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Teachers and Students' Relationship in Nigeria Higher Institutions: Effect on Student Learning, Intellectual Chang and Development

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0037

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Abstract

Education has taken a progressive stride in Nigeria. Both male and female are acquiring education more than before. The general objective of this study is to investigate how the relationships between teachers and students have contributed to the learning ability and educational attainments of students. While the specific objectives include; examining if the relationship encourages learning, investigating attitude of students to learning and studying the kind of assistance students get from their teachers. Qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. Six hundred students (600) took part in the research study and data was analyzed using the statistical package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Some variables were cross tabulated to provide association among the variables. It was discovered that though students are learning from their teachers, yet the relationship is not as cordial. Some of the times, the relationships do not allow good learning atmosphere for students because of demands made by the teachers. The bad learning attitudes of the students put off the teachers such as non attendant of students in class, anti – social activities, and bad attitude of students in carrying out their assignment on time, lateness to school especially at the beginning of semesters.

Keywords: Teacher, Student, Relationship, Learning, Intellectual Change, Development.

INTRODUCTION.

It is no gainsaying that students make impressions of their teachers the first time the teacher enters their classroom. The impressions make by students are as significant as their study in the pattern of relationships that develop during the course of their learning. Either the impression is positive or negative, will determine the relationships between the teacher and students during the course of study. This will also have an effect on the performance of the students academically and socially. Before industrialization of the societies, only few people had the privilege of acquiring formal education and Nigeria was not excluded from this social phenomenon. During the advent of colonialism in Nigeria, education came to the limelight. With the introduction of education by the colonists and missionaries, education is currently crucial and a means of socialization, intellectual ability, development of skills and talents. As the nation and individual family started recognizing the value of education as means of social mobility, economic and political empowerment, male and female have started going to school for formal education. In fact, some adults are back to school to acquire the maximum level of education

Education in Nigeria today has become the only sustainable industry and an unbolt gate to participate in the labour market and a means of social mobility, economic and political empowerment. Teachers are like a river that flows where everybody draws water for quenching their dehydration, the role of the teachers is fundamental in terms of bringing up the youths intellectually and morally in continuation of the responsibility of the primary agent of socialization. This makes teacher's task immeasurable in any human society. However, a lot of changes had taken place as regard to teacher-student relationships between the period of colonization and today.

In the past students were obedient and willing to learn and teachers were committed to reproducing themselves in their students. Learning at the time was successful because it involves sacrifice and endurance on the part of teachers and students. Teachers would not leave a stone untouched until their students understood the concepts of their topic and most of the time there was an application of the stroke of the cane. Thus, the result of this endeavor was vividly seen in the life of the students in their performance in and out of school. Now training for students has taken a new dimension. Social change has equally affected teacher-student relationships, and many students are taking their learning with levity. This background makes it necessary for teachers and students to develop a positive relationship that enhance both teacher's work and student's learning process, intellectual change and growth.

Three important concepts are vital at this point for the purpose of this study, and they include student, teacher and relationship. Student at this juncture refers to people who submit themselves to formal schooling, with the desire to acquire skills and certificate, which will help them in participating in the labour market for economic sustainability and contribution to societal development. Hence, positive relationship between teachers and students is necessary to enable a reliable accumulation of skill and intellectual capacity. Teacher for the purpose of this study is somebody who had gone through formal schooling, acquired skill, intellectual ability, who is morally sound with self control to handle students under his/her supervision and determine to reproduce himself/herself in the students under his/her management. This indicates that the teacher is to be a model that students could emulate in all ramifications.

2

Relationship refers to communication between teachers and students that entrench respect for both and that encourage student's learning process, development of skill and intellectual ability. The collaboration should include; showing trust, affection, respect, understanding, direction that is embedded in the student's academic performance and their social life. This implies that teachers should show concerned about their student's class performance as well as what is happening to the student's life after classroom work. Creating a positive relationship is paramount between teachers and students because these students are entrusted to the teachers after living the primary agent of socialization. The entrusting of students is not only by parents but also by the larger society for the continuity of socialization.

When the socialization is faulty it will invariably have an effect not only on the individual students but the society as a whole. Creating a positive relationship is imperative between teachers and students for a better development of the person and the development of the nation. Though a number of research in the area of teachers-students relationships are available, but it seems the study is highly concentrated in the elementary to secondary school level. Hence, this motivates the desire to discover teachers – student's relationships that would promote more intellectual change in Nigeria higher educational institutions.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

In the past, there were cordial relationship between teachers and students which encouraged learning, academic performance and achievement of students. There was a commitment on the part of teachers, respect and other cultural values were upheld by both parents and students. Teachers are role models to students and an instrument through which students could clamp the ladder of greatness in the society. Now, teacher's academic support and drilling of students to attain success in all ramifications is diminishing due to certain avoidable factors. Teachers and students convey a range of goals, needs, feelings and behavioral scheme that affect the quality of the relationship they form and influence values of their experiences with one another in the classroom.

It is not an exaggeration to say that teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions today requires serious attention if students are to improve their learning process, intellectual change and contribute to societal development. The negative perception of teachers by the majority of students cannot promote a positive relationship. The bad attitude of many students to training is not encouraging as many prioritize their social activities at the expense of their study. Some students take part in associations that are unacceptable in the school community; such as cultism whereby members are terrorizing the lives of other students and teachers. Some get involve in examination malpractices and other vices that are contrary to social values of the educational system and the society. These are not commensurate to positive relationship between teachers and students.

Lack of commitment and laxity of teachers in their quality of teaching and availability to help students in solving academic and psycho-social problems is affecting the students. Teacher's exploitation of students remains a factor that could strain a relationship. Sexual harassment of female students from male students and male teachers is a big issue in the educational institutions in Nigeria. Likewise female students' sexual harassment of the male teachers in an attempt to pass examination remains a factor that makes positive relationship that can enhance good academic achievement difficult. These and others remain a problem in Nigeria higher institutions, and they could hinder teacher's effort in inculcating maximum training, learning and academic achievement in students.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY.

The general objective of this study is to investigate how the relationship between teachers and students has contributed to the learning ability and educational achievement of the students. The specific objectives include the following;

1. Examine if the relationship encourage learning.
2. Investigate attitude of students to learning.
3. Examine the assistance students get from their teachers.
4. Suggest a way forward for a better relationship that promotes improvement for students.

HYPOTHESIS.
1. Ho: Teachers attitude significantly affect learning and academic achievement.
2. Hi: Teachers attitude has no relationship with learning and academic achievement.
3. Ho: Students attitude significantly affect learning and academic achievement
4. Hi: Students attitude has no relationship with learning and academic achievement

LITERATUREREVIEW.

In this literature review, student's attitude, assistance from teachers, relationship between teachers - students and how the relationship encourage learning and academic performance will be the focus. Various research findings have indicated that positive teachers-students relationship enhances student's achievement in the elementary level. Hamre K. and Pianata (2004) are of the opinion that a positive relationship between teachers and students is the foundation for successful adaptation to the social and educational environment when children first enter the formal school setting. Montalvo, et al. (2007) is of the opinion that if students would like or dislike school depends on teacher's traits. Hallinan (2008) also explained that if teachers meet, value and respect their students, there is an increase in attachment of students to school. Montalvo et al, (2007) further argued that if students like their teachers, they would apply greater endeavor and express a greater degree of persistence. Such students would attain better grades in classes taught by teachers they like. In a research carried out linking teachers-students relationships with student achievement across grade level, proved the above to be consistent.

These factors could also be an indicator for students in higher institutions for a better academic performance if there is a positive relationship. Students are likely to perform better in school, develop a healthy relationship both with teachers and peers. If a good relationship had previously been established in the elementary level, it would be easier for students to transfer their learning skill to their new school environment. When there is a positive relationship between the teachers and the students, it will enhance the social, emotional, and academic performance of the students. It thus becomes necessary for students to rely on their teachers, so that teachers will provide for the students the understanding and support that will permit them to get the best out of the classroom training, and their daily interaction with teachers and peers.

Teachers-students relationship according to Klem and Connell (2004) has significant influence on student achievement. It is indispensable for teachers to support students to learn efficiently based on what is in the curriculum. Gregory, Weinstein (2004) and Hamre, Planta (2001) argued that the social quality of teachers-students relationships contributes to academic, social and emotional development of students. In a study carried out by Mantzicopoulos (2005), he is of the opinion that when teachers understand their students'

skill and appreciate their families' backgrounds, there is a closer relationship and reduction in teachers-students' conflict. Though the research was carried out among the students in elementary school, it is also relevant to teachers-students relationship in higher institutions for the fact that students spend the highest number of days in school under the supervision of their teachers.

Teachers need to understand their student's background, be assessable and ask questions in relation to the student's difficulty. Teaching should not be limited to the curriculum but to all aspects of life that would make their students embrace moral and cultural values of the society. When there is such deviation in the course of instruction, it makes students relax, open to the teachers. Students value their teachers and belief in the teachers because they are aware that they are not only concern with their academic performance but also difficulties that are facing them.

Hamre and Planta (2004) argued that when students form a close relationship with teachers, they enjoy school more, and they get along better with their peers. Furthermore, they explained that when there is a positive relationship it fetches lots of benefits. The positive relationship can be beneficial for students who display academic or behaviour problems in the school. The positive relationship could be a safe pedestal for students. This will enable students to play and work on their own with the mind that if they encounter a problem, teachers would recognize and respond to their problems. This could be very helpful in Nigeria higher institutions especially in situations where some students belong to unhealthy associations such as "cultism." It could also serve as a means of controlling student's rampage.

In a study carried out among a group of African American and Hispanic students by Hughes and Cavell (2003), among the behaviourally at risk-students, the opinion is that positive teachers-students relationships may help those behaviorally at risk-students to learn more adaptive behaviour. In the study, students who experienced supportive teacher-student relationship had a decline in aggressive behaviour between second and third grade students. Hamre and Planta (2008) are of the opinion that when there is a positive relationship between teachers and students, it enables the maintainer of students' interests in academic and social quest and this; in turn lead to a better grade and positive peer relationships.

Today in Nigeria higher institutions, some students involve themselves in anti-social behaviour coupled with aggressive behaviour primarily among the cultists. This anti-social behaviour could be reduced or totally eradicated if students form a positive relationship with their teachers. When teachers know their students, there will be support from teachers for students in overcoming their anti-social behaviour that usually leads to aggressive behaviour and conflict. In a study carried out by Resnick, et. al. (1997), on adolescent health, students in high school report greater connectedness to teachers, they display lower rates of emotional distress, substance abuse, suicidal ideation, suicidal behaviour, violence, and early sexual activity. It is further stated that, though students in higher institution spend less time with teachers yet, there is sound evidence that a positive relationship established during this period is among the most significant predictors of success. In corroborating this, Gregory and Weinstein (2004) described that student connectedness to teachers is a better predictor of various outcomes. Teachers-students connectedness is a factor most associated with growth in achievement.

There is the need for teachers in Nigerian higher institutions to have trust in their students. The problem however is that most often students do not give room for such trust because of

their behavior and attitude. In other word, students should be trust worthy. Not many students like examination which is a recognized method of student's evaluation for grading. In the process, some will pass why some will fail which can cause a negative relationship between students and teachers. In a research carried out by Daniel and Araposthasis (2005), Students asked a question; what teachers could do to help students engaged, the response was that, students wanted teachers to establish trust, design lessons that interest students, and to put less emphasis on rewards such as grades. Hallian (2008) is of the opinion that variables, such as students' attitude regarding school as well as the relationship they establish with the teachers should be part of student's assessment during the learning process.

Hallian gives further explanation to the above by saying that these variables could be identify in two ways. The first argument rest on students who like school tend to build friendships, respect for peers and adult, and learn social skills. The second argument is that if students like school, it enhances their academic performance. A good number of scholars are of the opinion that strong and supportive relationships between teachers and students enhance educational achievement. There are various characteristics of teachers and students that may contribute to the development of their relationships. For instance, teachers – student's expectations, beliefs and their understanding can either improve the relationship positively or negatively. Teacher's perceptions of their own role also have an effect on their relationship with the students.

Brophy (1985) explained further that if teachers see themselves as lecturers or socializers, their perception to these two roles affect their interaction with students. As a lecturer for instance, he claimed that teachers tend to respond more negatively to students who are under-achievers, unmotivated, or disruptive during learning tasks. On the other hand, teachers who are socializers tend to act more negatively toward students they perceived as hostile, aggressive, or inter-personally disconnected. Furthermore, the argument is that self-efficacy of teachers can affect teachers-students relationship. For example, teachers who believe they have an influence on students tend to interact in ways that enhance the student's investment and achievement (Midgley, et.al. 1989).

The opinion is that teacher's expectation of students also plays an important role in students behavioural and academic performance. In Rosenthal Robert experiment called the "Expectation Effect, the intention is to see whether teacher expectations influenced their students' performances in elementary school. The "late bloomers" who were dramatically breaking open in their academic learning were randomly selected among their peers. When all the students were tested at the end of the term these late bloomers did not only performed better in the eyes of their teachers, but they also scored significantly higher on standardized IQ tests, an expected outcome had taken place also known as "halo effect". This shows that teacher's expectation of students can dramatically improve their academic performance in Nigeria higher institutions. Roeser, et.al (1998) stated that when teachers hold high generalized expectations for a student's achievement, such students tend to achieve more, experience a greater sense of self-esteem and competence as learners, and resist involvement in anti-social behaviours.

METHODOLOGY.

The methods of data collection are quantitative and qualitative methods. While the quantitative method utilized survey interview, the qualitative method employed focused-group discussion. These techniques were to enable respondents to give sufficient information that strengthen and substantiate each other. The sample was from three higher institutions, namely college of education, polytechnic, and University communities, the interview took

place among teachers and students to obtain adequate information as related to the objectives of this study.

There was a random selection of institutions for participation in the research. 600 respondents were drawn for this study, and it involves selecting 200 respondents from each institution. Out of the 200 respondents, 150 questionnaires were designed for students while 50 questionnaires were intended for teachers of each institution. There was a random distribution of the questionnaire to all students and teachers. 150 teachers took part in the interview while 450 students also took part in the survey. The focus-group discussion was organized among students comprising one session from selected populations. The session was made up of male students and female students respectively; the numbers of respondents in a group were between 10 - 12. Questionnaires that were similar to survey questions were asked during the focused-group discussion. Frequency and percentage, Chi-square, and descriptive analysis were used in the interpretation of the study.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.

The analysis is presented in three sections, the socio-demographic characteristics, the knowledge of teachers-students relationship and the teachers –student's perception of each other. Since the collection is from both teachers and students, there will be a comparison of perceptions and attitude.

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY VARIABLES.

(Section A) Relative frequency of respondents by Socio-demographic characteristics

Table 1: Relative frequency of respondents by Socio-Demographic Characteristic

VARIABLE	TEACHER		STUDENTS	
SEX	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
MALE	92	60.1	**237**	**53.0**
FEMALE	58	37.9	**210**	**46.7**
TOTAL	150	98.0	**447**	**99.3**
AGE				
20-30	48	31.4	15-19	30.9
31-40	44	28.8	20-24	62.2
41-50	42	27.5	25-28	6.9
51-60	14	9.2		
61-70	2	1.3		
TOTAL	150	98.0	450	100.0
RELIGION				
Christian	125	81.7	339	75.3
Muslim	24	15.7	86	19.1
Traditional religion	-	-	23	5.1
Total	149	97.4		
ETHNIC GROUP				
Yoruba	130	85.0	254	56.4
Igbo	13	8.5	123	27.3
Hausa	5	3.3	48	10.7
Others	-	-	25	5.6
Total	148	96.7	450	100.0

MARITAL STATUS				
Single	-	-	449	99.8
Married	150	100.0	1	.2

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.

Table 2: Respondents by communicative relationship between teachers and students.

TEACHER'S RESPONDENTS			STUDENT'S RESPONSE	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	149	97.4	407	90.4
Missing System	4	2.6	24	4.2
If yes, how?				
It will motivate students to learn	33	21.6	128	28.4
students will be free to approach the teacher for help	29	19.0	171	38.0
cordial relationship will enhance the students to develop academically	71	46.4	98	21.8
The relationship will curb the students from misbehaving	17	11.1	6	1.3
Total	150	98.0	450	100

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.

In table 2, the question whether there should be communicative relationship between teachers and students were asked from both teachers and students respondents. 97.4 percent of teachers and 90.4 percent of students siad that there should be communicative relationship. They were asked to give reason for their opinion. 21.6 percent of teachers and 28.4 percent of students were of the opinion that it would motivate students to learn. 19.0 percent of teachers and 38.0 percent of students said students will be free to approach the teacher for help. 46.4 percent of teachers and 21.8 percent of students opined that cordial relationship will enhance the students to develop academically. Still 11.1 percent of teachers and less than 5.0 percent of students said it would curb students from misbehaving. These opinions show that both teachers and students are aware of the vitality of a positive relationship for the academic achievement of the students.

Table 3: Respondents by Attitude, teachers and students

Teachers' attitude do not encourage good relationship, learning and performance		Frequency	Percent	Students' attitude towards their teachers does not encourage a good relationship, learning and performance		Frequency	Percent
	Strongly agree	180	40.0		strongly agree	46	35.1
	Agree	87	19.3		Agree	29	19.0
	Disagree	56	12.4		Disagree	54	30.3
	Strongly Disagree	98	21.8		Strongly disagree	20	13.1
	No idea	10	2.2		22	1	.7
	Total	431	95.8		Total	150	98.0
Missing	System	19	4.2	Missing	System	3	2.0
Total		450	100.0	Total		153	100.0

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions:
Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.

In table 3, the question about the attitude of teachers and students in terms of how it encourages good relationship was asked. As it is shown in the data above, 40.0 percent of the students strongly agreed that teacher's attitude do not encourage good relationship. 19.3 percent agreed that the relationship do not encourage good relationship; whereas, 12.4 percent of the respondents strongly disagree that teacher's attitude do not encourage good relationship while less than 5 percent had no idea. Teachers were asked about if the student's attitude toward their teachers encourages a good relationship it was discovered as 30.1 percent of the teachers strongly agreed that students attitude do not encourage a good relationship, 19.0 percent agreed that student's attitude do not encourage good relationship, while 35.3 percent disagreed with this assumption and 13.1 percent strongly disagree. Both teachers and the students have the understanding that the relationship is not as cordial as expected.

Table 4: Distribution of teacher's response by what can be done

What can be done to promote good communicative relationship between teachers and students to aid learning.	Frequency	Percent
Cordial relationship	21	14.0
Social forum between teachers and students	19	12.7
Enabling environment	24	16.0
Closeness and respect from students to teachers	6	4.0
Teachers should respect their position and students should respect theirs	4	2.7
Academic assistance	13	8.7
Good behaviour from teachers to students	13	8.7
Teachers should not allow their position to intoxicate them	4	2.7
Seminars should be organized to enhance teachers-students relationship	4	2.7
Teachers should be firm and steadfast	2	1.3
Students should focus first on their education	11	7.3
Students should ask seek for help from lecturers	2	1.3
Students and lecturers needs effective communication relationships	1	.7
Lecturers should take students as their children.	1	.7
Students should make themselves available to their lectures at any time	2	1.3
Seriousness of students on their academics	5	3.3
Total	132	88.0
System	18	12.0

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.

In table 4, when teachers were asked what could be done to promote a good communicative relationship 14.0 percent of the respondents said cordial relationship, 12.7 percent said there should be a social forum between teachers and students, 16.0 percent said enabling environment is what will contribute to a good relationship and 4.0 percent said closeness and respect from students to teachers also .7 percent said teachers should respect their position and students should respect the teachers. 8.7 percent of the respondents said academic assistance and 8.7 of the respondents said good behaviour from students to teachers would encourage relationship between teachers and students. 2.7 percent of respondents said teachers should not allow their position to intoxicate them while another 2.7 percent said seminars should be organized to enhance teachers-students relationship. 1.3 percent of the respondents said teachers should be firm and steadfast, 7.3 percent of teachers said students should focus first on their education, 1.3 percent said students should ask and seek for help from teachers, .7 percent of respondents said teachers and students need effective communication relationships, less than 5 percent said teachers should take students as their children, 1.3 percent said teachers should make themselves available to their students whenever the need teacher assistant, while 3.3 percent said that students should to be serious in their academic.

Table 5: Distribution of student's response by what can be done

What can be done to promote good communicative relationship between teachers and students to aid learning?	Frequency	Percent
Academic assistance	1	.2
Teachers should always give room to students and hear them out	135	30.0
Seriousness	76	16.9
understanding	25	5.6
Not to be harsh	5	1.1
Good learning and lecturing	6	1.3
No idea	7	1.6
Teachers should be free with their students	1	.2
some teachers do not know how to teach need seminars to improve their teaching	1	.2
Open forum to talk with teachers	16	3.6
Nothing	3	.7
curb the bad behaviour of the teachers	5	1.1
Teachers should be friendly but careful	27	6.0
Male teachers should not harass female students	9	2.0
discipline students when necessary but accommodating	39	8.7
Open mind and transparency	11	2.4
Total	367	81.6
System	83	18.4
Total	450	100.0

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect o-n student's learning, intellectual change and development.

In table 5, the student's response to what could be done to enhance good relationship, less than 5 percent of respondents said academic performance would improve the relationship and 30.0 percent of the students said teachers should give room to students and hear them out. 16.9 percent of the respondents said the seriousness on the part of the teachers is essential to enable good relationship. 5.6 percent said understanding on the part of the teachers is essential for a good relationship. Less than 5 percent said teachers should not be too harsh on students while there should be a good attitude to learning and teaching. Less than 5 percent of respondents said teachers should be free with their students for a good communication. Still, less than 5 percent said there should be an open forum to talk with teachers. Less than 5 percent of respondents said male teachers should not harass female students and that teachers should have an open mind. While 6.0 percent said teachers should be friendly with students at the same time they should be careful, 8.7 percent said teachers should discipline students when needed but they should accommodate the students

CROSSTABULATION

Section C: Institution*Teacher-Student's Attitude.

Table 6a: Institution * teachers' attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement

			teachers' attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement					
			Strongly agree	Agree	Disargree	Strongly disargree	No idea	Total
Institution	College of education	Count	99	8	24	17	5	153
		% within Institution	64.7%	5.2%	15.7%	11.1%	3.3%	100.0%
		% within teachers' attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement	55.0%	9.2%	42.9%	17.3%	50.0%	35.5%
		% of Total	23.0%	1.9%	5.6%	3.9%	1.2%	35.5%
	polythenic	Count	49	7	19	71	1	147
		% within Institution	33.3%	4.8%	12.9%	48.3%	.7%	100.0%
		% within teachers' attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement	27.2%	8.0%	33.9%	72.4%	10.0%	34.1%
		% of Total	11.4%	1.6%	4.4%	16.5%	.2%	34.1%
	University	Count	32	72	13	10	4	131
		% within Institution	24.4%	55.0%	9.9%	7.6%	3.1%	100.0%
		% within teachers' attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement	17.8%	82.8%	23.2%	10.2%	40.0%	30.4%
		% of Total	7.4%	16.7%	3.0%	2.3%	.9%	30.4%
Total		Count	180	87	56	98	10	431
		% within Institution	41.8%	20.2%	13.0%	22.7%	2.3%	100.0%
		% within teachers' attitude do not	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

encourage learning and academic achievement						
% of Total	41.8%	20.2%	13.0%	22.7%	2.3%	100.0%

Institution * Teacher's attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement. Crosstabulation

Table 6b

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	212.864[a]	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	198.488	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.281	1	.039
N of Valid Cases	431		

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.
Level of Significance: $P < 0.05$. Decision rule $x^2c > x^2t$ Not Significant

Bar Chart
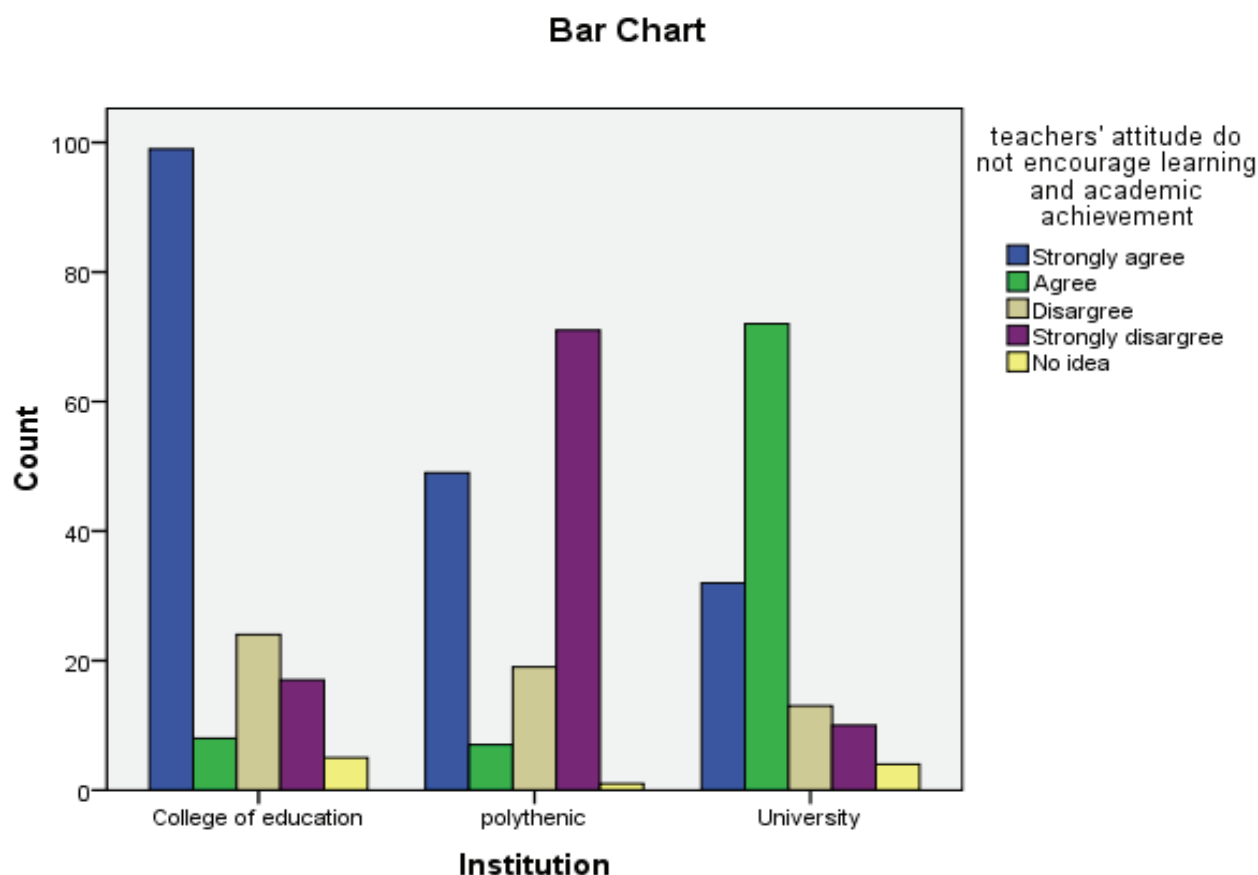
Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.
Level of Significance: P< 0.05. Decision rule x²c > x²t Not Significant

In table 6a above, student's respondents in the college of education 55.0 percent strongly agree and 9.2 percent agree that teacher's attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement. Whereas, 42.9 percent disagree and 17.3 percent strongly disagree that teacher's attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement. In polythenic institution, 27.2 percent of student's respondents strongly agree and 8.0 percent agree that teacher's attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement. Whereas, 33.9 percent disagree and 72.4 percent strongly disagree that teacher's attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement. Whereas in the university institution, 17.8 percent of student's respondents strongly agree and 82.8 percent agree that teacher's attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement. Whereas, 23.2 percent disagree and 10.2 percent strongly disagree that teacher's attitude do not encourage learning and academic achievement. 40.0 percent said they have no idea.

HYPOTHESIS 1.
Null hypothesis (Ho): Teachers attitude significantly affect learning and academic achievement. Alternative hypothesis (Hi): Teachers attitude has no relationship with learning and academic achievement.
ASSUMPTION:
The basic assumption is that attitude of teachers has an effect on the student's learning and academic performance. In other word, if teacher's attitude is positive, students will perform

better in their learning and it will yield an optimistic result for the students. Whereas if teacher's attitude is negative, it will have an effect on the academic achievement of student. The level of significance or value of alpha (α) is 0.05. If the calculated value (x²c) or value of alpha (α) is equal to or less than (x²t), then the null (Ho) hypothesis is rejected while the alternative (Hi) hypothesis is accepted. From the Chi square test above (table 6) the calculated value is 212.864, whereas, the table value (x²t) at 8 df is 2.306. The implication of the above is that the calculated value (212.864) is greater than the table value; therefore, the alternative hypothesis is accepted. This designates that teacher's attitude has no effect on the learning and academic achievements of students, therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Institution * Student's attitude towards their teachers do not encourage learning and academic achievement

			Student's attitude towards their teachers do not encourage larning and academic achievement					
			strongly agree (SA)	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree (SD)	No Idea	Total
Institution	polythenic	Count	4	14	26	20	0	64
		% within Institution	6.3%	21.9%	40.6%	31.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Student's attitude towards their teachers do not encourage larning and academic achievement	8.7%	48.3%	48.1%	100.0%	.0%	42.7%
		% of Total	2.7%	9.3%	17.3%	13.3%	.0%	42.7%
	college of education	Count	15	11	10	0	0	36
		% within Institution	41.7%	30.6%	27.8%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Student's attitude towards their teachers do not encourage larning and academic achievement	32.6%	37.9%	18.5%	.0%	.0%	24.0%
		% of Total	10.0%	7.3%	6.7%	.0%	.0%	24.0%
	University	Count	27	4	18	0	1	50
		% within Institution	54.0%	8.0%	36.0%	.0%	2.0%	100.0%
		% within Student's attitude towards their teachers do not encourage larning and academic achievement	58.7%	13.8%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%	33.3%
		% of Total	18.0%	2.7%	12.0%	.0%	.7%	33.3%
Total		Count	46	29	54	20	1	150
		% within Institution	30.7%	19.3%	36.0%	13.3%	.7%	100.0%
		% within Student's attitude towards their teachers do not encourage larning and academic achievement	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	30.7%	19.3%	36.0%	13.3%	.7%	100.0%

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.
Level of Significance: P< 0.05. Decision rule x²c > x²t Not Significant

Institution * Student's attitude towards their student's do not encourage learning and academic achievement.
Chi-Square Tests

Table 7b

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	58.551[a]	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	70.860	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.800	1	.028
N of Valid Cases	150		

Source: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.
Level of Significance: P< 0.05. Decision rule x²c > x²t Not Significant

Bar Chart
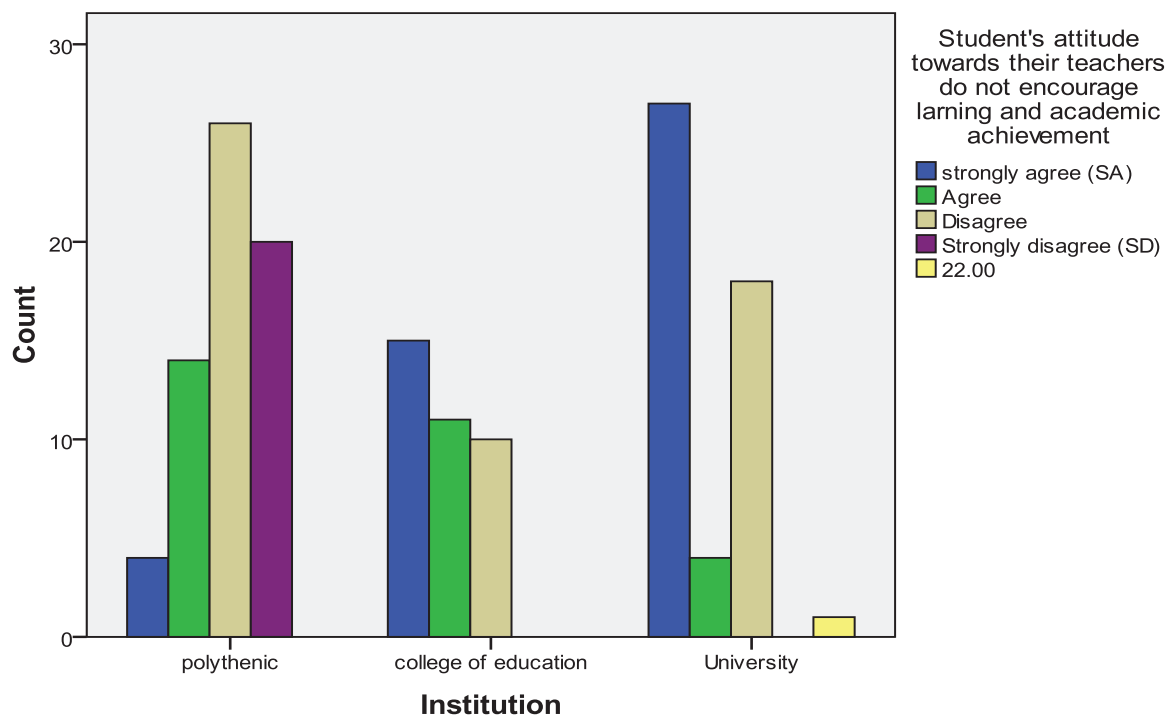
ource: Survey (2013) Teachers and students relationship in Nigeria higher institutions: Effect on student's learning, intellectual change and development.
Level of Significance: P< 0.05. Decision rule x²c > x²t Not Significant

HYPOTHESIS 2

Null hypothesis (Ho): Students attitude significantly affect learning and academic achievement
Alternative hypothesis (Hi): Students attitude has no relationship with learning and academic achievement

ASSUMPTION.

The basic assumption is that student's attitude has no relationship with learning and academic achievement. In other word, if student's attitude is positive, students will perform better in their learning and it will yield a better result for the students. Whereas if student's attitude is negative, it will affect the academic achievement. The level of significance or value of alpha (α) is 0.05. If the calculated value (x^2c) or value of alpha (α) is equal to or less than (x^2t), then the null (Ho) hypothesis is rejected while the alternative (Hi) hypothesis is accepted. From the Chi square test above (table 7b) the calculated value is 58.551, whereas, the table value (x^2t) at 8 df is 2.306. The implication of the above is that the calculated value (58.551) is greater than the table value; therefore, the alternative hypothesis is accepted. This implies that student's attitude has no relationship on the learning and an academic achievement of students; therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected.

FOCUS-GROUPED INTERVIEW.

In the focus-grouped interview that was conducted among the students various reasons were given while the teacher's attitude continues to be a barrier for good relationship. Some said, the teachers are too harsh to be approached and too busy to listen to students. Most times students do not have the chance to explain their problems to their teachers even to check their results. Most of the time, students are not allowed to finish their examination because of teachers' impatience even when they may still have up to thirty minutes to finish writing. Some of the female students said they feared going to meet their teachers especially the male teachers. This is because some female students have experienced sexual harassment in the hands of their male teachers.

In another focus-grouped discussion, some of the respondents said that they are afraid of their teachers and some teachers take advantage of their students and sexually harassed the female students. Some said their teacher's secretary had been preventing them in having access to their teachers and some said the teachers are too harsh, and they are not approachable. Still some said their teacher is a womanizer, and have no time for students. However, some of the students said most of the time it is the fault of the students because of their behaviour and attitude to their teachers. When asked if this group could explain more about the attitude mentioned, one said students are difficult to trust. One said many students had caused the teachers problems just because they are closed to the teachers. Many have involved in examination malpractices just because they have access to the instructor's office. One said we cannot blame the teachers for everything. If students behave well teachers will trust them but as things are I do not think any teacher will trust any student

DISCUSSION OF RESULT

In table 1, both male and female participated well in the study as students and as teachers. Among the students male and female are participating in education as the different between their percentages is not as significant. The age of the teachers is between 20-70 years which implies they are still very active in the labour market, and the majority of them are married. While the age of the students is between 15-28 years, a period in which they prepare themselves for the future responsibility and the majority are still single. Majority of the respondents are Christian both teachers and students while only few are Muslim, and only few are traditional worshippers. This is an indication that Christianity is embraced widely in Yoruba ethnic group, and many of the respondents are Yoruba.

In table 2, the respondents showed that there is a good communication between the teachers and students. The respondents also indicated that for the relationship to promote learning and achievement, teachers laid emphasis on cordial relationship as needed to enable students to develop academically. While students laid emphasis on free access to approaching the teachers for help. Both teachers and students see these factors as essential to improving their learning and performance. This is an indication that the relationship is not as cordial as expected, hence; both teachers and students need to improve on their relationship for better achievement in academic performance. To corroborate these students strongly agreed that teacher's attitude to students does not encourage good relationship (table 4&5).

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The teachers also strongly agreed that student's attitude to teachers do not encourage good relationship that enhance good academic performance. Both teachers and students had the opinion that something should be done to promote good communicative relationship between them to aid learning. Among the suggestions made by students (table 6) include the following: academic assistance, teachers should give room for students and hear them out. Moreover, respondents are of the opinion that seriousness and understanding on the part of teachers would develop a good relationship. It is also suggested that teachers should not be too harsh in attending to students and should improve on their methodology of teaching. It is also stated that there should be an open forum for teachers and students in other to relate, talk and attitude of some teachers and some students to learning and teaching should change. Teachers are to be friendly at the same time be very careful so that their action and kindness would not be misunderstood by the students. Male teachers should not harass female students and teachers should be able to discipline students when necessary. Besides, part of the suggestion is that teachers should have an open mind and be transparent.

Teachers on the other hand are of the opinion that students should develop (table 7) cordial relationship with their teachers that enhance closeness and respect from students to teachers and those teachers should respect their position. There should be a social forum between teachers and students to eliminate the student's fear of meeting their teachers for academic assistance, the behaviour of the teachers should be good in other to serve as a role model for students. Students should seek help from their teachers and focus on their studies before any other social activities.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION.

It is imperative therefore that a good human relationship free from intimidation, harassments, and insults is fundamental to teachers – students relationship that will promote student's learning development and academic achievement.. Students should be focused to get the best out of their teachers. It is when the relationship is well established that it can have an effect on the performance of students. The positive association will prepare students well to

contribute to the societal development. This will not only improve the lives of the individual but also contribute to the social, economic and political life of Nigeria Society

RECOMMENDATION.

1. Teachers should present themselves to their students in such a way that at least majority of the students will like him/her.\
2. Teachers' method of teaching should be interesting that will make students willing to come back to class.
3. Teachers should have a listening hears and make himself/herself available to the students.
4. Teachers should not be too harsh in such a way that students are unable to approach them for help.
5. Teachers should be careful about trusting the students and allowing them access to his/her office when the teacher is not present in the office.
6. Teacher should be adequately prepare for their lectures.
7. Students should avoid bad companies and peers.

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Public Space and the Marginalisation of Children and Young People

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Abstract

Throughout much of the world, urban and rural public spaces may be said to be under attack by property developers, commercial interests and also attempts by civic authorities to regulate, restrict, reframe and rebrand these spaces. A consequence of the increasingly security driven, privatised, commercial and surveilled nature of public space is the exclusion and displacement of those considered 'flawed' and unwelcome in the 'spectacular' consumption spaces of many major urban centres. In the name of urban regeneration, processes of securitisation, 'gentrification' and creative cities initiatives can act to refashion public space as sites of selective inclusion and exclusion.

The use of surveillance and other control technologies as deployed in and around the UK 'Riots' of 2011 may help to promote and encourage a passing sense of personal safety and confidence in using public space. Through systems of social sorting, the same surveillance assemblages can also further the physical, emotional and psychological exclusion of certain groups and individuals, deemed to be both 'out of time and out of place' in major zones of urban, conspicuous, consumption.

In this harsh environment of monitoring and control procedures, children and young people's use of public spaces and places in parks, neighbourhoods, shopping malls and streets is often viewed as a threat to social order, requiring various forms of punitive and/or remedial action. Much of this civic action actively excludes some children and young people from participation and as a consequence, their trust in local processes and communities is eroded.

This paper discusses worldwide developments in the surveillance, governance and control of the public space environments used by children and young people in particular and the capacity for their displacement and marginality, diminishing their sense of belonging, wellbeing and rights to public space as an expression of their social, political and civil citizenship(s).

Key words

CCTV, Citizenship, Surveillance, Young People, Public Space, Social Sustainability

Introduction

The use of public space by children and young people is a contentious issue in a number of countries and a range of measures deployed to control public space can deny the rights of children and young people to claim the space for their use (Dee 2012, Loader1996).Curfews, oppressive camera surveillance and at times, the unwarranted attentions of police and private security personnel, undermine attempts to secure greater participation by children and young people in constructing positive strategies to address concerns that impact on them and others in a local area (White 1990, 1996, White and Wyn 2004). What is clear from current analyses is that public space for children and young people is under attack 'Public space itself has come under attack from several directions-thematisation, enclosure into malls and other controlled spaces, and privatization, or from urban planning and design interventions to erase its uniqueness' (Watson 2006:147). In this way 'Young urbanites form a marginalised age class. Their movement is restricted, out of fear and distrust, within aims to protect, monitored by city surveillance methods within the security-obsessed fabric' (Scott 2002:306).

Moreover, 'Positioned as aliens in the social and physical architecture of our cities, young people in Australia are portrayed through media and police campaigns as deviant, barbaric and unclean-a threat to social order' (Malone 2002:87). Official depictions of 'troubling youth' act as a screen on which observers and analysts project hopes and fears about the state of society (Davis 1995) and sits within a discourse of youth, particularly young males, as the 'harbinger of often unwelcome social change and threat'. This discourse contradictorily also 'constructs young people as vulnerable' (Loader 1996:89). The discourse of threat is further exemplified in the separation of children from teenagers, where the treatment of younger children using public space is often dramatically different to that of older children and the most feared stage of all, 'youth' especially if 'hoody wearers' (Harris 2013). For Valentine (1996) the situation is thus:

> While adults treat younger children in public spaces as innocent, endearing yet sometimes exasperating incompetents, treat older children as unengaging and frightfully undisciplined rogues. Among other things, the very violation of public etiquette that adults often find amusing when committed by younger children are treated as dangerous moral failings when the transgressor is a few years older (p.132).

Increasingly, both children and young people are 'among those undesirable 'others' being driven out of public space by private security forces' (Valentine 1996:65). An important cluster of issues are evident here, as children and young people are 'selectively constructed as "problem" and "other" with their concerns marginalised, their lifestyles problematised and their voices subdued', and this flows into their use of public space as their claims to it as an aspect of social citizenship, are usually cast as inferior or rejected as they 'stand outside the formal polity' as 'non persons' (Brown 1998:116). Such marginalisation has implications for the ways some children and young people view their position in a community and over 40 per cent in my doctoral study reported feelings of not being wanted or liked (Dee 2008).

Public space is a contested reality and concept and a range of users exist and have different levels of access to and occupation of public space, depending on their power

and societal status (Wilson, Rose and Colvin 2010). A way of categorising public space is suggested by Tonkiss (2005:67) in *the square* indicating 'collective belonging', *the café* 'representing social exchange' and *the street*, a place marked by 'informal encounter'. The square is any public space 'provided or protected by the state' and is formally (if not actually) open to all 'as a simple expression of citizenship'. The second kind of space facilitates contact between humans in a broadly social setting that can be a public or private space. The third form of space, the street, is seen as the 'basic unit of public life', a routine if necessary conduit for 'marginal encounters' based on equal rights to be in public space (Tonkiss 2005: 68).

Public space then, bears the imprint of the dominant order and this contested space acts as a key site of resistance by subordinate groups (Crane and Dee 2001, Copeland 2004). Cunneen (2001:182) refers to a 'spatial politics' wherein Australian Indigenous people are constructed as a criminal and 'untidy' group to be removed where possible from public spaces and places of their choosing. There are important points for non-Indigenous people here also, if judged as not consuming goods and services in an appropriate manner or simply being as Norris and Armstrong (1998:142) note in relation to young people, 'out of time and out of place'.

The position of young people is one largely of constrained rights, where they frequently find themselves as the inferior party in respect of disputes within local communities over rights to use and occupy public space, which adults presume to exercise as a right of citizenship (Loader 1995). The usual starting point for a discussion about citizenship rights is Marshall (1950). He theorizes citizenship as comprising three stages of broad historical evolution towards civil, political and social rights. Civil citizenship, from the eighteenth century onwards, is the right to personal freedom in the form of speech, movement and assembly. Political citizenship, emerging in the nineteenth century, is the right to vote and stand for public office. Social citizenship, a creation of the twentieth century includes economic security and access to health, education and employment opportunities. Social citizenship rights are largely about quality of life issues and human dignity, guaranteed by the welfare state to ensure that individuals have the material wherewithal to take full part in society.

Civil, political and social citizenship rights are all relevant to children and young people as users of public space and link to a form of 'spatial citizenship' in terms of liveability, social, spatial and emotional well-being and overall sustainability (Rowntree Foundation 2009) and these are necessary elements of becoming 'satisfactory' citizens in the broadest sense, as indicated by Jacobs (1965):

> The tolerance, the room for great difference among neighbours-differences that often go far deeper than differences in colour are possible and normal only when streets of great cities have built-in equipment allowing strangers to dwell in peace together on civilised but essentially dignified and reserved terms. Lowly unpurposeful and random as they may appear, sidewalk contacts are the small change from which a city's wealth of public life may grow (p.48).

The perception by young people that they are excluded from participation in community life and decision making is considered by Measor and Squires (2000) in their study of children and young people 'congregating' in public spaces in Brighton

(the 2013 IAFOR conference location). They point to a central concern posited by them over a lack of consultation on community planning, infrastructure and developments. The young people reported a strong sense of marginalisation and exclusion from community life as Measor and Squires (2000:256) comment 'All too often young people were talked about, typically they were talked about as a problem. Rather less often they were talked to, still less did they appear to be listened to'. This is supported by my own doctoral research undertaken with 1100 high school students in Brisbane and nearby Logan City, where a profound sense of wanting to be a valued part of their local communities was evident (Dee 2008). The importance of place, space and neighbourhood or 'place-rootedness' (Leonard 2006:234) to the physical and emotional maturity and well being of children and young people and development of a 'place-bound identity' (Laughlin and Johnson 2011:440) is now strongly established (Sibley 1995, Lynch 1977, 1984, Freeman 2002, 2006). However, the richness and complexity of their use of a range of public and semi-public spaces is often downplayed or dismissed by those for whom public space is an adult territory (Valentine 2004, Iveson 2006).

Not merely 'under catered for in public open spaces' (Woolley 2006:55) it can be said that children and young people (to varying extents due to age, location and socio-economic factors) are driven from 'the street into their bedrooms' (Summers 1995:9) where they are no longer 'free-range more battery-reared' (McNeish and Roberts 1995:3). Not only is their marginalisation from public space exacerbated, but their marginalisation from citizenship, as mere 'citizens- in- the- making' and their active role in making and re-making public space or the 'micro-spaces of citizenship' also goes largely unregarded, but not unwatched, through camera and other electronic surveillance through child protection (Weller 2007, Dee 2008).

Surveillance

A number of western democratic countries can be understood as 'surveillance societies' (Lyon 1994, 2001). The nature of the surveillance is complex and far-reaching and needs to be set in the broadest context of everyday acts, including shopping in malls and streets, using shop loyalty cards, paying for goods with an *Electronic funds transfer at point of sale* (EFTPOS) card, using mobile phones and global positioning systems (GPS), paying utility bills, interfacing with any level of government, logging on to computers, the internet, etc.

Surveillance as information gathering and storage is not a feature only of modernity or post modernity. A 'simple and ancient' form of data compilation may be discerned in England in the 1500s, in taxation, census and early poor law administration. This inaugural moment in the creation of the surveillance state built a provisional infrastructure for social control, for example, over religious orders, 'heretics, devils and witches' (Marx 2004: 17), the categorisation and sanctioning of the 'deserving and undeserving' poor (Kennedy 1982: 153) and workers organising for better pay and conditions (Lyon 2002).

Surveillance is multi-faceted, for the infrastructure which records 'private' telephone conversations via an orbiting satellite and matches client data across welfare and policing agencies, can also protect liberty, support social justice and encourage

'participation in political life' (Lyon 2002:4). The extent of seemingly altruistic surveillance applications means that its negative aspects are frequently disputed or minimised by advocates for greater surveillance powers (Lyon 2002:4). The phenomenon of routine mass surveillance largely coincides with the emergence of the 'risk society'. In Beck's formulation, this comes about when the 'social, political, ecological, and individual risks created by the momentum of innovation elude increasingly the control and protective institutions of industrial society' (Beck 1992: 27). Importantly and as this paper suggests, the surveillance gaze (in all its forms) does not fall evenly on all citizens as Norris and Armstrong (1999) established in relation to the CCTV surveillance of urban poor young people.

For many commentators awareness of the routine CCTV surveillance of urban areas was first
signalled by the 1993 murder in the UK of the child, Jamie Bulger (Norris and Armstrong 1999,Walby 2006). The media coverage of the murder brought it to television screens across the globe and the blurred CCTV footage from the roof of the Liverpool shopping centre indicated the power of CCTV not to prevent crime, but to parade the suspects, themselves children, before the nation (Finer and Nellis 1998, Dee 2000).The aftermath of the Bulger murder helped to spark a massive investment in UK CCTV infrastructure totalling more than 21 billion pounds between1985 and 1999 and beyond (Wrenall 2010, Stedman 2011).

The current state of play suggests in excess of 4.2 million cameras (there are too many to accurately count them) or 1 camera for every 14 persons in the UK population, such that in a typical busy street 'a person could have their image captured by over 300 cameras on over thirty separate CCTV systems' (Norris, McCahill and Wood 2004:112, Institute for Public Policy Research 2006).

In Australia, broadly similar developments are in train, with CCTV in some schools since 1997, with a Victorian secondary college covertly installing cameras in a male toilet block to counter alleged illicit drug use (Kelly 2003). A report for the Australian Institute of Criminology (ACI) notes that following the first open street CCTV system in Perth in 1991, CCTV systems now operate in all capital city, regional and suburban centres. They express concern at the warm, largely unquestioning embrace of CCTV, given the scant evaluation of cost effectiveness undertaken by local councils and the questionable net benefits of CCTV over other policing strategies (Wilson and Sutton 2003, Wells, Allard and Wilson 2006).

The lack of a broad political will to critically evaluate the effectiveness of CCTV flows from assumptions that it is popular with the bulk of the electorate, being 'what people want'. This assertion was made by Ian Greenwood, then leader of Bradford City Council, Yorkshire, England in 1998 when he stated that 'There will be no evaluation (of the existing camera system) we are committed to CCTV; there will be money spent on it; it is popular with working people' (Hussein 1998:4).This is an important division drawn between 'working people' and the category of the 'other(ed)' such as the young unemployed. The propensity of CCTV surveillance to act as a lens of discrimination is further suggested in this comment from a local councillor in Newcastle (U.K.), on the case for a CCTV system on the West End estate (KDIS Online 1999 www.brs.legend.org.uk):

> It's to do with the kind of community you have here. You have a problem of
> loose families. Single mothers, men who drift around. There is a dislocation

from normal expectations, from normal manners, if you like, a breakdown of basic rules and social codes. What do you do with working-class men who no longer have any possibility of a job and no means of earning self-respect? They are too poor, and too poorly educated to take collective responsibility for their own problems. To some extent, I suppose, the cameras are a form of containment.

This observation holds normative assumptions which cannot detain us here, but Norris and Armstrong (1999) studied three English CCTV systems, with 148 cameras over 592 hours of observation in control rooms, finding that the young, the male and the black, were systematically targeted, (by CCTV surveillance) not because of their involvement in crime or disorder, but for 'no obvious reason'. Forty per cent were targeted on the basis of 'belonging to a particular or subcultural group' with black people more than twice as likely to be surveilled than others, and for longer time periods (Norris and Armstrong 1999:150).

Despite widespread reluctance to critically evaluate CCTV systems, the rush to install them continues apace, alongside the constant upgrading of system functionality, from loudspeakers to web based storage of images, encouraged by a lucrative even rapacious, security industry (Baldry and Painter 1998). In Britain the networking of a range of camera systems, from traffic, congestion charging, to open street private and public surveillance, lurches towards an integrated national surveillance network, with few controls (Geraghty 2000, Stedman 2011). In Australia the proliferation of CCTV systems in the UK and Europe (Urban Eye 2004) is something of an aspirational benchmark and there are moves by the *National Counter-Terrorism Committee* to gain access to 'every CCTV camera in Australia' and via CrimTrac (operator of all police databases) establish a national facial recognition database to maximize developments in facial recognition technology (Parnell 2011:3).

The intensification of surveillance marks a transition from older, mainly paper based methods to 'new' data based surveillance or 'scrutiny through the use of technical means to extract or create personal or group data, whether from individuals or contexts' (Marx 2005: 2) and includes DNA analysis, data profiling, matching and mining, CCTV with enhanced definition and predictive functionality and imaging and scanning capabilities (Marx 2004).Regimes of new surveillance (unlike traditional surveillance) can be undertaken at a distance (such as aerial drones equipped with CCTV, sound recording and public address capabilities) with 'sponge-like absorbency and laser-like specificity' and require self surveillance and the surveillance of others, for example in the workplace or the community (Marx 2005:3).

However, questions of power, governance and democracy in relation to the development and deployment of surveillance measures remain. While on one level, surveillance is 'the collection and processing of personal data, whether identifiable or not, for the purposes of influencing or managing those whose data have been garnered' (Lyon 2001:2), at another level, surveillance 'tries to make visible the identities or behaviours of people of interest to the agency in question' (Lyon 2002:2). The work of Foucault (1974, 1977), provides critical insight here for the further interrogation of issues of power, information and surveillance.

Foucault was concerned with Bentham's invention of the Panoptican or Inspection House, based on an isolated, regularly structured place in which the individual is subjugated to the norms of work, education and discipline (Haggerty and Ericson

2006). Situated within the Panoptican, it is possible to sanction or reward the individual for their behaviour, as all activities are monitored. It is this surveillance gaze, received, internalised and at least in part embraced, by the subject-object that is fundamental to the exercise by authorities of surveillant power (Foucault 1977):

> There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against himself (p.155).

Young people: under (marginalising) surveillance

The concept of the Panoptican is related by Malone (2002), to the discourse of 'threatening youth' where certain young people, never quite sure if they are under surveillance, act to surveil themselves and the actions of other children and young people. Familial surveillance is also a requirement for families with dependants subject to Anti-Social Behaviour Orders or 'ASBO's' in the UK (Squires and Stephen 2005). In this way, ASBOs act to both internalise and normalise the surveillance gaze, turning it inward on a families' own children, often on pain of penalty if the object of the panoptic gaze should escape the modern home-cum -entertainment -cum detention centre (Kearns and Collins 2004, Valentine 2004).

While researchers argue that surveillance is not inherently designed to perpetuate inequality, they also note that in contemporary society, where everyone is subject to some forms of surveillance 'not everyone is monitored in the same way or for the same purposes' (Gilliom 2001, Henman 2004, Haggerty & Ericson, 2006). However, surveillance is more than just watching, it is 'a calculated practice for managing and manipulating human behaviour' (Henman 2004:176) and surveillance practices tend more often than not, to 'coagulate more heavily on the more disadvantaged members of society' such as young people (Henman and Marston 2008:201). Surveillance of the kinds discussed in this paper acts as a conduit through which 'the preventative-surveillance state' becomes deeply embedded and also 'broader, more interventive and more regulatory' (Parton 2008:166).

Children and young people are highly visible users of urban public space as they have limited resources to effectively shield their presence from public view (White 1990, Dee 1995, Loader 1996, Crane and Dee 2001). Public space hails them with the (often false) promise of inclusion and fulfilment through consumption (Iveson 1998, White 1990, Shields 1992,).Their "visibleness" (Dwyer 2010:2) is a key issue for civic authorities increasingly concerned not just with what they do or *might* do in public space, but with what they wear including the now infamous 'hoody' recently the subject of a proposed ban in the Brisbane suburb of Wynnum. Young people (along with a number of 'out' groups such as the homeless, poor and at times, older people) are 'positioned as 'other' in the social and physical architecture of our cities' (Malone and Hasluck 1998:26) and are at the receiving end of a multitude of 'exclusionary practices' (Kulynych 2001,White 2006).

As frequent 'hanging out' (White 1998) users of public space, children and young people are the target of a range of surveillance and control strategies including being 'moved on'
(Spooner 2001) 'over policed' (Blagg and Wilkie 1995), 'under policed' (Loader

1996) and in the UK, subject to 'Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, Dispersal Orders and Curfew Orders' (Flint 2006:53). As Norris and Armstrong (1999) noted presciently, the CCTV surveillance-control gaze is far from neutral:

> The gaze of the cameras does not fall equally on all users of the street but on those who are stereotypically predefined as potentially deviant, or through appearance and demeanour, are singled out by operators as unrespectable. In this way youth, particularly those already socially and economically marginal, may be subject to even greater levels of authoritative intervention and official stigmatisation, and rather than contributing to social justice through the reduction of victimisation, CCTV will merely become a tool of injustice through the amplification of differential and discriminatory policing (p.279).

In addition to CCTV, there are recent innovations in the repertoire of public space controls such as the *mosquito,* a device emitting a high pitched noise directly targeting children and young people under the age of 25 because their hearing is not yet fully developed (Institute for Public Policy Research 2006). Clearly, such a blunt instrument with blanket coverage over a forty metre range fails to differentiate fairly between groups or individual children and young people and more importantly, brooks no discussion about rights to use and enjoy public space in the same way that other age groups do (Morrow 2002). There is now a substantial body of critical material pointing to a social sorting and ordering of public space (Zurawski and Czerwinski 2008) by civic authorities around the world that is almost entirely driven by support for 'conspicuous consumption' and the exclusion, or at best, conditional inclusion, of 'flawed consumers' or 'vagabonds' (Baumann1998:14).

New urban spaces are configured by design to accommodate CCTV which in a drive for 'ubiquity' is now the 'fifth utility' (Graham and Marvin 2001:247) and older urban spaces are retrofitted for surveillance at considerable public expense (Clancy 2009). As a result, landscapes have become *Scanscapes* (Hubbard 2006:249) where the electronic eyes of surveillance achieve a near totalising or 'panoptic' gaze (Lyon 2002:10).The increasing control and regulation of public space in Australia was noted by White (1996:37) as the 'Fortress City' comprising many of the features discussed by Davis (1995:24) as the fortification and 'destruction of public space' including shopping malls, transforming public space into 'mass private property' (White 1996:246).Shopping malls now act as 'de facto community centres' and increasingly pose as town squares (Shields 1992:4, Flint 2006) with 'paid for' seating in coffee shops (Dee 2008:250) and may include modified seating to prevent sleeping, camera surveillance, an oppressive security presence, absence of declared or equitable shopping centre rules, and even resort to the playing of classical music which 'could chase young people away' apparently making 'such places safer' (*Adelaide Advertiser* 15.05.1995 cited in White 1996:42).

The installation of ever more sophisticated, extensive and costly CCTV systems in a form of 'surveillance creep' (Nelkin and Andrews 2003:17) into 'every village, parish and hamlet' (Walby 2006:40) is seemingly a 'badge of honour' for civic authorities desperate to be seen as decisive and 'doing something' about crime and so called anti-social behaviour (Garland 2001), often featuring in promotional documentation boasting of a safer city or town because of CCTV (White 2002:23). Any serious 'wannabe global city' (Clavell 2011:525) simply must have

comprehensive CCTV surveillance for the Central Business District (CBD) area and peripheral zones to help contain street crime and also combat terrorism (Atkinson and Easthope 2009, Clavell 2011). Decisions about the installation and/or extension-upgrade of CCTV systems are barely concerned with questions of civil liberties and largely devoted to obtaining a technical fix to irksome and persistent urban issues whose antecedence may lie in

poverty and disadvantage but through reconstruction, become matters of governance and control on behalf of 'the responsible majority' as Clavell (2011) notes:

> CCTV has become an increasingly popular policy solution to security problems in urban environments: as part of a broader project to promote 'civility' and eliminate 'anti-social behaviour'. The need to impose 'proper behaviour' and sanction deviance is the discourse used to justify and legitimize the need to control what people do in open, public space through the electronic lens-as well as an increased police presence and powers (p.525).

The role of CCTV surveillance is central to attempts to govern and contain the potentially 'dangerous classes' (White 1990, MacDonald 1997) who are financially poor or simply

maladapted to fit well within the required neo-liberal value set of 'gentrified' and 'creative cities' as places fit for conspicuous consumption (Atkinson and Easthope 2009:71). Efforts to erect 'rings of steel' around CBD areas to give comfort to desired users of public with pledges of 'safe' family shopping/entertainment/lifestyle environments are sustained at public expense to ensure private accumulation and often run counter to civic advertising playing on the importance of 'celebrating diversity' and the inclusion of all in 'the community' including children and young people (Dee 2008).

Conclusion

The key points emerging from this discussion seek to contribute to ongoing debate and analysis of the role of CCTV surveillance and associated public space control measures in urban governance in Australia and elsewhere. This paper has charted the rise and rise of CCTV and also of a surveillance culture, now firmly, possibly irrevocably, sutured into the repertoire of governance and control strategies deployed by urban authorities in many jurisdictions. It may not be too overheated to suggest the advent of a security-industrial complex in tandem with an already powerful prison-industrial complex with commonalities of personnel, ideology and perspectives on maintaining a compliant and conservative social order in densely populated urban spaces and places (Lyon 1994,Goold 2006, Hubbard 2006).

Tensions frequently occur when children and young people seek to make use of a multitude of public spaces (Loader 1996; White 1999; Valentine 2004). Rarely, if ever, are children and young people involved in meaningful ways in the design and control of public space that reflects their needs and aspirations (White 1999; Freeman and Riordan 2002; Freeman 2006). Deploying the prisms of urban planning and law and order to deal with perceived public space issues impacts adversely on children and young people contributing to their partial or complete removal from public space (Waiton 2001, Harris 2013) and their ongoing marginalisation as legitimate actors in public space and as competent citizens (Weller 2006).

A key problem exists in the capacity of modern, urban public space/place to genuinely accommodate children and young people's need to experience excitement and fun in what has been termed 'unprogrammed space' (Lynch 1977:71), or simply to 'hang out' in unstructured social space, with control by civic authorities a key concern (Valentine 1996, 2004, Gleeson 2006). The recent death of the so called 'Goony Kids' in Melbourne sparked the comment that 'There are no meaningful spaces where young people can gather, where they feel they have a sense of belonging and feel like they're accepted' (Nottle 2012). For many children and young people, it often seems that there are few places for them to go, or their experiences of attempting to use public space are marred by denial of everyday rights and courtesies, in 'unfriendly' and expensive commercial spaces (Copeland 2004, Dee 2008).

Fundamental questions are raised about the form, meaning and social sustainability of urban citizenship and participation particularly by children and young people, in the face of increasingly militaristic, hostile and technologically advanced (if democratically replete) exclusionary measures (Davis 1995, Fopp 2002, White and Wyn 2004). The consequences of attempting to make urban places 'safe' for approved activities and social actors may become self defeating in the forcible exclusion of so many 'dangerous others' (Watson 2006:65, Valentine 2004), that the public space remaining is bereft of excitement, diversity and meaningful difference.

In this way 'safe' public space becomes predictable and patterned, largely as civic authorities and corporate entities require it to be, but lacking in the nurturing of engagement and social citizenship of encountering and understanding difference and practicing tolerance, essential elements of a confident and sophisticated urban population (Jacobs 1965, Sennett 1976, 1996, 2004). Conversely, it can be said that places that work well for children and young people, that have a good level of amenity and provision, that are genuinely inclusive, go a long way to meeting the needs of *all* users of public space (Mitchell 2003, Dee 2008, Freeman 2006).

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(Inter)disciplinary Research and Practice with Refugees Resettling in Europe: The Need for a 'Phronetic' Social Science

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0072

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Introduction

The resettlement and adaptation of refugee populations is an important issue which has been extensively researched and is still very much prominent on the social sciences agenda. This is not surprising when taking into account that by the end of 2011, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) the global number of refugees was approximately 10.4 million (UNHCR 2011).

In many European countries, for example the UK, the poor quality of migration and ethnicity data does not enable an accurate estimate of the numbers, ethnicities and statuses of migrants and refugees living in the country (Phillimore 2011). Nevertheless, in Europe we are looking at a more-or-less steady population of more than 1.5 million people (UNHCR 2011). The significant size of this population means this is not a topic which social scientists can afford to leave under-researched.

Moreover refugee populations are consistently found to be fraught with several post-migration adverse experiences, such as unemployment, professional de-skilling, socioeconomic vulnerability, poor accommodation, barriers to healthcare, experienced discrimination and racism, and social isolation (Hack-Polay 2008; Sales 2002; Vallely, Scott & Hallums 1999). Therefore it is imperative to keep on researching and suggesting solutions on how this population's psychological and social well-being can be improved (Murray, Davidson & Schweitzer 2010).

Undoubtedly refugee resettlement and adaptation is a complex issue which calls for ongoing interdisciplinary research and practice. Indeed, psychologists, sociologists, social workers, political scientists and anthropologists have all been contributing theoretically and/or practically to this field for the past three decades (Gonsalves 1992; Ingleby 2005). Yet when looking closely at the relevant available literature the following dualism emerges: on the one hand, there is material concerning theoretical *know why* (such as sociological and psychological studies, which theorise why the majority of refugees experience post-migration adversity); on the other hand there is material focusing on technical *know how* (such as studies from the fields of social work, clinical psychology and healthcare, which explore the most efficient psychosocial interventions for different groups of refugees).

This paper first draws on a systematic literature search and a narrative review, which were carried out in the area of refugee resettlement and adaptation in Europe and then argues against this polarity existing between the various disciplines contributing to this field. It endorses an emphasis not on theoretical or technical knowledge but on practical ethics and suggests a 'prudent' or 'phronetic'- according to Aristotle-(Flyvbjerg 2001: 56; Flyvbjerg, Landman & Schram 2012) turn in research and practice, so that refugee peoples and sending and receiving societies benefit the most. In the following pages, the terms 'refugee', 'adaptation' and also 'phronetic social science' are further described.

Who is 'really' a refugee?

The legal connotation of the term 'refugee' applies to persons who have fled to another country and asked for asylum on the grounds of a 'well-founded fear of being

persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion' (International Refugee Convention, 1951, article 1A.2).

The above legal definition of refugee is quite limited and over the years it has become increasingly difficult to show clearly 'genuine' refugees as distinct to migrants, because reasons for migration are often intertwined. However, a distinction is frequently drawn between these two populations, in terms of their motivation, that is, the movement of migrants unlike refugees is triggered by economic push or pull factors. Although their movement may not be absolutely voluntary migrants are more likely to be able to choose their destinations and can go home without fear of persecution (Bhugra & Jones 2001).

The term 'refugee' is often used in two different senses. Sometimes it includes all displaced persons who have applied for asylum, regardless of the outcome of their application. On other occasions it refers to those who have been granted refugee status under the UN Convention only (Rosenkranz 2000). It is important to keep in mind that the use of specific definitions entails a danger of conceptualising and consequently treating refugees as a homogeneous group of people, as if they belonged to a clearly defined category (Papadopoulos 2007). Admittedly such a categorisation is potentially labelling these people, yet in this paper -for practical reasons- refugees shall be defined according to the second description.

Adaptation as a dynamic process not a final state

Berry (1990, 1997) maintained that there are four possible outcomes to migrants' and refugees' acculturation (process of transition) including marginalisation, separation, assimilation and integration which depend upon two factors: individuals' desire to maintain their heritage culture; and their interest in positive contact with others, although these are often impeded by societal factors (Papadopoulos et al 2004).

Berry's approach has been undoubtedly important because it highlighted that acculturation proceeds in diverse ways and that it is not necessary for migrants and refugees to give up their culture of origin in order to adapt to the new society (Phinney et al 2001).

Yet nowadays, there is some valid critique addressed to Berry's model: critics raise the point that so far adaptation has been conceptualised as a linear process, supposedly advantageous for everyone at the same time and that a more complex and globalised form of adaptation is relevant to today's transnational societies (Murphy 2006; Rudmin 2003). 'Transnationalism' is defined as constant communication developed and sustained by migrants who build extensive networks linking the new country and the country of origin (Foroun & Glick Schiller 2001). And indeed, it is an integral feature in the lives of migrants and refugees in Europe today because constant communication is facilitated by information and communication technologies (Williams, 2006). Transnationalism offers 'different vantage points for social comparisons between and within social, cultural and ethnic groups' (Mahalingam 2006: 9). So nowadays, there is broad consensus on the multilevel, dynamic and value-dependent qualities of migrant well-being: 'multilevel and dynamic because risk and protective factors constantly interact at various levels, from the individual, to

the community, to the social-level; and value-dependent because it is conditioned by the host society's norms of justice' (Prilleltensky 2008: 359).

Therefore in this paper refugees' adaptation to the host society is regarded as a dynamic, multifaceted process and not as a final psychosocial state these populations are aiming at.

Phronesis in social sciences

Aristotle, as one of the forefathers of modern science along with Socrates and Plato, when discussing intellectual work distinguished between about e*pisteme*, *techne* and *phronesis*. *Episteme* is generally translated as 'science' and concerns the production of knowledge which is invariable in time and space, and which is attained via analytical rationality. *Episteme* resembles our ideal modern scientific project, as expressed in natural sciences, while *techne* is regarded as 'art' in the sense of 'craft' and its objective is the application of technical knowledge according to a pragmatic instrumental rationality. Whereas 'episteme concerns theoretical *know why* and techne is all about technical *know how*, phronesis emphasizes practical knowledge and practical ethics' (Flyvbjerg 2001: 56). Phronesis is often translated as 'prudence' or 'practical wisdom''. This means that *phronesis* first focuses on the analysis of values-what is good or bad for man- and then sets off for action. This distinguishes it from *episteme* which is invariable and context-independent and from *techne* which is oriented towards production. *Phronesis* is variable and context-specific and oriented towards action.

Flyvbjerg in his book 'Making social science matter' supports that despite their importance, the qualities of the concrete, the practical and the ethical have been neglected by today's science (2001: 59). He argues that social sciences can be particularly strong- when compared to natural sciences- in their role as *phronesis*. Therefore there is a clear call for a 'phronetic social science', which recognises that social scientific knowledge is neither context-free nor has cumulative and predictive value. It does not seek to construct general cause law-like statements but instead critically assesses values, norms and structures of power and domination in specific contexts of the social world (Clegg & Pitsis 2012: 73).

A phronetic social science consciously tries to answer the following questions Flyvbjerg originally proposed in his aforementioned book: 1) where are we going?, 2) who gains and who loses, by which mechanisms of power?, 3) is it desirable?, and 4) what should be done? This means that this kind of social science focuses on values, the authors get close to the people and phenomena they study, they use extensively case studies in context, and their work promotes communication between researchers, participants and the community or society at large. The point of a phronetic study is to encourage dialogue with individuals and society and to assist them- after they have assisted the researchers- in reflecting on their values. The aim is to make moral debate part of public life and in this way initiate social change (Flyvbjerg 2001, p. 63).

This paper points out the need for a phronetic approach in refugee social research and practice. This means paying attention to particular contexts and the values and power-relations embedded in these contexts, discussing them and then taking appropriate action so that the people being studied benefit the most. Indeed, after problematisation

and critique comes constructive action (Flyvbjerg 2012, p. 109), therefore once these values and power-issues have been reflected upon, then phronetic social scientists can proceed to bringing changes to improve refugees' well-being.

Methodology

Before presenting the methodology adopted in this paper, it is pertinent to distinguish between a systematic review and a narrative review:

A systematic review is a specific methodology that locates existing studies, selects and evaluates contributions, analyses and synthesises data, and reports the evidence in such a way that allows the reader to reach clear conclusions about what is and is not known. This is not a literature review in the traditional sense, but a research project in itself that explores a clearly specified question, using existing studies. The researcher must set prespecified relevance and quality criteria for the selection/inclusion of studies and to make such criteria transparent to readers. Extensive searches are carried out in order to incorporate both published and unpublished studies. In terms of outcomes, the systematic review must provide solid evidence of 'what is out there' and make relevant suggestions for future research (Denyer & Tranfield 2011). In summary, the main features of a systematic review are that it is comprehensive in its coverage of the literature; very cautious to the quality of included evidence; unbiased and transparent; and replicable.

At the same time, there is the narrative review, which is related to certain methodological approaches in the social sciences such as interpretative review, thematic analysis, meta-narrative mapping (Mays, Pope & Popay 2005a) and critical interpretive synthesis (Dixon-Woods et al 2006). Narrative reviews are typically concerned with questions such as 'What do we know about the causes of a particular social and/or health problem?' 'What are the implications of evidence on causality for the type of interventions that should be developed?' (Mays, Pope & Popay 2005b). Narrative reviews see the thematic boundaries in a research field as more diffuse, as potentially overlapping with other fields and as shifting as the review progresses (Dixon-Woods et al 2006).

In this paper the narrative review approach is adopted, which means there is less emphasis on assessing the quality of available evidence, and a focus instead on exploring the above two questions and ultimately supporting empirically the paper's main argument, that is, that there is a lack of 'phronesis' in the available research literature on refugees' resettlement and adaptation in Europe. So a narrative review is as comprehensive as possible; clear about the inclusion criteria it used; not 'unbiased' since there is a specific argument to be supported; not replicable but transferable to similar and different research contexts.

Searching for articles

A literature search on the topic of refugee resettlement and adaptation in Europe was undertaken in May and June 2013 of the following databases: ASSIA (Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts), Social Care Online-SCIE's resources and publications, PsycINFO (Psychological Information Database), MEDLINE (Medical Literature

Analysis and Retrieval System Online), CINAHL (Cumulative index of nursing and allied health literature), Social Work Abstracts, Social Sciences Abstracts.

In addition, extensive search was carried out within the following journals: Journal of Refugee Studies; Migration Studies; Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies; International Migration; Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies; Journal of International Migration and Integration; Migration Letters.

The general search strategy combined index terms and freetext terms on the concepts of **population** (refugees, displaced persons), **states (**such as socio-economic vulnerability, acculturative stress), and **outcomes** such as psychosocial adaptation.

More specifically, the following inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied:

Inclusion: articles written in English, which were published between January 2003-April 2013, and focused on theory and research on refugee resettlement and adaptation in Europe.

Exclusion: articles where the research population (refugees, immigrants, asylum-seekers) could not be clearly identified; articles where the research focus was on highlighting methodological and/or ethics-related issues.

The initial search output consisted of approximately 400 bibliographic references, most of which had abstracts. Continuous screening was performed on the search output titles and abstracts in order to select the most relevant resources.

The emerging material can be roughly divided into the following two areas:

1) Theory-focused work which describes and attempts to explain why most refugees experience post-migration stress and subsequent disadvantage (Alcock 2003; Bhui et al 2003; Bloch, 2004; Bogic et al 2003; Carswell, Blackburn & Barker 2011; Cohn et al 2006; Daley 2009; Ghazinour, Richter & Eisemann 2003; Gebrehiwot et al 2004; Herlihy & Turner 2007; Hermansson, Timpka & Nyce 2003; Kelly 2003; Turner et al 2003; Voulgaridou, Papadopoulos & Tomaras 2006). In this field there is also recent literature exploring how and why some refugees cope well with experienced post-migration adversity (Guribye, Sandal & Oppedal 2011; Korac 2003; Papadopoulos 2007). The majority of the studies included in this area come from the disciplines of sociology and psychology.

2) Studies mainly from the fields of social work, clinical psychology and healthcare, which assess a range of psychosocial and/or health-related interventions for refugees and make suggestions for future policy and practice (Carlsson, Mortensen & Kastrup 2006; Hastings 2012; Hek 2005; Ingleby & Watters 2005; Ingram 2009; Palic & Elklit 2011; Persson & Gard 2013; Zepinic, Bogic & Priebe 2012).

Further screening was performed on the selected articles for identifying any existing aspects of 'phronesis'. As already mentioned, the four phronetic key questions according to Flyvbjerg (2001) address: 1) where are we going?, 2) who gains and who loses, by which mechanisms of power?, 3) is it desirable?, and 4) what should be done? These queries provided a useful guide when searching for the most 'phronetic' resources.

The second question is particularly important; social science so far has not adequately incorporated issues of power (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 64) and it emerges from the literature search that this has also been the case with refugee-related social research and practice.

Presenting articles which address 'phronetic' issues

There are only few exceptions of studies carried out with refugees in Europe (Daley 2006; Hardi 2005; Psoinos (2007, 2011); Williams 2006) which discuss some of the above phronetic issues. It is worth noting that in some cases there is reflection not necessarily on how these can be overcome -because conflicting interests and boundaries sometimes cannot be crossed (Doná 2007; Shdaimah & Stahl 2012)- but on how, via active engagement with conflict, better solutions can emerge.

Here is an example from a selected research study:

Psoinos (2007, 2011) while exploring the psychosocial well-being of highly educated refugees in the UK identified some of the ways in which various agents in the community influenced how the participants' shaped their perceptions of post-migration life:

> *There appeared to be two types of interaction between the participants and the local organisations they visited and consequently two ways in which these seemed to shape the way the participants formed their perceptions. Some interviewees acknowledged the help they received and approved of these organisations. The following quote of a participant who presented a Narrative of Hope clearly shows how community- workers contributed to this shaping of their perceptions:*

> *"After my second year in the U.K. I found out that you can ask for medical help, information and stuff from local centers and organisations. I was initially cautious because the Home Office expect you to take care of yourself, to sustain yourself. So I was hesitant…then I found out about a local community that helped refugees…It's good to know they are there, it makes you feel you are not totally on your own at the end of the day" (male, engineer, African)*

> *But some other participants did not regard local organisations in a positive way and disapproved of the way they negatively predispose their clients. The following extract from a Narrative of Disappointment suggests that the way one employment agency approached the participant formed his expectations about how life in the UK would be:*

> *"...the Job Center was another experience, which was not very nice. I filled in all the forms, there are lots of questions about what you did in the past, what you can do and what sort of jobs you are looking for. And obviously I did not speak the language but I was a graduate so I had different work experience before I came here… And the advisor, because I did not speak the language, said that there was no way I am*

going to find a job I wanted or that I did in the past, I don't think she was in a position of saying this but she did. She said the only option available was to do washing-up in cafes and restaurants...That was really difficult. At the moment I study English, trying to improve. But I know now that because of the language and coming from another country has made it harder to do what we want to do" (male, graduate in political sciences, Middle Eastern)

After reflecting on the above ways through which different actors shaped refugees' perceptions, it was possible to make suggestions for improving dialogue between refugees and local organisations. For example, refugee agencies need to facilitate as much as possible the process of certifying refugees' formal knowledge and then ensure that the latter is updated through specialized programmes. In addition, the effects of such programmes on the beneficiaries' progress should be followed up and if necessary, reformulated in the course of time, if refugees' adaptation in the host society and actual development is to be attained.

Williams (2006, p. 867) explored the social networks of refugees in the UK and in particular the role of networks in maximising the potential of refugees' tactical actions within the dominant system. Based on the narratives and experiences of refugees she describes some of the ways in which social networks were formed and then reshaped depending on people's personality, history and circumstances. In the following extract from the article, the author discusses not only power issues emerging among research participants, but also how she had to reassess her initial assumptions about the research topic, therefore critically reflecting on her own power stemming from her role as the lead researcher:

An example of how refugees may call on virtual strangers for help came from a participant who was approached by a refugee in the next room of the hostel where they lived. This refugee needed help receiving some money from a relative abroad. The two had previously barely exchanged a word but as the research participant had better Home Office documentation than his neighbour, he was asked to help with a financial transfer. The relatives abroad sent the money in the name of my informant, rather than in the name of the intended recipient, as the latter's ID documentation had been rejected by the brokering agency. This was clearly taking a risk as when the funds arrived they were in the participant's name and the other refugee had to trust he would not renege on the agreement and try to keep the money. This example illustrates how important even the loosest of acquaintances can be and also how dependent refugees may be on each other.
In this case the refugee who was asking for help was from an African country with very few, if any, of his countrymen living in the locality to call on for help. The research participant, on the other hand, belongs to one of the largest ethnic groups of refugees and has a wide choice of contacts among his own country people and a still wider potential field of contacts as he speaks three Middle Eastern languages (...) Large

*numbers of compatriots, for this participant, were a clear advantage,
but for another (...) these compatriots were potentially dangerous (...)
Research thus demonstrated that the different locales of networks
observed can be characterised by their functions and by the depth and
quality of relationships. This improved understanding of networks led
me to re-assess my original classification of networks based on
physical location of network members (in the UK, in other countries of
resettlement and those remaining in countries of origin) for another
based on the functions and styles of networks* (p. 872-873).

Reflecting on the method

Narrative reviews and other similar approaches such as interpretative reviews,
thematic analyses, meta-narrative mapping and critical interpretive synthesis often
raise questions regarding their validity and credibility (Dixon-Woods et al 2006).
Systematic reviews thematically summarise- by adhering to specific inclusion and
exclusion criteria and clear procedures- the available evidence of an area and then can
be easily reproduced and enriched by other researchers. This kind of replicability or
indeed auditability is not a component of a narrative review. Yet in this paper, the
lack of phronesis in refugee studies could be highlighted and critically discussed only
via a narrative review.

The choice of this method therefore can be defended on the grounds that it was
comprehensive as possible; clear about the inclusion criteria it used; admittedly not
'unbiased' but with a specific argument to be supported; not replicable but
transferable to similar and different research contexts.

Conclusion: Reflecting on the lack of phronesis in refugee studies

It is beyond the purposes of this paper to examine why so far there is a lack of
phronesis in refugee studies. In more specific research areas such as refugee well-
being, the intra-individual and pathological focus has been already examined and
critically discussed (Papadopoulos 2007; Psoinos 2010) and is attributed to particular
factors such as: (a) the change in refugee populations at the end of the 20th century
(that is, only in the past 25 years refugee resettlement has involved flows of people of
radically different cultural orientations), (b) host governments' health policies
targeting diseases that refugees could 'import' and affect the host population, (c)
psychological and psychiatric theories one-sidedly linking forced migration with
stress and psychopathology respectively, and (d) the media coverage which have been
frequently portraying refugees as prone to mental illness.

Yet the issue of phronesis, and why it is missing from refugee studies is more
complex to unravel. There are of course the reasons which possibly account for the
delay of a phronetic social science approach in general: first, the fact that the latter
requires being firm in one's discipline but also being able to work in an
interdisciplinary way; and second, that the phronetic call prompts social scientists not
only to go beyond their *own* research paradigm, whether that is positivism,
constructivism or critical theory (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba 2011) but actually to go
beyond *any* traditional research paradigm. If we agree with Flyvbjerg (2006) that in

fact social science is *non-paradigmatic*, then the phronetic call requires from social scientists to re-shift their focus more on politics and power issues embedded in research and practice, and less on carefully set-up research designs and rigorous methodologies. The importance of going *beyond* the established paradigms has been highlighted- especially by critical social research methodologists (Morgan 2007; Patton 2002; Stephenson & Papadopoulos 2006) yet still causes controversy within academic circles.

In addition, in refugee studies, an obviously value-laden research area where refugees themselves, but also researchers, interpreters, collaborators, gate-keepers and advisors are 'vehicles of power in a net-like organization' (Doná 2007) it is difficult to disentangle the underlying 'mechanisms of power' and reveal 'who gains and who loses'.

Nevertheless this paper endorses that a phronetic social science is the most just way of researching *societal* issues and how these affect people's lives (societal here is used 'as shorthand for social, organizational, cultural, structural and politico-discursive arrangements' (Fryer 2003). In the specific field of refugee resettlement and adaptation, it is a research approach particularly timely to adopt, as refugees constitute an integral part of the migrant population in Europe. Finally it is an approach imperative to implement as well, as refugees' well-being has been extensively researched and is by now known to be particularly vulnerable.

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Understanding the Effect of Corporate Entrepreneurship on Firm Performance

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0091

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Abstract

The present study is focused on the effect of corporate entrepreneurship (CE) on the performance of the public-listed companies (PLCs) in Malaysia. These companies are currently facing more challenging environments compared to the past as their survival rates are declining and suffering from low level of profitability. In this new era where the resources are tight and highly competitive, the rapid technological changes have shortened the product life cycles and have caused uncertain business environment. The firms that do not practice CE will be competed out of the market. Thus, the entrepreneurial orientation (EO) and corporate venturing (CV) are utilized as a proxy of CE. The actual data of sales growth; return on Assets (ROA) and return on sales (ROS) are used as the indicators of firm performance. This study also investigates the moderating influence of environmental dynamism on CE dimensions and firm performance. The data has been collected from 130 companies listed in the main market of Bursa Malaysia. In order to analyse the survey data, the study has used Partial Least Squares (PLS) approach to Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). This study has concluded that the EO is positively related to firm's profitability but has no relationship with firm's growth whereas CV is positively related to firm's growth but has no relationship with firm's profitability. The environmental dynamism moderates these relationships.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Studies on strategic management have shown that CE is the main source of superior firm performance (Antoncic & Hisrich, 2003; Zahra & Garvis, 2000; Zahra & Covin, 1995). Even though there is no consensus among the researchers on the dimensions of CE. However, EO and CV are widely used as a proxy of CE. Recently EO has been commonly accepted as an instrument for capturing a firm's inclination toward entrepreneurship that is conceptualized as possessing three main characteristics, innovativeness, risk-taking, and proactiveness (Covin & Wales, 2011: Rauch et al, 2009; Wiklund, 1999). The CV is always associated with CE or labelled as "intrapreneuring" by Gifford Pinchot due to the fact that it is an entrepreneurial effort to create new business within existing firm (Dess & Lumpkin, 2005). The CE is a term used to explain the entrepreneurial efforts of an established and large organisation (Burns, 2005). Various authors have used various terms to describe entrepreneurial behaviour inside existing firms (Sharma & Chrisman, 1999). Among the terms used to describe entrepreneurial behaviour at the firm level is intrapreneuring (Pinchot, 1985), corporate entrepreneurship (Burgelman, 1983; Guth & Ginsberg, 1990; Covin & Miles, 1999; Morris et al., 2008; Sharma & Chrisman, 1999), corporate venturing (von Hippel, 1977; MacMillan, 1986; Vesper, 1990), innovative (Miller & Friesen, 1983), firm-level entrepreneurial posture (Covin, 1991; Covin & Slevin, 1986), firm's EO (Knight, 1997; Lumpkin & Dess, 1996), and organisational entrepreneurship (Handfield et al., 2009; Stevenson et al., 1985). However, CE is the term that is often used to describe entrepreneurial behaviour of large firms.

Despite a large body of literature that has empirically studied the effect of the CE on performance, limited empirical research existed on studies about the public-listed companies (Miller & Miller-Breton, 2011). The performance of the PLCs has been a major concern as today they are facing more challenging environments as compared to the challenges faced in the past. This is an evident as the survival rates of the listed firms have been found declining (Fama & French, 2004).

Moreover when the firm becomes a public company, they suffer from low level of profitability even more often their, profitability becomes negative (Demer & Joos, 2007). Sometimes they also fail to present a quality, balanced and meaningful strategy (Raja Suzana & Rahim, 2008). Hence, the PLCs have to find appropriate business strategies in order to improve their performance.

In this current study, it is aimed to investigate the effect of the CE dimensions namely the EO and CV on the firm's actual profitability and growth within the context of the large firms in Malaysia. In addition, the impact of the environmental dynamism has been analysed as moderating variable between CE and firm performance. This research study has made important contributions to at least three areas of research. Firstly, usually in developing countries like Malaysia, most of the researches on entrepreneurship have been carried out predominantly on small firms or individual entrepreneurships (Miller & Breton-Miller, 2011) but in reality the large firm faces different challenges than the challenges faced by the small firms. This is generally because both types of the firm have different organisational design and management styles. Secondly, the current research contributes to extend the literature on CE because in Malaysia the research on CE is still infancy. To the best of author's

knowledge, this research is the first study to simultaneously test the EO and CV on actual large firm performance by adding the moderating effect of the environmental dynamism. Thirdly, this research study contributed towards the methodology of research, whereas, the previous studies on CE have usually used primary data and combination of firm performance. This study has used objective data and multidimensional construct of firm performance.

This article has been organized as follows: the first section summarizes the most relevant literature upon which the theoretical framework and hypotheses are based. Next, the discussion of methodology has been used in this study. Then, the result of empirical analyses has been presented. The paper ends with discussion and conclusion part.

2.0 Literature Review

Figure 1: Conceptual Model of the Study
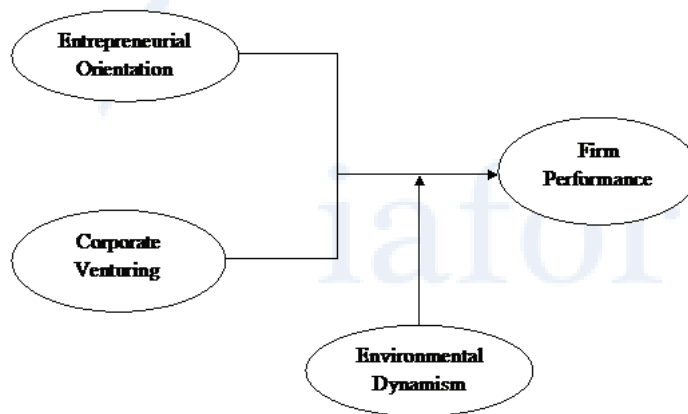
The theoretical framework above (Figure 1) is based on the objective of the study that is to examine the effect of CE dimensions on large firm performance. The hypotheses in this study is also formulated which is based on this theoretical framework as discussed in the later sections.

2.1 Entrepreneurial Orientation (EO) and Firm Performance

Entrepreneurial orientation refers to the processes, practices and decision-making activities that lead to new entry as characterized by one or more of the following dimensions: a willingness to innovate and take-risks and proactive relative to market place opportunities (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996:136-137). These three characteristics namely, the innovativeness, proactiveness and risk taking are the dimensions of EO and the main ingredient for the firm to be entrepreneurial.

The relationship between EO and firm performance has received huge attention within the literature in various fields due to its importance on the firm's competitiveness. Even though theresearchers have agreed that EO as a part of CE but it has attracted more attention as compared to the CE itself (Covin & Lumpkin, 2011). There is a significant increase on the article regarding EO and firm performance because it is believed that EO is essential for firm's growth and profitability (Covin &

Slevin, 1991; Lumpkin & Dess, 1996; Soininen et al., 2011; Zahra & Garvis, 2000). This has been supported by the results of recent meta-analysis suggesting that EO is indeed a significant predictor of firm performance (Rauch et al., 2009). The previous results also showed that study on EO-firm performance is not only sustainable in a short term but also this relationship has increased over a long term (Wiklund, 1999; Zahra & Covin, 1995; Zahra, 1991). Hence, the investment in EO may be worthwhile for the firm not only in short term but also in the following years (Wiklund, 1999).

Although the majority of the researchers have agreed that EO contributes to better firm performance but the link between EO and firm performance has remained inconsistent (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). The studies concluded that the EO-performance relationship has gained different results across studies. Some studies have established strong correlations between EO and firm performance (Covin & Slevin, 1988; Wiklund & Shepherd, 2003; Hult et al., 2004; Kraus et al., 2005; Kreiser & Davis, 2010), while other studies have reported weak relationship (Zahra, 1991; Dimitratos et al., 2004; Baker & Sinkula, 2009). There are also studies, which have failed to find a positive relationship between EO and firm performance (Covin et al., 1994; George et al., 2001; Tang & Koveos, 2004). Most of these researches were conducted in developed countries like U.S. and European Union. The business environments and management style for developed and developing countries are fundamentally different. Hence, it is important to conduct a research on this area. The differences in business environment possessed by each country bring different effects on EO research.

Despite all these arguments, the importance of the EO to firm performance is remarkable and has been recognized as one of the most important factors for a firm's growth and profitability (Antoncic, 2007; Kayhan & Tajeddini, 2010; Kreiser et al., 2002; Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990). Thus, growth and profitability of the firm is the result of innovativeness, proactiveness and risk taking behavior, which are the ingredients of EO. Thus, two hyphotheses were formulated for the direct effect between EO and firm's profitability and growth as follows:

Hypothesis 1a: There is a direct positive relationship between entrepreneurial orientation (EO) and large firms' profitability.

Hypothesis 1b: There is a direct positive relationship between entrepreneurial orientation (EO) and large firms' growth.

2.2 Corporate Venturing (CV) and Firm Performance

Corporate venturing is one of the CE components that emphasises on the creation of new business inside or outside the existing organization (Sharma & Chrisman, 1999). Among CV activities, are entering new industries, acquisition, sponsoring new venture activities, and launching new business (Dalziel, 2005; Zahra, 1991). The purpose to launch CV in established firms is varied. Generally, the firms frequently use CV to gain access to ideas, discoveries, technologies, innovations, and business practices and to enhance business growth and profitability (Narayanan et al., 2009).

Previous research has shown that CV activities generate economic benefits for the parent corporation and improve its financial performance (Antoncic & Hisrich, 2001). The research by Antoncic and Hisrich (2001) has showed a strong relationship between CV and financial performance (return on assets, return on equity, and relative profitability). CV is also often used as a strategy in the declining businesses whereby their corporation is transformed into new core businesses with better opportunities for growth (Donahoe et al., 2001). For this situation, Nokia is the best example as they have successfully transformed their core business from manufacturing to telecommunications. Thus, two hyphotheses were formulated for the direct effect between CV and firm's profitability and growth as follows:

Hypothesis 2a: There is a direct positive relationship between corporate venturing (CV) and large firms' profitability.

Hypothesis 2b: There is a direct positive relationship between corporate venturing (CV) and large firms' growth.

2.3 Environmental dynamism as a Moderating Variables

The importance of dynamic nature of the environment to the relationship between firm's CE and firm performance have repeatedly confirmed by the scholars (Wiklund & Shepherd, 2005). The dynamism is often called as uncertainty (Miller & Friesen, 1983). It is characterized by the rate of change and innovation of the industry and also the unpredictable actions by competitors and customers (Miller & Friesen, 1983; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Burns & Stalker, 1961). The literature suggests that the influence of CE on performance has become more intense when the firm operates in a dynamic environment (Moreno & Casillas, 2008). In other words, highly entrepreneurial firm will achieve better performance in dynamic environment (Lumpkin & Dess, 2001).

The previous studies also concluded that the dynamicity of environment encourages firms to take part in new product innovation activities than those operating in stable environment (Miller, 1983; Miller, 1988; Zahra, 1993). The firm's failure to respond to dynamic environment results a loss in market shares and sales, hence they are left out of the competition (Miller, 1988). The persuasion of revolutionary technologies and progressive activities is a great way for setting up a dynamic environment which is a plus point for the firm over its competitors (Zahra & Bogner, 2000; Zahra,1996).

The dynamic environments trigger the effort of the firm to venture into new business to respond to the challenges and change in the business environment. In dynamic environment setting, the condition of an industry is unstable and changing continuously. The social, political, technological, and economic changes bring new ideas for the firms to venture into new markets and broadening the firm's niche (Zahra, 1991). The change in the environment creates more opportunities that enables the firm to pursue new innovative ventures to benefit from these environment characteristics. Thus, in order to pursue into a venture, the firm will employ newer technologies and innovative marketing practices (Oster, 1990). In addition, the firm will diversify its business to cope with the intensified environment and to avoid failure. Hence, venturing into new business helps the firm to respond to the intense

competition and taking the opportunities for growth. Thus, in order to test the interaction effects model, four additional hypotheses were formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 3a: Environmental dynamism moderates the relationship between EO and large firm's profitability. EO is more positively associated with large firm's profitability in dynamic environments.

Hypothesis 3b: Environmental dynamism moderates the relationship between CV and large firm's profitability. EO is more positively associated with large firm's profitability in dynamic environments.

Hypothesis 4a: Environmental dynamism moderates the relationship between EO and large firm's growth .CV is more positively associated with large firm's growth in dynamic environments.

Hypothesis 4b: Environmental dynamism moderates the relationship between CV and large firm's growth. CV is more positively associated with large firm's growth in dynamic environments.

3.0 Methodology
3.1 Instrumentation and Measures
Table 1 indicates the measures of the study variables used in the study. The instrument items have been adapted and modified from previous studies for independent variables. The dependent variables are used as actual data obtained from annual reports in order to reduce the potential for common method variance.

Table 1: Instrumentation of Study Variables

Variables	No. of Item	Source of Scale	Type of Scale
EO Dimensions:- (innovativeness, proactiveness and risk taking)	15	Modified from Lumpkin and Dess (2001) and Lumpkin (1996)	7-Point Scale
Corporate Venturing	6	Modified from Zahra (1991) and Dalziel (2005)	7-Point Scale
Environmental Dynamism	5	Adapted from Miller and Friesen (1982)	7-Point Scale
Profitability:- Return on Assets (ROA) Return on Sales (ROS)	2	Adapted from Zahra and Covin (1995)	Actual data
Growth:- Sales Growth	1		

3.2 Sample Characteristics and Data Collection Method

The study has been carried out on PLCs listed in main market, Bursa Malaysia. The primary data has been collected through a mail survey done by a structured questionnaire. The questionnaires were addressed to a top or senior management team within the company with designation of senior manager, chief executive officer, vice president, president, or executive director. Out of 660 mailed surveys, only 130 were returned with a usable response, resulting in 19.6% response rate.

The respondent firms were ranged across the 14 industrial sectors, where 38 firms (29.2%) were in the industrial product sector, which was the highest number of firms in a particular sector, followed by consumer product sector with 34 firms (26.2%). Only (8.5%) firms have been established in less than 10 years, while the rest have been established within 10 years and above. 113 (86.8%) firms have been public-listed more than 5 years and only 17 (13.2%) firms have been established in less than 15 years. Lastly, in terms of the number of employees, 99 (76.2%) firms had more than 300 employees and 31 (23.8%) had less than 300 employees.

In terms of the individual respondent's characteristics, it was revealed that the majority of the respondents were male, 83 (63.8%) and 47 (36.2%) were female respondents. Most of the respondents were above 30 years old, 122 (93.9%) and 62 (47.7%) were Chinese followed closely by Malay, 56 (43.1%) respondents. In regard to the respondents' educational qualification, more than half of the respondents had a Bachelor Degree, 56.9% (74). With respect to the working experience, as 81.5% (106) of the respondents had more than 10 years of working experience.

In order to analyse the survey data, two statistical techniques were used. First, the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19.0 was used. Next, the second statistical technique used was Partial Least Squares (PLS) approach to Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). The analysis and interpretation of a PLS model is a two-staged process. First is the assessment of the reliability and validity to the measurement model and second is the assessment of the structural model to test the hypotheses under study (Barclay et al., 1995).

4.0 Results
4.1 Assessment of the Measurement Model

The first step in PLS analysis was to analyze the measurement model (or outer model) to determine how well the indicators (items in the constructs) load on the theoretically defined constructs. It was ensured that the survey instrument is reliable and valid to measure the construct that were designed to measure. Thus, the reliability and validity analysis were performed to assess the measurement model. The purpose of the validity analysis was to test that how well an instrument was developed to measure the particular concept it is intended to measure (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). Validity can be analysed using construct validity, convergent validity, and discriminant validity. The purpose of reliability analysis was to test how consistently a measuring instrument can measure the concept of a study (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010).

The individual item reliabilities used the loadings of the items to their respective constructs. According to Hair et al. (2010) standardized loadings should be greater

than 0.50. In this study, since EO has been used as one-dimensional construct, an analysis of principal components to assess the validity and reliability of the three dimensions in EO using SPSS 19.0 was carried out. The result showed that all items had a loading of higher than 0.50. Accordingly, the mean of the 15 items that measured the innovativeness, proactiveness and risk taking were taken as a proxy of EO. However, it can be seen in Table 2 and Table 3 that there were few items in CV and environmental dynamism constructs that were dropped due to low loadings. In addition, all the items that were measuring a particular construct were loaded highly on that construct and were loaded lower on the other
constructs thus confirming to construct validity.

In PLS, the composite reliability analysis was used to assess the reliability of the construct, interpreted like a Cronbach's alpha for internal consistency reliability estimate, a composite reliability of 0.70 or greater is considered acceptable (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). It can be seen in Table 2 and Table 3 that, the composite reliability values range between 0.811 and 1.00, which is more than the suggested cut off value of 0.7. Thus, the survey instrument that had been used in this study was reliable.

Next, the assessment of convergent validity requires the examination of the average variance extracted (AVE) measure (Fornell & Lacker, 1981). The purpose of the AVE was to measure the amount of variance of the indicator which was accounted by the construct relative to the amount due to the measurement error. Thus, the AVE exceeded from 0.5, which is indicating that more than 50% of the indicators' variance can be captured by construct (Boßow-Thies & Albers, 2010, p. 596). From Table 2 and Table 3, the AVE values exceeded the recommended value of 0.5 (Hair et al., 2010) which was in the range of 0.524 to 1.00. The results illustrated adequate convergent validity and unidimensionality. Thus, all the constructs were the valid measures of their respective constructs
based on their parameter estimates (Chow & Chan, 2008).

The discriminant validity is the complement of the convergent validity. It indicates the degree to which one construct differs from the others. The square root of the AVE is calculated to determine the construct discriminant validity. Thus, the square root of AVE should be greater than each of the construct correlations (Compeau et al. 1999). All the constructs of this study fulfilled these conditions because the diagonal elements were greater than the off-diagonal elements in the corresponding rows and columns. Thus, it can be concluded that the measurement model demonstrated adequate discriminant validity.

Table 2: Measurement Model for Firms' Profitability

Construct	Loading	Composite reliability (CR)	Average variance extracted (AVE)
EO		1.000	1.000
CV		0.916	0.648
CV_1	0.804		
CV_2	0.867		
CV_3	0.823		
CV_4	0.836		
CV_5	0.808		
CV_6	0.651		
Dynamism			
ED_1	0.664		
ED_2	0.841		
ED_3	0.640		
ED_4	0.819		
ED_5	Dropped		

Table 3: Measurement Model for Firms' Growth

Construct	Loading	Composite reliability (CR)	Average variance extracted (AVE)
EO		1.000	1.000
CV		0.895	0.635
CV_1	0.9264		
CV_2	0.7726		
CV_3	0.8247		
CV_4	0.8024		
CV_5	0.6281		
CV_6	Dropped		
Dynamism		0.811	0.524
ED_1	Dropped		
ED_2	0.852		
ED_3	0.737		
ED_4	0.735		
ED_5	0.534		

4.2 Assessment of the Structural Model

In the second stage, the structural models were assessed in order to test the relationships among hypothetical constructs. The bootstrapping was used to assess the structural model in PLS. The number of bootstrap samples used in this study was 1,000 and the number of cases were equal to the number of observations in the original sample which was 130 samples in this study.

The dependent variables which are the firm's performance is divided into two dimensions, growth and profitability. This multidimensional of firm's performance

were assessed because CE may influence growth and profitability differently. Thus, this study comprises of two different models.

4.2.1 The Main Effects Model

Table 4 and 5 shows the main effects model for both; firm's profitability and growth. Table 4, which reports the result for firm's profitability, shows that only EO (Hypothesis 1a) was significant and positively related to firm's profitability (β = 0.279, p < 0.01). This model explained 0.8% of variance in firm's profitability. For firm's growth, Model 5 also shows that only one hypothesis was supported, which is the CV (Hypothesis 2b). The CV was positive and significantly related to firm's growth and explained 0.6% of variance in firm's growth (β = 0.204, p < 0.01).

Table 4: Hypotheses and Results for Main Effect Model
(Firms' Profitability as the Dependent Variable)

Hypothesis	Relationship	Path Coefficient	t Value	Supported
H1a	EO→ firms' profitability	0.279	3.065***	Yes
H1b	CV→ firms' profitability	0.010	0.124	No
R^2			0.080	

* p < .10; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

Table 5: Hypotheses and Results for Direct Effects
(Firms' Growth as the Dependent Variable)

Hypothesis	Relationship	Path Coefficient	t Value	Supported
H2a	EO→firms' growth	0.002	0.038	No
H2b	CV→ firms' growth	0.204	2.069***	Yes
R^2			0.060	

* p < .10; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

4.2.2 The Moderating Effect of Environmental Dynamism on the CE-Firm Performance
Relationship

Environmental dynamism was used as the moderating variable in this study. Of Out of four hypotheses formulated, two hypotheses were supported. The environmental dynamism positively moderated the relationship between EO and firm's profitability (β = 0.204, p < 0.05) and CV and firm's growth (β = 0.322, p < 0.01) .This supports the Hypothesis 3a. These results have been shown in Table 6 and Table 5. The variance explained were 14.0% for firm's profitability model and 19.2% variance explained for firms' growth model.

**Table 6: Hypotheses and Results for Interaction Effect Model
(Firms' Profitability as the Dependent Variable)**

Hypothesis	Relationship	Path Coefficient	t Value	Supported
H3a	EO*Dynamism→firms' profitability	0.158	1.896**	Yes
H3b	CV*Dynamism→firms' profitability	-0.122	1.515	No
R^2			0.140	

* p < .10; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

**Table 7: Hypotheses and Results for Moderating Effects
(Firms' Growth as the Dependent Variable)**

Hypothesis	Relationship	Path Coefficient	t Value	Supported
H4a	EO*Dynamism→ firms' growth	0.032	0.649	No
H4b	CV *Dynamism→firms' growth	0.322	2.242***	No
R^2			0.192	

* p < .10; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

4.2.3 Moderating Effect Size (f^2)

Subsequently, after inspecting the R^2 of all endogenous variables and checking the result of the hypotheses, the effect size or moderating effect were assessed. The change in the R^2 showed whether the moderating variables have a substantial contribution in the model. According to Cohen (1988), f^2 is assessed as: 0.02 is a small effect, 0.15 is a medium effect and 0.35 is a large effect. The moderating effect can be assessed by comparing the proportion of variance explained (R^2) of the main effect model (without moderator) with the variance explained (R^2) of the full model (with moderator) (Henseler & Fassot, 2010). The profitability Model had a moderating effect size (f^2) of 0.07, thus it indicated that the effect of the environmental dynamism as a moderator is small. On the other hand the growth Model had medium contribution to the model which had 0.163 of a moderating effect size.

5.0 Conclusion

This study investigated the relationship between CE dimensions and firm performance among large firms in Malaysia. Consistent with the previous research findings, this study also revealed that the CE practices in large firms have significant effect on the firm performance. Large companies in Malaysia are important for economic development such as the largest contributor to the national earning export and gross domestic product. Therefore, an examination of their performance is a worthwhile scholarly endeavour.

The EO was found to increase the firm's profitability but no significant relationship with firm's growth. In other words, the innovativeness, proactiveness and risk taking of the large firm contributes positively towards firm's profitability and this relationship is also moderated by the environmental dynamism .Whereas, the environment which is highly uncertain and unpredictable, the firms are more entrepreneurial and leads to higher firm's profitability (Miller, 1983; Miller, 1988; Zahra, 1993). The impact of environmental dynamism as a moderator was found to be small in this model.

In contrast, the CV was only positively and significantly related to firm's growth but has no significant relationship with firm's profitability. The possible reason for this is because the profitability of the firm may be affected in short term due to the expenses in purchasing the new venture, cost of merger, alliances and funding new venture (Zahra & Garvis, 2000). This relationship is also moderated by the environmental dynamism. The CV is positively related to a firm's growth because the business expands and addition in current products or services line increases the sales of the firm. This is similar to previous research conducted among 58 large and middle sized Chinese enterprises that the venturing activities are positively related to overall perceptual firm performance but has no positive effect on ROI and net profit (Chen et al., 2005).

Although this study made significant contribution to the body of knowledge and to the determinant factors of the large firm's performance . Unlike other studies it also have some limitations and suggest some avenues for future research. First of all, the models that have been used in this research are somewhat simple. As a result, it is essential to consider additional variables such as those related to other business strategies and to the firm's performance dimensions. This is better to capture the relationship between the EO and the various dimensions of performance. Secondly, in this study cross-sectional design has been used rather than a longitudinal design. The future research should consider exploring the causal relationships among the research variables using longitudinal design for a better premise. It is also hoped that these results encourage future researchers to explore the unique role of each dimension in EO (innovativeness, proactiveness, and risk taking) and CV (internal CV and external CV). Repeating this given survey in the future will mitigate this problem.

6.0   References

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Cultural Change in the Educational Setting: The Integration of Young Moslem Women into Chinese Society

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Abstract

Turkic Moslem people and their culture now extend from the Mediterranean to Western China. The goal of this research is to investigate affirmative action programs such as those at the Minorities University of China in the framework of "cultural identity". By observing the experience of young Uyghur Moslem women students determine those institutional features that overcome obstacles to cultural change. Cultural identity as Uyghur and Moslem has a major impact on the discussion of the Uyghur population of China. Young Uyghur women face a different set of choices than those of women in other minorities or in the rest of China. If they identify with their culture as Uyghur and Moslem, their culture restricts their opportunities as Chinese citizens. As students at Minorities University of China (MUC) in Beijing, the relative freedom of Beijing has a great impact on these students. Education and employment have a critical impact on the lives of young women and offer them opportunities that might be denied, but these also raise challenges for their families. Institutions such as schools of ethnic studies and the college competitive exam (the gaokao) provide opportunities as well as obstacles for Uyghur women and serve to link Uyghur women to the dynamic aspects of change in the Moslem world.

Keywords: Uyghurs, Moslem women, affirmative action in China, education

I The setting of the study: Xinjiang: Turkic Islamic China

This research will investigate the changing attitudes of young Uyghur women to their culture, and the role educational institutions in China have on shaping the identity and choices. I will also attempt to frame the debate over programs such as those offered by the Minorities University of China (MUC) in   terms of the cultural framework developed by Fredrick Barth and cultural anthropology.

The report is part of a study that took place in Beijing and Kashgar (a largely Uyghur city in Western Xinjiang) over a period of many months during 2011 and 2012. It was conducted with the help of several Uyghur research assistants. The three women discussed represent a good illustration of the operation of theoretical social science constructs in the lives of people.

The Uyghurs are a Turkic people of North West China primarily living in the Uyghur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang, closely related in language, culture and ethnicity to their Kazakh, Uzbek, and Turkmen neighbors. They are a small group in terms of China's population of 1.3 billion, numbering 8.3 million. Although the region was formerly obscure, Xinjiang is now an important part of a wealthy and increasingly powerful China.

Table I Xinjiang and China, Compare Population Growth, Literacy, and Educational Attainment

	Xinjiang	China
1. Population	17,470,000	
2. Natural Population Growth Rate	12.8	9.57
3. Percentage of Minorities	61.4 %	(< 10%)
4. Illiteracy Males 5 y.o. +	4.7 %	4.5 %
5.Illiteracy Females 5y.o. +	5.9 %	11.3 %
Students 6 y.o. +		
6. Primary School	44.8 %	39.7 %
7. Secondary School	38.9 %	43.7 %
8. Higher Education	5.7 %	2.7 %

Adapted from Kormondy (2012). From China Statistical Yearbook, 1999

As we see in Table I Line 3, the region is largely "minority" in character. Chinese population was low at the time of the liberation (1949), but the development of the region has produced a dramatic increase in the size of the ethnic Han Chinese population.   In the 1990's, and today, the Han Chinese population is concentrated in the Eastern portion of the region.   In the center of this region is one of the largest deserts in the world, the Taklamakan.   The Uyghur population is concentrated in the West.

Over the last few years there has been considerable urban development in the region, but in general most Uyghurs were raised in rural areas. Not many Uyghurs have been outside of Xinjiang province, and one reason is that Uyghur, rather than Chinese, is the first language for the local population.

The Uyghurs of Xinjiang almost universally identify as Moslems. Employing the concept of 'cultural identity' proposed in Fredrik Barth's work (1969), the fact that the Uyghurs identify as part of 'Moslem culture' makes an enormous statement about their role in Chinese society. A recent study of the Uyghurs published by Idiko Beller-Hann (2008) on the period when groups of small communities managed to develop a common identity, 1850-1949, represents a major work on exactly how this occurred in Xinjiang.

II Islamic Practices as a Barrier to Cultural Assimilation

Population Growth, Family Structure, Residential Patterns

In Table I Line 2 We see that the population growth rate in the province is nearly 33% higher than China as a whole. This is because the Uyghurs and other minorities are exempt from the "one child policy" as it operates in the rest of China. Instead of a nuclear family living in small urban apartments, what we have in Xinjiang is a large patriarchal Moslem family living in separate suburban houses, often with some livestock (sheep, goats, chickens) in the housing area.

The cultural differences that separate Moslems from non-Moslems can be found in observations made about cultural distinctiveness, many of which are applicable to Uyghurs. The important theoretical contributions are those of Lila Abu Lughod (2002) and Valentine Moghadam (1993) for Moslem society, and Linda Benson(2004) and Xiaowei Zang (2010) for the Uyghurs.

Many features of Uyghur identity serve to isolate them from the larger Chinese society. Uyghur dress is a point of contention; women's use of headscarves has been an issue for women in China and. There are language differences between Uyghurs and Chinese. In the Xinjiang region there is often residential separation, Uyghur districts and Chinese districts. Despite variation from community to community, and from decade to decade, there is ample documentation of interethnic hostility, for instance in Bovington (2002) and Baranovitch (2007). The hostility can occur on an imterpersonal level, but there have been instances of rioting as well. Naturally, on a day-to-day level, there is also cooperation, and there is no point in making the true situation appear worse than it is.

Young Uyghur Moslem girls and educational barriers

The historical circumstances that brought the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region into the New China in 1949 had major consequences for the Uyghur minority. Sources agree that in 1949 the Uyghur population, male and female, was largely illiterate. As Table I lines 4 and 5 demonstrate, the population is now   largely literate, both for males and females. Uyghur female literacy in the region may now excede the national average in the country.   In the context of Central Asia, the literacy figures themseves also represent a dramatic achievement, since female educational attainment is one of the critical issues in Moslem society.

Uyghurs and Han Chinese   are literate in different languages. Since literacy in Chinese is a function of memorization and character recognition, the ability to read at a university level is too difficult for most Chinese students.   For Uyghurs, whose first language is not Chinese, literacy in Chinese is difficult to accomplish. The difficulty of character recognition in Chinese was recognized very early on in the reform period from 1911-1949, but the effort to substitute phonetic pinyin for characters failed.

With the establishment of the New China in 1949, the remoteness of Xinjiang and the uncertainties of the new government necessitated the development of two separate school systems. Uyghur families are free to send their children to Chinese schools, but in these schools the students would have a difficult challenge of receiving instruction in their second language.   This met the demands of the local population, but it created another obstacle for Uyghurs, and especially for young women. Since Chinese is a second language and basic instruction is in Uyghur, an immediate challenge faces all students.

Table I, lines 6 and 7 demonstrate how the situation was resolved to the disadvantage of young Uyghur girls.   Compared to the national average, fewer children attend high school in Xinjiang.   Given the pattern of school attendance in China, it is widely believed that this is the result of Uyghur parental action.

It is believed that this fall off in attendance comes from the   the fact that Uyghur girls are withdraen from school. Linda Benson observes (2004, p. 191), 'Available Chinese statistics on education (in Xinjiang) give rise to a number of questions. … The statistics do not explain why, for example, the percentage of students (Uyghurs) continuing on to middle school remains relatively low. One factor may be the early withdrawal of girls from elementary school.'   Government figures from the 1990's have shown that young Uyghur girls often end their education with primary school.

Also, from Linda Benson (2004, p. 199): 'The government's undeniable successes [in raising the education level of minorities] are tempered by ongoing problems, some of which trace directly to the continued existence of two separate school systems – one

for the minorities taught in their own languages and one offering instruction only in Chinese.   … Uyghurs and other Muslim peoples link their concern to preserve their culture and identity with the language of instruction in the schools.' Uyghur schools may not effectively prepare children for assimilation into Chinese culture, but without these schools Uyghur culture itself may disappear.   Chinese is taught in all Uyghur language schools.

To control, perhaps to protect, their daughters, Moslem families encouraged them to curtail their education and to marry partners chosen by their parents. Uyghur culture, which is Central Asian culture, has a long history of arranged marriage that continues up until the present time. Current research shows that young Uyghur men are given more freedom to choose their brides while Uyghur girls are offered little choice (Zhang, 2010).   Comments made by participants in this study illustrate that controlling parents present obstacles to their children, such as the reluctance to allow their daughters to go to college outside their regional area.

III Presenting Three Young Women

Aynur – Uyghur Identity and Career

The young women who were interviewed are from large rural or suburban families. Aynur is a 22-year-old woman from a non-urban section of Kashgar. Kashgar is a large urban-suburban area with a population of 350,000 residents, over 90% Uyghur by the 2007 census. The community in which she was raised is   rural, with mostly small homes lacking indoor plumbing. Her family's neighbors are farmers. Until a few decades ago there was hardly any motorized travel or rail traffic to the city. Now Kashgar is a major city in the region, with trade ties to Pakistan and Kazakhstan, and an airport.

As a young child, Aynur lived with her grandparents, her mother having left home for work after a divorce from her father. Her grandfather had a minor government position. Her grandparents lived in a society in which people were barely literate, and her grandfather could hardly read a document before he got his job. Her grandparents were no better educated then than other residents, although most of the neighbors were farmers and her grandfather was a civil servant.   Aynur's grandmother had been a teacher.   The couple had six children. 'One of my uncles liked reading; he lived in town and every Friday he came back and brought some books and told me about these books and read to me.'   Aynur's uncle was a factory worker. When she was old enough, Aynur went to primary school and read by herself. Her aunt taught her how to dance and sing.   Aynur 'was a smart girl so they had no complaints about my studies in school'.

Aynur: Education and career

Aynur went to Uyghur schools; at the time, there were no Chinese schools in her area. In 1949, at the time of the revolution, Xinjiang was a region in which most local residents did not speak Chinese, so there were no textbooks for the local population other than those in the Uyghur language. The Uyghurs attended Uyghur language schools, and Aynur's education was in these Uyghur schools. In the Uyghur school system, Aynur was considered very smart in the class and so the teachers favored her. 'They expressed their love without any hesitation. Two teachers in high school showed me the good way to study and plan my life, and I believed them. I would not have (been able to) come to Beijing to study without their help. I believe that education can change a person. Good teachers can help students, and I want to help some students who need help.'

Aynur: The challenge of the gaokao,   – the high school graduation exam

If there is one institution that is the source of wide debate in modern China, it is the *gaokou*. This exam is not required for students who simply want a high school diploma, but each year the teen-age children who are planning to attend college in China take this national competitive exam. It relies heavily on memorized information, and it continues for three days.

The challenge of the *gaokao* is especially difficult in Xinjiang. Uyghur language primary and secondary education is widespread in the province, but if parents choose to send their children to these schools then the children take the g*aokao* in Chinese as a Second Language, which requires a much lower knowledge of Chinese than a regular Chinese high school graduate. Those who take this exam have a limited choice of majors in college. If the students take a regular Chinese *gaokao* they are taking the exam in their second language and competing against Chinese students who are taking the exam in their first language. Despite this, Uyghur parents and Uyghurs in general believe if they do not send their children to Uyghur language schools, then Uyghur language and culture will be lost forever.

Aynur's *gaokao* was in Chinese as a Second Language, which meant that her college choices and her choices of major were limited. 'I give thanks for *gaokao;* although I hated it. The *gaokao* changed my life. When I was a high school student I never thought about my future and college. I was scared of taking the *gaokao*. If you can't do well, you need to wait for one year and take it again. Without passing it, you have no chance to further your education.' The Chinese as a Second Language *gaokao* is comprised of four parts: Chinese, Uyghur literature and language, mathematics, and a fourth comprehensive exam including history, politics, geography, physics, chemistry, and biology.

Aynur's score was one of the highest in her school so she had more choices of

universities then her classmates. She chose the Minorities University of China (MUC), where she could get a full scholarship if she majored in Uyghur Language and Literature. Only two people in her school came to Beijing to go to college.

Aynur: Career

Aynur states that: "Maybe for some people, nation is not important as career.   But for me and my (Uyghur) friends, we must think about this.   In Beijing, we have good opportunity but for girls it is hard to find a Uyghur boy and raise a family.   As a Uyghur girl, the family is very important for us.   If I go back to Kashgar, perhaps I cannot advance in my career because my family has no connections.   Kashgar does not have a large job market like Beijing, so I may not have any chance to prove my abilities for my career." What she means by this is that in Xinjiang it is difficult to find a good job if your family cannot help. This 'help' represents family connections and influence and in China is spoken of as *guanxi*. In her view, Aynur's larger job market in Beijing lessens the need for *guanxi*.

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Beijing had been a dream to her, and this was something that her parents could not refuse. The choices between career and Xinjiang and choosing a major were very problematic for this young woman.   Although her parents had been teachers, she is not fond of teaching. She feels that the curriculum in schools is too rigid and the job is too difficult. Aynur does not feel comfortable engaging in this work.

Instead, what she wants to do is to open up her own educational institution, perhaps a library, and a place where she might have the freedom to educate young Uyghur children with her own curriculum. These are the plans of a young twenty two year old Uyghur woman. They may be difficult to realize, but they represent the attempt of a young woman to balance the strains of parents, opportunities, and the desire for personal independence.

Meryam: The opportunity to investigate cultural heritage

The most dramatic example of a Uyghur woman exercising the ability to investigate the past is Meryam, a young woman of Kyrgyz-Uyghur descent who wears full Islamic dress.   Unlike most others, she wears not simply a headscarf but an entire outfit of modest clothing. Meryam was not raised in an observant household, and her first lengthy exposure to Islam was though her courses in MUC.   Her mother, after a divorce, became more observant at this tine as well.   Like other Uyghur women introduced here   she majors in Uyghur language and literature. What she wants to do is to go to school in Egypt to study Islamic education at a world famous institution, Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Founded in 970~972 AD, it is the chief center of Arabic literature and Islamic learning in the world. This may seem an unrealistic goal but, again, I am reporting what these young students say.

According to the students interviewed, it is difficult for young people to investigate their ethnic culture and history in their home city in Xinjiang. Uyghur history and literature is taught in the Uyghur language public schools, but the young women reported that there were more opportunities for investigation in Beijing. Scholars writing on social policy in Xinjiang have agreed with the observations of respondents in the study (Millward and Tursun, 2004)

Additionally Meryam would like to visit Turkey. She has had the opportunity to study Turkish and Turkish culture at MUC. After her studies, she wants to work in Xinjiang. She believes Urumchi, the capitol and the largest city in the province, is the best place for her to work in Islamic education. She comes from a rural background. Her parents were poor farmers, and her grandparents were farmers as well.

Courses in Uyghur Language and Literature at MUC Beijing and Lanzhou include the Islamic and old Turkish heritage of the Uyghur nation. Some students in the Uyghur language department at MUC choose to study "old Turkish", the Chagatai language, an extinct Turkic language which was once widely spoken throughout Central Asia, including Xinjiang, and remained the shared literary language until the early twentieth century. Specialists from Turkey serve as visiting professors in old Turkish.

Radiyeh: Family control and women's choices

Radiyeh is a young woman from Kashgar who speaks an excellent English in addition to Uyghur and Chinese. Radiyeh's major is similar to the others, Uyghur Language and Literature, but unlike most of the other students, she wants to live away from Kashgar because her parents are too controlling. She faced great opposition from her parents when she wanted to go to school in Beijing, and it was only the fact that she was scored well enough on the gaokao to attend a school as prestigious as MUC that they allowed her to leave Xinjiang and go to Beijing. In Xinjiang, Radiyeh is one of the first generation of women to deal with such issues. A university opportunity in the capitol of China was beyond the hopes of many Uyghurs from earlier generations. Radiyeh is also escaping from her family background, since her parents, brothers and sisters are all farmers.

As Radiyeh says: '(In the old days,) the child of a farmer would marry a farmer – now a girl (a Uyghur college student) may be more educated than her boyfriend. In the time of her grandmother (the 1950's) the wife usually stayed home.'

Things are changing in Kashgar, but not quickly enough for Radiyeh, She would like to find a job in Beijing, but even if she found a job back in Xinjiang, she would be reluctant to live near her parents. Issues such as leaving home, going out with boys, and finding a job are all problems in religiously conservative Uyghur families. The fact that Radiyeh went to Beijing was a great problem for her parents. Radiyeh said that in this respect, Xinjiang is like Afghanistan, which borders on Xinjiang in the

West. This underlines how severe the limitations on Moslem women in Xinjiang can be.

Radiyeh's problem is not so much the job – she expected that she would be a teacher. With a major in Uyghur Language and Literature this is one logical outcome for an educated Uyghur woman. Radiyeh is also interested in becoming a cultural worker, a journalist or one who works for a museum.   Radiyeh hopes that she can get a better job in Urumchi, far across the province from Kashgar. Her first priority is personal freedom.

One of the things that weigh heaviest on Radiyeh's mind is the tradition of arranged marriage. Speaking about Central Asian family practices, Dami and Sheikh (2000) write: 'in many senses, marriage is considered the union of two families, and the parents usually arrange the marriage. Although the free consent of both the bride and groom are essential, parental coercion is often strong. Some parents are evidently beginning to understand the marital concerns of their children.' The practice of choosing marriage partners from within the parents' community of friends and business acquaintances, however, continues to be considered important by young and old. Choosing a spouse may involve family members other than the immediate families of the couple. The matter is further complicated by the high costs of elaborate weddings and dowry, which means the couple will have to rely on parental financial support in order to marry. This in turn increases their dependency on parents and increases parental control.

Facing issues such as these means that a young Uyghur woman must confront her parents at an early age about her hopes and plans, when she is in her teenage years, or be bound to her parents' choice for the rest of her life. These traditions are changing, but young, ambitious women must decide their fate when very young

IV Overcoming the barriers to social change

The university itself, the Minorities University of China, and the major, Uyghur Language and Literature, represent affirmative action in China, a country with one of the most vigorous affirmative action programs in the world.
There are essentially three issues raised against such programs:
1. Funding for 'affirmative action' programs such as these is not sufficient to meet needs.
2. The central issue for minorities should be the growing inequality of access to the best education on the part of ethnic minorities
3. The current system of affirmative action programs creates two standards, which not serve minorities well

Funding, Evan-Hearne (2009):

The Minzu University of China (also known as Minzu Daxue in Chinese or simply Minda for short) is a major ethnic minority university in China. Located in Beijing, approximately 70% of the students are non-Han Chinese minorities. The school has been designated as a Project 211 School. This means that the government gives the Minzu Funding: University of China special funding and support for the purpose of modernizing and improving the competitiveness of higher education in China.

In other words, the government has now committed itself to increased funding.

Inequality of access to the best education (Ives, 2010):

Now there is growing concern that decades-old programs designed to help minority students are not effective. The proportion of ethnic minority students studying at Chinese universities has not kept pace with an expansion of the nation's higher education system, particularly at China's top-tier universities, said Gerard Postiglione, Director of the Wah Ching Center of Research on Education in China at the University of Hong Kong. China's ethnic minority education policy is failing to bridge the growing wealth disparity between coastal areas and its interior border regions, he added. "The Chinese government tends to paint a rosy picture by talking about how literacy is going up, but most people feel that in the market economy, there's been a downturn in benefits for minorities."

Problem of different standards (gaokou scores) (Rui Yang, Mei Wu 2009)

Sautman reports that Han students admitted to Xinjiang universities in 1986 averaged 435 points in science and 440 points in liberal arts; whereas minorities averaged 300 points in science and 245 points in liberal arts. In 1987, Han students from Xinjiang admitted to national key universities averaged 472 points in science and 445 points in liberal arts; minority students averaged 313 and 269 points respectively.

There's a lot of debate, and not just among scholars, about why China should perpetuate a system where minorities are poor compared to Han Chinese," concurred Dru Gladney, an anthropologist and expert in China's minority policies at California's Pomona College. "Under the old centralized system, the government used to spend a lot of money on the border areas," Gladney added. "But now they're relying on the market economy, and many of these 'nationalities' universities have suffered as a result, because their funding hasn't kept pace."

Minority Studies Departments

These young Uyghur women are not from wealthy families. In order to recruit good Uyghur students, MUC offers scholarships to students that major in Uyghur Language and Literature.

A major in Uyghur Language and Literature is a general liberal arts major, including language, culture and sociology in the first language of the student. It is not intended to prepare the students for business or engineering, but rather to allow them take their place as an educated person in their home region, Xinjiang. Most of those who major in this field of study do not have any life experience outside Xinjiang, except for their years in MUC in Beijing.

The criticism that Uyghur students do not have access to top tier schools must confront the fact that for most Uyghurs, Chinese is a second language. University level literacy is an enormous barrier to many working class students from a Chinese language background, and even Westerners who study in top tier Chinese universities often take courses in English.

Another point to consider is that Uyghurs have an enormous attachment to their province, and plan a future for occupation and family life in terms of Xinjiang. Many have reported that for Chinese Han youth, there is very little attachment to Xinjiang. Students from highly ranked Chinese Universities have little interest for living in a relatively poor rural area far away from the cultural centers of Beijing and Shanghai, and the conflict of Han and Uyghur is one of two working class communities.

MUC students discussed here believe that the university departments play a very positive role integrating them to the university and to modern China. Most of the students comment on the friendships they have made with other Uyghurs at MUC. One freshman at the university reported that her parents were upset that she was leaving home for Beijing, but she found the courses interesting and the atmosphere very positive, and her parents were pleased that she made friends with other Uyghurs. In talking about her major, one student commented about an English class she had taken, and the professor talked the whole time, while in the Uyghur classes the entire class participated and it was a more interesting class.

Students also mentioned the friendliness the Uyghur faculty and staff at the school. Uyghur parties and events feature faculty speakers, and at one graduation party a leading faculty member congratulated all the participants individually. These events draw not only the students, but also the Uyghur community in Beijing, who bring their young children. Department events are posted on Uyghur web sites, and between the Internet and word of mouth, the Uyghur community in Beijing is well represented at Uyghur events at MUC. As was shown in the case of Aynur and Maryam, these

same departments heighten Moslem and Uyghur awareness and solidarity. The Internet and the school expose students to developments in the global Islamic community. They are exposed to speakers and to ideas that are not available in Xinjiang.

Aynur commenting on the Uyghur Studies School:
'Our department at MUC very famous in Xinjiang. In Xinjiang University and Xibei Minzu University (in Lanzhou) and in Xinjiang Normal University there are also Uyghur language and literature departments. Our teachers at MUC are good, they have good personalities and they are supportive. There are chances to go abroad; they help us with employment, and provide information. We can learn everything about minority studies if we want. We are in Beijing. Beijing is our New York.'

Conclusion

In Central Asia, and especially in a secular society such as China, university study may introduce young students to membership in a larger world Moslem community. The Minorities University of China provides the chance to participate in the liberalism of Beijing compared to the perceived limitations in Xinjiang province. Experience in the university provides an opportunity for investigation of one's ethnic culture in a way that is not fully explored in Xinjiang. The preferences of women, and the opportunity to escape parental control are facilitated in college. Education and employment opportunities are the vehicles for group integration into larger Chinese society.

Ethnically oriented institutions such as the Uyghur Department of Language and Literature, which might appear to further separate young people from the Chinese society, actually helps to integrate these students into academic life, and at the same time it supports investigation into an exciting realm of ideas. The Moslem awakening, a process that is still in its early stages in this century, is advancing through the preferences of women.

For the three young women involved, what makes this possible is the competitive high school exam. Nothing is as important as this for providing the opportunity for self-advancement. The *gaokao* is actually the only door open to these young women. They come from large families in provincial schools far away from the center of Chinese economic and intellectual life. The parents in all likelihood lack the money and *guanxi* (connections) to offer significant help. The young women are on their own.

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Temple Economy in Goa

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Abstract

Centuries before the advent of the Portuguese, Goa a tiny state in India, had self-governing village communities or Gramasamsthas. Joao de Barros gave credit for their establishment to the immigrants from Canara namely the Kunbis and Gaudes, who descended the Ghats, reclaimed the land and made it cultivable. They made the original settlers jointly responsible for the village administration. J. C. Almeida called the gramasamstha, an agrarian association. Rural life was so organised that it made the temple, the nerve centre of every village. Land distribution was effected in such a way, that building and maintenance including performance of various religious rites and rituals of the temple became a major responsibility of the Gramasamstha. Revenues accruing from the best rice fields and kulagars or the areca gardens were set aside for the purpose. Cultivated lands along the river banks were partly used as nelly to fund the maintenance of the village temple and to meet other religious expenditure.

All temples were richly endowed. Their financial affluence and religious authority invited the Portuguese Government to introduce a regulation that would supervise their management. It has been noticed that every temple has played a key role as it operated as a property owner, an employer, a bank and a major consumer of goods and services. In the present times with their private statutes and private funding agencies, they are exercising virtual autonomy; though they are still under the tutelage of the Administrator of Temples. While most of the temples have registered remarkable financial growth, some have lost their major sources of income owing to usurpation of properties and misappropriation of funds. This paper presents the case study of Temple of Shantadurga of Cuncoliém to highlight the role played by the temple in shaping the village economy in Goa.

Keywords: Village community, temple, mazania, Regulamento, management and economics.

1. Introduction

Goa, one of the youngest states of India, is situated at 15^0 48' – 14^0 53' North and 74^0 20" 13' – 73^0 40" 33' East. It is located between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. Goa occupies an area of 3700 sq. km. Situated in the sub-*Ghat* region of Goa, Ponda or the erstwhile *Antruz Mahal* offers not only a physical contrast to the coastal Goa, but cultural as well. While the coastal land exhibits a Christianized and Latinized landscape of *Goa Dourada*, this taluka represents *Goa Indica* aspect of the state. The taluka of Ponda constitutes a viable unit for conducting micro-level historical studies about the state of Goa which provide a critical analysis of the origin, growth and development of the local society within a socio-cultural framework.

When Goa came under the rule of powerful royal dynasties, the responsibility of supporting and sustaining the activities of the temple, was taken up by the Kings and other members of the royal families. This is evident from the different land grants that were made by different royal dynasties to the temples, *agraharas*[1] and the *Brahmapuris*[2] from time to time (Fleet 1877). The temple of Shiva at Curdi, the temple of Mahalaxmi at Neturli in Sanguem taluka and that of Saptakoteshwar at Opa in Ponda taluka belonged to the period of the Goa Shilaharas (Gune 1965), the followers of the Shaivite sect. The administration of temples of the Goa Shilaharas can be gauged from the Kharepatan Grant of A. D. 1008 of Rattaraja made to Avveshwara temple in his capital Balipattana. This grant provides for the maintenance of the family of the temple priest. The Shilaharas continued the system of temple management which was initiated by the *Gramasamstha*. They employed servants for the temple on regular basis. The Goa Kadambas scored another milestone in bestowing honours and wealthy gifts on religious institutions. Some examples of Kadamba philanthropy happen to be the Savai-Vere Plate of Guhalladeva II of A. D. 1038 and Priol Plate of Guhalladeva III Tribhuvanmalla of A. D. 1099. The latter inscription of Kadamba King Guhalladeva III Tribhuvanmalla Vijayarka records the grant of 10 *Nishkas* to the Nageshwara temple and the donee was Nagdevarya, an expert of scriptures. King Shivachitta Permadideva was a devotee of Shiva. His wife Kamaladevi created *Agraharas* for the learned *Brahmins* (Fleet 1898). Coins of Shivachitta were inscribed with the name of his deity Saptakoteshwara, while those of Jayakeshi I, with Malege Bhairava (Moraes 1990). The *Nagaji Mandir Shilalekha* of 1413 A.D. was issued registering the land grants to the temples of Nagesh and Mahalaxmi at Bandora, made by Mai Shenoi, an official of Vijayanagara King Sangam Devrai I, whose royal writ was then running over Goa. This endowment was for the maintenance of such things as daily worship, *naivedya* (offering of cooked food) and lighting of *nandadeep* (perpatual lamp in the sanctuary) on behalf of the donor (Wagle 1913; Mitragotri 1999).

The taluka of Ponda was brought under the Portuguese rule in the second half of the 18th century. It had fortunately escaped the fury of the proselytization as it was a late entrant into the Portuguese sphere of influence. This taluka too was following the traditional pattern of village administration with some variations owing to the Muslim rule, which sought to limit the autonomy of the villages through its political agents. But these agents, better known as the Desais and Sardesais, being Hindus themselves, did not tamper with the traditional approach of the village community towards the temple and its management (Desai 2010). The *gramasamstha* not only donated the most fertile lands to the temple for its maintenance and that of its servants, but also

made contributions for the performance of certain religious ceremonies and observances (Sardesai 1991, De Souza 1994).

The Portuguese government attempted to regulate the administration of the temples by passing a law on October 30, 1886. This was the *Regulamento* of 1886. It was superseded by another *Regulamento*[3] of March 30, 1933. The constitution and management of the Hindu temples is conducted under the provisions of the Act of 1933 which consisted of 437 articles. The assets of the *mazania* like treasures, funds, immovable properties and their administration, income of the temple, budget, debts, long term leases, distribution of landed properties, sale of mortgaged articles, survey and registration of the temple properties, usurpation and misappropriation of landed properties, etc. were brought under the purview of this Act. The *mazania,* the General Body of *Mahajans* or the hereditary temple managers, is subject to the provisions of this Act and the *Compromisso* or Bye-laws, which are specific to each temple. The Administrator or the *Mamlatdar* of the taluka, could propose the dissolution of the Managing Committee, if it had disregarded the *Regulamento* in any way (Devasthan Regulation 2010). The prime aim of the Portuguese in enacting the *Regulamentos* was bring the temples, the key cultural symbols of the natives Hindus under their control.

2. Research Method

Temple Economy in South India has been the focus of many a scholars. Much attention has been devoted to highlight the role of the temple as a prime agent for redistribution of economic resources (Stein 1960; Stein 1978; Spencer 1968). A study has been made on how donations and endowments made to the temple permit incorporation of corporate units like families, castes, sects etc. (Appadurai 1981; Appadurai and Breckenridge 1976) into temple circuit. Temple donations have been found to be the tools of socio-political empowerment (Breckenridge 1986; Talbot 1991). The role played by the temple in bringing about political and economic integration of a region has been probed systematically (Dirks 1976; Ludden 1979; Heitzman 1987; Hietzman, 1987; Hietzman, 1991; Branfoot 2008). Cultural dynamics of a Hindu temple have been investigated by some scholars (Fuller 1988; Inden 1985).

With respect to Goa, temple has been a key symbol of local resistance to the Portuguese hegemony (Axelrod and Fuerch 1996; Iffeka 1985). It has been a master symbol of cultural resurgence (Kamat 2012). However economic aspect of the Goan temple had hitherto remained a mystery owing to the apathy shown by the hereditary temple managers to research and systematic investigation. A host of oral sources like the members of the Managing Committees, legal experts who represent the temples in law courts, temple servants, and the village elders were interviewed to gain a deeper insight into the administrative traditions that are followed at this temple. Economics of this temple is traced in three time frames namely, when it was directly under the *Gramasamstha,* when it came under the purview of the *Regulamento* of 1833 and in the recent times.. The *Communidade* records written in Marathi language (*Modi* script) in 8 volumes for the period 1767-1855 and maintained as the series of *Livros da Communidade de Cuncoliém* in the Historical Archives of Goa at Panaji are used for probing the economics of the temple for the first time frame. Relevant sections of the *Compromisso* of the temple are used for the second and the Budget of the said temple for the year 2010-2011 is used for the last timeframe.

3. Findings

The *Gramasamstha* in every village not only donated the most fertile lands to the temple for its maintenance and that of its servants, but also made contributions for the performance of certain religious ceremonies and observances (Xavier 1950; Furtado 1954; De Souza 1979; De Souza 1994). Certain contributions were of a fixed nature, while others were variable (Pereira 1981). Examples of variable contributions were those made with respect to the feasts like *Jagar*[4] of Betoda, *Jagar samaradhana* (a community lunch hosted by the temple) at Nirankal, the festivals in the temples of Vetaleshwar at Veling, Shantadurga at Khandepar, Mandodari at Betki and Madananta at Vere. Most of the *Gramasamsthas* contributed for the expenses of the *nandadeep* and the general illumination of the temple. This too varied from year to year.

Some of the contributions of a fixed nature were: *Dharmadaya*, which was a contribution towards remuneration of the priest in Betoda and Nirankal; *Gramadalap*, a contribution made by the community of Bhoma; *Hakka*, a contribution made by a multitude of communities in favour of temples, *maths* (monastries), *jyotishis* (astrologers), *ghadis* (witch doctors) and others and also as a reward to the bearers of the *rayas patras*[5] of the Pontiffs of the Monasteries of Partagal and the Kavle. *Vatan* was another contribution made by the village communities in favour of the temples, their servants as well as the monasteries. *Vatan* was also known as *Inam* which was a fixed pension. In village Bori, while the priest, the washer-man and the barber got only *namashi* (a property given to a temple servant in lieu of salary), the blacksmith enjoyed a fixed *vatan* besides the *namashi*. The *gramasamstha* of Bandoda instituted an annual pension for the temple musicians and *Katkar*[6]. Almost all *gramasamsthas* of Ponda contributed towards the annual pension for the *Bhavins*[7]. Similarity between the *namshi* and the *vatan* was that, both could be enjoyed as long as the grantee rendered services to the temple. Interestingly, Pereira also points out, that these *Gramasamthas* not only bore the expenses of the temple, but also contributed for the upkeep of some of the mosques and the religious functionaries attached to them.

3.1 Management of the Temple of Shantadurga of Cuncoliém

This paper is about one of the most ancient temples of Ponda taluka. *Compromisso* of the Temple of Shantadurga of Cuncoliém containing 27 articles was approved by the Government Order No. 152 and it was published in the official Gazette No. 48 dated June 25, 1909 (Pereira 1978). Article 1 of the *Compromisso* says that the temple of Shantadurga is in the village of Cuncoliém, in the property called *Santerbhat*, since times immemorial. The founder of this temple was the *Communidade* of the village Cuncoliém and consequently all the *Brahmin Gãonkars* of the said *Communidade* of *Vatsa gotra* or clan became the *Mahajans* (community of hereditary temple managers) of the Shantadurga temple (*Compromisso* 1909).

Plate 1
Cult Object of Shantadurga in the Sanctuary

Plate 2
Temple of Shantadurga, Cuncoliém

Economics of this temple is traced in three time frames namely, when it was directly under the *Gramasamstha*, when it came under the purview of the *Regulamento* of 1886 and in the recent times. The *Communidade* records written in Marathi language (*Modi* script) in 8 volumes for the period 1767-1855 and maintained in the Historical Archives of Goa at Panaji are used for the first timeframe. Relevant section of the *Compromisso* of the temple is used for the second and the Annual Budgets of the said temple for the years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 are used for the last timeframe.

3.2 Economics of the Temple of Shantadurga as reflected in the *Livros da Communidade de Cuncoliém*

The Cuncoliém village was ranked fourteenth among the villages of the *Antruz mahal*. It was awarded to Hazrat Quazi as *Mokasa*[8]. The *Communidade de Cuncoliém* had granted 34 properties to the temple, which were called *Shirastechi Agare*; out of which 10 properties were exempted from tax. Eighteen *agars* were given as *kutumbans* or leases for a fixed period, four were the *bagayata* or coconut groves and twelve were the *jirayata*, the paddy fields. Six coco groves and three paddy fields were given tax exemption.

The *Inam thikane* or the coco and areca groves exempted from tax and dedicated to Shantadurga and her affiliate deities were leased to private parties. *Kujir Bhat Nim* (half), *Valche Wadepaiki Thikan, Ghodkire wadepaiki Jotichi Patoli and Durig Wadepaiki Durgeche Dandle* were dedicated to Shantadurga, while *Uchal Wadepaiki Kelbai Devteche Dande* was dedicated to her affiliate deity, Kelbai. Other affiliates like Narayandeo received *Marad* of *Thikan Ganesh Purushpaiki* (*Livros* Vol.IV), Ravalnath received *Ravalnathache Dande* and Ganesh Purush was granted the income of *Ghodkire Wada Gharbhat, Kelbai Devalakadil Tukda, Santer Bhat near* the temple of Shantadurga and *Narayan Devlakadil Bhatle* (*Livros* Vol.V). Income from the provision store in the village was also dedicated to the temple of Shantadurga (*Livros* Vol. IV).

Shri Shantadurgechi Jotichi Kungi Thikan Madval Adi paiki, *Govind Devache Gopa Veraka* and *Shri Mhalsechya Kungya* were the paddy fields of the temples exempted from tax and leased to the Kulkarni or the Clerk of the village (*Livros* Vol. 1).

Eleven tax free properties were granted as *ghar bhat namashi* to the temple functionaries namely, the occult priest, temple priests, dancing girls, carpenter, washer man, goldsmith, blacksmith, cobbler and the drummer (*Livros* Vol.IV).

Other temples from the taluka had taken certain properties of the temple of Shantadurga on lease. The temple of Venkatesh from Nanora paid a tribute of 78 *xerafins*[9] and the temple of Devaki-Krishna of Marcel, contributed 17 *xerafins* and 1.25 *tangas*[10] at the Kharif harvest in 1829 (*Livros* Vol.IV). The contribution from the temple of Nanora was 263 *xerafins* at the time of the Rabi harvest in 1855 (*Livros* Vol. VIII). The temple of Ganapati of Khandola contributed a little above 133 *xerafins* at the *vaingan* harvest in 1855. The income from the temple properties at the Kharif harvest was about 164 *xerafins* and 2.5 *tangas* in 1830 (*Livros* Vol.V).

3.3 Economics of the Temple of Shantadurga as reflected in the *Compromisso*

The Temple of Shantadurga was the recipient of traditional contributions from different *Communidades* of Goa. All the cash incomes were used not only for the maintenance of the temple but a larger part of the same was invested in *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* or in a Postal Saving Bank or in buying shares of the different *Communidades* as per the guidelines of the *Regulamento* of 1933.

Article 7 of the *Compromisso* declares that the Funds of the Temple consist of the immovable properties donated by the *Communidade* of Cuncoliém and those mentioned in the inventory of the Temple properties. The *Communidade* also made an annual grant of Rs. 62, *annas*[11] 12 and *paise*[11] 10 towards maintenance and expenditure of regular acts like *Nandadeep* or the perpetual lamp in the sanctuary. The annual income was boosted by subscriptions paid by some private landlords of Cuncoliém from times immemorial, at the rate of 1 *anna* per *Xerafin* on their leased properties. They also contributed towards the *Gramakharchapatti* or the traditional religious levy amounting to Rs. 103, *annas* 10 and *paise* 10. The temple coffers were fortified by income from other properties also. The ornaments of the image, metal ware, utensils, glassware and other items in the inventory were valuated at Rs. 1454 and *annas* 5.

3.4 Arrangement for funding the ceremonial processions in a Hindu calendar year:

The *Compromisso* speaks of the arrangement made to fund the festivals and ceremonies that are celebrated in the temple. Expenses on some of them are borne by the Temple Treasury, while others are funded by the *Mahajans* and the devotees. Though all the temples Goa which are under the control of the Saraswats reserve membership of the *mazania* only to the male descendants natural or adopted, when it comes to sponsoring ceremonies at the temple, no gender discrimination is resorted to. The list of Sponsors provided in the above mentioned budget includes names of many women.

The *Compromisso* provides the fee structure for the performance of different rituals that are performed in the temple. It also mentions that in case of the performance of the ceremony called *tulabhar,* the items offered in terms of coconuts, brass and copper articles or food items should be distributed among the priests and the servants

as per the tradition but if the offerings are made in terms of gold, silver, corals, pearls and precious stones they would belong to the temple.

A sum of a little above Rs. 45 was to be spent on 11 out of 12 monthly processions. The said 11 processions were distributed among the private parties, who had assigned for this purpose, their properties situated in the village which were as follows:

Properties called *Careconna* and *Cusquinem* for the procession of the Hindu month of *Chaitra*; *Ghodkirem Poiquim* belonging to the Khalap family of Mapusa, for the procession in the month of *Vaishakha*; *Ramchandra Sinai Babot* situated in the ward *Volla* for the procession of the month of *Jeshtha*; *Naralem* situated in the ward *Palwada* for that of *Ashadha*; *Savoikar Babot* situated in the *Narayanwada* for the possession of the month of *Shravana*; *Zarcane* located in *Magilwada* for the procession in the month of *Bhadrapad*; the property of Pandurang Vaidya in *Volla* for the celebration of the procession in the month of *Ashwin*; *Cauntaechembatta* for that of *Margashirsha*; *Duriga* situated in *Godkirem* for the procession in the month of *Pausha*; *Amaxem* of Shantabai Ghanashyam Sinai Kundaikar for that of the month of *Magha* and *Saunta Babot* situated in the ward *Amxem* for that of *Falgun*a. The respective *Mahajans* were supposed to pay Rs. 4, *annas* 2 and *paise* 8 on the 14th day of second fortnight of every month to the Managing Committee in order to solemnise the processions of palanquin of the temple (*Compromisso* 1909).

3.5 Economics of the Temple in the Recent Times as reflected in the Temple Budget for 2010-11

The details about the income and expenditure of the temple for the years 2009 - 2011 can be gauged from the following table:

Particulars	Budget 2009-10	Budget 2010-11
Receipts	1,14,799	1,33,479
Expenditure	1,02,886	1,31,506
Balance	11,913	1,973

Income as *foros* and rents of properties:

Foros and Rent	Amount in Rupees
Foro of property *Sanvoribag* which is the part of property *Santerbhat* from	6
Rents of Properties	**3,336**
Volvadyapaiki Dando	700
Talyekadil Tukda	37
Narayanwadyapaiki Malsa Cunga & Narayan Devlakadil Tukda	41
Savtalya Thikanapaiki-	300

Alikadil Sahavya Dandyache Nim	
Mhalebabat	1,000
Caliduval	5
Varzia Satermol	1
Arvanychi Khali & Murkundachi Khali	46
Kelbai Devlakadil Tukda	25
Saterbhat	41
Volvadya paiki--- Ponsaro -4 Parts	1,140
Total	**3,342**

The *Communidade* of Cuncoliém pays pension for the *Darbar Kharch,* the gross maintenance of the temple and for the ceremony of *Vasant Puja*. After deducting Rs. 17.37 as the *foro* the temple has to pay to the *Communidade*, it receives a paltry sum of Rs. 0.84.

The private property owners ought to pay a contribution called *Gramakharchapatti* at the rate of 1 *Taka* per *Ashrafi* paid as *foro* of their property to the *Communidade* of Cuncoliém which comes to Rs. 88.83. Some of these pension payers are the temple of Ganapati of Khandola (Rs. 0.53), the temple of Devaki-Krishna Ravalnath of Marcel (Rs. 52.13) and temple of Mangesh (Rs. 2.59). However, in recent times no dues are being paid to the temple by the private property owners nor the *bhagelis*, the tenants of the temple properties.

3.6 Budgetary Allocations of the Temple of Shantadurga for 2010-11

The Managing Committee of the Temple of Shantadurga has to submit the annual budget of the temple to the Administrator of the Temples at Ponda for his approval. Subsequently it has to be approved by the Collector of North Goa District. Only then it can be implemented. This process is made mandatory by the Articles 74-75 of the *Regulamento* of 1933. All financial transactions have to be strictly according to the approved budget. The Administrator of the Temples is entitled to the *Derram* fees from the temple for his supervision over the temple administration. The *Derram* fees paid by Temple of Shantadurga of Cuncoliém are meagre in comparison with those paid by the Temple of Shantadurga of Kavle, which are the highest in Ponda taluka (Kamat 2013). It can be taken as an allusion to the paucity of funds experienced by this temple. The Royal Order of June 16, 1896 had made it mandatory for all temples registered with the Mamlatdar of the Ponda Taluka to contribute 3% of their total income for the Fund of Beneficence and to subsidize primary education. However the budgets of the temple under study do not refer to such expenditure in the recent times.

It is obvious from the budgets that one of the major sources of income for the temple happens to be the donations made by the *Mahajans* and the devotees in cash and kind contributed during their casual visits to the temple or during the festivals. They also make donation towards the Development Fund which is meant for financing construction activities carried out in the temple precincts. Another important source of income is the interest drawn on investments made by the temple majorly in banks.

Most of the temple expenses are incurred on the maintenance of the temple, followed by those on celebration of various feasts of the temple. Salaries paid to the temple functionaries and audit fees are comparatively of smaller nature.

Annual income and expenditure of the temple for the financial year 2010-11 can be gauged from the following table:

INCOME	AMOUNT	TOTAL	%
Existing Funds		8,821	6.6
Donations made in Cash	20,000		
Donations made in Kind	20,000	40,000	30
Ritual Donations and Development Fund		15,000	11.2
Fund Box Collections		20,000	15.0
Interest Drawn		47,048	35.2
Miscellaneous Income		2,610	2.0
Grand Total		**1,33,479**	**100**
EXPENDITURE			
Feasts		22,277	17
Salaries			
a) Priest	18,000		
b) Musicians	78	18,078	14
Supervision and Fiscalization			
a) Audit Fees	2,000		
b) *Derram*	1,200	3,200	2
Maintenance		87,951	67
Grand Total		**1,31,506**	**100**
Balance		**1,973**	**1.5**

(All figures mentioned are in terms of Indian Rupees)

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

People of the erstwhile *Antruz Mahal* have acquired for themselves an impeccable reputation for accommodating and sustaining the different cults which had to be shifted to this region all of a sudden in order to escape the fury of Portuguese policy of temple destruction (Silva Rego 1953). It is a settled fact that people of Goa have shown great interest in richly endowing their temples both local and relocated (Sheldekar, V. 1938). In case of the Shantadurga temple under consideration, the *Communidade* had also set up a provision store, a large part of its income accrued to the temple. Presently no trace of that store can be found nor do the temple managers or local people have any remembrance of it. Once upon a time this temple was a proud owner of 34 properties. But in the present times its dues from immovable properties are totally lost. The greed of the local sharks has deprived the temple of its legitimate incomes. The costs of legal proceedings being exorbitant, the Managing

Committee cannot even think of initiating litigation into usurpation and misappropriation of the temple assets.

The cult of Sateri originally was worshipped by the aboriginal tribes in Goa. The Saraswat Brahmins accepted the cult in due course of time and subjected her to the process of cultural evolution transforming Sateri into Shantadurga. They created classical mythology around the cult (Kamat 2013). The cultic evolution upgraded and magnified the spiritual appeal of Shantadurga from local to universal plane. This in turn further enhanced the capacity of the temple in pooling the resources drawn from far off regions thereby creating a very expansive economic network that was kept under control by making cautious investments. A deeper probe into the list of sponsors of the feasts of this temple reveals names of rich individuals either registered as constituent members of the temple or as devotees, who are bound together as the temple donors with commensurate gains in terms of prestige. With respect to both its redistributive and integrative capacities Temple of Shantadurga was a formidable player in the local economy in the past. The case study of this temple makes it obvious that temple economics is a virgin topic which has a vast potential for investigation from different dimensions.

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Notes

1. *Agrahara* was a pool of villages set aside for the maintenance of Brahmin Scholars. The Kadamba Kings took pride in making endowments to these *agraharas*.

2. *Brahmapuris* were the colonies of learned *Brahmins* dedicated to spiritual pursuits. They were endowed with tax free land grants.

3. *Regulamento das Mazanias das Devalayas do Estado da India,* 1933 is a pre-liberation law, which is now internal law due to Goa, Daman and Diu Administration Act 1962. Section 5 of the same reads as "All laws in force immediately before the appointed day in Goa, Daman and Diu or any part thereof shall continue to be in force therein until amended or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent authority."

4. *Jagar* is a musical performance narrating the heroic exploits of the deity. The devotees keep night vigil in the temple of a female deity during this festivity.

5. *Rayas Patra* is an official communiqué issued by the Pontiff of a Monastery

6. *Katkar* aka *Shipai* in some temples, is the temple servant decorated with a badge and a silver staff. His responsibility is to maintain order in the temple and to supervise the work of the other temple servants. He is an important intermediary between the Management and the temple servants.

7. *Bhavin* is the female servant belonging to the *Devadasi* caste whose job is to clean the equipment used in worship, maintain the precincts tidy and offer service to the deity while in procession with the fly-whisks or a lamp called *malem*.

8. *Saraswats* are the descendants of an Aryan tribe from Punajb who according to Mitragotri, are believed to have come to Goa around A. D. 400.

9. *Xerafin* was a unit of money used under the Portuguese rule in Goa.

10. *Tangas* was a unit of money used up to mid-20th century in Goa.

11. *Anna* was a unit of money used up to mid-20th century in Goa. Six *paise* made 1 *Anna*.

12 *Paisa* is the lowest unit of money and 100 *paise* make 1 Indian Rupee.

Socio-economic History of Gunung Besout and Trolak FELDA Clusters

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0149

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Abstract

This work paper related the socio-economic history of Gunung Besout and Trolak Felda Clusters. The research by method of qualitative, by analyzing the resources of documents from Felda gallery, archive institutions in Malaysia, and conducting observations and interviews of randomly selected respondents. The findings show that socio-economic development is running concurrently with the social development needs of and education facilities for the settlers' children for the betterment of their lives. The study also shows that Felda is very instrumental in helping the Malays who came from different backgrounds and locations across Malaysia to start a new life which ultimately leads to positive implications on the society in the Gunung Besout and Trolak Felda clusters. This study is to trace the success of government agencies like Felda and its communities, and how it has contributed to the peace and prosperity of the Malay majority community in Felda.

Keywords: socio-economy, social development and education, new villages, government agencies, prosperity

Introduction

Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA) was established with the aim to: a) develop ideal and productive agricultural areas through effective agricultural management practices in terms of farm hygiene, maximum yield and quality, as well as controlled production costs to a minimum level, b) promote the growth of a community of settlers who are advanced, productive and disciplined, with a better standard of living, and c) establish a machinery of dedicated management who are professional and committed to Social Development (Laporan Tahunan Felda, 2002)

The urgent necessity for a development of land programme in the various states of Malaysia was evident over a long period. However, since 1955, the government committed itself to land development as a basic strategy for the upliftment of the economic status of the rural sector. The basis of any land development planning is to create a new measure in order to promote and facilitate changes in the existing conditions towards goals laid down in the development programme. The goals are economic, social and political and are established to enhance productivity, create employment opportunities, develop human resources and eradicate any imbalance within the various sectors of the country.(Tunku Shamsul et.al 1979)

In the mid-1955, Tun Dr. Ismail bin Abdul Rahman suggested and inspired that an independent authority under the auspices of the federal government oversee and fund the development of land for Malaysia. As a result, in August 1955, the Government or the Government Committee (Working Party) under British colonial made some suggestions.

> "The Working Party made the following recommendations:
>
> 1. That a Federal legislation be introduced to (a) establish a Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA); and (b) provide a machinery for the establishment by Ruler-in-Council or High Commissioner in Nominated Council of individual Development Authorities in the States or Settlements in respect of such land Development might approve, and make proposal for, and to coordinate schemes involving more than one state or settlement governments including inter-State migration,
>
> 2. That FELDA should be charged with the provision of funds and Federal resources to such Settlements or individual Development Authorities in the States or Settlements in respect of such land development schemes,
>
> 3. The States and Settlement Administration should ordinarily be charged with the initial planning of land development schemes in consultation with FELDA if Federal resources were required,
>
> 4. That a land development scheme as planned and jointly agreed by the state and Settlement Administration and FELDA should be submitted to the Ruled-in-Council or High Commissioner in National Council who might

establish a local Development Authority to complete the planning and the implementation of the scheme."(Lim Boon Thong & Tunku Shamsul, 2006)

Felda was first introduced by the Government to develop the potential of the Malays so that they achieve a better quality of life compared with their previous condition. Felda was founded on July 1, 1956 when the Land Development Act (1956) was established. With the initial capital of RM10 million and settlements covering an area of 16.2 square kilometers, the first Felda settlement was in Ayer Lanas, focusing on rubber. However, Felda Ayer Lanas failed. In 1958, five similar schemes opened in other places in the peninsula. Felda is administered by an agency that reports to the Deputy Prime Minister under the Prime Minister's Department. Felda is also placed under the Ministry of Land and Regional Development. Felda's role is to develop new lands to be turned into productive plantations through effective management of agriculture among the settlers, as well as promote the growth of a disciplined and thriving community.

Research Methodology

The research methods used in this study are library literature searches, field studies and research interviews. The literature searches were carried out at the National Archives and Felda Museum to obtain information in the form of written documents and photographs to be used to guide the research. The field study was conducted by researchers by making observations and inspection of the areas selected for the study. The data and information were collected and analysed by means of qualitative analysis. In addition, interviews were carried out with Felda settlers and their children who either have succeeded academically or otherwise.

Findings and Discussion

According to the Felda Settlers Census Report of 1987, it is estimated that there were about 600,000 settlers' children in Felda schemes, based on estimated 6 people per family. Employment opportunities for young settlers in the programme are limited. A large number are unemployed and some settlers' children manage to get a job in and outside the schemes.(Banci Peneroka Felda, 1987 :1). The 1987 census report showed that an estimated 48,632 (8%) settlers' children had worked in various sectors of employment, and the remaining 92% were still at school level.(Banci Peneroka Felda, 1987)

For Felda in the state of Perak, the 1987 census report showed that only 3719 settlers' children are working. Of the 3719, most of them are from Gunung Besout and Trolak clusters, the two schemes with the highest number of Felda settlers. At the same time, Felda settlers' income throughout Malaysia is at a satisfactory level. The average monthly net income of settlers in the palm oil and rubber schemes in the year 1984 was well above the poverty line.(Alladin Hashim, 1985)

The community of Besout Felda cluster: Gunung Besout *Federal Land Development Authority* (FELDA) cluster is one of the schemes of Federal Land Board. It was established in 1973 to begin the work of felling and forest clearance by the first generation who had entered the land plan. Gunung Besout Felda cluster is located in Batang Padang District (Jackson, 1965). Prior to the clearing and cleaning, the area was actually a sizeable jungle. This area was later transformed into a work area with small settlements, and grew year after year with the provision of infrastructure and facilities provided by the government or Felda itself, such as public transport, schools, shopping complexes and places of worship.(Maklumat Asas Fail Rancangan Felda Kelompok Felda Gugusan Gunung Besout, 2010)

Currently, there are seven Felda villages under the Gunung Besout Felda cluster (Felda Gunung Besout 1 to 7). However, only Felda Gunung Besout 1 to Felda Gunung Besout 5 consist of residential areas, while Felda Gunung Besout 6 and 7 consist of only plantations. Felda settlements in Gunung Besout cluster were well-built and organized according to the specified phases. Once you enter the Gunung Besout schemes, you are greeted with a nice view because every settler's home compound is covered with landscape plants and every home has its own unique signs.(Ismail bin Mohd Amin, 2011)

According to Puan Nane Hajah who serves as the Women's Social Development Assistant or Attendant (SDA) of Felda Gunung Besout 1, the estimated population of Gunung Besout Felda cluster is 5000. The majority of the Gunung Besout Felda settlers are Malay Muslims. Various amenities and infrastructure have been provided for the settlers of Gunung Besout Felda cluster, corresponding with their growing economic status every year. Compared with the early years of the settlement, many settlers now have their own mode of transport, such as motorcycles and cars. In addition, to make sure life is easier and more comfortable for the settlers, a public bus service has also been provided. (Ismail bin Mohd Amin, 2011)

The changes experienced by the community of Felda settlers, as well as diligence and resourcefulness in revenue diversification have transformed their socio-economic status. The settlers of Gunung Besout Felda cluster do not depend entirely on palm oil revenue which is the main crop of the community. They have to find other initiatives to increase their income, such as setting up a small business on the side. An interesting observation is that the settlers of Gunung Besout Felda cluster work together in resolving issues. This collaborative attitude has led to harmony and unity amongst the population of the cluster.(Ismail bin Mohd Amin 2011)

Felda began a large scale intake of settlers in 1960 until the end of 1989. Similarly, the intake of Gunung Besout Felda settlers began around 1974, and the intake stopped at the end of 1989 when directed by the government. However, in 2006, the government announced that Felda would reopen intake annually if the state government would provide the necessary land.

Those who wish to enter Felda land schemes, including Gunung Besout Felda cluster must meet certain criteria and conditions under Provision 19, The Land (Group Settlement Areas) Act 1960. They must show interest to jointly develop the land. More importantly, settlers must be Malaysian citizens, aged 18 years and above, have been married, have no more than two acres of land and have a background in agriculture. According to Puan Nane Hajah, settler candidates for the Modern Felda schemes must undergo a process of interviews, carried out by Felda and the state governments. Only qualified candidates are allowed to enter the plan.(Hajah Nane Mohammed, 2011) However, some relaxation of the requirements is given to veterans of the armed forces who are less than 50 years old to join the land scheme.

Felda Gunung Besout 1 is located in the district of Batang Padang. The area was developed in 1973, focusing on rubber. It covers an area of 2,164.51 hectares with a total of 520 settler families. The average income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM1000 and RM1450 per month. Basic amenities in the village include a total of 26 kilometers of paved village roads and a public bus transportation which makes a round trip between Sungkai and Slim River.(Usaha-usaha Pembangunan Tanah dan Pencapaian Felda, 1995 : 341)

Felda Gunung Besout 2 is located in the district of Batang Padang. The area was developed in 1974, focusing on rubber. It covers an area of 2,029.40 hectares with a total of 495 settler families who only relocated to the area in 1981. An additional 412.63 hectares of land was developed as a village in the Besout Complex. The average income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM1000 and RM1450 per month. Basic amenities in the village include a total of 15 kilometers of paved village roads and a public bus transportation which makes a round trip between Sungkai and Slim River. The settlers are also engaged in economic activities, such as farming, running small businesses and industries, and handicraft works. .(Usaha-usaha Pembangunan Tanah dan Pencapaian Felda, 1995: 342)

Felda Gunung Besout 3 is located in the district of Batang Padang. The area was developed around 1976. Rubber was the main crop, covering an area of 1,116.9 hectares with a total of 495 settler families who were placed there only at the end of 1981. An additional 71.82 hectares of land was developed as a village in the Besout Complex. The average income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM1000 and RM1200 per month. Basic amenities in the village include a total of 9 kilometers of paved village roads and a public bus transportation which makes a round trip between Sungkai and Slim River. The settlers also own livestock, small businesses and industries, and handicraft works. .(Usaha-usaha Pembangunan Tanah dan Pencapaian Felda, 1995: 343)

Felda Gunung Besout 4 is located in the district of Batang Padang. The area was developed around 1977, focusing on rubber. It covers an area of 885.74 hectares with a total of 216 settler families who began to relocate to the area at the end of 1987. Another 71.82 hectares of land was developed as a village in the Besout Complex.

The average income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM1000 and RM1560 per month. Basic amenities in the village include a total of 5.6 kilometers of paved village roads and a public bus transportation which makes a round trip between Sungkai and Slim River. The settlers of the scheme also own livestock and businesses. .(Usaha-usaha Pembangunan Tanah dan Pencapaian Felda, 1995: 344)

Felda Gunung Besout 5 is located in the district of Batang Padang. The area was developed around 1978, with 413.93 hectares of crops and a total of 101 settler families who were placed there only at the end of June 1987. The settlers set up residence in the Besout Complex. The average income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM1300 and RM1700 per month. Basic amenities in the village include a total of 5 kilometers of paved village roads and a public bus transportation which makes a round trip between Sungkai and Slim River. The settlers are also engaged in economic activities, such as livestock farming, running small businesses and industries, and handicraft works. School children in Felda Besout 1 travel as far as 19 kilometers from their residence to attend school. .(Usaha-usaha Pembangunan Tanah dan Pencapaian Felda, 1995: 345)

Plans have been made by the government and Felda to provide basic amenities and infrastructure facilities in the Gunung Besout Felda cluster for the welfare and well-being of the settlers and their families. To ensure the development of the children's education, the settlement was equipped with (Hamidah Yusof, 1989) a secondary school, a primary school, early childhood care and education centre (PERMATA), community broadband center and literary center. Sports and recreational amenities are also provided, such as futsal courts, MBFM public sport field and sport halls. Other facilities and infrastructure include community halls, paved roads, rural health clinics, the GPW house, Felda office, a police station, mosques, Maybank ATMs and a mini post office.(Fail Felda Besout 1, 2011)

Children's Education in Gunung Besout Felda: Year 1973 saw the opening of lands by pioneers in Gunung Besout. In the beginning, emphasis was on the development of land and improving the socio-economic status of the settlers. Various incentives and initiatives offered by the government were oriented to realise these goals. At the time, education was not considered a priority in achieving the economic agenda or improving the socio-economic status of the settlers. However, today, in the era of the second generation, Felda not only focuses on the development of land, but also on the well-being and welfare of the children of Gunung Besout Felda settlers. While the first generation who opened the land worked very hard developing it, for the second generation, emphasis is put on the development of the mind and attitude towards the development of quality human capital. This is achieved through continued education for the children of Gunung Besout Felda settlers.

The community of Trolak Felda Cluster: Trolak Felda cluster is divided into three regions, namely North Trolak, South Trolak and East Trolak. According to Mr. Mohd. Habib bin Sairi (Mohd Habib Sairi, 2011), the settlers in this community originated

from different states and locations. For example, settlers in South and East Trolak are mainly from Bagan Serai, Taiping, Tapah, Kuala Lumpur, Kampung Ulu Slim and Bagan Datoh. The majority of the settlers are Malay Muslims. In addition, according to Mr. Mohd. Arsan bin Abdullah, 75% of the population of South Trolak Felda cluster are from Kerian. A total of 205 of the first generation here had passed away.(Mohd Arsan Bin Abdullah, 2011)

South Trolak Felda is located in the Batang Padang district, 98 kilometers away from Ipoh. It was developed in 1969 and settlers began to relocate here only in 1973. It covers an area of 2,424.48 hectares, and 192.65 hectares is used as the settlers' village. The population of the settlement is 4523, with a total of 602 settler families, who are all Malays. The average monthly income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM950 and RM1100.(Pembangunan Tanah-Usaha Dan Pencapaiannya, 1995 : 361)

East Trolak Felda is located in the Batang Padang district, 105 kilometers away from Ipoh. It was developed in 1975, and settlers began to move into the settlement only in 1981. It covers an area of 2,008.63 hectares, and 138.31 hectares is used as the settlers' village. The total population of the settlement is 3526, with a total of 488 settler families, who are all Malays. The average monthly income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM650 and RM1000. .(Pembangunan Tanah-Usaha Dan Pencapaiannya, 1995: 362)

North Trolak Felda is located in the Batang Padang district, 92 kilometers away from Ipoh. It was opened in 1967, and settlers began to relocate to the settlement only in November 1972. The scheme covers an area of 1,925.67 hectares, and 164.89 hectares is used as the settlers' village. The total population of the settlement is 3,975, with a total of 475 settler families, who are all Malays. The average monthly income in 1993 and 1994 was between RM800 and RM1000. .(Pembangunan Tanah-Usaha Dan Pencapaiannya, 1995:363)

The government has provided a wide range of facilities for the residents and the community of the Trolak Region Felda. The basic infrastructures and amenities here are public sport fields, paved village roads, public telephones, community halls, health centers, post office representative, mosques, piped water and electricity. Educational facilities include secondary schools, primary schools, religious schools, literary centers and community broadband centers. The KEMAS child care center and GPW building have also been established.(Laporan Felda Wilayah Trolak, 2011)

Table 1: Planning and Construction of Basic Amenities in Trolak Region

Project Name	Year Of Construction
Mosque	1973
Community Hall	1974
Health Clinic	1975
Primary School	1973

Secondary School	1982
Electricity	1981
Water Supply	1972
Public Phone	1986
Police Station	1998
FELDA Stall / MARA	1971
Pnf (Felda Business Corporation)	1973
Felda Office	1970
Youth Building	1987
Indian Fund / Temple	1975
Public Religious School	1977
Kindergarten	1978

Source: Trolak Region FELDA, 2010

Table 1 shows that the planning and construction of basic facilities in Trolak Region Felda were not carried out simultaneously. Instead, they were built in stages, and the earliest building constructed here was the Felda office. Amenities such as schools for the settlers' children were constructed relatively late in 1973. Most buildings and facilities were not ready until later, such as the police station which was only built in 1998.

In addition, South Trolak Felda cooperative was established to help improve the income and living standards of the settlers. It also provides information and guidance to the settlers in terms of managing their finances and investments. The Youth Association was also established to get the younger generation in Felda settlements involved in beneficial activities. Those youth activities include sports and cultural activities, educational activities and community services related to social affairs of the residents. The youth are also responsible for monitoring their peers to ensure that they stay away from drug abuse. (Laporan Felda Wilayah Trolak, 2011)

Trolak Region Felda has become well-known in Malaysia as it had been visited and toured by leaders from other countries. Among them were the President of Pakistan General Mohd Zia Ul Haq (1982), Prime Minister of Turkey, HE Bulend Uluau (1983), His Majesty the King of Jordan Hussein Ibn Talal Al Malik (1998), Minister of Agriculture Brazil (1988), and senior government officials from Mongolia (1993), New Zealand (1993), Thailand (1993), and Ghana (1994). .(Laporan Felda Wilayah Trolak, 2011)

Children's Education in Trolak Region Felda: There are many factors in determining students' achievement and success in education in the Trolak Felda cluster. Some of the factors which affect and drive their development and performance are students' ability and interest.(Fazilah Idris &Nur Atiqah Tang Abdullah, 2004) In addition, factors such as parents' awareness and involvement, school facilities, lack of trained teachers, and support from the Bureau of Education are equally important. Based on students' abilities and interests, the children in Felda

Trolak have the same potential as other children in other areas. However, there is a difference in terms of enthusiasm.

Students' enthusiasm is influenced by family background, the environment and worldly exposure. The research found that students' attitudes towards education vary. For example, 30% are very concerned, 40% are moderately concerned and 30% could not care less about learning.(Peneroka, 1993:5) They are indifferent and usually do not care about the success of other communities. Their parents and home environment do not stimulate them to learn. Some of them come from dysfunctional families. Therefore, parents' involvement is one of the most important elements in determining the level of achievement of their children.

It is undeniable that parents' awareness and involvement in their children's education is very important. Many parents in the Trolak Felda cluster expect their children to be good and successful in education, but their involvement is still lacking. Some parents find it difficult to pay out of pocket to buy reading materials and pay for school-related matters. They also have no free time to go through their children's books. Schools affairs are handed over to the school teachers completely. Unfortunately, this factor affects the performance of the students at school, and could determine whether they would succeed or otherwise. In this case, the Bureau of Education needs to play a role in delivering educational programmes, encouragement and support. Without the request and calls by the community, the role of the Bureau of Education in support activities would decrease. .(Peneroka, 1993:5)

Moreover, basic amenities and infrastructure at schools in the Trolak Felda cluster can also affect the level of students' achievement. Students are more comfortable in schools which have adequate basic facilities. For example, having too many students in one classroom would make the classroom uncomfortable to the students. Most students would find it difficult to focus in class and the learning process would be hampered. Naughty students would take the opportunity to play if the teachers are unable to control the class. Uncomfortable and unpleasant school environment would cause students' interest in learning to deteriorate. In addition, lack of trained teachers can also have a major impact on students' achievement, especially for newly opened schools and far from urban areas (Peneroka, 1993:5). Evidently, the role of the schools in the Trolak Felda cluster is very important in shaping the development of students' thinking towards academic excellence.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the development of education among settlers' children is given its due attention. Extensive knowledge would enable the children to become a new generation of settlers who can achieve a more comfortable life in the future. Felda has established various scholarships and education centers for educational development of settler's children in the Trolak Felda cluster. In the past, education was not emphasized enough, especially in the Malay community. However, awareness and

experience of hardship have enlightened the community about the importance of education for future generations.

The education process is a process of transformation in attitude and behavior of a person or society through teaching and training capabilities.[1] Effort is designed to produce Malaysian citizens who are knowledgeable, honorable, responsible and capable of achieving well-being and contribute to the harmony and prosperity of society and the nation.

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Jesus, the Good Wāsṭa? The Sociology of Middle-Eastern Mediation as a Key to Christian-Muslim Dialogue

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Wāsṭa – Middle Eastern Mediation

The Middle Eastern phenomenon of wāsṭa literally translates as "mediation" and is a practice which can be found almost everywhere in Middle Eastern society. It is the hypothesis of this paper that it can be fruitfully used as a reading environment for biblical passages which describe Jesus as mediator between man and God and that such a reading will enrich the understanding of those texts. In particular, it might help addressing one contentious question in Muslim-Christian dialogue: the person of Jesus as Son of God.

The term "wāsṭa" derives from the root w-s-ṭ, meaning "middle". Wāsṭa denotes a middleman as well as the process of mediating any practical favour or brokering peace in a conflict.

Wāsṭa has been called 'the hidden force in Middle Eastern Society' (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993). When moving to the Arab Middle East as a foreigner, one is likely to encounter the word and concept within a few weeks of arriving. When talking about any process like applying for a job, school, university, doing any sort of business or bureaucracy, Arabs will frequently explain that "you need a little wāsṭa for this", or that they dispose of some "wāsṭa" and offer it to the one in need. In all these instances it denotes a person one knows who is in a position to mediate an advantage or favour. The word can be used for the mediator-person as well as for the process or concept in general.

Cunningham and Sarayrah have suggested to subdivide wāsṭa into two categories. *Intercessory* wāsṭa denotes wāsṭa in the sense just mentioned: by the intercession of a middle man, e.g. an uncle who works at a university or a cousin who works in a government office, a client receives an advantage or favour, e.g. a place at the university or swift treatment for some bureaucratic process (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 8).

A second aspect of wāsṭa is the mediation in a conflict situation. This is the second of the two subcategories, wāsṭa as *mediation* (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 9). Arab Middle Eastern societies have been and in many places still are characterised by their tribal structures. They are also marked by their high sense of collectivism (as opposed to individualism (Hofstede, 2010)). In such societies, any conflict between individuals is potentially also perceived as a conflict between their two in-groups, their tribes, their families or their friendship circles.

When a conflict arises, the traditional standard mode of reconciliation is an intricate process of mediation. This process involves elders from the families of both conflicting parties who serve as mediational wāsṭa-envoys. They get together and negotiate first a truce, then reparations, and eventually facilitate a formal expression of peacemaking, e.g. a feast or meal (for a description of the process in detail, see Antoun, 1997).

Having introduced the two categories of wāsṭa, a remark needs to be made about the terminology in contemporary spoken Arabic. Arabic native speakers regularly object that the second category, mediational wāsṭa (brokering peace in a conflict), should not be called wāsṭa at all. They refer to the mediator-personalities involved in tribal conflict-mediation as "waseeṭ", a different nominalisation of the same root. They vigorously object to associating tribal elders in the business of brokering peace with the word 'wāsṭa', which they say is exclusively used to describe intercessory

mediation, the mediation of favours and advantages.

Cunningham and Sarayrah, an English native speaker and an Arabic native speaker, first introduced the terminology of mediational and intercessory wāsṭa (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, pp. 8–9) and Arab as well as non-Arab authors have followed them (e.g. Mohamed and Hamdy, 2008; Schlumberger, 2004). However, in oral discussions on the topic the objections persist.

The underlying difference appears to be that intercessory wāsṭa is increasingly seen as a practice that is morally wrong, corrupt, unfair and harmful in a world of limited resources and fierce competition. The term wāsṭa today has a strong taste of corruption in the minds of many Arabs. Mediational wāsṭa, in turn, is seen as noble, honourable and always beneficial. So the desire to reflect the difference in the terminology is understandable.

The issue is not easily settled on a purely linguistic level, partly because there is a lack of dictionaries which capture the evolution of meanings of words in contemporary spoken Arabic dialects. Semantical considerations are inseparably intertwined with sociological ones. The precise meaning which the speaker invests into the word might depend on his or her personal background (e.g. whether it is more or less tribal, rural or urban), the precise region within the Middle East, the speakers' education and exposure to western thinking, and many other factors.

In this research there is no need to judge wāsṭa morally, ethically or economically. For the sake of clarity it is therefore appropriate to stick to the categorisation of intercessory and mediational wāsṭa, even though some Arab speakers might prefer a different usage.

Wāsṭa is engrained into the tribal and family structures in many areas of the Middle East. The flow of wāsṭa requests and granted favours is first and foremost along the lines of kinship relations. In rural settings usually the oldest male member of a family or one of similar rank is in the position of being the wāsṭa of the family. This means he is the spokesperson when problems with other families or tribes occur (mediational wāsṭa). But it also often means that he is the main connection to the bureaucracy- and business-world of the capital. He might have a house there and host family members coming to the capital to do business or having to go through some bureaucratic procedure, like renewing their passport, get a driving license, etc. Ideally, this wāsṭa will facilitate and speed up the desired processes and services through the contacts he has (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 35ff.).

In modern urban settings the mechanics of wāsṭa have partly changed. Wāsṭa is more diversified and specialised. People will usually aim at having a wide wāsṭa network for all things they need. A major area for wāsṭa remains the work-life: All working members of a family might often work in the same sector so they can serve as wāsṭa for one another. Another major area is higher education. But also apart from these major areas of life, wāsṭa is practiced in the little things. If one man tells another that he wants to buy this or that, it is likely that the other recommends a shop where he knows someone.

As the Arab societies are exposed to globalisation, diversification and a certain degree of individualisation, the wāsṭa phenomenon also broadens. Wāsṭa is still practiced first and foremost among family, but also among friends, colleagues and even strangers.

One important aspect of wāsṭa is the rule of reciprocation. Depending on how the wāsṭa partners are related, reciprocation of the wāsṭa favour plays out differently. Concerning wāsṭa between strangers, there are now individuals who even sell wāsṭa services in the field in which they work or have been working for good money. A retired customs officer, for example, might open a clearance company and charge for the swift processing of customs transactions, which he is able to offer due to his contacts (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, pp. 11, 13ff.).

Wāsṭa between friends, in turn, is usually perceived as a matter of give and take. Subconsciously, long lists might be kept (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 14). Cunningham and Sarayrah assert with Huxley (1978) the accounting aspect of wāsṭa services exchanged between friends. But another mechanism known from the sociology of patronage in antiquity is also true for wāsṭa: When favours are mediated back and forth between friends, it is not the aim to pay back favour for favour in a measured way so as to get even. Instead, the constant giving and receiving of wāsṭa is a force which holds together the network of relations precisely because there are always some unspoken obligations somewhere with someone within the network.[1]

When wāsṭa is practiced among family, reciprocation becomes different: paying back favour for favour, or even money for favour is not required and would even be viewed as shameful. Instead, it is the wāsṭa's obligation to help family members who are in need of an advantage or favour he disposes of (for an illustration see Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 53ff.). Serving them is a social requirement and adds to his honour and fame within the community. Failure to help would be shameful. Reciprocation of wāsṭa favours within the family takes the shape of loyalty to the wāsṭa and a grateful posture towards him, honouring and praising his help in front of the wider community (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 14).

The God-sonship of Christ: A Contentious Notion in Muslim-Christian Dialogue

The phenomenon of wāsṭa – a shaping 'force' in Middle Eastern society – will now be utilised as an environment for looking at the person of Jesus as mediator between man and God. In the Christian tradition, Jesus is thought to be in the position of mediator between man and God because of his being God's "Son", and therefore being divine *and* human.

The notion of Jesus as Son of God has been offensive to Muslims. The Son, together with the Holy Spirit, makes up the Trinity of God in Christian theology, which seemingly stands against the monotheistic confession of God being one. The idea of 'begetting a son' and 'being begotten' is explicitly ruled out as a characteristic of God

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1   Crossan summarises the situation for the first century context: "In the Roman Mediterranean, therefore, the web of patronage and clientage, with accounts that could never be exactly balanced because they could never be precisely computed, was the dynamic morality that held society together." (Crossan, 2010, p. 64f.) Cunningham and Sarayrah seem to suggest that this is different in wasta and favours are indeed set off in a precise accounting manner ("...there is strict accounting regarding services rendered and received") but this is not done out of a desire for accuracy or in order to become free of obligations by paying them off but because, as they assert in the same location, "[r]eputation and status within the peer group are earned by exchanging services with friends" (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 14). So however accurate or not the measuring of favours granted and received might be: both wāsṭa and patronage further social cohesion because they demand continuous giving and reciprocation. See also Barnett (2013, p. 6) who suggest reviewing the reciprocity aspect of wāsṭa as a multi-stage game.

in the Qur'an: "Say: 'He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one.'" (Sura 112)

This is deeply engrained in Muslim piety and is brought up regularly in Muslim-Christian dialogue, formal or informal. The sociology of wāsṭa, used as a reading environment for texts on the God-sonship of Jesus, might help to foster mutual understanding.

Jesus, the Good Wāsṭa? A Fresh Look on the God-Sonship of Jesus

There are different aspects to a "sonship christology" and accordingly different problems emerge when it is discussed between Muslims and Christians. It is not the hypothesis of this research that the wāsṭa-reading-environment solves all problems that could arise in the debate. Rather, it will add a new angle of looking at the person of Jesus as God's Son that will foster understanding.

In the first century greco-roman world, and thus the social world of the New Testament, the practice of patronage and brokerage was widely practiced. This practice is not dissimilar from present day wāsṭa in some respects. Things said and written in a society influenced by patronage resonate with our wāsṭa-context. Anthropologist Richard Antoun summarises the essence of wāsṭa society: "A man's/woman's case is best presented by others."(Antoun, 1997, p. 162) The same can be claimed as a basic principle of first century Graeco-Roman patronage-societies.

The letter to the Hebrews is chosen as a biblical text to test the hypothesis because it is characterised by a christology emphasising both the humanity and divinity of Jesus. In doing so, it portrays Jesus as Son of God and contains statements which sound particularly contentious and explosive in a Christian-Muslim dialogue context.

As an example, the exordium of the document (Hebrews 1.1-4) will be looked at, as well as verses 5 and 8 of the second paragraph of the first chapter.[2]

"1 Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets, 2 but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom he also created the worlds. 3 He is the reflection of God's glory and the exact imprint of God's very being, and he sustains all things by his powerful word. When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, 4 having become as much superior to angels as the name he has inherited is more excellent than theirs. 5 For to which of the angels did God ever say, 'You are my Son; today I have begotten you'? Or again, 'I will be his Father, and he will be my Son'? […] 8 But of the Son he says, 'Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever, and the righteous sceptre is the sceptre of your kingdom.'"

At first sight, the text appears very problematic for reading in a Muslim-Christian dialogue setting. There are five main reasons for this:

1. While muslims affirm Jesus as a prophet (nothing more, nothing less), the writer to the Hebrews starts his document by insisting that Jesus is indeed *more*. He is "Son*" (v2)*, and as such he *supersedes* the prophets of the past. He has come "in these last days", so his superiority as mediator of God's

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2   It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the main topic of Hebrews 1.5-14, the comparison of Jesus with the angels. Verses 5 and 8 are singled out from the passage as examples for the God-sonship christology of Hebrews.

revelation is said to be in fact an eschatological *final supremacy*, making him categorically different from the prophets of old.

2. Verse 3 emphasises the identification of Jesus with God by calling Jesus the "reflection of God's glory" and "exact imprint of God's very being". These expressions are reminiscent of Alexandrian wisdom theology. The closeness they express between God and Jesus in almost mythical terms seems to blur the boundaries and violate the borders between the divine and the human realm.

3. Verse 3 also states that Jesus has made purification of sins and now sits at the place of honour at God's right hand. Both of these assertions seem to undercut the minimum space theologically required between the side of God who gives forgiveness of sin and is seated in a position of unparalleled highness and worthiness, and the side of sinful humanity, situated in the created realm below, in need of God's grace and forgiveness.

4. The excellency and highness ascribed to Jesus is then, in verses 4 and 5, anchored in the name or designation "Son". The author choses Psalm 2.7 as the first of two proof-texts. This Psalm, originally a coronation Psalm, has God saying to the new King "You are my son". He then goes on with one of the most contentious notions of all in Muslim-Christian discourse: 'today I have begotten you.' The greek verb for 'beget' (γεννάω) renders the Hebrew ילד, which is the same root as the Arabic يلد in the above cited Sura 112.3, the fierce objection to the thought that God begets or is begotten. Even if one were to argue that in the original context of the Psalm this was only meant metaphorically, it has to be noted that in other Middle Eastern cultures of the time it was held that the king, as a son of god, was a *divine* being and not human (Craigie, 1998, p. 67), and the thus very contentious notion of being *begotten* is boldly applied to Jesus by the writer here.

5. Lastly, even worse: Jesus the Son's highness and identity with God is such that the author even applies Psalm 45.6,7 to him, calling Jesus "God": "But of the Son he says, 'Your throne, *O God*, is for ever and ever, and the righteous sceptre is the sceptre of your kingdom.'" (Hebrews 1.8, my emphasis)

Thus the letter to the Hebrews begins on seemingly unhelpful notions which will stir the opposition of muslim theological thinking. As mentioned above, it is not the hypothesis of this paper that the difficulties will simply go away when the concept of wāsṭa is applied as a reading and dialogue-environment. But even these seemingly very contentious statements in the opening chapter of Hebrews might appear in a different light in this environment.

When reading Hebrews as a whole in the context of wāsṭa, it stands out how the author of the document tries to encourage his readers by portraying Jesus as their supreme "mediator of a new covenant" (see Hebrews 9.15 and 12.24). The idea of a "new covenant" implies reconciliation and thus, as with mediational wāsṭa, overcoming conflict and re-establishing peaceful relations. Secondly, it implies access to God as the giver of great favours and gifts, analogous to intercessory wāsṭa.

Over the course of the 13 chapters of the document, the author of Hebrews develops his argument that Jesus is the ultimate mediator between man and God. He does this by drawing on the son motif as mentioned but he also brings in other imagery and metaphors, the prime one being that of a mediating high priest. The second chapter of

the document is instructive in that regard, particularly 2.11, 14, 16 and 17:

"11 For the one who sanctifies and those who are sanctified all have one Father. For this reason Jesus is not ashamed to call them brothers and sisters […] 14 Since, therefore, the children share flesh and blood, he himself likewise shared the same things, so that through death he might destroy the one who has the power of death, that is, the devil […] 16 For it is clear that he did not come to help angels, but the descendants of Abraham. 17 Therefore he had to become like his brothers and sisters in every respect, so that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make a sacrifice of atonement for the sins of the people."

Here the author is working towards for the first introducing his main metaphor, Jesus as mediating high priest (v17). Within our chosen reading environment, it stands out how the familial imagery is used to express the identification of the mediator with both parties in the mediation process, the human and the divine.

So the mediator and the clients of the mediation have to be "of the same family", as the New International Version renders the "have one father" of verse 11.[3] And Jesus, the mediator, "had to become like his brothers and sisters in every respect, so that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest", or, in other words, in order that he might become a successful mediator.

The familial imagery is taken a step further in the Hebrews 3.2,3 and 6, saying that Jesus "2 was faithful to the one who appointed him, just as Moses also 'was faithful in all God's house.' 3 Yet Jesus is worthy of more glory than Moses, just as the builder of a house has more honour than the house itself. […] 6 Christ, however, was faithful over God's house as a son, and we are his house if we hold firm the confidence and the pride that belong to hope."

Reading these verses in our chosen reading environment, and also having in view the related context of first-century patronage, we can appreciate the God-son christology of the author in the following way.

First, the argument in Hebrews now appears very familiar to the world of Middle Eastern mediation. A mediator has to participate in the two realms between which he is mediating. A wāsṭa-person participates in the client's world by being a friend or family member. He or she also participates in the world in which the client seeks a favour or advantage, e.g. the customs department, by being a senior official there.

So, without yet having the intricate Christology of the creeds of the early church at hand, the writer of Hebrews is laying out his sonship christology in a way which is very conclusive by standards of Middle Eastern mediation: the mediator between man and God has to participate in the reality of the Godhead, thus he is the Son, positioned intimately close to God in his highness; yet at the same time he also has to "become like his brothers and sisters", meaning that he participates in the reality of humanity, the clients on behalf of which he is to mediate.

The notion of Jesus being "faithful over God's house as a son" in Hebrews 3.6 illustrates the point further. This becomes clear when the verse is viewed in the context of ancient patronage. David DeSilva explains:

"The close relatives of the emperor, especially his sons, were sought after as mediators of the emperor's favor: their close, familial relationship to the patron of the

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3   Holy Bible. New International Version, Anglicized. 1979, 1984, 2011, Biblica Inc.

empire gave great hope of success. [...] Throughout Hebrews, one finds members of God's extended household at various degrees of remove, contrasted with Jesus. […] Moses is a faithful, and hence trusted, servant in God's house (3:2). As a valued servant of the household, Moses would provide a certain level of access to the Patron of the house, namely God. The author stresses, however, that the believers have gained the Son as their patron and broker of God's favor: their access to favor is assured by the mediation of the one who stands in such close proximity to God that he bears 'the reflected radiance of God's glory' (1:3)" (DeSilva, 2008, p. 238f.)

In Hebrews, reflecting the patronage system of the time, the son is portrayed as the broker of the father's favour. In this sense the God-sonship attributed to Jesus, which is often discussed so contentiously in Muslim-Christian dialogue, is actually an intrinsic part of the logic of Middle Eastern mediation.

The familial imagery of Hebrews expresses the mediational relationship that is needed in the context of wāsṭa- or patronage-societies. The fact that Jesus calls humanity "brothers and sisters", as per Hebrews 2.11, serves as an assurance to the listeners that the mediator participates in the human side; the high sonship-christology of chapter one, in turn, is the assurance that also the link to the divine patron is reliably provided.

The familial imagery might also bring out another reassurance, particularly as it shines in the light of present-day wāsṭa. As mentioned above, reciprocation for rendered wāsṭa services is obligatory among friends. Between family, however, there is no need for reciprocation. It is expected and taken for granted that between family members the mediation is given *freely*; shame is put on the one who does not help as mediator when he could have and is being asked by family.

In that sense it is logical and even necessary that Jesus the mediator be "made like the brothers and sisters" because every relational metaphor other than "family" would, in a wāsṭa context, suggest that humans have to pay back in kind God himself for the favour granted. This would be incongruent with Christian as well as Muslim belief. Instead, however, because the mediation is happening between family and is thus free, the reciprocation takes the shape of *loyalty* and *praise* for God the patron – both values very much at the heart of Muslim and Christian piety.[4]

The letter to the Hebrews expresses the God-sonship of Jesus, which is at the heart of Christian belief, in a particularly pointed manner. It is therefore particularly contentious in Muslim-Christian dialogue. As was seen, re-reading parts of it in the light of the sociology of wāsṭa (and the related context of ancient patronage) can add an interpretative layer which eases the tension and helps mutual understanding.

Christian-Muslim theological dialogue, especially on the contentious topic of the person of Jesus, will be influenced by the environment in which it takes place and the presuppositions that go with it. One might default to discussing the matter starting from the presuppositions of the creeds of the early church and ask in how far Jesus is son, divine, human according to his nature or person. But the sociology of Middle Eastern mediation can be an alternative framework for the same topic. Dialogue in one environment might not answer questions which have come out of dialogue in the other. Dialogue partners should not have wrong expectations here. But shifting to a different reading-environment might let overcome interpretations shine in a new light and even help breaking old deadlocks.

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4   See DeSilva's remarks about what he aptly calls a 'gracious response' (Desilva, 2000, pp. 141–148).

Imagining Jesus as the wāsṭa between man and God when reading the Letter to the Hebrews evokes associations and ideas from the the relational logic of Middle Eastern mediation in the family network and shifts focus away from more contentious notions of the God-sonship of Jesus. While not providing a framework for a full-orbed christology, the context is appropriate to the text, as the similarity with ancient patronage shows. It is therefore a helpful reading-tool for putting Muslims and Christians in a better place for dialogue on the God-sonship of Jesus.

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No Pains No Gains: Perceived Investment in Employee Development; Affective Commitment and Work Performance in Pakistani Context

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Abstract

Using social exchange lens, the current study attempted to explore how the employee perceptions of organizational investment in their development could relate to their attitudes and behaviors. Drawing sample of 360 from a Pakistani bank, it was hypothesized that (1) Perceived investment in employee development (PIED) is positively related to employee attitudinal outcomes such as affective organizational commitment (ORC) and work performance (WP) and that (2) this relationship could be explained through mediating role of intrinsic motivation (IM). Results support both the hypothesis as PIED was positively related to both ORC and WP and the relationships were mediated by IM. Implications of the study are discussed.

Keywords: Perceived Investment in Employee Development; Affective Organizational Commitment; Work Performance; Intrinsic Motivation; Pakistan

Introduction

Investment made by an organization in the development activities of its employees contributes towards and creates perceptions about their organization's willingness to support them (Lee & Bruvold, 2003). However, it is not well understood how the employee perceptions of an organization's investment in them affects their subsequent attitudes and behaviors. Thus there are still substantial gaps in our understanding of the relationship between PIED and its influence on employee and organizationally relevant attitudinal and behavioral outcomes and the appropriate framework explaining them. Employee attitudes are formed on the basis of employee perceptions of HR practices. The term perception refers to a personal interpretation of reality. The development practices and employee perceptions of career related practices are therefore of fundamental importance in examining employee outcomes. The current study is an attempt to understand the relationship between employee perceptions of investment in their development and its influences on their job related outcomes such as affective organizational commitment as representative of attitudinal outcomes and work performance representing behavioral outcomes.

Organizational performance like productivity is dependent on human capital investment such that organizations who invest more in their employees' exhibit higher levels of human capital. A clear research examining the linkages between PIED and work performance remains scarce.

Organizational Context

What makes this study more exciting is the fact that unlike most of the studies of its kind; it has been carried out in the context of developing economy of eastern states like Pakistan (Irfan et al., 2009

Service sector especially banks play an important role in the economic development of a country. The occupation of bank employees is considered challenging as the job of bank employee is often recognized as the work with intense workloads, numerous deadlines, qualitative pressure, time restrictions, conflicting demands, excessive paper work, and extreme customer dealings. Employees are vulnerable to customer demands and this can result in low levels of intrinsic motivation, lower commitment with the organization and reduced performance.

Differences in commitment with respect to culture have been noted in literature. In a study done by Allen and Meyer (1996) they proposed to validate the applicability of multidimensional concept of commitment across cultures. This means that commitment has been reported to develop differently and influenced by the culture of the respective country. Although there have been studies taking into account cultural perspective when reporting organizational commitment, such studies lack majorly. Specifically, Pakistan being a collectivist country where the meaning of organizational commitment might be different for people than for those working in western context –there can be a possibility that PIED - ORC relationship differs across cultural contexts. Employees in Pakistan, being low in individualism, subordinate personal goals to group goals and tend to be more emotionally attached to their organization, especially when their personal goals are also met. This could mean that employees in collectivist societies feel more obligated to the organization owing

to different cultural patterns, interpersonal relationships, and stronger ties, and reciprocate through higher commitment.

Thus the main objective of this work is to identify the relationships between perceived investment in employee development (PIED) and employee outcomes. Specifically, the following research question is addressed: *what is the relationship between PIED and employee's (1) affective organizational commitment and (2) work performance?* Moreover, the study also investigates the role of intrinsic motivation (IM) as mediating mechanism that could lead to an explanation for the proposed relationships. IM refers to doing something because it is intrinsically motivating or pleasurable (Rayan & Deci, 2000). We expect that the PIED-ORC and PIED-WP relationship could be explained by employee IM thus leading us to our next research question: *does IM mediate the relationship between PIED-ORC and PIED-WP*?

The study is expected to provide significant contributions to the managers by recommending certain guidelines which will facilitate banks in developing strategies to improve work performance and affective commitment among bank employees through their intrinsic motivations. The study will also be beneficial for academicians as it would develop their understanding regarding the mediating effect of intrinsic motivation on the relationship between PIED, WP and ORC.

Literature Review

The following sections provide a literature review and hypotheses, the methods used, results found and discussion on the field study conducted using sample of bankers examining the differential prediction of PIED as an antecedent of organizational commitment, job satisfaction and turnover intention. Finally, specific managerial and theoretical contributions of these findings and discussion of the study's limitations are presented in the general discussion section. First, we use a social exchange lens to explore the strength of the relationships of PIED with organizational commitment, and job performance. Second, we examine the mediating role of intrinsic motivation in PIED and ORC, WP relationship.

Relationship between Perceived Investments in Employee Development, Work Performance and Affective Organizational Commitment (ORC)

Normally human resource development activities like individual learning and growth are the responsibility of employer. Employees should be continuously developed and equipped with new skills to complete the assigned tasks effectively. According to Blumberg and Pringle (1982) work performance is the capacity to, willingness to and opportunity to perform meaning that employee performance is linked both to the skill/ability and motivation to perform. When organizational inducement is offered in the form of training and development, it enhances the skill levels of employees (Dysvik & Kuvaas, 2008) which results in their increased productivity performance levels at work. Kuvaas and Dysvik (2009a) investigate the perceptual relationship between PIED and WP. The study findings showed that PIED was significantly related to higher work performance. Dysvik and Kuvaas (2008) showed in their study that there is a direct and positive relationship between training and development opportunities and employee performance. Lee and Bruvold (2003) showed that

employee development programs create sense of belongings and employees reciprocate by showing commitment and work performance It is proven by research and practice that through high commitment strategies organization can attain high performance. Following the above line of reasoning it can be hypothesized that:

H1: *Perceived investment in employee development will positively influence work performance.*

Previous research showed that perceived investment in employee development influences affective commitment (Lee & Bruvold, 2003; Kuvaas & Dysvik, 2010,Naumann 1993;).

H2: *Perceived investment in employee development will positively influence affective organizational commitment.*

Intrinsic Motivation as a Mediator

We expect that relationship between PIED and ORC is mediated by IM basing on the following arguments. Employees perception about their organization's commitment to employee training and development may lead to affirmative feelings towards their employer and ultimately their long-term growth in the respective organization (Lee & Bruvold, 2003), which in due course shall satisfy the need for relatedness. Kuvaas (2006a) showed that intrinsic motivation and affective organization commitment is positively related which suggest that some of the benefits connected with a demanding and attractive job are credited to the organization. Employees with interesting, pleasant and exhilarating jobs are less interested in quitting. This is due to more of intrinsic factors and less by extrinsic factors by organizations. Finally, several studies report that significant and negative correlations between intrinsic motivation and intention to turnover (Kuvaas, 2006). Therefore, similar consequences are expected in the Pakistani setting. So on the basis it could be hypothesized that:

H3: *The relationship between perceived investment in employee development and affective commitment will be mediated by intrinsic motivation.*

Regarding meditational role of IM in the PIED-WP relationship, modern research suggests that IM is a strong forecaster of WP (Kuvaas, 2006). Intrinsically motivated employees engage in their work primarily because the work itself is interesting and satisfying for them (Ryan & Deci, 2000). IM is concerned with the motivation to perform do the work itself or for the pleasure derived from doing the work. Work performance may then be perceived as an important criterion for intrinsically motivated employees to evaluate their own work outcomes. *Secondly*, as pointed out by Ryan and Deci (2000), IM is self-driven and autonomy oriented. Thus employees who are intrinsically motivated are likely to take more responsibilities for ensuring necessary levels of work performance and respond more positively to task demands. Therefore their work performance is expected to be better. *Third*, empirical studies have provided evidence for the positive relationship between IM and WP. The relationship between perceived investment in employee development and work performance will be mediated by intrinsic motivation. This argument was supported by Kuvaas and Dysvik (2009). Therefore it could be hypothesized that:

H4: *The relationship between perceived investment in employee development and work performance will be mediated by intrinsic motivation.*

(Figure 1)

Methodology

Study sample and procedure

With the help of HR department, we distributed around 550 paper-version questionnaires to the employees including branch manager and operatives of local private banks located in Pakistan directly through inter-office mail in sealed envelope. Confidentiality was ensured and participants were assured that the data obtained from their responses would be used purely for scientific purposes. Before actually sending the questionnaire to the target population, an initial draft of the same was sent to the senior bankers and higher management for their feedback to ensure the face validity and readability of scale items. Based on their feedback the wording of some of the questions was slightly modified. The survey remained open to responses for a period of one month during which time one reminder was sent by the end of second week to elicit higher response rate. 376 questionnaires were returned out of which 16 were removed from subsequent analyses because of large amounts of incomplete data. This made the sample of the study to be 360 thus making a response rate of 65%.

Measures

All items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 =Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

Perceived Investment in Employee Development (PIED): PIED was measured using the Lee and Bruvold (2003) scale. This scale consists of nine items. Example items include "My organization trains employees on skills that prepare them for future jobs and career development" and "My organization provides career counseling and planning assistance to employees". Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.86 which is reasonably good.

Intrinsic Motivation. Intrinsic motivation was measured using six items developed by Kuvaas and Dysvik (2009) Example items are, "My job is so interesting that it is a motivation in itself" and "The tasks I do at work are enjoyable". Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.83 which is also reasonably good.

Work Performance. This concept was measured using the scale that was developed by Kuvaas and Dysvik (2006b). This scale consisted of six items. Example items include "I try to work as hard as possible" and "The quality of my work is usually high. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.79 which is reasonably good.

Affective Organizational Commitment. ORC was measured by using Allen and Meyer's (1990) eight item instrument. Example items include "I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization" and "I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to this organization" (reverse coded). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.83 which is reasonably good.

Control Variables.

Age, gender, marital status and experience we used as controls as they are generally used in the studies of employee attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Mathieu and Zajac, 1990). The controls were coded as follows: Males were assigned 1 and females 2; employees < 30 were assigned 1, those between age group 30 -40 were measured by 2 and the ones aged above 40 were measured by 3; single respondents were categorized as 1 and married as 2; employees with less than 5 years experience at the current organization were categorized as 1atagorized as 2 and the employees having experience greater than 10 years with current organization were ranked as 3.

Demographic characteristics: 23.1% (n = 82) respondents were in the age group 20-29 years. Most of the respondents (48.8%, n =177) were in the age group 30-39 years. 28.1% of the respondents were above 40 years of age (n=101). It means that most of the respondents are mid-career professionals. It is therefore concluded that most of the employees working in the banking industry are quite young. The sample was representative of both male and female respondents. Male respondents consisted of 70% (N= 252), while female comprised of 20.6% (n=108). The higher response rate with regard to male respondents is attributed to the fact there are a lot less females working in Pakistani organizations particularly in baking industry. The demographic data further reveals that 51.1% (n = 184) of the respondents have master's degree while 42.9%   (n= 145) respondents completed their graduation before joining the bank. Only 6.1% (n=21) respondents has intermediate qualification. Thus most of the respondents have higher education. The distribution of respondents by marital status explains that majority 64.1% (n=231) are married. Only 5% (n=18) of the respondents had an experience of less than five years. 54.2% (n = 195) of the respondents had an experience of between 5 and 10 years while 40.8 % (n = 147) respondents are in the experience range of more than 10 years.

Since data were collected from four departments of the bank at the individual level, we computed interclass correlation coefficient (Bliese, 2000) to check for differences in the ORC and WP of employees with respect to their department. The intra class correlation for ORC was found to be 0.02, meaning that only two percent of the variance (of ORC) occurs between the different departments, and 98 percent of the variance is related to the individual level. Similarly, the ICC1 turned out to be 0.003 for WP, thus showing less than one percent variance at the department level. Owing to this result we did not control for departments in our subsequent regression analyses and we did not analyze the results using multi-level analyses techniques.

CFA

Given the self-reported nature of the data and the need for discriminant valid measures (Conway andLance, 2010), we further conducted Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFAs) (Chin, 1998) to demonstrate distinctiveness of the structure of our measures. For the four-factor model of PIED, IM ORC and WP, the CFA results showed satisfactory fit indices between data and the model (GFI = .94; AGFI = .9; CFI=.95; RMSEA =.04; St. RMR = .03). When we constrained PIED, IM ORC and WP into one factor, the model indices became inferior (GFI = .81; AGFI = .72; CFI= .78; RMSEA = .07; St. RMR = .06). We conclude that participants perceive PIED, IM

ORC and WP, as separate distinct factors.

Results

Descriptive statistics of the sample

Table 1 reports the descriptive statistics, including mean, standard deviation, and intercorrelations, for each measure. Results indicate that employees in the studied banks observe high levels of investment in employee development (Mean=3.82) Results verify that respondents experience moderate levels of intrinsic motivation (Mean = 3.30). In addition, employees also perceive high level of work performance (Mean=3.96) and high level of affective commitment (Mean=3.73). Table 1 also presents the reliability of the scales used in the study. All scales used in the study demonstrated satisfactory reliability estimates, ranging from 0.79 to 0.86.
 The pattern of correlations between independent variable and ORC shows that PIED was significantly correlated to intrinsic motivation (r=0.31, p<0.01) and work performance (r =0.262, p<0.01). Also, it was noted that PIED was significantly and moderately correlated with affective organizational commitment (r =0.48, p<0.01). Furthermore intrinsic motivation was positively and moderately correlated to work performance (r =0.48, p>0.01) and affective organizational commitment (r =0.36, p<0.01).

The results of the regression analyses conducted to test the various hypotheses are presented in Table 2. The analyses were run after the demographic variables were controlled for; no significant effects were found.

(Table 2)

To test for mediation hypotheses—following the three steps given by Baron and Kenney (1986)—the mediator (IM) was regressed on the independent variable (PIED) as shown in Model 1 of Table 2. Results showed that PIED has a positive relationship with IM (β = .31, p < .01). Thus, the relationship between the independent variable and the mediator has been established. Second, the dependent variable (ORC and WP in this case) is related to the independent variable (PIED) to test H1 and H2 (Model 2 and 3). Results showed that PIED is positively related to ORC and WP (β =.45 p < .01; β = .26, p < .01 respectively). This result confirmed H1 and H2. In Model 4 and we tested for the proposed mediation of IM in the PIED-ORC and PIED-WP relationships. Results showed that the effect of PIED was reduced, yet still significant when entering IM in the equation for ORC (β = .37, p < .01 from β = .45, p < .01).). IM positively influenced ORC (β = .26, p < .01). A Sobel test further confirmed that the reduction of β value was statistically significant (z = 3.13, p < .05). In model 5, results showed that the effect of PIED became insignificant when entering IM in the equation for WP (β = .14, ns from β = .26, p < .01). IM positively influenced WP (β = .40, p < .01). Here again, Sobel test confirmed the mediation of IM in PIED- WP relationship and showed that those reductions in β values were statistically significant (Z = 2.97, p < .05).

We further supplemented our analyses with Preacher and Hayes's (2008) bootstrapping approach for testing mediation. The results are shown in Table 3. For the mediation effect of IM on the relationship between PIED and WP, the results

revealed that the mediation effect on the relationship between PIED and WP was completely driven by IM (specific indirect effect = **.2**8, *p* < .01). For the relationship between PIED and ORC, again IM emerged as the mediation variable (specific indirect effect = .18, *p* < .01).

Discussion and Conclusions

The objective of this study was to explore the alternative relationship between PIED and employee outcomes in the form of WP and ORC using the mediating framework of IM. Among the key findings the independent variable PIED directly affects both dependent variables WP and ORC and the relationship is fully mediated by IM. While the relationship between PIED and ORC is partially mediated by intrinsic motivation. Previous researches support the findings (Levy and Williams, 2004; Kuvaas, 2006a; Kuvaas and Dysvik, 2009a). This study provides additional support to the opinion that PIED may increase the intrinsic motivation, work performance and affective commitment among bank employees. This study also highlights that employee must experience constructive development programs and PIED which positively influences employee behaviors and attitudes.

Most important contribution of present study is the examination of IM as a mediator. First employee must experience positive development program because it increases their motivation which ultimately results in improved work performance and affective commitment. The results that PIED as a sources of IM positively influence WP and ORC, suggest that employee who perceive high level of PIED will be more motivated toward their job and committed with the organization. This would have positive consequences for both employee and organizations as well. It indicates that those employees who observe high levels of PIED will be more willing to perform well and shows commitment. Those employees who perceive low level of development opportunities are less committed and low performers. The results that intrinsic motivation positively influences work performance and affective commitment indicates that employees who are highly motivated will be more willing to remain in the present job.

Under investments bring emotional exhaustion in employees and change their feelings. Fade relationship emerges between organization and employee. In their opinion they failed to perform and showing decrement in commitment. In such a situation, a high workload, either quantitative or qualitative bring change in employee feelings or they assume themselves as less committed to the organization.

Adequate supply of human resources is crucial for the smooth functioning of branches. Lack of human resources at majority of the investigated banks highlights the need to hire more staff. This will help banks to combat the problem of personnel shortages at the branches thus reducing the workload of branch managers and other staff. Providing training on time management and stress management can also be beneficial in for promoting commitment and improve performance.

It is very important to improve intrinsic motivation among employee since PIED directly and indirectly influence WP and ORC through IM. IM can be enhanced by providing better operating conditions and trainings to the employees. This can be done by removing unnecessary rules and procedures that deal in regulating the branches so that employees can execute their duties swiftly with more autonomy and

freedom. This would make their job more interesting and enjoyable and they will feel a sense of pride in it. Banks should realize the importance of training and development process. There is a need to develop such strategies that will uplift the motivation of employee to perform their duties aligned with organizational objectives.

Organization should create a development culture to enhance such reciprocity. Development programs are used as a trigger to motivate the workforce and organizations that invest in employee are more likely to have devoted and committed workforce. So it is concluded that employee development activities works as an indirect message to employees that their organization cares about their well-being. Managers by understanding the predictors of committed workforce can start interventions when the problem arises (Labatmediene et al., 2007).

Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

Like any other study on organizational psychology and behavior, the current study has certain limitations that are outlined as follows.

First, only one dimension of organizational commitment is examined. Organizational commitment fully conceptualized as affective, normative and continuance commitment. The other two have been excluded in the current study. Second, this study examines only one dimension of work performance i.e. task performance. It excluded the other dimensions of work performance like organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), career performance, creativity or innovative and team member performance etc. Third limitation is the use of cross-sectional design. This type of paradigm makes the causality ambiguous, which is unlikely if a longitudinal approach is adopted. . Along with the limitations in current study the study proposes a few suggestions for future research. First, a study on the effect of PIED on employee outcomes in the form of WP and ORC among the employee of public sector banks would be worthwhile. Second, a comparative study would be a better option for understanding the differences in the perception of same concepts by the employees of public and private sector banks in Pakistan. Third, a study of the impact of demographic variables on the perceptions of different sources of WP and ORC would be worthwhile. Fourth, the study of same variables and relationships on other sectors of the economy would be better. This will be helpful in generalizing the results other than banking sector. Fifth, along with self-reported questionnaire, interview, on the job performance and inclusion of supervisor ratings would be of interest. Sixth, experimental and longitudinal study can also be used to observe the relationships between the variable studied in current study. Experimental study can also be useful to differentiate between the purposes of PIED like developmental and evaluative. Finally, a need arises to fill the gap in current study by including different dimensions of the studied variables, changing antecedents and consequences would be of interest and worth.

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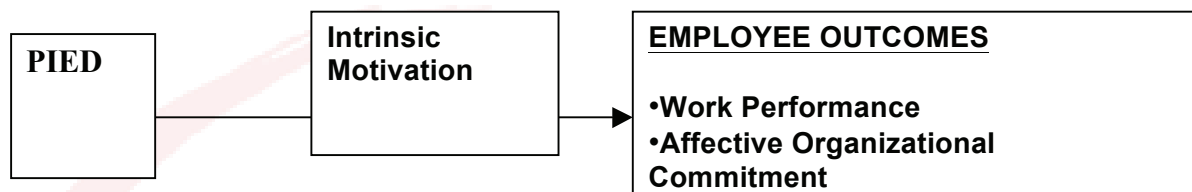
Fig.1: Theoretical Model showing mediating role of intrinsic motivation in PIED and employee outcomes relationship.

Table 1: Means, Standard deviations and inter item correlations (N=360)

Variables	Mean	SD	Alpha	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender	1.30	0.23		-						
2. Age	2.05	.41		-.38						
3. Marital Status	1.64	.48		.59**	-.21*					
4. Experience	2.36	.85		.80**	.39**	.44**				
5. PIED	3.82	.76	.86	.21*	.01	.22*	.16			
6. IM	3.8	.81	.83	.05	.04	.07	-.03	.31**		
7. AORC	3.73	.69	.83	.14	.04	.24**	.09	.48**	.36**	
8. WP	3.96	.57	.79	.05	-.10	.15	.02	.26**	.48**	.27**

Notes:

a. $N = 360$. Values are standardized estimates from final step of analysis.

b. **p<.01, *p<.05,

c. PIED = Perceived Investment in Employee Development; IM=Intrinsic Motivation; WP=Work Performance, AORC=Affective Organizational Commitment

d. Gender: *male* = 1, *female* = 2; b. Age: 1 = < 30, 2 = between 30 and 40, 3 = more than 40, c. Marital status: 1 = single, 2 = married, d. Tenure: 1 = *less than 5 year*, 2 = *5-10 years*, 3 = > more than 10 *years*. *$p < .05$, two-tailed. **$p < .01$, two-tailed.

Table 2: Results of regression analysis (N=360)

Variables	IM Model 1	AC Model 2	WP Model 3	AC Model 4	WP Model 5
Gender	.12	-.09	-.09	-.07	-.14
Age	.01	.05	-.13	.05	-.14
Marital Status	.01	.17	.15	.17	.15
Experience	-.17	-.01	-.07	.04	.00
PIED	.31**	.45**	.26**	.37**	.14
IM				.26**	.40**
R^2	.16	.12	.18	.44	.48
Adjusted R^2	.12	.09	.13	.41	.46
Change in R^2	.16	.12	.18	.44	.30
F value	2.90**	2.72**	2.87**	12.90**	15.51**

Notes:
  a. *N* = 360. Values are standardized estimates from final step of analysis.
  b. **$p<.01$, *$p<.05$,
  c.   PIED = Perceived Investment in Employee Development; IM=Intrinsic Motivation; WP=Work Performance, AORC=Affective Organizational Commitment

Table 3. Magnitude and Confidence Intervals of the Mediation Effect of IM on the relationships between PIED-WP and PIEM – ORC.

	Bootstrap Results for Mediation effects of					
	PIED $\to$ WP			PIED $\to$ ORC		
Mediator	Mediation Effect (SE)	Lower 95% CI	Higher 95% CI	Mediation Effect (SE)	Lower 95% CI	Higher 95% CI
IM	.28** (.03)	.04	.29	.18**(.01)	.02	.23

The Role of Motivation in Language Achievement: A Self-Reporting Study of University Students

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Abstract

The current study investigates Saudi university students' motivation and attitudes towards learning English as a foreign language. It employs an online questionnaire to collect data and uses a descriptive analysis approach to reports the results. Fifty-six students responded and submitted their answers online. Their answers were processed and quantified using SPSS. The analysis used crosstabulation and One-Way ANOVA in addition to frequencies, means and standard deviations. The findings suggest that students' age plays a role in their preference of different types of motivation. GPA and parents education played a less important role. They also fail to establish a link between what is being taught in the classroom and real life situations which results in low levels of motivation. A more task-based approach and more room for decision making should be promoted by language teachers in order to address this problem.

Keywords: Motivation, Task-Based Language Teaching TBLT, L2 Writing

Introduction

Motivation plays a significant role in developing students' learning a new language. Although the majority of EFL students acknowledge the status of English as a medium of communication and academia, some still lack proper levels of motivation for various reasons including - but not limited to - teaching practices, the inability to relate English to real life situations, disinterest in English culture and values, and the disillusioned perspective of what learning a foreign language for.

Whether students like it or not, the fact of the matter is that more pressure is placed on educational institutes to teach more language classes from earlier years. This is compounded by peer and family pressure to progress in both social and academic life which inevitably requires proficient English.

Despite all of the pressures, Arab students in general and Saudis in particular are among the lowest achievers in standardized English language tests such as IELTS and TOEFL. What is even more worrying is the fact that average test takers are scoring even less year on year, definitely not something that pleases the educational authorities.

Lack of motivation affects every aspect of language but we believe it particularly does writing. Interestingly enough, it was writing that Arab and Saudi students scored the least. However, students consistently report a need to develop speaking despite scoring the most in IELTS (Grami & Alkazemi 2011, and Ghobain & Grami 2012). This is an unusual situation and one which calls for more investigation. We assume that students are disinterested in academic prose and are more interested in communicative skills. In other words, their purpose for learning English, even if specialized in it, is less academic and more sociable.

With all this in mind, the organization of the article is as follows, the literature review looks at definition of term motivation, similar studies on motivation and attitudes to establish the research gap as we see it, the methodology details the approach we adopted for collecting data required to answer the research question, the results and discussion section provides our interpretation of the study findings and relates them to the literature and finally we account for the study's shortcomings and suggest ideas for future work in the conclusion.

Literature Review

This section looks at previous studies carried out on motivation and teaching English to Arab and Saudi students. It serves as a platform for inspiration and comparison alike.

Motivation and Language Learning

Many researchers suggest that motivation is very important in the success of language learning. Dornyei (1994) for example believes that it is one of the most significant indicators of success. Oxford (1994) also mentions that motivated individuals show favorable attitudes toward learning a language. In fact, logic dictates that unless

students are willing to carry on learning the new language, chances of success will be very limited. This assumption however is supported by the previous studies and many more.

Motivation has been defined as the learner's orientation with regard to the goal of learning a second language (Crookes and Schmidt 1991). It is thought that students who are most successful in learning a target language (TL) are those who like the people that speak the language, admire their culture, or have a desire to become familiar with or even integrate into the society in which the language is used (Falk 1978). Motivation could be integrative, as is the case in Falk's, or instrumental, generally characterized by the desire to obtain something practical or concrete from the study of a second language (Hudson 2000). Instrumental motivation is based on utilitarian approach towards learning a foreign/second language which could be to pass a school/university examination, to find a better job, to immigrate to a native country, to read technical information, to translate various kinds of information or academic documents into a foreign language or merely as a social trend, especially among youth in a society where opportunities to use a second language (L2) in daily verbal exchanges are quite uncommon.

Lightbown and Spada (2006) and Brown (2000) point out that both integrative and instrumental motivation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Learners rarely select one kind of motivation in preference to another, rather a combination of both orientations is usually at play. Brown (2000) for instance gives example of international students residing in the United States, who are learning English for academic purposes as well as wishing to become integrated into the people and culture of the country, at the same time.

It is important to identify the type of motivation that assists or desists in successful language acquisition. Simultaneously, it is necessary to consider motivation as one of the variables in an intricate model of correlated individual and situational factors which affect each learner variably. In his socio-educational model, Gardner (1982 and 1985) identifies a number of correlating factors in learning a second language. Gardner's model looks specifically at second language acquisition in a structured classroom setting rather than a natural environment. His work focuses on the foreign language classroom. The model attempts to correlate four features of L2 acquisition; the social and cultural milieu, individual learner differences, the setting or context and linguistic outcome. In this project, we interchangeably use Gardner's model to refer to integrative/ intrinsic motivation, by which we mean learning English for purposes other than professional or academic.

There are many ways in which teachers can help their students maintain a high level of motivation. For example, Murcia et al. (2008) believe that creative environments - where students are allowed to make their own decisions - should increase their motivation. Teachers are therefore recommended to introduce tasks that require critical thinking and creative application of the learned material. Similarly, Chen & Brown (2012), and Nicholls (1983) mention that task-based learning should increase levels of motivation . Task-based language teaching (TBLT) makes learning meaningful and students gain a sense of competence. Chen & Brown (ibid) believe that the emergence of the web can be translated into more chances for language students to write for an authentic audience. Pae (2008) adds other recommendations to

make the classroom motivating, including providing meaningful feedback, a supportive classroom environment, and interactive tasks. Maherzi (2011) reporting on her study in a similar context also believes that a more autonomous learning environment helps improve motivation levels.

Teaching English to Arab Students

Teaching English to Arab students seems particularly challenging. In fact, a variety of factors, ranging from social to institutional and academic, may explain the extremely low scores in standardized tests such as IELTS as Al-Saghyer (2005), Grami (2010), McKay, (1992), Gray, (2000) Whitefield & Pollard, (1998) believe. In teaching English to speakers of Arabic language, learner performance was considerably below IELTS average and it dwindles even more in writing tasks in comparison to other language skills as table (1) shows.

	Listening	Reading	Writing	Speaking	Overall
Amharic	4.78	5.64	5.62	6.11	5.60
Arabic	5.14	4.96	**4.89**	5.65	**5.23**
Bengali	5.85	5.44	5.54	5.87	5.74
Chinese	5.72	5.85	5.19	5.28	5.57
Dutch	7.95	7.79	6.79	7.60	7.60

Table (1): Mean IELTS score of some first languages

Little exposure to authentic English could be a significant factor affecting learners' motivation. Learners enter the University after completing their secondary school (12 years of studies). The learners may have started learning English from grade 6 or 7 at school, which is at the age of 11 – 13 where the medium of teaching English could not be necessarily English; reliance on Arabic is common in explaining difficult points to ease learner comprehension.

Most of the EFL learners in the Arab world are from families where either both parents have no education in English i.e. no English to communicate with their children. (Al-Shumaimeri, 1999; and Habbash, 2008) Many students may not have had English a medium of their instruction throughout school years and may not have yet anything to do with English as a medium of communication in future; they only enroll because it is a university requirement to graduate. So integrative motivation is not at work to ignite such students' interest to learn and perform well in L2. In such a situation, the students' instrumental motivation is also affected; he or she might pay more attention to other subjects and linger on in English for years.

Rationale of the Study

The issue of motivation is complex and needs to be explored carefully calculating the factors affecting learners' progress in general. One cannot simply measure language learning in terms of the hours spent doing activities/exercises in the language lab/classroom and the instant linguistic outcome/performance of the student.

We observed learners' unwillingness to use English in basic tasks including surfing the Internet, or sending text messages or emails. They do not read English newspaper nor do they watch any English broadcasting channel such as the BBC or CNN even when they are available for free. This attitude shows lack of genuine desire from learners' point of view to absorb L2. It also means there is something wrong somewhere; a barrier preventing the development of a bond between the learner and his/her target language and making the whole episode of learning a pastime and not real learning because successful learners are researchers and lifelong learners. As a result, the learning is restricted to certain phrases and expressions and not language. Students may find it extremely difficult to engage in real conversations because of that. It is a situation which invites one's interest to probe the matter further to identify the factors responsible for this lack of motivation among the learners. "What could be the factors affecting the learners' attitude towards the English language" is the question that motivates us to write this piece of research.

Based on Gardner's model (ibid), our analysis looks into learners' attitudes toward language learning with reference to their social background, parents' education, presentation of the instructional material in TL, as well as its relevance to the students' culture and their (specific) needs, teachers' contribution or failure in motivating learners, classroom atmosphere, learners' personal opinion/belief about learning English, self-confidence, learner autonomy, learner satisfaction, practical utility of the TL, and its possible contribution towards shaping their career.

Methodology

This section describes first the participants of the study and second how we set about collecting the data for our research. It describes the methods of both collecting and analyzing the data.

Participants:

The study targeted university students whose major was English. Most of the students approached were studying English major at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. They were mostly in their third and fourth levels in the university (77%) with the remaining in their fifth or final year. Most of the students are male students with an average age of 23. The range is between 20 and 29 with an SD of only 2.5 making the group harmonious as far as age is concerned. Their GPA which is the only official indicator of their performance ranged between 2.00 and 4.88 (out of 5.00) with an average GPA of 3.56.

		STUDENTS' AGES	GPA OUT OF 5.00
N	Valid	46	48
	Missing	10	8
Mean		22.91	3.5663
Std. Deviation		2.511	.79200
Minimum		20	2.00
Maximum		29	4.88

Table (2) Participating Students' Basic Information
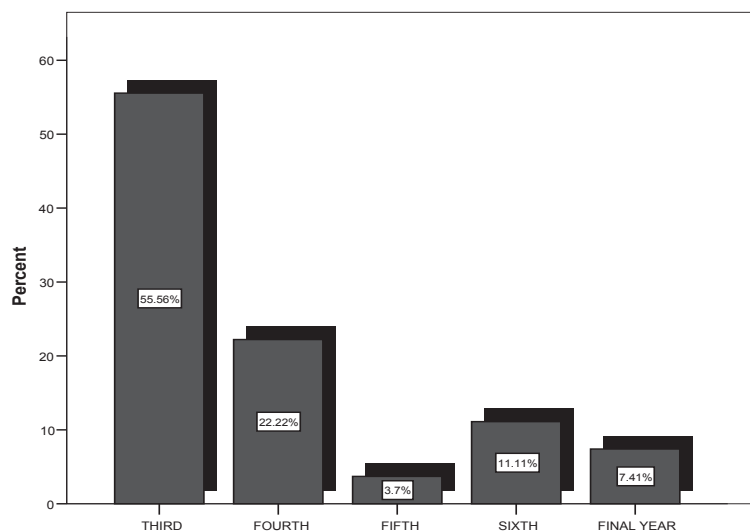
Graph (1) Students' Level in the University

Upon their admission to the university, candidates are given a placement test and those who qualify enter a one year Preparatory Year Program (PYP) where they are exposed to English based instruction and an extensive practice in four language skills. It is a 3 hours a day and 5 days a week practice. After successful completion (minimum 60% marks) of PYP, learners are enrolled in different faculties according to their interest in specialties.

In the faculty of Arts and Humanities, they are obliged to take advanced level of English language skills for two academic semesters, completing which paves their way to take English Linguistics and Literature, but the learners' getting through these English courses doesn't necessarily mean that the goal has been met; many of them still might not be able to use English as a medium of communication and expression, both orally as well as in writing which speaks volumes about the level of motivation and achievement among learners of English.

Data Collection Methods:

In order to get enough data to test our theories, a semi-structure questionnaire was developed into an online version in both Arabic and English. The questions were divided into two main categories; general questions - to establish students' social and academic background - and more focused questions to understand how students evaluate their learning experience, their level in English, what interests them in their major and eventually how motivated they are to engage in their studies successfully. Most of the questions were closed-items but there were also open questions for students to elaborate their responses, should they wish to do so. Following guidelines by Cohen et al., (2003 and 2007), the questionnaire has been through various stages of development including the pre-piloting and piloting. In the former, the questionnaire was evaluated by fellow researchers to check for its content and fitness of purpose. In the latter however, the questionnaire was administered on a small representative

sample of the target research population to highlight any practical issues including ambiguity and bias. The final version was ready and was distributed directly to students via emails and indirectly via forums frequently visited by them. The return rate is acceptable as far as emails are concerned. Out of about 180 students approached, around 80 replied. No data that identified the participants was collected. This was in keeping with research ethics and also to encourage students to give more honest and unbiased responses.

Results

Quantitative Data:

The overall majority of the students wanted to learn English for both social and academic reasons. This roughly translates as integrative and instrumental motivation. However, about one in five wanted to learn English for academic purposes only, with none stating merely social reason for learning English.
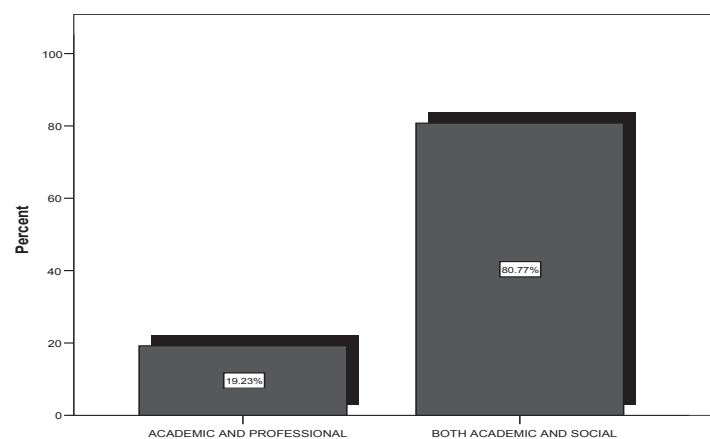
Graph (2) Skills Students' Reasons for Learning English.

An identical percentage of students believed they were best at reading and speaking while a smaller fraction thought they were good at writing and even less at listening.
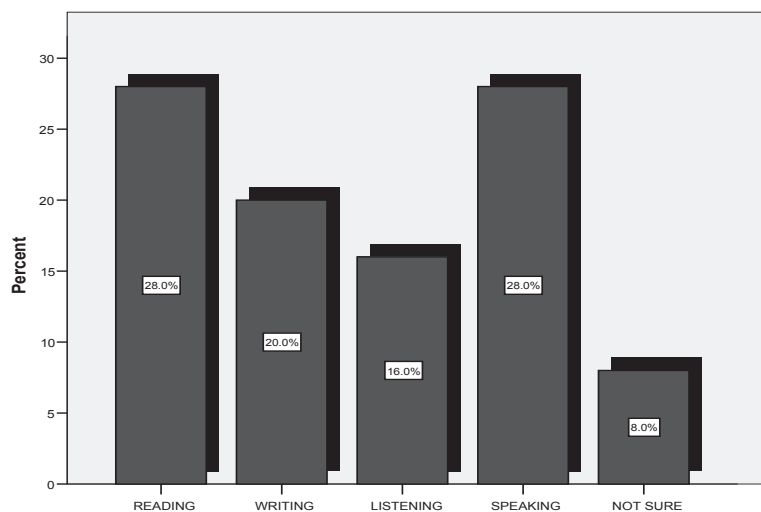
Graph (3) Skills Students Believed they Are Best at.
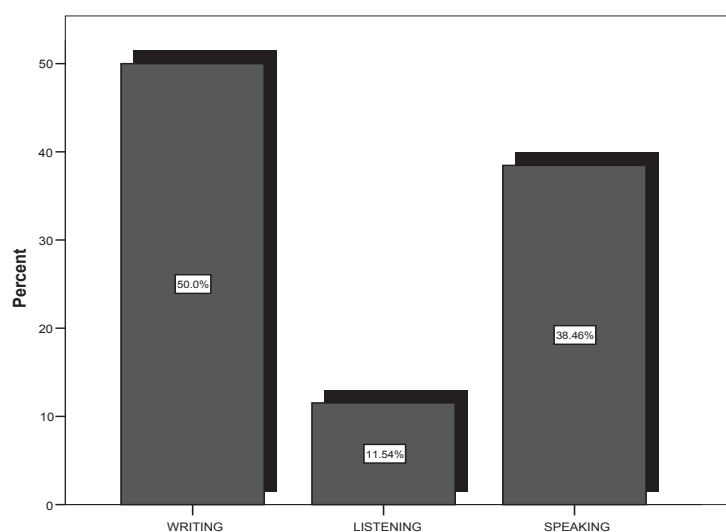
Graph (4) Skills Students Wanted to Improve the Most.

Students' own assessment of their different language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) all resulted in normal curves. The majority rated themselves as average with smaller percentages toward the far ends of the spectrum.

However, the majority of students acknowledged the value of language in communication as the graph below shows.
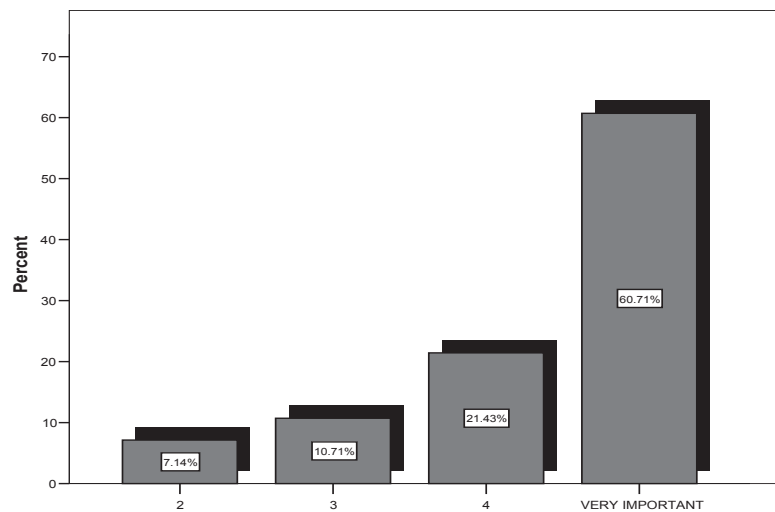
Graph (5) Students' Perception of Language and Communication.

There are a number of possible factors which could affect students' responses including their age, GPA, gender and parents' education. We dismissed the gender factor due to the disproportionate numbers of male and female students.

The cross tabulation test shows that the younger the respondents the more favorable views they held towards both types of motivation. As for integrative motivation, students aged 26 or more all believed it to be very important. Younger respondents on the other hand had more varied views. The interesting result here is that only students aged 21 and 20 thought integrative motivation to be not important. However, when students were asked about their opinion regarding instrumental motivation, all of them believed it to be either important or very important regardless of age.

		IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT	TOTAL
AGES	20	2	2	4
	21	4	12	16
	22	0	4	4
	23	4	2	6
	24	0	8	8
	26	2	0	2
	27	0	2	2
	28	0	2	2
	29	0	2	2
Total		12	34	46

Table (3) Students' Age against Perception of Instrumental Motivation

The One Way ANOVA tests show that the relation between age and their beliefs towards different types of motivation is very significant as the table below shows.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
INTEGRATIVE	Between Groups	22.239	8	2.780	3.265	.006
	Within Groups	31.500	37	.851		
	Total	53.739	45			
INSTRUMENTAL	Between Groups	3.536	8	.442	3.067	.009
	Within Groups	5.333	37	.144		
	Total	8.870	45			

Table (4) One-Way ANOVA Results

Students' GPA does not seem to play a role in their perception of instrumental motivation. They all share the idea that it is important. They however showed a slight difference when they responded to integrative motivation. The higher the GPA the lower importance they assign to integrative motivation. Students whose GPA was above 4.30 had a relatively neutral opinion. In fact, the four students with the highest GPA thought it was unimportant. The result is very significant as the One-Way ANOVA test shows (sig. = 0.000). Finally, as far as parents who speak English are concerned, the results showed no real difference between the opinions of those who have no parents spoke English and those whose fathers did.

Qualitative Data:

The qualitative questions toward the end of the questionnaire were designed to allow students elaborate on their responses. A number of themes emerged from the analysis of students' responses. When asked what can be done to improve the level of English, many students believed in autonomous learning and findings opportunities to speak with others in English either by travelling to English speaking countries or with help from the department. The theme recurred so frequently that it is almost unanimous. Students also indicated the importance of integrative motivation and learning for the sake of language itself.

As what has to be changed in the classroom, many students wanted to see a move away from the typical and into the creative. They also wanted more participation in the classroom whether in discussion or decision-making. Some students want less pressure in the classroom. For instance, assignments should be an opportunity for improvement not merely an assessment method. New words have to be explained because many students cannot follow the teachers and eventually lose interest when they do not understand these words.

Finally, when the students were asked with whom they spoke English regularly, the majority indicated those who did not speak Arabic: teachers, as the most common group followed by hospital staff. When asked about which areas of their daily lives involve the use of English, the majority indicated watching films and foreign/English channels as the most common (listening only) opportunity. Others also included composing and reading emails, sending texts, and to a lesser extent reading magazines and papers. Almost none reported writing in English as a habit.

Discussion

The results show some interesting findings. Contrary to what the literature suggests, the majority of the students acknowledged the need for an academic aspect of English. . We assume that due to the fact that participants were all English major university students, their motivation was more academic oriented.

We also expected students to want to improve their productive skills i.e. speaking and writing and the results proved us right. However, students who wanted to improve their writing outnumbered those who wanted to speak better, again contrary to what the literature suggests. In a similar fashion, students were also able to connect language to its core function of communication.

The current status of English in the Saudi society most definitely affects students' opinion of L2. Also the social milieu is not, at least English friendly; one doesn't come across many who would communicate in English in this almost a mono cultural religious society where Arabic is the dominant culture, language and opinion. But the situation has already started to change; English is now introduced in grade 4 in public schools which was introduced in grade 6 (at 11 to 12 years of age) previously.

In order to make language learning a motivating and pleasant experience, language teachers, based on keen observation, require to put in great deal of effort and plan their lessons in a way that arouses the students' interest and motivation and the set goals/short term objectives are achieved. This study aims to find out the students' opinion about language learning experience, whether they (the students) enjoy the language material presented to them, and if cultural barriers interfere with the learning process; cultural differences between the students and the teacher as well as between the students and the culture of the target language.

In a language classroom, equipment and facilities such as the Internet, visual screens/OHP, CD/DVD player, classroom size, number of students in a class, seating arrangement, teacher's (technical as well as professional) knowledge and readiness to use available infrastructure is of paramount importance. Modern techno-electronic gadgets, if used effectively, can make learning experience enjoyable and may contribute to motivate students. The teacher should peep into students' goal-orientedness and plan lessons and select language content that fulfills learner expectations, and is at par with their interests, level of thinking and language understanding. It is also note-worthy that teaching language is not as teaching mathematical formulae; it's a complex process involving human psychology and everyday interactions with other humans.

Role of teachers as models and motivators is vital to whether learning or no learning takes place in the classroom. As Dornyei (2000: 116) notes, "teacher skills in motivating learners should be seen as central to teaching effectiveness" and teacher behavior is a powerful "motivational tool" (Dornyei 2001: 120). Teacher as a classroom manager is the one who creates an environment which could contribute to successful language acquisition or otherwise. Students need ample opportunities and steady encouragement in language acquisition. For learning to take place in a language classroom, the students should speak more than the teacher, express their opinion and feel that they don't run the risk of being ridiculed because a tense

classroom climate can undermine learning and de-motivate learners (see MacIntyre, 1999 and Young, 1999). The teacher should be a motivator, moderator and able to involve students to the point where they shun their consciousness to routine mistakes, their shyness to use L2 (a common factor among second language learners), and express themselves spontaneously in the target language, and deduct rules for their own learning because "the only kind of learning which significantly affects behavior is self-discovered, self-appropriated learning" (Rogers, 1961: 276). Successful communication using the target language would create a sense of achievement among learners. Research in the area suggests L2 achievement strongly affects learner motivation (Strong 1983, cited in Ellis 1997).

Learning a foreign language for utilitarian purposes is also common among students. As is mentioned earlier, a student who performs well in a language classroom may not (necessarily) be curious to make the TL his lingua franca. He tries his best to perform well inside the classroom to score high marks to pass the examination, but using TL outside the classroom has no attraction/reward, he may believe. In other words, greed for grades shifts students' focus to performance outcomes, rather than the process of learning. Consequently, many students become grade driven, not "grade grubbing". It might not be wrong if we translate it in terms of the TL being a means to an end, and not an end in itself for such learners. Such instrumental learners might not be successful lifelong learners and the superficially learnt content may vanish gradually after the end (passing the examination) is met.

Presence of both integrative and instrumental motivation is an essential ingredient of success; the former has been found to sustain long term success when learning a second language (Taylor, Meynard & Rheault 1977; Ellis 1997; Crookes & Schmidt 1991). Early research conducted by Gardner and Lambert showed integrative motivation played more important role in a formal learning environment than instrumental motivation (Ellis 1997). It is important to note that instrumental motivation is acknowledged as a significant factor in some research, whereas integrative motivation is continually linked to successful second language acquisition. It has been found that students learn a foreign language for more reasons instrumental than integrative. But those inspired by integrative approach are usually found more motivated and so more successful in language acquisition.

Another very important lesson we learned from this study is what students believed with regard to teaching practices, the role of the language and consequently their motivation in the classroom. Students in fact showed a good level of maturity when they suggested ways in which a learner can improve his or her language. They acknowledged the communicative aspect of language which according to them should be reflected in more integrative motivation. The academic aspect nevertheless was prevalent as the majority of students recognized the need for more vocabulary teaching and opportunities to visit the library and conduct research in English. However, their actual practices sometimes fall short of their ambitions. The majority indicated using English for recreational rather than professional purposes. Almost not a single participating student indicated writing in English as regular practice.

Students' beliefs have to be considered genuinely which in this case goes in line with what we proposed in the beginning of the study, i.e. more communicative, task-based classes and more authentic opportunities for them to use their target language. The

benefit of such an approach is two-fold. First, students will be able to relate their acquired knowledge to real-life situations, and second, their knowledge should be reflected in their overall performance. We cannot however ignore the fact that students' writing is especially poor according to IELTS results as well as other indicators. A balance has to be struck between students' communicative aspirations and their deficiencies in writing.

Teachers equipped with this knowledge should be able to make more informed decisions. The current teaching environment does have good points but we anticipate it can be further improved by regularly listening to students and making adjustments accordingly.

Conclusion

We established the status of English in Saudi Arabia and discussed its impact on students' level of language in general and their motivation in particular. We theorized that students' age, gender, parents' education and academic performance could affect their opinions toward different types of motivation. As it happened, only age was of any significance. The impact of gender could not be fully investigated due to the small number of female participants but it would be interesting to carry out a more comprehensive study to find out if gender does affect preferences.

We also touched on what teachers can do in the classroom to maintain high levels of motivation. In our opinion, any type of motivation is a good thing and should encourage students do better.

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Building a New Tourist Destination Image for Romania after 1989

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Abstract

The paper is a critical review of the national imaginary communicated through video tourism campaigns promoting Romania as an international destination after 1989. Despite the efforts to rebrand and reposition Romania within the global tourism market, most of the tourism campaigns tend to reproduce old national stereotypes and practices: the same national imaginary was reapproached in different tourism spots, reinforcing old geographical and historical representations built by school books and media discourses. Together with the tourism promoters' oscillations between internal and external expectations, between economic and political agendas, these campaigns achieved an overall poor and indistinctive country image.

Keywords: tourism promotion, destination image, tourism commercials, country branding.

1. Introduction

The increasing global concurrence between states and places sustains the increasing investments in international campaigns aimed to build attractive country images, to increase tourist flows and foreign investments, to facilitate political integration and economic competitiveness.

Often perceived only as part of the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries' group, Romania has been trying since 1989 to rebuild its international image in relation with global networks and major entities such as NATO or the European Union (EU). Multiple actors were involved in the process of building and communicating a new country image abroad. Among these approaches, tourism promotion campaigns successively tried to identify and highlight authentic key features of Romania and Romanians. All these campaigns were followed by criticism from national media and branding specialists, repeatedly pinpointing the same issues: hidden political agendas, incondite representations of national authenticity and an indistinctive country image (Evenimentul Zilei 2007, 2008; Popescu and Corbos 2010).

Given the key role of country branding in the present global market and the role of media advertising in the construction of a destination identity, in shaping representations and behaviours, this research was aimed to analyse the country image communicated through national tourism promotion campaigns developed in Romania after 1989. The study focuses on the TV commercials produced in these campaigns and analyzes the national imagery inspiring their versions of country image.

Meant to meet external and internal expectations and to differentiate tourism destinations (Hopf 1988, Van Ham 2008), national representations were a hot topic in media reviews: all the campaigns were accused of lacking originality and authenticity (Mistreanu 2008, Popescu and Corbos 2010, Drăghicescu 2010). Or, each campaign and each political restructuring of the Romanian Ministry of Tourism (RMT) brought new perspectives on the national symbols considered best to promote Romania abroad: traditions (1995), wild nature (2010), Dracula (2001, 2012) etc.

Considering the political and economic context and the evolution of the Romanian tourism after 1990, this study hypothesis was that despite the constant search for novelty, distinctiveness and authenticity, tourism campaigns communicated a rather poor and fuzzy country image, closely linked to Romania's political and economic transition. Video content analysis was used to study and compare the campaigns discourses, highlighting the oscillations between economic and political agendas, between "familiar stereotypes and self-exotisation" (Baker 2009). The study was intended to bring a new perspective to the scarce literature on Romania's tourism promotion strategies.

2. Literature review.

Encouraged by major international organizations (Kaneva 2011a) and supported by national policy and funding, the role of country branding is increasingly shaping the present global political landscape (Van Ham 2001, Snow 2003, Anholt 2008). Based on the understanding of markets' nature and the application of "corporate marketing theory to countries" (S. Anholt cited in Teslik 2007), it is generally aimed to increase foreign investments (Anholt 2003, 2007, 2008; Nye 2004; Szondi 2008; Sussman

2012) and to boost tourist inflows (Kotler & Gertner 2002; Cai 2002; Gnoth 2002; Morgan, Pritchard and Pride 2002; Olins 2002; Konecnik 2004). More focused on visualisation and symbolism (Szondi 2007), tourist destination branding re-constructs a nation state as an object of fancy or fantasy (Sussman 2012: 5; Moisander and Valtonen 2006; Peñaloza & Venkatesh 2006) in order to meet tourist expectations (Saraniemi & Kylanen 2011; Firat and Venkatesh 1995).

Defined as «the sum of beliefs and impressions people hold about places » (Kotler and Gertner 2004: 24), destination image is the result of processing data from various sources, including marketing tools (Pike 2002; Decrop 2007). There is a close relation between the study of destination image and tourism advertisement. Images from photography (Dann 1996; Day et al. 2002) and motion picture (Kim and Richardson 2003) play a major role in building and communicating a destination identity (Millet 1991; Mazas 1995). In this respect, television represents a key information source (Gallarza et al 2002; Beerli and Martin 2004; Gartner 1993) as well as a travel media (image) broker (Miller & Auyong 1998) and a manipulative tool influencing visitors' behaviour (Urry 1990). The role of advertising and media images in the selection and evaluation of potential tourist destinations (Urry 2002) justified the focus of the study on the destination image communicated by TV tourism commercials.

Content analysis is a method used in the study of both destination image and tourism advertisement (Pan, Tsai and Lee 2011; Pike & Ryan 2004). Several researches (Fakeye & Crompton 1991; Reynolds 1965) underline the role of framing in the construction of destination image: through framing, specific aspects of reality are selected and communicated in order to emphasize a certain problem and interpretation (Entman 1993: 52). The frame (or the theme) is the "central organizing idea" (Gamson & Modigliani 1987) providing coherence and meaning to a story line (Pan & Kosicki 1993). In tourism, cultural meanings are used to frame imagery (Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Fursich & Kavoori 2001), organize and emphasis images according to an underlying visual code (Pan, Tsai and Lee 2011). Framing is used to influence tourists' perceptions (Edell &Staelin 1983), experiences (Feifer 1985) and destination choice.

Given its power of persuasion, tourism promotion is often used by governments to achieve political and ideological objectives (MacCannell 1976; Baranowski & Furlogh 2001). Postcommunist CEE states, for example, often used country branding to facilitate their economic and political transition (Dzenovska 2005; Aronczyk 2007; Widler 2007; Baker 2008; Jansen 2008; Volcič 2008; Kaneva 2007, 2011b) and to support their "move from periphery" to the centre of the Western European society (Szondi 2007: 10). Their similar challenges and approaches to country branding inspired several transnational researches (Hall 1999, 2004; Mockute 2008; Anderson 2009; Volcik 2008; Hall 2002; Kaneva & Popescu 2011 for Romania and Bulgaria) and individual case studies (Florek 2005; Endzina and Luneva 2004; Dzenovska 2005; Konecnik 2004; Damjan 2005; Iordanova 2007). Several distinctive functions of country branding in CEE countries were identified by Szondi (2007: 17-19) such as: to distance themselves from the old economic and political systems and labels, to change negative stereotypes associated with the country; to position the country as reliable and eligible member of the new international systems; to position the country as regional hubs and leaders of transition; to reconstruct new 'Euro conform' national identities. The perception of the Western society as an aspirational model (Ditchev 2000: 93) explains the constant East – West dichotomy marking their branding approaches (Kaneva 2011a) and their citizens' perceptions of the world: a

(geographically and politically) "in between" situation of Romania was indicated by previous researches on the Romanian students' mental representations of the world (Grassland 2011).

A key role of country branding is to build a unique, competitive and realistic destination image, seizing the essence of nationhood (Kotler 2002; Kotler and Gertner 2004; Martin and del Bosque 2008). National values and identities are often used as key elements to differentiate states (Hopf 1988, Van Ham 2008). Part of the "fiction" associated to modern states (Kaneva 2011b: 10; Arvidsson 2006), the images communicated by country branding commodify physical and symbolic dimensions of the national territory (Volcic 2009; Kaneva 2011c) in order to explain nations to the world (Jansen 2008; Mokute 2008) and to influence internal and external perceptions (Lury 1997; Franklin 2003). They also build and reinforce national identity by encouraging visits to symbolic places (Kaneva 2011a; Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983).

But the versions of national identity communicated in tourism campaigns are usually outcomes of centralized approaches rooted into a pre-existing self-identifying national imaginary (Verdery 1991:3) and often used to achieve ideology, consumption and national cohesion (MacCannell 1976; Baranowski & Furlogh 2001). In Romania's case, national representations (Anderson 1991) are strongly anchored on geographical symbols and historical descendance. Public discourses (history and geography school books, media) before and after 1989 reproduce the same representations of the national identity: "*Romania is a Carpathian - Danubian – Pontian country*", geographically positioned at the European borders and historically linked to the European civilization, through its Latin origins and cultural influences. The tourism image promoted before 1989 highlighted key tourism assets reinforcing this symbolic national representations: the Black Sea, the Carpathians and historical sites certifying Romania's European descendance. The present study analyses the role of these national stereotypes in the country image shaped by TV tourism commercials.

Like other CEE states, country branding in Romania has conserved a constant political dimension, manifested in the public actors' control of national image and narratives, their constant fear of negative associations and the oscillations between political agendas and economic benefits. Country branding initiatives after 1989 were first aimed to replace old negative associations with communism, poverty or lack of democratic values (Sussman 2012). After 2007, the NATO and the EU integration increased the national interest and efforts for country branding (Dolea and Ţăruş 2009): several sectoral public campaigns were developed with very low involvement of private bodies (Popescu and Corbos 2010) - **Figure 1**. Three main versions of Romania's country image were produced: a. *an attractive EU member* - the campaigns implemented by the Ministry of European Integration ("A fresh look at Romania", 2007), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ("Romania-Fabulospirit", 2007; "Romanians in Europe", 2008) and the Ministry of Culture ("Sibiu -European Cultural Capital 2007"); b. *an attractive economic market* - the campaigns initiated by the Ministry of Economy and Commerce ("RomâniaIT", 2007) or the Agency for Governmental Strategies ("Branding Romania", 2005); c.an *international tourist destination* - three promotion campaigns developed by the RMT. These had the highest echoes in national media and they represent the subject of this study:

- "*Romania, simply surprising*" (RSS, 2004) targeted mainly the EU and USA markets and produced 5 TV commercials (a general one and four themed ones: nature, history, seaside and Bucharest) aired on Euronews, Eurosport,

Discovery, CNN and BBC. The campaign was stopped in 2006, when a WTTC (2006) report recommended the creation of a new country brand.

- ”Romania - Land of choice” (RLC, 2009) promoted two TV commercials (a teaser and a general one) on CNN and Eurosport, featuring three famous Romanian athletes (the gymnast Nadia Comăneci, the tennisman Ilie Năstase and the footballer Gheorghe Hagi);

- “Explore the Carpathian garden” (ECG, 2009-2012) was financed with 75 million Euros by the Regional Operational Program and promoted three TV commercials (a general one, a nature and a cultural themed one) on CNN, Eurosport and Euronews.
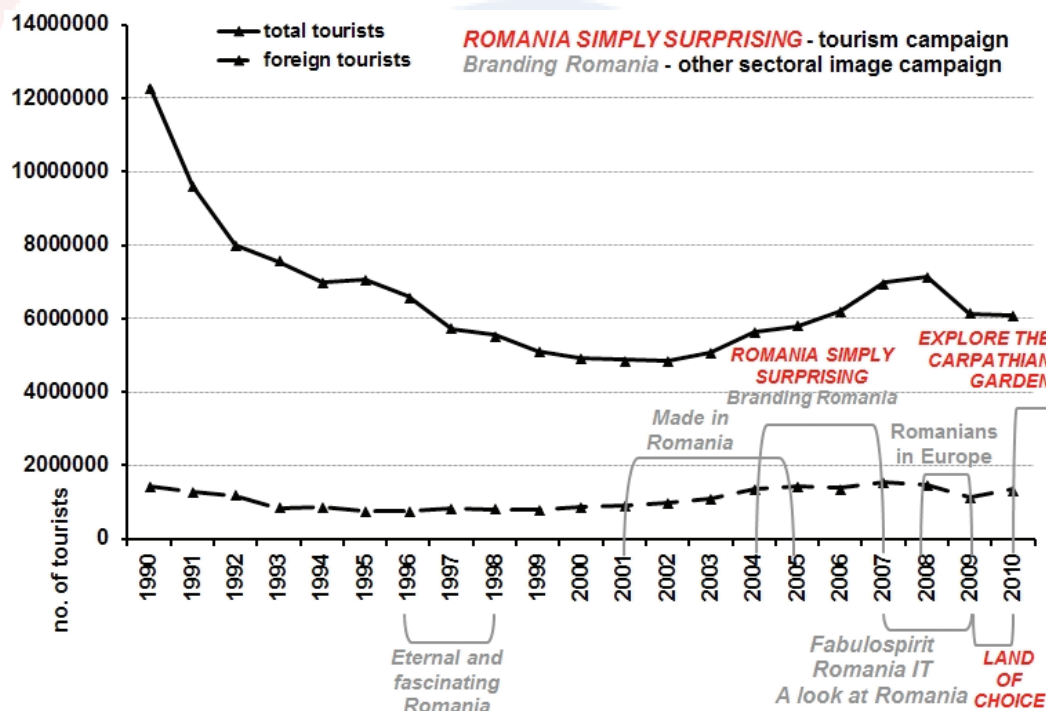
Figure 1. The main country image campaigns developed in Romania after 1990

Tourism campaigns were aimed to facilitate Romania's NATO and EU integration (Evenimentul Zilei 2007, 2008; Mistreanu 2008), which explains the role of external opinions (of foreign branding specialists) and the permanent search for positive associations to certify Romania's "Europeness' (Kaneva 2011a).

Apart the originality issues of the campaign logos (ECG) or slogans (RLC), another aspect criticized by national media and foreign specialists was authenticity and misrepresentation of the national essence (Mistreanu 2008; Popescu and Corbos 2010; Drăghicescu, 2010; the UNWTO's representative R. Batchelor, cited in Popescu and Corbos 2010). Authenticity is a frequent concept in tourism studies: either perceived as an inherent feature of tourist products and places (Wang 1999) or as a commodity socially built and shaped to meet tourist expectations (MacCannell 1973, 1976; Bruner, 1994; Sharpley 2008). Wang (1999) distinguishes also an existential authenticity, linked to the internal fulfilment experiences derived from the consumption of heritage (Moscardo 2001). Aimed to extract people from their

everyday life (Bourstin 1963), authenticity is often associated with times and spaces from the past (Olsen, 2002: 161). Different types of authenticity can be analysed in relation with tourism (Gilmore & Pine 2007: 49): natural authenticity (like places conserved in their natural state); original authenticity (as inherent features of objects and places depending on their originality or historical accuracy); exceptional authenticity, linked to the way (exceptionally well) objects and services are produced; referential authenticity which refers to other contexts, tapping into collective memories; influential authenticity which exerts influence upon people's feelings.

3. Methodology

The study focuses on TV commercials produced in three major national tourism campaigns. Aired on major international TV chains, these commercials were the most visible product of the tourism campaigns and their main communication tool. It is known that television has a key role in the construction of destination image, informing and influencing visitors (Urry 1990, 2002; Gartner 1993; Miller & Auyong 1998; Pan,Tsai and Lee 2011). Places selected and promoted in TV commercials usually become iconic. This enhances the importance of images and national representations communicated in tourism commercials.

Frequently used in the study of destination image and tourism advertisement, content analysis was used in this paper to analyse the country image communicated in the TV commercials (Pike & Ryan 2004; Pan, Tsai and Lee 2011). As video and audio text were differently used in the commercials, the study focuses on videos (Dimitrova et al. 2002; Li, Lee, Yeh, & Kuo 2006; Tussyadiah & Fesenmaier 2009). First, a structure analysis was used to identify the main themes and destination attributes. Videos were decomposed into meaningful segments like frames, shots (Cotsaces, Gavrielides & Pitas 2005; Dimitrova et al. 2002; Hanjalic, 2002), scenes and sequences (stories). The shot is a sequence of frames captured from a single camera operation and delineated by camera switches on and off, by abrupt or gradual transitions like cuts or fades and dissolves (Iedema 2001; Porter, Mirmehdi & Thomas 2001; Dimitrova et al. 2002). A group of consecutive shots sharing the same thematic content or location form a scene and a set of scenes composes a sequence. Shots were identified manually, then indexed and assigned to a theme. A list of themes (key attributes of Romania as tourist destination) was previously established based on the browsing of tourism commercials and the literature on national tourism campaigns (the ECG campaign manual, national tourism plan) e.g.: nature, traditions and rural life, cities and modern life, myths etc. Then clustering (classes of similar themed shots) was used to synthetize data and compare tourism campaigns. Finally, the weight of the frames was evaluated based on their duration (the percentage of length of time) and frequency (percentage of appearances number) in the commercial. An inventory of key features and iconic national destinations resulted, revealing the symbolic representation of the Romanian territory according to the actors behind the campaigns.

4. Results and discussion

Despite the abrupt changes of orientation announced in the media releases preceding each tourism campaign or following the restructurings of RMT, there are major similarities between the three tourism campaigns, most of them the result of the

centralized approach to country branding. All the campaigns were initiated and implemented by the ministry, employing foreign branding specialists (assumed to have a better knowledge of international markets) and without the involvement of national citizens or private actors. Overall, they use similar communication strategies: TV commercials aired on international TV channels. National imagery is communicated by the listing of key national assets aimed to differentiate Romania and to meet the visitors' expectations.

The results of the content analysis (Table 1) endorse these similarities and confirm the study hypothesis, highlighting the reiteration of the same main destination features (themes), only differently weighted according to the political and economic (internal and external) context. The increasing international demand for ecotourism could justify the increasing common weight of the two major Nature-based themes: the Carpathians and Danube Delta (up to 35.29 % of the frames number). The Cities theme is clearly dominated by Bucharest and slightly diversified in RLC and ECG with images of Sibiu and Sighisoara. Cultural Heritage underlies several key themes like Cities, Churches, Traditions and Rural, castles and fortresses (and secondarily Legends). Its overall weight constantly increases as well as the number of destinations associated, especially the UNESCO sites: churches and city centres. Legends and mysticism is a more subtle but recurrent theme, progressively developed from blurry references (RSS) to clearer assertions in video text (ECG). Sports are a secondary theme associated with famous Romanians as result of the constant search for positive associations already certified by international media and specialists (impersonations suggested by Shashi Tharoor, cited in Popescu and Corbos 2010).The logos appear as individual frames in RSS and ECG and last longer (especially in association with the campaign sponsors - RLC).

A symbolic construction of national imagery reappears in each tourism campaign, confirming that "instead of fighting stereotypes [nation branding] reproduces and enhances them" (Widler 2007: 148). The results of the content analysis and the campaigns logos repeatedly reassert the same old symbolic representation of Romania as: *a Danubian — Pontian Carpahian (RSS, RLC) / Carpathian - Danubian* country (ECG). Thus, despite their permanent search for originality, tourism campaigns reproduced and reinforced the same inherited national representations, only adapted to different contexts: e.g. the increasing recent competition of the Bulgarian Black Sea Coast explains the omission of this theme in the ECG commercials. On the other hand, this common imagery has ensured a structural and conceptual continuity between the campaigns, also meeting national expectations.

Table 1. Synthesis of the main destination features communicated in TV tourism commercials

Themes	RSS (2003)	RSS (F*, D*)	RLC (2009)	RLC (F*, D*)	ECG (2010)	ECG (F*, D*)
Carpathians (Mountains)	**Bucegi Mountains: the Sphynx**	6.72 6.9	**Fagaras Mountains: Vidraru lake, Transfăgărăşan route**	10.81 10.42	**- Fagaras Mountains: Transfăgărăşan route, Bâlea waterfall, - Maramureş**	31.37 29.85

					Mountains - Cazane Gorge (Almaj Mountains)		
Danube Delta	nature landscapes: boat, fish, birds, vegetation	18.66 19.68	nature landscapes: boat, fish, birds, vegetation , wild horses	16.22 21.88	nature landscapes: boat, fish, birds, vegetation	3.92 2.99
Black Sea Coast	**- Vama Veche, Mamaia, Neptun** resorts - beach, hotels, surfing, dolphin, boat	17.91 19.07	beach, pool, hotels	13.51 11.46	-	-
Cities (Architecture and Modern Life)	**Bucharest (**“Little Paris”): Athenaeum, Palace of Parliament, Triumphal Arch, National Theatre, Coltea church, Catacuzino Palace, CEC Palace, Dâmboviţa river, office buildings	28.36 25.96	**Sibiu** city centre, - **Bucharest**: Palace of Parliament, Athenaeum, National Village Museum - night life	32.43 29.17	**- Sibiu** **- Sighişoara** - Bucharest: Palace of Parliament	**11.76** **11.94**
Traditions and Rural life	Secondary to Danube Delta, Carpathians and Churches: traditional costumes, fisherman	13.43 5.88	sheperd, traditional village, handicrafts	16.22 14.58	- Merry Cemetery of **Săpânţa**, - pottery - traditional costumes	23.53 19.40
Churches and monasteries	**- Voroneţ, Neamţ, Suceviţa, Putna, Moldovita** (Northern Moldavia) - priest/priestess, bells	16.42 16.23	**- Suceviţa** (Northern Moldavia)	5,41 6.25	**- Dragomirna, Pătrăuţi** (Northern Moldavia) **- Argeş** Monastery **- Prislop Church, Bârsana** (Maramureş)	**21.57** **19.40**
Castles/ Fortresses	**Huniad Castle**	1.49 1.22	**Poienari fortress**	2.70 1.04	**Huniad** and **Peleş** Castles	**1.96** **2.99**
Legends and mysticism	prince, knight, spar	6.72 4.46	-blurred image (sunrise), - fish tree, -"land of.."	2.70 5.21	Secondary to Traditions and Carpathians -blurred image (fog) - Barsana, Sapanta	5.88 7.46

Sports (Secondary theme)	gymnastics, surfing, volleyball	7.29	Impersonations: gymnastics, football, tennis	27.03 21.88	- -
Logo		3.73 6.49	Secondary to frames of Danube Delta and seaside	5.41 12.50	5.88 13.43

*D – duration of the frames (% of the length of time in the commercials); F = frequency of frames (% of their number of appearances

There are elements of continuity within a video (in RSS: the plane for Bucharest; the boat for Danube Delta etc.) and among the campaigns (the bride from RSS and RLC). The transition between frames is abrupt. The frames are reinforced by audio and video text in ECG; video text reasserts the commercials theme in RSS (e.g. "Bucharest", "Danube Delta") to support images and audio in ECG and it lacks in RLC.

A short list of iconic destinations (Figure 2) was used to illustrate Romania's key destination features. The underlying geographical references are slightly extended according to the weight of the corresponding themes e.g.: more UNESCO labeled destinations were added in RLC and ECG (the old city centres of Sibiu and Sighisoara, other churches). Larger areas of the Carpathians were illustrated: Bucegi, Fagaras (RLC and ECG) and Maramures Mountains (ECG). Images from the upper sectors of the Danube River were added in ECG, while very similar images of the Romanian seaside appear in RSS and RLC.
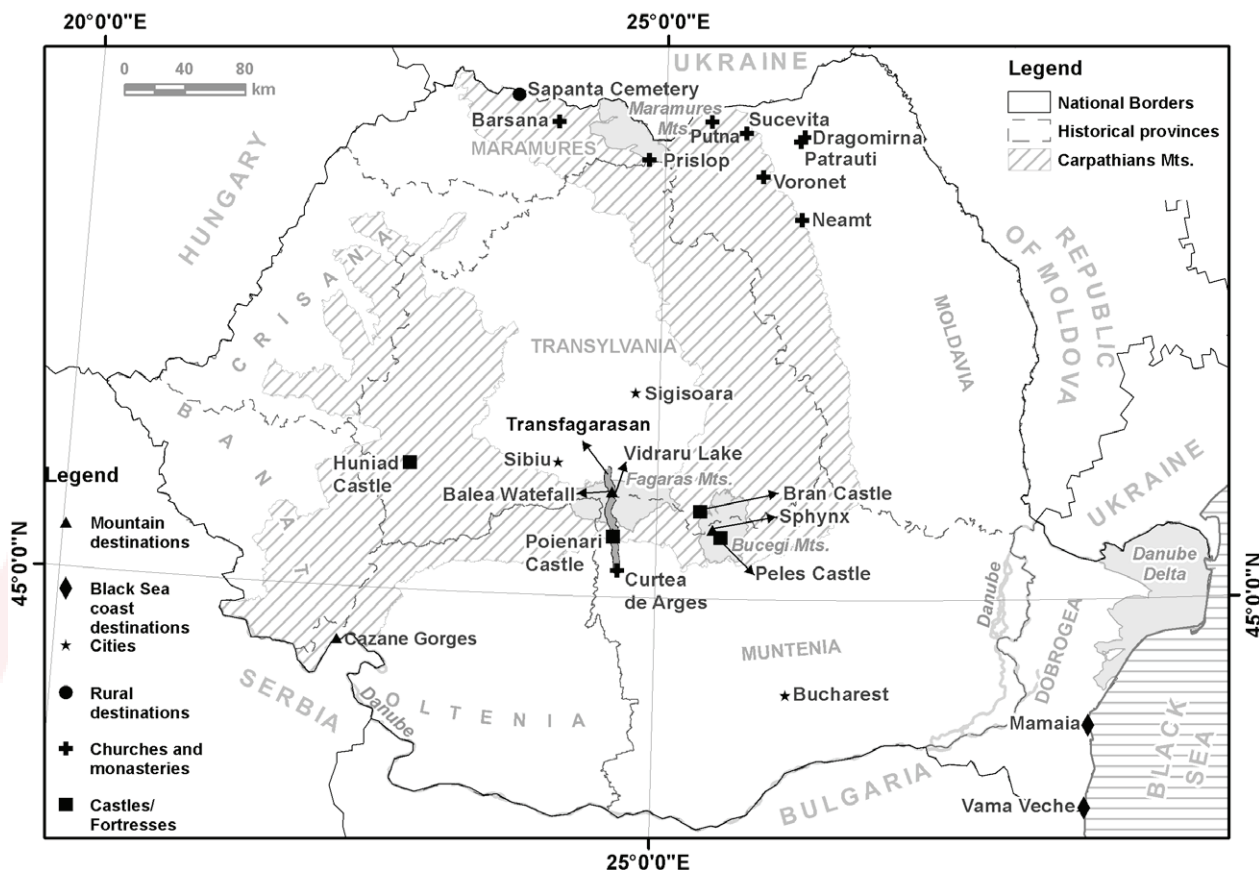
Figure 2. Destinations illustrated in the TV tourism commercials

The main themes resulting from the content analysis shape a rather blurry country image of Romania. The transition to a new "desired identity" (Ditchev 2000: 93) linked to the European integration generates conflicting discourses of national self-identification (Kaneva 2011b: 9). In their effort to compromise external and internal expectations, economic (boosting visitors flows) and political (ideological) agendas, TV commercials present Romania as an in between territory, at the intersection of: urban and rural, past (traditions) and present (modernity), communism and Europeanness; reality (history) and myths (Dracula).

Mixed images of modernity (city life) and traditions (rural life) draw the picture of a country oscillating between past and present. In the early 90's, when Romanian cities had plenty of reminders of their communist past, rural tourism was considered the best product to promote the „new" Romania abroad and therefore endorsed by national plans (1994) and new public bodies. Symbolic images of Traditions and Rural life (traditional costumes, handicrafts, rural landscapes) progressively increased their weight in tourism commercials (reaching the second place in ECG), while City images decreased but diversified: from the image of Bucharest (with 28.36 % of the RSS frames), to UNESCO destinations like Sibiu and Sighisoara.

Mixed mythical and historical references reflect the constant efforts to satisfy internal and external expectations with iconic national (historical) symbols and stereotypes frequently associated with Romania (the imported Dracula myth). Thus, the castles and fortresses theme oscillates between supporting either the mystical feature of

Romania with references to Dracula (the Poienari fortress belonged to Vlad the Impaler) or the heritage theme, with the historical references of Huniad or Peles Castle. The unexpected omission of Bran Castle (one of the most popular tourism destination among foreign visitors) is an example of the tourism authorities' oscillations regarding the capitalization of Dracula. Still, more or less subtle references to the famous character appeared in every campaign: from images of cloaked flying princes and medieval knights (RSS), to the campaign slogan ("the land of" in RLC), teaser images (of fish trees and Romanians riding zebras in RLC), new destinations (Poienari fortress) and blurry mysterious landscapes (in RLC and ECG), up to the clear assertion of "mystical" on the screen text (ECG) and frame highlighting (RLC and ECG). This progressive development reflects the tumultuous relationship between the Romanian tourism and Count Dracula: first strongly rejected by RMT, officially embraced in 2001 with the initiative of a Dracula park, then abandoned, and reactivated in 2012 by private tourism actors with the launching of a "Discover Dracula" Tour, publicly supported again by the ministry. The internal appropriation of the foreign legend was a lot faster among private actors and residents and facilitated by media (enhancing its popularity and highlighting its economic benefits) and the foreigners' interest (including famous figures like Prince Charles who officially reclaimed his bloodline from Vlad the Impaler in the British TV show "Wild Carpathia", aired in October 2011).

There is constant focus on symbols of national authenticity in all the tourism campaigns as well as in their media reviews. Most of the images in the TV commercials suggest a natural and original authenticity (Gilmore and Pine 2007) illustrated by: wild nature landscapes (Danube Delta and the Carpathians), traditional costumes (RSS, ECG) and lifestyle associated with rural life (dances, handicrafts rural life - RLC, ECG). In ECG there is an explicit focus on the original authenticity, reinforced by video and audio text: "authentic" is associated with images of traditional costumes and the Merry Cemetery of Sapanta but also with Sighisoara city centre. A referential authenticity (Gilmore and Pine 2007) is illustrated by constant references to a medieval (castles, knights) and communist past (the palace of Parliament). Images of worship places, architecture, wild nature and rural life could be also seen as illustrations of an influential authenticity linked to environmental, spiritual or cultural experiences and nostalgia for the past. These are reinforced by the ECG video text: "explore", "discover", "mystical". An exceptional authenticity associated with human interaction and tourist services is also implied in ECG by words like "welcoming" or "relaxing".

5. Implications

The themes highlighted in Table 1 and their corresponding destinations shape a synthesized national tourism geography: just a few iconic places were selected to illustrate what tourism authorities considered representative and authentically Romanian. Large areas of the national territory were repeatedly excluded from these commercials. This narrow territorial perspective is reinforced by other public documents: e.g. the campaigns themes correspond to the tourism development axes proposed in the national Tourism MasterPlan for 2007-2026 (MTRD 2007: Black Sea coast, health resorts, UNESCO churches, urban destinations, rural tourism and ecotourism). National statistics frequently present tourism data aggregated in six major destinations: mountains, Danube Delta, seaside, Bucharest and big cities, health resorts and "other destinations" summarizing the rest of the country.

The lack of involvement of national private actors and citizens in the construction of country image affected the success of these campaigns and their national impact. This was confirmed by the reaction of a national journal and a tourism blog that launched subsequent online surveys aimed to identify the Romanians' versions of the most representative national destinations. Excepting the first one (Evenimentul Zilei 2007, with 60000 online voters), when only three of the top seven Romanian anthropic destinations appeared in TV commercials (Moldavian monasteries, Huniad castle and Sibiu city centre), the other surveys showed high similarities between the residents and tourism authorities' opinions. The 2008 top of natural destinations (Hera 2008) included the Danube Delta and 6 Carpathian destinations; five of top seven destinations voted in 2012 were already included in TV commercials (Huniad and Peles castles, Săpânţa, Transfăgărăşan and Voroneţ). This suggests that the negative reviews of tourism campaigns actually targeted not necessary the national symbols used but the means of building and communicating the country image.

Ignored by political actors, these surveys revealed a significant aspect that could be capitalized by tourism campaigns: the localist reactions such as local media campaigns developed by local journals, authorities and residents and aimed to promote places constantly missing from national tourism plans and advertising. The surveys also underlined once again the significant omission of Bran Castle from the TV commercials despite its increasing popularity and the progressive national embracement of the imported Dracula's myth (missing in the 2008 survey results and ranked third in 2012).

Another argument supporting the involvement of private actors in the national tourism strategies is the failure in the capitalization of a very popular brand associated with Romania – Dracula. The permanent oscillations of the Romanian authorities on this topic and their constant fear of negative labels is reflected by a blurred country image, at the limits of reality and myths. This had a negative impact on meeting the expectations of both foreign visitors and national private actors (that did not to fully benefit from the economic advantages of this brand).

Another factor that could help further promotion strategies is the use of content analysis in the development of better evaluation tools for the tourism campaigns. It is true that given the very divers factors shaping the destination image, it is very hard to separate and measure the impact of only tourism campaigns (commercials) on Romania's external perceptions and tourist flows, but a cross-analysis with different statistics (like tourist inflows and investments) could bring new information and orientate further approaches. For example, according to the national statistics, along the implementation of the three campaigns, Bucharest and the main Romanian cities concentrated the highest shares of the foreign tourist inflows (50 % in 2010), but they followed the decreasing trend indicated in the analysis of TV commercials; at the same time, the constant promotion of wild nature corresponds to an increasing attractiveness of the mountain resorts (up to 36.7 % of the foreign inflows in 2010). On the other hand, the slightly increasing inflows to the Black Sea coast after 2008 reflects better the economic context than the tourism campaigns orientations, where the seaside I omitted from the ECG commercials.

6. Conclusions.

Overall, these centralized approaches of tourism promotion shaped an indistinctive country image, linked to evolving economic and political, internal and external factors. All the campaigns have reinforced the idea of a politically (European/non-

European; democracy/communism), geographically (urban/rural; West/East) and historically (past/present) "in between" country.

Despite the successive attempts to rebuild a new country image, the reproduction of powerful identity stereotypes (Romania as a Carpathian – Danubian – Pontian country) in the TV commercials ensured continuity and facilitated self identification. Still, a higher involvement of residents and private actors in building Romania's destination image could enhance the campaigns messages and their success.

A special attention should be paid to the promotion of several key national features that are similar or shared with other neighbour countries and already included in their tourism commercials: Ukrainian monasteries and the Carpathians or the Bulgarian Black Sea Coast. On the other hand, Romania's high premises of self-exotisation that could lure western tourists (Dracula) are still poorly capitalized because of the tourism authorities' oscillations on this topic. A transnational study on the content of TV commercials could be the subject of further studies.

A major constant of the three campaigns analysed is the lack of any impact studies. These could justify reinvesting in a new country image before abandoning previous ones (with every major political shift); positive aspects could be identified and reinforced, ensuring the continuity of messages. The development of precise and complex indicators should be another topic of further researches.

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Self-determination in International Law and Basque Country Issue

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Abstract

In this study, the process of self-determination in terms of international law and its results will be examined by considering the Basque Country issue. First of all, the historical background of the self-determination term will be explained by analyzing the decisions of the United Nations.

Despite the fact that the term of self-determination was considered as a political principle, it began to be one of the most important concept of the international law during 20th century. It steadily became a legal right via the effect of Twin Covenants of 1966 and the resolutions of the General Assembly of United Nations and also the effect of other actors' decisions of international law. The term can briefly defined as people's right of a certain nation who can decide how they want to be governed without the influence of any other country.

As the other sub-national bodies, the Basque Country struggles with various institutional and legal problems through its relation with many international organizations. The problem is to examine whether it is possible to apply the self-determination rules to the Basque Country issues.

Keywords: International Law, Self-determination, Basque Country

Any examination of self-determination runs promptly into the difficulty. Since the concept lends itself to simple formulation in words which have a ring of universal applicability and perhaps of revolutionary slogans. Yet the time comes to put it into operation it turns out to be a complex matter hedged in by limitations and caveats. (Emerson 1971, p. 459)

The concept of self-determination derives from pshilosophical affirmation of the human drive to translate aspiration into reality, coupled with postulates of inherent human equality. (Lillich 1984, p. 115) Scholars frequently cite the normative precepts of freedom and equality invoked in the American revolt against British rule and the overthrow of the French monarchy as progenitors of the modern concept of self-determination. The core values associated with self-determination, however, clearly are not solely within the province of the history of Western thought.

The term self-determination gained prominence in international political discourse around World War I. President Woodrow Wilson linked the principle of self-determination with Western liberal democratic ideals and the aspirations of European nationalists. (Anaya 1996, p. 76) No matter how enthusiastic Woodrow Wilson may have been about the prospect of drawing a post-war map for the Europe of the 1920s based on the self-determination of peoples; Robert Lansing ,Wilson's own secretary of state, at the time already provided a counterweight and famously warned that self-determination was "simply loaded with dynamite." If Wilson's Fourteen Points marked the birth of a new doctrine in international law, then Lansing's critique already ensured that the delivery was not without complications. (Klabbers 2006, p. 188)

Lenin and Stalin also embraced the rhetoric of self-determination in the early part of this century, while viewing self-determination in association with Marxist precepts of class liberation. World War II gave rise to the United Nations (UN), and "self-determination of peoples" was included in the UN Charter among the organization's founding principles. (Anaya 1996, p. 76) The commitment of the international society of states to the self-determination of all peoples was demonstrated with the signing of the UN Charter in 1945. Article 1(2) of the UN Charter states that one of the purposes of the UN is to pursue the development of friendly relations among nations 'based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples'. Besides UN Charter The International Human Rights Covenants hold out self-determination as a "right" of all peoples, as do the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Helsinki Final Act.

Nevertheless, the background to the emergence of the legal right to self-determination was the movement for decolonisation during the 1960s. This helps to explain why, despite self-determination as a political principle having a number of different dimensions, (Saul 2011, p. 613) The core meaning of the legal right to self-determination centres on the idea of freedom from subjugation. For instance, the UN General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Indepence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 1960 states that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations…' (GA Res 1514 (XV), 14 December 1960, at paras 1 and 2.) and provides that 'all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of their right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development'. This is the basis for a people subject to

colonial rule to be given the choice of how they wish to be constituted: independence, integration or association with another state. Between 1945 and 1970 fifty-five states had become independent and benefitted from the right of self-determination. (Knop 2002, p. 102)

It is strikingly clear that the right to self-determination was introduced into international law in vague terms. For instance, paragraph 1 of common Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 reads: 'All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.' Still, given the passage of time since this clause was agreed upon, it might have been expected that a more determinate understanding of the scope and content of the right would have emerged, or at least be on its way to emerging. This is not the case. The doctrinal debates, on the meaning of 'peoples' and the contents of the right that 'peoples' enjoy, have no end in sight. (Saul 2011, p. 611)

Although, it is now accepted that the legal right to self-determination also applies beyond the colonial context, there is controversy as to 'who else [other than the population of an overseas colony] is a 'people', whether other peoples have a right to self-determination, and, if so, how they can exercise their right of self-determination.' These questions have spawned an ever-growing scholarly literature. (Saul 2011, p. 614)

When we examine International Courts' approach to the right of self determination has been identified by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as 'one of the essential principles of contemporary international law'; other bodies have tended to stress the lack of enforceability of self-determination by radically seperating self-determination from its most obvious consequence, the (possible) right to secession. (Klabbers 2006, p. 197)

Likewise, the Badinter Commission, endowed with the task of assisting the European Union in formulating its policies towards the dissolution of Yugoslavia and confronted with the loaded question of whether the Serbian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia would have a right to self-determination, (Knop 2002, p. 26) noted that self-determination does not encompass a right to secede and, indeed, amounts to little more than minority treatment. (Badinter Commission (No. 2), 92 I.L.R. 167, 1993)

For its part, the UN Human Rights Committee also seems to have embraced a relatively narrow version of the right to self-determination. Most remarkably, perhaps, its General Comment 12 seems to conceive of self-determination as predominantly serving individual rights. Additionally, when calling upon states to "describe the constitutional and political processes which in practice allow the exercise" of the right to self-determination, the underlying conception appears to be the rather limited one of a legal norm that can only (or predominantly) be implied domestically. (Klabbers, 2006, p. 198)

The picture that emerges from some of the relevant recent case law and authoritative opinions is that self-determination should not be considered exclusively a hard, substantive, and enforceable right that could ultimately include a right to secede, but

that self-determination has been given a more limited meaning. The exact identity of that more limited meaning remains unclear, and the Badinter Commission could with some justification state that "international law as it currently stands does not spell out all the implications of the right to self-determination." (Badinter Comission 1993, p. 168) What is clear, though, is that courts and tribunals are not in the habit of equating self-determination with secession; instead, secession increasingly comes to be viewd as a new possible "right" in its own right, seperate from a right to self-determination. Moreover, increasingly self-determination is seen not as an enforceable right but rather as a more open-textured principle. (Rosas 1995, p. 54)

International legal norms are not static. Rather their scope and content can change over time. Central components in any development of an international legal norm are the practice and views of states. Hence, although a norm might be formulated in vague terms, a more definite meaning can develop over time. (Saul 2011, p. 610)

Clarity on the meaning of self-determination as a legal norm is perhaps hindered more than other norms by the controversial nature of the topic. This must be central to why 'the states themselves rarely venture opinions on the nature of the right in their resolutions, reports, or diplomatic exchanges on the subject'. Yet the controversial nature of some of the subject matter that the right to self-determination has been suggested to include, such as the right of a group within a state to secede and form a new state, might not be the only reason that the states have not made more effort to make their views on the scope and content of the right known. It is possible, for instance, that states place some value in the vagueness of the law of self-determination because it permits a broad range of plausible interpretations and is therefore able to accommodate unforseen circumstances. It is also possible that the doctrinal debates about the right's normative status could be deterring states from suggesting content for fear of the consequences that will follow from a more determinate norm coupled with a particular normative status. (Saul 2011, p. 611)

Political importance could be a reason for states to prefer that the right remains ill-defined. This is because the international community are more likely to respond to the breach of a norm that is perceived as politically significant, but if the norm is kept ill-defined, states will retain a leeway to resist claims that they are not fulfilling obligations to peoples under their authority. (Saul 2011, p. 612)

After understanding the international law perspective of self-determination, the situation of the Basque Country in Northern Spain and its desire for independence can be examined.

The Basque Country is an autonomous community in northern Spain, which straddles the border between France and Spain territory. (Martínez-Granado, Greño, and Oleaga 2012, p. 9) Basque people are spread over the Basque Autonomous Region and Navara in Spain, and part of the French Atlantic Pyrenees Department. The center of the conflict is the Basque Autonomous Region in Spain, so the term "the Basque Country" is used to explain this region. The Basque Autonomous Region area is 7,234 square kilometers, it refers around 1,5 percent of the total area of Spain. In 2000, there were 2,1 million inhabitants, it refers around 5.2 percent of the total population of Spain. (Abadie & Gardeazabal 2003, p. 114) Although the Basque people have a unique history and identity, they could not separate themselves from Spain. Through the history, Spain has been invaded by many groups, such as the Visigoths, the

Romans, and the Moors. All of them had effects on cultural and ethnical structure of Spain. In 1512, Basque provinces were integrated into the Spanish Kingdom. Although they were living under the control of Spain, the Basques were allowed to govern themselves. They had their own Basque laws and also customs that called as 'fueros'. In 1876, in order to strengthen the centralized government, the kingdom of Spain and the Basque country were integrated and there was no fueros anymore. After the integration process, a Basque nationalist sentiment developed. As a result, in the 1890's the Basque Nationalist Party was formed, in order to protect the political rights, language, culture and fueros of the Basque people. (Murphy 2007, p. 337-338) However, at the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, with the emergence of General Francisco Franco, the Basque people, their culture, their language, and their history endured oppressions in the name of Spanish unity and nationalism. (Murphy 2007, p. 338)

Although there was Spain authonomy, the Basque Country has acted independent from the central government via its own educational system, police force an deven its own parliament. Basque nationalists who are opposed the Spanish constitution of 1978, represented the majority of Basque Nationalist Party (PNV: Partido Nacionalista Vasco). It supported a close relationship with Spain and enabled the creation of Basque Autonomous Community. Fifteen percent of the Basques supported the illegal Batasuna Party. In 2003, he was outlawed because of his close relationship with ETA. In Basque language ETA is "Euskuadi Ta Askatasuna", it means "Basque Homeland and Freedom". ETA is a militant organization that emerged in 1959, as a result of the hard-line oppression of the Franco dictatorship to the Basque identity. (Murphy 2007, p. 338-339)

The main purpose of ETA is to promote the establishment of an independent Basque Country. When Francis Franco was died in 1975, the decentralization process of Spain has begun. However, ETA's violance has still continued. (de la Calle & Snchez-Cuenca 2013, p. 96) Through its history, ETA is increasingly condemned as a militant and terrorist organization that is accused by killing and kidnapping approximately 1000 people. (Borgen 2010, p. 1014) It can be seen that even though there have been many terrorist attacks in all Spanish regions, ETA's violent activities have been generally concentrated in the Basque Country. (Abadie & Gardeazabal 2003, p. 115)

Over the centuries, the Basque Country struggles with diverse legal and institutional problems. The Basque Country is an isolated region that is regarded as separate from the Spanish state. Thus it is possible to say that many of the Basques believe that they have a right to self-determination. However, the independence desire of the Basque Country has continued to be refused by the Spanish government. (Murphy 2007, p. 322-323)

Basque nationalism uses the power of self-determination. As it is mentioned, in 1978, the Spanish constitution refused the right of self-determination for the Basques. Thus the Basque nationalists considered it inadequate. (Lecours 2012, p. 273) The Basque Country had 'no' vote ,and this showed that the Basques did not want to do anything with the Spanish central government. (Borgen 2010, p. 1015) According to the Basque nationalists, the refuse of recognizing Basques rights is not legitimate. (Keating 2004, p. 381) In 1986, Spain became a member of the European Union. This

membership caused the idea that somehow preempted or dispossessed the Basque Autonomous Community of its recently assumed powers. (Borgen 2010, p. 1015)

The struggle of nationalists affected the proposal that is prepared by Basque president, Juan Jose Ibarretxe. In 2003, the Ibarretxe Plan was first presented and in 2004 it was endorsed by the Basque Parliament. The plan is related with the renogatiation of Basque sovereignty and their partnership with Spain. (Lecours 2012, p. 273) This proposal was seen as a 'New Political Statute' for the Basque Country, because it was trying to make a creation of a Basque state freely associated with Spain. The Ibarretxe Plan had a symbolic importance and also it could create a new political situation. Citizens became more aware of the issues that are related with sovereignty, nationality and democratic representation. (Keating & Bray 2006, p. 347.) Through its history, Spanish politicians have always refused the notion of self-determination. According to them, self-determination has a meaning that has a close relationship with independence and it is a threat to territorial intergrity of Spain. (Lecours 2012, p. 273)

It is also necessary to say something about Basque nationalism. It is related with "common bonds" and it is given an importance in the Statue of Autonomy. According to that statue, the Basque society should not be divided into communities. In recent years, the nationalists have tried to de-legitimise it and they have called for the restoration of democracy since it alleged that the Basque people are 'ruled against their will' by an 'external majority' who represented by the non-nationalist parties. (Alonso 2004, p. 707-708.)

In a traditional meaning, nationalism is something about fixing the borders. However, in contemporary Europe, nationalism can cause the loose of territory and the transparency of those borders. After the European Union membership, the Ibarettxe Plan was seen as a challenge to sovereignty conceptions in Spain, by being a part of the state transformation process in EU. This plan tried to challenge boundaries, both symbolic and physical ways, by using new concepts such as a Basque nationality of equal status with Spanish nationality. While doing this, it did not try to change the physical borders. Instead of that, it attempted to change their significance, by shifting the locus of sovereignty and re-situating the debate at a wider European level. In such a manner, political and cultural boundaries do not need to correspond to fixed physical borders or states. (Keating & Bray 2006, p. 350)

There are so many comments about what is Basque nationalism, but in reality, it is a complicated movement and also tradition that can not be totally understood without analysing its different strands. For example, one of these strands is the foral traditon that is related with the fueros of the Basque provinces (Kingdoms of Castile and Kingdoms of Spain). In the 19th century, most of them were abolished because of the dynastic conflicts. (Keating & Bray 2006, p. 351)

According to Spain's political view, a right of self-determination may not ultimately result in independence. In international law perspective, there are many ways to express self-determination. One of them is selfgovernment within an existing State, the other is full independence. Spain's argument is that international law can not assume the result of a self-determination claim, as independence. Moreover, the Government of Spain wanted to emphasize that secession 'as a form of sanction has no place in contemporary international law'. (Borgen 2010, p. 1019)

In heterogeneous societies, there is no relation between the term of self-determination and traditional nationalism. Because in order to maintain the new political structures, there is a need for consensus. This situation shows the priority of endogenous factors that should be examined. This is also acceptable for the Basque Country issue. There is a conflict between Basque Country and Spain that should be solved. As a solution, the Ibarretxe's Plan aims a new 'agreement for co-existence' with the Spanish state. However, he ignores the fact that it is in a different arena, that co-existence must first be restored even between the Basques themselves. (Alonso 2004, p. 708.)

Symbolically, it can be said that the right to self-determination is a tangible right which have been written with 'the blood of the peoples'. The holder of the self-determination right does not clear, but the context of that is clear; it should be a creation of an independent state or an affiliation or an integration. (Klabbers 2006, p. 192)

As a conclusion, it might be understood that as in the situation of Basque Country, if there is a conflict that causes violence for a long time, there is also something wrong with the human rights. And if there is something to do with human rights, it can not be defeated since nothing can defeat the human spirit at all. (Alonso 2004, p. 703.) The right to self-determination can be qualified as one of the more controversial terms of international law. The internal self-determination should be provided by the state, and then people can claim a right to external self-determination. However, this might cause a right to secession, and this situation can result in the same problems, as it can be seen through the history.

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A Framework for Developing Sustainable School Leaders: North Carolina's School Executive Reforms and The University Revisioning Process

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Abstract

North Carolina's universities and colleges are in the final stages of implementing a mandatory "revisioning" process for Master of School Administration (MSA) and Add-on-Licensure (AOL) programs. One of the goals is to train sustainable school leaders. The process of revamping school leadership programs is based on an integrated set of reforms including a 21st Century Framework, the North Carolina Standards for School Executives, and a candidate portfolio assessment. These reforms were preceded by a sixty-year national debate over how best to prepare and license school leaders. This paper examines the development of North Carolina's integrated reforms, and how one university-Appalachian State, "revisioned" its MSA/AOL programs. While agreeing with the importance of school leaders applying principles of sustainable leadership to promote a public education system that enhances American democracy and social justice, the author warns that there are several factors standing in the way. The current structure of American governance, ideological divisions, and the impact of instantaneous electronic communication make it difficult for American school leaders to implement sustainable leadership practices. To overcome these barriers, the solution is for educational leadership programs, other academic disciplines, and the public schools to instill sustainable leadership practices in the next generation of students.

1. Introduction

Over the last three decades, the ecological sustainability revolution has been driven by an increasing awareness of the interconnectivity of people and processes and the need for a global perspective beyond self and country to prevent ecological disaster. Since the 1970's, the United Nations has sponsored a series of summits and conferences to educate countries about the looming ecological crises and promoted international coalitions to advance sustainable practices around the globe (United Nations, 2011). The essence of ecological sustainability is to meet "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Edwards, 2005).

The academic discipline and practice of educational leadership has experienced a similar awakening about the need to instill sustainable leadership practices in school leaders. The rate of change in public schools has increased exponentially—a product of ever-expanding accountability measures by state and local governments, instant communication brought on by technological advances in global communication, calls for greater stakeholder involvement, and a need to develop students capable of thriving in a global economy. Consequently, school leaders often feel that sustaining any kind of educational practice is impossible. While ecological concerns have driven the movement for environmental sustainability, an inability to establish sustained leadership and pedagogical practices have propelled sustainable leadership practices. Heidi Helm (2013) argues that leaders need to develop new ways of thinking that incorporate principles of sustainability. Such thinking must emphasize greater self-control and reduce control over others. It should promote greater social intelligence within individuals and their organizations rather than relying on authoritarian rule. Decision making works best when grounded in diverse sources of information that are interconnected rather than from isolated and fragmented mental silos. An early view on sustainable change in institutions of higher learning was promoted by Diamond, Gardiner, and Wheeler (2002). Leaders of higher education institutions were asked to implement a more integrated model of academic leadership that would incorporate sustainable practices. Unfortunately, little was said about the need for interaction between those institutions and outside stakeholders and other institutions which have a significant impact on operational effectiveness.

2. Three Views on Sustainable Leadership

Currently, three views dominate sustainable practices in educational leadership. They are remarkably similar to one another. Each identifies elements, principles, or factors that educational leaders need to incorporate if they are to successfully promote sustainable leadership. Michael Fullan who has written extensively on change and reform in educational institutions believes that sustainability is rooted in complex processes and must include a moral dimension (2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2010). For him, "Sustainability is the capacity of a system to engage in the complexities of continuous improvement consistent with deep values of moral purpose" (Fullan, 2005, p. ix). Fullan's approach to sustainable practices is grounded in eight elements. Sustainable leaders are expected to serve based on a moral purpose. Leaders must develop an understanding that all institutions—education, government, business, and the family, are undergoing rapid change that has resulted in changing contexts. Accountability of public schools, must shift its focus from a rigid but disconnected

accountability based on standardized testing towards establishing vertical relationships across institutions that promote capacity building. The primary end is deeper student learning. Fullan pays particular attention to the limits of human energy that are so often overlooked by leaders and policy makers. To prevent the burnout that occurs due to enormous demands and time constraints, leaders are advised to allow teachers and students to work at a more reasonable pace and to reenergize. Finally, Fuller reminds educational leaders that over time the lever of sustainable leadership can have long and lasting effects and produce deeper student learning.

Andy Hargreaves and Dean Fink characterize sustainable leadership as an attempt to preserve and develop "deep learning for all that spreads and lasts, in ways that do no harm to and indeed create positive benefits for others around us, now and in the future" (2008, p.17). Paramount is the fact that sustainability must address "the value and interdependence of all life as both its means and an end" (2008, p. 18). Sustainable practices are to be grounded in a moral concept or purpose. Hargreaves and Fink promote seven principles of sustainable leadership. The practice of sustainable leadership must exhibit depth and longevity, and promote adoption of sustainable practices within and outside of the educational organization. Central to their model is the need to promote a moral precept of justice based on a commitment to neither harm the surrounding environment nor to deplete human and material resources. Sustainable leaders are to learn from the past in hopes of creating a better future.

Brent Davies characterizes sustainable leadership as one of the "key factors that underpin the longer-term development of the school. It promotes a leadership culture based on moral purpose which provides success that is accessible to all" (2007, pp. 2-3). For Davies there are nine factors an educational leader must grasp if she or he is to promote sustainable practices. Outcomes must be measured in addition to outputs. Short term and long term objectives are to be balanced. Leaders are to think in terms of process rather than planning. Involving colleagues in decision making is encouraged. Continued improvement and development is driven by an internal passion. Often overlooked, the demonstration of personal and professional humility is important if a leader is to promote trust and long-term capacity in the educational institution. Practicing strategic timing and strategic abandonment is essential to successfully implementing sustainable practices. Sustainable leaders also expand the capacity of an institution's stakeholders and promote stakeholder involvement. They must also be able to identify strategic measures of success.

The three views on sustainable leadership share five practices in common. To be effective, educational leadership must be grounded in a moral purpose and ethical practices. Decision making involves short term and long term considerations as well as the impact that it will have on others. Sustainable leadership requires recognition of the interdependence of all educational stakeholders—educators, parents, community members, businesses, state and federal governments. Decisions must be made with each stakeholder in mind. Knowledge of the limits of human and natural resources requires the sustainable leader to make decisions that conserve and protect natural resources and human energy. Finally, the end product of sustainable leadership practices is ultimately life-long learners.

Table 1. Elements, Principles, and Key Factors of Sustainable Leadership—Fullan (2005), Hargreaves & Fink (2008), and Davies (2009).

Developing Sustainable School Leaders— Three Views		
Fullan (2005)	**Hargreaves & Fink (2008)**	**Davies (2009)**
Eight Elements	*Seven Principles*	*Nine Key Factors*
1. Public service with a moral purpose.	1. Depth-sustainable leadership matters.	1. Measure outcomes and not just outputs.
2. Commitment to changing contexts at all levels.	2. Length-sustainable leadership lasts.	2. Balance short term and long term objectives.
3. Lateral capability building through networks.	3. Breadth-sustainable leadership spreads.	3. Think in terms of processes not plans – the way that leaders involve their colleagues is more important than the documents that they write.
4. Intelligent accountability and vertical relationships (encompassing both capacity building and accountability).	4. Justice-sustainable leadership does no harm and actively improves the surrounding environment.	4. Have a passion for continued improvement and development.
5. Deep learning.	5. Diversity- sustainable leadership promotes cohesive diversity.	5. Develop personal humility and professional will as a means of building long-term leadership capacity.
6. Dual commitment to short term and long term results.	6. Resourcefulness-sustainable leadership develops and does not deplete material and human resources.	6. Practice strategic timing and strategic abandonment.
7. Cyclical energizing.	7. Conservation-sustainable leadership honors and learns from the best of the past to create an even better future.	7. Build capacity and creating involvement.
8. The long lever of		8. Develop strategic

leadership.		measures of success.
		9. Build in sustainability.

3. North Carolina's Revisioning Process for Educational Leadership Programs

In 2007, the General Assembly of North Carolina enacted comprehensive standards mandating a revision of school administration preparation programs (S.L. 2007-517). North Carolina abandoned the the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) standards and the School Leaders Licensure Assessment (SLLA) used by several states (Murphy, 1999). It was thought that the ISLLC standards and the SLLA did not allow leadership candidates to demonstrate whether they could translate research into practice in an actual school setting (English, 2000, 2005; Murphy, 2000). Desiring programs capable of producing innovative school level leaders who could translate research into practice, the General Assembly mandated integrated changes. Administrative programs and evaluation instruments for school leadership candidates were aligned with new North Carolina Standards for School Executives (North Carolina State Board of Education/Department of Public Instruction [NCSBE/NCDPI], 2010). University programs are now required to create cross-functional work teams comprised of school-based personnel, faculty from schools of education, and members from state agencies. These teams are responsible for designing and updating standards for the placement and evaluation of administrators. Written agreements between administrative preparation programs and local administrative units establish a shared responsibility for the recruitment and preparation of administrators. Additionally, partnerships between full time and adjunct faculty promote candidate exposure to a variety of academic and field-based experiences (S.L. 2007-517). A mandatory yearlong internship exposes candidates to the application of academic theory to practice within authentic field-based experiences and allows them to hone their problem solving skills. An electronic portfolio, based on formative class projects and six summative administrative problems is required of all Masters in School Administration (MSA) Degree and Add on Licensure (AOL) candidates. MSA candidates seek a MSA degree and licensure; AOL candidates seek only licensure since they already hold a Masters Degree in another academic discipline. The portfolio is the educational lynchpin for these programmatic reforms and requires the candidate to demonstrate an ability to apply "training to actual school needs and challenges" (S.L. 2007-517).

Each of these reforms is rooted in a leadership framework that includes the North Carolina Standards for School Executives and the North Carolina School Executive Evaluation Rubric for Preservice Candidates. Both instruments are based upon recent research studies on school leadership. In conjunction with the *North Carolina School Executive: Principal and Assistant Principal Evaluation Process*, they form a single framework intended to foster educational leadership programs that train, produce, and assess effective school leaders, as well as prepare candidates for post graduate assessment when they become assistant principals or principals (Mid-continent Research for Education (McREL) and Learning & NCSBE/NCDPI, 2010, September 2). The School Executive Standards and the Evaluation Rubric for Preservice Candidates contain several of the core principles of sustainable leadership practices advocated by Fullan, Hargreaves and Fink, and Davies.

4. The North Carolina Standards for School Executives, the North Carolina School Executive Evaluation Rubric for Preservice Candidates, and the Candidate Portfolio

In contrast to the ISLLC standards that emphasize what principals ought to do, the North Carolina Standards for School Executives, based upon the research from *Making Sense of Leading Schools: A Study of the Principalship*, focuses on what principals actually do (Portin, et al., 2003). While the traditional public, independent, and entrepreneurial schools in the Wallace Foundation study wrestled with vastly different issues, the skills required to successfully navigate those issues proved to be remarkably similar. The study concluded that "regardless of a school's type or stage of development, school leaders must become master diagnosticians" (Portin, et al., 2003, p. 13). Seven critical functions of leadership were identified in the *Making Sense* study: instructional, cultural, managerial, human resource, strategic, external development, and micropolitical. Instructional leadership is responsible for ensuring quality instruction, teaching practices, and resources. Cultural leadership recognizes the importance of school traditions, climate, and history. Managerial leadership manages the day-to-day operations of budgeting, scheduling, facilities, safety and security, and transportation. Human resources leadership oversees the hiring, firing, training, and mentoring of teachers and fellow administrators, as well as develops capacity. Strategic leadership promotes and supports the vision, mission, and goals of the school. External development leadership requires a principal to be the school's representative in the community, soliciting financial and moral support, and being responsible for managing political and social forces. Micropolitical leadership buffers and mediates internal interests and maximizes resources (Portin, et al., 2003, p.18).

Making Sense concluded that although principals are responsible for these seven critical areas of leadership, few leaders have the personal skill or ability to exhibit all seven. Recognizing that these critical areas of leadership do not operate as "separate silos of activity," the study pressed principals to share responsibility of leadership with fellow administrators and teachers (Portin, et al., 2003, p. 23). To enhance a principal's ability to succeed, district offices were encouraged to provide greater authority and freedom for a principal to make decisions. Equally important, colleges of education were advised to better prepare administrative candidates by exposing them to complex planning and preparation followed by appropriate post-graduate activities (Portin, et al., 2003, pp. 41-43).

The North Carolina Standards for School Executives, adopted in 2006, incorporated the critical functions advocated in *Making Sense* (NSBE, 2006, p. 2). A summary, practices, and artifacts are part of each standard. Summaries describe the nature and purpose of a standard.
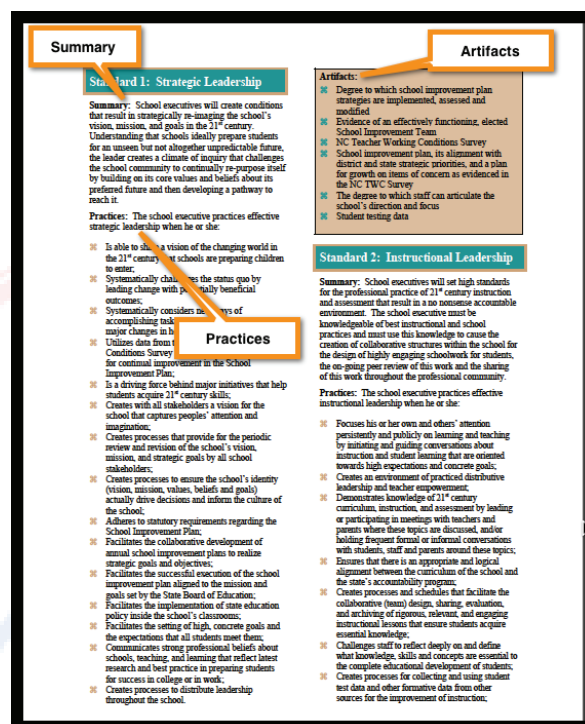
Figure 1. The North Carolina Standards for School Executives showing a single standard including its summary, practices, and artifacts (North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 2006).

Practices reveal what should be observed when a school leader properly applies a standard in the field. Artifacts provide a tangible record that the standard has been properly applied in practice. Finally, twenty-one competencies rooted in the knowledge and skills needed to promote sound educational practices, are interwoven in each of the standards. "A competency is a combination of knowledge (factual and experiential) and skills that one needs to effectively implement the practices" (NCSBE, 2006). Competencies deemed essential to sound leadership are communication, change management, conflict management, creative thinking, customer focus, delegation, dialogue or inquiry, emotional intelligence, environmental awareness, global perspective, judgment, organizational ability, personal ethics and values, personal responsibility for performance, responsiveness, results orientation, sensitivity, systems thinking, technology, time management, and being a visionary. Of those competencies, eight require knowledge and the use of sustainable leadership practices:

- Change Management
- Conflict Management
- Environmental Awareness
- Ethics and Values
- Global Perspective
- Systems Thinking
- Sensitivity
- Visionary Thinking

To ensure that school leadership programs at colleges and universities will incorporate the Standards for School Executives in coursework and the portfolio, the State Board of Education wisely instructed the North Carolina Department of Instruction (DPI) in conjunction with McREL to develop a rubric for evaluating MSA/AOL candidates. The result was the North Carolina School Executive Evaluation Rubric for Preservice Candidates.

Figure 2. The North Carolina School Executive Evaluation Rubric for Preservice Candidates showing a single standard, elements, and the progressive rating scale (North Carolina State Board of Educaton, 2010).

The Rubric for Preservice Candidates integrates the Standards for School Executives and McREL's research on balanced leadership and school achievement. The McREL Corporation was heavily involved in the training of principals on how to apply their research to leadership in the schools. Using a meta-analysis of seventy studies selected from over five-thousand, McREL researchers discovered a positive correlation (.25) between principals who properly managed twenty-one leadership responsibilities and student achievement. Additionally, principals need to understand the importance of focus and the magnitude of change to successfully lead schools (Marzano, Waters, & McNulty, 2005; Waters, Marzano, & McNulty, 2003, 2004). To educate principals how to incorporate this research into their leadership practices, McREL developed a Balanced Leadership Framework. That framework emphasizes the importance of creating a purposeful school community, as well as focusing on school practices, classroom practices, and students. Particular attention is paid to the magnitude of change, which requires the principal to create demand, implement change, manage transitions, and monitor and evaluate the change process.

Standards in the Rubric for Preservice Candidates mirror the seven Standards for School Executives and include twenty-one performance elements that MSA/AOL candidates must demonstrate for either graduation or licensure. Performance elements are rated on a progressive scale. Performance for each element is categorized as Not Demonstrated, Emerging, Developing, Proficient, or Accomplished. A similar scale and descriptors are employed in the *North Carolina School Executive: Principal and Assistant Principal Evaluation Process*.

When the MSA/AOL program at Appalachian State University developed its administrative portfolio based upon the North Carolina Standards for School Executives, it opted to create a summative assessment comprised of six action plans and projects based on standards and elements used in the North Carolina School Executive Evaluation Rubric for Preservice Candidates.

Figure 3. An Appalachian State University Portfolio Evidence Cluster Checklist, showing a description of the problem and required evidences, pre-requisite formative skills gained through coursework, and the leadership standards used to determine a candidate's level of proficiency.

Course assignments serve as formative assessments and are linked to the problems within each of the portfolio's evidence clusters. In the words of Bruce Barnett, school leadership is "an active profession that requires demonstrated actions" (1995, p. 203). During a candidate's coursework and internship, the formative process for the summative portfolio, students develop leadership skills based on research and application in the field. Students and professors are able to adapt learning and teaching throughout the formative process. Measuring a student's growth over time is facilitated. William James Popham contends that "what a teacher wants students to acquire when mastering a cognitive skill is an understanding of how the skill works and an ability to discern for themselves whether they are satisfactorily employing the skill that is being taught" (2010, p. 135).

Students work in teams completing research projects that require them to blend research and practice. Examples of projects that they are required to complete include:

- An Environmental Scan
- A School Budget Exercise
- A School Saftey Audit
- Critical Issues Analysis
- Legal Case Studies
- An Analysis of School Policy

The portfolio, summative in nature, is intended to be a bridge "between the discourse of academia and the discourse of practice" (Jones, 2010, p. 309). It transcends typical portfolio categorization, promoting not only a candidate's demonstrated growth, but also achievement, and academic status (Johnson, et al., 2010, p. 34). The portfolio provides an "extensive record of progress" in addition to "well documented learning environments" and "significant field experiences" (Milstein, 1996, pp. 3-4). As a self-assessment, it promotes deep self-reflection. In the portfolio, candidates demonstrate proficiency by creating action plans for six kinds of problems that principals must solve:

- Positive Impact on Student Learning and Development
- Teacher Empowerment and Leadership
- Community Involvement and Engagement
- Organizational Management
- School Culture and Safety
- School Improvement and Assessment

This problem-based approach is intended to develop the candidate's ability to apply theory, analysis, and authentic school leadership practices to real problems that principals face throughout their careers (Taylor, Cordeiro, & Chrispeels, 2009). The pedagogy also requires leadership candidates to look at stakeholders and institutions outside of their schools as well as to think systematically and globally. Whereas the SLLA provides only a snapshot on a given day of how well a candidate has mastered cognitive knowledge of the ISLLC standards, the portfolio rooted in the North Carolina Standards for School Executives, allows deeper analysis of the candidate's mastery of leadership skills over time and shows how well they can apply research to practice. Rarely does a problem that a principal faces require skills from only one of the seven standards. Instead, successful principals routinely employ leadership practices from multiple standards and elements when addressing a single problem. The six problems that leadership candidates address in the portfolio are purposely designed to require them to demonstrate an ability to apply leadership practices from multiple standards and elements to a single evidence cluster problem (see Figure 3). Consequently, the portfolio remains faithful to the *Making Sense* study's admonition that the critical areas of leadership do not operate in "separate silos of activity" (Portin, et al., 2003, p. 23). By the time a candidate completes the portfolio, she will have been required to demonstrate an ability to apply all of the standards and elements from the Rubric for Preservice Candidates. Not only has she learned how to apply research-based leadership skills, she will have also been prepared to complete successfully the *North Carolina School Executive*: *Principal and Assistant Principal Evaluation Process*, whose standards, elements, and proficiency scale mirror the University Rubric for Preservice Candidates (McREL & NCSBE/NCDPI, 2012). Throughout their program, leadership candidates have interacted with peers, professors, and practitioners who collectively provided "360 degree" evaluations intended to enhance their educational experiences (NPBEA, 2002). By the completion of the program, the candidate, the university, and the school district, have an accurate assessment of a candidate's abilities, strengths, and weaknesses. Candidates also have a deeper understanding of the nature of the principalship.

5. Conclusion

Revisioned school leadership programs in North Carolina provide an ideal setting for leadership candidates to identify and employ sustainable leadership practices. The North Carolina Standards for School Executives and the North Carolina School Executive Rubric for Preservice Candidates contain eight competencies that match up nicely with the views on sustainability advocated by Fullen, Hargreaves and Fink, and Davies. North Carolina Leadership programs require students to develop sound educational leadership practices based upon research. Students come away from their school leadership programs with an understanding of the global nature of the principalship, the complexity of decision making, as well as the interdependence of school professionals with stakeholders outside of schools—parents, community members, businesses, and state and federal governments who, for better or worse, affect the operation and success of public schools. By working on team projects collaboratively in their formative coursework and on authentic leadership problems with stakeholders in their schools during the portfolio process and internship, they learn the value of involving others when making decisions. Strategic decision making that considers the long term effects of planning becomes second nature. Candidates also develop an appreciation for the importance of ethics and values in their personal life and the need for the education of children to be guided by a moral purpose.

Some doubt that sustainable leadership practices will change anything or make schools better places of learning. Terry Deal warns,

> The concept of sustainability has captured the attention of academics and policy-makers. It is today's hot idea in good currency. If past is prologue, it will be around for a while. It will be the subject of scholarly books and articles. It will be reflected in policies aimed at the improvement of education. It will hang on until the next fresh notion enters the management lexicon. Then sustainability will take its place on the shelf of old buzzwords, fashionable for awhile then removed from active service (Davies, 2007, p.95).

In the United States there are several barriers that educational leaders will have to overcome if they are to successfully implement sustainable leadership practices. Americans do not have a national public education system due to the Tenth Amendment of the United State Constitution and are regulated by several masters— federal, state, and local governments (Tenth Amendment, 2013). Consequently, multi- tiered legal and statutory requirements, funding sources, and accountability affect the most elemental operations in public schools. Great division exists among the public about the effectiveness and purpose of public schools. Culture wars based on religious, philsophical, and political values have raged over the purpose of public schools and their effectiveness. In recent years, national and state elections in the United States have underscored the polarizing nature of the national political parties (Roper Center, 2013). The identification by some of sustainable leadership practices as being synonymous with the Green political movement for ecological sustainability, has fostered a degree of suspicion towards those who promote sustainable practices. Antagonists fear that sustainable practices will foster draconian governmental limitations on private actions. Ultimately, they see redistributive policies and greater

government control as inevitable if the Green movement has its way. Furthermore, technological advances in communication have eroded the public and private domains and placed those who lead under intense public scrutiny. No leader can ever escape the constant glare of the social networks on the internet, or the talking heads of televison and radio. The speed and amount of information that school leaders deal with on a daily basis allows little time for deep reflective thought.

But these barrriers, while formidable to school leadership, are the very reason why sustainable practices need to be taught in schools of leadership and other academic disciplines as well. Sustainable practices require leaders to think more deeply about the global world in which we live. Practitioners of sustainable leadership understand the need to communicate across institutional and geopolitial boundaries, the internconnectedness of economies and resources, as well as the limitations of the latter. Their thinking is girded by moral leadership that values others and recognizes the importance of thinking beyond one's self. They also realize that with great challenges, there are even greater opportunities. Technological innovation, for example, can provide many of the tools necessary for restructuring businesses and educational institutions to better serve a changing society (Shirky, 2008, 2011). Leithwood, Bauer, and Riedlinger have perhaps said it best, "In short, it is not so much that people need to believe that sustainability is possible, but more that the only way to move forward is to be 'in the game'—to be engaged, seeking and helping to produce other leaders who are similarly disposed" (2007, p. 135).

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Old Doha in Qatar, What Future in a Global City?

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Abstract

In the face of rapid economic development, population growth, people increasing needs and changing lifestyles, most historic centers in the Gulf have experienced problems in making the necessary adjustments and adaptation to the present needs and change. These centers used to keep the medina alive and participated in the economic growth of the city. However, today it is not a general case; many of these centers have been erased and replaced by new business districts and shopping malls.

In Qatar, long chapters of old Doha have been decimated during the last 40 years, when the first Master Plan was launched in 1972. During the last ten years the local authorities, started to pay attention for this lost cultural heritage. A number of interesting projects have been launched; Rehabilitation of Souk Waqif during (2004-2010) and Msheirib project during (2008-2017). However, in the mainstream of building the global city of Doha, the remaining old districts have been forgotten. These districts are suffering from dilapidation and decay due to over occupation by low income Asian workers and lack of maintenance. These districts if no action is taken are on the edge of vanishing, therefore there is a need to safeguard them as a witness of the past and as a way to complete the story of Doha with Souk Waqif and Msheirib developments.

Old Doha should be recognized as a valuable resource for future development. It is a reflection of Qatar's cultural identity, thus it should be sustained for the present and future generations. This paper focuses on the role of Old Doha in reviving and injecting a new life in the city.

Keywords: Heritage, Old Doha, Conservation, Tourism, Revitalization, District

1. Introduction

Most people tend to think that the term "urban heritage" relates exclusively to "monuments", such as ancient mosques, forts, watchtowers, palaces, remnants of city walls, and so on. However, there is another part of the city which is usually neglected and it is an integral part of the urban heritage, the historic urban center. In addition to this, there are also non-tangible elements such as specific cultural customs, traditions and beliefs. The latter, if well conserved may play a major role in the articulation of space use to the built environment, thus strengthening and enhancing a sense of pride and identity (Steinberg, 1996).

The central urban centres are the nuclei of the historic cities in the Arab World. They are the locus of economic, cultural, and residential activities, and are densely built-up and overpopulated. Moreover, they are the containers of major souks, monuments and districts of architectural and historic significance. Therefore, they need a particular attention to survive under the waves of the current globalisation era. The marked deterioration of the physical fabric in these centres greatly mitigated the identity of the Arab city.

In the face of rapid economic development, population growth, people increasing needs and changing lifestyles, most historic districts in the Gulf have experienced problems in making the necessary adaptation to the present waves of change. Located in a central position in the growing urban areas, these quarters have to function as a city centre. Consequently, they keep the city alive and they participate in the economic growth of the city. However, today it is not a general case; many of these old quarters have been marginalized and left to face their fate alone, of neglect and dilapidation.

Historic districts face the unusual challenge to find the appropriate balance between the needs of the cultural heritage and of its today's and future "users". There is a conflict of the proper safeguarding of cultural heritage as witness and symbol of our history, and as part of our identity and the present and future needs of a future-oriented urban development of our historic urban areas. An inappropriate and biased handling of this "conflict" can lead to a loss of cultural heritage values and identity, in addition to its economic redundancy leading to its vanishing. (Scheffler, 2010: 4)

Since its independence in 1971, Qatar has launched numerous unprecedented urban development projects. Doha has witnessed a growing mushrooming of office and commercial high rise towers on the West Bay Corniche. While more concentrated urban development took place in the city, a sprawling of low density residential development was spreading outwards.

Doha is part of Qatar's push to become an urban exemplar for the region, diversifying away from an oil-based economy by investing in education, enterprise, sport, transport and the quality of the public realm. It is through such events and the government's intention to develop the local knowledge- economy, to capitalize on this growth. The Qatari government is keen to demonstrate to the world how the capital is evolving to become a smarter, healthier, greener, and more sustainable city exemplar in the Arab World.

Recently attention has shifted to deal with the revitalization of the remaining historic districts (Furjan; plural of Fareej meaning district). Despite the advanced level of decay, few districts have resisted a complete decimation such as Old Al Hitmi, Barahat Al Jufairi, Al Nejada and Al Asmakh area. This paper will focus on Al Asmakh district as it is the largest one with a strategic location near Souk Waqif and Musherib, and most of all presents the most dilapidated district if no urgent action is taken.

Figure.1. Showing the location of the capital city of Doha within the State of Qatar.

2. Historic Districts and Sustainability

Sustainable development can be seen today as a powerful motivation for urban conservation planning. Basically, it would consist of a process of urban development based on the constant reuse of existing built resources, associated with a low input of energy for adaptation to new requirements conceived in society. It is also viewed as a process founded in the local culture, in an equitable distribution of urban services, the use of democratic principles of management, the maintenance and regeneration of traditional social values and practices.

During the last two decades in the Gulf, formerly-abandoned city centres became once again the focus of renewed public, academic, institutional and municipal interest. Widespread revitalization projects, occurring first in developed countries and, more recently, in developing countries, began in the hope of rehabilitating historic city centres' cultural heritage.

Large-scale reconstruction and modernization plans targeted historical buildings and dilapidated infrastructure, while the construction of new commercial, tourist, leisure

and local craft activities promised to boost the city centres' tired economy. In some cases, the arrival of the international sports events such ASIAD games in 2006 stimulated a frenzy of redevelopment projects in anticipation of the upcoming world cup 2022 spotlight of in Doha.

It is important to recognize that historical districts are not fixed in history. They are centres of encounter and exchange, these socially and architecturally rich districts are not just the living testament of a single culture's history, but a record of the connection of diverse people, ideas, cultures, politics, goods and services. Historical districts such as Al Asmakh, Najada and Al Hitmi in Doha are, first and foremost, inhabited districts by low income workers replacing the original Qatari families who moved to more spacious villas outside the city centre.

From the perspective of sustainability, cultural heritage is understood as a non-renewable resource. It encompasses some of the most important cultural values of society (identity, memory, self-consciousness and artistry), and is an asset capable of attributing value to new things through the creation of new processes based on established values. In old cities and centers, history and heritage have become the dynamic assets that combine the local and the global. They establish the local distinctiveness so attractive to a globalised tourist market. From the sustainable approach, the city is understood to be a unique ensemble that needs to be conserved in its historical integrity. This means understanding the city as a dynamic process, a structure in permanent and continuous change.

There is yet another argument for conserving old buildings and areas: the uses to which they are put and the people who occupy them. At one time, conservation of urban heritage related only to fabric, then its scope widened to character. There is now a growing realization that the activities and communities accommodated in old buildings are themselves worthy of conservation. Therefore, keeping the fabric and areas of character may go a long way to retaining the life within them. Adaptive reuse is a phenomenon which has great significance, not only because a symbiotic functional usage in historic buildings steps up the maintenance of the structure and thus delays its decay, but also because the resultant monitoring prevents cases of vandalism and scavenging of material heritage as is seen in buildings that are abandoned.

The importance of integrating economic and cultural activities in old districts cannot be overemphasized, for it is highly impossible to conceive of an economic activity that does not have a cultural impact, and vice-versa. Buildings represent such a great economic, social and cultural investment that it would be unwise for the community to waste. However, the conservation and re-use of buildings does not mean that towns and villages should remain unchanged.

For a town to be sustainable it must be viable; to remain viable it must change as circumstances change. If we want our old districts to live and not become fossilized we must allow, even encourage change. Architecturally, a historic area may appear delightful but economic activity is essential for its survival. It is not only the preservation of the physical fabric that helps conserve its meaning, but its usage and function that helps it to withstand the rapidly changing urban dynamics. It is the

activity and usage of these areas that continues to make them meaningful artifacts in the present city and a strong vehicle to sustain their life and cultural identity.

3. Doha: From Rags to Riches

In 1820, the city of Doha was founded under the name of Al Bidaa. The name "Doha" came from the Arabic ad-dawha, "which might have been derived from "dohat" — Arabic name for bay or gulf — referring to the Doha bay area surrounding the Corniche. In 1820 Major Colebrook described the city as following:

"Guttur - Or Ul Budee [Al Bidda] once a considerable town, is protected by two square Ghurries near the sea shore; but containing no fresh water they are incapable of defense except against sudden incursions of Bedouins, another Ghurry is situated two miles inland and has fresh water with it. This could contain two hundred men. There are remaining at Uk Budee about 250 men, but the original inhabitants, who may be expected to return from Bahrain, will augment them to 900 or 1,000 men, and if the Doasir tribe, who frequent the place as divers, again settle in it, from 600 to 800 men." (Rahman, 2005).

The city of Doha was bombed about three times; first it was bombarded by the British vessel Vestal in 1821, then it was bombed again in 1841 and the village was completely destroyed in 1847 following a battle against Al Khalifas of Bahrain near Fuweirat. This explains the disappearance of a large number of its historic buildings and areas. In order to prevent further decimation of the city, in 1887 Sheikh Qassim Bin Mohamed (Ruler during that time) built a high wall —Sur — to protect the city's main components of —Al Sheikh Mohamad Bin Thani house, —Al Qubib mosque , Al Ahmad mosque, the residential units, part of the Souk and the burial ground.

Figure.2. Doha city in 1958 showing the traces of the old Sur built in 1888, (Courtesy of Mr. Mohamed Ali Abdulla).

In 1916, Doha was made the capital city of the British protectorate in Qatar. During the early 20th century, much of Qatar's economy depended on fishing and pearling, and the city had about 350 pearling boats. However, after the introduction of the Japanese cultured pearls in the 1930s, the whole region, including Doha, suffered a

major depression and Qatar plunged into poverty which lasted for at least 10 years. Till the 1940s of the century, Doha was only a group of villages forming a smooth compact strip along the 5 km coast. Oil was discovered in 1939, but its exploitation was delayed till 1949 because of World War II and the Bahrain embargo.

Oil exports started in 1949 and marked a turning point in the history of Qatar. Furthermore, the year 1949 witnessed the importation for the first time of the cement as a modern building material. Therefore, most of the buildings prior to this year were erected using the traditional materials such coral stones (faroosh) for walls, Wood (danchal) for roofing and Teak wood for doors and windows. We can assume that all old buildings aged before 1950 can be considered as heritage buildings that it is worth conserving.

The 1950s witnessed a cautious development of government structures and public services under the British protection. Real development started in 1955 when the demand of accommodating the new expatriates highly increased. In 1959, oil wealth acted as a catalyst for modern urban development. During the 1960s, new administrative centers sprang up to manage the vast revenues, and in 1969, the Government House opened. In 1970, the population of Doha reached 85000 with foreigners consisting around 67%. Following the withdrawal of the British, the State of Qatar declared its independence on September 3, 1971. Thus, Doha became the capital of the new state attracting thousands of foreign experts and workers in the construction sector.

Due to a lack of a comprehensive planning, from 1978 until 1981, the reclamation of land from the sea started to empty out the down town. The reclamation project formed a symbolic and functional tool for the future of Doha where the Corniche has become a symbol for the new modern city, hosting the governmental and commercial buildings. Since then, Doha has witnessed the most extraordinary expansion in international banking, sports and tourism activities, as evidenced by the many modern towers, malls, hotels and seats of power scattered throughout the city. The physical development of Doha and the various conurbations of the peninsula have been accompanied by extensive preparatory work, which caused in many occasions the destruction of numerous historic buildings and areas, which shows another conflict between modern planning and the neglect of heritage in old Doha.

Figure.3. Introduction of roads without any prior plans led to the destruction of many old buildings and districts.

4. Fareej Al Asmakh: What Future in a Global City?

Fareej (district) Al Asmakh is an old area dating back to 1930 is located in the heart of the city of Doha. Fareej Al Asmakh is the largest amongst the remaining districts; with a total area of 326333 m2. It has a more coherent fabric with numerous blocks of authentic old houses of different type and character. The area is encircled by middle size modern houses up to six floors along Asmakh, Musheireb and Abdul Aziz streets. Towards north many lots are empty which makes room and opportunities for creating infill projects. Due to its strategic location near Souk Waqif and the Musheirib project Fareej Al Asmakh presents a significant historic value to the city, that it should not be sacrificed. The district if well revived can be a future sustainable commercial and tourist attraction (Qatar Museum Authority, 2012: 7-11).

Most of the houses in Al Asmakh area go back to the beginning of the 20th century; some of them also seem to have been built around the 1930s well before the arrival of the first cement shipment to Doha in 1949. Today old Al Hitmi, Al Nejada, Barahat Al Jufairi and Al Asmakh areas are suffering from neglect, decay and overcrowding to become urban slums in the heart of Doha. Fareej Al Asmakh presents the most critical state of disrepair and dilapidation. Thus, its conservation can contribute in encouraging Qatar Museums Authority to continue conserving the other districts in an attempt to rediscover and sustain the city's cultural identity.

Figure.4. Doha, aerial photo of the old town with Asmakh B (left), Asmakh A (center) and Najada (right). In the background the Musheireb project and Souk Waqif. (Courtesy of Qatar Museums Authority).
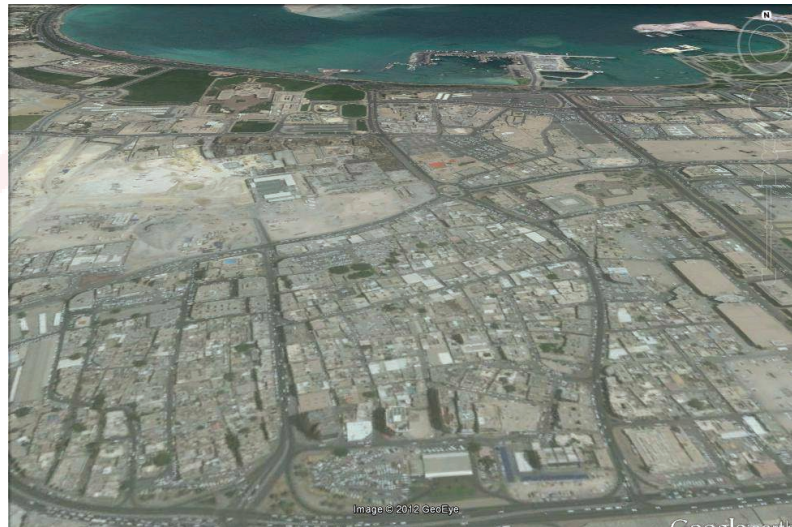
The Western part is largely homogenous in its historical architecture – as far as we see unique in the Gulf region as for the preservation condition - and would offer the chance of combining the houses into a preserved area, for instance as a hotel of exquisite deluxe rank, offering not only the atmosphere but singular experience of the qualities of authentic Qatari upper class architecture. The remnants of the old middle class quarter, cut off from Asmakh by Ahmad bin Abdulaziz Street, represent a partly coherent compound of small courtyard houses lined up along streets and lanes. The larger eastern part with a variety of small and middle size buildings has recently been altered by several higher new constructions and unfortunately also by devastations of old houses, (Qatar Museum Authority, 2012: 7-11).

Figures. 5& 6, the misuse of Al Asmakh houses by the large number of low income occupants crammed in the fragile dwellings.

An important assumption is that if conservation of Fareej Al Asmakh is to succeed, it has to be understood as part of the entire city planning of Doha and not just as an

isolated entity. In addition, other key elements of the proposal include; moderation of growth, rehabilitation of the residential function, re-establishment of a balance of uses, heterogeneity, integration among people, activities and buildings. In order to implement this strategy there is a need to elaborate an integrated conservation and management plan, to avoid random and spontaneous actions that have failed so far to maintain a continuous interest in the conservation endeavor.
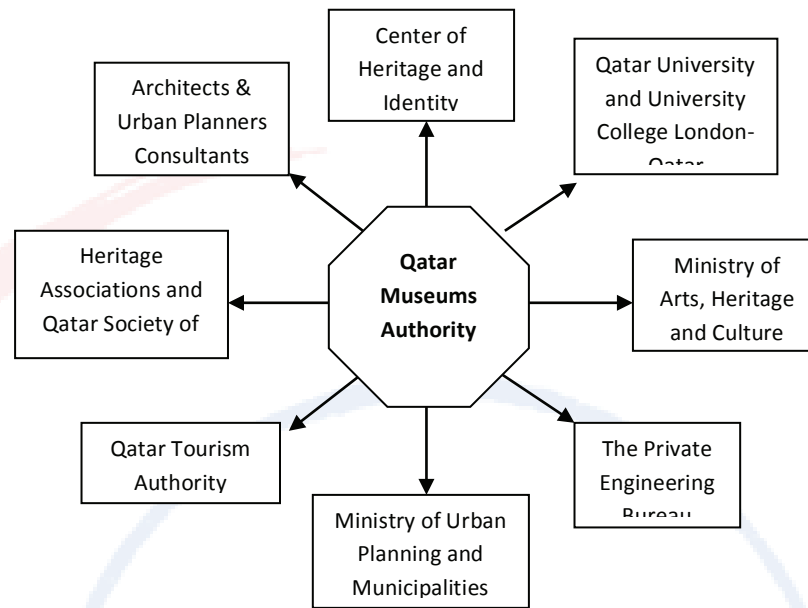
An integrated conservation and management plan determines and establishes the appropriate strategy, objectives, actions and structures to safeguard the cultural heritage, in general and that of Al Asmakh in particular. The plan's target is to balance the different needs and to use Fareej Al Asmakh as development asset. The proposed integrated conservation and management approach aims to:

- safeguard the cultural heritage values of Fareej al Asmakh;
- develop and ensure an attractive, competitive and multifunctional Al Asmakh area;
- balance and manage the demands and needs of Al Asmakh built heritage;
- manage and balance conflicting uses/ functions and the different demands of the original inhabitants wishing to return to Al Asmakh.

In order to implement this conservation plan there is a need to involve all stakeholders and citizens in this project. Although, the objective of saving urban heritage is accepted by everyone, but there is lack of coordination between the heritage players. Most of the heritage institutions work individually and independently with hardly any cooperation. As a matter of fact, to manage wisely these different efforts there is a need to establish a management network that will link these heritage players and actors for the purpose of saving what is left of old Doha and Al Asmakh.

The following framework aims at enabling the Qatar Museums Authority to play a wider role at the national level. It can be the main coordinator body linking the various heritage players to save old Doha. Its proposed role can be seen in the lines of the English Heritage in UK. Eight heritage players groups can be defined, urban heritage, educational, research, voluntary associations, which should all cooperate together under the umbrella of the Qatar Museums Authority. This framework is more developed in the following diagram.

Diagram. 2. Proposal for a Management Heritage framework

The integrated conservation and management approach has to link the safeguarding of Fareej Al Asmakh with the socio-economic and environmental development of Doha to develop and secure dynamic, attractive and competitive economic, social and cultural centers. The intention here is to propose a flexible framework in which the following guidelines for policy and legislation should be highly considered by the different heritage players:

- Preservation of the cultural heritage: Preserving the tangible and intangible cultural heritage values of Al Asmakh area and old Doha.
- Environmental issues: Adaptation of the cultural heritage to environmental requirements and minimizing the negative impacts.
- Economic development: Attracting & retaining a mix of economic uses that meets the needs of the local community and visitors (shops, jobs, housing, culture etc.) and respects the character of Fareej Al Asmakh.
- Tourism: Sharing the unique character and identity of the district that brings economic & social benefits – balancing the needs of inhabitants & visitors.
- Urban planning and development: Clear planning guidance to secure multifunctional areas and to balance/ coordinate the demands of the users.
- Education and awareness rising: Fostering a strong identity of the Al Asmakh inhabitants with their cultural heritage and mobilizing the citizens to play an active role in the heritage management.
- Science and research: Fostering scientific results for heritage planning and urban development and encouraging research topics, which can be carried out at Qatar University and University College London in Qatar.

'For example, when we Demolish Al Asmakh district to make room for a car park, let us not forget that Some children Grew up in that neighborhood And that It is Their past we are razing. We ought not to obscure or forget that fact by saying the "real" past only begins with the generation before 1949, and therefore we need not worry about having destroyed a sense of continuity with the past by destroying that

neighborhood" (Caton, & Ardalan, 2010: 32). Development has to sustain some present built environment (of the sixties, seventies, and eighties) if Qatar is to sustain a continuity with the past for the present generation of young people who are, after all, the future. Of course, not everything can or necessarily should be preserved of the present, otherwise development could not move forward – there Are always trade-offs; but there has to be societal wide discussion of what stays And what doesn't, and as one is talking about the past for the Generation of the future, youth have to participate in that discussion to avoid their feeling eventually "betrayed" By the older generation(Caton, & Ardalan, 2010: 32).

Conclusion

Fareej Al Asmakh must not become isolated from the rest of the global city of Doha. Local projects must be supported and integrated into an overall urban development plan to make sure the historic district such as Al Asmakh does not become an element of spatial or social segregation in the region. The revitalization process of historic districts must be in line with the multi-faceted nature of urban development and its reality; that is, it must respond to the needs of all inhabitants and users. "To be most effective, the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning at every level." Consequently, "the conservation plan should aim at ensuring a harmonious relationship between the historic urban areas and the town as a whole" (ICOMOS, 1987).

The current concern of conserving historic areas in Qatar reflects a significant change of attitude with regard to conservation. It marks the end of crude redevelopment policies, which used to imply the total demolition of complete historic districts, only to replace them by poor replicas of "International Style". Local architectural circles, concerned citizens and politicians alike are involved in this process, which reflects the growth of a national consensus on saving the Qatari cultural heritage.

There is a great challenge for Qatar Government to start coordinating the development of a coherent cultural heritage conservation policy, which provides a framework within which the various cultural heritage players can operate. Government has a key role to set objectives and provide some incentives for cultural heritage organizations to achieve the highest possible standards in the care and interpretation of Qatar's cultural heritage.

In Qatar, legislation relative to conservation of urban heritage should be established aiming at integrating heritage conservation with the whole field of existing strategies on such diverse areas as, planning, urban development, tourism, academic research and public education. The idea underlying this integrated approach is that the cultural heritage cannot be conserved in isolation, but that it should be an integral part of the living, every day culture. The function of the cultural heritage for society as a whole should be to restore a sense of cultural identity.

Conflicts of interest continue to arise between the need to conserve important historical remains and the need to allow our towns to thrive and develop. Historic districts cannot be fossilized, but equally, economic growth must not rob the future of its past. We view the role of Qatar Museum Authority as being the catalyst and

regulator in reconciling the legitimate tensions that might emerge between these two objectives so as to enable the achievement of both in great symbiosis. The remaining Doha historic districts form an irreplaceable resource in the present global city, thus, every effort must be taken to safeguard it, for all the purposes it serves in our lives and will serve the future generations.

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