twins had often killed one under the pretext that the mother gave birth to a single baby.

# An Oversight of Mary Slessor's Intervention

Mary Slessor (1848-1915), of the United Presbyterian Church denomination came from Aberdeen – Scotland. She was very much touched by her mother's stories on the prevailing cruel-some killing of twins in Igboland. She later convinced her father (Robert) that she would embark on a mission to dissuade the killers from such savagery. She was approved by the Mission Board of the United Presbyterian. She had to fight obnoxious notions of the native people about twins. The natives believed that twins

could not go to Chukwu, the supreme deity whose oracle is in Arochukwu. Twins were banned from entering *ulo-nta* ceremony, the stool of the ancient Aro kindred where only true sons of Aro are allowed to attend. Twins were regarded as the work of the devil as God created only one man and one woman at a time. According to Onukwube O. (2010), discrimination against twins in Arochukwu has been abolished. Sequel to Mary Slessor's effort to abolish the killing of twins, there were rites of cleansing through which twins were accepted back into the community and consequently allowed to enter the *ulo-nta*. The ritual cleansing is indicative of Mary Slessor's successful evangelization mission. The adoption of cleansing became the fruit of the mission. By implication, the god – Chukwu Ibinaukpabi has been appeased to accept other ritual offerings in exchange for twins. Mary Slessor's additional success, simply put, is the abrogation of the necessity of the rite and restoration of the integrity of twins in the society. Chukwu-Ibinaukpabi is only a fiction and twins had been executed for what did not exist. Parents of twins who were denied traditional titles because of parenting twins were as well permitted to take such titles through the ritual cleansing. A celebrated instance was the rite of eze-ogo conferred on Joseph Okereke Ukwerenyi of Amangu village in Arochukwu. At the 14<sup>th</sup> year of his twins he was not denied of the traditional benefits. If there was still discrimination, he wouldn't have been chosen. "The eze-ogo is the highest office in the village. What Joseph did was to pass through that traditional cleansing" according to the narrative of Onukwube O.(2010)

Modern Igbo history is relieved when one observes that such discrimination against twins does not exist any longer, even in Arochukwu. In the eyes of Uweh A., (2013) killing of twins has been abolished and only exists in the imagination. When one recalls the Igbo people's natural hospitality, the *umunna bu ike* popularity and the general predominant Igbo Christian faith and praxis, it becomes embarrassing that such barbaric acts as extra-judicial killings in the form of jungle justice should rear up its ugly head when the killing of twins which is equal to fratricide had been totally overcome.

# Jungle Justice.

Jungle justice does not defy definition but it is better demonstrated than defined. It is a form of punishment usually meted out by an angry mob on alleged offenders. The mob passes its judgment in response to a certain raised alert indicative of an on-going gross misconduct or public misdeed perpetrated against the innocent. Punishment here should be seen as a penalty inflicted for an offence, fault or immoral behavior. Two basic schools of thought emerge on the concept of punishment. Utilitarianism holds that punishment serves as a deterrent. In essence, no punishment is inflicted on account of the crime that has been committed. Punishment, therefore forestalls a future repetition of the crime. Retributive school of thought holds that punishment is justifiable because the offender must be made to pay for his crimes based on the philosophy of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Indeed, the evil man must reap what he sows. The unjust must not go unpunished. This school of thought sees punishment as a right of the offender to be punished accordingly. The retributive school insists on the punishment now while the utilitarian school insists on the necessity of the punishment to curb off future occurrence. In both, punishment must prevail but none specified the magnitude of the punishment. This is where the application of jungle justice errs because it misappropriates a state power in the determination of a death sentence. State power even is not absolute, according to Peschke (1978). The mob means well to sanitize the society but the philosophy of 'suspects must die' is an appropriation of power. The police and the justice system should be reformed. If punishment deters crimes, it must be proportional to the offence. The punishments that are jungle justice oriented are never proportional to the crimes.

# The Spread and Versions of Jungle Justice

Jungle justice is wide-spread and has even become an international phenomenon – no more an event confined to developing countries. It is observed in Nigeria, in South Africa and even in U.S.A. There are many forms of Jungle Justice: the suspect can be instantly burnt alive, the lucky ones are brutally undressed and made to walk home, some are asked to drink crude oil, acid or whatever form of fatal concoctions. They can instantly be beaten to death, stoned to death or beheaded; all are done under the public gaze. Die-hard criminals who defy burning-flames are compelled to submit to decapitation. Rarely are the suspects buried by the mob. Any attempt to provide a rescue when once the mob builds would result to the death of the rescuer. Even the soldiers become helpless when the mob builds up as they can be accused of colluding with the suspects.

# Sample Verdicts of Jungle Justice

- (1)A young man met his sad demise for actually stealing a necklace. He was repeatedly hit with all sorts of implements and later had broken bones before suffering the slow agonizing death by burning. The worst aspect of this public lynching is that in a mob of 60, probably only 3 were affected by the victim's misdeed. The other 57 were only blind sheep, thirsting for blood, just because someone pointed at the victim and shouted "Ole" i.e. thief/robber. (Siena, Aug 08, 2011 <a href="http://www.nairaland.com/729172/jungle-justice-it-justifiable">http://www.nairaland.com/729172/jungle-justice-it-justifiable</a>
- (2) A gruesome video surfaced a mob inserting broken bottle into the genitalia of a woman stripped naked over alleged stealing of pepper after some men raped her with sticks repeatedly. Friday, 6 December 2013. (http://www.allaroundgist.com/search/label/jungle%20justice)
- (3)The burning of the 4 UNIPORT students (5/10/13)): Chiadika Lordson, Ugonna Kelechi Obusor, Mike Lloyd Toku, Tekena Elkanah. Ibisoba Elkanah, a sister of one of the four UNIPORT students brutally murdered in Umuokiri village, Aluu, Rivers State, narrated how her younger brother and his friends were lynched as some law enforcement agents bore witness as the biblical Saul and only shouted "burn them alive". The allegation was that they were strangers who aimed at stealing laptops and phones that belonged to their friend that raised the false alarm. The truth of the matter was that they went to recover a certain amount of money owed to them by one Coxson Lelebori Lucky alias "Bright" who raised the false alarm. At the end of the day, the Inspector General of Police –Mohammed Abubakar cleared the 4 slain UNIPORT students of armed robbery. (http://www.facebook.com/JungleJusticeMustStopIn Nigeria) (http://bbc.in/QdxD6D)
- (4)The Nigerian Police is not left out of this imbroglio. The officers were recently reported to have become something else. A police officer currently at large killed a 21 year old okada (tri-cycle) rider by name Kunle who was out of school due to ASUU strike for disobeying the ban on okada. The incident happened in Ikorodu. (http://www.allaroundgist.com/search/label/jungle%20justice

## Analyses of Samples

In all the four samples, one can read how the dreadful cankerworm of extra judicial killings has eaten deep into the fabrics of the Nigerian society. To curb it out is the task that stares the country at the face. Jungle justice has debased Nigerians to a primitive

level that cannot be contrasted with the happenings at our ancestral era when twins were abhorred and killed. Whose deeds could be said to be more monstrous: the act of killing twins or that of jungle-justice? Numerically, only twins were killed but with this generation in question, jungle-justice cuts across tribe, gender and age.

In our first sample, it beats anyone's imagination to experience how life could be lost because of necklace. The mob has no conscience and cannot be trusted with any valid sense of justice.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> scenario one readily encounters masculine gender suppression with an entertainment of sadism. Both are existent in the society and need to be curbed. To spread pepper all over someone's body cannot be explained through any other way. The insertion of the broken bottle into the genitalia is only slow murder which in no way is proportional to any theft of pepper, no matter the quantity.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> sample exemplifies the in-thing for which jungle-justice should be abrogated. More often than not innocent people are caught and killed only to be declared innocent by the very agency that witnessed the unholy mob sentence.

The Nigerian Police is conniving with jungle-justice perpetrators otherwise they cannot lack the sufficient tear-gas to disperse the mob whenever they tend to surge together for such nefarious exercises.

The Current Societal Feelings On Jungle Justice

The following questionnaire was presented to various people of varying age and mixed intelligence for the purpose of determining a possible prevailing judgment on the dominance of jungle-justice in Nigeria.

# **Jungle Justice Questionnaire**

Jungle justice by definition is a form of punishment usually meted out by an angry mob on alleged offenders. The mob passes its judgment in response to a certain raised alert indicative of an on-going gross misconduct or public misdeed perpetrated against the innocent. Jungle justice generally aims at removing the life of the criminal as the only way of sanitizing the society.

In your opinion, should jungle justice be allowed, ( )? Yes or No.				) ignored (	) or enforced(
Íf	you	favour	any,	state	your

If you do not favour any, state your reason(s)

The questionnaire opened the eyes of many to the thinking of the society over the prevalent jungle-justice. Out of 400 responses, 205 still favoured the continuity of jungle justice and appealed that the phenomenon should be enforced. They see no chance of justice in the police and the Nigerian judicial system.

145 were opposed the relevance of jungle justice. 50 pleaded that the phenomenon should be ignored. Those that wish jungle justice to be allowed argued from the standpoint of the ineptitude of the police force. Those who opposed the continuity of the phenomenon saw the practice as brutal, and a reliving of the detested Roman horrifying scenario at the amphitheater. Those that argued that it should be ignored accuse the police of sponsoring its abrogation so that they may perpetrate further evil as they support obvious culprits.

## Analysis

A critical insight on jungle justice challenges the country's justice system just as it threatens the innocent and shocks the passers-by. The public dread the treatment meted to fellow humans but as soon as they challenge their reasoning they begin to feel the necessity of extra judicial killings as it remains the only option to sanitize the society given the alternatives of the present moment to safe-guard the lives and property of the helpless citizens who struggle on daily basis without any government support to make economic ends meet. The figures are indicative of the gross task of Human Right in the country. It highlights the long way ahead to ensure a total eradication of jungle justice. It speaks clearly on the uphill task facing the Nigeria police if it may ever reclaim its image towards a proper functioning of the country's justice system.

#### Conclusion

It has become evident that capital punishment was from the beginning unquestionably intolerable on the basis of the divine declaration from the offence of Cain. Primitive beliefs on gods and goddesses prevailed on people to seek for protection through extermination of twins considered to be unnatural. The eventual intervention of Mary Slessor brought about a new order as it promoted and injected a new insight into the rights of twins. This is corroborated by the Igbo traditional custom that certainly frowned at murder or retaliatory killing as in the cases of Okonkwo and Aneto respectively. How can jungle justice remain valid after the civil-war? A lot of things came and went with the war: acceptance of lizards as possible delicacies, consumption of cassava leaves as proper vegetables, the sales of unrefined salt from Ibru, suspicion of persons as infiltrators and many more. All these are gone but jungle justice that took root in the civil war remains unabated within our culture and society, in our villages, towns, and cities. As the war has truly ended, all war fronts and war distasteful hangovers should also end. It cannot be allowed further because of certain anomalies observed with some enforcement agencies since it is unjust in itself. Those agencies should rather be looked into and their deficiencies addressed, as the continuity of jungle justice remains a misuse of security outfit.

#### Recommendations

- (1) Offenders, culprits or even criminals should not be brutalized, tortured, or humiliated even by the law enforcement agents before authorized judicial hearing as that would be equivalent to jungle justice.
- (2) The law enforcement agents should be equipped with the wherewithal to effectively combat those who still indulge in these menaces. They should adopt strategies to arrest specific people who perpetrate and sustain jungle justice in cities and the sub-orbs. These should be punished as subverting government's norms and directives.
- (3) The government should publicly enact a law banning the public from participating in any act of jungle-justice. This law should also restrict any must be so because the silence of any government bodies means a direct consent to the evil.
- (4) The government should do all it takes to restore credibility to the nation's police force and judicial system, much as jungle justice is barbaric, illegal, wicked, uncivilized and unacceptable.

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# Development of Appropriate Knowledge Cultivation and Production of Para Rubber for Farmers in Loei Province, Thailand

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#### **Abstract**

This research aimed to study on 1, To create and promote participatory learning in the field of knowledge management of the para rubber in the community. 2, To develop a set of appropriate knowledge of cultivation and production of para rubber for farmers in Loei province, Thailand .The research methodology were both quantitative and qualitative research. Results showed that in order to create knowledge management in the community, we began from seeking the local instructor and upgrade the level of knowledge by dissemination of knowledge from the individual to the community. The best practice could convey their secret knowledge and techniques to the community that has little bit knowledge. This action could make participatory learn about plantation, maintain and production para rubber. Moreover, there were the dissemination of knowledge and exchange experience on para rubber cultivation and production. The seminar of knowledge exchange and transfer of knowledge to the participants ensure the participation of the farmers from various villages because participants revealed problems, ways to learn knowledge about para rubber in different points. This research methodology confirmed that all of secret knowledge about planting para rubber were able to be learned and disseminated. Ultimately, after we collected all of the knowledge from the interaction and sharing of each villager together we could summarize a set of the suitable knowledge for para rubber cultivation in Loei province, Thailand. This standard wisdom was ready to disseminate to others para rubber planting area.

Keywords: community, knowledge of rubber, knowledge management.

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#### Introduction

Currently, Thailand is a country with natural rubber in the world. Moreover, Thailand's rubber plantation area ranks second in the world after Indonesia. In 2003, the government set up the plant to raise revenue to farmers in growing areas in 36 provinces, covering the North and Northeast. Thailand has led to the third development strategy of rubber according to National Strategy of Rubber Development. Although the most successful from the Rubber Development 3<sup>rd</sup> strategy is the expansion area of the rubber (now, the area of rubber is not limited only in South of Thailand anymore), in the opposite way, it failed to increase productivity of rubber to meet the strategy target. In Loei province is No.2 area of the Northeast, where has grown so much rubber as the planned development strategy rubber. However, farmers in Loei just started to plant rubber, so many problems appear because they lack knowledge about planting and caring for this new varieties, then, they face to many problems because rubber trees were planted in an area that looks different from the original in the South of Thailand. This research tried to find ways of acquiring and creating the set of knowledge for rubber plantation and rubber production in the Northeast of Thailand. All of these example problems affect the income of enormous farmers. For example, they use chemicals to kill weeds, farmers harvest incorrectly, rubber maintenance was treated improperly, investment anti the way of the natural methods such as the usage of chemical fertilizers, problems of planting the useless multiples cropping such as cassava which decrease productivity of rubber in long term. Therefore, the researcher tried to look for knowledge management and to educate the people in community together. Then create correct and suitable knowledge about a rubber that fits the community and geography. This is a process of collaborative learning in communication for leads to the problems resolve of rubber plant. The new knowledge from the research is transferred to each of the community where there are rubber plantations in Loei province. In this process, the Researcher believe that people can do the research PAR (Participatory Action Research) to create learning participation of the community. The process relies on communication and knowledge management to stimulate knowledge sharing with others in the community. It can be seen that we are able to manage knowledge until the goal is achieved. Achieving "Community of learning," it is necessary to have the communication and participatory process involved every step in order to find tactics to extract knowledge from the one villager to other villagers. This research also tried to seek the expert to teach others with expertise in rubber. The common goal is make them come together and participate to learn and share knowledge, experience of working to contribute the body of knowledge about specific aspects.

### **Objectives of Research**

- 1. To create and promote participation sustainable learning in the knowledge management about rubber in the community.
- 2. Develop the knowledge of appropriate planting and rubber production for farmers in Loei province.

## Scope of the Research

- 1. Scope of content: this study aimed to study only the knowledge management in the community about para rubber production where the rubber plantation in Loei Province.
- 2. Scope of the target group: Farmers who plant rubber trees in Loei Province.
- 3. Scope of the time: 1-year period of the research.

This study took the 3 concepts for guidance as follows;

- 1. The concept of participatory action research. (Participatory Action Research-PAR).
- 2. The concept of participatory communication. (Participatory Communication).
- 3. The concept of knowledge management in the community.

# **Research Methodology**

As the research methodology used in the form of research and development. Which can be classified as follows;

# Population and samples used in the research.

The population in this study was conducted to be rubber farmers in various districts in Loei province that the researcher has selected a sample of 3 districts where have specific criteria as below:

- 1.1 Communities were selected must be experienced and have knowledge of the rubber enough to share the knowledge to each other.
- 1.2 Communities where people are close together and are ready to learn together in community.

#### **Research Instruments**

The instruments used in the study were divided into two categories: a tool used in quantitative research and tools used in qualitative research. The details are as follows:

- 1.Quantitative research tools, a questionnaire used in the process of collecting data are the basic elements such as the environment, community knowledge and understanding of the rubber plantation
- 2. Qualitative research tools are as follows;

To perform several times to participate in the process steps involved as follows:

- 2.1 The1<sup>st</sup> participation, seminar rubber growers in the community was set. The farmers have the opportunity to share their thoughts, the existing knowledge with a focus on community involvement to determine the content of the knowledge about planting and rubber production together. The conclusions on the issues of the rubber to be modified and makes a point to the need to learn together. By the way, farmers were invited to come together to brainstorm and focus group discussion to find the body of knowledge about the plant in the community. To manage knowledge is to spread to the community as effectively as possible.
- 2.2 In the 2<sup>nd</sup> participation, shared knowledge of the rubber from various districts in the target by allowing the rubber to convey tells knowledgeable advisors to review their existing share knowledge about planting and rubber production stages. The issues that can come from a discussion on the participation of the first, then it is to study model community that has the vast knowledge about planting and adapted for use in the manufacture of rubber effectively.
- 2.3 In the 3<sup>rd</sup> participation, the evaluation, participation of knowledge management in the community to find a summary of important knowledge in planting and rubber production and the conclusion about most knowledge that farmers have.
- 2.4 In the In 4<sup>th</sup> participation, shared the communication process to convey knowledge in the community and outside the community occurring in each community.

Moreover, the Researcher used data from research conducted to analyze according to the objectives set both of "In depth interviews": the farmers were interviewed about rubber treatment and "Group discussion" to collect data on the total integration from the farmers who have long experience planting by accumulating knowledge about plantation and rubber production.

## **Data Analysis**

After the researcher collected data from all sources according to the research procedures, the researcher analyzed the survey data with quantitative way (the average and percentage analysis) and qualitative way for interviews, focus group and observations data (Descriptive analysis)

#### Results

# Results Part 1: Initial data from survey methodology about rubber farmers who want to improve their knowledge of the rubber in Loei.

1. Knowledge of planting and production of rubber farmers in the Loei.

Researcher found that most of farmers thought that they have the knowledge to plant at moderate level maximum 72 percent, while those who thought they know about plantation at the most only 5 percent. Moreover, it was found that most farmers wanted to get the knowledge about fertilizer usage at 59.5 percent, wanted to get the knowledge about opening rubber tapping at 56.5 percent. There were farmers who wanted to get knowledge to improve the process of storage of rubber at maximum 60.5 percent. From this data showed that the government provided assistance to the farmers at a few level because the government mostly focused on only the young plant distribution while the government educated and trained farmers only 11 percent, so most farmers had no knowledge of the rubber before at 55.0 percent. Indeed, it means the rubber farmers in Loei Province began to plant rubber with either a little bit knowledge or no knowledge at all. Moreover, the researcher found that knowledge of farmers based on the theory on manual, on text book at 86.0 percent so it was not practical knowledge while the farmers who has been done and born of experience by themselves only 5.0 percent. Most of farmers did not know process of planting and lack of initial knowledge made the miss planting at begin. For example, the farmers did not follow the certain guidelines, such as the principle of hole digging, the planting hole must be a depth of two feet but they dig only a half foot. This shallow hole cause of the dead rubber due to lack of dampness in the hole. Moreover, some new farmers so adhere to the theoretical principles that overlooked the fact. For example, the theoretical introduction before the planting, they must cut the bottom of plastic bag to let the root spread out. However, the farmers did not know that in fact, cutting a bottom of bag for only young plant one foot height because its roots are still small and not spread down to the bottom of the bag. For the rubber plant that is 2-3 feet height, farmers must not avoid cutting the bottom of bag because the blade also cut the long root of plant that curl at the bottom, too. When rubber was planted with short roots rest, it was not enough long root to find food to feed the tree, it died. So, farmers had to consider the size of plant before cutting. The most important, theoretical knowledge arose from the experiment or demonstration plant growth factors that control the environment completely. On the other hand, the actual plant could not control other real factors according to the theory, so it was intervened by other factors such as soil and water, climate, also other details such as maintenance pruning, fertilizers usage. These different details made the demonstration plant be different practical plant in deed.

2. Communication and media to increase knowledge about planting and rubber production.

The researcher found that most farmers have been informed about rubber from the various communication channels as follows; Farmers have learned and heard about rubber through activities such as participation in training at maximum of 69.5 percent, while they heard about rubber through the mass media such as from television at 13.5

percent and from radio 13 percent. After learned about rubber, most farmers never shared that knowledge to others as many as 63.5 percent. In addition, most farmers need a mobile unit to advise them about growing rubber plants at 43.0 percent and followed by group training at 30.5 percent. Most of farmers wanted academics or experts to train them about the rubber maximum of 62.5 percent. For the pattern of exposure to learn about the rubber, found that most farmers wanted to get knowledge of rubber through a person media who was an academics or the officers from government at 52 percent, most farmers would like to learn more about rubber at 89 percent.

## 3. Barriers to the rubber plantation.

According to survey data found that farmers faced many problems in the rubber plantation, most important problem was high cost of fertilizer at 52 percent. Other secondary problems were capital problem, disease and insect problems, varieties of plants. The most common problems in the production and sale of rubber is a depressive price of rubber product at 65.5 percent. The most common problem caused by insect and plant diseases were the young rubber plant were dead due to termite destroyed at 45 percent and also dry bark disease. The most common natural disasters was that farmers experienced the rubber damage due to drought at 60.5 percent, followed by a wildfire burnt rubber at 20 percent. Problems caused by workers were most of workers lack of knowledge to work in rubber farm at 50 percent, followed by the issue of high wages at 25.5 percent. Problems in the marketing of agricultural products were the most common problems of price instability at 90.5 percent. The resolution for farmers for planting and maintain of rubber found that most of farmers choose to consult the officer of Rubber Fund maximum of 55 percent while they consulted with neighbors only 8 percent.

# Results Part 2: The way for the creation and support of learning and participatory knowledge management for rubber.

# The research was conducted according to the following procedures:

The process of questing the knowledge and raise the level of the knowledge. Researcher has searched for the learned persons or any local scholar who has knowledge in planting and rubber production in each village. Then, invited these learned persons to come together to find ways to create and support learning and participation in the community where planted and produced rubber in Loei province. Researcher provided people with the best practice to convey knowledge to other communities that have little knowledge also people who are beginner to plant rubber. The learned persons and people have participatory learning about planting and rubber production. After an exchange between scholars and farmers we found many points as follows;

# The discussion of the important knowledge to have in the cultivation and production of rubber.

For the knowledge of rubber plantation, there was question in the forum of farmers, what should be the first priority to know. The conference heard from people's experiences to examine the data to each other in the community by themselves. They exchanged knowledge, cross checked and discussed in the community to determine themselves whether that knowledge was correct or not. After brainstorming and voting of farmers, they concluded that the most majority knowledge of the finds in the rubber was the varieties of rubber. They explained that if farmers selected varieties of

rubber well since beginning plantation, the good varieties of plants was resistant to disease and made high yield, also reduced the cost of care. This meant consequently, increased revenue of farmers. Minority knowledge was treatment and maintained of rubber tree. The final knowledge was knowledge of the rubber tapping. If the rubber tapper has good skill to sharpen jabon knife and learned how to tap the rubber correctly, the farmer get more latex and it makes rubber bark grow faster; moreover, the rubber tree is longevity. On the other hand, if the rubber tapper was not expert, used the blunt jabon knife it caused wasteful bark; moreover, rubber tree is short life and reduced yields.

## The process to convey knowledge to other communities

The important mechanism to transfer knowledge from one community to outside community was dissemination through community communication, such as through traditional ceremony or celebration. These opportunities made a small group communication happen. People could talk among the neighborhood. A conversation group occurred in villages and community ceremonies, such as weddings, funerals, ordination. People have the opportunity to exchange knowledge about rubber. Moreover, they might require the use of simple channel in the community which was able to transfer their knowledge to other people, such as by the horn speaker tower in village.

# The approach to learning together of villagers

In the forum of participatory learning, villager proposed that there should be community events that stimulated people learn together easily. For example, finding interchangeable knowledge or technique of occupation to be a way to keep people coming together to find a way to encourage people to talk. The best way was creating a leader or moderator in the small group forum. Especially, in special event such as "collective and rubber auction day", participants in the event were able to create the opportunity to share their knowledge and learn from their neighbors in the community by making the activity occurs naturally. Moreover, there were other ways to discuss with neighbors, such as learning by doing and observing in the rubber farm of neighbors. However, in forum of participatory learning, the researcher found that most of people from the villages really did not have any knowledge about planting and rubber production. Therefore, there were only a few knowledge exchanges than the existing knowledge in the community. Furthermore, some of this knowledge was not the quite correct knowledge. Many people accepted that actually, they did not have enough knowledge in rubber but they still plant rubber without any skill. Finally, the rubber farmers face many problems in the long run. From this phenomenon made researcher found that if in any community has not experience in rubber tree, no good principle to compare, no good consultant also lack of "learned person" who has the actual and correct knowledge, that community became bad for the rubber plantation and treatment. If rubber farmers in any community did as they knew and acquainted but never realized or never compared to the different knowledge, they lost their opportunities to improve their agricultural product.

People raise awareness by making the forum for knowledge exchange between the community and the community with two events as follows;

1. Make an opportunity for people who lack of knowledge to travel to study the case of success rubber farmers. When they saw the appearance of the rubber and maintenance in fact, they shared their knowledge to each other.

2. The summarization to review knowledge of people to determine the knowledge that people have inherited. The researcher surveyed by questionnaire and found that many rubber farmers in 3 villages such as Sri Ubol Village, Ban Sam Kokkhor Village and Kokdoo Village, knew the distinguished varieties of rubber RRIM 600 most. Moreover, most farmers were not aware of old bud in young rubber plant, so this cause became big problem at present because farmers could not tap the rubber due to tree rubber became old tree and never produce latex since second year. Most of rubber farmers lack of knowledge about the disease such as dry bark rubber and the black fungus disease, so they did not know how to protect this deleterious effects for rubber. In addition, when farmers used fertilizer, most villagers often used chemical fertilizers as the main but they did not pay attention in organic fertilizers in spite of organic fertilizers were better and cheaper. They lack of knowledge about multiple cropping between the line of rubber trees, so they could not compare the advantages and disadvantages of each type of multiple cropping. This is why it is inappropriate cropping in the rubber farm which affected the productivity and growth of the rubber tree. While in detail, knowledge of rubber tapping is very important but farmers never tried to learn, so they could not tap the bark well in order to get much more latex.

## The approach and process to distribute knowledge to other communities

In the forums there was a question to ask villagers who attended the discussion in order to brain storm about rubber. The one majority question was: How to create a process to transfer knowledge to other communities to enable exchange knowledge from one community to another community. The one interesting proposal was revealed that there should be circulation of knowledge and convey to others on a monthly basis to have a meeting for rubber farmers continuously. This was the way to create opportunities to meet and talk when anyone learned anything there was word of mouth to other people and expand their knowledge go on. Besides, people also used community radio to broadcast the knowledge or news about rubber to the community. This activity required the creation of a network which community leaders come to talk and made network together. A major problem was the lack of an intermediary link as community leaders and small group head because if community leaders did not pay attention to the rubber, it may not be the network group. There was suggestion in the forum has been proposed that people could use traditional opportunity and folklore scholars combined with rubber academician from official organization. When people were not confident or unsure of their knowledge, they could cross check with a village philosopher and academician.

#### Conclusions and recommendations

# **Research Discussion**

There are two key findings from the research according to the research purposes.

1. Create and support learning through participation in the knowledge management about rubber in the community must be designed and modified to suit the learning community and be accordant with the lifestyle of the community in order to encourage participatory learning. The important step should begin with the best practice or learned person in the community to convey knowledge to another community.

2. According to development of knowledge in proper planting and rubber production for farmers in Loei province, researcher could classify the group of appropriate knowledge into 10 groups as follows;

- 1. Knowledge of the rubber varieties.
- 2. Knowledge of preparing a young plant of rubber, appropriate source of plants.
- 3. Knowledge of soil preparation.
- 4. Knowledge of the plantation.
- 5. Knowledge of maintenance of rubber tree.
- 6. Knowledge of termites and pests elimination, diseases and problems of rubber.
- 7. Knowledge of fertilizer and fertilizer blending technique.
- 8. Knowledge of multiple cropping.
- 9. Knowledge of rubber tapping.
- 10. Knowledge of rubber farm management.

### The Process of Research

In this study, it was a participatory action research orientation. This study aimed many community have shared knowledge to each other slowly raise the knowledge step by step. Finally, all of knowledge became appropriate knowledge series for rubber farmers in Loei Province. The research process began by seeking the local philosopher with the best practice to convey knowledge to another community. The important basis was the experienced and learned person who has the correct knowledge about planting and rubber production from the community went to propagate in other areas of rubber plantations. This process happened several times by creating a forum to exchange knowledge between the community and the community. This process enable farmers shared the lessons, experiences, fault, misunderstandings in rubber plantation and rubber treatment and have joint examination as well as confirmed the existing knowledge in the community that was accurate. There were 2 ways to examine the accuracy of practical knowledge; 1. Cross check knowledge from practice and doing in rubber farm (farmers planted as a validation of knowledge itself) 2. Agricultural academicians confirmed accuracy of the data with the theory. When that knowledge was crystallized and was generalized as a standard practice, they have the reliable knowledge to convey to other communities.

### Research problems and solutions

To conduct this research, there were problems in doing research for several reasons. Some circumstances were out of control by the process of research, these were classified as follows:

- 1. People in the community who want to learn and share knowledge lack of real interest and enthusiasm cause learning discontinue.
- 2. Some of the community leaders did not have a life circle in the cultivation and production of rubber rarely paid attention to significant of learning and made the learning process be slowly.
- 3. Communities were far apart to each other. There was no absolutely the exchange of knowledge by normal ways at all, so it need a mediator acts to coordinate to achieve networking and knowledge convey.
- 4. Farmers who lived in communities with a little bit knowledge and lack of experience in the rubber plantation often ignored the importance and knowledge communication. This ignorance the fact conduce them towards errors in the rubber plantation and they later came to repent. Moreover, there were damage and undermine for rubber farm in long term. For example, they never know about multiple cropping, so they planted cassava between lines of rubber tree. Then, cassava consumed and destroyed the abundance in soil and caused rubber tree became dwarfed.
- 5. Some farmers took an ego about planting and treatment for a rubber plantation by

arguing with unreasonable and affected the planting and rubber production in the long term, such as wrong tapping, wrong pruning made plants be grown inappropriately.

- 6. Conditions and factors that contribute to success learning need to include awareness of the desire to learn and sacrifice.
- 7. Knowledge exchange conduced towards to other important effects, such as learning to establish the cooperative groups. They learned how to create mechanism of sheet rubber quality control, to bargain the sell price with the middlemen as well as formed a coalition to negotiate to buy fertilizer at cheaper cost.
- 8. Approach to succeed the knowledge conveyance should combine with a small group communication. Leader of community should take the role to encourage group to discuss in specific issues, such as the price negotiation or be the mediator for some farmers to talk together about rubber circumstances.
- 9. It was necessary to learned from other agencies such as agricultural academicians, officers from the Office of the Rubber Replanting Aid Fund who have the knowledge and theoretical information to assist farmers and confirms accurate knowledge. Also, those officers could propose other beneficial options to the rubber farmers.

### Recommendations to the communities.

- 1. Some of the village should communicate with the outside communities in order to learn and develop rubber farm as in other villages.
- 2. The community leader is very important person to stimulate rubber farmers and create the opportunity for the learning process occurs continuously.
- 3. The process to reinforce the learning of the community need to be familiar with the people in community by observing and talking to create a friendly atmosphere.
- 4. The convey of knowledge from one community to another community, there was one important condition to make it a success, farmers needs to be attention and took the time to share and learn together and took the result of knowledge to practice seriously.
- 5. Local philosopher in each community was an opinion leader who has credibility and was able to persuade the audience to understand and appreciate the importance of the subject matter, such as the use of organic fertilizer and leaving the herbicide, insecticide in rubber cultivated area.

### Recommendations for future research.

- 1. Future research should focus on creating a network of knowledge to study in particular one subject about planting and rubber production.
- 2. Future research should research on community base as for the development of knowledge about rubber by the real way of the community.
- 3. Future research should allow the people take action to create media or tool to broadcast or convey and dissemination of knowledge from their community by themselves to other communities.

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# Cultural Peculiarities and Equivalents: A Perspective of French and Igbo Proverbs

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#### **Abstract**

Every culture has its mode of expression. This is true for its various aspects including social, material, political or religious aspects of culture. As culture varies with time and space, so its mode of expression varies too. One way culture is expressed is through the use of proverbs. The peculiarities of culture are seen in the form, style, imagery, metaphors, meaning, use and purpose of the proverbs. Proverbs are part of the social culture of different linguistic groups. Igbo and French cultural realities are embedded in their proverbs. Given the cultural and spatial distances and dissimilarities between the two languages and cultures, this paper intends to analyze and compare the cultural realities in equivalent Igbo and French proverbs. This would help the translator to arrive at an acceptable translation of the proverbs in the two languages and cultures. When cultural realities are properly analyzed and extricated from the proverbs, the meaning and purpose of the proverbs become obvious and clear to all. It can then be appropriately used in order to achieve its purpose in the culture concerned. Hence, the paper would examine what a proverb is and the roles it plays in a given culture. It would equally discuss translation as it relates to culture and some of the obstacles to translation of proverbs. This would be followed by an analysis of some Igbo proverbs and their French equivalents in order to establish their meanings. This would enhance their acceptability as equivalents in the two languages under study.

**Keywords**: culture, proverbs, translation, equivalence, language.

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#### Introduction

Culture is the people's way of life and it is expressed in different ways, one of which is through the use of proverbs. Sometimes, different proverbs have the same meaning, at other times, they have different meanings. The same proverb can even serve different purposes depending on the situation. Hence, the meaning of proverbs depends on the context or the circumstances. The proverbs of a language are formulated with familiar expressions and objects of the particular environment which make them easy to understand and appreciate. That is why different people may express the same or equivalent meaning in different ways, with different cultural realities. The two languages involved in this analysis are French and Igbo. They belong to different language families that are not related in any way. French belongs Indo-European family while Igbo belongs to the Kwa languages of the Niger-Congo phylum. Therefore translation of proverbs between the two can only be based on the meaning or the message they bear. These messages can be represented in different ways in the different environments of the two languages.

The objective of this paper is to identify equivalent or different cultural realities in French and Igbo proverbs that have similar meanings. This would help the appreciation and translation of the proverbs from one language to another. Hence, the paper discusses culture, proverbs and their equivalents in translation while analyzing the cultural content in them.

#### Culture

According to *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, culture is the set of practices, codes and values that mark a particular nation or group; the sum of a nation or group's most highly thought of literature, art, music etc. It explains that there is a difference between culture of the literature and arts, and culture of attitudes, values, beliefs and everyday lifestyle. This discussion is concerned with the latter. Culture has various aspects.

- -Material culture includes local products, inventions, money, medicine, magic, food, drinks, clothing & accessories, ornaments, etc.
- -Social culture includes names, greetings, family relationship (kinship), days & weeks, units of measurement, traditional & professional titles, rites, forms of politeness & respect, forms of exclamations, proverbs, music, musical instruments & dances, entertainment etc.
- -Religious culture include divinities, religious beliefs, objects of worship, places of worship, religious symbols, myths, legends, etc.
- -Political culture include political symbols (flags, coats of arms,) arms or levels of government, designations, administrative procedures, parties or groups, etc.
- -Ecology includes geographical and environmental elements (climate, weather,), physical features (rivers, seas, valleys, and mountains), flora and fauna etc.

Thriveni states that different languages predispose their speakers to think differently, that is, they direct their attention to different areas of the environment. This is very true of proverbs of different languages because cultural realities are embedded in them. That is why a translator has to be aware of the cultures involved in his working languages, and take into consideration the sensibilities of the different cultures. The various aspects of culture as enumerated above vary from place to place. Proverbs which is our focus, are a reflection of the culture of the people. We therefore, need to examine their content in connection with the purposes they serve in order to find their equivalents in the other language.

#### **Proverbs**

The *Modern English Igbo Dictionary* defines a proverb as a short, pithy traditional saying in common use while *Webster's Lexicon Dictionary of English Language* (1987) says it is a brief familiar maxim of folk wisdom, usually compressed in form, often involving a bold image and frequently a jingle that catches the memory. The latter definition is more encompassing and explanatory. We can deduce from it that proverbs are short, brief and they paint a familiar picture to the people concerned. They are often in common use too. As Nwachukwu-Agbada (2002:4) says, in Igbo matrix, proverbs remain a documentation of the lives of the people at a particular time. It is an important oral formulation in Igbo culture in which there is a mature exchange of ideas with sparse and well-chosen words (2002:5). It has philosophical content and aesthetics, and is always used in a context.

Proverbs have a fixed form. They are poetic, precise and concise. They are largely used in Igboland by mature persons especially men. They are a unique form of communication. A judicious and apt use of proverbs, is a mark of intelligence or wisdom. An Igbo proverb says "onye a turu ilu ma kowara ya ya, ego e jiri luo nne ya furu ohia". Literally, this means that when a proverb is said to somebody and also explained to him, then the dowry paid on his mother is a waste. This simply emphasizes the fact that whoever is born of a woman should think and act with wisdom and understanding. That is the extent to which proverbs are important to the Igbo man.

Finnegan (1976:399) states that proverbs rely for their effect, on the aptness with which they are used in a particular situations. A proverb used out of context loses its meaning and serves no purpose.

Proverbs serve different purposes at different times. These purposes include advice, warning and reprimand. Proverbs can be used as commentary on a particular issue or as a mark of eloquence.

### **Cultural Realities in Proverbs**

By cultural reality is meant that which constitutes a culture, which makes it up. Since culture is dynamic, cultural realities differ from culture to culture. There are however, cultural ideas which according to Jaja (2005:110), are mental images or conceptions a people or a society has of reality. He explains that cultural ideas are universal. They include history, language and knowledge etc.

Proverbs can take the form of images, metaphors, comparisons, philosophical sayings etc. Finnegan (1976:422) explains that "the images in proverbs are primarily from observation of human behavior, of the ways of animals, and any other thing in the natural environment". So the images in the proverbs of a particular people are about who they are, how they live, what they do, where they live and when. In other words, their culture. For example, people from the riverine area have a lot of proverbs about water, fish, fishing etc. Hence one finds in the proverbs of a particular people, their environment, their means of livelihood, their attitudes and behavior. They may be hospitable or hostile, brave or cowardly. You would find social-cultural values, like honesty, hard work, and family values. That is why a proverb can be identified as Igbo, Yoruba, English or French. Often proverbs are introduced with phrases like "the Igbo people say" or "the French say" or "a French proverb says..." This is because proverbs emanate from a particular place and culture. This also gives legitimacy or lends credence to the proverb. Sometimes, plants and animals are quoted as saying one thing or the other.

Here is a local Igbo proverb: O bughi nani udara mutara nwa a na-apiwa onu.

*Udara* is a tropical fruit. To access the seeds, the inner fleshy part and the milk, one has to press it hard towards its head. It is forced open like one forces open the mouth by pressing it hard. So literally speaking *udara* says she is not the only one who produced children whose mouths can be forcefully pressed open. This means that she should not be singled out, her case is not different from others. The ecology aspect of culture comes into play here because *Udara* does not grow everywhere, it is not eaten in every culture and where it is eaten, it may not be eaten the same way the Igbo people eat it.

Jaja (2005:112) supports the same view by saying that "proverbs are derived from a detailed observation of human beings, animals, plants and natural phenomena, from folklore, beliefs, values attitudes, perceptions emotions and the entire system of thoughts and feelings". This corroborates the fact that in order to arrive at the exact meaning of a proverb, the cultural realities of the language of the proverb and its context have to be identified. It is only when the cultural realities in a proverb have been identified, that the meaning can be understood and the appropriate equivalent in another language can be offered and accepted. Translating a proverb involves a transfer by analogic substitution because most of the realities transcend cultures and so are found in every culture. Finnegan (1976:399) adds that a knowledge of the context or situation where proverbs are cited may also be an essential part of understanding their implications. She explains that if proverbs appear to have contradictory meanings, it is merely because there are many possible situations and different angles from which one can look at a problem.

Giving a local proverb (maybe Igbo) in another language (maybe French) is tantamount to translating culture because proverbs are part of social culture of a people. When giving a proverb in another language or looking for its equivalent in another language, Eke advises that one needs to consider a number of factors - from the ecology to the history and geography of the people and the symbols used. Translation of proverbs from one language to another would naturally involve translation techniques like equivalence (where two texts express the same situation while taking into consideration the different styles and structures), modulation (change of viewpoints and symbols) and adaptation (equivalence of situations especially where the situation involved does not exist in one of the cultures). In doing all these, one has to be mindful of the stylistic and structural differences in the two languages involved. (Vinay et Darbelnet, 242). In fact, these two experts added that proverbs are a perfect illustration of equivalence (1977:52). This would be seen in our analysis of the proverbs cited listed for that purpose.

# **Analyzing Equivalent Igbo and French Proverbs**

In order to arrive at equivalent Igbo and French proverbs, we would give a proverb in Igbo language, analyze the content and identify the cultural realities in it, explain the literal meaning that paints the image which ultimately leads to the equivalent proverb in French language.

Ohia na-aso nkata epula ero.
 Mieux vaut prevenir que guérir.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The bush that hates baskets should not produce mushrooms.

Literal meaning of the French version: Prevention is better than cure.

Equivalence in meaning: In the Igbo setting, mushrooms are picked in the bush with baskets, a common recipient. If there are no mushrooms in the bush, nobody will go

there with baskets to pick them. So, entering the bush with baskets which the bush hates can be prevented by the bush not producing mushrooms. Then there will be no complaints. Hence prevention is better than cure.

2. A ruo n'anwu, e rie na ndo.

Qui sème en pleurs, recueille en heur (bonheur)

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: Work under the sun, eat under the shade.

Literal meaning of the French version: Sow in tears, reap in joy.

Equivalence in meaning: People farm under the heat of the sun. They rest and eat under the shade. Meaning that their hard work, under harsh conditions, pays off because they make good profits in the end. Hence those who sow in tears (under the heat of the sun), but they harvest in singing (under the cooling shade).

3. Aku fesia, o daara awo.

Les rivières retourne à la mer.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: After the flight, the insect falls down for the toad. Literal meaning of the French version: Rivers return to the sea.

Equivalence in meaning: Small flying insects later they lose their wings and fall to the ground where the toad can eat them as food. So no matter how long they fly about, they will eventually fall the ground and be swallowed up just like the sea swallows up the river that flows into it after its (the river's) roundabout journey.

4. Ihe agwo muru ahaghi ito ogologo. Tel père, tel fils/ Tel arbre, tel fruit.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The offspring of the snake must be long. Literal meaning of the French version: Like father, like son/ Like tree, like fruit. Equivalence in meaning: According to a biblical saying, "by their fruits we shall know

them". Naturally, offspring normally resemble those who bear them. A snake gives birth to a snake, a pig to a pig and a tree will produce a fruit after its kind. The same goes for every plant or animal that is capable of reproduction. The two proverbs therefore have equivalent meanings and that is: creatures reproduce their kinds, whether plants or animals.

5. Ebe onye dara ka chi ya kwaturu ya. Que sera sera.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: One falls where he was pushed down by his god. Literal meaning of the French version: What will be will be.

Equivalence in meaning: In the Igbo culture, *chi* refers to a personal god. Udeh (2007:27) explains that "the Igbo hold that *chi* is that divine force directly involved with the affairs of men. Everyone has his own *chi*. The *chi* being a divine force is thought to be omniscient, can foresee danger and is concerned with the individual with whom it remains throughout his life time. Since the *chi* is in charge of the person's life and affairs, whatever befalls a person is his *chi*'s making and nothing can be done about it because that is his destiny. Hence, the equivalent 'what will be will be'.

6. Anụ nwere ndidi na-añụ mmiri ma. Tout vient à point, qui sait attendre.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The patient animal drinks good water.

Literal meaning of the French version: Everything turns out well for those who exercise patience.

Equivalence in meaning: If the animal can wait patiently, the debris will eventually settle and then the water can be good for the animal to drink. The Igbo version paints a picture of an animal that ends up drinking good water because it exercised patience. The French version paints a picture of how things turn out well for whoever knows how to wait. Both versions stress the importance of the virtue of patience which pays off eventually.

7. Isi anaghi anyigbu onye nwe ya. Les seins ne sont jamais trop lourds pour la poitrine.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The head is never too heavy for the owner.

Literal meaning of the French version: The breasts are never too heavy for the chest.

Equivalence in meaning: Both proverbs paint the picture of resilience, perseverance, strength, courage and understanding in situations one can do nothing about. In the Igbo version, the owner of the head is able to carry it no matter its weight. In the French version, the same applies to the chest that carries the breasts irrespective of the size. Both bear the weights and still keep going.

8. Nku no na mba na-eghere mba nri. Ce qui est viande pour un, est poison pour l'autre.
Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The people's firewood cooks their food.

Literal meaning of the French version: One man's meat is another man's poison. Equivalence in meaning: In the traditional Igbo society, food is cooked with firewood not cooking gas or kerosene. The firewood is fetched from nearby farms or bush. The firewood may vary from place to place because the flora and fauna vary from place to place too. So, people use the firewood available to them to cook their food. In the same vein, different people eat different kinds of food. What people eat as food also depends on what is available in their environment. A particular food in one environment may not be eaten by people in another environment. Due to differences in climate, vegetation, soil composition, topography or other geographical and environmental features, plants and animals that survive in them also differ. Even when the same plant exists in two different places, for example, one group may eat it as food while the other does not know it as food. Therefore, both proverbs express the point that what one has is what one uses, whether it is acceptable to others or not.

9. Nwayọọ nwayọọ ka e ji aracha ofe dị ọkụ. Petit à petit, l'oiseau fait son nid.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: A hot soup is licked gradually.

Literal meaning of the French version: Little by little, the bird makes its nest.

Equivalence in meaning: Soup is licked (taken) either with the fingers or with spoon. When hot, one cannot rush over it. But if it is licked gradually, it gets licked up by the end of the day. In the same way, the bird builds its nest gradually and steadily until it gets the task done. Both proverbs express the need to take one's time while on a task instead of rushing through it and not achieving one's aim. It is said that slow and steady wins the race.

10. Ogologo abughi etoola. na m L'habit ne fait pas le moine/La barbe ne fait pas l'homme

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: Height does not mean that my child has grown. Literal meaning of the French version: The hood does not make the monk.

Equivalence in meaning: The height of an individual has nothing to do with maturity. Many people do not act or live their age. Some adults may be childish while some children may behave in a mature way. The same goes for French proverb cited. The hood does not make the monk because anybody can put it on. The beard does not make the man because older children grow beards these days. So it is not about the outward appearance but about what one really is in maturity, in approach to issues, in attitude, in values and beliefs. The point made by the proverbs is that appearance can deceive.

11. Nwata togboro gbakaa n'ala nkiti. ute Comme on fait son lit, on s'y couche

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: When a child tears his mat, he lies on bare floor. Literal meaning of the French version: As you make your bed you lie on it.

Equivalence in meaning: For the Igbo, a child normally lie on a mat spread on the floor. But if he tears the mat out of carelessness or recklessness, he has to lie on bare floor. That means that the way he makes his bed is the way he lies on it. The meanings of the two proverbs are the same. One has to bear the consequences of one's actions.

12. Nwanyi choro igba oso n'ebe di ya na-asi na aroro ya anya n'abali. Qui veut noyer son chien l'accuse de rage.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: A woman who wants to run away from her husband's house says that she was looked at disdainfully at night.

Literal meaning of the French version: Give a dog a bad name to hang it.

Equivalence in meaning: In the olden days, it was a frequent occurrence for newly married wives to run back to their parents' homes after a few days. This may have been due to immaturity, nostalgia, fear or disappointment at what the marriage turns out to be for her. This normally took place very early in the morning before the neighbourhood woke up. Of course, she would have to explain. Not having a cogent reason, she has to look for an excuse even if it is ridiculous and she says she ran away from her matrimonial home because she was looked at disdainfully at night. Just like one can say that a dog is mad just because one wants the dog to be disposed of. People often look for ridiculous or flimsy reasons to do the inexcusable, looking for a way to justify the unjustifiable. Falsely accusing the dog of rage then justifies drowning it.

# 13. Ka onye kowe akpa ya ebe aka ya ruru. faut tailler son manteau selon son drap.

Il

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: Hang your bag where your hand can reach.

Literal meaning of the French version: Cut your coat according to your cloth.

Equivalence in meaning: If you want to hang your bag and you go to where your hand cannot reach, you will find it difficult if not impossible. The easiest and wise thing to do, is to hang it where your hand can reach. The French version gives a similar advice. If the coat is not cut according to the cloth, the cloth would not be enough and the coat cannot be made. Both proverbs advise that people should do the things they can do, things they can afford and avoid blind, inordinate or unhealthy ambition.

14. Aka nri kwoo aka ekpe, aka ekpe a kwoo aka nri. Un couteau aiguise l'autre.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The right hand washes the left and the let washes the right.

Literal meaning of the French version: Iron sharpens iron.

Equivalence in meaning: In both cultures, hands are washed together and one tool sharpens the other. This underlines interdependence, mutual help, reciprocity and our need one for another. The cultural content in both proverbs are the same.

15. *Q* dighi ihe anya huru gbaa obara. La tempête ne déracine pas la forêt.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The eye can never shed blood no matter the circumstance.

Literal meaning of the French version: The tempest cannot uproot the forest.

Equivalence in meaning: Normally the eyes shed tears not blood. Tears, most of the times, are brought about by pain and suffering or even joy. Whatever the circumstance, it is never blood that comes out of the eyes. This is likened to the futility of the tempest wanting to uproot the forest. It is impossible. So both proverbs mean that difficult and painful situations are a part of life. They do occur but life still goes on.

16. A chụwa aja ma ahughị udele, ihe ukwu mere n'ala ndị mmụọ. Là où il y a un os, c'est là qu'on trouve les chiens.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: If there are no vultures where a sacrifice is being offered, then something must have happened in the land of the spirits.

Literal meaning of the French version: Dogs are found where there are bones.

Equivalence in meaning: The picture in the Igbo proverb is that of vultures clustering wherever animals are being slaughtered either for sacrifice or for food. The slaughtering of animals naturally attracts vultures. If there are no vultures where animals are being slaughtered, then something must be wrong in the land of the spirits where vultures are believed to come from. Vultures are associated with spirits because of its attitude of scavenging on carcasses. The French proverb says that one would always find dogs where there are bones. This is because they love eating bones. Hence, there are natural expectations in every situation. If the expected in a situation does not happen, then something must be wrong somewhere.

17. Onye ya na umuaka na-egwu egwuregwu na-ete unyi. Qui suit les poules, apprend à gratter.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: One who plays with children is normally soiled with soot.

Literal meaning of the French version: One who follows hens learns to scratch the ground.

Equivalence in meaning: Since children play with and in the sand, dust or even soot without minding the dirt, they would normally rub it on whoever plays with them because he or she has come down to their level to relate with them. In the same way, to follow a chicken is to learn how to scratch the ground. Hence, the company you keep influences what you are and how you behave, that is, your character and lifestyle. An English saying goes this way: show me your friend and I will show you who you are.

18. Aka aja aja na-akpata ọnụ mmanụ mmanụ. Nul pain sans peine.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: Dirty hands produces sumptuous food.

Literal meaning of the French version: No food without struggle.

Equivalence in meaning: When one eats, the lips becomes oily. The oily lips show that the person has eaten and that the food eaten was rich. To produce food, one need to dirty the hands by working hard. The picture is that of work - planting, nurturing and harvesting. It takes a lot of time, energy and resources. Without dirty hands, there cannot be food to eat. So the dirty hands lead to oily mouth. The French version expresses the same view by saying that there cannot be bread without pains. So there is no free lunch anywhere. One has to work in order to feed. The two proverbs are a caution against laziness or loafing about. He who does not work should not eat as well.

# 19. Ikpe amaghi onye eze.

La riche ne danse jamais mal.

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: The king is never wrong.

Literal meaning of the French version: The rich always dances well.

Equivalence in meaning: Some people attribute infallibility to the highly placed in the society or people in authority. Some of these people even claim it by themselves. In the traditional Igbo setting, kings are always right and their instructions are carried out to the letter without question. The equivalent French proverb also defers to the rich because of their wealth. Both proverbs express the respect, honour and the high esteem wealth and position are held in the society to the extent that those who have them are believed to be right always. The same attitude is pictured by the king in one language and the rich in another.

20. Onye kwe, chi ya ekwe. c'est pouvoir.

Vouloir,

Literal meaning of the Igbo version: If you agree, your god agrees.

Literal meaning of the French version: Where there is the will, there is way.

Equivalence in meaning: Both proverbs agree that progress or success depends on determination. Once the mind is made up to get something done, or one believes or has the faith that something would be, even his *chi* (personal god, as earlier explained), would lend his support. The person would equally have the strength to go ahead and achieve his objective or desire.

#### Conclusion

From the analysis of the listed proverbs, one can see the cultural peculiarities in the two languages. Yet, there are equivalent situations which give the proverbs the same meaning, interpretation and application to serve the same purpose. Like proverb no.5 which is about *chi*, a belief that may be non-existent in the western culture. But there is an equivalent way of saying the same thing. So all in all, different proverbs in different languages and cultures play similar roles in the lives of their people. The pictures painted in the proverbs may vary, the messages they bear remain. This goes to show that people are the same everywhere, values and beliefs are not too far apart. Cultures are also related one way or the other because of the universality of cultural ideas. This makes translation of proverbs possible and acceptable when correctly done.

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# The Persuasive Power of Person Deixis in Political Discourse: The Pronoun 'We' in Obama's Speeches About the 2007-2009 Financial Crisis as an Example

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#### **Abstract**

Politicians resort to 'soft power' to influence others and to persuade them to support their attitudes about given issues through the use of language as a persuasive power. Among the linguistic tools adopted to achieve specific goals is the pronominal system. The present research tries to investigate the use of person deixis in political discourse. It adopts the general framework of pragmatics to scrutinize President Obama's manipulation of the deictic entity "we" for persuasive ends.

This study adopts a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze Obama's use of the pronoun "we": the quantitative research is based on the use of a statistical approach to get empirical data. The statistical approach consists of counting the number of occurrences of the deictic category 'we' in Obama's political speeches about the Financial Crisis. The qualitative method is used to analyse how the pronoun 'we' in the corpus under investigation is used by President Obama for persuasive ends. The findings of this study are based on the results of a case study of Obama's 14 speeches delivered in 2009 about the 2007-2009 Financial Crisis. This paper sheds light on Obama's manipulative discursive power to persuade his audience and to share responsibility regarding certain actions to maintain his position, to strengthen a sense of unity and solidarity among the American citizens at a time of economic recession and to create a positive image of the American nation.

Keywords: Power, persuasive power, person deixis, political discourse

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#### 1. Introduction

Numerous studies have been conducted on the concept of power in its different modalities to shed light on the individual's ability to influence others and shape their views and thoughts. Soft power is the most appropriate means to achieve this purpose as people use it to control others. Among the areas where soft power is enacted is political discourse as politicians rely heavily on their ability to manipulate the linguistic system to influence their audience and persuade them to accept their views. Among the linguistic items used by politicians for persuasive ends is person deixis, especially the pronoun 'We' as it spreads the load of responsibility and creates harmony between the speaker and the audience. This paper tries to investigate the persuasive power of person deixis in political discourse through the study of Obama's manipulation of the pronoun 'We' in his speeches delivered in 2009 about the 2007-2009 Financial Crisis to impress and persuade the audience to support his recovery plans and gain their confidence.

#### 2. Literature Review

Following Foucault's insights into modern power, it is worth noting that power is a vast and complex concept, which is "never definitively held by any one person, or social grouping, because power can be won and exercised only in and through social struggles" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 43). It replaces the physical force exercised on the body by a punishment acting deeply on the soul which is the "prison of the body" (Foucault, ...., p.30). it touches the individuals not as an obligation or prohibition but as a strategy enacted through a set of techniques and practices that serve as "weapons and relays" that address the soul to invest human bodies and subjugate them (Foucault, ..., p.28). It exists in various modalities to control the individuals' actions and minds such as hard power defined as the capacity of dominant groups to coerce others to do what they want using physical force (Wilson, 2008, p. 114) and soft power defined as the ability to shape the preferences of others and to make them act as desired through attraction rather than threats or payments (Joseph & Nye, 2008, p. 95)

### Power and discourse

Wodak and Meyer (2008, p.9) argue that discourse (re)produces social domination of one group over others and shows how dominated groups may resist such abuse through discourse. For Wodak and Meyer (2008, p.10), the constant unity of language and other social matters ensures that language is intertwined in social power as it indexes and expresses power. Although power does not necessarily stem from language, language can be a useful tool to challenge and subvert power and to alter the distributions of power in the short and the long term. It provides a finely articulated channel for differences in relationships of dominance, power and control in hierarchical social structures. Hence, discourse is crucial to control others' minds and to make them act as desired. Speakers often exercise soft power through language to influence and shape the hearers' views. In political discourse, for instance, political leaders resort to soft power to influence their audience and to maintain their position. They draw heavily on the manipulation of the linguistic system to achieve specific goals.

## Discourse as a persuasive power in political discourse

Instead of compelling others, the dominant groups may persuade the dominated ones to act as they want. They rely on arguments and other forms of persuasion instead of direct threats. Among the most outstanding places where such persuasive power is enacted is political discourse. During the Financial Crisis, for example, President Obama relied on argumentation and the manipulation of language to persuade the White House and the American citizens of the decisions taken to deal with the economic recession.

For Van Dijk, the powerful groups control the minds (knowledge and opinions) of others through discourse. Thus, discourse is not only a means of power enactment, but at the same time a power resource (1997, p.20). In fact, power has control over material resources as money and over symbolic ones as knowledge, and indeed over public discourse itself as in the media. Controlling the media and its public discourse is indirect and subtle. Political leaders, following Van Dijk's argumentation, either speak or write directly to the audience (speeches) or provide such discourses to journalists (press conferences) that they will naturally write what they want (p.20-21). Through discourse, politicians try to emphasise all information that portray them positively and to de-emphasise the information that do so negatively while they do the opposite in the discourse representation of their opponents (Van Dijk, 1997, p.22). Hence, discourse enables political leaders not only to control communicative events but more importantly to set the agenda, to define the situation and even the details of the ways the actions and policies are represented (ibid). If the audience have no alternative information, claims Van Dijk (1997, p.22), the credibility and persuasive rhetoric of politicians may be so strong that many recipients will adopt the beliefs expressed by these discourses. Hence, instead of commands to make others do what we want, we may shape their minds to behave as desired. For Van Dijk (1997, p. 19), if politicians' discourse can shape people's beliefs in this way and indirectly control their actions, this shows that they have successfully manipulated them through discourse. For example, by informing the American citizens about the dire economic and social consequences of the 2007-2009 Financial Crisis. Obama may attract popular consent regarding the economic reforms and thereby motivate people to act as the government prefers.

To conclude, the exercise of power through discourse is subtle and complex since power is "control of action which requires control of personal and social cognitions, which presupposes control of public discourse, which is possible through political, economic, social or academic power resources (position, knowledge, etc.)" (Van Dijk,199, p.22).

# Language and political discourse

To achieve their goals, politicians rely heavily on their mastery of discourse through their ability to manipulate language.

Aristotle's famous definition of humans as political animals able to use language to achieve their own ends better clarifies the unique human capacity for speech (Chilton, 2004, p.4). For Chilton, speech reflects the humans' perception of what is just or what is unjust as "the human endowment for language has the function of 'indicating', by implication to the group, what is deemed right and wrong within that group" (2004, p.5). Hence, language is crucial for doing this as it is a 'loaded weapon' enacted by users co-operatively for various purposes (Herman, 1995, p.14). Politicians recognize the role of language in achieving specific political goals. In this context, Wilson

(1990, p.10) asserts that the major aim of analyzing political talk is to shed light on the rhetorical devices employed by politicians to create a specific view of the world. Thus, language is vital for politics and that 'political activity does not exist without the use of language' (Chilton, 2004, p.6).

Among the linguistic devices to which politicians give much importance is deixis. It can be studied by any linguistic theory, but it is crucial for pragmatics as it gives the analyst information about the context of language production as who is speaking, to whom, when, and where (Triki, 2010, p.1). The present paper tries to investigate, from a pragmatic perspective, President Obama's manipulation of person deixis for specific ends.

Pragmatics is the science of language as it is used by real people in different situations for specific ends. It is interested in the way humans communicate, influence and manipulate one another, and generally in examining the meaning of language when it is produced in a context of use (Wilson, 1990, p.3)

# Person deixis in political discourse Defining deixis

Levinson (1983, p. 54) defines deixis as a term borrowed from Greek meaning 'pointing' or 'indicating' and referring to a set of linguistic items used to designate people or things in the world. It is concerned with the 'anchorage of events in terms of spatio-temporal location and of person with respect to an axis of reference called 'a deictic centre' (Triki, 1989, p.14). It is 'the use of certain linguistic expressions to locate entities in spatio-temporal, social, and discoursal context' (Marmaridou, 2000, p. 65).

Deictic expressions consist of (I) person pronouns (I, we, you, s/he...), (II) demonstratives (this, that, ...), (III) time and place adverbs (now, here, ...) and (iv) some verbs (come, go,...). These deictic expressions are context-bound because their interpretation changes according to the context in which they are used. Hence, deictic expressions 'cannot be interpreted unless contextual parameters are taken into account' (Marmaridou, 2000, p.65). Both the speaker and the hearer are supposed to share the same context in order to decipher the different meanings of the deictic categories. Thus, deixis reflects the relationship between language and the context where it is used. It is worth mentioning that deixis is essential to get the right information and to achieve the communicative function of language. Deixis helps to relate language to its context and thereby to facilitate the interpretation and understanding of the different cases of language use.

#### Person deixis

Studies in political discourse have tried to shed light on the politicians' strategic use of deictic expressions for varied purposes such as persuasive aims (Adetunji, 2006, p.181). They manipulate the pronominal system to assume or reject responsibility and to establish solidarity with the audience and to persuade them regarding certain decisions. For example, Wilson's (1990) interpretation of the distribution of the pronouns 'I' and 'we' in the presidential debates between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford in 1976, has shown that the politicians' shift from 'I' to 'we' is due to their desire to spread the load of responsibility and to avoid misunderstanding by the audience. Obeng (2002, p.10) also argues that 'political' pronouns are used to signal roles as agency or for self-reference and that the referents of these pronouns vary according to the overall context of the situation. Thus, the place, the time, the

participants, the content of the political speech/ address, and the goals of the "ongoing political business" are central to the selection of appropriate pronouns.

To conclude, politicians have several strategies which enable them to manage the political talk appropriately as the manipulation of the pronominal system. Hence, the study of person deixis can offer "a pronominal window into the thinking and attitude of politicians towards particular political topics and political personalities" (Wilson, 1990, p. 59).

# 3. Methodology Corpus description

The corpus under investigation consists of fourteen political discourses: six speeches, four addresses, two press conferences, and two remarks. They are delivered by President Obama from January 20<sup>th</sup> to December 8<sup>th</sup> 2009 about the 2007-2009 Financial Crisis. They are addressed to the American people about the economic recession and the swift measures taken by the American Government to tackle this problem. The corpus under study is downloaded from two web sites: www.presidentialrhetoric.com and www.realclearpolitics.com

#### Selection criteria

The Financial Crisis is chosen as the topic of the corpus under analysis for:

- It represented a historical event as it was considered to be the worst financial crisis since the 1930's Great Depression.
- IT started in the United States of America, the world's greatest power, and resulted in the collapse of large financial institutions and stock markets all over the world.
- -It represents a local problem directly threatening the lives and the well-being of the American people. The new elected president Obama was in a difficult situation since delicate local issues, especially economic ones, are more difficult to handle than foreign issues.

The reason behind choosing these political discourses delivered in 2009 and addressed to the American citizen is that the year 2009 represents the first year for Obama in office and the Americans expect him to put his manifesto into practice. The choice of the Americans as the target of these political discourses is due to the fact that this recession threatens directly the Americans as it first began in their country. Thus, Obama would be handling domestic affairs and he would be primarily addressing the Americans to reassure them and to explain the decisions taken by his administration to solve the economic downturn at home.

# Analytic instruments Quantitative analysis

The quantitative method is used to get precise empirical data in the form of numbers and statistics.

#### **Frequency distributions**

The statistical approach consists of counting the number of occurrences of the person deictics (I, we, you, they, and s/he) and their variants (my, me, our, us, their...) in the selected political discourses. The concordance (Simple Concordance Program 4.0.7) is used to count the frequency of the person deictics and their variants.

#### **Measures of Central Tendencies**

After generating the frequency of the deictic categories in each political discourse, the mean is used to compute the average of the person deictics in the sum total of the corpus under analysis and to get a precise idea about the central tendency of the variables and to determine the deictic category that is most used in the corpus.

The mean is obtained according to the following rule

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum x}{N}$$

- x be any of the numbers whose mean is computed
  - $\sum x$  be the sum of all the xs.
  - N be the total number of observations. (Triki and Sellami-Baklouti, 2002, p.50).

# Qualitative analysis

The statistical results obtained from the quantitative analysis of the person deictics in the corpus under study are analyzed qualitatively within the general framework of pragmatics, particularly within the notion of inclusive person deixis, to discuss Obama's use of person deixis for persuasive ends and to shed light on the way poiliticians rely on person deixis as a persuasive power.

## **Inclusive person deixis**

Inclusion, in this paper, indicates the deictic acts of including the speaker and the audience in the political actions and ideas being discussed (Adetunji, 2006, p. 178). In fact, politicians use person deixis, for political reasons: to persuade the audience to accept their political views regarding different issues. The pronoun 'we' is the most used deictic category by politicians for persuasive ends. Arroyo (2000, p.4) asserts that the pronoun 'we' plays a powerful role of persuasion because it enhances a sense of unity, identification and belonging to the same group.

It has different realizations particularly (1) the universal 'we' which is an inclusive 'we' that includes the speaker and the audience, both the immediate audience and that implied via mass media. It is used to instill a sense of unity and belonging in the addressee (Wodak et al, 2009, p.76). (2) The historical 'we' which refers to the speaker and the audience as well as absent third persons either alive or dead (Wodak et al, 2009, p.46). It is used to construct a very large imaginative 'we' group. (3) The royal 'we' which refers to the speaker and a group of partners. It is an addressee-exclusive 'we'. It is used by the speaker to spread the load of responsibility and to maintain his/her position (Adetunji, 2006, p.183).

## 4. Findings and discussion

The statistical results drawn from the calculation of the frequencies of the person deictics and their variants show that the pronoun 'we' is the most frequently used deictic category. This is illustrated in the following table.

	Jan	Jan	Fe	Fe	Fe	Ma	Ap	June	Jul	Se	Sep	Se	Oct	Dec	Tota	Mea
	20	24	b4	b1 3	b2 4	r24	r14	17	22	p7	9	p1 4	29	8	1	n
I	3	7	6	20	77	13 8	31	12	157	10 1	65	9	21	39	686	49
My	2	1	1	3	8	13	8	2	14	22	11	6	0	11	102	
Me	0	0	0	1	9	11	4	3	16	15	8	0	1	5	73	
Myself	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	
We	62	24	33	55	13 5	25 3	13 1	66	167	87	70	48	43	106	1280	91.4
Our	66	6	13	41	11 7	49	68	21	29	22	45	14	20	49	560	40
Us	23	1	1	6	19	26	11	7	16	8	15	3	1	3	140	
Ourselves	3	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	9	
You	14	0	2	22	32	45	8	9	120	66	49	7	71	5	450	32.1 4
Your	3	0	1	9	15	1	1	0	28	25	15	3	31	1	133	
They	11	1	3	0	15	25	17	7	65	24	20	10	9	6	213	15.2 1
Their	10	2	5	7	28	24	24	13	21	14	33	11	9	19	220	
Them	4	0	1	2	10	13	7	2	19	5	7	7	1	2	80	
Themselv es	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	7	
Не	1	0	0	1	4	5	0	0	4	9	15	0	1	0	40	2.85
His	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	6	1	15	0	2	0	29	
Him	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	5	
She	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	2	25	2	0	0	2	37	2.64
Her	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	5	5	4	0	1	2	24	

Table 1: Frequency Distribution of the Person Deictic Categories and their variants

The measurement of the mean shows that the pronoun 'we' has the highest mean:

$$\overline{We} = \frac{\sum We}{N} = \frac{1280}{14} = 91.42$$

(N: the total number of the political discourses)

The following figure best clarifies that the pronoun 'we' is the most prominent deictic category used by Obama in the selected data. Therefore, the qualitative analysis, based on the notion of inclusive person deixis, tries to scrutinise Obama's use and manipulation of this pronoun for persuasive ends.

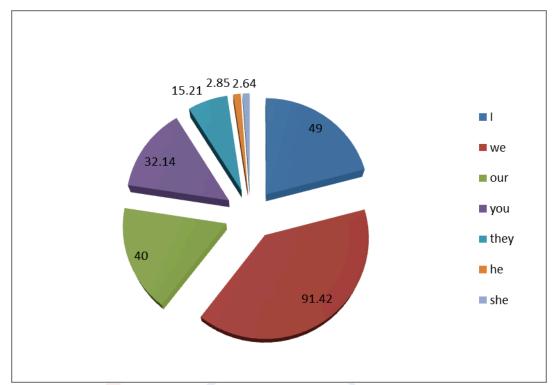


Figure 1: The mean of the person deictic categories

Politicians resort to inclusive person deictics which include both the speaker and the audience in the political position being discussed to persuade the audience into accepting their views. The pronoun 'we' is most frequently used by politicians for persuasive ends as is confirmed by the statistical results obtained from the corpus under analysis. Hence, the pronoun 'we' with its different realizations: the universal 'we', the historical 'we', and the royal WE will be scrutinized in this section.

**The Universal WE** in the corpus under study, includes the speaker being President Obama and all the American people as in "*That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred..."* (January 20<sup>th</sup> 2009).

It is used to create a stereotypical image of the American nation as in: "We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished" (January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2009, p.2). In this passage, by enumerating the traits of the typical American character (cleverness, hard work, ... etc.), Obama tries to create a positive self-presentation of the American character.

He refers, using the universal WE, to the grand narrative of the American past to remind the audience of the sacrifices made by their predecessors to ensure a better life for them, and of their heroic past that can be built upon. This is clear when he says on September 7<sup>th</sup>: "We pause to remember and to reflect and to reaffirm. We remember that the rights and benefits we enjoy today weren't simply handed to America's working men and women. ... . They had to be fought for, by men and women of courage ..., from the factory floors of the Industrial Revolution to the shopping aisles of today's superstores.... So as we remember this history, let's reflect on its meaning in our own time" as "The time has come ...; to carry forward that precious gift, ..., passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal,

..., and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness" (January 20, 2009). Hence, reminding the audience of the characteristics of the American character. Obama tries (i) to boost the Americans into participating in the process of solving the economic crisis. This is clear when he says on January 20<sup>th</sup>: "Starting today, we must pick up ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America. (ii) to instil a sense of responsibility and mutual duty among the Americans as in this extract "What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility—a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation, and the world, duties that we do not grudgingly accept but seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character, than giving our all to a difficult task. This is the price and the promise of citizenship (January 20, 2009). He insists that solving the crisis does not depend only on the government's measures, but rather the solution lies with the Americans as "No one policy or program will solve the challenges we face right now, ... But ...; if we act as citizens and not partisans and begin again the work of remaking America, then I have faith that we will emerge from this trying time even stronger and more prosperous than we were before" (January 24<sup>th</sup>, 2009). using the universal WE. Obama calls for a new spirit of common purpose and destiny and a need for unity among the American society necessary to recover from the recession and to reach lasting prosperity as in: "The road to that prosperity is still long, and we will hit our share of bumps and setbacks before it ends. But we must remember that we can get there if we travel that road as one nation, as one people" (March 24, 2009).

An inclusive universal WE is used by Obama to persuade the Americans into accepting the measures taken by the government to address the crisis. He says on April 14<sup>th</sup> 2009: "We cannot rebuild this economy on the same pile of sand. We must build our house upon a rock. We must lay a new foundation for growth and prosperity- a foundation that will move us from an era of borrow and spend to one where we save and invest; where we consume less at home and send more exports abroad". He tries to persuade them that these measures are necessary to rebuild the economy on a new strong foundation that cuts with the old practices and paves the way for a new era of affluence. Being a strong orator, Obama plays on the whims of his citizens through the utterance "we must build our house upon a rock", where he draws a parallel between the Americans and the Founding Fathers who came to a new land with the aim to build "a city upon a hill" with new visions that cut with the past ones. Obama addresses the Americans as if history were repeating itself and thereby they must take tough decisions to rebuild the nation, to abandon the old practices and to start once again a new age for America. He says in the same speech (April 14): "... from where we stand, for the very first time, we are beginning to see glimmers of hope. ... a vision of an America's future that is far different than our troubled economic past. It's an America ...; humming with new energy and discoveries that light the world once more". Obama maintains that, despite the economic challenges, the decisions taken by his administration give the Americans a sense of hope and shape a new vision of American future. He urges the Americans to use the moment to come together and work hard to rebuild the nation so that the "house upon a rock" will persist and the American Dream will survive. This shows Obama's strong argumentation to impress the audience and push them to accept the actions taken by his government.

To sum up, the universal WE is used by President Obama to create a stereotypical image of the American Character and mainly to instil a sense of responsibility and unity among the American population deemed necessary at a time of financial crisis.

The historical WE, in the corpus under investigation, is used by Obama to refer to Americans long dead who participated in the Civil War to whom he adds American people from the audience and absent Americans either alive or dead. By including all the Americans, Obama gives an excerpt of the American grand narrative to push the audience to learn from the crises of the past which can be a source of inspiration in their process of rebuilding the nation. He says on January, 20, 2009: "because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war ..., and emerged from that dark chapter stronger ..., we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall some day pass".

Obama articulates another historical WE referring to the Americans that played a major role in crafting the 1930s New Deal policies that transformed the American economy from depression to prosperity. To this group, he adds the audience and absent Americans when explaining the importance of the partnership between the government and the private sector at a moment of economic turmoil: "...at a moment when other nations were giving up, as President Roosevelt said, "[selling] their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living".... We boldly defended our system of free enterprise... We did not give in to ideologies that dismissed the role of government nor those that denied the role of the marketplace" (February, 13<sup>th</sup>). Using the historical WE and referring to past decisions, Obama relies on positive experiences of the past to persuade the addressee, the Business Council, to accept this partnership on which the growth of the country depends. Hence, the past represents a source of empowerment for Obama when presenting the measures needed to solve the crisis.

To conclude, Obama uses the historical WE to refer to the past seen as a resort in the process of rebuilding the nation.

The Royal WE refers, in the corpus under study, to the American Government. Obama is the spokesman of his government when explaining the measures taken as in "We took steps to stabilize our financial institutions and ..., and we passed a recovery act that has already saved jobs and created new ones (July 22, 2009). He uses the royal WE instead of the presidential I to spread the load of responsibility and to tell the audience that the actions are not fully the responsibility of one individual but the outcome of collective work of the Government's members. Thus, he avoids damaging his own position as a president.

Obama also uses this royal WE to create a sense of self-praise. He seems to glorify his administration's actions by saying: "In just under three months, we have responded to an extraordinary set of economic challenges with extraordinary action – unprecedented in both its scale and its speed (April 14).

Through the process of self-praise, Obama tries to gain the support of the audience, to make them believe that the decisions made are the right ones and consequently gain their allegiance.

To conclude, Obama uses the royal WE mainly to spread the load of responsibility and to maintain his position

## 5. Limitations of the study

This paper has tried to analyse Obama's use of the pronoun 'we' for persuasive ends, but it has some limitations as (i) the generalisation of the findings would have been more reliable, had the analysis covered all the person deictics. (ii) The research findings could have been more generalizable if the corpus contained different political discourses by different leaders.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper has tried to study the general theme of power particularly the persuasive power of person deixis in political discourse mainly the inclusive WE. The analysis of the selected Obama's political discourses about the Financial Crisis in 2009 has shown that the pronoun we is the most used deictic category for persuasive ends. It is used by Obama to create a stereotypical image of the American character, to remind the audience of their glorious past, and to spread the load of responsibility, to persuade the audience and gain their support.



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## The Web of Signification in Journey to the West

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#### **Abstract**

Journey to the West, one of the ancient Chinese classics, is an imaginative narration of the historical event of the Buddhist monk Xuanzang embarking on an arduous journey to India for Buddhist scriptures in Tang dynasty (618-907 AD). While advocating mainly Buddhist beliefs, such as the concept of karma, as conventionally understood, the novel also encompasses Taoism and Confucianism. Against such an intellectual backdrop, two major signifiers—Xuanzang the pilgrim and the Buddhist scriptures, one personified and one linguistic—signify differently to various social and religious communities -- the Buddhists, the ruling emperor, the ordinary mass, and the pagan devils. A closer reading reveals a web of signification within the novel, which imperceptibly deconstructs each transcendental signified above and behind claimed by each community.

Keywords: Journey to the West; signification; deconstruction

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Journey to the West, one of the ancient Chinese classics, is an imaginative narration of the historical event of the Buddhist monk Xuanzang embarking on an arduous journey to India for Buddhist scriptures in Tang dynasty (618-907 AD). While advocating mainly Buddhist beliefs, such as the concept of karma, as conventionally understood, the novel also encompasses Taoism and Confucianism. Against such an intellectual backdrop, two major signifiers—Xuanzang the pilgrim and the Buddhist scriptures, one personified and one linguistic—signify differently to various social and religious communities -- the Buddhists, the ruling emperor, the ordinary mass, and the pagan devils. A closer reading reveals a web of signification within the novel, which imperceptibly deconstructs each transcendental signified above and behind claimed by each community.

# The Construction of a Superior World

"I now have Three Stores of True Scriptures with which they (Southern Jambu Continent residents) can be persuaded to be good. One store of the Vinaya, the law, which is about Heaven; one of Sastras, expositions which are concerned with Earth; and one of Sutras, or scriptures, which save ghosts. The Three Stores consist of 15144 scrolls in 35 classes. They are the scriptures for cultivating the truth, and the gate to real goodness." Thus Tathagata introduced the Scriptures.

For Buddha, the Scriptures clearly signify a gateway for the corrupted Southern Jambu Continent residents to the heaven of truthfulness and righteousness. He accuses the land as "a vicious field of tongues and mouths, an evil sea of disputation", and the people "greedy and lecherous and delight in the sufferings of others" (Wu, 2003: 239). For Him, the scriptures, a cure-all to these deadly sins, "offer deliverance from suffering and release from disaster" (Wu, 3271).

The scriptures not only have the power of transforming the "corrupted" worldlies, but also the power of delivering the dead to heaven. As Guanyin (Bodhisattva) said to Xuanzang, "the Three Stores of the Buddha's Law of the Great Vehicle¹ will raise the dead up to Heaven, deliver sufferers from their torments, and free souls from the eternal coming and going" (Wu, 419). Briefly, the scriptures are in possession of the power of delivering the mortals into immortality. Upon the deliverance, one would be free from the cycle of samsara. He would be free from both the panic of being thrown down to hell for his evil doings as well as the coercion to struggle upward in the cycle of fate. He would acquire eternal peace and happiness through the sacred words.

In Brief, for Buddha and his disciples, the Scriptures are empowered to lead mortals into truth and immortality. An adherence to the teachings will direct the mortal beings into the right path in "this life" and will eventually free them from the greatest terror of Death

Presented in the novel, the Buddhist doctrines were accepted and promulgated by the Tang Emperor Taizong.<sup>2</sup> As narrated, the emperor called a great assembly with a purpose to "deliver the lonely ghosts" and to preach the doctrine of the three Buddhas of past and future (Wu, 397). As stated in the opening address of the Assembly, "at the sacred command of Taizong, some chosen monks for meditation and preaching have been assembled. He has opened wide the gates of enlightenment and rowed far the boat of mercy, saving all the beings in the sea of suffering....For this wonderful cause they [the ghosts] are invited to see the purple gates of the pure capital, and through the assembly they will escape from the confines of Hell to climb to the World of Bliss and be free, wandering as they please in the Paradise of the West" (Wu, 401). Thus, the heaven is accessible for the lonely ghosts via preaching the scriptures. "The infinite Law is proclaimed, the boundless mercy of Heaven is shown" (Wu, 403).

Besides the promised immortality signified by the scriptures, divine blessing was also what the emperor wished the scriptures could signify. "We pray to protect our country; May it stay at peace and be blessed" (Wu, 403), thus the opening address of the Great Assembly concluded. For a ruling emperor, divine protection is of primal importance. When Xuanzang offered to fetch the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle from the Western Heaven for the emperor so as to "ensure the eternal security of the empire", Taizong, overjoyed, named Xuanzang a "holy monk", "the Imperial Younger Brother" (Wu, 429). Xuanzang, a personified signifier, together with the Buddhist scriptures actually signify a connection between the mortal emperor and the divine world. The signification thus carries a political overtone.

As mentioned, the lonely ghosts would be redeemed and delivered into heaven with the recitation of the Scriptures. The redeeming power was also manifest in the case of Xuanzang and his four divine disciples -- Wukong, Wuneng, Wujing, and the young dragon. For them, the journey is a spiritual one actualizing religious justification, sanctification, and glorification. Xuanzang, the master, was Tathagata's second disciple Master Golden Cicada in his former life and was punished for a transgression. Because he would not listen to Tathagata's sermon on the Dharma and had no respect for his teaching, Tathagata demoted his soul to be reborn in the East (Wu, 3345). Upon accomplishing the journey, he was promoted to Candanapunya Buddha. The pursuit for the genuine scriptures signifies a return to his former glory.

As for the four disciples, all heavily penalized for their wrongdoings, were redeemed by Guanyin and ordained to escort Xuanzang. "Because of the store of karmic demerits built up by the past transgressions of each pilgrim, all must undertake the journey to atone for their sins and wipe heir karmic slates clean" (Bantly, 1989: 517). Wukong ("awakened to emptiness"), the once fearless Monkey King from the lower world demanded a position in the ruling divine world, but was belittled and mocked, and thus wrecked a havoc on the paradise. He was ultimately subdued by Tathagata, and was kept in captivity underneath a mountain. Wuneng ("awakened to power"), once Marshal Tian Peng in the Milky Way, was expelled into the mortal world for

having attempted to seduce the moon maiden. Wujing ("awakened to Purity"), once the Curtain Raising General in the divine world, was exiled and became a river demon for having accidentally broken a crystal wine cup at a divine Peach Banquet. The young dragon princess (Xuanzang's horse) was flogged and ousted from the palace of dragon for having burned up the bright pearls. By the instruction of Guanyin (Bodhisattva), the four of them eventually gained entry into divinity, promoted to be the Victorious Fighting Buddha, the Altar Cleanser, the Golden Arhat, and a Heavenly Dragon of the Eight Classes of Being respectively. For them, their master Xuanzang and the scriptures pursued signify a gateway to the "Great Way" of Buddha, a delivery from the punishment, and a rise in status -- from the marginalized-demonized position to the centralized-worshiped rank.

The ordinary mortal believers also lay trust in the redeeming power of the Scriptures. Xuanzang, in return for being saved from a tiger by the hunter Boqin, recited the Sutra to Deliver the Dead and other sutras in honor of Boqin's deceased father. As narrated, the soul of Boqin's father told his family in a dream that "now that the saintly monk has wiped out my sins by reading some scriptures. King Yama has had me sent back to the rich land of China to be reborn in an important family" (Wu, 459). The Scriptures, extolled as "the majestic Law", can "save the dead from suffering and the morass" (Wu, 459). The very basic mortal wishes of the ordinary mortal – security and fortune – are also surely achievable by worshiping Tathagata and the scriptures. In the great mass performed in the house of Lord Kou who accommodated Xuanzang and his disciples, the monks recited Peacock Sutra and Avatamsaka Sutra with a wish for disasters and slanders being swept away (Wu, 3201).

For the pagan devils who crave for immortality and an increase in their power, the Buddhist Scriptures surely means nothing. In their world, Xuanzang was comically turned into elixir, signifying immortality and an increase of superpower. Basically, the monsters "straddle two distinct spheres of signification: that of the dominant structure and that of their structure of origin" (Cozad, 1998: 126). Governed neither by Confucian ethics nor by Buddhist doctrines, those cannibals resorted to the primitive means. Upon hearing of the approach of Xuanzang to their territory, their first reaction was always that here came the Tang Monk, a reincarnation of Golden Cicada. "He had an Original Body that has been purified through ten lives. Anyone who eats a piece of his flesh will live for ever" (Chapter 27), thus demons like the Corpse Fiend plotted killing. Such a plot would inevitably be subdued as those demons neither possessed unquenchable power over the divinities nor were patronized by some honorable deity. When defeated, they encountered either destruction or coerced conversion.

In short, for each community, Buddhas, the mortal emperor, the ordinary mass, and the pagan devil, there exists a better world signified either in the scriptures or the pilgrim Xuanzang. Besides immortality, the signified universally accepted, the significations of the scriptures also inevitably bear the mark of various social and religious standings. It can be argued that the significations are of double nature –

universality and particularity. The paradise, actually a subjective entity, reflects the believers' religious and social beings, rather than being a claimed objective entity. The paradise is as socially constructed as the mortal world.

#### **Deconstruction of the Paradise**

A superior other world was thus constructed, and widely revered by both mortals and immortals, both the royalty and the ordinary. Yet a closer reading reveals that the boundary of the corrupted mortal world and impeccable heaven was actually blurry and broken by their similarities. The binaries actually overlap each other. Treachery and corruption have found their way into the paradise. When Xuanzang and his disciples finally reached the Thunder Monastery where Buddha and his divine disciples dwell, they were blackmailed blatantly by two deities Ananda and Kasyapa who demanded a gift in exchange for the Scriptures. Rejected, they gave them wordless scriptures. Only after their greed was sated (they received the begging bowl of purple gold given to Xuanzang by the Tang Emperor), the two deities handed the pilgrims the authentic scriptures. The two deities were no less greedy than the "corrupted Southern Jambu residents".

Another interesting observation is that quite a number of demons the pilgrims encountered on their way were surprisingly the servants of deities or even the deity himself. Two servant boys of Lord Lao, the "Honored Lord of the Origin" were actually summoned by Guanyin to be monsters in the mortal world to test the will of the team (Wu, 1168). When the test was over, the monsters were subdued and brought back to their heaven abode by their master, ironically getting away with whatever havoc they wrecked in the human world. A servant of Maitreya Buddha slipped out of the heaven down to the Earth and inflicted disasters upon the local residents. And just like the two servant boys of Lord Lao, he was captured by his master and recalled back to paradise (Wu, 2191). Even the deity "Strider the Wooden Wolf" did likewise (Wu, 1030). Destined to fulfill a former romance destiny with a Jade Maiden in Heaven, he imprisoned the princess of a nearby kingdom, the maiden's new identity in this life, for 13 years. The worst that happens to these demons of divine origin is simply being "deprived" of the evil freedom down in the mortal world and brought back to Heaven.

As for the corrupted human world, it is basically presented as one of benevolence. As mentioned before, Xuanzang was once saved by the hunter Boqing, well received by Lord Lao, and warned against the monsters by many locals. Ironically, the only mortal depicted vain and greedy was the abbot of Chan Monastery of Guanyin. The abbot coveted Xuanzang's precious cassock given by Guanyin so much so that he even attempted to murder them. The Buddhist scriptures did not seem to function well enough to lead him onto the righteous path.

Not only the boundary between the human world and the divine world gets blurry, overlapping can even be seen between the devil and the divine, as reflected in the bountiful transformations throughout the novel. The magic power to transform suggests the intersection of diverse identities, demon, human, or divine. The devil Red Boy deceived and caught Wuneng by playing Guanyin. Such an unforgivable "success" was a great irritation to the female divinity, but also proved a sort of assimilation of the two contradictions. In another case, Guanyin played the snake devil to subdue the black bear monster, who stole Xuanzang's precious cassock. And the deception of the devil six-eared macaque was so successful that only Tathagata could distinguish the devil from Wukong, not even the mighty Guanyin. It can be argued that at one instant, it is hard to distinguish the conceptually contradicted beings. Appearance is considered deceptive, yet it is also one significant aspect of Buddhist divinity. The multiple appearances of Guanyin are all sublime and awe-striking; so are all the deities in the Thunder Monastery, full of grandeur and sublimity – appearance does help the construction of divinity. The Buddhist perception of appearance is actually rather paradoxical, denying it as well as emphasizing it. A structural observation of the two worlds – devil and divine would be inadequate. The two worlds are actually interwoven with each other.

# Readable Scriptures vs wordless Scriptures

As mentioned above, Xuanzang and his disciples were deceived by Ananda and Kasyapa and given first blank Buddhist Scriptures. Irritated, Wukong accused Tathagata of bad governance of the paradise, silently allowing such a deception. In response, Tathagata answered that the blank scriptures are indeed superior to the readable ones, yet beyond the comprehension of the mortal beings. Such a trick, though meant to advocate the value of the scriptures, also tells that mortals will not have access to a superior truth.

One interpretation of the blank scriptures is that the blank text symbolizes wordless divine presence. As said in The Diamond Sutra, one of the scriptures granted to Xuanzang, Tathagata said Truth is uncontainable and inexpressible (The Diamond "Who sees Me by form, Who seeks Me in sound, Perverted Sutra. Section 7). are his footsteps upon the Way, For he cannot perceive the Tathagata" (Section 26). "Words cannot explain the real nature of a cosmos. Only common people fettered with desire make use of this arbitrary method" (Section 30). Divinity is above and beyond any tangible means – form and sound. Anything governed by form and sound would be governed by time and space, and therefore will not be omnipresent but temporary. Divinity is advocated as omnipresent, and therefore transcends form and sound, and thus language is rendered futile. Such an assertion somewhat makes a mockery of the pilgrimage. Even with the hard won cure-all scriptures, Truth is still unattainable to the common people, at lease not via the means of words.<sup>4</sup>

Such a deemphasis on form was also present in Heart Sutra, given by Crow's Nest Zen Master to Xuanzang. According to the sutra, all phenomena -- form, feeling, volitions, perceptions, and consciousness -- are empty. Only when engaged in deep meditation, can one approach the heart of the perfection of understanding. When the Zen Master passed the sutra to Xuanzang, he said, "if you recite it when you encounter evil influences you will come to no harm" (Chapter 19). The sutra is the kernel of the cultivation of the truth, and it is the gateway to becoming a Buddha. Such a view is actually rather paradoxical. It is rather intriguing that the sutra, whose existence relies on sound and form, undervalues these means.

Diamond Sutra and Heart Sutra, two Scriptures endowed with supreme value, deconstruct the supermacy of words. As advocated, words (linguistic signifiers) lose their function to denote the signified -- a higher other world. Even truth is structurally constructed, a higher one achievable by meditation, and a lower one by words.

What Xuanzang and the Scriptures signify for various communities actually reflects the sway of a web of values and beliefs. Tang dynasty saw a flourish of three major ideologies: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. In essence, Confucianism is chiefly concerned with the present mortal world, the relationship between humans – emperor and subject, father and son, husband and wife, etc; Buddhism addresses the relationship between mortals and immortals, and the relationship of an individual's former, present, and future life. Taoism rather advocates a harmony between human and nature. Emperor Taizong's wish for divine blessing upon the kingdom reflects Confucianism's doctrine upon rulers – devotion to the people and the regime. Xuanzang's willingness to embark on such an audacious journey partly comes from his loyalty to the emperor, a value instilled on him by Confucianism. Wukong's filialty to Xuanzang also reflects Confucian teachings. For the four disciples, their master Xuanzang was a father-like image to whom, according to Confucianism, they must pay respect and show absolute obedience even though he was only a powerless mortal. Even after Wukong was banished by Xuanzang, once the master was in peril, Wukong never failed to rush back promptly to rescue him. As Wukong said, "even if a man has been your teacher for a single day, he deserves to be treated as your father for a life long" (Wu, 1026). What Xuanzang signifies for his disciples convey both Buddhist and Confucian senses. A mixture of ideologies produce multiple significations.

In conclusion, a surface reading of the novel would reveal a superior marvelous paradise as signified in the invaluable Scriptures, the ultimate purpose of the awe-inspiring journey undertaken by Xuanzang. Immortality, righteousness, and divinity are finally within human reach via these sacred words. Tathagata declared the redeeming power stored in the Scriptures; mortals lay faith in them; devils endeavor to acquire the pilgrim as they also desire immortality. Yet such a simple binary construction was decomposed under a closer reading. Boundaries between varied worlds are broken, identities misplaced. Heaven can be corrupted; deities can be

devilish; the pursued Scriptures will not guarantee an access to truth. More than an advocate for Buddhism, Journey to the West actually serves as a kaleidoscope of Chinese ethics and religions.

#### **Notes:**

- 1. Before Xuanzang's pilgrim, Hinayana buddhism was practised in the Tang Dynasty. One mission of Xuanzang was to bring Great-vehicle buddhism to Tang dynasty.
- 2. Historically, there were both campaigns against and for preaching Buddhism in Tang Dynasty. Emperor Taizong, chiefly out of the political necessity, advocated and rejected Buddhism in his regime. His subjects include both Buddhism advocates and opponents.
- 3. According to the Buddhist belief of samsara, a soul would experience various existence in his past, present, and future lives. Unfortunately, the present mortal being normally have no memory of his /her former identity. Hence the princess didn't recognize the deity who, however, got to fulfill the fate, had to imprison her.
- 4. Some critics interprets the novel as an advocate of Zen Buddhism, which advocates the enlightenment comes not through conceptualization but through direct insight. Zen Buddhism emphasizes not the learning of sutras and doctrines, but meditation and insight.



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