iceci 2013

The International Conference on
Education, Culture and Identity

Book of Proceedings

Edited by
Muhidin Mulalić
Abdul Serdar Öztürk
Tuba Boz

IUS
International University of Sarajevo

BOOK OF PROCEEDINGS

Edited by

Muhidin Mulalić
Abdul Serdar Öztürk
Tuba Boz

International University of Sarajevo
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Sarajevo, 2013

Book of Proceedings – The International Conference on EDUCATION, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

Edited by Muhidin Mulalić, Abdul Serdar Öztürk and Tuba Boz

Conference Chair
Assist. Prof. Dr. Tuba Boz, IUS

Organizing Committee
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abdulserdar Ozturk, IUS
Assist. Prof. Dr. Muhidin Mulalic, IUS
Prof. Dr. Fethi Mansouri, Deakin University
Dr. Anna Halafoff, Deakin University
Assist. Prof. Semra Demir, Erciyes University
Assist. Prof. Dr. Barbara Ann Brown, IUS
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lejla Panjeta, IUS
Assist. Prof. Amila Smajovic, IUS
Assist. Prof. Dr. Bisera Mavric, IUS
Assist. Prof. Meliha Teparic, IUS
Almasa Mulalic, IUS
Selvira Draganovic, IUS
Ervin Kovacevic, IUS
Nađa Berberović, IUS
Ahmed Kulanić, IUS
Gulsen Devre, IUS
Musa Köse, IUS
İsmet Uzun, IUS
Ahmet Faruk Uzuntaş, IUS
Osman Gürsoy, IUS
Abdulhamit Bolat, IUS

International Scientific Committee
Prof. Dr. Hasan Zuhri Sarikaya
Prof. Dr. Ozer Cinar
Prof. Dr. Ismail Kocayusufoglu
Prof. Dr. Ali Gunes
Prof. Dr. Besim Spahić
Prof. Dr. Wendy Smith
Prof. Dr. Fahrettin Kelestemur
Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Altındiş
Prof. Dr. Fuat Gürcan
Prof. Dr. Suleyman Demirci
Prof. Dr. Ümit Tokatlı
Prof. Dr. İlhan Öztürk
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kemal Köksal
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ervin Poljac
Assist. Prof. Dr. Kenan Rašidagić
Assist. Prof. Dr. Mirsad Serdarević
Assist. Prof. Dr. Lynn Marie Tesser
Assist. Prof. Dr. Hasan Korkut

Printed by AMOS GRAF

CIP - Katalogizacija u publikaciji
Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka
Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

316.3:316.72](063)(082)

MULALIĆ Muhidin, ÖZTÜRK Abdul Serdar, BOZ Tuba
INTERNATIONAL Conference on Education, Culture and Identity (2013 ; Sarajevo)
Book of proceedings / International Conference on Education, Culture and Identity, Sarajevo, 6-13
July 2013. - Sarajevo : International University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
2013. - 480 str. : graf. prikazi ; 30 cm

Bibliografija uz sve radove.

ISBN 978-9958-896-16-3
COBISS.BH-ID 20869382

©International University of Sarajevo.
All rights reserved. Published 2013

The International Conference on EDUCATION, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The conference will examine contemporary issues related to education, culture, and identity. Such interrelated issues have become increasingly important in the age of diversity, multiculturalism and globalization. Since such conceptions can hardly be defined and explained by a single academic discipline, this interdisciplinary international conference aims at analyzing them from different perspectives such as educational, psychological, social, cultural, political, historical, literary, visual, artistic and media-related perspectives.

Questions concerning the role of higher education in post-conflict societies, internationalization processes, as well as issues of diversity management and multiculturalism will be examined and debated. Emphasis will be placed on the impact of new technologies on teaching and learning processes. The implications of the globalization of knowledge on curriculum development and cultural identities will be explored in the conference.

Themes on political and historical perspectives are in particular related to the politics of identity in the borderless global world - political culture, violence and peace, conflicting national identities and conflict resolution, history, memory, culture and politics, ethnicity and cultural identity, multiculturalism, conflict and reconciliation, culture, and minorities and identities. Therefore, such themes take into consideration political, cultural, religious and historical contexts and examine a broad range of questions.

A literary perspective of the conference puts great emphasis on comparative and contemporary literature. An attempt should be made to relate culture, ethnicity and identity to popular genres, contemporary novels, film, drama, poetry, post-colonialism, and nationalism and modernism. Thus, core literary questions could deal with social values, norms and practices, gender and sexuality, culture, ethnicity, minority identity and representation.

A media and visual arts perspective of the conference is also directed towards examining the processes of the creations of social values, norms, beliefs and practices as being expressed in media, communication design, architecture, fashion and various graphics. Hence, the focus of the attention should be directed towards examining such processes, tools and methods in order to represent challenges facing the globalized world in very unique media, visual and graphic forms.

This conference will explore questions of education, culture, and identity in an international context drawing experts from different academic fields. Therefore, the researchers will be provided with an opportunity to exchange views, experiences, findings and review knowledge related to culture, ethnicity and identity from interdisciplinary perspectives. Considering the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina is post-conflict country where questions related to education, culture, and identity are still being debated this conference would provide recommendations for how multicultural and multiethnic societies and countries could resolve such outstanding challenges. The conference is especially relevant for local and international experts from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Tuba Boz
Chairman of ICECI

©2013 International University of Sarajevo
All rights reserved. Published 2013
Printed in Bosnia and Herzegovina

PART I

Education

DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT USING BALANCE SCORECARD MODEL

Zumreta GALIJAŠEVIĆ, Raiffeisen Bank Officer
University 'Vitez' Vitez

Hajrija HODŽIĆ, Raiffeisen Bank Officer
University 'Vitez' Vitez

Abstract
One of the most used tools in change management is balance scorecard method. In this paper, the method is applied at diversity management of University project 'The International Scientific Conference'. The assumption of multilevel diversity management is tested by applying the method balance scorecard. Test results obtained by synthesis and generalization methods show that balance between level aims and strategic aim which are treated through satisfaction of shareholders, employees and participants, are expressed by qualitative and quantitative indicators. The paper's aim links the diversity management activities to strategic objective, increasing competition at global knowledge market. Testing results based at systematic method suggest the measures for improving model which should eliminate the static of model considering it in context of external factor and linking the aims of balance scorecard levels.

Keywords: Balance Scorecard, Diversity Management, Strategic Objective.

Introduction

The global knowledge and science market require the special approach balancing the diversity of cultures, identities and at the end, understanding the studies phenomenon and processes. Turbulent environment changes also condition knowledge and science exposure to changes. Competitions at international level and changes in structure and organization of high education institutions cannot be considered only in internal environment context (De vit, 2010). Knowledge seen as global phenomenon is unity of diversities. Diversity management uses interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach for connecting and studying phenomena, processes and objects. The aim has improved knowledge to become competitive at global level.

High education institutions are dedicated to organizing the international conferences as model for knowledge improvement. This paper provide special approaches to harmonize aims of institution in terms of achieving its rating and competitiveness at global knowledge market from the one hand and promoting the participants of science conference from another. Success of making changes using conference project examines possibility of managing multilevel, multicultural aspect of science using balance scorecard. For that purpose it was first necessary to define the specific aims of financial, consumers, internal processes and growth level which are basis of the model.

Methodology which has been applied include finance resource analysis, analysis the characteristics of participants from multiple aspects and the most important conference processes to improve knowledge. The method of specialization is used to decompose model at specific level and to identify its aims. Synthesis and generalization methods aggregate the

attitudes to balance between level aims and strategic aim which are treated through satisfaction of shareholders, employees and participants. The methodology is combination of empirical findings and theoretical researches.

The research results obtained at each level determinate the measures which should be taken to consider different level aims as function of implementation the strategic aim. In that occasion, finance level aims are in function of strategic aims as long-term returns and in short period of time it is only important to have a null cash to cash circle. The customers are treated through each level and lead the overlapping aims of the levels. That means it is easier to balance the customers satisfactions and organizational strategic objective of science center. The paper's aim links the diversity management activities to strategic objective, increasing competition at global knowledge market. Results show how important is expressing the performances by qualitative and quantitative indicators.

Balance Scorecard Concept

The challenges of global market include continuous organizational changes. The changes are equally referred to knowledge and include services, structural changes, systemic and other types of changes. The changes are necessary to be managed and for that purpose it is used a strategic management. The strategic management include the strategy definition, strategy implementation and evaluation its results. The managing and managers strategy includes the activities of business policy related to organization, applying the chosen solutions, communication and decisions styles (Vujic, 2008). The strategy provides moving from current state to future state defined by vision. The success of realization the strategic aim, traditionally, is measured by financial indicators. However, value in global market comes from intangible assets as organizational culture, client relation, know how etc. and cannot be expressed by financial indicators (Niven, 2007).

Particularly attractive approach of strategic management in managing changes uses the balance scorecard methodology. This model uses a various performances indicator of changes. This means that change is not just focused at achieving greater profitability. The strategic change management can be considered from financial level, level of consumers, internal processes level and growth and learning level. Each level has its own goals measured by qualitative and quantitative indicators. The goals of each level are compliant to the strategic object. Tool in form of balance scorecard in fact facilitate the process of vision implementation. It is important that the implementation is based at strategic direction of all levels which participate in its implementation. It is called ‘balanced’ due its intension is to harmonize the historical financial number and future desired results determined by strategy (Sekso, 2011).

Diversity Management at Levels of Balance Scorecard Model

In order to achieve the vision of the largest university center for science research at Balkan area focused on countries with small participation in global science market, the strategic goal of annual growth of competitiveness in list of Balkan universities for five places is set. Possibility of selection and managing the various level of education, culture, fields of knowledge are directed by strategy of International conference concept applying the balance scorecard model. The model is tested through: 1) Connecting the activities of diversity management and strategy; and 2) Evaluation the assistance multivariate diversity provides achieving the strategic aim.

Characteristic of analysis the balance scorecard application is overlapping the consumers and growth level. Consumers appear as part of project infrastructure. Isolation from external factors is partially neutralized by social, cultural, political and other several of consumers. This approach provides to overcome wholly static of balance scorecard model.

For strategy implementation it is necessary to include the goals of each level of balance scorecard model to be function of strategic objective. However, it is responsibility of top management for direction the strategy to the lower level of organization as well as for management quality process (Melat-Parast, Digman, 2007). In that purpose, it is necessary answering to the questions shown in table 1.

Table 1: Critical questions of balance scorecard model in project 'Conference'

Observation Level	Question
Finance	How do shareholders treat conference?
Customers	How do customers treat conference?
Internal processes	In which processes university conference is better than competitors?
Growth	Can conference increase the infrastructure of project?

Source: Authors

Financial Level Management

Implementation the strategy through the conference project gives opportunity target focus at activities which sooner return invested assets. Specifically, the predicted period of time for planning and implementation of project is six months. In that period of time it is necessary to find sources of funds for its organization and implementation. To cover costs, it is used self financing, sub investment etc. External sources are usually defined by participation in form of fee. At this level, it is necessary identify target group and potentially participants and on that basis, plan of funding. The goals of finance level provide to avoid the operating with null or negative cash to cash cycle. The performances of realized goals are expressed by financial indicators (short-term costs cover and long-term returns of investments). The improvement at this field leads to faster implementation the expected cash returns of those investments (Renko, 2000).

Consumers Level Management

The participants are those who expected own promotion at conference. Evaluation of their working papers is taken as measure for achieving their satisfaction. Various level of education and cultures of participants require multidimensional approaches in relationship with participants. The management mechanism must form the administrative board which can understand different approaches to studied problems, different level of education, knowledge and scientific scopes. Management must be free of stereotypes like culture perception, academic title of participant etc. Cross-cultural approach to education and knowledge is foundation for administrative board of conference and for participants as well. For participants it is important to understand the science worth of conference. To achieve to success of conference as well as the knowledge progress and the own participants' success, the following characteristic are necessary: The qualifications of participants in part of science, science scope or science discipline in which the scientific researches are done; communication ability in official language of conference; motivation to participate in discussion; interest for knowledge improvement based at multidisciplinary; professional collegiality; multicultural tolerance; and team work.

Success of conference seen from this aspect depends on volume and worthiness of knowledge from various fields, used methods in scientific researches etc. The variations move in cultural, educational and other standards (Johanson et al, 2006).

Management at Level of Internal Processes

Testing the success in achieving the objective of the internal level of balance scorecard model in project, requires starting from diversity of following factors: culture, scientific disciplines, qualification, education and technological equipment. All links can be seen in their connection through internal processes. There are several important processes in conference project.

Selection is pre access process which takes place just prior to conference. It can be used for selection of candidates or their applied working paper. Selection of candidates performs on the basis of their qualification references or reputation which candidate has. The selection the working paper seek to minimize the mistakes, remove the incomplete paper or those which do not in accordance with necessary criteria and at the end, valued them under category of study.

The selection is internal process that separate candidates with necessary knowledge, skills, ability and other characteristic which help achieving the strategic and balance score level's goals (Noe et al, 2005). Each selection is related to scientific or some special worthiness with no prejudice of academic title, cultural, educational or other differences of authors. Rating paper must not compromise their professional complexity. The classification performs on the basis of already known or new scientific knowledge. In purpose of rating the methods and approaches which emphasize usefulness of paper, contribution to science, validity, reliability and expand the existing knowledge are used.

Knowledge transfer depends on preparation of presenter and environment characteristics. To maximize the knowledge transfer, the most important is interaction between participants. A presenter within stipulated time, implements an action presentation plan. The success depends on the degree to which presenter inspire the interaction using new knowledge. The transfer is based on communication including verbal and visual effects and means also technological and support of colleagues. Process of measuring is focused on evaluation of satisfaction of shareholders, consumers and employees in management system which means selection, rating and transfer system (Noe et al, 2005).

Management at Growth Level

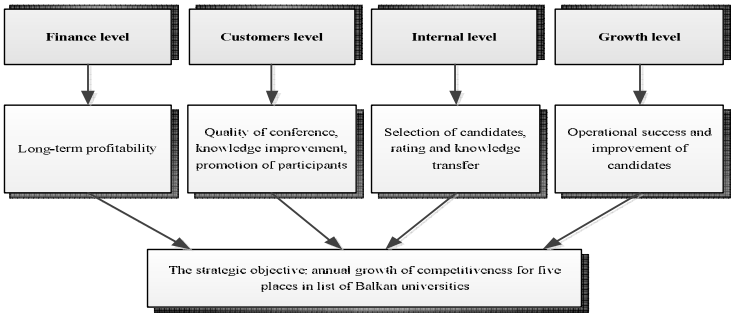
In order to be in function of strategic objective, system must provide pre conditions that facilitate its function. People, information systems and environment are basis for knowledge improvement and possibilities at this level. They are the infrastructure of project. Number and structure of the human factor depend on activities for harmonizing the objective at other level of BSC model. Human factor quality is determined by cultural, educational, scientific and other variousness and characteristics. The characteristics indicate the effectiveness of internal processes level of scientific knowledge and promotion. The accent is at internal (employees) and external (participants) users at growth and learning level (Sahney, Banwet, Karunes, 2008).

Information capital provides better communication and coordination human capital and its environment. For growth level of BSC model is important the participants appear as consumers from the one hand and as implementers the part of project from another.

Strategic Management

Answering the questions asked in Table 1 means actually strategic management. Achieving the aims of levels, it is detected their role in the strategic objective examined in project shown in fig 1.

Figure 1: Balance scorecard model in diversity management of project 'Conference'



Source: Authors

Affirmative Aspect of Applying Balance Scorecard in Diversity Management

Three competitive challenges which science encounter increase the importance of disclosure and diversity management. Those three challenges are: challenge of global knowledge market, challenge of satisfying and increasing knowledge of target groups and challenge of high-impact educational systems. Diversity management applying balance scorecard emphasizes there were chosen key indicators in the model basis at competitive strategy. Model is, therefore, based at following advantages: focus on people in terms of multidimensionality; focus at internal processes or results; preventive versus control; using the participants' qualifications; rating basis on facts; and feedback.

Balance scorecard in this occasion is static model partially oriented to internal environment. The model is necessary to be reaffirmed true few steps. First, all management levels depend on external factors as well. It is recommended that financial and consumers level seen as part of economic and socio-cultural environment. Competitiveness could not be strengthened in terms of large gap between science demand and opportunities which environment can offer. Second, the objectives of a level should consider in function of strategic one but also as function of objectives other levels. It would increase the efficiency of project as well as individual units which are involved in project implementation. Third, relations between level targets would provide measure the parts and not just performances of the project as system level. This also refer to time dimension due the level performances are valued in different period of time. Fourth, application the model is limited. It is recommended for not affirmed but not for just established institutions. The institutions must be directed by own and no with competitive strategy Type of strategy depend on environment and available resources (Chamberlain, 2006). Fifth, due the challenges of environment, the strategy is necessary to modify or adapt. Culture characterized by team work, more intensive flows of information and approaches focused on clients and innovations, contribute to the motivation and better time involvement (Niven, 2007). Sixth, as proactive measure of BSC model, it is necessary to improve the attitude towards team work. Some special themes of scientific research should be conditioned by team work basis on the multicultural and interdisciplinary. Improvement the team work could contribute to harmonize the attitudes of studied phenomena through a process of mutual encourage. Seventh, BSC requires a control due the worthiness can lose its purpose in period of time (Sekso, 2011). To avoid that, it is necessary

to evaluate the organization objectively and fairly and recognize the worthiness which truly represents its essential.

For synthesis the affirmative measures in strategic management process, four suggestions are offered to implement the BSC. Model includes creating the multidisciplinary project team, selecting the set of indicators which are multidimensional and balanced, introducing the unique measures that reflect the specific activities and maintaining the pro active attitude towards critic in order to improve BSC model (Braam, Nijssen, 2004).

Conclusion

Competitiveness at global knowledge market requires change management in system of education target its continuous improving. To access the science and knowledge as global phenomenon, high education institutions can use the 'International Conference' model. Model is particularly attractive for its status of international science centers and increasing the competitiveness from the one hand and knowledge improvement and promotion of conference participants from another. For harmonization the project objectives, it is used a diversity management based on multidimensionality. Different level of education, knowledge, culture, science studies and disciplines, different possibilities of information technology have conditioned the necessity to consider management process from different levels of BSC, financial, level of consumers, internal processes and growth level.

To harmonize diversity management aims considered from different perspectives with strategic objectives achieving greater competitiveness, diversity management uses the balance scorecard model. This model enable the manage people, internal processes and learning or growth is function of strategic objectives. Using BSC, diversity management departs from traditional measures of performances based on financial indicators. The main point is the performances measured by satisfaction of shareholders, consumers and employees are expressed both, with qualitative and quantitative indicators.

Although affirmed, balance scorecard model is mainly oriented to diversity management in internal environment and isolated from external influences. Recommends for improving model include the creating the multidisciplinary project team, the definition of the objectives of the level in external environment, mutual dependent of level objectives, the team work improvement based on cross-cultural and control the types of outputs due dynamic of changes.

References

Braam, G.J.M., Nijssen, E.J. (2004), 'Performance effects of using the Balanced Scorecard: a note on the Dutch experience', *Long range planning,* Amsterdam, Vol. 37, No. 4, p.p. 335-349

Chamberlain, G.P. (2006), 'Research strategy formation process: An abductive methodology', *Quality and quantity: International journal of methodology,* Vol. 40, p.p. 289-301

De Wit, K. (2010), 'The Networked University: The structure, culture and policy of universities in a changing environment', *Tertiary education and management,* Vol. 16, No. 1, p.p. 1-14

Johanson, U. et al. (2006) 'Balancing dilemmas of the balanced scorecard', Accounting, *Auditing & accountability journal*, Emerald group publishing limited, Vol. 19, No. 6, p.p. 842-857

Mellat-Parast, M. & Digman, L.A. (2007), 'A framework for quality management practices in strategic alliances', *Management decision*, Emerald group publishing limited, Vol. 45, No. 4, p.p. 805-848.

Niven, P. (2007), *Balanced scorecard: Korak po korak*, Masmedia, Zagreb, p.p. 66-71

Noe, R.A. et al. (2005), *Menadzment ljudskih potencijala*, Mate doo, Zagreb, p.p. 20-131

Renko, F. (2000), 'Mogucnost primjene modela balanced scorecard na podrucju financijskih institucija: Primjer iz hrvatske poslovne prakse', *Ekonomski pregled*, Zagreb, Vol. 51, No. 11-12, p.p. 1239-1255

Sahney, S., Banwet, D.K. & Karunes, S. (2008), 'An integrated framework of indices for quality management in education: A faculty perspective', *The TQM journal,* Vol. 20, No. 5, p.p. 502-519

Sekso, J.J. (2011), 'Implementacija sustava uravnotezenih ciljeva', *Zbornik radova Medjimurskog Veleucilista u Cakovcu*, Cakovec, Vol. 2, No. 2, p.p. 85-92

Vujic, V. (2008), *Menadzment ljudskog kapitala*, Sveuciliste u rijeci, Fakultet za turisticki i hotelski menadzment Opatija, Rijeka, p.p. 103-106

CHARACTERISTICS AND ROLE OF AESTHETICALLY UPBRINGING YOUTH THROUGH INSTITUTIONALIZED MUSICAL PRACTICE IN CANTON SARAJEVO

Mirsada ZEĆO, Teaching Assistant

Faculty of Educational Sciences Sarajevo

Abstract
In this research paper, I will show results of the questionnaires conducted upon the members and teachers in institutionalized musical extracurricular activities in schools of Canton Sarajevo. Research was conducted through three types of survey questions, namely, questioning the interest towards music, the relation to music, and a survey prepared for the section leaders. The whole project involved 4162 subjects in Canton Sarajevo, including 51 elementary school, 7 gymnasiums and 2 youth centers in the Novo Sarajevo municipality. On the basis of this research, it is possible to conclude that musical sections or sections where music is applied are organized in the same or similar manner regardless of the differences in aesthetics. In this process, the role of the teachers is essential, and some evoke extraordinary attention and student interest towards work. Extracurricular activities in educational institutions, schools and youth centers are shown by this research as important in children's' upbringings, their psychophysical and creative development, in increasing their curiosity, and in improving their willingness to participate in multicultural projects. These activities demand support of the whole society, family, school, teachers, who need to respond on this unique task by constant research, education and lifelong learning. It can be stated that in institutionalized musical activities in Canton Sarajevo, working with youth is active and their effort is visible through the results they achieve, but this system should not be static, but it should pertain its continuity in proportion to the time and needs of young lives of the contemporary society.

Keywords: Aesthetic, Upbringing, Institution, Music, Extracurricular, Sarajevo.

Introduction

Aesthetic upbringing has always been the compounding part of the overall upbringing. In modern society, aesthetic upbringing has drawn new dimensions and developed a new meaning in the individual human development. A number of researches have proved that aesthetic upbringing incorporates: a rational; an emotional; and a creative component in a human's life. Educational institutions have been actively participating in the realization of aesthetic upbringing or have significantly supported the realization of its tasks. For aesthetic upbringing the most significance is aimed at culturally artistic practices, or in this case only music practices. The objective of extra-curricular activities or practices is to contribute to the educational functioning of the school and it is binding with the social environment. The tasks of extra-curricular activities are: widening and acquiring new knowledge, developing various points of interest, student's socialization, team-work training, planning and cultural leisure time, binding schools with the social environment (Ajanovic, 2005, 10).

In order to achieve all the demanded goals and objectives of extra-curricular activities, an expert creative instructor is needed. This means a wider and more complex knowledge of the matter than the subject itself exhibits. An extra-curricular activities instructor has the following role: organizing the educational upbringing process; analyzing his own and the student's work; creating and initiating student's creative abilities; researcher; explorer; supporter; mentor; creator; and diagnostician and therapist.

Interaction and collaborative activities of the culture and artistic leader are particularly evident in so called multimedia projects. This way and through teamwork, students from different or similar practices have the opportunity to show their talents or creativity. Practices also provide the ideal opportunity for multicultural projects where children from different cultural backgrounds exchange experiences and customs through creative work. Music practices are a great way of developing and enabling a multicultural dialogue between the youth. In choir practices, students, through singing and in a fun and simple way learn about world's cultures, recognizing the differences and similarities especially when we talk about the indigenous musical heritage of each country starting from the Bosnian Sevdalinka to the Sephardic or traditional Turkish songs.

Research Aims and Goals

The aim of this research was to establish meaning and possibilities of aesthetical upbringing of youth through institutional musical practices during school age in Canton Sarajevo.
Defining the basic aims of this research, the following goals were set:

- To establish how large the student's interest in music and different music activities is,
- To establish the link to music and musical activities at all practices where music is used
- To establish differences between music and musical activities comparing a typical music practice to practices using music such as rhythmic, folklore, drama
- To establish the link to music in different institutions, primary schools, gymnasiums, youth centers
- To establish the approach and differences between working with a music practice leader and practices incorporating music

Research Hypothesis

The main hypothesis of this research states that extra-curricular activities or music practices give the opportunity to the youth to satisfy their interests; to activate their creative potentials in the truest sense which is rarely offered to them by regular classes. Music practices of a culturally- artistic character develop creative potentials and give possibilities to the youth to acquaint themselves with their expressive strength, imagination and intellect. Practices, their organization and role in upbringing and education are becoming more and more demanding. The felling of responsibility and valuable time the youth spend at practices will teach them how to constructively organize their future leisure time.

Research Topic

The topic of this research are institutional musical practices, their role and function in aesthetically upbringing the youth.

Research Methods

Performing this research topic I used the following methods: analytically-descriptive method; comparative method; synthesis method; questionnaire method; statistic method; and classification method

Research Sample

Questionnaires were the basic method of this research covering 4162 participants in Canton Sarajevo, this included: 51 primary schools; 7 gymnasiums and 2 youth centers in municipality Novo Sarajevo. This sample of examinees include: 2565 members of music and all practices where music is incorporated; 177 leaders; 1420 students per class. For the purpose of this research, three types of questionnaires were constructed. The first questionnaire or the *Measuring the interest in music* was designed for VI grade primary school classes, II grade gymnasium classes and for the most popular practices in youth centers. The questionnaire offered 25 different musical activities. Students had four different options of musical activities to choose from: V- like; N– do not like; R- indifferent; P- would like to have the opportunity.

The second questionnaire, *Measuring the link to music* is designed for all practices which incorporate music and not necessarily music practices such as choir or orchestra. All culturally-artistic practices which incorporated music were included, such as: drama club, rhythmic and folklore. In schools, multicultural programmes where leaders and practice members cooperate on mutual projects are becoming more frequent, it was interesting to question the link to music between the youth in all practices in which music plays a particular role. The questionnaire consisted of 15 questions and club members had to circle a letter to an answer that appealed to them the most. These were: a- very gladly, b- gladly, c- maybe, d- sometimes, e- would not like. In the remaining five questions the examinees had the opportunity to answer the given questions.

The third questionnaire, *A questionnaire for leaders* is designed for practice leaders. It consisted of 15 questions and the leaders had the choice of circling a letter with the most appealing answer. These were: a – almost always, b – frequently, c – infrequently, d – sometimes, e – very rarely. In the remaining five questions the examinees had the opportunity to answer the given questions. We were interested in the problem of animating the youth, as well as the way the practice leaders run the programme.

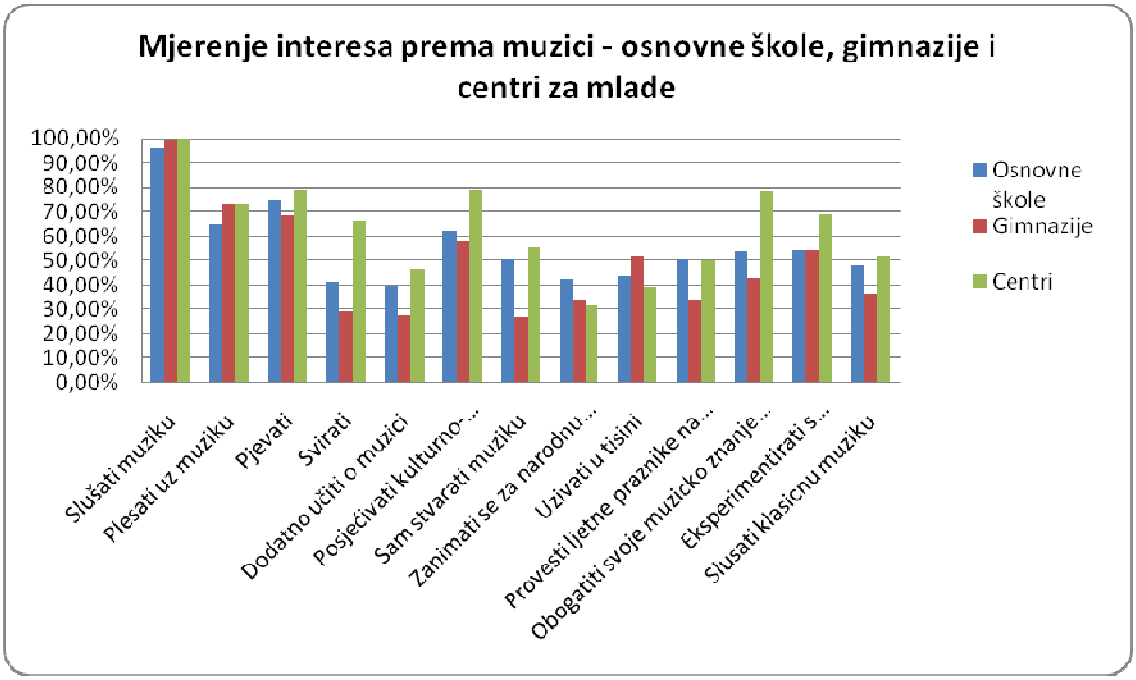
Research Results and Interpretation

Measuring the interest in music questionnaire results in primary schools, gymnasiums and youth centers are similar. Beforehand, all the participants love listening to music. In primary schools, watching musicals proved to be very popular, resulting in 848 (70,73%). In gymnasiums 140 (73,30%) students like using music in different medias, and 140 (70,73%) students like dancing to music. In youth centres, a large number of participants 25 (83,33%) like occupying themselves with music. Regardless of age or institutions in which musical activities are organized, the largest number of participants does not enjoy the silence. In gymnasiums 54 (28,57%) and in youth centres 14 (50,00%) of the participants are not interested in traditional folk music.

All the participants are indifferent to the question of individual music making. In youth centres, the majority of the participants were indifferent when it came to listening and playing classical music, resulting in 7 (24,14%). In gymnasiums, 53 (28,04%) of the participants were uninterested in independently making musical instruments using different materials. In gymnasiums, 53 (26,98%) of the participants would like to independently make music whereas 51 (26,98%) would like to engage themselves with music. All the participants would like to spend their summer holidays at music camp.

Considering the fact that all the activities in the youth centres are free and attendee motivation is a choice of free will, the results are not surprising. In primary schools the examinees also show a large interest for musical activities whereas it slightly less in gymnasiums. Interest in musical activities in gymnasiums plays a somewhat serious or more fun recreational role. In gymnasiums only individuals develop a serious, an almost professional attitude to music and musical activities.

The overview of the total V – like answers of *Measuring interest in music* in primary schools, gymnasiums and youth centres. Out of the 46 graphs presented in this work, „Example 1"is the only graph based on the Measuring interest in music questionnaire. The graph shows the response option V – like to 13 out of the 25 questions on musical activity.



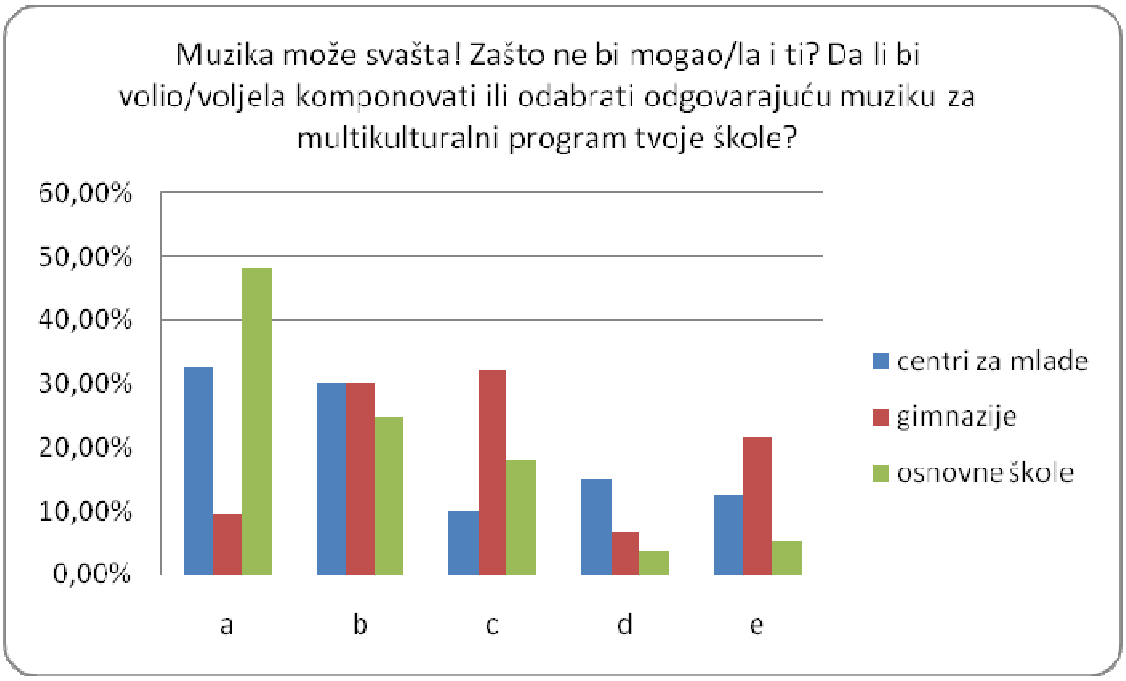
Example 1
Measuring Interest in Music – Primary Schools, Gymnasiums and Youth Centres

Likes listening to music: in youth centres 30 (100,00%); in gymnasiums 189 (99,47%); and in primary schools 1159 (96,10%).
Likes dancing to music: in youth centres 22 (73,33%); in gymnasiums 140 (73,30%); and in primary schools 778 (64,94%).
Likes singing: in youth centres 23 (79,31%); in primary schools 892 (74,83%); and in gymnasiums 131 (68,23%).
Likes playing: in youth centres 20 (66,67%); in primary schools 490 (41,46%); and in gymnasiums 54 (28,88%).
Likes additionally learning about music: in youth centres 14 (46,67%); in primary schools 472 (39,63%); and in gymnasiums 52 (27,51%).
Likes visiting musical and culturally artistic manifestations: in youth centres 23 (79,31%); in primary schools 732 (61,98%); and in gymnasiums 109 (57,98%).

Likes to independently play music: in youth centres 16 (55,17%); in primary schools 598 (50,55%); and in gymnasiums 51 (26,98%).
Is interested in folk music tradition: in primary schools 506 (42,20%); in gymnasiums 64 (33,86%); and in youth centres 9 (32,14%).

Enjoys the silence: in gymnasiums 98 (52,13%); in primary schools 502 (43,54%); and in youth centres 11 (39,29%).
Likes spending summer holidays at music camps: in primary schools 591 (50,34%); in youth centres 14 (50,00%); and in gymnasiums 65 (34,03%).
Likes enhancing their musical knowledge through stage appearance: in youth centres 22 (78,57%); in primary schools 633 (54,01%); and in gymnasiums 81 (42,63%).
Likes to experiment with different musical styles: in youth centres 20 (68,97%); in primary schools 643 (54,31%); and in gymnasiums 103 (54,21%).
Likes listening to or playing classical music: in youth centres 15 (51,72%); in primary schools 572 (47,91%); and in gymnasiums 70 (36,46%).

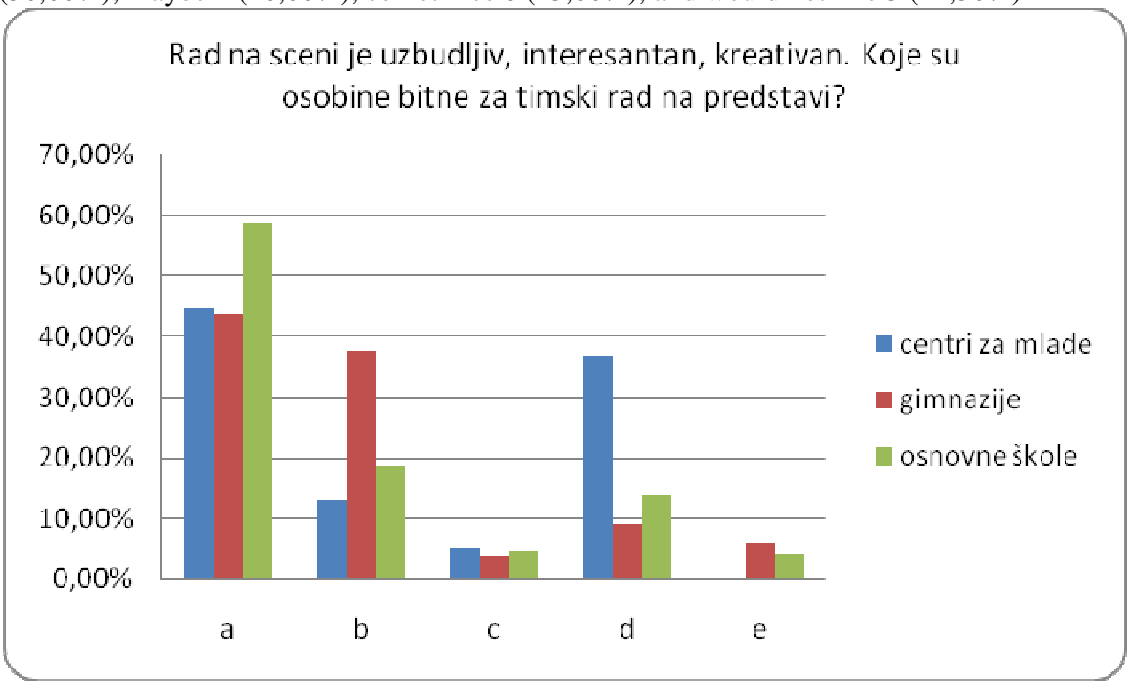
Results of the questionnaire *Measuring interest in music* at choir, orchestra, rhythmic, folklore and drama practices in primary schools, gymnasiums and youth centres are similar regardless the age or type of institution the examinees attend. The participants from all institutions would *very gladly* be making music or would be music practice members. In primary schools and gymnasiums participants would *very gladly* play in a school musical In youth centres, 18 (45,00%) participants would *very gladly* learn musical notes. The sixth question has the most *gladly* answers. All the participants would persuade their friends to join in a multicultural school project. In primary schools and youth centres participants would gladly choose or compose the music for a multicultural school project.



Example 2
The overview to the total answers to *Measuring the link to music* in primary schools, gymnasiums and youth centres. Out of the 20 graphs presented in this work, "Example 2" is one out of 10 graphs showing the questionnaire *Measuring the link to music* results.
Music can do anything! Why couldn't you? Would you like to compose or choose the appropriate music for your schools multicultural school project?

Interest in composing or choosing music for a multicultural school project was shown the most in primary schools. Youth centre participants also showed a large interest.

Participants in primary schools gave the following answers: very gladly 1109 (48,26%); gladly 573 (24,93%); maybe 416 (18,10%); sometimes 84 (3,66%); and would not like 116 (5,05%).
Participants in gymnasiums gave the following answers: very gladly 53 (9,38%); gladly 170 (30,09%); maybe 181 (32,04%); sometimes 39 (6,90%); and would not like 122 (21,59%)
Participants in youth centres gave the following answers: very gladly 13 (32,50%); gladly 12 (30,00%); maybe 4 (10,00%); sometimes 6 (15,00%); and would not like 5 (12,50%)

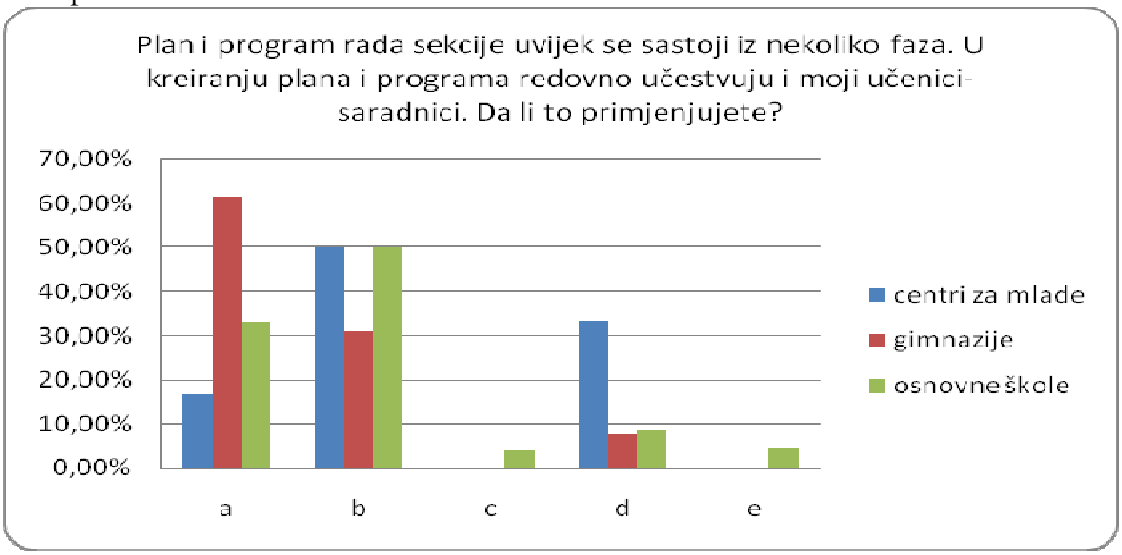


Example 3
The overview of the total answers to *Measuring the link to music* in *primary schools*, gymnasiums and youth centres.
Working on stage is exciting, interesting, and creative. Which are important facts for teamwork on stage?

The largest number of examinees regard responsibility as the major fact for teamwork on stage.
In primary schools the participants gave the following answers: responsibility 137 (58,55%); originality 44 (18,80%); easiness in expression 11 (18,80%); persistency 32 (13,68%); and curiosity 10 (4,27%).
In gymnasiums the participants gave the following answers: responsibility 192 (43,64%); originality 166 (37,73%); easiness in expression 16 (3,64%); persistency 40 (9,09%); and curiosity 26 (5,91%).
In youth centres the participants gave the following answers: responsibility 17 (44,74%); originality 5 (13,16%); easiness in expression 2 (5,26%); persistency 14 (36,84%); and curiosity 0 (0,00%).

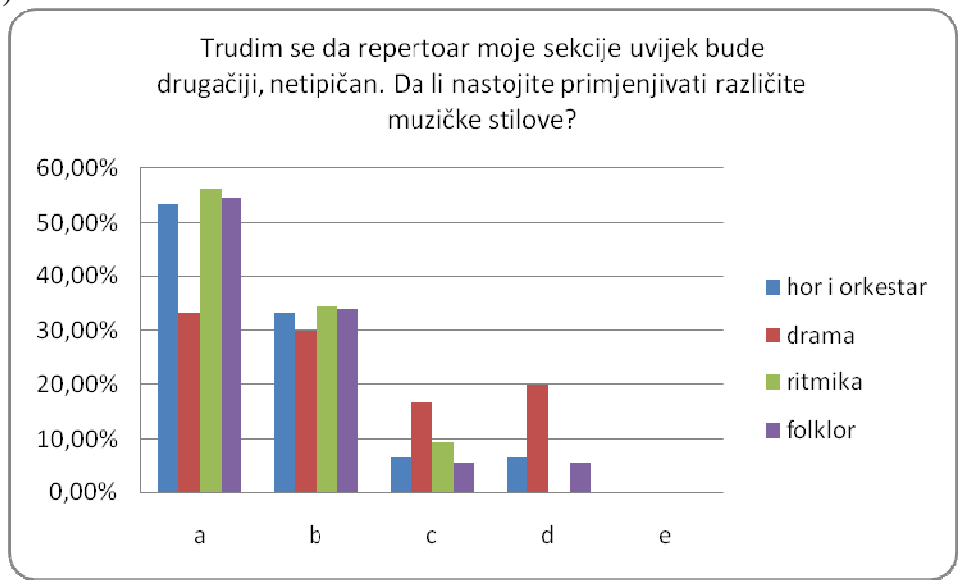
The results of the Questionnaire for leaders are similar regardless of the practice or institution they perform. All leaders *almost always* encourage their students to do public appearances. Almost all leaders consider practices as a chance for experimenting with their work. More than half of the leaders in primary schools and gymnasiums *almost always* encourage their students to use suggestions as a means of improving the work of the practice.

More than half of the youth centre leaders besides discipline foster a creative and relaxed atmosphere.



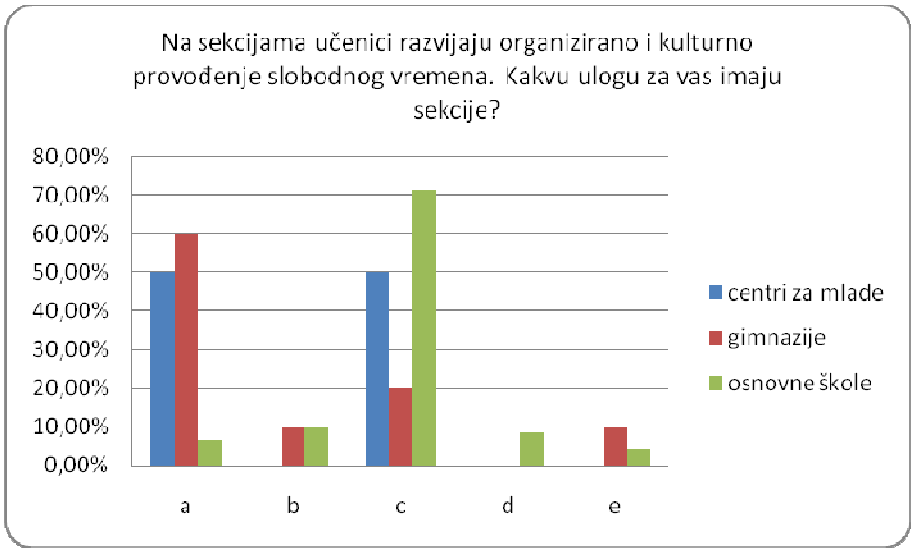
Example 4
The overview of the total answers to the *Questionnaire for leaders* in primary schools, gymnasiums and youth centres. Out of the 25 graphs presented in this work, "Example 4" is one of the 15 graphs showing the *Questionnaire for leaders* results.
The practice curriculum consists of a few stages. My students and associates regularly take part in creating the curriculum. Have you noticed this?

Gymnasium leaders, students and associates *almost always* create the practice curriculum, while in youth centres the majority of the answers were *frequently*.
Leaders in youth centres gave the following answers: almost always 1 (16,67%); frequently 3 (50,00%); infrequently 0 (0,00%); sometimes 2 (33,33%); and rarely 0 (0,00%).
Leaders in gymnasiums gave the following answers: almost always 8 (61,54%); frequently 4 (30,77%); infrequently 0 (0,00%); sometimes 1 (7,69%); and rarely 0 (0,00%).
Leaders in primary schools gave the following answers: almost always 86 (33,08%); frequently 130 (50,00%); infrequently 10 (3,85%); sometimes 22 (8,46%); and rarely 12 (4,62%)



Example 5
The overview of the total answers to the *Questionnaire for leaders* in primary schools, gymnasiums and youth centres. Out of the 25 graphs presented in this work, "Example 4" is one of the 15 graphs showing the *Questionnaire for leaders* results.
I always try to make my practice repertoire different and untypical. Do you try to apply different musical styles?

Responding to the question of applying different musical styles, all the leaders answered *almost always.*
Choir and orchestra leaders gave the following answers: almost always 41 (55,41%); frequently 25 (33,78%); infrequently 4 (5,41%); sometimes 4 (5,41%); rarely 0 (0,00%)
Leaders of drama practices gave the following answers: almost always 10 (33,33%); frequently 9 (30,00%); infrequently 5 (16,67%); sometimes 6 (20,00%); and rarely 0 (0,00%).
Leaders of rhythmic practices gave the following answers: almost always 18 (56,25%); frequently 11 (34,38%); infrequently 3 (9,38%); sometimes 0 (0,00%); and rarely (0,00%).
Leaders of folklore practices gave the following answers: almost always 20 (54,72%); frequently 18 (33,96%); and infrequently 3 (5,66%).



Example 6
The overview of the total answers to the *Questionnaire for leaders* in primary schools, gymnasiums and youth centres.
At practices students develop a sense or organized leisure time. What roles do practices have to you?

For the majority of the leaders, practices have a creative role, this is particularly emphasized at drama practices.
Choir and orchestra leaders gave the following answers: creative 25 (49,02%); aesthetic 4 (7,84%); educational 12 (23,53%); recreation 1 (1,96%); and socializing role 9 (17,65%).
Drama practice leaders gave the following answers: creative 14 (82,35%); aesthetic 0 (0,00%); educational 0 (0,00%); recreation 0 (0,00%); and socializing role 3 (17,65%).
Rhythmic practice leaders gave the following answers: creative 12 (60,00%); aesthetic 0 (0,00%); educational 3 (15,00%); recreation 1 (50,00%); socializing role 4 (20,00%).
Folklore practice leaders gave the following answers: creative 16 (50,00%); aesthetic 4 (12,50%); educational 4 (12,50%); recreation 0 (0,00%); socializing role 8 (25,00%).

To primary school leaders practices are of an educational character while in gymnasiums it is creative, whereas in youth centres it is both creative and educational.

Conclusion

The meaning and possibility of institutionalized musical practices in Canton Sarajevo is a multiplex issue. Unfortunately, practice leaders are still lacking the additional and necessary education in order to improve. Schools, as educational institutions comprise of all types of upbringing and education, and should utilize all the possibilities and advantages that practices offer as an element of additional education.

On the basis of this research we can conclude that music practices or practices where which include and incorporate music are organized in the same manner regardless of their aesthetic section. With their originality, certain leaders invoke a particular attention and interest of their students towards their work. Role-playing and it is creative potential in never underestimated by practice leaders. All the leaders in their work usually use creative games. At practices students have the possibility of expanding their knowledge as well as freedom of exploring. Music, as a means of non-verbal communication is an ideal medium for developing tolerance, teamwork, and socialization. A multicultural upbringing, having foundations on differences and different musical activities create numerous possibilities and challenges to practice members and leaders. Even though they comprehend to regular classes musical practices offer members a chain of opportunities and advantages in developing talent and appetence.

Practices in educational institutions, schools and youth centres are an important figure in the upbringing of children, focusing on their mental and physical development, creative development, creative and exploratory spirit. It demands the collaboration of the entire social environment, family, schools and teachers who need to meet and respond to the challenges with their continuous exploring, education and constant learning.

References

Ajanović, Dževdeta, Stevanović, Marko, Methodology of student extra-curricula activities, Zenica: Faculty of Pedagogy, 2005.

Al Mufti, In am, *Variety in education: investing in human talent*, u: Delors, J. (ur.), *UNESCO report on International Commission for educational development for the 21st ce*ntury, Zagreb: Educa, 1998., p 221-226.

Arbunić, Antun, *Childs interest in leisure time*, Napredak, 139, 1998, 2, 221-228.

Breznik, Inge, Multicultural musical education in educational process: research among Austrian, Italian and Slovakian participants, u: Čavlović, I. (ur.) *Collection. V. International symposium "Music in society"*, Sarajevo, 26-28.10. 2006., Sarajevo: Musical society, 2007., p. 193-205.

Čavlović, Ivan, Introduction to musicology and *methodology of scientific research*, Sarajevo: Music Academy, 2004.

Ferović, Selma, Power of music in the process of education, u: Čavlović, I.(ur.), *Collection. III. International symposium "Music in society"*, Sarajevo, 24-26. 10. 2002., Sarajevo: Musical society, 2003., p211-219.

Nola, Danica, *Creative upbringing* Kroflin, L., Nola, D., Posilović, A., Supek, R.(ur.), *Child and creativity*, Zagreb: Globus, 1987., p 10-48.

Pettan, Svanibor, World music in upbringing and education: possibilities and experiences, u: Čavlović, I. (ur.), *Collection. II. International symposium "Music in society"*, Sarajevo, 27-28. 10 2000., Sarajevo: *Musical society*, 2001., p 291-298.

Rosić, Vladimir, *Free time, free activities*, Rijeka: Zagar, 2005.

Stevanović, Marko, *Teacher, up bringer, artist*, II, Tonimir: Varaždinske Toplice, 2006.

Vukasović, Ante, *Pedagogy*, Zagreb: Pedagogical institute of the Faculty of Philosophy 1989.

LEADERSHIP OF A TEACHER AS A PRECONDITION FOR PEDAGOGICAL PROFESSIONALISM

Rasa NEDZINSKAITĖ, Lecturer

Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences

Abstract
The article provides the chronology of the teacher training with the purpose to reveal the specificity of a country. The notion of a teacher leader is presented and the qualitative research data of pre-service teachers is analyzed, providing their opinions about the image of a modern teacher.

Keywords: Teacher, Teacher Leader, Pedagogical Work.

Introduction

Due to a rapid development of the society, the demands for a teacher are higher. These days it is not enough for a teacher to be a specialist in his or her narrow field. A teacher has become more than teacher of a certain subject, now he is also the one who conveys the information, who is an advisor, social pedagogue, class leader and older friend, researcher, cooperating colleague, innovator, organizer and a catalyst of the learning process. In order to become and remain such a diverse personality, it is not enough to obtain the specific knowledge of a subject. The competences of independence as well as problematic and critical thinking should be included into the educational goals, as well as an ability to raise problems and solve them, to plan the time, analyze and assess various situations, etc. Therefore, recently, more and more attention is given to proper vocational training of pre-service teachers, focusing on the development of their leadership abilities.

It should be noted, that the question of the quality of university studies is very important for the vocational training of pre-service teachers. Various aspects of the study quality have been examined, with an emphasis on the assurance of the study quality in the institutions higher education: the quality evaluation of university studies and the criteria for the study quality evaluation system has been examined by: Čižas, 1996, 2001; Dienys, Pukelis, Žiliukas, 2005; Pukelis, Pilkeičikienė, 2005; Stumbrys, 2003; Savickienė, 2005; Valiuškevičiūtė, Druskytė, Mikutavičienė, 2003, the possibilities for preparation, assessment and implementation of the higher education study programs has been examined by Žibėnienė (2004, 2006), the second cycle education programs in the context of paradigm variations were analyzed by Tinfavičienė (2008), the study quality management aspects were examined by Ruževičius (2007), etc.

The problem of teacher preparation has been examined in Lithuania taking into account the following aspects: the influence of educational environment on the preparation of pre-service teachers (Pečiuliauskienė, Barkauskaitė, 2008; Pečiuliauskienė, 2006; 2009), the importance of personality characteristics and spiritual values (Martišauskienė, 2007; Aramavičiūtė, Martišauskienė, 2006; 2010), development and expression of the competences of pre-service teachers (Barkauskaitė, Pečiulauskienė, 2007; Rodzevičiūtė, 2007; 2009), the

practice of pedagogical studies (Barkauskaitė, Pečiulauskienė, 2009; Pukelis, 1998), the questions of the quality of teacher preparation and employability (Šileika, Gruževskis et al., 2002; Pukelis, 1995; 2000).

In other countries, the examination of the leadership phenomenon was already on-going in the second half of 20th century, whereas in Lithuania, this phenomenon is new and a wider examination of it started only during the last decade. In Lithuania, leadership in education has been examined taking into account the following aspects: the teacher leadership, their qualities (Pranckūnienė, 2007; Rupšienė, Skarbalienė, 2010), the development of leadership in schools (Cibulskas, Žydžiūnaitė, 2011, 2012), phenomenon of the leadership of a school's principle (Žvirdauskas, Jucevičienė, 2004; Žvirdauskas 2006; Pileckienė, Žadeikaitė, 2009), the influence of leadership on the management of an organization (Baronienė, Šaparnienė, Sapiegienė, 2008; Ališauskas, Dukynaitė, 2007), the influence of systematic thinking on leadership (Skaržauskienė, 2008).

Internationally, the leadership in education has been examined taking into account the following aspects: teacher's leadership (MacBeath, Myers, 199; Martinez, 2004; Kelley, 2011), leadership of educational institutions (Cheng, 1994; Fiedler, 2002; Marzano, Waters, McNulty, 2011; Glickman, 2010), the relation between a teacher's leadership and students' results (Robinson, 2011). However, the expression of teacher's leadership as a precondition for pedagogical professionalism is a sphere that has been examined very little. The scientific analysis allows raising the problematic question: how to simulate and build the strategy for the preparation of teachers, in order to train them as not only the specialists in their fields, but also as initiative, creative creators of the educational process (leaders)? So, the main **aim** of the article is to determine the ways of expressing leadership as precondition for pedagogical professionalism. The main **goals** of this article are the following: 1. To examine the documents regulating teacher preparation, in order to determine the kind of a teacher, Lithuanian education documents are describing; 2. To determine the notion of a teacher leader; 3. To analyze the data of qualitative research, by presenting the opinion of pre-service teachers about the image of a modern teacher.

The methods used in the article: **theoretical** – scientific literature, analysis of Lithuanian educational documents, interpretation, assessment, generalization; **empirical** – essay. The empirical research using the strategy of a qualitative research – essay – was conducted in February – March, 2013, the informants: first cycle, second year full-time students (N=70).

Preparation of the Teachers: Analysis of the Education Documents of the Republic of Lithuania

As the fourth stage of the *Lithuanian Education Reform* (since 2012) is still in process, new challenges for the preparation of the teachers arise. In order to understand what causes the arising challenges, it is necessary to review the context of teacher preparation since the restoration of Independence (1990) and until these days. In the beginning of nineties, Lithuanian government sought to develop a unique system of education, independent from the Soviet Union, so the concept of National school (1989) was prepared, as well as the concept of Lithuanian education (1992) and other documents, drawing the guidelines to *the first stage of the educational reform* (1988-1997). According to **the concept of National school** (1989), 'the preparation of teachers needs to be modernized and oriented towards the global standard: good theoretical preparation, modern experimental and practice base for students <...> provision with the basic information in global pedagogy and psychology. Pre-

service teachers need to know at least two foreign languages, so that they could use relevant literature <...> foster and develop creative, original, theoretical and practical pedagogical thought' (p. 31). **The concept of Lithuanian education** (1992) discusses the personality of a pre-service teacher: 'creative personalities are educators, not only the people who provide knowledge <...> the personalities able to base the learner – educator interactions on dialogue, tolerance, respect, justice, strictness and creativity' (p. 28). One of the top priority sections in the first documents is on the preparation of teachers, corresponding to the global tendencies and orienting towards the Western countries.

The second stage of educational reform (1998-2002) focuses on the creation of the civic education system and a new curriculum (introduction of civic education), researches are conducted (the assessment of the reform), Lithuania takes part in international researches. The admission of Lithuania into the European Union (2004) and involvement into the general EU space, emphasizing the Lifelong Learning initiative, the questions of teacher's qualification, retraining, and the quality of the teacher preparation arise. This is typical to the *third stage of the educational reform* (2003-2012). One of the fundamental documents of this period is the **National Education Strategy 2003–2012.** This strategy is intended to develop the education 'according to the new challenges of the Lithuanian society and the arising opportunities: the development of democracy and market economy, globalization, abundance of information, rapid changes and the social stratification, and for this, fundamental changes in the Lithuanian education system are necessary, as they would help to increase the efficacy of the educational system, expand the availability of education, would create the conditions for the continuous, lifelong learning, ensure the European standards and the education quality taking into account the needs of the modern Lithuanian society'.

In order to achieve the objectives raised in the strategy, the preparation of teachers is revised. **The concept of the teacher preparation** (2004) states that the preparation of teachers has to respond to the arising challenges and adapt to rapid changes. So, the concept has a provision, which says, that 'teacher preparation has to correspond to the needs of the region, which are influenced by the modern day challenges <...> to create the conditions for a pre-service teacher to acquire competences, necessary for the new roles: a learning organizer, a creative educator, a facilitator, a helper, a counselor, a partner, a mediator between a student and various modern sources of information'. The concept recommends expanding the scope of pedagogical practice (no less than 20 credits). **The Description of the Professional Competences of Teachers** (2007) regulates 'the teacher's professional activity by respective preschool, primary, secondary, special education, vocational training and non-formal education programs, clusters of competence, competences and abilities'. The description provides competences of four types, necessary for any teacher: general cultural, vocational, general and special competences. In 2010, the preparation of teachers was legitimated by one more document – it's **Teacher Training Regulation** (recast on 2012) by which, the teacher training methods and the requirements for the study implementation are established. So, 'the pedagogical studies are integrated into the university and college undergraduate programs, the main objective of which is to train the teachers'. The Teacher Training Regulation (2012) has a provision, stating, that a pre-service teacher has to 'accumulate enough knowledge and abilities of the subject in order to develop proper moral values, to know the methodology of the subject or pedagogical specialization, to know about the pedagogical phenomena and educational activities, to understand the student's psychology, and to be able to apply the knowledge and abilities in professional activities'. This document extends the pedagogical practice, which is 30 credits, in this way allowing the pre-service teachers to acquire the necessary practical skills.

The guidelines for the education in Lithuania for the next decade are provided in the **National Education Strategy 2013–2022** (Project of 6 December, 2012), which aims at 'making the Lithuanian education a solid ground for a vigorous and independent individual, who creates the future for himself, the government and the world responsibly and with solidarity'. During the 23 years of Independence, three reforms for education were introduced, aiming at rearranging and improving the preparation of teachers, because the teachers determine the society we'll have to live in.

The Concept of Teacher Leader

The European Union Communiqué 'Europe 2020' and The State Progress Strategy 'Lithuania 2030' state, that leadership is the impetus for future growth, which will result in higher achievements not only in education, but in all the spheres of government. In order to reach this goal, leaders should be raised in all spheres. As leaders can be raised only by leaders, the main attention in our educational system should be given to the education of teachers, who would help the young leaders to come out of their shells. This is proved by the provisions of the National Education Strategy 2013–2022 (Project of 6 December, 2012) for the next decade where it is stated, that 'it is necessary to find the incentives, and conditions for the establishment of the communities of reflective, creative and professional teachers, to develop the accumulative leadership abilities of the heads of educational institutions <...>, to reach a level of educational communities, so that their critical mass would consist of reflective, constantly improving and effective teachers'. L. Stoll, C. Jackson, E. Hargreave, D. Fink and other authors claim, that the purpose of leadership in education is to improve every school and all the education system, by upholding and fostering the leaders on all levels: in the classroom, in schools, municipalities, higher education institutions and on the national as well as the international level.

The international OECD PISA (2006; 2009), IEA, TIMSS and PIRLS research show that the results of Lithuanian school children are decreasing. The international research ground this fact by showing a strong connection between the learning motivation of teachers leaders and their students, as teachers are creating the teaching (learning) environment, encouraging the student initiatives, creating the conditions for the creative activities, etc. So, each teacher has to be a professional, irrespective of the level of education system he would be working on. According to Adamonienė, Daukilas, Krikščiūnas and others (2002), a teacher has to show professionalism in the following spheres: mastering of teaching techniques, pedagogical aptitude – knowledge of the development of the scientific field, participation in scientific research, constant professional development; a need for self-creation and self-development; creativity – a constant search for something new; pedagogical excellence – mastering of various methods, excellent pedagogical communication, performance on a high level.

The scientific literature provides various concepts of teacher's leaders. York-Barr & Duke (2004) state, that **the leadership of teachers** is an idea emphasizing the importance of a teacher as a central person, at school. '**Teachers leaders** are the souls of a school which has reached a high level of leadership. The teachers who have chosen a path of a **teacher leader** <...> become the masters and depositors of their own schools, instead of being only the tenants' (Barth, 1999). Lambert (2011) states, that **teachers – leaders** are the individuals who have a dream to change something and are able to reach it or to awaken their own enthusiasm, working together with their colleagues according to the principles of professional culture. Also, '**teachers – leaders** are active, curious, tend to think over their activities (reflect), improve their working skills, take the responsibility for the education of their

students and are self-confident'. **The teacher leadership** consists of a set of skills which are demonstrated by teachers, who are influencing the students outside the classroom (Danielson, 2006). **Teachers** become **leaders**, when their activities: positively influence the learning of students, contribute to the improvement of a school as a whole, inspire the practical development of themselves and their colleagues, and participate in the improvement of the education system (Childs-Bowen et al., 2000). **Teacher leadership** allows fostering the success of the whole school. **Teachers leaders** transform the teaching and the learning into the connections between the school and the community and raise the social mission and the life quality of the community (Crowther et al., 2002). **Teachers leaders** encourage other teachers and colleagues to change and to occupy the positions, that normally nobody would even think of (Wasley, 1991). **Teachers leaders** retain their influence outside the classroom or the school, and are independent in their work <...> however, they still are not independent from their supervisors or their job descriptions (Murphy, 2005). The collaboration principle is inherent to the activities of a **teacher leader,** and it creates the conditions necessary for implementation of the changes (Harris, Muijs, 2003).

Irrespective of the school level on which the leaders are working, it is important that they are 'open to new ideas and ready to learn from the others. They are flexible, goal seeking and optimists' (The Model of School Leadership Development 2011, pg. 14).

In summary, it can be said, that a teacher leader is a professional in his own field, with a high professional qualification and ability to ground the education process with creativity and innovations, wishing to develop and encouraging the development of others.

The Image of a Modern Teacher: Opinions of Pre-service Teachers

As it is noted in *The State Progress Strategy* 'Lithuania 2030', one of the top priority spheres during the next two decades is an intelligent society, providing it with vast possibilities to learn, integrate and compete in the international space. So, the preparation of pre-service teachers, as well as the other spheres has to relate to the needs of the ever-changing society. A. Harris (2010), raises the fundamental question for the **education of future leaders**: how to train teachers who would put the learning above the rates (exam results, achievements in the Olympics, numbers of the students admitted to the institutions of higher education, etc.)?

So, in a context of the question raised by A. Harris (2010), it is important to analyze the opinion of pre-service teachers, on what a modern teacher should be like (Table 2).

Table 2. Modern teacher from the point of view of pre-service teachers (N=30)

Category	Subcategory	Affirmative statements
Education process	A constant renewal of knowledge, improvement	'self improvement, i.e. improvement in the level of one's achievements' (n=2); 'a continuous development and improvement of one's knowledge' (n=3); 'a teacher has to change'; 'ability to spread the ideas, innovations'; 'interest in the subject, accumulation of knowledge and ability to transfer them to the students'; 'travelling outside the school to see the world and gain knowledge which could later be used for teaching', 'to constantly learn and attract innovations, to be on the top of modern innovations, and discoveries';
	Creation of individual teaching (learning) environments	'creating individual learning environments, which would improve the self-realization of the students' (n=2); 'able to work with children of different talents and needs';
	Application of modern	'acquiring new learning methods'; 'using various new teaching

	methods	methods'; 'open to innovations, new learning methods'; 'a teacher has to be receptive to innovations, and should know how to manage various teaching methods';
	Usage of new technologies	„usage of computer technologies, software and the main internet services during the lessons, for the preparation of textual and visual aids'; 'knowledge of how to use information technologies';
	Promotion of student self-expression	'able to engage students in activities where he would encourage the student self-expression'; 'able to induce student's creativity, their desire to develop on the terms selected by the learner';
Pedagogical dialogue	Relationship with the family	'knowledge of the problems in a student's family'; 'keeping in touch not only with students but also with their parents' (n=2);
	Empathy	'winning people's trust <...> caring about the students, helping them, giving them advice and understanding them when they have difficulties; 'a teacher has to be a 'human' who would understand, sympathize, empathize with their problems and difficulties';
	Communication and collaboration	'ability to communicate in various atmospheres and in various different ways'; 'sociability'; 'ability to communicate ethically with the students, as well the teachers or the school staff'; 'ability to communicate freely' (n=5); 'communication with the students'.
Personality	Personality characteristics	'understanding, nice but strict'; 'intelligent, smart, attentive, communicative'; 'spreading the values of love, sensitivity, understanding and honesty to the students'; 'goodwill'; 'willing to help a student'; 'honest, sincere, creative'; 'charismatic personality';
	Moral values	'having a set of moral values and non-contradicting the values of others'; 'maintaining the values while the perception changes through time'; 'having a strong system of values, and able to convey it to the students (in pursuit of justice and responsibility)';
Nationality	Mediator between the world, the nation and the culture	'mediator between the world, the nation, the culture and a student'; 'providing new cultural knowledge, related to Lithuania, its culture and heritage'; 'a teacher has to be the guide of the nation';
Roles of a teacher	Psychologist	'psychologist' (n=8); 'a teacher has to know how to be a good psychologist'; 'a teacher must possess the qualities of a psychologist' (n=5);
	Leader	'a teacher has to be a leader of the classroom' (n=4);
	Colleague	'a collaborating colleague' (n=3); 'a colleague' (n=5);
	Friend	'an experienced older friend' (n=3); ' a best friend' (n=5);
	Member of the family	'a teacher has to act like a friend, a mother, a father, a sister or a brother of a student';
	Counsellor	'a teacher should not give lectures on life or be a judge, he needs to be a counselor'; 'a consultant' (n=3);
	Motivator for change	'a mediator of changes' (n=2);
	Organizer	'organizer' (n=3); 'able to control the teaching process'; 'able to form partnership outside of the school'; 'the main organizer of the education process'.

The pre-service teachers note, that a modern teacher has to continuously improve, raise his qualification and adapt to the changing environment. As the leadership theorists claim, the main aim of a teacher is to reach for higher results of the students. According to the pre-service teachers, in order for the education process to be successful, a teacher needs to have mastered the newest informational and communicational technologies, in order to search

and apply the diverse teaching strategies, to apply the principle of creativity and the active methods in the education process and to create the teaching (learning) environments, corresponding to the needs of every student.

Pedagogical dialogue – empathy, relationship with the family, communication and collaboration from the point of view of pre-service teachers, necessary if aiming at quality education process. The students note, that the personality of a teacher, his qualities, the image of self as a teacher and moral values are necessary for successful pedagogical work. By providing a picture of a contemporary teacher, the students distinguish between the variety of teacher's roles. A constant, rapid change requires from the teacher to occupy several or even a few roles at once, for example to be an organizer of a classroom, a leader, a psychologist, or an older friend. In summary, it can be said, that a modern day teacher has to be an active, initiative, dynamic, creative personality, characterized by strong moral values, wishing to develop and encouraging the development of others, etc. in other words a teacher leader.

Concluding Remarks

During the past twenty three years, the preparation of teachers, has been improved, focusing on the experience of the Western countries, the compulsory annual practice allow a pre-service teacher to get to know the student, to be flexible, and to comprehend the specifics of the teacher's job from the beginning of the studies.

Teacher leader – a professional in his own sphere, creating the favorable learning environment, able to use the changes in the environment, constantly reflecting, wishing to develop and encouraging the development of others;

The preparation of a teacher – leader for the lifelong learning, searches, creation, mobilization of the community, creative activities and responsibility for them, has to be one of the top priority spheres in order to make the progress in all the spheres of the society.

The pre-service teachers describe a modern teacher as a creator of the education process, ensuring with his personality a quality interaction, which results in higher achievements of the students.

References

Adamonienė R., Daukilas S., Krikščiūnas B., Maknienė I., Palujanskienė A. (2002). Profesinio ugdymo pagrindai. Vilnius: Petro Offsets.

Childs-Bowen, D., Moller, G., & Scrivner, J. (2000). Principals: Leaders of leaders. NASSP Bulletin.

Crowther F., Kaagen S. S., Ferguson M., & Hann L. (2002). Developing teacher leaders: How teacher leadership enhances school success. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Barth R. S. (1999). The Teacher Leader. Providence, RI, The Rhode Island Foundation.

Eropos Komisijos komunikatas "Europa 2020 m." (2010). Available from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2010:2020:FIN:LT:PDF

Harris . (2010). Pasidalytoji lyderystė mokykloje. Ateities lyderių ugdymas. Vilnius: Švietimo aprūpinimo centras.

Harri A., Muijs D. (2003). Mokytojų lyderystė: Principai ir praktika. Nacionalinė mokyklų vadovų kolegija. Available from: http://www.lyderiulaikas.smm.lt/ll/attachments/355_Mokytoj%C5%B3%20lyderyst%C4%97.%20Principai%20ir%20praktika.pdf

Jackson T., urrus J., Bassett K., Roberts R. D. (2010). Teacher Leadership: An Assessment Framework for an Emerging Area of Professional Practice.

Lambert L (2011). Lyderystės gebėjimai ir tvari mokyklos pažanga. Vilnius: Švietimo aprūpinimo centras.

Lietuvos vietimo koncepcija (1992). Vilnius: Leidybos centras.

Lietuvos pažangos strategija „Lietuva 2030“(2012). Available from: http://www.lietuva2030.lt/images/stories/2030.pdf

Lyderystės vystymosi mokykloje modelis (2011). Available from: http://www.lyderiulaikas.smm.lt/ll/attachments/429_LYDERYST%C4%96S%20VYSTYMOSI%20MOKYKLOJE%20modelis.pdf

Mokytjo profesijos kompetencijos aprašas (2007). Available from: http://www.smm.lt/prtm/docs/mkt/2007-01-15-ISAK-54.pdf

Pedgogų rengimo reglamentas (2010). Available from: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=364217

Pedagogų rengimo reglamentas (2012). Available from: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=425048&p_query=&p_tr2=2

Pedagogų rengimo koncepcija (2004). Available from: http://www.smm.lt/teisine_baze/docs/isakymai/2004-09-16-ISAK-1441(2).doc

Tautinė mokykla (1989). Vilnius: Žinija.

Valstybinė švietimo 2003–2012 metų strategija (2012). Available from: http://www.smm.lt/strategija/vss.htm

Valstybinė švietimo 2013–2022 metų strategija (Projektas 2012 12 06). Available from: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=438859

Wasley, P. A. (1991). Teachers who lead: The rhetoric of reform and the realities of practice. New York: Teachers College Press.

A RESEARCH ON THE CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE FOREIGNERS LEARNING TURKISH ABOUT DAILY LIFE

İsmail GULEC, Associate Professor
Sakarya University
Bekir INCE, Associate Professor
Sakarya University

Abstract
The purpose of this study is to identify the social and cultural problems of the foreign students learning Turkish in TÖMER, Sakarya University about the language they are learning. In this context the perceptions of the students on the habits of eating, entertainment and clothing were tried to be evaluated. While the universe of the study involves both Turkish and foreign students attending TÖMERs, its sample consists of 29 students from 13 different countries who are studying in TÖMER in Sakarya University. To collect the data structured interview forms were used and the results were expressed with frequency and percentage. Obtained results has presented that although the students hasn't had many problems about clothes, they have had medium-level problems on eating habits and entertainment styles.

Keywords: Teaching Turkish to Foreigners, Cultural Transmission, and Tomer.

Introduction

Turkey has become a center of attention in higher education due to the economic, social and cultural improvements in recent years and their positive reflections in educational field. While 7,039 students matriculated universities in Turkey in 2010-2011 academic year, this figure increased to31,933 in 2011-2012 academic year(osym.gov.tr). It is estimated this figure will be more than 40,000 in 2012-2013 academic year. 975 foreign students from 65 different countries are attending Sakarya University, 800 of which are undergraduate students, 125 of which are graduate students and 50 of which are postgraduate students.

Considering that these students come from many countries all around the world and they have different citizenships, it is very ordinary that the term of "cultural transmission" and correspondingly "acculturation process" emerge as a noteworthy topic. Hence, cultural transmission and acculturation process have had a significant place within foreign language teaching and multicultural education not only in Turkey but also in the world in recent years (Cırık, 2008; Demir,2012; Güven,2005). Factors such as language, food, architecture, literature and law and observable rituals and behaviors of a society constitute the visible side of culture which has a wide range (Gökçel, 2012:71). The purpose of this study is to reveal the perspectives of the foreign students in Turkey on the culture of the language they are learning. However, since culture is a very broad concept, only perceptions of foreign students on food, entertainment and clothing were discussed. Very scarce research with a more general framework can be found in the literature about the problems of foreign students attending TÖMERs. Furthermore, lack of study directly on the adaptation of these students to the eating habits, entertainment and dressing styles enhances the significance of this study. In this context Soyutürk examined the social adaptation of the foreign students coming from Balkan States(Soyutürk, 2000), and Garabayev analyzed the compliance problems of the students coming from Turkish Republics for their higher education (Garabayev, 2000).In addition, Kıroğlustudied the compliance problems of the foreign students(Kıroğlu et.

al.,2010). However, on reviewing the literature, it occurs that similarities between the compliance problems of the Turkish students and foreign students weren't compared in any research. This study focuses on the differences in this sense.

Conceptual Framework

Society focuses on the domestication of each joining individual in a certain socialization process, i.e. on introducing and facilitating the adaptation process to its own standards of judgment. This tendency can be explained both with the social and learnable sides of the culture (İnce, 2011). On the other hand, increasing migration rates happening all over the world has brought forth a considerable cultural diversity to education which cannot be compared with previous years and countries which cannot manage to handle this diversity are known to have some serious problems in their education system. The education system should not only ease the adaptation processes of the individuals but also help them contribute to that culture in order to make them efficient and productive members of the society they are living in (Cırık, 2008:27-28). One of the ways of managing acculturation is effective usage of language which is the main aspect of culture and teaching language and culture at the same time.

On reviewing the ideas of the researchers studying on "Foreign Language Teaching Programs", Doğru's (1996) statement on the fact that it is impossible to separate the concepts of the relationship between the language and culture and the relationship between the language and way of thinking from each other can be seen (cit. Er, 2006: 3). Cultural aspects of eating habits, ways of entertainment and dressing styles have to be taught in a foreign language teaching program. After all, foreign language learning contains mutual acculturation in itself. Fink (2003) and Mairitsch (2003) emphasized that, contrary to the popular belief, as teaching only the grammar rules of the language in foreign language teaching isn't sufficient at all, the social, cultural, political and economic structure of the language should be taught as well and the students have to be aware of the culture of the language they are learning (cit. Er, 2006:3). This awareness is of course directly related with the perceptions of the students. The leading problems foreign students encounter mostly can be listed as *food* and *climate* (Arubayi, 1980; Güçlü, 1996; Sandhu and Asrabadi, 1994; cit. Kıroğlu, Kesten and Elma, 2010: 27).

Analyzing the foreign language teaching programs demonstrates that cultural transmission occupies a noteworthy position in many leading and preferred foreign language teaching methods all over the world. For instance, Ministry of Education in West Virginia, the USA (2002)depicted that as language and culture are two inseparable concepts, students cannot specialize in the language they are trying to learn without being informed of the culture of the very language in the subtitle of "culture" in its Foreign Language Teaching Program Guide. (Er, 2006:6). In a declaration published in 2000 by Council of Europe underlined that *social* and *cultural* information on the language to be taught should be provided. The underlined concepts of Council of Europe including habits about food, entertainment and clothing (CEF, 2000, 102-103). Taking the aforementioned items into consideration to know and to be conscious of the perceptions of the foreigners coming to Turkey to learn Turkish make a sense and becomes more crucial.

The first government agency a foreign student confronts when he/she comes to Turkey for higher education is one of the TÖMERs which were founded to teach Turkish language to foreigners. Besides the difficulties of learning a new language and getting accustomed to a new culture these foreign students have some difficulties about adapting themselves to a multicultural education system where students from various countries attend the same classes in TÖMER. Even though this is a new challenge for Turkey, the rest of the world is familiar to this. Several studies on the foreign students reveal that some factors such

as loneliness, inadaptability, timidity and culture shock might cause serious psychological problems on foreign students (Biggs, 1999; Furnham, 1997; Lewins, 1990; Tomich et.al., 2000; cit. Kıroğlu, Kesten and Elma, 2010). Limited research can be found in literature on the cultural and linguistic problems of the foreign students coming to Turkey for their education related to language and culture (Açıkalın et.al., 1996; Adıgüzel, 1994; Dağaşan, 1994; Tutar, 2002; cit. Kıroğlu, Kesten and Elma, 2010). This fact suggests the significance of this sort of researches.

Method

This is a descriptive and self-reporting study. All the data were collected via face-to-face interview method. As is known two different methods are used in descriptive researches – self-reporting and observation. Data of the self-reporting researches are collected by obtaining information from the respondents themselves. The information can be obtained either in written via surveys or verbally via interviews (Özdamar et.al., 1999). A questionnaire including eight questions with five-point-likert scale was used to collect data. Students are asked to choose one of the choices including "always", "usually", "sometimes", "rarely" and "never". The answers of the students were graded from positive to negative from five to one.

Five-point-likert scale is a grading scale from five to one and the ranges of the grades corresponding to each answer are as follows: always (4.20–5.00), usually (3.40–4.19), sometimes (2.60–3.39), rarely (1.80–2.59) and never (1.00–1.79). The exact point of 2,59 or any point below 2,59 will be evaluated as a negative perception and above 2,59 as positive perception. While choosing the working group of the research "maximum variation sampling method" was adopted. In this method the main target is to generate a relatively small sample and to reflect the diversity of the respondents as much as possible (Büyüköztürk et.al, 2008; Gray, 2004; Patton, 2002; Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2006; cit. Kıroğlu, 2010:28). In this study which is conducted to establish the perceptions of the foreign students coming to Turkey on food, entertainment and clothing in a socio-cultural context the universe of the study involves both Turkish and foreign students attending TÖMERs, its sample consists of 29 students from 13 different countries who are studying in TÖMER in Sakarya University. The foreign students do not know any Turkish (or know very little Turkish) and have been attending university in Turkey for eight months. 18 of these foreign students are of Turkish origin and 11 of them have different nationalities. A special attention was paid on the balanced distribution between the females and males. The distribution of the students according to the countries they are coming from and to their sexes are shown in the following table.

Country		Sex		Total number of the students
		Female	**Male**	
Turkmenistan		4	4	8
Yemen		-	1	1
Kuwait		-	1	1
Azerbaijan		-	2	2
Crimea		-	1	1
Uzbekistan		1	1	2
Colombia		-	1	1
Bosnia Herzegovina		2	1	3
Serbia		1	3	4
Mongolia		2	-	2
Bulgaria		2	-	2
Kirgizstan		1	-	1
Russia		1	-	1
Total	**13 Countries**	14	15	29

Findings and Commentary

Frequency and percentage were used to analyze the results of the survey which was conducted in order to reveal the cultural perceptions of the foreign students on food, entertainment and clothing. In total eight questions were asked to each student. Answers are as follows.

1. I can find food appealing to my taste.

On evaluating the answers of the respondents the average score for this question is ($\bar{x}$) 2.27. This implies that foreign students "rarely" had problems about finding food; therefore their perception on food culture is high. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	F	*%*	*F*	*%*	*f*	*%*	*F*	*%*	*f*	*%*
Of Turkish Origin	2	11,11	1	5,5	4	22,22	5	27,77	6	33,33
Foreign	2	18,18	1	9,09	2	18,18	2	18,18	4	36,36

Table1: The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I have difficulties finding food appealing to my taste".

While 33.33% of the students who are of Turkish origin can find food appealing to their taste, 36.36% of the students coming from other countries had some difficulties which depicts that both group have a similar perception on this topic. The cooking method and the variety of the ingredients of the Turkish Cuisine can be thought as a factor which facilitates the adaptation process/

2. I can find desserts appealing to my taste.

In the second question of the survey the students were asked whether they can find any dessert appealing to their taste which has an average score of ($\bar{x}$)1.55.This result demonstrates that foreign students "rarely" have a difficulty in finding find desserts appealing to their taste and thus their perception on dessert can be said to be high. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	F	%	*f*	%	*F*	%	*F*	%	*F*	%
Of Turkish Origin	0	0	0	0	2	11,11	6	33,33	10	55,55
Foreign	0	0	0	0	1	9,09	4	36,36	6	54,54

Table 2:The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I have difficulties finding deserts appealing to my taste".

While 55,55 % of the students who are of Turkish origin can find desserts appealing to their taste, 54,54% of the students coming from other countries had some difficulties which depicts that both group have a similar perception on this topic. Availability of desserts made both with pastry and milk can be regarded as an advantage for the foreign students.

3. I have difficulties as my sense of entertainment cannot be understood.

In the third question of the survey the any difficulties originating due to the sense of entertainment of the foreign students were questioned. At the end of scoring the average score of the answers given was defined as ($\bar{x}$)1.96. This figure indicates that foreign students "rarely" come across with difficulties about their sense of entertainment and they have high positive perceptions in terms of social relations. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*F*	%	*f*	%
Of Turkish Origin	0	0	2	11,11	1	5,55	5	27,77	10	55,55
Foreign	1	9,09	1	9,09	2	18,18	4	36,36	3	27,27

Table 3: The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I have difficulties as my sense of entertainment cannot be understood."

As the rate of the students who are of Turkish origin is 55.55 % and of the foreign students is 27.27 %, it can be implied that both groups have different perceptions on the very subject. In other words, students coming from different countries encountered more difficulties compared to the ones coming from Turkish Republics. The reasons of this situation can be

explained by cultural similarities and the facts that foreign students feel more lonely and less relaxing another country.

4. I have difficulties in finding a place for entertainment at nights.

The fourth question is about the difficulties of the foreign students in finding a place for entertainment at nights, the average score of this question is($\bar{x}$)1.82 which implies that foreign students "rarely" have difficulties about this subject and therefore they have a high positive perceptions in terms of social relations. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*F*	%	*f*	%
Of Turkish Origin	2	11,11	0	0	1	5,55	4	22,22	11	61,11
Foreign	1	9,09	1	9,09	0	0	3	27,27	6	54,54

Table 4: The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I have difficulties in finding a place for entertainment at nights."

As the percentage of the foreign students who are of Turkish origin is 61,11 and of the rest is 54,54, it can be easily said that both groups have similar perceptions.

5. I have difficulties in finding a place for entertainment during day time.

In the fifth question the foreign students were asked about the difficulties they have in finding a place for entertainment during day time. The average score taken from the answers regarding this question is ($\bar{x}$)2.00, which depicts that foreign students "rarely" have difficulties about this subject and therefore they have a high positive perceptions in terms of social relations. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*F*	%	*F*	%
Of Turkish Origin	2	11,11	1	5,55	2	11,11	4	22,22	9	50,00
Foreign	0	0	1	9,09	2	18,18	3	27,27	5	45,45

Table5: The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I have difficulties in finding a place for entertainment during day time."

Since 50,00% of the foreign students who are of Turkish origin and 45,45% of the others have difficulties in finding a place for entertainment during day time, it can be stated that both groups have similar perceptions.

6. I can find a friend who has the same taste of entertainment as me.

With the sixth question the difficulties to be encountered while finding someone who has the same taste of entertainment were tried to be found out. The average score of this question after the answers were graded is ($\bar{x}$)3,00, This figure demonstrates that foreign students "sometimes" have difficulties in finding friends with whom they can get along while

spending their free time together, thus, they have relatively lower positive perceptions in terms of social relations. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*F*	%	*f*	%
Of Turkish Origin	5	27,77	2	11,11	0	0	5	27,77	6	33,33
Foreign	6	54,54	0	0	1	9,09	1	9,09	3	27,27

Table6: The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I can find a friend who has the same taste of entertainment as me".

Considering the fact that the percentage of the foreign students with Turkish nationality who have difficulties in finding a friend with the same taste of entertainment is 33,33 and of the rest is 27,27, the same perceptions of the two groups will be noticed. Besides, there is a significant difference in terms of the nationalities of the students when the percentage of the students who indicated that 'he/she can *always* find a like-minded friend" is analyzed.

7. I have difficulties in getting involved in social surroundings.

In the seventh question the foreign students were asked if they have any difficulties in getting involved in social surroundings. After the evaluation of the answers the average score was determined as($\bar{x}$)1.79. These results indicates that foreign students "rarely" have difficulties in getting involved in social surroundings and so they have a high positive perceptions in terms of social relations. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Of Turkish Origin	1	5,55	3	16,66	0	0	1	5,55	13	72,22
Foreign	0	0	0	0	2	18,18	5	45,45	4	36,36

Table 7: The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I have difficulties in getting involved in social surroundings".

Regarding the nationality of the students, it is seen that foreign students of Turkish nationality have less difficulties in terms of socialization compared to the others coming from different countries. Cultural similarities, higher chance of meeting someone from his/her country and advantage of learning Turkish much easier are some of the factors for the above mentioned facts.

8. I get used to the clothes.

The eighth and the last question of the survey is about the way of clothing in Turkey and whether the foreign students get used to them. The average score of this questions is ($\bar{x}$)1,65 which indicates that students "rarely" get used to the clothes in Turkey and so they have a high positive perceptions in terms of social relations. The same results are obtained when their nationality is considered.

Nationality of the Students	Always		Usually		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Of Turkish Origin	1	5,55	0	0	1	5,55	4	22,22	12	66,66
Foreign	2	18,18	0	0	0	0	1	9,09	8	72,72

Table8: The distribution functions of the answers of the students to the "I get used to the clothes".

While 66,66% of the foreign students who are of Turkish origin expressed that they get used to the clothes, the percentage for the other foreign students is72,72, therefore the same perceptions for the both groups are valid for this question as well.

Conclusion

The first institution the foreign students interact with is TÖMERs which has important roles in generating a positive perception socially and culturally. The results of this study shows that foreign students – both of Turkish origin and coming from different countries –do not encounter a serious problems in basic activities such as eating – drinking traditional cuisine, having fun in Turkey and participating in social gatherings. Only two of eight topics depicted significant differences between the opinions of the students coming from Turkish Republics and other countries. Except "being understood in terms of sense of entertainment" and "getting involved in social surroundings", the rest of the topics do not suggest any significant differences.

It should be noted that, both of the topics displaying significant differences are about cultural life. The factors that cause this situation can be listed as cultural similarities, advantage of learning Turkish easier and higher chance of seeing one of his/her fellow citizen. The significant difference we have found with the results obtained from the seventh question examining the difficulties related to the comfort in getting involved in social surroundings should be considered carefully during the planning process of a language teaching program. It might be very beneficial if the same study will be repeated with the topics of relations between sexes, art, music and traditions.

References

Cirik, İlker, (2008); "Çok Kültürlü Eğitim Ve Yansımaları", Hacettepe Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi (H. U. Journal of Education) 34: 27-40

Demir, Semra, (2012); "Çok Kültürlü Eğitimin Erciyes Üniversitesi Öğretim Elemanları İçin Önem Derecesi", TurkishStudies- International PeriodicalForTheLanguages, LiteratureandHistory of TurkishorTurkic Volume 7/4, p. 1453-1475

ER, Kemal Oguz, (2006); " Yabancı Dil Ögretim Programlarında Kültürün Etkileri" * Ankara Üniversitesi Egitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi, cilt: 39, sayı: 1, s:1-14

Garabayev, B. (2000). Türkiye'de yüksek öğrenim gören Türk cumhuriyetleri öğrencilerinin uyum sorunları ve Türkiye ve Türklere ilişkin kalıp yargılar.Yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, Niğde Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Niğde

Gokcel, Ragıp "Romen-Türk Kültürel Etkileşiminin Romen Diline Yansımaları" s71

Guven, E. D. (2005). "Eğitim Üzerine Yinelenen Eleştiriler, Alternatif Öneriler", Pivolka4(17), 6-8. http://www.elyadal.org/pivolka/17/egitim.htm

İnce, Bekir (2011), "Yurt Dışındaki Türk Çocuklarının Anadilleri Türkçede Yaşadıkları Anlatım Sorunları -FRANSA ÖRNEĞİ-", İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi, İstanbul.

Kiroglu, Kasım; KESTEN Alper; ELMA,Cevat; (2010); "Türkiye'de Öğrenim Gören Yabancı Uyruklu Lisans Öğrencilerinin Sosyo- Kültürel ve Ekonomik Sorunları", Mersin Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt 6, Sayı 2, ss.26-39.

Özdamar, K. (1999); "Paket Programlar ile İstatistiksel Veri Analizi", (2.Baskı), Kaan Kitabevi, Eskişehir.

Soyuturk, M. (2000). Balkan ülkelerinden eğitim-öğretim için gelen öğrencilerin (Batı Trakya örneği) sosyal yapıya uyumları. Yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal BilimlerEnstitüsü, Ankara.

SCIENCE TEACHING IN INDIA: EXPERIMENTS IN MULTICULTURALISM

Amitabha MUKHERJEE, Associate Professor

University of Delhi

Abstract
India is a large and diverse country, with a mix of religious, linguistic and ethnic groups. A typical classroom in any part of the country mirrors this diversity. This paper analyses some initiatives in school science education in India from a multicultural perspective. The Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP) was a major programme that, at the time of its closure in 2002, was running in around 1000 schools in the state of Madhya Pradesh. Its many innovative features included hands-on experimentation and open-book examinations. One of the integral features was engaging with students' prior knowledge. The command area of the programme included tribal areas, and classrooms had a mix of tribal and non-tribal children. Teachers had to negotiate the different knowledge bases of children. The resource group, which was to help the teachers, was itself drawn largely from urban areas. It was thus faced with a challenge, which it met with some success. The second project discussed was based in Delhi, and was part of a global UNESCO initiative on developing Scientific and Technological Literacy (STL) for All. The Delhi STL project group decided to focus on making science more friendly to girls. A study conducted as part of the project revealed that there was widespread discrimination against girls within the science classrooms as well as outside it, cutting across ethnic and socio-economic differences. The National Curriculum Framework (NCF 2005) is a major policy document whose creation involved many educationists, University academics, schoolteachers and civil society groups. Giving due place to indigenous knowledge is one of its cornerstones. Two of its supporting documents are the Position Papers on the Teaching of Science and Mathematics. The paper looks at them from a multicultural viewpoint. The study of these initiatives reveals that developing true multicultural teaching strategies is a challenging task.

Keywords: Science Teaching, Multiculturalism, India, Scientific and Technological Literacy.

Introduction

India is a large and diverse country. It consists of 28 States and 7 centrally administered territories (UTs). There are 22 languages recognized by the Constitution of India, apart from numerous unrecognized languages and dialects. Almost every major religion in the world is represented in India. The diversity extends also to the population centres, ranging from modern metropolises like New Delhi and Mumbai on the other hand to tribal villages, where the way of life has not changed for centuries. The challenges faced by the school education system in India are many. Poverty is still widespread (World Bank 2010) and is the most obvious challenge. The mainstream educational system was designed during colonial times and clearly does not offer a model appropriate to universal elementary education. After independence, there have been a number of Government initiatives and policy documents, but structural reform has been elusive. The situation is complicated by fact that states have the

power to enact laws relating to education. As a result, even basic structural features such as the number of grades at each level vary from state to state.

One development that has happened across the country over the last fifty years is the decline of the state schooling system. The number of private schools has been increasing; the fraction of children in the 6-14 age group enrolled in private schools increased from 18.7% in 2006 to 28.3% in 2012 (ASER 2012). Moreover, the middle class has essentially abandoned the state system, contributing to a vicious cycle of neglect and institutional inadequacy. At the same time, there has been substantial progress towards achieving the goal of universal elementary education. As more and more children come within the ambit of formal schooling, the demands on the system increase. A substantial part of these demands arise due to the multicultural nature of Indian society and classrooms.

This paper looks at some recent initiatives in school education in India from a multicultural perspective. The focus is on science and, to some extent, mathematics. The first initiative discussed is the Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP), a major programme that, at the time of its closure in 2002, was running in around 1000 schools. Its many innovative features included hands-on experimentation and open-book examinations. One of the integral features was engaging with students' prior knowledge. Teachers had to negotiate the different knowledge bases of children. The resource group, which was to help the teachers, was itself drawn largely from urban areas. It was thus faced with a challenge, which it met with some success. The second project discussed was part of a global UNESCO initiative on developing Scientific and Technological Literacy (STL) for All. The Delhi STL project group had a focus on making science more friendly to girls. A study conducted as part of the project revealed that there was widespread discrimination against girls within the science classrooms as well as outside it, cutting across ethnic and socio-economic differences.

The National Curriculum Framework 2005 is a major policy document that, for the first time, explicitly raises issues of local knowledge and cultural differences. Two of its accompanying documents are the Position Papers on the Teaching of Science and Mathematics. These are examined from the perspective of the present paper. The challenges of creating materials that reflect the concerns raised in the documents are also discussed briefly.

The Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP)

The Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP) is a path breaking effort in Indian education. It started in 1972, as a pilot project in 16 schools in Hoshangabad district of the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh (MP). It was managed by two NGOs working in the district: Friends' Rural Centre and Kishore Bharati. A resource group consisting of people drawn from several universities and research institutes provided academic support. The aim of the project initially was to teach science (in Grades 6-8) through experimentation, and that remained the hallmark of the programme throughout.

In an unprecedented step, in 1978, the Government of MP decided to adopt HSTP as its own programme, and extend it to all 250 middle schools (Grades 6-8) of the district. This is what gave HSTP its importance – from a micro level, experimental project it became a Government programme in an entire district. In 1982, Eklavya (named after a tribal character in the epic *Mahabharata*) was set up, and the academic coordination of HSTP became its first brief. Subsequently, the programme was extended to school clusters in 14 other districts of the state and, at the time of its abrupt closure in 2002, was running in around 1000 schools. Here we can give only a brief overview. For details please see Mukherjee, Sadgopal,

Srivastava and Varma (1999) and the website of Eklavya (2013). There is a book on the programme (Joshi 2008), unfortunately currently available only in Hindi.

The academic components of HSTP included a textbook *Bal Vaigyanik* (meaning Child Scientist) for each grade, which was actually an instruction book for carrying out experiments, and a specially designed low-cost kit which was made available to schools in sufficient numbers. Every teacher attended three 3-week intensive orientation programmes in consecutive summers. There were multiple mechanisms to provide in-school support to teachers. Members of a central follow-up team visited all schools by turn. Once a month, teachers of a cluster of schools met to share experiences and discuss academic issues. Teacher manuals were prepared for different topics. There was also a magazine for programme teachers. Perhaps the most radical aspect of the package was that it involved different modes of assessment, including experiment-based tests and open-book tests.

While the academic aspects of HSTP were radical and innovative, they are not our main focus in this paper. The programme saw the coming together of several different groups of people: the resource group, local Government functionaries in the Department of Education, teachers in the programme schools and, of course, most importantly, children in the programme schools. I will attempt a brief socio-economic profile of each of these groups. While there is a danger of over-simplification here, I believe it is appropriate for our present purpose.

As already mentioned, the resource group that provided academic support to HSTP in the early years was drawn from institutions of higher learning in urban centres – Delhi, Bombay (now Mumbai) and Kanpur. The largest group came from the University of Delhi. They were highly educated and belonged to the Indian middle class. Most were young, with several being Ph D students. Most had never lived in a village. Several of them took leave and spent extended periods of time (up to six months) in the project area. With the expansion of the programme in 1978, the resource group also had to expand. It now included people from other urban centres, including the state of MP. However, the profile of the group did not change too much. It still consisted of highly educated, urban, English-speaking individuals.

During 1972-1978, there was no operational group, with logistics being managed by the two NGOs. In 1978, an operational group was formally put in place. Its functions included school follow-up as well as logistics. The members were functionaries of the state Education Department or heads of senior secondary schools. Unlike the resource group, members of this group were local people who knew the region well. They were also educated, but were not part of the metropolitan culture. Importantly, most of them belonged to the upper castes.

The teachers in the programme schools were clearly in a different social and educational category from the two groups above. In principle, science teachers in middle school were supposed to possess a degree in science as well as a professional qualification in education. In practice, however, in the 1970s, these norms were not strictly enforced. A substantial number had a degree in humanities; many had studied only up to high school. Moreover, the medium of instruction for most of them in their own schooling had been Hindi.

The children in the programme schools clearly came from the lower socio-economic strata of society. In the rural areas, most belonged to families whose main occupation was agriculture. Hoshangabad district has a substantial population of tribal communities (Gond,

Korku, Pardhi). These are characterized by social and cultural practices which are different from those of the mainstream communities. Importantly, while a few of the central Indian tribes have become speakers of Hindi, many have retained their own languages. Thus for most tribal children in Hoshangabad the home language was different from the school language, which was Hindi. The picture is made even more complex by the fact that, for a majority of Hindi-speakers in the district, the mother-tongue is a variant of Hindi called Bundeli or Bundelkhandi, which is substantially different from standard Hindi. It was not unusual to find, in a class of 30 children, as many as four different home languages. (For more on the politics of language in Hoshangabad, see Mahendroo and Saxena 1993.)

When the pilot project started in 1972, the resource group faced multiple challenges. Here we focus on the challenges arising from the multicultural situation described above. First came the problem of English vs. Hindi. While most of the resource group members were fluent in Hindi, they were used to discussing science in only English. To communicate with the teachers, they had to use Hindi. They also faced the challenge of creating the first draft of learning materials, which eventually evolved into the textbook.

With the beginning of the intervention in Grade 6, it became clear that there were additional problems to be solved. Many children did not have Hindi as their home language, and their comprehension of written Hindi was poor. Moreover, the tribal children came equipped with a knowledge base that was not the same as that of non-tribal children. To the credit of the original resource group members, it has to be said that the challenges were adequately handled. Joshi comments that the programme had two features from the start. The first was the spirit of open-ended inquiry in which resource group members and teachers were equal participants. The second was an uncompromising stance on maintaining academic quality. Thus the group was able to evolve learning materials that were appropriate to the environment of the learners.

An example of the resource group's response to local knowledge is provided by the experiment on parts of a flower. The draft lesson required children to dissect a flower using a needle. One of the teachers pointed out that the same task could be performed equally well using a thorn from the *babul* tree (*Acacia nilotica*), which is among the commonest trees in the region. The resource group members tried it out themselves, and were convinced. It was then incorporated in the textbook. The revision of materials continued beyond the pilot phase. Two major revisions of the textbooks were undertaken in 1987-88 and 2000-2002 respectively. While these revisions were based on many inputs, a common thrust was to make the language of the books more comprehensible, given the feedback from the multicultural, multi-linguistic field. Another aspect that emerged from the field experiences after the expansion of the programme was the issue of gender. The last revision laid emphasis on this aspect, but the programme was closed before the revision cycle for all three grades could be completed. In the project described in the following section, this aspect was central.

The STL Project: Making Science More Friendly to Girls

At the World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, the aim of promoting "a world community of scientifically and technologically literate citizens" was mooted. Subsequently, the goal of Scientific and Technological Literacy (STL) for All was adopted by the international community, as represented in the meeting held in Paris in 1993, with UNESCO's rubric of Project 2000+: STL for All (UNESCO 1993). UNESCO in partnership with the International Council of Associations for Science Education (ICASE) held a series of workshops in different countries. In 1998, the Centre for Science Education

and Communication (CSEC), University of Delhi, was approached by UNESCO to coordinate the effort in India. A 5-day National Workshop was held in May 1999, in collaboration with UNESCO and ICASE. The participants included university academics, schoolteachers, NGO workers and others working in the field of education. The output was in the form of a booklet of lesson outlines or 'scripts' (Holbrook, Mukherjee and Varma 2000).

Subsequently, UNESCO with UNICEF funded a project to work with schools on a medium term basis. The project, entitled "Making science more friendly, particularly to girls, within the framework of STL" was carried out in two phases during 2000-2002. The project was coordinated by CSEC, with several nodal agencies working with clusters of schools in five states of India. The aim of the project was, in collaboration with nodal agencies in different parts of the country, to expose schoolteachers to the STL approach, to identify what makes school science unfriendly to girls, and to help school teachers to produce supplementary STL teaching materials that are friendly to girls as well as boys.

During the second phase of the project, it was decided to do more focused work to understand the problems faced by girls with respect to science. As part of the activities of the project a small study was carried out in Delhi (Varma and Jain 2003), in which young women/ girls were interviewed. The study found that, even in the capital city of Delhi, girls faced widespread discrimination with respect to their choice of science as a subject of study. This discrimination took place both inside and outside the classroom. Inside the classroom, girls were treated as different from boys and inferior in their ability to learn science. Outside it, they were discouraged, both by school managements and families, from pursuing science subjects at the higher secondary level. These findings were presented at a national workshop in which all nodes of the project participated.

A striking thing happened after the presentation of the study results. Female participants at the workshop began to speak spontaneously of the discrimination that they themselves had faced with respect to educational opportunities in general and the study of science in particular. This unscheduled session went on for almost an hour. Almost every female participant had a personal story to narrate. Since some of them were fairly senior and well established in their fields, this collective narration came as a surprise, especially to the male participants in the audience. It also brought home the fact that this discrimination was not confined to girls from poor families, but cut across barriers of socio-economic class, language, religion and caste.

After the project, those involved became much more conscious of the possibility of latent cultural biases creeping into educational programmes and materials. An important development took place in 2003-2004, when the Government the National Capital Territory of Delhi asked the State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) to develop textbooks for Government schools in Delhi. In turn, SCERT asked many people in Delhi as well as outside, to help in the process. (For details of this important event, please see Agnihotri, Khanna and Rajan 2008.) Several members of the textbook development teams for science and mathematics had been part of the STL project. Draft materials were carefully looked at for gender bias and other cultural biases. Indeed, many instances of bias were seen in the drafts. These were corrected before the books were finalized and published (SCERT Delhi 2004a, 2004b, 2005). In my opinion, the sensitization through the STL project helped to create books that were largely free of gender bias.

The National Curriculum Framework 2005

The National Curriculum Framework (referred to as NCF 2005) coordinated by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), was a landmark in Indian education. Although there had been several policy documents in the past, they were mostly created by one or two people. In 2005, in contrast, there was a consultative process spread out over a one-year period. Apart from the main framework document (NCERT 2005) drafted by a 35-member steering committee, there were as many as 21 Focus Groups, each of which produced a position paper. Altogether over 200 people were involved as authors of these documents, besides others who gave their inputs. It is not only the numbers, however. What was novel was also the kind of people. Besides university academics there were schoolteachers, education researchers, civil society activists and others involved in school education. It is pertinent to mention that many of the people involved in the Delhi textbooks effort, mentioned above, were concerned in one capacity or other in the NCF process.

Two of the accompanying documents of NCF 2005 are the Position Papers on Teaching of Mathematics (NCERT 2006a) and Teaching of Science (NCERT 2006b). Before commenting on their contents, I would like to describe the process of creation of the first of these. The National Focus Group on the Teaching of Mathematics held a number of meetings in the cities of Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai. These meetings were attended, not only by members, but a number of invitees, including both academics and civil society activists working in the area of school mathematics education. In addition, a number of written inputs were received in response to an open advertisement put out by NCERT. The whole process encouraged inputs from people with diverse cultural backgrounds. Often, these brought to light local issues that were not known to Focus Group members. While it cannot be claimed that the Position Paper (NCERT 2006a) represents the views of all stakeholders, it certainly goes further than any previous effort at the national level. A similar statement can be made about the Science document (NCERT 2006b).

The drafts of the position papers provided inputs for the main NCF document, and some passages are common to a Position Paper and the main document. Accordingly, all three documents are examined together in this section. The main document of NCF 2005 (NCERT 2005) is perhaps the first policy document in India to explicitly adopt a multicultural perspective. It states that:

> India is a multicultural society made up of numerous regional and local cultures. People's religious beliefs, ways of life and their understanding of social relationships are quite distinct from one another. All the groups have equal rights to co-exist and flourish, and the education system needs to respond to the cultural pluralism inherent in our society. (p. 7)

Posing before the educational community in the country the challenge of developing an appropriate pedagogy, it adds:

> A pedagogy that is sensitive to gender, class, caste and global inequalities is one that does not merely affirm different individual and collective experiences but also locates these within larger structures of power and raises questions such as, who is allowed to speak for whom? Whose knowledge is most valued? This requires evolving different strategies for different learners. For example, encouraging speaking up in class may be important for some children, while for others it may be learning to listen to others. (p. 24)

One of the cardinal principles of NCF 2005 is acknowledgement of the prior knowledge that children come with. It emphasizes situating learning in the context of the child's world. In particular, local, out-of-school knowledge is emphasized. This has particular relevance to science. An example given is that of a child, Janabai, who is regarded as weak in science:

> Janabai lives in a small hamlet in the Sahyadri hills. She helps her parents in their seasonal work of rice and *tuar* farming. She sometimes accompanies her brother in taking the goats to graze in the bush. She has helped in bringing up her younger sister. Nowadays she walks 8 km. every day to attend the nearest secondary school. Janabai maintains intimate links with her natural environment. She has used different plants as sources of food, medicine, fuelwood, dyes and building materials; she has observed parts of different plants used for household purposes, in religious rituals and in celebrating festivals. She recognizes minute differences between trees, and notices seasonal changes based on shape, size, distribution of leaves and flowers, smells and textures. She can identify about a hundred different types of plants around her — many times more than her Biology teacher can — the same teacher who believes Janabai is a poor student. (NCERT 2005, p. 47; NCERT 2006b, p. 14)

Going a step further, the Science Position Paper (NCERT 2006b) sets a goal that may be considered too optimistic by some:

> Science learning should be used as an instrument of social change to reduce the socio-economic divide. It should help to fight prejudice related to, among others, gender, caste, religion and region. Science education ought to empower students to question the social beliefs, notions and practices that perpetuate social inequality. (p. 28)

The Mathematics Position Paper (NCERT 2006a) identifies gender as an important systemic problem in the teaching of mathematics:

> Mathematics tends to be regarded as a 'masculine domain'. This perception is aided by the complete lack of references in textbooks to women mathematicians, the absence of social concerns in the designing of curricula which would enable children questioning received gender ideologies and the absence of reference to women's lives in problems. A study of mathematics textbooks found that in the problem sums, not a single reference was made to women's clothing, although several problems referred to the buying of cloth, etc. (p. 7)

More broadly, the paper seeks to situate the learning of mathematics in the cultural context of the learner:

> It is important to acknowledge that mathematical competence is situated and shaped by the social situations and the activities in which learning occurs. Hence, school mathematics has to be in close relation to the social worlds of children where they are engaged in mathematical activities as a part of daily life. (p. 11)

The creation of teaching-learning materials that incorporate the multicultural perspective is a continuing challenge. Here I will refer only briefly to the creation of primary mathematics textbooks for NCERT. These books, for grades 2 to 5 (NCERT 2006c, 2007, 2008), incorporate thematic chapters such as Building with Bricks, The Junk Seller, and The Fish Tale. Some of these were developed to locate mathematics in a socio-cultural framework, through issues emerging from the lives of crafts persons engaged in masonry, brickwork design and brick making, junk collectors and sellers, and fish workers, boats men or fish sellers. A conscious effort was made to break stereotypes based on gender, region, language, religion and caste. One aspect that was given special attention in this effort was that of illustrations in the textbooks, which avoid the trap of uniformity and attempt to mirror the cultural diversity of potential users of the books. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that classroom practice is always in consonance with the intentions of the authors. The creation of inclusive mathematics classrooms at levels beyond Grade 5 is a particularly vexed question (Rampal and Subramanian 2012).

Conclusion

There has been some progress in the last four decades towards addressing the complexities of school education in the multicultural setup that exists in India. In particular, the experiences of programmes like HSTP have come into the mainstream of educational discourse. NCF 2005 has explicitly adopted a multicultural perspective. Nevertheless, the task of reforming education in India – in particular, science and mathematics education – poses a formidable challenge. As seen in the STL study, discrimination on the basis of gender is seen even in Delhi. The curriculum framework and new textbooks can only play an enabling role. To address the complexities of language, region, religion, caste requires pedagogic strategies that are yet in the process of being evolved.

References

Agnihotri, R.K., Khanna, A.L., & Rajan, J. (2008). *Indradhanush Elementary Textbook Series: From Creation to Reception.* Delhi: State Council of Educational Research and Training.

ASER (2012). ASER 2012 (Rural) Findings. Retrieved from http://img.asercentre.org/docs/Publications/ASER%20Reports/ASER_2012/nationalfinding.pdf

Eklavya (2013). HSTP. Online at http://eklavya.in/go/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=12&id=52&Itemid=74

Holbrook, J., Mukherjee, A., & Varma, V. S. (Eds.) (2000). *Scientific and Technological Literacy for All: Materials from the Delhi Workshops*. Delhi: Centre for Science Education and Communication.

Joshi, S. (2008). *Jashn-e-Talim* (in Hindi). Bhopal: Eklavya.

Mahendroo, K., & Saxena, S. (1993). Politics of Language. *Economic and Political Weekly, XXVIII* (45).

Mukherjee, A., Sadgopal, A., Srivastava, P.K., & Varma, V.S. (1999). The Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme, presented at the South Asian Conference on Education, Delhi, November 1999, available online at http://www.cisl.columbia.edu/grads/presi/EKLAVYA/Anil_5fAmitabh_5fArticle.html

NCERT (2005). National Curriculum Framework 2005. New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training; also online at http://www.ncert.nic.in/rightside/links/pdf/framework/english/nf2005.pdf

NCERT (2006a). *Position Paper: National Focus Group on the Teaching of Mathematics*. New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training; also online at http://www.ncert.nic.in/new_ncert/ncert/rightside/links/pdf/focus_group/math.pdf

NCERT (2006b). *Position Paper: National Focus Group on the Teaching of Science*. New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training; also online at http://www.ncert.nic.in/new_ncert/ncert/rightside/links/pdf/focus_group/science.pdf

NCERT (2006c, 2007, 2008). *Math-Magic 2, 3, 4, 5*. New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training.

Rampal, A., & Subramanian, J. (2012). Transforming the Elementary Mathematics Curriculum: Issues and Challenges. Retrieved from http://nime.hbcse.tifr.res.in/articles/04_Anita_Rampal_and_Jayasree_Subramanian.pdf

SCERT Delhi (2004a, 2005). *Mathematics* 1-5: a series of textbooks for primary mathematics. Delhi: Delhi Bureau of Textbooks.

SCERT Delhi (2004b). *Do and Discover* 6-8: a series of textbooks for science. Delhi: Delhi Bureau of Textbooks.

UNESCO (1993). http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000952/095246eb.pdf

Varma, P., & Jain, S. (2003). Report of the Delhi Gender Group – a summary. In *Scientific and Technological Literacy for All: Experiences in India*. A. Mukherjee and V. S. Varma (Eds.). Delhi: Centre for Science Education and Communication (with UNESCO and UNICEF).

World Bank (2010). Poverty and Equity. Retrieved from http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/IND

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHING STYLES AND STUDENT'S MOTIVATION IN ESL

Almasa Mulalic, Senior Assistant
International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
A student learning English as a second language needs motivation as it determines the level of commitment and interest. Thus, English teacher must use diverse teaching styles to cultivate student's motivation in learning the language. According to Gardner (2001), students will neither use language learning strategies nor take risks using a language if there is little intention or if there is no motivation to learn it. Therefore, it is crucial for English language teachers to know how motivated their ESL students are in relation to teacher's teaching styles. This research aims to identify the dominant teaching styles of the English teachers, students' preferred teaching style and the students' motivational level. This research also intends to find out the possibility of a significant relationship between the teaching styles of the English teachers and the students' motivational level at the International University of Sarajevo (IUS). To test the hypotheses, inferential statistics, the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, t-test and One-way ANOVA will be used.

Keywords: Motivation, Second Language Acquisition, Teaching Styles.

Introduction

Motivation is the central point in the language classroom. When motivation is high language classroom is set with hope, enthusiasm, and meaningful rich teaching and learning moments. Researchers agree that the most effective teachers are those who rely on innovative and informed teaching approaches that elicit meaningful moments. In this particular research the ELS lecturers' teaching styles is based on Grasha's (1996) Model of Teaching Styles, and in this research it is independent variable. Grasha (1996) categorizes the five types of teaching styles: Expert Style, Formal Authority Style, Personal Model Style, Facilitator Style and Delegating Style. This model has been chosen as the basic for the research as it has an accompanying set of questionnaire that is relevant and suitable to find out the types of teaching styles of ELS lecturers, and what students prefer regarding their lecturers teaching style at the International University of Sarajevo. The dependent variable in this research is the students' motivation in learning English as a second language. This variable is based on Socio-Educational Model as conceptualized by Gardner (2001). In this model, motivation refers to the driving source in any situation (Gardner 2001). It requires three elements: the student must have effort to learn the target language, the student wants to achieve the goal of learning the target language and that the individual must be able to enjoy the task of learning the language.

Research Objectives

Based on the research aims, the objectives of this research are to investigate:

- The dominant teaching style of the ELS lecturers at International University of Sarajevo.

- The students' preferred teaching styles of the ESL lecturers at International University of Sarajevo
- The motivation level of students in learning English as a second language.
- The relationship between the teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers with the students' motivational level at IUS.
- Whether there are differences of the ELS lecturers' teaching styles based on the student's demographic factor, gender.

Research Questions

The main purpose of this research is to discover if there is any significant relationship between the teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers with the students' motivational level at International University of Sarajevo. Thus this research will try to answer the following questions:

1) What is the dominant teaching style of the ELS lecturers at International University of Sarajevo?
2) What are preferred teaching styles of ELS students?
3) What is the students' motivational level at International University of Sarajevo?
4) Is there a significant relationship between the overall teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers with the students' motivational level at International University of Sarajevo?
5) Is there a significant difference for the teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) based on the students' demographic factors, gender?

Question 1 and 2 and 3 will be answered using descriptive statistics while questions 4 and 5, will be answered with inferential statistics.

Research Hypotheses

This sub-topic contains the null hypotheses for each research question that is answered using inferential statistics. For this research, the level of 0.05 ($p>0.05$) is set as the significant level to accept or reject the null hypothesis. This means that the level of confidence 0.95 (1-0.05) or 95% is fixed to accept the null hypothesis. To test the null hypotheses, the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient, t-test and One-way ANOVA will be used.

The null hypotheses are:

Ho There is no significant relationship between the overall teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers with the students' motivational level at the International University of Sarajevo.

Ho There is no significant mean score for the teaching style of the English Language School (ESL) lecturers based on the students' demographic factor, gender

Operational Definitions

ESL Lecturer

In the Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary (1995), a lecturer is defined as person who gives information about a subject to an audience or class, often as part of a teaching program. In this research, an ESL lecturer is defined as a university teacher who facilitates studies in the English Language as a second language learning process in a tertiary education environment.

Teaching Style

According to Wright (1991), the teaching style refers to a combination of behavior and attitude shown by the lecturer to create the best environment for the learning process. It also

refers to a complex combination of belief, attitude, strategy, technique, motivation, personality and control.

In this research the teaching style of the ESL lecturer is based on Grasha's Five Categories of Teaching Styles that are the Expert, Formal Authority, Personal Modal, Facilitator and the Delegating styles.

Motivation

Motivation is defined as an action that stimulates the interests and to cause someone to do something (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 1995). In this research, motivation refers to the driving force in any situation (Gardner 2001). It consists of three elements:

1) The effort to learn the target language
2) The need to achieve the goal of learning language
3) The enjoyment to the task of learning the language

Conceptual Framework

Since this study investigates teaching styles and student motivation this model of the study is taken from Grasha (1996) and in this research a questionnaire is specifically designed to evaluate the lecturers teaching style. The conceptual framework for this study is presented in Figure 1.

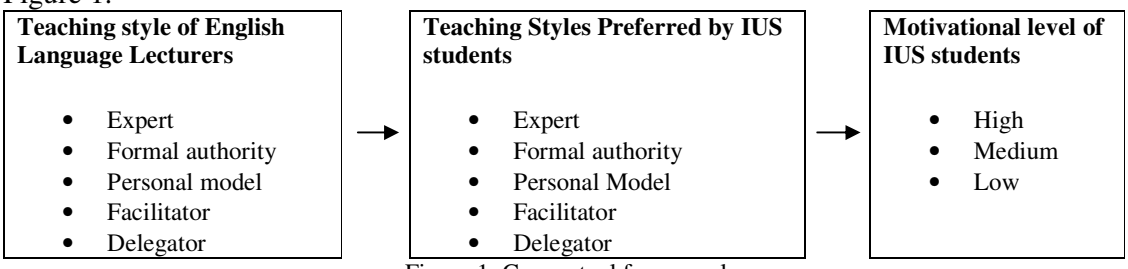


Figure 1: Conceptual framework

Research Methodology

This is a quantitative research with the aim to identify the relationship between the overall teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers with the students' motivational level at the International University of Sarajevo

The research design for this study is a quantitative research with the survey method. According to Wiersma (2000), the survey method is used to measure variables that are related to a phenomenon without questioning why these variables exist. In this research the instrument is a set of questionnaires which will be used to obtain the information from the students (sample). According to Wiersma (2000), the identification of a research population is important as it determines the type of problem for investigation. Population for this research is the 800 students of ELS at International University of Sarajevo.

Research Sample

According to Sakaran (2000), for a population of N= 800, a sample of n= 175 can be used to represent a generalization. There are 3 classes of Freshman English I students and they will respond to the questionnaire. The set of questionnaire is adapted from Grasha (1988), and Kamisah (2000). It is divided into 3 parts. This set of questionnaire examines the teaching style. The 5 teaching styles are examined according to the following:

Table 1. Items for Each Teaching Style

Teaching Style	Items
Expert	1-8
Formal Authority	9-16
Personal Modal	17-24
Facilitator	25-32
Delegating	33-40

The same set of questionnaire is used to determine students' preferences when it comes to teaching styles of their professors.
Another set of questionnaire is adopted from Rosnah Awang Hashim (1999), Kamisa Abdullah (2000) and Rashida Rahamat (2004), and it contains 12 questions about students' motivation.

Research Results
In this part of a research, data that has been collected will be analyzed to answer 4 research questions and 2 null hypotheses. The data is obtained through the survey method and it will be analyzed using the computer program *SPSS PC 11.0 For Windows*. In this research, the independent variable is the ESL lecturers teaching styles while the dependent variable in this research is the students' motivation in learning English as a second language.

Two types of statistics, the descriptive and inferential statistics will be used to analyze the data obtained from the set of questionnaire. The descriptive statistics will be used to discus descriptive data which includes sample profiles and the first and the second research questions:

- What is the dominant teaching style of the ELS lecturers at IUS?
- What is the preferred teaching style of ELS lecturers at IUS?
- What is the students' motivational level at IUS?

The inferential statistics, Pearson Correlation Coefficient and T-test will be used to analyze the null hypotheses of the research. The following research questions which will be analyzed with this type of statistics include:

- Is there a significant relationship between the overall teaching styles of the IUS lecturers with the students' motivational level?
- Is there a significant difference for the teaching styles of IUS lecturers based on the students' demographic factors, gender?

Sample Profile
The sample respondents for this research are 176 students from International University of Sarajevo (IUS). Part A in the set of questionnaire is designed to obtain the respondents' personal information. Table 4.1 depicts the demographic data according to gender.

Table 2. Respondents' Profile According to Gender and Race

Items	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
A. Gender		
Male	110	60
Female	66	40
Total	176	100

Based on the table 4.1, the respondents involved in this research consists of male students (n=110) or 60% compared to female students (n=66) or 40%.

Descriptive Statistics

The first research question of this research is What is the dominant teaching style of the ESL lecturers at IUS?

Table 3 shows the mean scores for the 5 teaching styles of the ESL lecturers at IUS.

Table 3. Analyses of the 5 Teaching Styles

Teaching Styles	Total Mean Scores	Std. Deviation
Expert	4.29	0.52
Formal Authority	3.85	0.54
Personal Modal	4.02	0.60
Facilitator	3.89	0.66
Delegating	4.00	0.59

From table 3 we can conclude the results of students' perception with regards to teaching styles in the English language classroom. Based on mean scores of the teaching styles, it is shown that ELS lecturers frequently use the Expert teaching style (t. mean= 4.29, Std. D= 0.52) and the Delegating teaching style (t. Mean=4.00, Std. D= 0.59) compared to the other three teaching styles, the Facilitator teaching style (t. mean= 3.89, Std D= 0.66) and the Formal Authority teaching style (t. mean= 3.85 Std. D= 0.54). However, the dominant teaching style in International University of Sarajevo is the Expert teaching style and Delegating Teaching Style whereas the Formal Authority teaching style is least preferred by the ESL lecturers.

Table 4: Research question 2: *What are students preferred teaching styles?*

Teaching Styles	Total Mean Scores	Std. Deviation
Expert	4.20	0.52
Formal Authority	3.85	0.54
Personal Modal	4.30	0.60
Facilitator	4.50	0.66
Delegating	4.00	0.59

Table 2 shows data on students' preferences for their lecturers teaching styles. Based on the mean score from the table we can see that the students preferred teaching style is Facilitator style (mean- 4.50, SD, 0.66), Personal Model (mean- 4.30, SD- 0.60) and Delegator Style (mean-4.00, SD- 0.59), as compared to Expert style (mean 4.20, SD- 0.52)

and Formal Authority (mean- 3.85, SD- 0.54). The most preferred teaching style by the students was Facilitator Style while the least preferred teaching style was Formal Authority teaching style.

3. The third research question: *The Students Motivational Level*

Table 3 shows the mean scores for the students' motivational level at IUS.

Table 3 Analysis of the Students' Motivational Level

	Total Mean Score	Std. Deviation
Motivational Level	46.46	0.4292

From table 3, the students' motivational level is perceived to be high with a total mean score of 46.46 (Std. D=0.4292). This is because the motivational level is as follows:

Table 4. Total Score Mean That Determines the Level of Students Motivation

Total Score Mean	Level of Motivation
12-28	Low
29-44	Moderate
45-60	High

Inferential Statistics

The fourth research question: The relationship between the overall teaching styles with the students' motivational level.

The fourth research question for this research is: Is there a significant relationship between the overall teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers with the students' motivational level in ELS program?

Thus the null hypothesis for this research question is:

> Ho There is no significant relationship between the overall teaching styles of the English Language Studies (ESL) lecturers with the students' motivational level at International University of Sarajevo.

Table 5 depicts the results of this hypothesis using the *Pearson Correlation Coefficient*:

Table 5 Analyses of the Relationship between the Overall Teaching Style With the Students' Motivational Level

Variable	r value (correlation)

Overall Teaching Styles	0.186
Student Motivation	

Significant at the level of p<0.05

The correlation value (r) between the two variables, overall teaching styles and students motivation stands at r = 0.186 and the p value is not significant at the level of 0.05 or (p>0.05). The correlation is low and positive, thus the null hypothesis Ho1 is true and accepted because there is no significant relationship between the overall teaching style and student motivation.

The Fifth Research Question for this research is: Is there a significant difference for the teaching styles of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers based on the students' demographic factors such as gender?

Therefore, the null hypothesis for this research question is:

1) There is no significant mean score for the teaching style of the English Language School (ELS) lecturers based on the students' demographic factor, gender.

The results of the *t-test* used for students' demographic factor, gender are shown in table 2.6

Table 2.6 Analysis of the Students' Demographic Factor, Gender

Gender	n	mean	Std. D	df	t
Male	110	4.002	0.396	28	-0.739
Female	66	4.110	0.381		

Significant at the level of p<0.05

In the analysis, the mean score for the male students is 4.002 (n=18, Std. D= 0.38) while the mean score for the female students is 4.110 (n=12, Std. D= 0.381). The difference between the mean scores for both genders is proven to be minimal, only 0.108 thus the difference is small and not significant. This is further proven in the t value which is -0.739 (df=28, p<0.05). Therefore this null hypothesis is true and accepted because there is no significant difference in the teaching style according to demographic factor, gender.

Conclusion

This research has shown that the dominant teaching style at International University of Sarajevo in ELS is the Delegating teaching style whereas the Formal Authority teaching style is least preferred by the ESL lecturers. The students' motivational level in the ESL classes is high and they perceived that their ESL lecturers use combination of the 5 teaching styles in

ESL classes. The correlation between overall teaching styles and the students' motivation was found to be low and not significant. This is also similar when analysis is done between each of the five teaching styles with student motivation. Therefore, more research must be conducted in this area as this research is only conducted at the International University of Sarajevo, with the small number of participants.

References

Bennett, N., Jordon J., Long, G. & Wade, B. 1976. *Teaching styles and pupil progress.* London: Open Book Publishing Limited.

Brown H. D. 1987. *Principles of language learning and teaching*. Prentice Hall: New Jersey

Dörnyei, Z. 2001. *Teaching and Researching Motivation*. Pearson Education Limited: Essex

Gardner, R.C. 1985. *Social psychology and second language learning*: the role of attitude and motivation. London: Edward Arnold Publishers

Grasha, A.F. 1996. *Teaching with styles: A practical guide to enhance learning by understanding learning and teaching styles*. N. York : Alliance Publisher

Ornstein, A.C. & Miller, H. C. 1980. *Looking into teaching: An introduction to American Education*. Boston : Houghton.

Peacock M. 2001. Match or mismatch? Learning styles and teaching styles in EFL. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics.* II (1) http://search global.epnet.com.

Reid, J.M. 1995. *Learning styles in the ESL/EFL classroom*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle

Wright, T.1991. *The role of teachers and learners*. ELBS with Oxford University Press: Hong Kong

Zahorik, J.A. 1990. Stability and flexibility in teaching. *Teacher and Education*. **6**(1): 6

ASSESSMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION: FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT AND ITS EFFECT ON STUDENTS' SUCCESS AND MOTIVATION

Besarta ZHAKU-Kondri, PhD Candidate
Primary school Nuri Mazari-Dollogozha

Abstract
Nowadays the world is changing very fast due to the new inventions. Because of this dynamic world; recently, the educational process has changed a lot. This study shows the application of formative assessment in higher education system. Moreover, it examines the effect of using formative assessment in increasing students' success and motivation. The main objective of the study is not just to discover whether the formative assessment is used in higher education, but to discover whether the use of formative assessment has a positive effect on students' attitude towards learning; furthermore, it shows formative assessment effect in increasing students' success and motivation. To achieve this aim I interviewed 20 members of the academic staff and 60 students of the International University of Struga, where this study took place. The results of the study will be good evidence and will serve as a reference for the application of formative assessment and its effects in higher education in Struga. In order to see the effectiveness of new approaches, techniques and methods; it should be tested their application.

Keywords: Assessment, University education, Academic Staff, Students Success, Students' Motivation.

Introduction

Higher education plays a crucial role in people's education in general. Therefore, it should be well organized and appropriate for the students' field of studies. All elements of the process of teaching and learning should be connected with each other. Assessment is one of the main elements of the educational process. Recently, assessment is not just the final part of this process, as it used to be years ago. Since the world is changing very fast, due to the new technologies, as all other fields of the life, education is changing, too. Today, there are applied many new methods, techniques, approaches in teaching and learning process. Hence, there are applied new types of assessment as well. Nowadays, assessment happens academic year. During semesters, the students are evaluated many times; they also get feedback that helps them to improve. The application of formative assessment is present in higher education in Struga, Macedonia. Nevertheless, what function in one country, does not have to be successful in another country, too. The results of the academic staff and students' questionnaires will show the participants' opinion about the application of formative assessment and its effect on students' success and motivation.

The Research Hypothesis

The use of formative assessment in higher education enhances students' success; moreover, it has a positive effect on students' motivation

Literature Review

Assessment is an important part of teaching and learning. Even though, the word assessment indicates bad feelings, emotions, memories, failure, and other similar things. According to Berry (2008), "learning depends on assessment, as learning cannot occur in the absence of the feedback which assessment provides." Formative assessment indicates in the time learners spend to learn something. Then, "When teachers use formative assessment, students can learn in six to seven months what will normally take a school year to learn" (Leahy, Lyon, Thompson, & Wiliam, 2005, as cited in: Tuttle, 2009, p. 5). So, the use of formative assessment have a positive effect in reducing the time learners spend to learn something. Moreover, Lambert &Lines (2000) claims that "it will depend on the context of the work as much as the content" (p. 14). In order, the learning to occur, people need to be motivated. In addition, learners can be motivated for different reasons. Irons (2008) consider assessment as one of these reasons for the students' motivation; moreover, he claims that "assessment can be seen to act as a positive motivator for students if they think the assessment is relevant to their broader goals" (p. 37).

Research Methodology

Description of the Study Procedure

The aim of the study is to give a clear picture of the application of assessment in general and formative assessment in particular in higher education in Struga, Macedonia. Assessment plays an important role in the educational process. It shows the results of the teaching and learning process. Moreover, this study shows the effect of formative assessment in students' success and motivation. The activities of this research took place in the International University of Struga, in Struga, Macedonia. For doing this research at this University, I asked for permission the authorities of the University. Since I had, the permission of the University authorities, members of the University staff and University students fill in questionnaires prepared for this study.

Describing each Group

In this study participated two groups of participants, one of the groups contained the academic staff members, and the participants of the other group were the University students. Both groups were asked to fill in questionnaires, which contained questions about the assessment in general, and the application of formative assessment in their university, and the effect of formative assessment in students' success and motivation.

Participants

In this study, participated eighty participants who were divided in two groups the group of the academic staff and the group of the students. The number of participants in both groups was not the same. There were twenty participants in the first group, the academic staff members; on the other hand, in the students' group participated sixty students. Both groups had to fill in a questionnaire prepared for this study. Students are mature people and they have their own opinion about the educational process that they are involved. Their point of view about the application of formative assessment and its effect on students' success and motivation can be different from the academic staff point of view. Therefore, to give a clear picture of each group opinion, and to see whether there is a difference between them, the results are analyzed and showed separately for each group in the charts.

Materials

The materials used for this study are the two questionnaires, the questionnaire of the academic staff and the students' questionnaire. Both questionnaires were prepared in

particular for this student. They were semi-controlled questionnaires. So, for each question, there given were given option so the participants had just to circle the option that is closer to their opinion. But, since they were semi-controlled, if none of the options were not similar to participants opinion, so in case they have completely different opinions with the options that were given, participants could give their own opinion, by circling the option 'none of these' and writing their own opinion below, or they also could circle one of the other options and add something else to complete their opinion.

The Questionnaire of the Academic Staff

The questionnaire of the academic staff contained four questions. All the questions of the questionnaire were designed to test academic staff opinion about the application of the formative assessment in higher education.

Below is given an example of one of the questions on the academic staff questionnaire

1. Why do you use the instruments of assessment, such as, tests, essays, classrooms tasks and activities?
    - Just to determine the students' final grade
    - To get data about the students' level and to inform students about their process -strength and weaknesses
    - Both of these
    - None of these

Participants' opinion:

The Students' Questionnaire

The students' questionnaire contained five questions. The questions of this questionnaire were designed to test students' opinion about the application of formative and its effect on their success and motivation

An Example of the Students' Questionnaire

Below is given an example of one of the questions on the students' questionnaire

1. Do you think that being evaluated throughout the academic year indicated positively in your success? If yes, why do you think so?
    - No I do not think so
    - Yes because I can use the teachers' feedback to improve
    - Yes, I am not stressful before the assessment because I know that it will not be the final grade
    - None of these

    Participants' opinion

.

Findings / Results

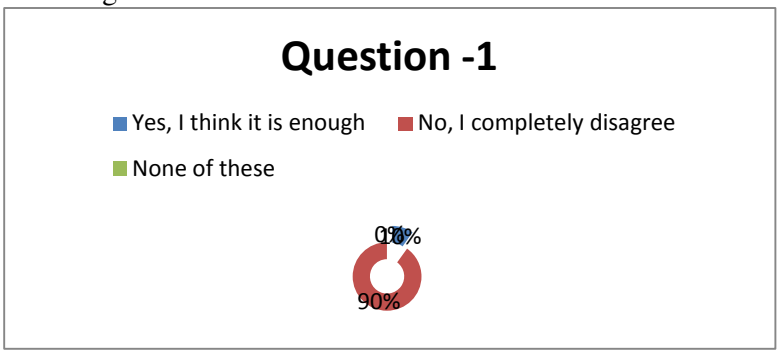
The results of the questionnaires are shown in charts, which are given bellow. Furthermore, the results are analyzed separately; in order to see the difference of academic staff opinion

and students' opinion about the application of formative assessment and its effect on students' success and motivation.

Results of the Academic Staff Questionnaire

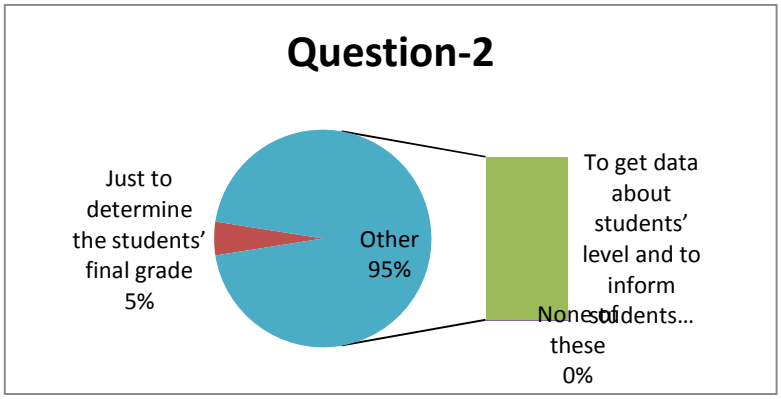
There is given a chart for each questionnaire question. The charts show in percentage the results. The first four charts are about the results of the academic staff questionnaire.

1. Do you think that evaluating students just at the end of the semester /the academic year is enough?



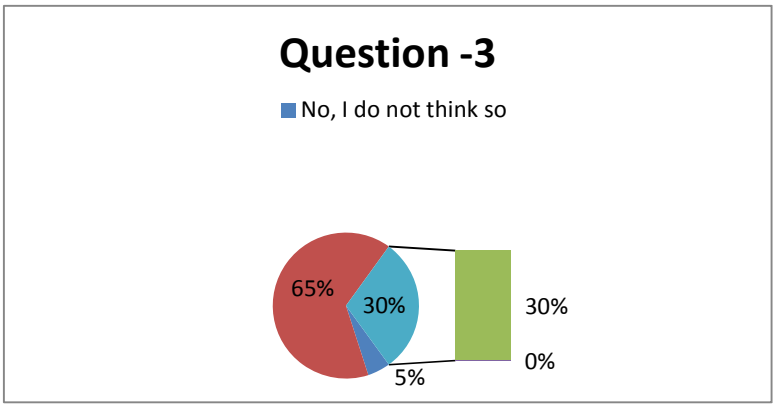
The first chart shows that the majority of the participants (90%) thinks that it is not enough to test students just at the end of the semester/academic year. According to their opinion, students had to be evaluated more than once in order to get the final grade. On the other hand, just 10% think the opposite. However, none of the participants have chosen the option 'none of these'

2. Why do you use the instruments of assessment, such as, a test, essays, classrooms tasks and activities?



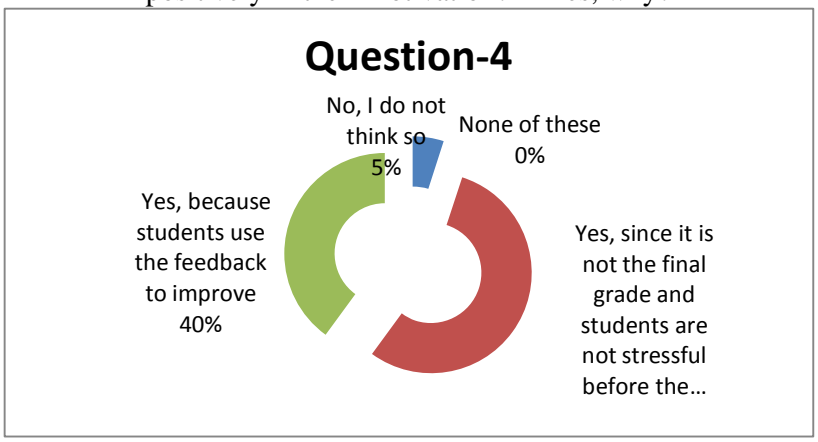
The chart above shows the result of the second question. The majority of the participant (95%) answered that they use the assessment instruments to get data about the students' level and to inform students about their process -strength, weaknesses, and just 5% of them answered to this question that they use assessment instruments, mentioned before, just to determine the students' final grade. And no one had chosen the option 'none of these' to answer this question

3. Do you think that the formative assessment has a positive effect on increasing students' success? If Yes, why?



The chart above shows that the majority of the participants (65 %) thinks that formative assessment has a positive effect because students can use the feedback as a reference to improve, 30% of participants think that it has a positive effect because it keeps students active. However, 5% of the participants think that formative assessment does not have a positive effect in students' success. And, none of them had chosen the option 'none of these' to answer this question.

4. Do you think that assessing students throughout the academic year indicates positively in their motivation? If Yes, why?

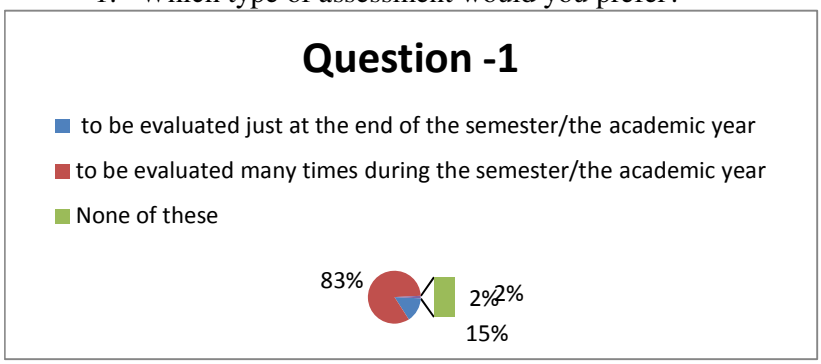


This chart shows the participants' opinion about the effect of formative assessment in students' motivation. The majority of participants thinks that it has a positive effect on students' motivation because it is not the final grade and students are not stressful before tests, essays or other assessment instrument, and 40% of the participants think that it has a positive effect because students use the feedback to improve. Just 5% of the participants do not think that formative assessment has a positive effect on students' motivation. And no one of the participants had chosen the option 'none of these'.

Results of the Students' Questionnaire

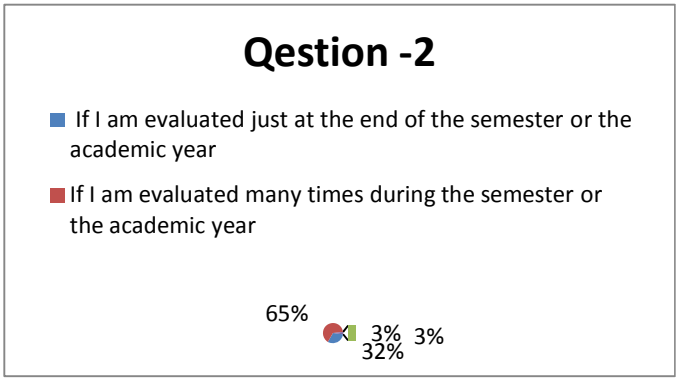
The charts below show the students' opinion about the application of formative assessment at their university, and its effect on their success and motivation .

1. Which type of assessment would you prefer?



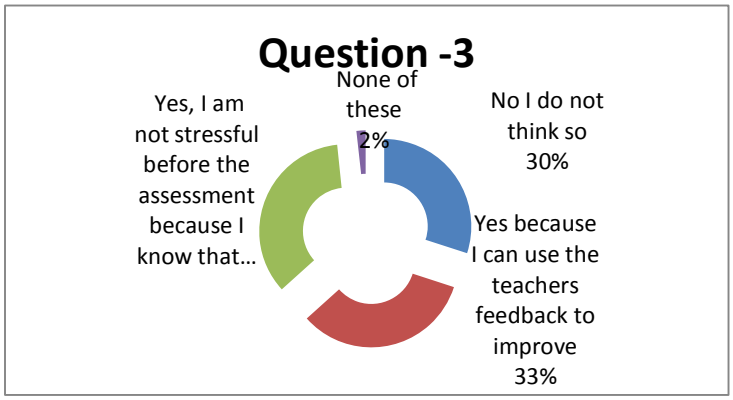
The first question shows the student preferences about the way they would like to be evaluated. The majority of the participants (83 %) would like to be evaluated many times during the semester or the academic year. And, 15% of them prefer to be evaluated just at the end of the semester or the academic year. Nevertheless, 2 % do not prefer any of these, and the main reason these types of assessment was that according to them, assessment is stressful.

2. When would you be more successful?



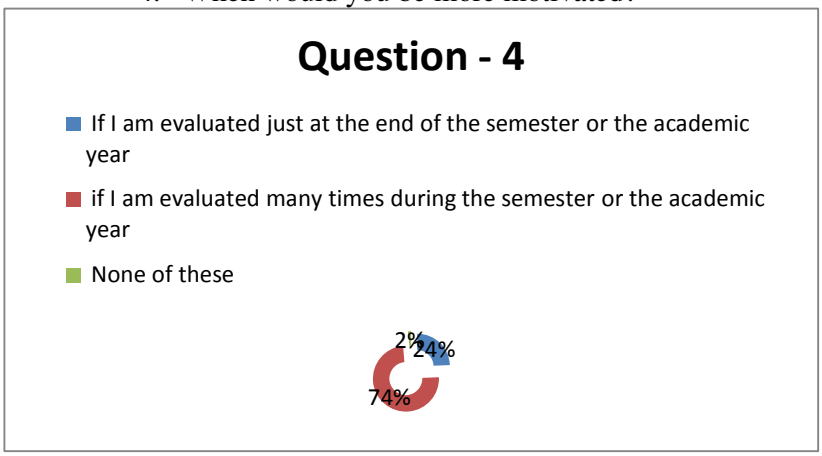
The way students are evaluated can affect their success. The majority of participants think that they would be more successful if they were evaluated during the semester/academic year. On the other hand, 32 % of the participants they would be more successful if they are evaluated just at the end. Moreover, 3 % of them think that the way they are evaluated do not affect their success.

3. Do you think that being evaluated throughout the academic year indicates positively in your success, if yes, why do you think so?



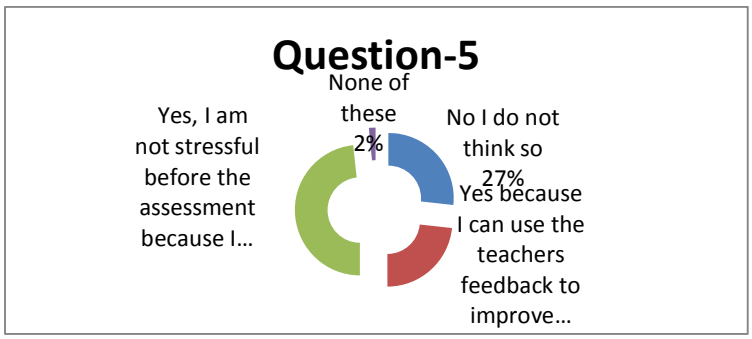
The majority of the students thinks that being evaluated throughout the academic year indicated positively in their success, 33% of them think that it indicates positively in their success because they use the teachers' feedback and 35 % of them think that they are not stressful before the test because they know that it is not the final grade, so they will have a chance to improve and get better grade at the end of the semester/academic year. However, 30 % don't think that it could affect positively in their success. And just 2% have chosen the option none of these.

4. When would you be more motivated?



The chart above shows the students' attitude toward assessment and its effect on their motivation. The majority of the participants thinks that they would be more motivated if they are evaluated during the semester/ academic year. On the other hand, 24% of the participants think the opposite, that they would be more motivated if they are evaluated at the end of the semester/academic year.

5. Do you think that being evaluated throughout the academic year indicated positively in your motivation, why do you think so?



The last chart shows that students think that formative assessment indicates positively in their motivation, and 48% of them think that the reason for this is because they know that it is not the final grade so it makes them less stressful before the test, and 23% think that the reason is that they can use the teachers' feedback to improve. However, 27% do not think that it can have a positive effect on their motivation. And just 2% chose the option none of these.

Discussion and Analysis

The charts above show the results of the both groups' questionnaires. Based on the results of the questionnaires, it is obvious that the way of assessment has changed and both groups, who participated in this study has a positive attitude towards the application of formative assessment in higher education. According to the majority of the participants in most of the questions they are enthusiastic about the use of formative assessment and claim that it indicates positively on students' success and motivation.

Conclusion

The results of the questionnaires' questions show that the hypothesis at the beginning of the study was true. So, assessment can affect the students' success and motivation. The majority of the academic staff thinks that formative assessment can have a positive assessment of increasing students' success; moreover, it can affect their motivation. Moreover, the majority of students themselves think that assessment indicated directly in their success and motivation. Furthermore, they claimed that formative assessment has positive results in their success and motivation.

The results of these questionnaires are good evidence about the application of formative assessment in higher education in Struga, and it that can be used as a reference by researchers, who would study similar issues and do similar researches in the field of education.

References

Berry, R. (2008) *Assessment for Leaching*-Hong Kong Teacher Education. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press

Harmer, J. (2007). *The practice of English language teaching. (4th Ed.).* Harlow: Person Education Limited

Irons, A (2008) *Enhancing Learning Through Formative Assessment and Feedback.* Canada: Routledge

Lambert, D &Lines, D. (2000) *Understanding Assessment: Purposes, Perceptions, Practice.* Padstow, Cornwall: TJ International, Ltd

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2000). *Techniques and Principals in Language Teaching. (2nd Ed.).* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Mitchell, R. (1992). *Testing for learning: How new approaches to evaluation can improve American schools.* New York: The Free Press.

Tuttle, H. (2009) *Formative Assessment Responding to Your Students.* Larchmeond, NY: Eye on education, Inc

EFFECTIVE AND POPULAR COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS: A PREFERRED MOLD

Ervin KOVAČEVIĆ, Senior Assistant

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
The characteristics associated with both effective and popular college instructors vary from being knowledgeable, organized, or prepared to being caring, friendly, or humorous. Joseph Lowman (1994; 1995) classified thirty-three of such characteristics into two categories: intellectual behavior and interpersonal rapport. Inspired by his classification, this research asked 164 students of the International University of Sarajevo to rate the importance of the same characteristics for their own learning. The comparative analysis of the ratings and the rater profiles confirmed the premise that college teachers whose teaching actions are strongly governed by both the categories might be highly effective with any group of college students. Yet this article questions whether all the sets of personal characteristics associated with effective and popular instructors can be acquired and to what extent. The overall conclusions remind us of the links between displayed teaching styles and educational philosophies, and thus the life philosophies behind them.

Keywords: Education, Teaching, Style, Philosophy, Personality.

Introduction

The quest for understanding the concept of a good teacher may sometimes seem to be such a waste of time. Endless reports on teaching performance have driven some researchers to successfully decode the mechanisms behind a quality one. Numerous attempts to reveal and more deeply understand the factors that influence how teachers teach have indeed demystified the 'good teacher'. Yet there seem to be not only good, but also better ones. An analysis of a Fall 2012/2013 survey on teaching performance held at the International University of Sarajevo identified the best to the least good teachers. As one might assume, the analysis was concluded by an evaluation, thus rating the teaching behaviors. Consequently, the analysis both highlighted and camouflaged the concept of good teaching performance, due to not only the analytical criteria used, but also the nature of the educational domain.

Nowadays, while trying to meet the norms dictated by various international and national agencies for accreditation, universities in Europe make sure their programs are designed in accordance with the norms. Concerned with teaching-learning exchange processes, the norms ensure instructional planning, instructional delivery, and evaluation in every course have to overlap. The norms hold programs, departments, and faculties accountable for the degrees their graduates earn, and encourage university administrators make every piece of the teaching-learning exchange process puzzle fit the whole. However, securing the highest performance from university instructors appears to be a tough task.

Quality assurance offices collect data, analyze data, and provide results. Afterwards, those familiar with the *Complexity theory*, a theory which allows the atomization of educational phenomena, yet which emphasizes the "synergies and the significance of the whole" (Morrison, 2008), use descriptive findings to question the entire educational context in which they were obtained. Those who are not, instead shift attention to the measurable variables, in order to quantitatively analyze the data while completely ignoring or only partly considering the whole. Obviously, if it is possible to get an accurate measurement of teaching performance, this validity will be directly proportional to the number of contextual variables included in the analysis as well as the analyst's skills and knowledge in recognizing the interrelations between them all. Heimlich and Norland (2002) state:

> In any educational event, several elements are constant: there is an educator who conveys or facilitates the content to each learner and the group of learners within a situation that is both physical and the affective reaction to the physical environment. These five elements - teacher, learner, group, content, and environment - comprise a model of the teaching-learning exchange. All elements are present in every teaching-learning event or exchange, but the relationships and the importance of each component vary. (p. 17)

For an outsider, an analysis of a teacher's performance which attempts to include at least these five elements becomes an enormous task. On the contrary, for the teacher whose performance is under the microscope, analytical outcomes of such a reflection on the teaching-learning exchange process become vital information necessary for updating both one's educational philosophy, which generates educational decisions and governs teaching actions, and one's teaching style, which projects and displays every teaching behavior within this process. Consequently, evaluating teaching performances or labeling them as good, ideal, or effective, seriously challenges personal understandings of educational phenomena and the concept of teaching performance in particular.

Is there an educational reasoning which could simplify the concept of good teaching, yet also compress the complexity of interactions by which all educational contexts are characterized? Is there a formula for a teacher which meets the standards, the learners' needs, the vision of the school management, and the expectations of the other stakeholders, including the teacher him/herself, yet is easy to grasp and apply? Is there a universal educational philosophy that could be derived from all the many relevant case studies, models of education, theories of teaching and learning, yet be very simple to communicate? The premise in this article is that there is, indeed; one that is embedded in the sets of personal characteristics of effective college teachers. The premise is founded on Grasha's (2002) summary of Lowman's study (1994) of the teacher behaviors described in 500 nomination letters at the University of North Carolina. The behavioral teacher characteristics were compressed into 33 words, using one-word descriptors (Grasha, 2002).

This research asked 164 students of the International University of Sarajevo to agree or disagree on these 33 descriptors of effective teachers. Agreement, which oscillated between 82.35% and 98.78% per descriptor, confirmed the notion that there must be a mold that defines the good teacher which is consciously or sub-consciously met with general approval.

Method and Results

The survey participants were undergraduate students of 11 different programs as well as students enrolled in advanced classes of the English language preparatory school at the International University of Sarajevo. The participant profiles are summarized in Table 1. The survey was comprised of 33 statements designed by combining the phrase *'The effective*

teacher is…' and the descriptors borrowed from Lowman's (1994) study (see Table 2) accompanied with a Likert-type scale ranging from 'Strongly Agree' to 'Strongly Disagree'. Thirty-two of the descriptors were not altered at all. One of them was substituted; the descriptor 'personable' was replaced with 'attractive' because it was assumed that the subjects would perceive the word 'personable' with too many different connotations. Therefore, it was replaced with a signifier, in Saussurean terminology, of a clearer notion. Additionally, the order of the descriptors associated with 'Intellectual Behavior' and 'Interpersonal Rapport' (Lowman, 1994) was exchanged. During the analysis, the results (see Table 3) were converted into Agree-Disagree alternatives, since the primary goal in this paper is to point to the examples of major agreement with the

Table 1

Survey Participants					
Faculty		*Nationality*		*Gender*	
Arts and Social Sciences	73	Bosnian	80	Female	80
Business and Administration	34	British	1	Male	84
Engineering and Natural Sciences	47	Palestinian	1		
English Language School	10	Turkish	80		
		Ugandan	2		

Table 2

A Classification of Descriptors of Classroom Behavior	
Intellectual Behavior	
Enthusiastic	Exciting
Knowledgeable	Engaging
Inspiring	Prepared
Humorous	Energetic
Interesting	Fun
Clear	Stimulating
Organized	Eloquent
Creative	Communicative
Interpersonal Rapport	
Interpersonal Concern	*Effective Motivation*
Concerned	Helpful
Caring	Encouraging
Available	Challenging
Friendly	Fair
Accessible	Demanding
Approachable	Patient
Interested	Motivating
Respectful	
Understanding	
Personable	

Table 3

Survey Results			
The effective teacher is + descriptor	*Participants' Agreement in %*	The effective teacher is + descriptor	*Participants' Agreement in %*
Descriptors of Intellectual Behavior		*Descriptors of Interpersonal Rapport*	
Enthusiastic	96.34	Concerned	95.12
Knowledgeable	96.34	Caring	94.51
Inspiring	95.73	Available	96.95
Humorous	95.12	Friendly	96.34
Interesting	93.90	Accessible	96.34
Clear	93.90	Approachable	96.34
Organized	94.51	Interested	96.34
Creative	95.12	Respectful	98.17
Exciting	92.07	Understanding	97.56
Engaging	94.51	Attractive	82.35
Prepared	97.56	Helpful	98.78
Energetic	93.29	Encouraging	95.73
Fun	94.51	Challenging	93.90
Stimulating	93.90	Fair	96.95
Eloquent	95.12	Demanding	93.90
Communicative	95.12	Patient	95.12
		Motivating	96.34

descriptors defining effective teachers. The results presented in Table 3 project the average agreement mean of 95.08%. It must be pointed out that the descriptor 'attractive' reflected a unique negative deviation from the mean of -13.45%, which if excluded, leaves the highest negative deviation at -1.79% (exciting), and the highest positive one at +3.70% (helpful). Such a high agreement mean confirms that effective teachers are recognized through a simultaneous perception of both their intellectual and interpersonal characteristics.

Discussion

Teachers' beliefs about education, in other words, their beliefs about how or what to teach, as well as why or how adults learn, help them choose instructional content, set teaching/learning objectives, develop instructional materials, engage in interaction with the learners, and evaluate overall outcomes of the both teaching and learning processes. These educational beliefs - which are related to a teacher's personal life philosophy constituting a framework by which teachers as individuals of varied backgrounds live and act - underpin a teacher's educational philosophy; a teacher's own views on learning and teaching approach by which he/she plans, conducts and evaluates educational activities (Zinn, 2004).

However, while teachers' beliefs about what they do, or what should be done are constituted in an educational philosophy, what they actually do in practice is defined by the

concept of teaching style: "the distinct qualities displayed by a teacher that are persistent from situation to situation regardless of the content" (Conti, 2004, p. 76). Based on numerous factors, both educational philosophy and teaching style are unique to each teacher. Though the links between the two can be distorted by many contextual variables, the teacher can restore the integrity in several ways through reflective practice (Kovačević, 2011).

Nevertheless, if sets of individual characteristics are being used to define effective teachers, such characteristics must be scientifically accounted for. Such a task seems to be extremely demanding and perhaps even impossible to pursue. For example, defining the uniqueness of an individual adult requires a consideration of the variables which distinguish him or her. Long (1990) and Rogers (1996) identified at least thirteen of these variables: vision, hearing, energy, health, cognitive characteristics, personality characteristics, experiential characteristics, role characteristics, a continuing process of growth, set intentions, expectations about education, competing interests, and set patterns of learning. On the one hand, it's possible to depict how each of these relates to either personal educational philosophy or teaching style. On the contrary, how they interrelate and vary in the case of each individual teacher is infinite and thus impossible. Therefore, the premise in this article is that any teacher's individuality is undeniably unique. Thus, if the concept of individuality is to be related to the concept of teaching performance, on a continuum of individualities, one extreme depicts maximal facilitation of teaching performance while the other refers to its maximal hindrance. Confirmed in this research, the results of Lowman's study define maximal effectiveness and imply maximal ineffectiveness (Table 4). Consequently, if a teaching personality is a sum of thirty-three characteristics, the teacher exhibiting them all at a maximum level is maximally effective.

Table 4

Maximally Effective Teacher			Maximally Ineffective Teacher	
Enthusiastic	Concerned	In Between	Not Enthusiastic	Not Concerned
Knowledgeable	Caring		Not Knowledgeable	Not Caring
Inspiring	Available		Not Inspiring	Not Available
Humorous	Friendly		Not Humorous	Not Friendly
Interesting	Accessible		Not Interesting	Not Accessible
Clear	Approachable		Not Clear	Not Approachable
Organized	Interested		Not Organized	Not Interested
Creative	Respectful		Not Creative	Not Respectful
Exciting	Understanding		Not Exciting	Not Understanding
Engaging	Attractive		Not Engaging	Not Attractive
Prepared	Helpful		Not Prepared	Not Helpful
Energetic	Encouraging		Not Energetic	Not Encouraging
Fun	Challenging		Not Fun	Not Challenging
Stimulating	Fair		Not Stimulating	Not Fair
Eloquent	Demanding		Not Eloquent	Not Demanding
Communicative	Patient		Not Communicative	Not Patient
	Motivating			Not Motivating

Likewise, if another is incapable of exhibiting any of the characteristics, the teacher is being maximally ineffective. Those that fall in between, and apparently oscillate between the poles, could perhaps be deliberately driven towards the effective pole. Overall, if the good teacher is someone who continuously displays the characteristics associated with effective teachers, hypothetically, such characteristics are not accidental, but deliberately displayed.

Long (1990, p. 32) defines 'personality' as a "consistent way of behaving" which is "a multidimensional construct composed of at least 8 properties: (1) physique; (2) temperament; (3) intellectual and other abilities; (4) interests and values; (5) social attitudes; (6) motivational dispositions; (7) expressive and stylistic traits; and (8) pathological trends". If so, modifying personality for the sake of maximizing teaching performance seems to be a complicated task. Combined with the other factors which define our individuality (see pp. 8-9), the call of modification can only be answered by an individual on an individual level.

Eventually, such attempts at personality modification are not dependent on mere expertise but primarily on willingness and positive emotions. Firstly, novel approaches and actions stem "from each individual's unique Creative Intelligence" (Weisberg, 1986, p. 72), which he or she must be presumably willing to express. Rowe (2004) defines Creative Intelligence as the following:

> Creative Intelligence refers to the way individuals use their creative potential. More specifically, Creative Intelligence describes the aspect of personality that drives us to achieve outstanding results. It also covers how we see and understand the world around us. It deals with our basic values in terms of what we consider right and wrong, or good and bad. And finally, it covers our willingness to take risks. (p. 6)

With a reference to the concept of creative intelligence, apparently, teachers might be divided into four kinds: those who possess amazing creative potential and are willing to exploit it; those who possess amazing creative potential and are not willing to exploit it; those who possess limited creative potential and are willing to exploit it; and those who possess limited creative potential and are not willing to exploit it. Therefore, it might be concluded that individual willingness to pursue exploitation of individual potential outweighs the mere possession of that potential. In a similar way, it might be assumed that a teacher's decision to modify his/her teaching personality is mainly based on the teacher's intrinsic motivation. Amabile (1990) explains:

> Without intrinsic motivation, an individual either will not perform the activity at all or will do it in a way that simply satisfies the extrinsic goals. But, to some extent, a high degree of intrinsic motivation can make up for a deficiency of domain-relevant skills or creativity-relevant skills. A highly intrinsically motivated individual is likely to draw skills from other domains or apply great effort to acquire necessary skills in the target domain. (pp. 78-79)

Therefore, one of the conclusions in this research is that a college instructor who really wants to become an effective teacher can do so by acquiring the characteristics of effective teachers through committed efforts which could force the teacher to modify his/her personal characteristics and thus posit him/herself nearer to the effective pole of individualities (see Table 4).

Secondly, the positive shift in behavioral characteristics of a person might be excessively dependent on the person's positive emotions. In reference to Fredrickson's study (2002), Carr (2004) states:

> Positive emotions... broaden momentary thought-action repertoires. This broadening of momentary thought-action repertoires offers opportunities for building enduring personal resources, which in turn offers the potential

> for personal growth and transformation by creating positive or adaptive spirals of emotion, cognition and action… For example, joy creates the urge to play and create in social and intellectual or artistic ways. Thus joy, through play, can strengthen social support networks and through creativity can lead to the production of art and science or to creative problem-solving in day-to-day life. Increased social support, artistic and scientific productions, and successful problem-solving experiences are all relatively enduring outcomes of joy and may contribute to personal transformation and development. This, in turn, may lead to more positive emotions. Contentment, another positive emotion, may create an urge to contemplate our life circumstances. This may lead to new and more positive ways of viewing ourselves and the world around us, and of carrying on our day-to-day lives. (pp. 16-17)

In this manner, if a teacher is aware of the personal characteristics of effective teachers and is in addition affected by positive emotions, the teacher may deliberately work on acquiring such characteristics. Or, if another is not aware of the characteristics yet is submerged in positive emotions, he or she might also consequently start displaying behaviors associated with effective teaching. Thus, the final observation of this research is that positive emotions might be a disguised mechanism behind effective teaching performance.

Conclusion

Complexity-aware educational practitioners may find the results of this research to be yet another drop in the vast ocean of educational findings. Nevertheless, the aim was to delineate a mold by which a college instructor could reflect on a personal educational philosophy, teaching style, and overall distinctive teaching traits. The approach in sculpting the mold was based on several premises: 1) evaluating teaching performance or labeling someone as good, ideal, or effective, seriously challenges personal understandings of educational phenomena and the concept of teaching performance in particular; 2) identified sets of personal characteristics of effective college teachers may be a basis for an effective teaching model; 3) every teacher's individuality is undeniably unique and may either deliberately or accidently oscillate along a continuum of individualities between maximal facilitation and maximal hindrance of teaching performance; 4) the call to modify teaching personalities can only be answered by individuals on an individual level through willingness accompanied by positive emotions.

Higher education institutions which attempt to secure high-quality teaching performance from their teachers should look for an easy but dependable formula which could serve as a guiding light to instructors who seek to improve, a worthy framework that goes beyond the measurable variables of the quality assurance offices, a valuable checklist for instructor recruiting committees, or a long-term goal for teaching mentors and teacher training programs. Though various educational models, classroom management techniques, and teaching performance manuals often give credit to aspects of personality influencing the way teachers teach, the characteristics associated with the best teachers seem to be unequally attainable, difficult to consistently project, or even disregarded.

Granting every single teacher the freedom to combine a set of individual characteristics that have been found to work does not mean cloning teacher variety. Lowman (1994) has identified 33 such characteristics and this research has confirmed his findings. However, which of those 33 characteristics a college teacher will pursue or what sets will meet his or her instructional objectives has not been suggested. This is where the individuality of each teacher can be exercised.

John Keating (played by Robin Williams), an English teacher in Peter Weirs' highly acclaimed film *Dead Poets Society* (1989), rejects orthodox methods of teaching poetry and instead chooses to design several contexts where the boys of Welton Academy could perceive poetry and life in a meaningful and critical way. At the end of the movie his methodology is bluntly contrasted with an exceptionally uninspiring, though orthodox one. This article neither invites the college teacher to be a Keating nor discourages one from doing so—instead, this research is inviting teachers to reflect on their teaching practice and strive towards maximizing their performance through modifying their unique teaching traits. It might sound overambitious, yet, neither should an effective teacher be rendered a mere coincidence. There are so many teachers who perform beyond the standards, while others simultaneously underperform. Should the philosophers and scientists look for the justification in genes, talent, and other natural qualities of the superior teachers? Or should they rather look for ways to help the average ones achieve superiority in their profession? The answer hides in the disposition of an educational practitioner—it can be positive, neutral, negative, or it can fall somewhere in between.

References

Amabile, T. M. (1990). Within you, without you: the social psychology of creativity, and beyond. In M. A. Runco & R. S. Albert (Eds.), *Theories of creativity* (pp. 61-91). Newbury Park (CA): Sage Publications.

Carr, A. (2004). *Positive psychology: The science of happiness and human strengths*. Hove (UK) and New York (NY): Bruner and Routledge.

Conti, G. J. (2004). Identifying your teaching style. In M. W. Galbraith (Ed.), *Adult learning methods: a guide for effective instruction* (pp. 75-91). Malabar (FL): Krieger Publishing Company.

Grasha, A. F. (2002). *Teaching with style*. San Bernardino (CA): Alliance Publishers.

Heimlich, J. E. & Norland, E. (2002). Teaching style: where are we now?. In J. M. Ross-Gordon (Ed.), *Contemporary Viewpoints on Teaching Adults Effectively, New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, *93*, 17-25. San Francisco (CA): Jossey-Bass.

Kovačević, E. (2011). Integrity between personal educational philosophy and teaching style: reflective practice. *Journal of Teaching and Education, 1-1*, 15-26.

Long, H. (1990). Understanding adult learners. In M. W. Galbraith (Ed.), *Adult learning methods: a guide for effective instruction* (pp. 28-35). Malabar (FL): Krieger Publishing Company.

Morrison, K. (2008). Educational philosophy and the challenge of complexity theory. In M. Mason (Ed.), *Complexity theory and the philosophy of education* (pp. 16-30). West Sussex (UK): Wiley-Blackwell.

Rogers, A. (1996). *Teaching adults*. Buckingham (UK): Open University Press.

Rowe, A. J. (2004). *Creative intelligence.* New Jersey (NJ): Prentice Hall.

Weisberg, R. (1986). *Creativity.* New York (NY): W. H. Freeman and Company.

Zinn, L. M. (2004). Exploring your philosophical orientation. In M. W. Galbraith (Ed.). *Adult learning methods: a guide for effective instruction* (pp. 39-74). Malabar (FL): Krieger Publishing Company.

AN ECOCRITICAL APPROACH TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

Banu AKCESME, Assistant Professor

Erciyes University

Abstract
This paper aims to examine ELT course books from an ecocritical perspective to find out how nature is represented in ELT course books that are used in EFL classrooms worldwide. Course books are more than what they seem to offer. When a closer look is taken, it can clearly be observed that they are far from being neutral. On the contrary, as the studies carried out concerning the representations of genders/sexes in ELT course books have already revealed, they are laden with political, ideological and cultural codes and meanings. In recent years, great importance has been attached to ecostudies which aim to draw attention to and raise awareness about the problems and issues concerning nature and environment. In order to be more effective and inclusive with an emphasis on the interrelatedness and interdependence of different academic disciplines and fields of study, interdisciplinary studies have been encouraged in ecostudies. Global ecological enlightenment can be rendered possible for people through education so that they can come to recognize how closely their human lives are linked to the non-human world. So, it will be a worthwhile attempt to find a way to integrate ecology into ELT to put it to useful service in reinforcing ecological understanding. ELT course books can prove to be a very influential vehicle for generating green ideas when an ecologically-sensitive curriculum is implemented. This study has analyzed the discourses in the 7 course books *Cutting Edge*, *Global*, *Language Leader*, *New Headway*, *Language in Use*, *Straight Forward*, *Inside Out* in terms of the systematic language choices made in the constructions of nature to find out in what ways nature is re/presented and how different representations of nature reveal certain extra-textual realities including socio-cultural norms, and ideologies.

Keywords: ELT Course book, Nature, Ecostudies, Discourse Analysis, Ideology.

Introduction

There exist different constructions and representations of nature which stem from different worldviews that are reflected in different discursive frames. The representations of nature reveal how we encounter and comprehend the natural world as well as how we construct ideas about nature and our relationship to it. The terms we use to refer to nature such as wilderness, landscape, Mother Nature, virgin land are just the cultural and ideological interpretations of how we perceive the physical world. Thus, our perceptions and understandings of concepts and categories concerning nature, culture, and human depend on how ideologically loaded language represents them to us. Doubtless language, as a meaning-generating medium, shapes and determines how we conceive the physical world around us to a certain extent. So language plays a vital role not only in constructing reality but also in

generating the nature of knowledge about nature and about ideological dimensions of human-nature interactions. We cannot underestimate the fact that as a powerful tool, language has the potential to manipulate our perceptions of and attitudes towards nature and can present the reality of nature in a more idealized way or in a more restrictive, incomplete and even misleading way. Throughout history, nature has been constructed in different ways in different socio-cultural contexts in the light of certain ideologies and gender/class/race politics. The representations used in the course books examined in this study illustrate that political, economic and social systems and processes are intricately intertwined with the cultural, ideological and discursive constructions of nature.

The term *Ecology* was introduced by Ernst Haeckel in 1860s to describe the relations between organisms and their environment. Ecocriticism, in a simplest sense, deals with the study of the relationship between the physical environment and texts and focuses on how and to what effect nature is conceptualized and represented in various literary, cultural, critical and disciplinary contexts. Ecolinguistics, on the other hand, has been defined as "the ecological study of language and the linguistic study of ecology" (Busse, 2006, p.133). The linguistic study of ecology acknowledges that language use is always correlated to social and cultural practices and ideologies in a given historical context. Hence, it shed light on the interaction between language, nature and the environment and examines the role of language in the cultural shaping of nature and the environment.

As the ecological problems are global, transcending national boundaries, our time is marked by the increasing importance of nature and the environment. As Haq and Paul (2012) suggest, green has become a modern-day aspiration (75). Glotfelty (1996) states that humanities disciplines such as history, sociology, religion, philosophy, law and literature have been greening since the 1970s (xviii). Today people are exposed to green issues from all sources and angles. Governments, non-government organizations, companies and media address green issues and the movie industry, television programs and celebrities are making contributions. Millions of people from different cultures and background at different ages from all walks of life all over the world are learning English. Since course books are globally consumed, ELT course books have perhaps the widest readership among academic publications. Course books should not remain indifferent to environmental issues when their potential to make a worldwide call for green action is considered. They can assume the responsibility to reach the public consciousness by bringing environmental issues and problems to public attention.

Objective of the Study

Representations of nature in ELT course books have not been a subject of academic interest or study so far. This study intends to emphasize that cross-fertilization is possible between ecological studies and curriculum and materials development in ELT with a belief that course books can promote environmental agenda and bring about changes in learners' attitudes toward the natural environment and into more environmentally sound behaviour by nourishing their awareness of the physical world.

This study sets out to look at what positions, attitudes and relations of humankind within the natural world are foregrounded in the selected course books. To do so, systematic language choices are examined in the textual constructions of nature in ELT course books that are used in EFL classrooms worldwide from an ecocritical perspective to find out in what ways nature is re/presented and how different representations of nature in the texts reveal extra-textual realities with their ideological and cultural implications and what/how issues about ecological issues and crises are brought up and dealt with. The following research questions have been raised to be investigated for the aim of the study.

- How is nature constructed by human culture/perspective?
- Is this presentation/representation based on anthropocentric or eco-centric/bio-centric worldviews? Do the texts offer environmentally-focused, ecologically sensitive perspectives?
- What kind of relationship between nature and man is established and promoted? What roles are assigned to both parties in this relationship?
- Do the texts emphasize the interdependence between the human and non-human? Do the texts emphasize unity, connection, wholeness with the natural world, between humans and non-humans?
- Do the texts present nature independently of human culture? Do the texts keep nature and human society/culture separate?
- Do the representations nourish, reinforce or bridge the patriarchal culture's dualistic conception of nature and culture?
- Do the texts cover ecology and ecological issues in relation with political, ideological and cultural issues?
- Do the text raise consciousness about green agenda?

Methodology and Data Collection

Critical discourse analyses (CDA) have been carried out in this study to examine the linguistic constructions of nature since environmental crises are partly matters of linguistic and discursive representations and meanings imposed on nature by human meaning-making exercises. Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as an approach which seeks to investigate relationships between "(a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes [...] how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power [...] how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony" (132). CDA is useful since it brings together discursive and non discursive elements by paying close attention to extra linguistic factors like culture, society and ideology (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, 258). To study textual, social and cultural factors together provides a deeper insight into how discursive practices function in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power (Wodak, 2001, 11).

For the discourse analyses, firstly, I have developed categories to indicate possible textual representations of nature. The categories developed reflect different approaches to nature including cultural, pragmatic, sentimental, aesthetic, recreational, ecological and religious. The idea for the categories is derived from Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) in which they examine how the metaphorical structuring of concepts form our thoughts, actions and attitudes as well as our relations with the objects. I have applied what Lakoff and Johnson have done with the concepts like time and love to the concept nature. In order to understand the world and function in it, we have to categorize in ways that make sense to us the things and experiences we encounter. These categories may emerge from directly our experience, the nature of our interactions with other people, objects and with our physical and social environments (Lakoff and Johnson, 162). According to Lakoff and Johnson, when we conceptualize something, we do it in terms of multidimensional structures of properties which are not inherent in the object but emerge naturally from our experience in the world. These multidimensional gestalts include the perceptual (the way they look, feel etc, conception of objects by means of our sensory apparatus), motor activity (what we do with our bodies in getting in or out of them, the nature of motor interactions with objects), purposive (based on the uses we can make of an object in a given situation),

functional (based on our conception of the functions of the object) properties (121-122, 162). Below are the categories developed by taking into considerations these gestalts.

Nature as the provider emerges as a substance and resource from which raw materials and energy are distracted; so it serves purposeful ends and is utilized for human interests. The texts which emphasize the value of the services nature provides through the supply of energy and the provision of raw materials and food are included in this category.

Nature as wilderness refers to wildlife in wild nature. The texts in which Nature is constructed as a "vast realm of unknown, unmanageable or uncontrollable wild nonhuman activity" are examined under this category (Luke, 1997, 195).

Nature as an adversary poses a physical and psychological challenge as an evil, hostile and destructive force, threatening human life, society and civilization. The texts that foreground that unpredictable and uncontrollable nature can hurt, harm and destroy man and what man has created are categorized in this group.

Nature as an object of scientific scrutiny and knowledge emerges when scientists mechanically examine natural phenomena and the workings of the universe to find out objective knowledge.

Nature as a source of aesthetic pleasure is presented as beautiful and attractive pastoral landscape for leisure pursuits, sports activities or holiday which provide entertainment/amusement and joy. The texts which emphasize that nature exists to be enjoyed for its beauty and recreational value as the thing of the pastime are included in this category.

Nature as commodity recognizes the values of nature in economic terms. Nature, characterized as a source of wealth can be bought, sold or leased. The commodification and objectification of nature can be seen when nature is used for touristic purposes as well. This category deals with the texts which brings to the fore the monetary value of nature as an object of consumption.

Nature as human artifice refers to the nature as changed, built or designed by human action like zoos and parks. Nature as a source of solace refers to nature as an object of contemplation in solitude. Nature as an entity to be saved highlights that nature has been endangered and it needs to be rescued by human action. Nature as the reflection and revelation of God is based on a religious point of view and nature is seen as sacred.

Animism, the attribution of agency and spirit to the non-human, is another motif employed in the representation of nature. Personification picks out different and certain aspects of a person or ways of looking at a person and allows us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms - terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics (Lakoff and Johnson, 34). In the representation of nature as personified in human terms, human qualities are assigned mostly to animals which *are considered to possess personalities like people and thus to act like them. Animals are measured according to human standards and characterized as lazy, loyal, coward, hardworking and friendly.*

For the discourse analyses, Halliday's transitivity model has also been employed to identify the types of processes and participants. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar proves useful for the ecological study of language to investigate how nature is represented as an ideologically and linguistically constructed reality. The focus has been placed on the prominence of certain linguistic patterns used in the representations of nature. The analyses reveal that the systematic language choices and the types of participant and process types vary according to the way nature is constructed and represented in a given text. The key words that have been repeated in certain contexts have also been identified.

Data Analyses

103 texts which are concerned with nature in seven course books, *Cutting Edge*, *Global*, *Language Leader*, *New Headway*, *Language in Use*, *Straight Forward*, *Inside Out* have been studied and examined for critical discourse analyses. The selection of these course books has been made according to the availability in the Learning Resource Center in the International Academy at Essex University in England. All the available levels of these course books from beginners to advance have been included in the analyses. The results and conclusions derived from the critical discourse analyses of the texts are limited to these course books and thus may not be generalized to other course books. But still the results are promisingly significant since they more or less reflect the general tendencies as to how nature is constructed in some certain ways and how these certain constructions disclose deep-seated ideologies in ELT course books. Further studies to examine a greater number of ELT course books must be carried out to get more valid and reliable statistical data.

At this point, it is useful to point out the general conclusions before moving on to the detailed analyses of the texts. In the modern world basically two forces, science/technology and industrial economy, shape the social institutions and human relations with each other and the physical world. In this modern world the relationship between nature and human is based on either master-slave or conqueror-conquered or consumer-product dualities. This is the general framework which shapes the human / the non-human relations presented in the ELT course books in question. Nature gains value only in relation to man and the *interest in nature for its own sake is absent in the representations of nature in the course books.* The representations are organized mostly around what we can do with nature and how nature can be utilized for human needs and desires. No emphasis is placed on the fact that it is "valuable as habitat for species that have intrinsic, non-resource value – even rights – simply because they exist" (Coates, 1998, 14). On the contrary, these representations disclose the underlying ideology that nature exists for the benefits and interests of mankind. Thus, nature has no intrinsic value apart from the goods and services it provides for human beings as a source for economic use or as the expression of certain social and cultural values or aesthetic appreciation. Such representations put the human in a controlling master position who acts upon nature to exploit its resources, *claiming for the ownership and domination over it. This* perception also strengthens the idea that *nature is around us but not part of us and Earth belongs to us but we do not belong to Earth.*

Thus, most of the nature representations examined in this study have been designed around human-centered points of view and reflect the anthropocentric approach to nature. However, the environmental crises lie in this anthropocentric outlook which refers to any stance, perception or conception that takes the human as center or norm. The environmental problems call for a drastic change in our understanding of the self/the human and the other/the non-human. There is an urgent need for the course books to abandon a "human exemptionalism paradigm" and instead embrace a new ecological paradigm which is based on the idea that "humans are one of many interdependent species in the global ecosystem and part of a large web of nature, that humans depend on a finite biophysical environment, and that humans cannot stand above ecological laws" (Catton and Dunlap, quoted in Gould and Lewis, 2009, 5). Course books should adopt biocentrism which affirms the intrinsic value of all natural life forms and organisms. A biocentric stance emphasizes the integrity of the entire ecosystem without giving any privilege to one species (Clark, 2011, 3). One common point the representations in the course books share is that no or very little emphasis is placed on the interdependence and interconnectedness between human and non-human worlds. The construction of nature as an alienated Other reveals man's loss of an organic connection with it. Biocentrism can help learners develop a sense of belongingness as a part of the ecological system within an intertwined network of nature. As Worster puts it, nature is "interconnected

and interdependent community of living organisms on which our survival depends" (1993, 107). Keeping this in mind, nature should no longer be regarded as an object that should be dominated or controlled but a partner with which we should cooperate with on equal terms.

Moreover, in all these representations, nature is directly or indirectly reduced to an object to be gazed. The course books construct a detached nature to be viewed and studied from the outside, which leads people to see themselves apart from nature and observe the natural environment with a feeling of superiority. This widens the separation between man and nature.

Another striking result the discourse analyses have yielded is that we have fragmented ways of presenting nature. The course books share the general tendency to take natural world and the issues concerning nature and environment out of context with no reference to the socio-political or cultural framework to present them in sentence-based linguistic forms or phrases, which reduces complex issues to simplistic issues. A sentence-based type of the presentation of the related issues without a context is not included in the analyses since they offer a very shallow and limited introduction and insight into the matter and thus fail to call attention to the importance of the subject.

The other result discloses that the course books have a very narrow and restricted view of nature which mostly include wild nature such as jungles, mountains and deserts, tourist attractions, animals and scientific facts about the universe and extreme weathers. Thus, in the course books humans engage in nature only in very particular ways as tourists, scientists, sportsmen and adventurer. They include fauna but flora is completely excluded. There is also an obvious lack of interest in engaging environmental issues. However, when we are talking about nature, we are not talking about only beautiful landscapes, tourist attractions, wild life and extreme weather conditions, but we should also be talking about deforestation, global warming, endangered animals, pollutions, degradation of nature and exploitation of natural resources. It is the obvious truth that different values are attached to nature but we should bring reconciliation between these values which seem contradictory. Kate Soper insists that "we should decide what value we place on our own special status in regard to nature, to what extent nature should be preserved primarily for its own intrinsic qualities, to what extent it should be preserved because of our human dependencies and interests; to what extent our interests can be claimed to include an interest in the preservation of the intrinsic worth of nature" (176).

Out of 103 texts, 29 texts constructs nature and animals as an object of scientific knowledge and this is the most common representation of nature in the course books examined in this study. With a closer look, the ideology of enlightenment can be traced as embedded in the texts. John Locke, Francis Bacon, Descartes and Newton are the key figures in establishing the ideological framework of enlightenment which deeply shaped the Western logic and thought system, promoting the scientific approach to nature. As Francis Bacon and Descartes suggest, knowledge is power and power gained through scientific knowledge should be exercised to bring nature under control and domination to make it subservient to human so that it can better serve human ends and purposes. The Scientific Revolution that took place in the 17th century initiated and encouraged the project of exploring and conquering nature with the help of technology. In the texts analyzed, one-on-one communication or a genuine and friendly relationship with the natural world on equal terms is not offered but instead the reader/learner is kept at a distance to be informed of the mysteries of the universe and amazing facts about the workings of the ecosystem. Human, when situated as the *scientific observer,* takes the position as a detached and uninvolved viewer, *rather than as a part of nature.* A s*cientific approach to nature is based on a mechanistic view of universe according to which nature operates like a clock-like machine within a self-regulating and* a self-contained *system and so just like a machine, it can be*

divided and dissected into parts to be investigated. Needless to say, this view creates an alienation effect and a feeling of detachment. In the relationship where feelings and ethics are completely absent, man inevitably feels disconnected from nature. The systematic language choices made in these texts also establish nature as a self-operating system which manages itself with the highest number of material-action and behavioural processes which indicate active agency. But nature can act as an active agent only when human is absent on the stage. When man comes into the scene, nature is reduced to the object to be acted upon. Relational processes are also prominently used to define what natural processes or entities are and what they are like. The words that are repeatedly used in the texts are solar system, universe, planet, earth, sun, atmosphere, rotate, asteroid, clash, hit, sun, warm/ing, mystery, energy, carbon and emission. Some examples from the texts analyzed are as follows:

The earth rotates at around 1500 km per hour (*New Cutting Edge*, Elementary Module 11)

> Antarctica is the fifth largest of the earth's seven continents. During the winter it doubles its size because of the large amount of sea ice that forms at its edges. […] Because of its thick ice cover, it is the highest of all continents. [...] Braving winds that freeze the flesh, the constant threat of snow blindness, and the intense, unremitting cold are there for the extraordinary scientific treasures that await discovery. This is one place still untouched by man. (*New Headway*, Upper intermediate, Unit 6)

> The earth is the only place where life is known to exist. It has all the conditions that are suitable for supporting life. It is a perfect distance from the sun. The earth rotates on its axis. […] Our atmosphere blocks harmful solar radiation but allows enough heat from the sun to warm us. (*New Headway*, Pre-intermediate, Unit 12).

> The sun heats the sea. The water in the sea evaporates. It goes into the air. The water vapour forms clouds. […] In the cold air the water vapour changes into rain. (*Language Leader*, Elementary, Unit 3).

Animals, when scientifically observed, are reduced to the object of gaze and some interesting facts are presented about them predominantly in relational processes to illustrate the qualities animals have. They are also given agency and described with a high number of material-action processes to demonstrate the things they can do and they cannot do. However, most of these material actions are intransitive verbs that describe animal behaviour like *fly, jump, swim, talk, run, walk, climb, and stand*. In most of the cases where they are represented as the agent of material-action processes with transitive verbs, they act upon themselves and so receive their own action. This indicates their inability and incapacity to take the control of the environment. Some examples are as follows:

> On our trips we see a wide range of whales, dolphins and sea birds. Humpback whales are famous for their long songs and big jumps. We sometimes see them. Fin whales live for up to 100 years. They are common in the North Atlantic. Bootlenose Dolphins are very active. They jump very high. We

> always see them. We guarantee great photos. (*Language Leader*, Elementary, Unit 3).

> Ants find their way to food and back to their nest by storing and activating memory images. Snakes manage to move by using their muscles. (Global, Advanced, 126, 128, 131)

The second most common representation of nature presents nature as a source of aesthetic pleasure in 23 texts in total. These representations show that nature is good for outdoor sports and activities or as a tourist attraction. The aesthetic pleasure nature offers is derived from the pastoral or arcadian landscape where you can take refuge when you escape from the complexities and mechanical routines of modern urban life. When nature is constructed as a place to go to carry out leisure activities, nature is reduced to a place to be enjoyed just in your free time. The related words used with a high frequency in this context include *holiday, beach, popular, tourists, paradise, sunbathing, sandy, sun, spectacular views, landscape, sports and activities (climbing, skateboarding, snowboarding, swimming, skiing, wind surfing, surfing, scuba diving, kite surfing, fishing, sailing, mountain biking, trekking*, *sea kayaking, horse riding), wildlife watching and island cruises.* The controlling ideology that gives structure to this type of representation regards nature as a commodity to be consumed by tourists. As indicated in the reading passage titled *Death by Tourism: Does Tourism Ruin Everything that It Touches* in *New Headway* Upper-Intermediate, "tourism has been industrialized: landscapes, cultures, cuisines, and religions are consumer goods displayed in travel brochures." (Unit 2, p. 20). The followings are some examples to illustrate how nature is established as a source of aesthetic pleasure or pastime:

> I was actually on a windsurfing holiday in a small resort called Dahab. It is a perfect place for water sports (*Inside out*, Intermediate, Unit 8)

> We have a holiday home near a lake. So I go fishing a lot. My favourite season is autumn. I love the colors of the trees – red, gold, orange, yellow, and brown. In winter I play ice hockey and go ice-skating. In summer I go sailing. At weekends we drive to the beach to sunbathe and go windsurfing. I love summer. I like taking photographs of flowers, especially in spring (*New Headway,* Elementary, Unit 4)

> A tropical paradise located in the warm blue waters. It is surrounded by white sandy beaches. (*New Cutting Edge*, Intermediate, Module 3).

> Think about a lagoon hidden from the sea and passing boats by a high, curving wall of rock. Then imagine white sands and coral gardens never damaged by dynamite fishing or trawling nets. Fresh water falls scatter the island surrounded by jungle. […] The most spectacular views of the coast can be seen from the cliffs overlooking the bay (*Inside Out*, Intermediate, Unit 8)

> We drove through one of the driest deserts in the world. I just stared out of the window at the wonderful scenery. The sandy color of the mountains looked fantastic against the blue sky. The view is spectacular. Everybody got out and took photographs. (*New Inside out*, Intermediate, Unit 8)

> The scenery is spectacular. Here you will find peace and quiet, beautiful beaches, and perfect weather. (*New Inside Out*, Preintermediate, Unit 2)

Tourism emerges as one of the factors that lead to the degradation and commercial exploitation of nature. However, out of the 23 texts, only two texts touch on the harmful effects of tourism that impinges on the ecological system.

> Building hotels and resorts can lead to short term jobs. But they can also lead to the destruction of habitats and so of livelihoods. Precious water supplies are often diverted to the large hotels or swimming pools (*Inside Out*, Upper-intermediate, Unit 13)

> More than 600 million tourists a year now travel the globe. The tourist industry will soon be the largest industry in the world. Many places that once were remote are now part of package tours. The Mediterranean shores have a resident population of 130 million. This swells to 230 million each summer because of the tourists. […] The Mediterranean is the dirtiest sea in the whole world. (*New Headway,* Upper intermediate, Unit 2)

With the 14 texts in total, the third most frequently used representation of nature in the course books is wildness/wilderness in which nature is constituted as a place empty of human beings with no physical or emotional connection, separated from human culture and away from human civilization, thus unreachable and inaccessible. The depictions of *wild life in deserts, jungles and mountains along with wild* animal are common in this category. In wilderness**,** nature and its inhabitants, with an emphasis on unusual and dangerous species, are constructed as an alienated and unknown other that exposes the threat against which humans must defend themselves. The wild nature, demonstrated in terms of difficult geographies which we need to get out of our living spaces to reach with great difficulties, deepens the separation between human culture and nature. The textually created mental image of unpeopled and uninhabited wilderness is always reinforced by the photographs of wild life and animals as well.

As Wordsworth suggested, wild attracts. In most of the texts, wild nature is constructed as a place which is waiting for the people who are in pursuit of adventure to push the limits of human achievement further by exploring and conquering it with their skills of survival. Thus, the message implicitly given here is that nature is a place to be overcome in order to manage to survive. The activities for the ego-gratifying adventure include mountaineering and crossing a desert or ocean. The most frequently repeated words in the related texts are *achievement, hardship, difficult, impossible, madness, suffering, extreme, challenge, risk, explore and experience*.

The other striking motif the texts of wilderness foreground is the profile of the adventurers. The people who dare to embark on a trip into the heart of wilderness are white males who are guided by colored local people. Only in one text the adventurer is white-female. This sexist and racist focus is just an extension of the patriarchal and androcentric western thought which is systematically built on hierarchically established dualities which see women, colored people and nature as an inferior other who is weak and vulnerable and thus to be controlled, subordinated and dominated. Because of this ideological otherization, wild nature/environment is perceived mostly as an antagonistic force, posing a challenge with prospects of danger and mishap. The person who steps outside the civilized order of reason and rationality to face the realm of irrationality in an attempt to test or prove his strength and power against unmanageable, untamable and savage wild nature is described as "mad" or "crazy" or "lunatics" and the encounter between the conqueror/intruder and the wild nature is described as "craziness". This approach sets nature as a stage for the enactment of social or "cultural fantasies" about "freedom", "domination" and "individualism" (Caperk, 2009, 16). Below are the some examples:

> Ed Stafford became the first man in history to walk the length of the Amazon River from the source to the sea. He walked for 860 days. He went through three countries, Peru, Columbia, and Brazil. "I did it for the adventure" Cho said. When I first met Ed, I was working in the forest. I thought he was crazy. One day we were walking in a very dangerous part of the forest. When we saw a hostile tribe, they did not understand what Ed was doing there. I explained he was an adventurer. (*New Headway*, Preintermediate, Unit 3)

> Bedaire is a small island. It is completely uninhabited and can only be reached by helicopter. Day time temperature is 40 C. There are dangerous crocodiles. The island is home to different types of insects plus spiders and snakes which can be dangerous. (*New Cutting Edge*, Pre-intermediate, Module 12).

> Desert is an amazingly beautiful and spiritual place. It is also extremely dangerous. **[…]** Never ever go into the desert alone. You can experience extremes of climate. (*New Cutting Edge* Intermediate, Module 3).

> Volunteers will go and live on a remote island. The aims of the programme are to see how modern people survive. The island chosen is uninhabited. Climate is tropical. It can be reached by boat or helicopter. Participants will be given basic food supplies. They are expected to gather and hunt for food themselves. (*New Cutting Edge*, Advanced, Module 7)

> Reinhold Messner and Peter Habeler decided to attempt the ascent (the first ascent of Everest without Oxygen) without bottled oxygen. They were labeled lunatics who were placing themselves at risk of severe brain damage. […] Trekking through the deep snow was exhausting so they were forced to climb the more challenging rock ridges. […] On May 8 Messner and Habeler achieved what was believed to be impossible. (*Inside Out,* Upper-intermediate, Unit 10)

In the course books, wilderness is also promoted by the tourist industry and wrapped up in a very eye-catching package called Ecotourism to appeal to a tourist gaze. Adventure travel narratives show that ecotourism or eco-holiday take tourists away from established holiday destinations to places which are much less frequented, inaccessible to foreigners, most inhospitable places on earth to experience an extraordinary way of life. Wild nature advertised in the form of trips to deserts, jungles, canyons and mountains is marketed for tourist consumption. In the commodification process of nature, a market exchange value is attached to nature and the love of nature is abused to attract the consumers to gain economic benefits. Barbosa explains commodification as the transformation of anything, including human beings and nature, into goods or commodities that can be sold in the market (36 in ES). When the human relation to nature is based on consumption, a direct, organic relation or immanent experience becomes out of question. Only one text draws attention to the fact that ecotourism disturbs the ecological systems because of infrastructure expansion, human intervention and human consumption. Instead of fostering commercialism, course books can emphasize social, moral and environmental responsibilities.

> Cape Town sits next to the beautiful Table Mountain. Table Mountain is 1086 meters high. It is the most famous mountain in South Africa. If you visit Cape Town, you must take a cable car up to the top of the mountain. You can also go walking around the top of the mountain. The ocean near Cape Town is famous for sharks. On special adventure tours you can go diving with a great shark. (*Straighforward*, Elementary, Unit 10)

> You can experience the thrills of rock climbing. […] You will see the incredible lakes, mountains and rivers (*Straightforward*, Intermediate, Unit 6)

> You might think that the top of Mount Everest would be one of the few places that is left on our planet free from human rubbish. It is covered with the debris and litter left behind by the thousands of climbers who climbed the summit. Once climbers reach the top, they no longer needs equipment. There is no reason to carry heavy loads back. The temptation is to leave everything behind. […] The government has decided to take action. Each expedition that wants to climb the mountain has to pay a deposit. It is refunded when the climbers bring their rubbish back. Climbers are encouraged to use metal containers rather than plastic or glass. These can be crushed once they are recycled by local business which turn them into knives and forks (*Language Leader,* Upper-intermediate, Review Units 1-3)

When nature is represented as a wild space to go for adventure, nature is disabled by linguistic choices. That is, it is deprived of linguistic agency and constructed as an object to be gazed by a human eye from a distance or acted upon in a completely passive situation. Nature is made a passive receiver in the positions of a goal, receiver, recipient or a phenomenon in its relation to people. On the other hand, people, mostly white men, are constructed with a great number of material-action processes in which he directs his action to either animals or other natural entities. The predominance of material-action processes in the

construction of human in his relation to nature as a place to be conquered or controlled in their pursuit of adventure indicate his active agency and complete dominance over nature.

In the fourth place comes the representation of nature as an adversary in 11 texts in total which are concerned with natural disasters and hazards. In these texts, the hostility of nature is highlighted; nature poses danger for human's comfortable and safe life, creates troubles and gives hard times to people and thus nature needs to be strictly managed. The enmity of nature is emphasized through the descriptions of extreme weather conditions with negative adjectives such as terrible, unbearable and with the expressions of exaggeration and through the warning against extremely aggressive and dangerous animals out in nature. In these texts, people are constructed again with a great number of material-action processes. They also carry out a high number of mental processes as well to reveal how they feel about natural events. Natural disasters, on the other hand, are mentioned with no cause or human interference and human agency is constructed as a savior who takes precautions and action to prevent the degradation of nature. The key words predominantly used in the related discursive context are *extreme weather, natural disasters, climate change, shark, attack, hate, storm, scared and extreme.*

> Hurricane Katrina hit the US coast. New Orleans is still suffering from strong wind and heavy rain. Thousands of people are waiting for help. Half of the city is under water […] The green and pleasant land of England is turning brown. After two cold, dry winters and hot summers, the south-east of England is experiencing a serious drought. […] Following yesterday`s blizzards and the heavy fall of snow, the police in New Zealand are using helicopters to reach hundreds of people in the countryside. It is still very windy. Ice is causing problems for rescue teams. (*Language Leader*, Pre-intermediate, Unit 1)

> Richard Grant went on holiday with his parents and his younger brother. One day they went fishing in a small motor boat on an enormous lagoon called San Martina. After an hour the motor stopped. […] Suddenly, something moved in the water near the boat. [...] It was a big grey shark. It started knocking the boat. [...] The boat rocked from side to side. Grant's father tried to push the shark away. […] Grant's father became a local hero. 2 or 3 weeks later a local fisherman caught the shark and put it in the main square. Everybody came to see the monster and took pictures of it (New Inside Out elementary Unit 7).

> For over 2 thousand years we Have tried to understand our environment. Now we are beginning to control it as well. We are learning how to control the weather. One day we will learn to control earthquakes and volcanoes (New Headway Pre-intermediate unit 12)

Course books cover lots of things about modern life either with no reference to or with little emphasis on the fact that modern human activities risk damaging the environment, disturbing the balance in the ecosystem. Human impact on ecology cannot be ignored, erased or obscured. In the texts which are concerned with the human-induced ecological problems including climate change, global warming, endangered species, loss of biodiversity and pollution, environmental issues are often debated in such ways to ensure that human societies and human activities are never pointed out as a cause or source of environmental degradation. Natural disasters, however, are not the doings of nature alone but they are produced when human and nonhuman factors come together. Most of the texts examined in this study ignore or exclude the role of human agency that brings about ecological problems. Instead, the focus

is placed on the effects or solutions. However, without acknowledging the cause, an effective solution cannot be produced. Hence, course books should focus on the consequences of human activity on the natural environment. Since in the ecosystem everything is connected to everything else and all the parts mutually impinge on each other, we can no longer ignore our impact on nature and our environment. The following passages taken from *Straightforward*, Upper-intermediate present the same picture from two different perspectives, one is anthropocentric and the other ecocentric.

> The girl was being attacked by a shark. The aggressor was a bottlenose dolphin. The victim had been playing with friends in the sea. When they spotted the dolphin a short distance from them. the children swam out to get a closer look. They were horrified when the dolphins viciously turned on them biting the girl on the arm. On the Dorset Coast in Britain a well-known dolphin called Georges has hurt several people who have tried to play with him […] They are not the cute, cuddly animals of popular imagination. Like any other wild animal, dolphins will attack to protect their territory for their young. When they are faced with food shortages, they can become very aggressive. Recent research show that dolphins will also kill their own young. Dolphins can actually be cold-blooded killers.

In the following text, the writer reacts against the article above which claims that dolphins are killers. "I was shocked and sickened to read your article *Cold-blooded Killers*. It is yet another example of how the popular press is forever filling its pages with sensationalist stories in the belief that this is going to help them sell more newspapers. The article in question is not only insensitive, it is inaccurate" (17). This response is important to show the ideological constructedness of nature and natural entities in discourses, misfeeding and misleading our perceptions.

> Dolphins are neither dangerous nor ferocious. They are inquisitive and playful. [...] The dolphin in Florida was probably more scared than the girl who was injured. It certainly would not have meant to harm her. The tourist operators do not know how to approach these animals. They are forever scaring them with their loud engines. They are attempting to play with the youngest dolphins. Then they complain they are attacked by an anxious mother. Is it commonsense to observe wild animals at a distance? We should respect their privacy and natural habitat. These intelligent, sensitive creatures have helped and worked with people across the ages. They are actually very caring of their fellow dolphins. They will look after injured dolphins bringing them fist to eat holding them afloat on the surface until they recover. It is this side of their character that makes them ideal playmates for autistic children helping disabled children overcome their fears and handicaps. (*Straightforward,* Upper-intermediate, Unit 2)

The transitivity analyses have revealed that environmental problems and crises are introduced and explained with the high number of cases of omission of human agency in passive voices or gerunds or infinitive structures. Natural entities are assigned finite verbs to create the impression that nature deteriorates itself and this destruction is not caused but happens naturally. In the active constructions with human as an agent, it is not the individuals who are responsible for ecological crises but governments, countries or companies act as agents.

Lakes and rivers disappearing

> Oceans getting warmer
> Area of desert increasing
> Glacial ice melting
> Climate change is happening (*Global*, Pre-intermediate, Unit 4)

> Sea levels are rising. The rate of rise has increased rapidly. Polar ice has been shrinking. Environmentalists have not achieved any significant results in their fight against global warming. The retreat of sea ice is forcing the world's wild polar bear population into an unnatural fast. It threatens the species with extinction. (*Language Leader*, Upper-intermediate, Unit 2)

> Thousands of species of plants and animals will become extinct. (*Global Advanced*, Unit 2)

> Every week, a staggering 10000 square kilometers of tropical rainforest are cut down. An area of the size of France disappears every 12 months. The nation of the world, rich and poor alike continue to regard the sea as a convenient place to dump millions of tons of chemicals, sewage and industrial waste. (*Language in Use, Intermediate*, Unit 24).

> Smoke from factories and coal-fired power stations not only pollute the air but also cause chemical changes in the atmosphere which result in acid rain. 250000 square kilometers of land has turned into desert. (*Language in Use*, Intermediate, Unit 24).

> Pandas are one of the rarest animals in the world [...] There are only 500-1000 pandas surviving in the wild. The number is decreasing although they are protected. Pandas are still poached for their skins. (*Language in Use*, Intermediate, Unit 24).

> There are six species of tiger still in existence. 50 years ago tigers were common throughout much of Asia living in many different habitats from tropical forest to semi-desert. Because people thought they were dangerous, they were hunted and trapped. And tiger skins were considered very valuable. Many of their habitats were destroyed. (*Language in Use* Intermediate, Unit 24).

The endangered nature to be protected and saved by human is the fifth common representation with the 7 texts in total. Although nature is represented as exploited, and victimized, humans are not established as destroyers, exploiters or victimizers in these cases but just the opposite, they are given active agency in the role of a savior and hero who can help nature to recover. Only one text indicates the cause of the environmental crisis along the solution.

> I became interested in green issues. I started worrying about climate change. I really wanted to do something to help the planet. I talked to Hazel and my

> children and we decided to go green. Since then we have made some big changes to our life. First we sold our car. We have all got bikes now. We have stopped eating meat. We started eating more vegetables. We do not go to the supermarket but we buy and eat food from local farmers. I grow a lot of vegetables in the garden (*New Inside Out*, Pre-intermediate, Review, p. 86).

> If it is not very far, walk or cycle. Leave the car at home. Have a shower instead of a bath. Do not buy furniture made from tropical hardwoods (*Language in Use,* Intermediate, Unit 24).

Double the price of petrol. Put a tax on plastic bags. Ban the import of tropical hardwoods.

> Fines imposed on companies convicted of polluting the environment are insufficient. The criticism comes after yesterday's decision by Redford Magistarates to fine Ambrain Water Authority £15,000 for allowing sewage to leak into Lake Carston last year. The leakage killed a large proportion of the lake's wildlife as well as making it unfit for water sports. […] The Sewage had overflowed from a blocked sewer causing the death of the lake's entire fish population, frogs and other wild life. Jerry Wexford called for tougher penalties for organizations found guilty of causing pollution. He urged courts to increase fines and impose prison sentences on company officials who are shown to be negligent. Larger fines would pay for the costs of clean-up operations. Jail sentences would serve as an encouragement to businesses to prevent such incidents occurring again. (*Straightforward*, Advanced, Unit 2).

The other fifth most common representation with the same number of texts as those about nature to be saved includes the personification of the non-human. Course books are full of texts which describe animals in human terms with the focus mostly placed on pets, which discloses the fact that the representations of the animals are also influenced by the dominant anthropocentric approach in the western world. When animals are represented as pets, they are reduced to an object to be possessed, to be liked or hated. They are valued for the usefulness of the services they provide or for their likeness to humans with desirable qualities and abilities. In the texts in which human qualities are assigned to animals, animals are represented prominently in relational processes and they are identified with the abilities they have or described by the attributes assigned to them with adjectives including intelligent, clean, friendly, nice, beautiful, awful, ugly, stupid, dirty and unfriendly. In other cases, animals attain agency to carry out material-action processes but to provide services for humans. People, on the other hand, are constructed not with the predominance of material-action processes but with mental processes which reveal that people's subjective attitudes and feelings toward animals/nature depend on to what extent they can be made use of and whether they possess desirable human qualities. In this case, animals are discursively positioned as the phenomenon of mental processes of affection including like, dislike, love, love, prefer or the objects of the adjective + preposition collocations like keen on, terrified of, fond of, stand.

> People use dogs for defence, for carrying things, for transport and even for food. […] In many parts of the world, people use dogs as companions and pets in the home. (*Global*, Elementary, Unit 3)

> Cats are friendly/smart/intelligent (*Global,* Pre-intermediate, Unit 8)

> Cats are lazy animals (*New Cutting Edge*, Elementary, Module 11)

> Cats are very popular animals for the home. People like cats because cats are clean. Cats don't need to go for a walk every day. Some people hate cats. Cats have a reputation as unfriendly animals. (*Global*, Elementary, Unit 3)

> Many dogs work for human doing jobs like helping the blind, helping the police to find drugs and racing. (*New Cutting Edge*, Elementary, Module 11)

> He (The most famous working dog Rin Tin Tin) earned his money. He made 50 films and earned about 44000 dollars for each one (*New Cutting Edge*, Elementary, Module 11)

> Richard is interested in wild birds.
> I am particularly Keen on horses.
> Harry is fond of all insects. (*New Inside Out*, Pre-Intermediate, Unit 11)

The representation that directly reduces nature to an object of direct gaze to be seen, watched and photographed comes in the sixth place with the 6 texts. In most cases male human agency is established with a high number of material-action processes and mental processes of perception in which he directs his action to either animals or other natural entities, which indicate his active agency and complete control over nature. Nature is deprived of agency and constructed as a passive receiver as a goal, recipient or phenomenon.

> The Kruger National Park covers 20000 square kilometers. It is the largest wildlife park in South Africa, a wonderful place to see animals in their natural home. You can drive through the park in your own car, and look at lions, zebras, giraffes, elephants and crocodiles (*Language in Use*, Beginner, Unit 19)

> Miguel is a wildlife photographer. He travelled all over the world and took photographs of nature and animals. He visited animal parks in Malaysia and Borneo and he camped in Alaska to watch bears. He took the photos of active volcanoes in Hawaii and he went by boat to film the hippopotamuses in Zimbabwe. (*Global*, Elementary, Unit 9).

The least frequently used representation of nature in the course books is constructed around renewable or unrenewable energy sources as the provider of human needs.

> Biomass is a renewable plant source that can be used to produce heat and electricity (*Global*. Intermediate, Unit 3)

> Fuel for cars comes from sugar cane. (*Global*. Intermediate, Unit 3)

> The age-old power of the sun is revolutionizing the lives of some of the poorest people. The sun is capable of producing enough power to fuel energy consumption […] Power of the sun that gave life to our planet can be its salvation. (*Global*, Advanced, Unit 2)

> Fossil fuels such as coal, gas, and oil are being used up. Governments are keen to find alternative sources of energy that do not emit carbon dioxide. […] Renewable energy sources include solar, wave and wind power. The UK government is keen to use these sources of power and hopes to generate some of its energy needs from renewable sources. (*Language Leader*, Upper-intermediate, Unit 2)

In conclusion, linguistic and discursive representations of nature and related categories condition the way that we interact with nature, and what we do about ecology depends on our ideas of the man-nature relationship. Rather than reinforcing the established systems and existing ideologies which have given rise to ecological problems, ELT course books should promote clear environmental messages and ecological ethics. Course books can make a difference with ecologically friendly and sensitive coverage by addressing green agenda to foster environmentally friendly behavioural change and low-impact life-styles. They can include reading and listening passages along with speaking and writing activities concerning how to attain more sustainable lives and a greener future. Course books need to be designed to encourage heightened attentiveness to our place in the natural world as an equal partner and to develop intimacy with our environment. Language learners can be made more sensitive to our exploitative, wasteful, cruel approaches and treatments of nature if enough attention is devoted to natural degradation and deterioration of the environment in course books. Instead of filling the pages with the images of wild nature and wild animals, a more holistic and inclusive vision of a universe can be brought to attention with the emphasis placed on the idea that the human and the natural should coexist, cooperate and flourish in the biosphere. Rather than the separation, the interdependence and interconnection between the human and the non-human should be foregrounded with the focus on the value of nature and species in their own right but not independently of humanity.

References

Clandfield, Lindsay and Benne, Rebecca Robb. (2011). *Global*. Elementary. Macmillian.

Clandfield, Lindsay and Benne, Rebecca Robb. (2011). *Global*. Pre-Intermediate. Macmillian.

Clandfield, Lindsay and Benne, Rebecca Robb. (2011). *Global*. Intermediate. Macmillian.

Clandfield, Lindsay and Benne, Rebecca Robb. (2011). *Global*. Upper-Intermediate. Macmillian.

Clandfield, Lindsay and Benne, Rebecca Robb. (2011). *Global*. Advanced. Macmillian.

Cunningham, Sarah and Moor, Peter. (2005). *New Cutting Edge*. Elementary. Pearson: Longman.

Cunningham, Sarah and Moor, Peter. (2005). *New Cutting Edge*. Pre-Intermediate. Pearson: Longman.
Cunningham, Sarah and Moor, Peter. (2005). *New Cutting Edge*. Intermediate. Pearson: Longman.
Cunningham, Sarah and Moor, Peter. (2005). New Cutting Edge. Upper-Intermediate. Pearson: Longman.
Cunningham, Sarah and Moor, Peter. (2010). New Cutting Edge. Advanced. Pearson: Longman.
Doff, Adrian and Hones, Christopher (1999). *Language in Use*. Beginner. Cambridge University Press.
Doff, Adrian and Hones, Christopher (2001). *Language in Use*. Pre-Intermediate. Cambridge University Press.
Doff, Adrian and Hones, Christopher (2001). *Language in Use*. Intermediate. Cambridge University Press.
Doff, Adrian and Hones, Christopher (1997). *Language in Use*. Upper-Intermediate. Cambridge University Press.
Jones, Ceri, and Bastow, Tania. (2007). *Inside Out*. Beginner. Macmillan.
Jones, Ceri, and Bastow, Tania. (2007). *Inside Out*. Elementary. Macmillan.
Jones, Ceri, and Bastow, Tania. (2009). *Inside Out.* Intermediate. Macmillan.
Jones, Ceri, and Bastow, Tania. (2008). *Inside Out*. Pre-Intermediate. Macmillan.
Jones, Ceri, and Bastow, Tania. (2008). *Inside Out*. Upper-Intermediate. Macmillan.
Kerr, Phillip. (2007). *Straightforward.* Beginner. Macmillan.
Kerr, Phillip. (2006). *Straightforward.* Elementary. Macmillan.
Kerr, Phillip. (2005). *Straightforward.* Pre-Intermediate. Macmillan.
Kerr, Phillip. (2006). *Straightforward.* Intermediate. Macmillan.
Kerr, Phillip. (2007). *Straightforward.* Upper-Intermediate. Macmillan.
Kerr, Phillip. (2008). *Straightforward.* Advanced. Macmillan.
Lebeau, Ian and Rees, Gareth. (2008, 2011). *Language Leader*. Elementary. Pearson. Longman: Essex, England.
Lebeau, Ian and Rees, Gareth. (2008, 2011). *Language Leader*. Pre-Intermediate. Pearson, Longman: Essex, England.
Lebeau, Ian and Rees, Gareth. (2008, 2011). *Language Leader*. Intermediate. Pearson, Longman: Essex, England.
Lebeau, Ian and Rees, Gareth. (2008, 2011). *Language Leader*. Upper-Intermediate. Pearson, Longman: Essex, England.
Soars, John and Soars, Liz. (1995). *New Headway.* Elementary. Oxford University Press.
Soars, John and Soars, Liz. (2012). *New Headway.* Pre-intermediate. Oxford University Press.
Soars, John and Soars, Liz. (1996). *New Headway.* Intermediate. Oxford University Press.
Soars, John and Soars, Liz. (1998). *New Headway.* Pre-intermediate. Oxford University Press.
Barbosa, Luiz C. (2009). "Theories in Environmental Sociology." In Kenneth A Gould and Tammy L. Lewis (Eds.). *Twenty Lessons in Environmental Sociology.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Busse, Beatrix. (2006). "(Historical) Ecolinguistics and Literary Analysis." G. Catrin and S. Mayer (Eds.). *Nature in Literary and Cultural Studies: Transatlantic Conversations on Ecocriticism* (pp. 131-154). London: Rodopi.
Caperk, Stella M. (2009). "The Social Constrruction of Nature of Computers, Butterflies, Dogs, and Trucks." Kenneth A Gould and Tammy L. (Eds.). *Twenty Lessons in Environmental Sociology.* Lewis. New York: Oxford University Press.

Clark, Timothy. (2011). *The Cambridge Introduction to Literature and the Environment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coates, Peter. (1998). *Nature: Western Attitudes since Ancient Times.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis.* London: Longman.

Fairclough, Norman. & Wodak, R. (1997). "Critical Discourse Analysis." In T. Van Dijk (Ed). *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (pp. 258-284). Volume 2. London: Sage.

Glotfelty, C. And H. Fromm. (Eds). (1996). *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Pres.

Gould, Kenneth A. and Lewis, Tammy L. (2009). *Twenty Lessons in Environmental Sociology.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Haq Gary and Alistair Paul. (2012). *Environmentalism Since 1945.* London: Routledge.

Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Luke, Timothy W. (1997). *Ecocritique: Contesting The Politics of Nature, Economy, and Culture.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Pres.

Soper, Kate. (2000). *What is Nature? Culture, Politics and the Non-Human.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Wodak, Ruth. (2001). "What CDA is About: A Summary of Its History, Important Concepts and Its developments." In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (Eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp.1-13). Sage Publication: London.

Worster, Donald. (1993). *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination.* New York: Oxford University Press.

„TWO SCHOOLS UNDER ONE ROOF“ AS A FACTOR OF DETERMINING THE ATTITUDES AND INTERRELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

Anela Hasanagić, Assistant Professor, International University of Sarajevo

Izet Pehlić, Assistant Professor, University of Zenica

Almira Isić, Assistant Professor, University of Zenica

Abstract
In Bosnia-Herzegovina there is a phenomenon „two schools under one roof,“ which actually means that children attend schooling in one building, but they are divided not according to the abilities, mental and physical characteristics, but according to their nationality. Croats go in school according to the curriculum of Croatia, and Bosniaks, according to the curriculum of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That segregation is overwhelmed in every single part of World, but in Bosnia-Herzegovina it started to be practiced as a result of unfortunate war (1992-1995). Therefore, this paper will analyze the relationship between national identity, nationalism and segregation in schools. The method used predominantly in this paper is basic theoretical analysis. As a result of our analysis it can be concluded that segregation in schools based on extreme national identification foster youth generation gap and increased hate and intolerance. Actually, segregation in schools inevitably leads to the strengthening of extreme national aspirations of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats but at the same time it also contribute towards social segregation.

Keywords: National Identity, Nationalism and Segregation

Historical Background of “two schools under one roof”
Bosnia-Herzegovina is often associated with various socio-political controversies, and one of them is the existence, or rather, widely spread phenomenon known as the "two schools under one roof." This phenomenon re-emerged in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time when the entire humanity is striving to create the world free from the segregation and apartheid. “Two schools under one roof” refers to a form of segregation whereby the education of pupils from the two ethnic groups, Bosniaks and Croats happens in the same building, but they are physically separated from each other, and often with a separate entrance to the school building. To understand the idea of "two schools under one roof" it is necessary to give a brief insight into the historical developments that contributed towards its emergence and societal acceptance. In 1995, after signing of Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) there was a tendency of the people who were exiled from their homes to return back. Prior to their return they were living in ethnically pure villages and towns across Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this regard, FBiH made significant efforts towards the re-establishment of a multi-ethnic society. Efforts were made towards the re-integration of all aspects of society such as health, economy and somehow the most painful, the education. “Two schools under one roof” was a direct consequence of the Bosniak-Croatian conflict (1992-1994) and the creation of the self-proclaimed Croatian para-state of Herceg-Bosna.

Croats in the Federation opposed the integration of education as they were afraid that they will thereby lose their national identity and as a result they will be gradually assimilated into Bosniak majority. On the other hand, the Bosniaks opposed separation because they were concerned with possible disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whereby the education system could be misused for the achievement of such purpose. As a compromise, *The Peace Implementation Council* (PIC) has called on the Federal Ministry of Education to implement the unification of the two schools under one roof."

According to Davidson (2005) and Powell (2009) "These schools have emerged the year 2000th as the International Community try to make refugee returns more attractive." Since the decision of people to return to their pre-war places of residence largely depended on the access to education, the international community has supported the creation of two schools under one roof. It was supposed to be a short-term measure, but now there are about 50 such schools. Perhaps, the creators of this idea had noble intention as to create two institutions that operate within the same school building, where each national group could study their own curriculum. Often these schools have separate entrances, they are two separate legal entities, with two teachers' council, whereby any possible interaction among school teachers and students was prevented.

Powel (2009) argued that "two schools under one roof are actually two administratively separate schools with two directors and a special curriculum, but in one building. These schools are ethnically divided and designed for students of different ethnic backgrounds as they do not get close to each other (OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2007). In addition, the national law specifies that constituent peoples have a right on their own language that everybody can learn their history and that everyone is "among their own." Such laws had an aim of protecting the national interests, and the Constitutional Court decides to legalize it through the name of vital national interests. (http://www.oscebih.org). Vital national interests of constituent peoples are defined as follows: the rights of constituent peoples to be adequately represented in the legislative, executive and judicial authorities; the identity of one of the constituent nationalities; constitutional amendments; organization of public authorities; equal rights of constituent peoples in the decision-making process; education, religion, language, culture, traditions and cultural heritage; territorial organization; public information system; and other issues which would be treated as a matter of vital national interest, if it so considered to be 2/3 of one of the caucuses of the constituent peoples in the Parliament of BiH.

The existence of this system of "two schools under one roof" in direct violation of the *Law Against Discrimination*, which defines discrimination as: "any differential treatment, including any exclusion, restriction or preference based on real or assumed by any person or group of persons ..." on the basis of their personal characteristics / identity. This law distinguishes between direct ("intentional") discrimination, indirect (" hidden") discrimination, harassment, sexual harassment, mobbing, segregation, instruction to discrimination, incitement to discrimination as a form of discrimination. Thereof, considering the above-mentioned legal principles education segregation is by the definition a form of discrimination.

In the case of "two schools under one roof" it is obvious that there is the segregation or separation of students based on national affiliation and ethnicity. Already with the enrollment of students in the first grade of elementary school, classes are formed on the basis of ethnicity, where the children belong. "Mixed marriages" (although most mixed marriages, made up of men and women), while the term "mixed" means couple communities made of two people from different ethnic groups or religions, children choose which school to go to,

or to which the curriculum and the program they want to attend primary school. These classes are mono or roughly ethnically clean. In these classes children speak and learn Croatian, Bosnian, or Serbian language, history and geography, so-called national subjects.

In the beginning, in the direction of integration, the educators began to talk about the common core of the curriculum, in terms of identifying common themes that pupils could study together and to isolate the contents that are not the same. However, in the institution that operates under the name of "two schools under one roof" there were some common themes but they were not studying by the pupils in the multi-ethnic class-environment. So-called national subjects, including history, language, geography and religion were yet made unique for each constituent peoples just to show that the children really need to be separated because they are different.

The study, which aimed to analyze textbooks of national subjects, proved that the textbooks that are used in schools do not contribute to the development of tolerance and reconciliation, which is essential. According to Husremovic et. al. (2007)

> "... The dominant impression is that textbooks national subjects and religious education, essentially mono-ethnic and multicultural society disliked. This encourages segregation of students and supports segregation of the entire society, which directly violate the regulations and a platform for education reform, as well as principles of international conventions relevant to the educational sphere."

For over thirteen years, the Bosnia-Herzegovina the authorities have not been able to resolve this problem. On the April 27, 2012 the Municipal Court in Mostar made the decision to cancel the practice of "two schools under one roof," arguing that the practice of separating children along the ethnic lines is recognized as discrimination. According to the law on non-discrimination, it is necessary to work on the elimination of the phenomenon, which brought about only the administrative changes, in the sense that it comes to the integration of the administrative work of the school, one director and one vice-director (one of which is a Bosniak, Croat and others), one of the teachers' council, but divisions among pupils remained mono-ethnic.

The exception, to some extent, makes Brčko District, in which most of the children attend classes together, while national group of courses children attend both, together and separately. Therefore, this system is not perfect because of the complicated structure and demands that are placed in front of pupils, parents and teachers, but at the same time this model allows children to spend great deal of time together in the classroom, no matter according to which curriculum they study (Brkic and Brkic, 2013). In many other schools, which have not begun to use similar multiethnic or multicultural model, classes are ethnically pure, although in some areas, particularly in integrated schools, there is a fluctuation of teachers (the same teachers teach according to both programs or curriculums), children hang in the form of sports competitions, disco nights and excursions. However, a non-working day and holidays are not common, the departments are not mixed, so that the first class has already formed an awareness of who is a Bosniak and who is a Croat.

Interesting is the way in which children in the early school period interpret differences between Bosniaks and Croats, with a lot of emotional charge (unfortunately negative) upon only mentioning ‘the other.’ Some even mentioned that they had the best time in school for Eid, because there were no Bosniak pupils around and that is why it is peaceful and quiet. Others, again, say that Croats have no clue about football, etc. Therefore, during early period of schooling children become aware much more about social differences than about similarities.

National identity vs. Nationalism

The educators and literature scholars often research about ethnic identity. In this regard, the conception of ethnocentrism, as a sense of belonging to one nation, can occur in two basic forms: nationalism and patriotism (Bell, 1989). The feeling of belonging to a social group is a part and of human social and biological beings. According to Such (2000) national identity emerged during the development of nationalities, and later the nation, and during the process of its development community (mostly multiracial) that often remained in the same territory, spoke the same language and were a part of a common culture and a certain uniform psychological system personality. The national identity means awareness of belonging to a particular ethnic group, which includes the existence of shared beliefs, values and goals. The national identity has existed since the beginning of humanity, everywhere there is the cultural and ethnic diversity as evidenced by archaeological findings and material culture, and many written documents and the overall historical development, and everywhere we find the cultural and ethnic diversity (Aljević, 2010). Eventually, ethnic or national identity is changing, adapting and creating their interrelations with other similar and national identities.

This awareness that people belong to as a social group meets our social needs, in the way that we feel comfortable because we are "one of them." In this regard, people develop positive feelings towards everything that is the embodiment of the state, or the nation, such as symbols, flag and anthem. The changes in the national identity depends on the socio-political events in the country, that is, the spirit of the times in which a particular group of people live. By the 1990s, those who grew up in the spirit of Yugoslavia, who enthusiastically sang and stood up to the "Hey Slaveni" crawled our skin to look at the flag and emblem. After the war the new country, Bosnia-Herzegovina, was created. Bosnian national identity sometimes is not so much related to Bosnia-Herzegovina due to diverse sub-national identities. This is not the case in other countries, where citizens accept common national identity while at the same time they cherish sub-national, ethnic and religious identities.

There are three models that attempt to explain national identity. According to the theory of social identity the identity of every person implies the existence of social identity which derives from an individual belonging to different groups. National identity is a part of social identity based on a sense of belonging to a national group, to the nation. Only group membership helps developing a sense of belonging as by developing positive self-concept, through a positive evaluation of the group. But when membership in a particular group does not bring these benefits, but develops the opposite effect (decrease of confidence, loss of self-worth, etc.) we can talk about the negative social identity. This identity can be developed when living as a minority in contact with the majority group in which individual develops low self-esteem among members of minority groups because the individual is perceived as a part of inferior groups. There are two ways to get rid of negative national identity. *The first way* is to discard the current social identity and the transition to the dominant group, with obvious negative psychological consequences. Also it is impossible to do if you have solid group boundaries (e.g., gender, race). *Another way* to resolve the negative social identity is retaining the existing identity and developing mechanisms "defense" of its own group through the development of pride within the group (for example ethnic groups in the comparison with other ethnic groups, therefore generally comparing the minority, not the dominant group in a way that the outcome of the comparison is positive, select those groups who are known to have a characteristic that is worse or has a negative connotation, while in our own group that features " strong "or positive) (Taifel and Turner, 1986).

According to the model of acculturation, acculturation refers to the changes in attitudes, values and behavior of the holder of two or more different cultures as a result of

their interaction. When analyzing the changes that occur due to prolonged contact members of different ethnic groups with the dominant culture, we start from two different theoretical models. One is a *linear / bipolar* model that assumes that the ethnic identity and acculturation are mutually exclusive, meaning that a stronger involvement of the wider community weaken ethnic identity and vice versa. *Two-dimensional model* assumes that an individual may be independently linked to their own, minority and dominant culture. According to the degree of identification with the minority and the dominant group distinguishes four types of orientation (Phinney, 1990). *Biculturalism* refers to a strong identification with both cultures. This orientation refers to people who accept their origin and nurture this relationship and at the same time to the same extent accept and appreciate the culture in which they live (which is dominant). *Assimilation* is a strong identification with the dominant and weak with its own culture. *Separation* is a strong identification with their own, and weak with the dominant culture. Such orientation is found in ghettoized culture. *The marginalization* of the weak identification with any culture.

The root of the developmental theories is Ericson's theory of identity formation, but it was furthermore based on Phinney (1990) who applies it to describe the development of ethnic identity, in which cites three phases: diffuse identity (there are people who have never explored ethnic identity, the stage at which it occurs preference of the dominant culture), research phase (where the individual develops awareness of their own group through participation in cultural events, reading, informing) and internalization phase (understanding of their own ethnicity, which only partly involves the application of certain cultural and national traditions).

Segregation in Schools and Nationalism

National identity is, if it is a positive and well-developed, certainly a contributing factor to the individual in society feels better, to feel accepted and loved, to feel like one of them all, however, there is a very thin line between national identity and nationalism, particularly when talking about the Bosnian conditions. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the development of national identity means actually encouraging diversity. Specifically, in this region the members of different religions lived side-by-side, who had a sort of "sub-identity" but under the aegis of the national identity. Today these "sub-identities" becomes identities that in no way can contribute to the re-development of tolerance and understanding in these areas. National identity in our circumstances implies a strong cohesion within their own nation, and hatred, or at least intolerance and tendency towards segregation of others. Such policy only fuels situation created by the war, feeding the development of nationalism, unhealthy national identity.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, people overall do not have the feeling that all citizens belong to one country and that Bosnia should be accepted and experienced as their own country. Here people usually live as tenants as they try to build a national identity based on national identity from the foreign countries and therefore there is a sense of belonging somewhere else. In this regard, the very separation in which people participate and do not mix with others can be eliminated gradually. Certainly there is a way out from something called ethnocentrism. The studies that have been made in Bosnia-Herzegovina over the past 15 years, since there is a phenomenon of segregation in schools, clearly show that they are actually contributing to the development of nationalism, not a healthy national identity. For instance Numanović (2012) in his study applied content analysis to media sections on the phenomenon of "two schools under one roof," and he stated:

> two schools under one roof' legacy of nationalist ideology of the early nineties. After the war events 1992 - 1995 Bosnian society remained deeply divided and nationalistic policies conflict shifted to the institutional level. Education is profiled according to ethno-national matrices, students were separated by nationality of their parents from one another - all with the aim of raising cultural conflict, in order to reproduce the nationalistic values whose holders tomorrow would be right now educated students.

Herewith the author argues this education system creates recruits for future wars and it creates people who express openly chauvinism and nationalism towards those that appear to be different. Then, Kosanović (2003) argued that there is a significant correlation between national identity and social distance, which in translation means that people with highly distinctive national identity have a tendency to avoid people from other nations, or have a tendency to isolation from others.

Textbook policy and the curricula that are applied within the national group of subjects also support the development of nationalism (Husremović et al, 2007). *UNICEF Report* on segregation in schools argues that most of the students during their schooling was subjected to mockery and teasing that had a national character. Also, when it comes to attitudes about the divided education, *UNICEF Report* stated:

> Most of the participants in the conversations were for a joint attendance, or the school in which pupils were enrolled, regardless of their nationality. Moreover, they felt that this type of education has a lot of advantages over the ethnically homogeneous environment, to better prepare children for life in a society such as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and this is a children's enrichment of their experience. There are significant differences between different communities, and noticed in Sarajevo most positive attitude towards integration, and lowest in the area of the Prozor / Rama. Interesting there is a positive correlation between attitudes towards integration of minorities and the majority population, as well as the fact that a positive attitude towards the integration of the educational system largely pronounced in cases and areas where there is a greater representation of different ethnic groups. Also, examples of parents' views regarding the integrated education shows that this issue is complex and that the perception of the problem varies, that range from non-recognition of the problem to the fear of assimilation.

Concluding Remarks

This paper was originally designed as an empirical work, with the aim of testing and comparison of national identity of the children who attend separate schools in relation to children who attend multinational schools and departments. Unfortunately, we did not get the consent of the relevant ministries to implement such an investigation on the grounds that there are no such schools, but that the existing integrated schools, with mono-ethnic divisions. In fact, it is said, "Do not touch the sleeping dogs lie," but the question is, is the dog really sleepy or the problem is in a state of incubation, to be hatched in the true light of the nationalist generation raised for intolerance and hatred towards those who are not as he is. "Feelings of national belonging and identity are certainly positive feelings. They should not

be suppressed but in multiethnic communities should be approached cautiously. These feelings cannot be manipulated, especially when children are involved. "

References

Aljević M. 2010. „Nacionalni identitet u Evropskoj uniji," *ANALI Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta u Zenici, BiH*, no. 7.

„Dvije škole pod jednim krovom." 2012. *Studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju Centar za ljudska prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu Asocijacija Alumni Centra za interdisciplinarne postdiplomske studije (ACIPS)*, Sarajevo.

Husremović, Dž. 2007. *Obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini: Čemu učimo djecu? Analiza sardžaja udžbenika nacionalne grupe predmeta*. Fond otvoreno društvo Bosna i Hercegovina.

Kosanović D. 2003. "Nacionalni identitet i socijalna distance studenata hrvatske, bošnjačke i srpske nacionalnosti." Diplomski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Zagreb

Numanović, A. 2012. "Reprezentacija fenomena 'dvije škole pod jednim krovom' u bosanskohercegovačkim štampanim medijima." *Dvije škole pod jednim krovom: studija o segregaciji u obrazovanju* (str. 181- 217). Sarajevo: Centar za ljudska prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu; ACIPS.

Petar Korunić. 2003. „Nacija i nacionalni identnitet." *Zgodovinski časopis.* 57.

Phinney, J. S. 1990. „Ethnic identity in adolescent and adults: review of research." *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, pp. 499 – 514.

„Podijeljene škole u BiH." 2009. *UNICEF Report*.

Powel S. 2009. „Podijeljeno obrazovanje, podijeljeni građani?" *Pro MENTE, social research*. Sarajevo, BiH,

Such J. 2000. „Nacionalni identitet naspram europskog identiteta." *Politička misao*. Vol XXXVII, No. 4, pp. 83–88.

Swimelar S. 2012. "Education in Post War Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity, and Nationalism." *Ethnopolitics.*

Taifel, H. and Turner, J. C. 1986. „The social identity theory of intergroup behavior." In Worchel, S. and Austin, W.G. (Eds.) *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson - Hall Publishers, pp. 7-24.

Turjačanin V. 2009. "Podijeljene škole u BiH." *UNICEF Report.*

„Zakon o zabrani segregacije." *Sl.Glasnik BiH*, No. 59-09.

Zvonarević M. 1989. *Socijalna psihologija*. Školska knjiga Zagreb.

PART II

Sociology and Social Psychology

STEREOTYPING AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC WRITING STYLE

Marija PERICIC, English Language Teacher

Deakin University

Abstract
Various studies have linked differences in academic writing style: including grammar, organizational structures and argument construction, to cultural origin. Anglo academic writing has been described as being more dialogic than academic writing produced in non-Anglo cultures. In this paper I will outline some of the characteristics of Anglo academic writing that render it more dialogic than academic writing from other cultures. I will then go on to discuss various writing characteristics against cultural factors that can lead to cross-cultural differences in this area, before going on to discuss broader theories for cultural difference in communication. I will then explore some models of classifying cultural difference and academic writing style, including those by Johan Galtung and Robert Kaplan, which are often based on thinking style. This paper argues that cultural differences in academic writing style are firmly rooted in history, educational traditions and grammatical structures, and that attempts to categorize cultural writing styles based on cultural differences in thinking styles may lead to cultural stereotyping. The paper also stresses the need for these cultural differences in academic writing styles to be incorporated into English for Academic Purposes curricula.

Keywords: Education, Academic Writing, Cultural Difference, Stereotypes, International Students.

Cultural difference is pervasive and ever-present, yet at the same time it is invisible. People rarely speak explicitly about cultural difference, outside the context of inter-cultural communications. Most of the time, many experiences to do with cultural differences will go unnoticed, apart from generating a feeling of discomfort. For example, consider speaking distance. This is something that varies considerably between cultures, but it is not something that people really talk about. I grew up in an Anglo culture, in Australia, where speaking distance is about a metre, or an arm's length. So, in conversation with an Anglo person, they will stand, and expect you to stand, about a metre away, if you are face to face. If an Australian person visits another country with a different speaking distance; say China, or India; or is speaking to a person from one of those countries, both of the conversation partners will have a slightly uncomfortable experience. The Australian person will feel that their personal space is being invaded, and will surreptitiously back away from their conversation partner. They will feel threatened and uncomfortable. The Chinese person will wonder why the other person is walking away from them, and will take a step closer. So both the Chinese and the Australian person are feeling uncomfortable. Most of the time, neither of them will be aware of these cultural conventions, and even if they are, it will still be an uncomfortable experience, because cultural conventions are very difficult to unlearn.

Cultural conventions extend to all aspects of life, from everyday interactions, like speaking distance, to something as highly formalized as academic writing style. Studies by various researchers, such as Johan Galtung, (1981), John Hinds (1987), Michael Clyne (1987), Anna Mauranen (1993) among others (Čmejrková 2007; Hyland 2006; Qi &Lui 2007) have linked differences in academic writing style to cultural origin. These differences in style include differences in grammar, organizational structures and argument construction. Again, like speaking distance, differences in academic writing style are something that a lot of the time, no one is going to tell you about. This can be a huge problem for international students, who, along with learning another language, must also adjust to another academic writing style.

Despite the link between culture and academic writing conventions, some commentators, such as H. G. Widdowson (1979),Carol Berkenkotter (1990) and T. N. Huckin (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995) are of the view that academic disciplinary differences have more of an effect on academic style than culture. Others, like Zosia Golebiowski and John Liddicoat (2002), are situated between these two extremes, arguing that academic writers are not influenced entirely by either their cultural background or by their academic community, but that each falls somewhere between these two poles. Although the stylistic conventions of different academic disciplines does account for some variations in writing style, in this paper I am concerned only with potential cultural differences in academic writing.

In this paper I'd like to discuss some of the cultural differences in academic writing style. I will start by looking at Anglo academic writing, some of its features, and the historical background that may have led to these features becoming ingrained in the writing culture. I will then go to examine some notable stylistic differences in academic writing in some other cultures, then look at some problems that can be caused by these differences. Finally, I would like to suggest some applications for these cultural difference in the English for Academic Purposes classroom.

Anglo academic writing; from Britain, the United States and Australia, has often been described as being more dialogic than academic writing from other cultures. The term "dialogic" can be understood two ways, and Anglo academic writing fits in to both of these. The meaning of "dialogic" is its general non-specialized usage, where it refers simply to discourse that is like a dialogue. Anglo academic writing is dialogic in this sense, and it contains not one, but two dialogues: one between the writer and the reader, and the other between the writer and other texts. Anglo academic writing differs from academic writing from other cultures in this regard.

The second understanding of "dialogic" is related to Mikhail Bakhtin's use of the term. Rather than using the term "dialogic" as simply to refer to a dialogue or conversation, Bakhtin uses "dialogic" in a more complicated, though related, way. Bakhtin argues that all utterances exist on a continuum ranging from dialogic to monologic. Monologic utterances exist as an absolute truth: a centralized, isolated speaking voice that cannot be challenged. Dialogism, on the other hand, involves multiplicity. In dialogism, a variety of often contradictory voices are heard, and there is constant interaction between these voices, as each affects the meaning of the other. In effect, in Bakhtin's dialogic, no utterance is ever spoken in a vacuum (Bakhtin, 1981). Despite the fact that Bakhtin's theories were developed in relation to reading fiction texts, they have been applied to education theory (Moraes, 1996, pp. 102-106), and are also useful when considering cultural differences in academic writing.

Anglo writing can be seen to conform to Bakhtin's notion of the dialogic, particularly when considering the dialogue it engages in between the writer and other texts. The Anglo academic writing convention of critically engaging with other texts in the field, and the deconstruction of opinions and points of view (in some disciplines) makes this style of academic writing more dialogic than writing that does not critically engage with other works.

This may be an echo of the preferred Western educational style, which tends to be more dialogic, in that it is more communicative and invites dissent and interrogation. This is quite different to the educational style of Confucian countries (Paxton, 2007, p. 100; McGowan & Lightbody, 2008 p. 25).

The dialogic nature of Anglo academic writing can be better understood if it is viewed against its historical context. John Swales, in his paper "Research Articles in English", gives an overview of the development of the modern English scientific research article, tracing it back to the mid-1600s, where it began with the very first periodical: *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1990, 110-111). *Philosophical Transactions* had its genesis in letters written by early scientists to each other about their discoveries.

This origin can be clearly seen in the first-person point of view of these early research articles, which even, at times, commenced with the salutation, "Sir" (Swales, 1990, 110). The epistolary origin of academic articles is still evident in some of the Anglo stylistic conventions of academic writing that remain today. What quite literally began as a dialogue between members of an academic community, in Anglo culture at least still retains many dialogic markers. I'd first like to discuss the dialogue between the writer and other texts.

This form of academic dialogue is played out in the Anglo tradition of academics discussing and critiquing each other's works in publications, with a heavy use of direct references to other texts. Such reference to other works in the field is an important aspect of encouraging the debate that forms a central point of Anglo academic discourse (Melander, 1998, 215; Galtung, 1981, p. 823). Modern Anglo academic writing contains highly formalized conventions when discussing ideas of other academics, in the form of fixed referencing styles. Anglo academic writing also tends to contain more references to other works compared with writing from other cultures (Mauranen, 2006, p. 44; Hyland, 2005, p. 117). Anna Mauranen has compared Anglo research writing Finnish writing, and found that Finns tend to use fewer text references (Mauranen, 2006, p. 44). Similarly, Joel Bloch and Lan Chicompared Chinese and American academic writing, with similar results, finding that Chinese academic writers used fewer references to other texts (1995, p. 233).

In addition to differences in the number of citations used between Chinese and Anglo academic writing, various commentators (Bloch & Chi, 1995; Chiang, 2008) have pointed out further distinctions in the way that academic writers from these two cultures make use of these citations. Whereas a primary purpose of using citations in Anglo writing is in order to debate with other writers and critique their work (Melander, 1998, 215), as I've mentioned, Chinese use of citations tends to have a less dialogic function. It has been well documented that Chinese engagement with other texts tends to be less directly critical than the Anglo writing (Chiang, 2008, p. 41; Bloch & Chi, 1995, p. 235). An example of this is Chinese writers using vague terms when critiquing work, such referring to individuals as "some researchers", rather than using names (Chiang, 2008, p. 41).

Various aspects of Chinese culture have been suggested as explanations for this, one of which is classical Chinese rhetoric (Matalene, 1985; Cheng, 1985). The notion of *guanxi*, or the interconnectedness of past and present, is critical to the Confucian style of rhetoric, where respect for tradition and prior wisdom, usually in the form of reference to classic texts, wins out over logic in argument construction (Bloch & Chi, 1995, p. 261-262). In addition, Eli Hinkel notes that in traditional Confucian arguments, the main objective is "the harmonious exchange of ideas" (2002, p. 22), rather than the often quite pointed, furthering of one particular viewpoint over another, that characterizes Anglo academic argument (Galtung, 1981, p. 823). Brigid Ballard and John Clanchy give the example of a 2nd year Thai undergraduate student apprehending this difference in Anglo academic discourse, but actively resisting it, viewing it as not "the right behavior" (Ballard and Clanchy, 1997, p. 15).

Anglo academic writing has also often been described as being linear in structure (Golebiowski, 1997). This is opposed to writing from many other cultures, including Finnish (Mauranen, 1992), Polish (Golebiowski, 1997 p. 45; Duszak, 1997), Czech (Čmejrková, 2007), German (Clyne, 1987; Siepmann, 2007) and East Asian cultures (Ha, 2011, p. 25), which tend to be more digressive.

Zosia Golebiowski, in her comparative analysis of Polish and Anglo writing, notes that Polish writing tends to have more initial digression, which serves the function of introducing background knowledge (1997, pp. 44-45). Polish academic writing constructs the argument through multiple elaborations, as a broad view of the area is narrowed down throughout the course of the text (Golebiowski 1997, p. 45). German academic writing again has a similar structure, with Siepmann (2006, p. 136) and Michael Clyne (1987, p. 214) noting a similar function of digression in German academic writing.

German writing contains an *Exkurs* section, which as Clyne points out, has no English translational equivalent, but essentially provides historical context and extra information in order to engage with an issue (187, 227). In German academic writing, this digression serves to pave the way for the main point, which tends to come at the end of the argument (Siepmann, 2006, p. 142). This is in contrast to Anglo writing, where the main point is stated at the outset of the argument (Siepmann, 2006, p. 142). Despite the fact that culturally, the Anglo linear mode of academic writing is in the minority, this structure dominates global academic discourse, with the result that increasing numbers of readers, editors and reviewers now expect texts to be structured in the Anglo style (Kretzenbacher, 2001, p. 454).

Concepts of linearity and digression are extremely problematic to analyze and discuss as they are highly subjective, and much more difficult to assess than use of citations. Cultural prejudice has in some cases been at play in the analysis of linearity and digression, as ideas of linearity or digressiveness may carry positive or negative connotations in difference cultures. This can be seen with the terms employed in the English discussion of structure, as the potentially loaded labels of “digressive” may serve to make a subtle value judgment, assuming the superiority of the “linear” mode (Kretzenbacher, 2001 p. 453). Anna Duszak, for example, has rejected the term “digressive”, which is quite a negative term, in favour of the more neutral “elaborative” (1997).

Anglo analysis of argument structure tends to see the linear Anglo approach to argument construction as more dialogic and reader-friendly, as the reader is aware of the main point early on in the text, which then proceeds methodically to the explain the argument. The more elaborative and digressive approach to academic writing has been said to potentially cause the reader to become lost, and expend extra effort following the flow of the argument (Kretzenbacher, 2001 p. 453).

This view, once again, of course highly subjective, which can be seen with Dirk Siepmann’s argument that the Anglo linear approach is actually “repetitive and colourless” (2006, p. 143). Siepmann and Wolfgang Pöckl posit that the German style acts like a “spiral” or “staircase” that takes the reader on a journey through complex reasoning to a conclusion (Siepmann, 2006, p. 143; Pöckl, 1995, p. 103). This may be seen as being more dialogic that the linear Anglo convention in that it is much more engaging for the reader. By comparison, a linear structure can be viewed as a less interesting. Siepmann describes the linear Anglo style as a “walk through perfectly flat country with no attempt to venture into mountainous territory” (Siepmann, 2006, p. 143). Similarly, Phan Le Ha points out that what would be labeled “digressive” in Anglo terms is seen as positive in Vietnamese writing, as digression indicates that the writer has a broad knowledge and view of the topic at hand (2011, p. 25).

These culturally varied views of digression in a text, and Siepmann’s comments, reveal the underlying cultural difference of what is valued in academic writing. The linear Anglo model values efficiency highly, whereas the more digressive modes value

effectiveness, if effectiveness is taken to mean that the text has a positive influence of the reader: inciting interest, or inspiring thought (Liddicoat, 2009, p. 124).

The reasons for the cultural differences in the argument structure in academic writing may be viewed in terms of whether the culture is reader- or writer-oriented. Various theorists have organised cultures into reader-oriented or writer-oriented categories, classifying Anglo academic writing as reader-oriented (sometimes called writer-responsible) (Hinds, 1987, p. 141; Hyland, 1996; Hyland, 2006; Buhl, 1999; Kreuz & Harres, 1997; Čmejrková, 2007, p. 76). Reader-oriented cultures tend to be more dialogic (Kreuz & Harres, 1997, p. 181) and interactive (Duszak, 1997, p. 13), making an effort to guide and direct the reader through the text (Duszak, 1997, p. 44; Hyland 2006, p. 156).

In contrast, writer-oriented (reader-responsible) cultures are geared less towards clear comprehensibility. German academic writing, for example, which has been classified as writer-oriented (Čmejrková, 2007, p. 76; Clyne, 1987, p. 238), is focused more on presenting information and knowledge. In German academic writing, it is the readers "who have to make the extra effort to understand the text" (Čmejrková, 2007, p. 76). Finnish writing has also been classified into this orientation group (Mauranen, 2006, p. 44), as have Slavic texts (Hyland, 2006, p. 156).

Similarly, Xiukun Qi and Lida Liu cite Chinese academic writing as writer-oriented, (2007, p. 148), and John Hinds notes that overly explicit writing is not valued in East Asian cultures (1987). Japanese academic writing has also been categorized as writer-oriented, with the underlying philosophy that the role of the writer is not to persuade the reader, but to stimulate the reader to think for themselves (Hinds, 1987). This convention in Asian writing has been linked with concepts of politeness, where it is seen as impolite to impose a view on the reader, as though the reader were unable to form one for themselves (Stretton, 2005, p. 62).

Identifying these kinds of cultural differences is very important, particularly in assisting international students in adjusting to study in another culture. However, some problems can emerge when such cultural differences are classified and analyzed.

Cultural differences in academic writing styles are congruent with cultural classification systems such as that by Johan Galtung's classification of cultures, which categorized culture and academic style into four groups: saxonic, teutonic, gallic and nipponic (1981). Galtung located the saxonic style as dominating in Britain and America; the teutonic style in Germany and Eastern Europe; the gallic style in France and Latin countries; and the nipponic style in Japan (1981, p. 819). Obviously this leaves a significant number of global regions unaccounted for, which Galtung freely concedes (1981, p. 819). Nevertheless, Galtung's classification has served as a basis for a variety of culturally contrastive studies (Sanderson, 2008, p. 55). Galtung's saxonic style is characterized by encouraging debate and pluralistic opinions, whilst maintaining togetherness among the academic community: in other words, dialogism (1981, p. 823-824).

Robert B. Kaplan's earlier categorization of cultural differences in writing styles is somewhat more wide-ranging, covering English, Oriental, Semitic, Romance and Russian cultural styles. Kaplan also categorizes Anglo academic writing as linear, with the others classified as digressive or "circular" in the case of Oriental writing (1966).

However, IlonaLeki has cautioned against the cultural stereotyping that may stem from categorizing cultures in such a way. She argues that it may lead to attempts to assign a particular "temperament" to particular cultures, and to deduce how writers from that culture will write, or, vice-versa; to draw conclusions about the culture from its writing style (1991, p. 126). This can, in turn, lead to an academic cultural imperialism on the part of the dominant Anglo writing style. This kind for cultural classification also fails to take differences in writing style within a language group into account.

However, noting the different cultural conventions to do with academic writing is, of course, very helpful, both for international students moving from one cultural convention to another, and for teachers of international students. I teach English language for academic purposes at Deakin University English Language Institute, in Melbourne, and I come across students having difficulty adjusting to different writing conventions often. Most of the time, the students are convinced that it is their language level that is the problematic issue, and often, they have not considered the cultural dimension to writing. In the courses that I teach, essay structure and argument construction are part of the curriculum, and, the majority of the time, students do produce well-written academic writing in the Anglo style for their assessment tasks. However, most of the courses generally do not explicitly mention the Anglo academic writing conventions, and alert the students to the fact that the requirements for successful academic writing in Australia may be quite different from what they are used to. Including material on cultural difference in writing styles in university preparation courses for international students would not only assist students in getting a better academic result, but it would also clarify and demystify one incidence of cultural difference that they will experience.

References

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). Discourse in the Novel, in M. Holmquist (Ed.). *The Dialogic Imagination: four essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, Texas: University of Texas Press. 259-422.

Ballard, B. & Clanchy, J. (1997).*Teaching International Students*, Melbourne: IDP Education Australia.

Berkenkotter, C. (1990).Evolution of a Scholarly Forum, in G. Kirsch & D. Roen (Eds.).*A Sense of Audience in Written Communication*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Berkenkotter, C. & Huckin, T. N. (1995). *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Bloch, J. & Chi, L. (1995). A Comparison of the Use of Citations in Chinese and English Academic Discourse, in D. Belcher & G. Braine (eds.), *Academic Writing in a Second Language: essays on research and pedagogy*. New Jersey: Ablex.231-276.

Buhl, S. (1999). GestaltungsprinzipienwissenschaftlicherTexteimSprachenpaarvergleich Deutsch-Englisch am Beispiel von TextenEinsteins und RusselszurRelativitätstheorie, in H. Gerzymisch-Arbogast D. Gile, J. House, & A. Rothkegel (Eds.). *Wege der Übersetzungs- und Dolmetschforschung.*Tübingen: Gunther NarrVerlag.

Cheng, P. G. P. (1985). *An Analysis of Contrastive Rhetoric: English and Chinese Expository Prose, Pedagogical Implications, and Strategies for the ESL Teacher in a Ninth-Grade Curriculum.* Doctoral Thesis, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University.

Chiang, S. T. (2008). *The Assessment Experiences of Four Taiwanese Students in an American Graduate Business School*. Doctoral Thesis, New York, Fordham University.

Clyne, M. (1987). Cultural Differences in the Organization of Academic Texts. English and German, *Journal of Pragmatics, 11*, 211-247.

Čmejrková, S. (2007). Intercultural Dialogue and Academic Discourse in M. Grein & E. Weigand (Eds.). *Dialogue and Culture*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.

Duszak, A. (1997) Introduction, in A. Duszak (Ed.).*Trends in Linguistics: Studies and monographs 104: culture and styles of academic discourse*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyer. 1-88.

Galtung, J. (1981). Structure, Culture, and Intellectual Style: an essay comaring saxonic, teutonic, gallic and nipponic approaches, *Social Science Information*, *20(*6) 817-856.

Gibbs, R. W. (1994).*The Poetics of Mind: figurative thought, language and Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Golebiowski, Z.(1997). The Structure of Academic Prose: a comparative study, in Z. Golebiowski& H. E. Borland (Eds.).*Academic Communications Across Disciplines and Cultures*. Melbourne: Victoria University Press.

Golebiowski, Z. & Liddicoat, A. J. (2002).The Interaction of Discipline and Culture in Academic Writing, *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, *25*, (2).59-71.

Ha, P. L. (2011). The Writing and Culture Nexus: writers' comparisons of Vietnamese and English academic writing, in P. L. Ha & B. Baurain (Eds.).*Voices, Identities, Negotiations and Conflicts: writing academic English across cultures*. Bingley: Emerald Group. 23-40.

Hinds, J. (1987).Reader versus writer responsibility: A new typology, in U. Connor & R. B. Kaplan (Eds.).*Writing across languages: Analysis of L2 Text,* Reading: Addison-Wesley. 141-152

Hinkel, E. (2002). *Second Language Writers' Text: linguistic and rhetorical Features*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hyland, K. (1996). Writing Without Conviction? Hedging in Science Research Articles, *Applied Linguistics*, *17* (4).433-454.

Hyland, K. (2005). *Metadiscourse: exploring interaction in writing*, London: Continuum.

Hyland, K. (2006). *English for Academic Purposes: as advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.

Kaplan, R. B. (1966). Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-Cultural Education, *Language Learning,16* (1-2). 1-20.

Kretzenbacher, H. L. (2001). Looking Backward - Looking Forward - Still Looking Good? On Style in Academic Communication, in F. Mayer (Ed.).*Language for Special Purposes: Perspectives for the New Millennium*, *2*, Tübingen: Gunther NarrVerlag. 443-458.

Kreutz, H. & Harres, A., (1997). Some Observations on the Distribution and Function of Hedging in German and English Academic Writing, in A. Duszak (Ed.).*Culture and Styles of Academic Discourse* ,*Trends in Linguistics: Studies and monographs 104: culture and styles of academic discourse*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyer. 181-202.

Leki, I. (1991). Twenty-Five Years of Contrastive Rhetoric: Text Analysis and Writing Pedagogies. *TESOL Quarterly, 25* (1). 123-143.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2009). Communication as Culturally Contexted Practice: A View from Intercultural Communication, *Australian Journal of Linguistics,29* (1). 115-133.

Matalane, C. (1985). Contrast Rhetoric: an American writing teacher in China, *College English,47*. 789-808.

Mauranen, A. (1993). Contrastive ESP Rhetoric: metatext in Finnish-English economic texts, *English for Specific Purposes*, *12*. 3-22.

Mauranen, A. (2006). Descriptions of Explanations? Some Methodological Issues in Contrastive Rhetoric, in M. Hewings (Ed.). *Academic Writing in Context: implications and applications*, London: Continuum. 43-54.

McGowan, S. & Lightbody, M. (2008).'Another Chance to Practice': repeating plagiarism education for EAL students within a discipline context, *International Journal for Educational Integrity*, *4*(1). 16-30.

Melander, B.(1998). Culture or Genre? Issues in the Interpretation of Cross-Cultural Differences in Scientific Papers, in I. Fortanet, S. Posteguillo, J. C. Palmer, J. F. Coll

(Eds.). *Genre Studies in English for Academic Purposes*, Castello de la Plana: Publicacions de la UniversitatJaume. 211-226.

Moraes, M. (1996). Language and its Multiple Voices, in *Bilingual Education: a dialogue with the Bakhtin circle*, Albany: State University of New York Press. 91-118.

Paxton, M.(2007).Tensions between textbook pedagogy and the literacy practices of the disciplinary community: A study of writing in first year economics, *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *6*. 109-125.

Pöckl, W. (1995). Nationalstile in Fachtexten? VomTabu- zumModethema, *Fachsprache*, *17*. 98-107.

Qi, X & Liu, L.(2007). Differences Between Reader/Writer Responsible Languages Reflected in EFL Learners' Writing, *International Communication Studies*, *16* (3).148-159.

Sanderson, T.(2008).*Corpus, Culture, Discourse*. Tübingen: Gunther NarrVerlag.

Siepmann, D. (2006). Academic Writing and Culture: an overview of differences between English, French and German, *Meta: journal des traducteurs/Meta: Translators' Journal*, *51*, (1). 131-150.

Stretton, H.(2005). *Australian Fair: Australia's Language Potential*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Swales, J.(1990).Research Articles in English, in *Genre Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 110-176.

Turner, J. (2011).*Language in the Academy: cultural reflexivity and intercultural Dynamics*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

VandeKopple, W. (1985). Some Explanatory Discourse on Metadiscourse, *College Composition and Communication*, *36* (1). 82-93.

Widdowson, H. G. (1979). *Aspects of Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ALIENNESS AND OTHERNESS: PHENOMENOLOGY OF IDENTITY AND INTERCULTURAL STUDIES IN IVO ANDRIĆ'S AND ORHAN PAMUK'S NOVELS

Amila KAHROVIC-Posavljak, Journalist

University of Sarajevo

Abstract
This paper outlines basic questions in novels *Istanbul* and *Bosnian chronicle* of two Nobel prize winners. Since figured in most important cannon in the world, question of Identity seems to be foundational problem in their novels. Both writers are positioning Identity between imaginary geography of East and West presented in big Empires. Based on late Bernhard Waldenfels phenomenology method and it's concept of difference between alienness and otherness, made in a way that Other is not always alienated, it is possible to read ruptures in their novels. It is very important to read how levels of alienness, constituted as a process, are producing Identity, also as a process. In this reversibility, Identity and Alterity are usually changing their positions in figure of chiasm. Precise focus on ruptures that this chiasm produces in novels, as well as focus on alienness and otherness with its differences and levels, can be base for deconstruction of a traditional concept of Reason and, thus, Identity. It is important because of narratives based on these conceptions such as East, West and, especially important, for those two writers, Balkan. Possibility of reading with these untraditional terms originates plurality of Identity situated in between. Key figures for reading novels in this methodological concept are figures of host and exile. Once topography is reached it opens up space (both as topos and spatum) to recognize intercultural relations and their plurality. As a result it is possible to see how plurality and chiasmic turns of Identity and Alterity, placed in divergence between alienness and otherness, are making intercultural relations reversible and possible just in rupture.

Keywords: Alienness, Otherness, Identity, Topography, Chiasm.

Introduction

The basic problem of (post)modern world was, and it is deliberately written *was*, problem of Identity. Very usually this problem has been solved in a way that Alterity has been opposed to Identity, and Alterity put in this position has been equated with the Other. Although it has opened up a way to improve rights of the Others, in literature and in political level too, it has also, paradoxically, strengthened traditional opposition and definition of Identity as equal to itself. When the phenomenology got into its postmodern phase, it opened possibilities to read Identity as a process and to get out of traditional oppositions. Major work has been done with differentiating otherness and alienness and, on the other side, by positioning nexus of own and alien. Bernhard Waldenfels has made this distinction:

> However, the difference between the own and the alien with which we are concerned here has as such nothing in common with the distinction between the same and the other. The stranger from Elea that enters the stage in the overture of Plato's *Sophist*, previewing the discussion about the dialectics of

> the same and the other, is not simply some other; like Zeus, who comes down from the heavens to inhabit human cities, the stranger arrives from the other-land. The town is grouped around the *self* as bodily, ethnically or culturally marked self. Even the linguistically it is more or less distinctly separated from the same, as in Latin with the duality of *ipse* and *idem*, or in English with the duality of self and same. The jargon of identity, which has long overtaken "the jargon of authenticity" conceals simple states of affairs, like the one that I do not need to identify myself as bearer of pain in order to feel pain, or that somebody can feel threatened as a stranger without being able to name definitely his enemy, his stalker. The opposition between the own and the alien does not emerge from a mere separation, but from the process of *in* and *exclusion.* (Waldenfels 2011)

There are three things that are spreading the field of Identity in differentiation of Other and the alien. First, as we see from quotation, is the fact that opposition own-alien seems to put accent on possessing. There possessing enters the field of Identity. Once we make the distinction between Other and alien, thinking of Identity is no longer imprisoned in traditional terms. Now, Identity proves to be, what we doubted about it, through the history of thinking imperialism, political construct. Other thing, visible from the quotation, that supports this ideal of Identity as political construct, or, even, the self as the political construct is processed. Since formulated not in mere separation, but rather in process of in and ex-clusion, we have to think: what is the force behind this process? And to answer: centers of power. Any power, put up in demand to produce processes of in and ex-clusion, becomes political power.

In literature, this phenomenological issue opens space for new reads. It is, thus, very interesting to read novels written by Ivo Andrić and Orhan Pamuk in this way, since they are positioned in-between; in-between two big traditional entities: East and West and in-between many micro entities in their worlds. So, it is possible to say that their novels, especially ones that are read in here are based on the intersection of the worlds. On the other hand, this "intersection" will show that those worlds are not highly separated entities, and that pure conception of Identity goes by the board when put in phenomenological *Lebensvelt,* which will here be translated as *the living world.*

It is important to note that method, if we can talk about method in a usual way; in this paper is deconstruction of traditional concept of Identity based on phenomenology of alien and, in compliance with that, deconstruction of traditionally caused possibilities for reading those two novelists who are read like anti-Islamic, anti-Ottoman and so on. For Orhan Pamuk it is said that:

> I will suggest that the realization of this partial "replication" of the West in the works of his predecessors had actually geared Pamuk into an urge to mitigate "replication" and "emulation" and venture into a personal engagement and experimentation with the past Ottoman and Western cultures and Turkish modernism. Precisely in the same manner that had triggered modernism in Europe with its engagement with the East and its revival of the scientific, political and aesthetic developments of the Enlightenment period, so too has Pamuk intertwined the various cultures and their developments available to him in order to portray his own world and his concept of the Turkish modern. In fact, what makes the Turkish modern/modernism so unique in the works of Pamuk is not its constant seesaw political and cultural battle with the West as such, but rather, its constant attempt to retrieve Western accounts of the Turk

> (vice versa), where there is contained — despite various instances of orientalised depictions — a genuine but now obsolete Ottoman culture, and where a redefinition of a Turkish identity can be accessed by way of resisting the East-West dichotomy. (Husayin 2012)

The main reason for misinterpretations of Pamuk is, obviously, his idea of Identity as non homogeneous, but rather plural, and the fact that he doesn't produce axiological ground for preferring any of identities. Orhan Pamuk had a literary path that was rather different and in his un-political writings has been, paradoxically, great political danger and, on the other side his path was courier of his heterogeneous constitutions of Identity:

> Orhan Pamuk began his career facing such an unpredictable odds. The old tradition was lost but there was no preparation for what could come. Pamuk was a writer of unfamiliar type: He was intensely interested in himself and his own literary journey. He was not political in a way we knew it. His stylistic influences – his forebears – Joyce, Borges, Cortazar, Calvino, as well as his contemporaries Rushdie and Eco – were largely unheard of in the country. Even the more classical English writers he loved like – Lawrence, Sterne or G.C. Chesterton seemed totally obscure. To the boringly pro-Western literati of Turkey, his references of Ottoman and medieval Islamic scholars and poets sounded irrelevant at best and hostile at worst. (Yagci 2011)

In the same manner, Andrić is misinterpreted in both Bosnian and Serbian literature community. In literature of Bosniaks he was understand as writer who demonized Muslims in his novels about Ottoman Empire. Latter are saying that he demystified the demon called Ottomans. In recent literary left in Bosnia, there are authors who resist these determinations:

> In that process of ideologization of literature, interpretation has narcissistically covered Andrićs text, suspended its undoubted polyphony, translating it, in accordance with epic cultural code, to monophonycal, monological text/discourse so that it would in the end become central place of construction ethnical identity and ideological production of an enemy. (Kazaz 2012)

Reading two novelists in methodological key that is proposed in this paper will release meaning of texts from such an ideological impact.

Levels of Alienation, Positioning Other and Topography in *Istanbul: Memories and the City*

Topography is concept that Bernhard Waldenfels introduced in phenomenology instead of topology, since concept of topology has a note of logo centrism in it. If applied on Pamuk's novel *Istanbul: memories and the city*, this concept will provide possibility of reading topographical aspect of alienation and, thus, releasing alienness from the heritage of otherness that has usually been inscribed in it. Alienation is, in this novel primarily spatial category, although on two levels. First is intra-subjectively alienation and the other is collective alienation seen with the eyes of the writer.

In first case, question would be: how can intra-subjective alienation be spatial? Is it, in any way, possible to become physically allied from the Self? Answer is provided in the text since little Orhan moves a lot with his family on a basic level, but also on the phenomenological level where he starts to believe in another Orhan, in another space:

> On winter evenings, walking through the streets of the city, I would gaze into other people's houses through the pale orange light of home and dream of happy, peaceful families living comfortable lives. Then I would shudder to think that the other Orhan could be living in one of these houses. As I grew older a ghost became a phantasy a recurrent nightmare. In some dreams I

> would greet this Orhan – always in another house – with images of horror, in others the two of us would stare each other down in eerie merciless silence. Afterward, wafting in and out of sleep, I would cling ever more fiercely to my pillow, my house, my street, my place in the world. Whenever I was unhappy, I imagined going to the other house, other life, the place where the other Orhan lived and in spite of everything, I'd half convince myself that I was he and took pleasure in imagining how happy he was, such a pleasure that, for a time, I felt no need to go to seek out the other house in that imagined part of the city. (Pamuk 2007)

Other alienation that goes along with his personal process, which is spreading on his family, is process of the alienation of Turkish people. It causes feeling of *huzun*, in English melancholy. That is kind of alienation that is primarily temporal in process, but spatial in effectuation. In that point history meets phenomenology and the historical fact of fallen Empire becomes phenomenological and spatial fact of melancholy or *huzun.*

In both cases, on the personal (or intra-subjective) and on collective level it becomes the question of Identity, not anymore as homogeneous and unchangeable fact but of an Identity as a process. In terms of topography, it is visible in part of the novel where Orhan speaks about painting. If we seek deeper in the matter of painting, we will see that painting could mean turning topography of some place into phenomenological fact since it is mediated throughout our perception. In this part of the story, rupture in Orhan's Identity continues and brings us to a point where we can see that narrator is actually dispersed as Identity and that dispersion of Identity, we'll see later, provides polyphony in this novel.

> I could not fend off that deepening melancholy; it spread like a stain. The almost-but-not-quite-shameful truth was that I could paint only when I thought I was someone else. I'd imitated a style; I'd imitated (though without ever using that word) an artist with his own unique vision and way of painting. And not without profit if I had not somehow become someone else, I too now had "my" own style and identity. I would take a faint pride in this version. This was my first information about the thing that would nag at me in late years, the self-contradiction – a Westerner would call it a paradox – that we only acquire our own identity by imitating the others. (Pamuk 2007)

Topography of an Istanbul that is painted in here is colored with the melancholy. Earlier in the book, little Orhan, says that main colors of the city were black and white, colors of melancholy. This melancholy, says this young, modern Turkish-novel, character comes from the awareness that people of the city, their collective "us", the only collective that he actually enters into is rest of the big Empire. Together with beautiful pictures of collapse of the mansion (*yahs*), in novel is presented Tanpinar's vision, and that goes against stereotypical story that westerns have none or bad impact on Empire and that they despised Ottoman culture:

> If nothing else whenever I wanted to insure myself that past was wonderful – and overexposure to power of western literature and art sometimes can bring man into this certain "Istanbul local patriotism" – watching of Melling's gravures was giving me comfort. That comfort comes with sad feeling that this beauty and most of these buildings, are gone. But, on the other side, in the moments of oversized excitement, logic reminds me that it's just feeling of loss that makes Melling's pictures beautiful (Pamuk 2007)

Here, he overtakes focalization of stranger in reading his own space. There are many sections in novel where he does so, and all of these could be thought as the chiasm or the turn in the ideological and political meaning of Orientalism and Occidentalism. In the first level it is point where, after getting in the actual *living world* nothing is ideal as it seems in both of

mentioned discourses. Higher level would be reading how artists are actually subversive to both discourses and the political powers that produced them since they have no problem in overtaking each other's voices and making ruptures in something that is meant to be homogenous Identity. While reading this novel we can see that there is, in the real world, no homogenous Identity. Of course here is possible to make objection that this is literary text and not real world but this literary text is unmasking processes of in and exclusion that are already mentioned. Instead of homogenous Identity there are just forces that are aspiring to the homogenous identities. Although these forces can be religious, philosophical, social, in the novel the basic force that tried to put identities in homogenous condition is political. There is another one chiasmic turn that opens up space for reading. While traditionally thought as acquittal, force of the Turkish nationalism, in the novel is shown as deeply oppressive, closed and intended to build homogenous Identity. Even more than in Ottoman Empire!

In accomplice with this, western travelers, especially writers have not being demonized in the novel as they were post-colonial studies. Rather, they are shown as important part of Ottoman Identity. In this point we can talk about figures of host. Host has been important figure in western philosophy ever since Aristotle. This figure is especially in focus of interest in postmodern thought in Jacques Derrida. But first figure that is important here is figure of hospitality, and therefore Derrida writes about problems with Kant's idea of hospitality:

> Kant seems at first to extend cosmopolitan law to encompass universal hospitality *without limit.* Such is the condition of the perpetual peace for all men. He expressly determinates it as *natural law (droit).* (Derrida 2005)

Further, and that is important for developing chiasmic turn in figures of host and exile, he diverges two parts to consider:

> First of all, he excluded hospitality as *right to residence* (Gastrecht); he limits it to the right to visitation. (…) By the same token in defining hospitality in all its rigour as a law (which counts in this respect as a progress, Kant assigns it's conditions which make it dependent on the state sovereignty, especially when it is question of the *right of the residence.* Hospitality signifies here the *public nature (publicite)* of public space, as is always case for the juridical in the Kantian sense; hospitality, whether public or private dependent on and controlled by the law and state police. (Derrida 2005)

Hospitality is always relation to the host. But, hospitality is also, clearly, matter and at the same time proof of the state sovereignty. So, if talking in terms of post-colonial criticism, are not hosts in Istanbul proof for the empires sovereignty? Apart from the colonial, mainly political, but also cultural force, are not these writers, who have been subversive to its own societies at the same time, by being hosts, witnesses of the Ottoman Empire sovereignty. Since writer is always figure on the boarder, isn't this inverted, in the meanings of chiasm as textual figure, picture of colonialism. The alien who enters the space and wants hospitality, is evidence of sovereignty. So, at the same time, writers in Pamuk's Istanbul are maintaining stereotypes about the Orient and ruining them. Nerval, Flaubert, and Melling are, if we consider this theme, not only the Other and alien that are entering the space of Ottoman Empire. They are not only hosts *into* Other and alien culture. At the same time they are exiles from their (not own) culture in which isn't other to them but they are allied from it anyway. Their income in the oriental culture is, at the same time, intra-subjective exile and cultural exile. So the figure that becomes, as the obverse and the reverse, host/exile is the key to

differing alienness and otherness in the novel. Further, there is certain stratifying of the traditionally understood East in which we can see that there is no such thing as East (neither West) but rather "easts" and "wests":

> One of the reasons of Flauberts disinterest was the fact that Istanbul was not East he was looking for. In his letter to Louis Bouieth, sent from Istanbul, is written that on peregrination through western Anatolia he was watching landscapes and thought of Lord Byron. "Turkish east" which Byron was interested in was east of the daggers, dresses of Arnauts and windows with the bars from where blue see was visible. Flaubert preferred ''east of Bedouins, deserts, heartland of Africa, crocodiles, camels and giraffes'' (Pamuk 2007)

In this point it is very important to mention Flaubert's idea of writing novel:

> (While traveling he was dreaming that he would one day write a novel *Mister Haral*, in which one civilized Western man and one barbarian Oriental man, become more and more similar to each other and in the end change countries.) (Pamuk 2007)

This quote might be read as the allegory of the reversibility of hostile impact on domestic culture.

Intercultural shades of novel are developing from moments like this. Stereotypical colonial cultural impact on the oriental countries seems to be reversible. While, on one side, these writers give something to the culture they come into, they are also being, at least partially, determined by this culture (or those cultures like in part on Flaubert since he has been in Egypt as well). Another level of intercultural impact is fact that young Orhan is making his picture of the Istanbul based on the Melling's works and writings of Flaubert and Nerval as well as from the domestic writer such as Yahya Kamal. Picture of Istanbul is fulfilled with these references and Orhan's own feeling of the city. City, as a topos, now has been wrote up with the insights of writers who are Other and alien (such as Flaubert), with the writers who are not Other in traditional terms but that are alien to their own culture (such as Ekrem Kochu and Yahya Kamal) and with actor in novel. Different levels of alienation, as a process that includes temporality, are developed in here:

- Intra-subjective level of alienation of the self (Orhan) and intra-subjective level of alienation of Other-from-(it's)self (foreign writers)
- cultural alienation which is described in cases of host writers but which comes to a highest point in Orhan's alienation from the modern republic legacy
- these all are taking us to a third alienation which is political. This alienation is, actually, powered by political forces that are trying to build their impact on the alienation from traditional values (which are not unquestionable value just as the republic is not). This third alienation seems to be covering all other processes and direct them.

All of those alienations are clearly topographical constitutions since figure of host/exile and process or demand of hospitality are realized spatially. Simultaneously, alienation is made temporally. This third political alienation, or, rather to say cultural alienation that is directed politically, has in the highest level in novel note of temporality. Usually, cultural impact, in terms of spatum, is seen in space occupation. When it matters Turkish republic, it has note of abandoning. Because of that mansions are ruined instead of re-making them into new republic places. If preservation of monuments is a moment of

strongest cultural memory, than abandoning them is moment of oblivion that has the same political and ideological function as preserving ones. This proves to be matter of selection which is highly ideological. Forgetting, shaped in this spatial oblivion, seems to have significance as big as the memory itself which is analogue to what Jan Assmann said about collective memory and forgetting: For functioning communicative memory, forgetting is just as vital as remembering (Assmann 2005).

Turkish republic has found the way to forget certain parts of the Ottoman history in order to move to establish new Turkish Identity as a move-away from the imperial past. On the other side, they made certain references to that past in building their new Identity in order to prove that they are strong people. This controversial attitude against celebrated past seems to be attribute of every revolution. There are many parts of the text that are showing this attitude:

> Mansions that ottoman have been build by ottoman pashes, dignitaries and rich, in the last century of Empire, have been later in twentieth century, induced by Republic and Turkish nationalism, emphasized as example of Turkish-Ottoman identity and architecture. (Pamuk 2007)

> If we even grieved a little bit because of that evanished ottoman culture, in us, newly rich of the Republic, "civilisation of Bosphorus" has aroused feelings of pride and comfort because we are upholders of one big civilistation and that feeling was stronger than feelings of loss and sadness. (Pamuk 2007)

There is one very important, from the phenomenological point, part of the book. Since entire narration is primarily spatial, images are extremely significant. Especially because image has strong place in phenomenology:

> I shall perhaps be asked why, departing from my former point of view, I now seek phenomenological determination of images. In my earlier works on the subject of imagination, I did, in fact consider it preferable to maintain as objective position as possible to regard from the images of the four material elements, the four principles of the intuitive cosmogonies, and faithful to my habits as a philosopher of science, I tried to consider images without attempting the personal interpretation. Little by little, this method, which has in favour scientific prudence seemed to be, to me, insufficient basis on which to fount the metaphysics of imagination. (Bachelard 1994)

Images presented in the book are part of narration, part where certain post-modern poetic is making inverted picture of the traditional encyclopedic genre in which, if there is picture it is presented as a objective supplification to the text. In this case, author makes kind of personal encyclopedia and, doing it, makes the genre of encyclopedia as well as novel unusual, in Russian formalists term of defamiliarization (ostranenie). Both of those genres, encyclopedia and novel are being mixed in hybrid genre.

There is another one thing to pay attention to in this part of the paper since it, largely, defines relation between figure of host (or exile as we described it) and space. It is question of the heterotopia, concept provided by Michel Foclaut and considered in Waldenfels topography. Michel Foucault, beside six attributes that are determining heterotopia, mainly foundates it as the:

> First there are utopias. Utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society. They present society itself in perfected form, or else society turned

> upside down, but in a any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces. There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilisation real places – places that do exist and that are formed in very founding of society – which are something like counter sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way to contrast form utopias, heterotopias. (Foucault 1984)

What is Istanbul in this sense? Utopia or heterotopia? Answer would be neither and both. Mansions can produce vision of former Istanbul as utopia, but Turkish republic is disintegrating this utopia on utopia and heterotopia. On the other hand, while Istanbul has certain attributes of heterotopia it can never be one *per se*, since it has never had a structure of border or colony. These considerations can expand idea of heterotopia in a way that there is almost no such places as hetertopia or utopia. If Michel Fouclault defines them in relation to each other, then their constitution is in relation and they can be reversible. Or, we can have image of *inverted heterotopia.* If we include phenomenology in these thoughts can we say that utopia and heterotopia could be matter of perspective, or the point of view? In later text, considering Andrić it will be seen that Istanbul could be positioned as utopia (ceneter of Ottoman Empire, non-colonial) against Travnik (periphery, colonial). At the same time in terms of Pamuk's dilemma conquest or fall, colony that has turned into center of new Empire, Istanbul can be read as heterotopia against of Constantinople utopia, and so on.

Alienness and Otherness: Matters of Heterotopia in Andrić's *Bosnian Chronicle*

World that Andrić created in his novel "Bosnian chronicle" is world of disintegration on every level. Basic attribute of Bosnia, in the time of novel, is fact that it has been (apart from Istanbul) double border. Main characterization of these disintegrations in novel is that they are processes of alienation and, that's very important, reversible alienation that have impact on the levels of alienation and constituting space in reversible processes of heterotopia and utopia. In this text everything is reversible, everything is changeable and subjected to ruptures. Narrator is extradiegetic and just sometimes he leaves this position and uses the term “ours”, and thus he is coming close to time and place of novel. In the same manner he estranges from that world by using term “their”:

> Their city is one cramped and deep fault that generations have build and farmed, one fortified passage in which people tarried to live continuously adjusting themselves to it through centuries and itself to them. (Andrić 1962)

Primary hybrid identity in novel is the identity of Bosnian Muslims or "the domestic Turks". Even this phrase, used in novel, implies that their Identity has two parts: native and colonial one since, in novel, Bosnia is colony of the Ottoman Empire. It is on border of Empire and inhabited with many different nations and cultures. Ruptures in, what from the outside may look like homogeneous Ottoman Identity, are constitutive part of the novel.

> Domestic Turks have been, as we seen, worried and in the bad mood they were talking about the possible coming of consules. Mistrustful to everything that comes from the foreign countries and indisposed, in advance, toward innovation, Turks were, in themselves, still hoping that those might just be bad voices and mean conditions, and that those consules could come or not, but if come, go away together with bad times that have brought them. (...) Christians, catholic as well as the Orthodox, were looking forward to those

> stories and spreading the word of mouth furtively and under one's breath, finding in them reason for undetermined hopes and odds for changes. And changes can only be in better. (...) a few but spirited Jews Sephards could not, with these news, keep their proverbial silence. That centuries learned them to keep; they were excited by thought that a consul of great French emperor Napoleon, "who is for Jews good as good father", could come to Bosnia (Andrić 1962)

The same political forces, as in Pamuk's Istanbul are trying to make these groups strange or alien to each other based on the fact that they are formally Others. At the same time, we have figure of host/exile embodied in consules. Political manipulation with those hopes that are quoted in here is basic potential that moves story forward. But, in Pamuk's novel, this intersection of worlds is just mentioned in Istanbul, although it lives pretty intensively in Orhan as actor. On the other side, in Andrić's novel it is main constitutive part of the story. Andrić is damasking these forces in few possible levels:

First is diverging alien and Other in case of Davil and his deputy young Defose who are form the same (and not the Other culture) but are alien to each other. This position is very important for differing alienness and otherness, because Davil and Defose are not Others *to* each other, but they are highly alienated *from* each other. In novel this will be elaborated in novel as the difference between two epistemological praxes in French society. Inter-national divergations in here are corresponding with idea of nation as imaginary community:

> In the meanings of anthropology I propose this definition of nation: it is imaginary political community and imagined, at the same time, as inherently limited and sovereign... Imaginary because members of even the smallest nation will never meet most of the members of their own nation, even not hear of them, but in minds of them all there is image of their unity. (Andersson 1983)

While Davil does not show any empathy for people in Bosnia, and sees them as un-reasonable wild people, Defose is trying, and mostly successfully, to understand people. For that reason Davil says:

> This people, besides all of the other people in the world are having some understandable, perverted hate for roads which are presenting progress and prosperity and in this accursed country roads are not clinging and are not lasting, like they are demolishing themselves. (Andrić 1962)

Defose is answering him:

> All right, but before I assure myself, allow me to stay in my view that badness and goodness of one nation are product of the occasions that they live and develop in. It is not goodness that is impelling us to make roads, but need and wish for spreading useful relations and impacts, and many are seeing this as our badness. That is how our badness is making us to open the roads, and their badness is making them to close and demolish them whenever they can. (Andrić 1962)

Divergence, or the alienness between two of them is difference between two epistemological praxes: universalist (Davil) and contextualists (Defose). In positions of imperial forces who are Other formally (East-Ottoman and West-German and France) and allied to each other, these levels of alienation are changeable in compliance with political moves on the world level. Typical example of this is changeable relation between consules now not as persons but as bureaucrats and presenters of imperial forces. Their "friendship" is primarily based on political situation and relation between French and Austro-Hungarian Empire, and after that on personal level of two man thrown in strange culture. This tension is

best visible in the moment of autumn 1813. when war has been declared. This declaration of war is like any other declaration of war: moral and epistemological breakdown of society and it changes everything. Relationships between consules who have build strange kind of friendship based as *friendship-against* Turks. They have put themselves together against Oriental country they came into. On the other side, their friendship is turbulent and therefore, in the moment of war declaration, they write letters to each other:

> In everything about politics and war, our relations should, in my opinion remain as they are now. However, as two honourable men and Europeans, which are, in their servings thrown in this country and forced to live in exceptional circumstances, I think we should bait each other and calumniate each other in front of these barbarians, like it could happen before. (Andrić 1962)

Davil answers to this letter that Austro-Hungarian consul sent him, in the same manner:

> All members of western countries, with no difference, are one family in the Orient, no matter the disagreements in the Europe (Andrić 1962)

In fact, those imperial forces are looking the domestic people in typical colonial way of underestimation (they are wild, undeveloped, etc.) although those domestic people are not formally Other to those forces. Specifically, Muslims are not formal Other to Ottomans, and Christians are not formal Other to West (based on religion divergences that were main at the time since in non-secular world religion was a birthplace of a culture, politic, etc. While West was formally in the sunrise of secularization, this was not yet strong enough to overrule religious, and in compliance with that, cultural tradition of West).

Domestic people who are formally Other, and that is politically produced since Ottoman Empire is building it's power in Bosnia based on these divergetions, are usually working together (Farmacist Jew and Franciscan doctor).
Kolonja, character who is not Other to anyone in strict formal way, but he is allied form everyone since he doesn't insist on the homogeneity of his Identity.

Main characteristic of those differentiations is that they are all changeable and, because they are reversibly put in processes with Identity, there is no homogeneous Identity in the novel. Even Defose is not homogeneous and is impacted by the Others. In his case that is visible by moving on, by temporal changes in his character. At the same time, formally others are put in the context of *Lebensvelt* and demystified. Examples of that are love relationships between Defose and Jelka, both Christians but two different worlds. Especially interesting is case of love that young Salko feels for little consuls daughter. This is place in novel where politics of border are coming into certain kind of chiasmic change. There are two loves like these and each of them has a topographical significance. First and, in terms of topographical chiasm, the strongest of all of those loves is love of Salko Maluhija for young consuls daughter Agatha. It reveals as threat to the consul's garden as utopian space. This is also place where basic Foucault's idea of garden as utopia is changing since inside of Travnik, as a space that is in the meaning of anthropology read as a certain wild culture, as strong as this paradox phrase is, garden exists as a cultivated space, place of preserving counclor's homogeneous culture and that is why it can be read as utopia. But, for domestic people it is *The other space* (Foucault). It is clear that utopia and heterotopia, in order to spread Foucault's theory, are not constant but rather deeply contextual. If we functionalize it, we will see that heterotopia is functional and relational determinacy rather than fixed one.

> Between this hedge and the garden of Consulate there was one narrow and rusty plummery on Hafizadić beys, but from there Consulor's garden, made in European way, was visible. There are stained paths and aligned mollehills. In the middle star-like and round flowerbeds are excavated and stacked rods and erected spades with red or livid glass on the top. (Andrić 1962)

Later, garden is made like garden of heaven:

> But a minute later, boys eyewink was again away, on this bluish opening which was left after efendis back head after barbers, he was watching garden of heaven and, in it, a girl with light steps and unusual look. (Andrić 1962)

Here is a man from the alien culture as the interloper in the space of utopia. Initiation in a space of forbidden is here, different form Bible, a man's activity. At the same time the way that Salko looks at that *internal externality* is inverted picture of consules coming into the alien, closed city where they were greeted unfriendly.

There is one another love affair in the novel that is based on entering the forbidden space. In novel it is not presented as a radical preservation of any kind of entering, but rather as a forbidden action in sacral space of church. This another love is love of Ana Maria and young chaplain. Ana Maria is shaped as a hysterical and skittish personality. Hysteria has been considered as a mainly female disease (and name of this disorder comes from Greek *histrian* which means uterus). Ana Maria is perfect proof of this old fashioned theory. Her hysterical and unrestrained behavior, to contextualize novel, are mostly visible in the acts of bestowal of the Franciscans:

> Even in that business which should be useful and pleasing to God, Ana Marija could not stick to measure. As usual, she was delirious with her screwy nature which made everything she does to warp and go wrong way. In her ardor she caused suspicions in Turks, and confused permanently mistrustful and confused Dolcans and Franciscans (Andrić 1962)

When she was taking present, she started to move thing in church and her behavior was alien for domestic Franciscans (although she, in the semantic field of the novel, belongs to same, Catholic, church as Franciscans). Because, she is strange to them, alienness is made in three levels: female who acts in sacral space; she is ethnical alien although the same religion; and her behavior in church is alien because it is new to Franciscans.

Topographical aspects of relationships between people is clearly made in love story between young Defose and Jelka. Therefore, this love is foundered by the topography of a garden, topographical category Michel Foucault signs as utopia. In accordance with this, Defose experiences Jelka as vegetal. Foucault's heterotopias corresponds in here with the relationship that has turned it's actors in a natural people, free of social determinations. In the very same moment when Jelka says “no” to him, things are turning upside down and their love is out of time. Thus, Defose painfully realizes that there is no possibility for people to get out of the social context. Therefore, garden where they used to meet is foundered as utopia, built in the moment when it becomes *certain* garden; it turns out into heterotypical sphere. So, we could say that Michele Foucault has based his theory of heterotopias on opposition against utopia as classical, de-contextualized idea. If we, somehow inscribe Husserl's phenomenology and Waldenfel's ideas of inter-subjectivity as a leader to inter-cultural, we could say that sometimes utopia gets her attitudes in context. Or, to simplify, if some place, and we see that from the case of Defose and Jelka, has attitudes of utopia in one context, or for one person, it doesn't have to be utopia for other context or person. Further, this makes divergence that is simple kind of chiasmic turn. So, in this case, we could say that we have certain kind of *inverted heterotopia.* Along with this, we could bring the definition

of this inverted heterotopia. *Inverted heterotopia would be chiasmic turn induced by context within positions of utopia/heterotopi*

Conclusion

Two writers that are treated in this paper are paradigmatic example of the intercultural, or the estranged writers. First of all, their topographical aspects are untypical in the sense of topography as remembering. Their places are making, in some moments, chiasmic turns from utopia into heterotopia and reverse. In this paper those turnarounds are named, following and contextualizing Foucault's theory, *inverted heterotopia*. In these novels topography meets history. Thus it is interesting to read those novels in historical context. While, period described in Bosnian Chronicle is just episodic or rather to say supporting for Pamuk's novel, in Bosnian chronicle it is the basic for the story. Reasons for this are, again, topographical. In the time of Bosnian chronicle, Bosnia was periphery, it was the border, *alienated* part of Ottoman Empire. Istanbul, on the other side was the center. So, decline of the Empire can, while reading those two novels, be read from, the aspects of center and periphery, as well.

In both novels, situated in parameters of topography, there are strong differences between Other/otherness and alien/alienness. Important is to notice that Other is not always alien, and that alienation is process which can turn The Same into the Other. Even further, consules, as well as little Orhan have proved that sometimes formally Other is much closer to self then not-formally-Other but alien. Again, there is chiasmic turn within the figure of host/exile. When one host comes into somebody's world, he has capabilities to change it so much that domestic-self can start to feel like host in not-anymore-his-own-culture.

In both novels, it is possible to see all three levels of alienation, but the phenomenology of the Other is spreading in here and produces Identity as a process, not a closed entity. This kind of Identity is made with divagations between Other and Alien. Traditionally, Other was fixed category that contained all aspects of different without parameters of process. Situated inside binar oppositions two entities: Identity and Other were fixed and unchangeable categories placed in some kind of out-of-time entities. That tradition, in a sense of literature has been made different in those two novels.

References

Andersson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: reflections on origines and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso

Andrić, I. (1962) *Bosnian chronicle.* Zagreb: Mladost

Assmann, J. (2005) *Collective memory.* Zenica: Vrijeme

Bachelard,.G. (1994). *The poetics of space.* Boston: Beacon Press

Derrida, J. (2005). *The politics of friendship.* London-New York: Verso

Foucault, M. (1984). On other spaces. *Architecutre/Mouvenant/Continuite.* http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf

Huseyin, S. (2012). Orhan Pamuk's "Turkish modern": Intertextuality as a resistance to the East-West Dichotomy, *International Journal of Radical Critique,* vol. 01 http://www.radicalcritique.org/2012/12/Vol01No2Huseyin.html

Kazaz, E. (2012). *Subverzivne poetike.* Zagreb-Sarajevo: Synopsis

Pamuk, O. (2007). *Istanbul: grad, sjećanja:* Sarajevo: Buybook

Yagci, A. (2011). The perils of "too successful" marketing, or why Turks don't like Orhan Pamuk http://www.academia.edu/1353690/Why_Turks_dont_like_Orhan_Pamuk

Waldenfels, B. (2011). *Phenomenology of the Alien.* Illinois: Northwestern University Press

FATHERS' PARTICIPATION IN CHILDREN REARING IN BIH

Selvira DRAGANOVIĆ, Senior Assistant

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
The role of the fathers in children development was neglected till the research on motherhood pointed out magnitude of fathers influence on children. Until the late seventies fathers were exclusively viewed as biological necessity with an insignificant role in social, emotional and intellectual development of a child. Nevertheless, recent research points out that father's stimulating interest, participation and involvement in child rearing are very vital in social, emotional and cognitive development of children. The purpose of this research was to investigate how mothers, fathers and children in Federation of BiH perceive fathers participation and involvement in rearing children. The convenient sample in this study consisted of a total of 621 participants, 207 mothers, aged 27-59 years (mean age= 40.96 years, SD=6.62), 207 fathers aged 28-63 years (mean age= 44.52, SD=6.64) 207 children (109 boys and 98 girls) aged 7-18 years in Federation of BiH who volunteered to participate in this research. The questionnaire used was purposely constructed for the aim of this study. Results show that fathers, mothers and children report similar perception of fathers' involvement in children rearing reporting their active participation through general indoor and outdoor activities like play, meals, school tasks, watching TV, outside games and involvement in rewarding and punishing children. These findings reflect small but significant change in Bosnian society where active role of fathers in child rearing is gaining on its importance.

Keywords: Parenting, Fatherhood, Father Involvement, Perception, Child Rearing.

Introduction

Research in Bosnia and Herzegovina related to home and family show general perception that education of children is specifically linked to women while men are linked to performance of so-called male jobs. Accordingly, stereotypes are built on which, women are dominantly portrayed as mothers and men as embodiment of strength and power. Thus, there is evident division between male and female occupations. Traditional culture patterns dictate gender roles by which a man, usually the father or eldest male member of the family, is considered "head of household", while family care belongs to wife, or public sphere belongs to a man, and a private one to woman. (CEDAW report, 2006-2009, Gender center FBiH). This binary division involves division between public and private sphere reserved for a man and a woman, what comes to the fore in community of men and women (CEDAW report, 2006-2009, Gender center FBiH). In a society with gender stereotypes children learn gender roles which are not always fair to both sexes. Many things affect the attitudes and behavior of children in relation to these roles, but family has the strongest influence in their creation. Although fathers and mothers transmit gender stereotypes to their children, research shows that fathers are the ones who do that more than the mothers (Ruble, 1988, according to Witt,

1997). Research on different socialization of boys and girls have shown that there is little difference in the way in which parents relate to their sons and daughters when it comes to the traditional dimensions of rearing (permissive, restrictive, monitoring, responding to the needs of the child and warmth). However, one dimension in which children may nevertheless be treated differently is encouraging of gender-typed activities (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, Huston 1983, Lytton and Romney, 1991, according to Kamen, Huić, Jugovic, 2010). In such environment, such positions of (no)power assigned to man and woman, it is much more difficult to for a woman to influence breaking of such beliefs, to leave the family home and even make the present family problems public. The prevailing public attitude reflects and fosters the myth of woman as a mother, a housewife, "pillar of the family" and the sexual object.

Thus, stereotypes of women's roles is ubiquitous in textbooks, media, employment opportunities and in other public spheres (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, Huston 1983, Lytton and Romney, 1991, according to Kamen, Huić, Jugovic, 2010). However, the families are now increasingly changing and there are more and more families in which both parents work outside home. While this is true, there is still so called "other shift "that women take after returning from work and continue to work an extra few hours (Hochschild, 2003, according to Stephens, 2009). One study result (Craig 2006 by Stephens, 2009) show how, not only mothers spend overall more time with children than fathers, but also, at the same time doing more things, more physical work and keep much stricter schedule, spend more time alone with the children and have more responsibility for them in total. This is true regardless whether the mothers are employed or not. Fathers, on the other hand, spend more time playing with the kids, talking to them, doing school or recreational activities. However, the reasons that mothers spend more time with their children than fathers should not be sought only in the unwillingness fathers to participate in the education of their children, but also in the obstacles that are placed before fathers who want to be involved, such as: inadequate long working hours, lack of services through which fathers could freely take part in the life of their children, and mostly in previously explained binary system in which it is very difficult for fathers to be part of the private spheres, just like it is hard for women to be part of the public sphere.

Framework of Research

Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period is still coping with the consequences of war, economic underdevelopment, return of refugees and displaced persons to their pre-war settlement, treatment of war-induced trauma and many other socio-psychological problems. BiH family is affected by poverty and lower quality of life. In addition, environmental variables in our country reflect deteriorating relationships within families and between spouses (due to socio-economic pressures), what in turn results in: use of and dependence on psychoactive substances, alcoholism, domestic violence, juvenile delinquency, suicide, incest and the like. In a society with high unemployment, in which over half population live in difficult conditions, and the rest is somehow coping (40.3%), while only 12.6% of are satisfied with their current income (Social Inclusion in BiH, UNDP / IBHI) it is inevitable to expect a number of issues that, due to various socio-economic pressure, transfer to within family relations. In addition, war crimes and genocide increased the number of single-parent families (mostly without a father) whose number of 1535 in 1991 jumped to 15,775 of such families in 1997 (Pasalic-Kreso, 2004). In these circumstances, we can expect various forms of subjective poverty and the emergence of many forms of violence, from domestic violence to hooliganism and peer violence etc. On one hand, these problems without doubt spread from family to school and vice versa and they could be linked to the growing trend of crime and violence in school and family. On the other hand, issues like low socio-economic

conditions, high unemployment rate, family and peer violence, juvenile delinquency, disrupted family relationships, increased rate of divorce are vital problems of this country in transition. The problem of family relationships therefore is very present. Experts and professionals from many disciplines, governmental and non-governmental institutions, are interested in this problem and try to find some solutions. This complex problem therefore requires dealing with family as well as its main actors, couples, family members and children (before all). As stated in the "Strategic Plan for the Prevention of Domestic Violence for the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2009-2010), "the issue of domestic violence, particularly in the last two decades, has become the subject of interest of international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental. Hence, legal norms at the international level, have been adopted, as well as political agreements, guidelines, recommendations and advices and International standards and guidelines adopted by the United Nations (UN), the Council of Europe and the European Union (EU). Domestic violence, as a substantial family problem, affects the most intimate human relationships. It is an issue throughout the world and it is a feature of all communities. In recent years, the issue of domestic violence in BiH society has become more visible as result of merit, effort and campaigns of various social actors. Therefore its very devastating effects (un)fortunately become recognized in the community. Although the legal framework in the Federation, as we saw earlier, is quite good, women still have to be content with prejudice and traditional mentality which reflects that violence is a "family matter." It is often the case that children from violent families, who are without appropriate treatment and societal care, become bullies themselves, thus vicious cycle of intergenerational transmission of negative behavioral patterns continues. Likewise, neglect and child abuse can trigger aggressive behavior in adolescents and adults which in turn can affect the violence and aggression within the community and society at large. Studies show that children often become aggressive and violent because they were exposed to adverse conditions in the family or less beyond (Flouri, 2005). Family, parenthood and parenting, mother and father in particular, play an important role in physical and mental development of children.

Parenthood and Parenting

Parenting influences the development and changing of adult individuals. Although parenting is relatively new concept, it has until recently meant solely motherhood. According to Čudina-Obradovic (2006), parenting, in fact is equated with experience, care, procedure sand education performed only by mothers (Martin and Colbet, 1997, Stevenson and Hinde 1998) whose biological predisposition to birth was equated with "motherly instinct" and "the only good quality source of concern for the child." Recognizing the shortcomings of such a practice and deprivation in the quality of the father-child relationship, this trend has recently significantly changed. Thus, together with motherhood as parenting source fatherhood is studied as well. Study on fatherhood was firstly considered in terms of impact of father's absence on socialization of boys (Biller, 1970, Hetherigton, 1989), later as a necessary support for motherhood (Aldous, Mulligan and Bjarnson, 1998, Kalmijn, 1999), recently as an important and independent educational influence (Brayfield, 1995) and today as a modern fatherhood (Settles, 2000) or father who is completely or partially assuming the role that was previously considered only "motherly". Modern research thoroughly analyzes father's involvement so that the observed activities of modern fathers are viewed as cognitive (for example, thinking about the child), emotional (for example, showing affection) and external behavior (for example, playing), and in addition, material and economic care for children as well as moral education and emotional support to the mother (Day et al. cited in Obradovic-

Čudina, 2006). The issue that researchers have dealt with his father's involvement in terms of time (frequency), type of activity (paternal practice) and father dealing with a child. It has been shown that father's involvement and play with the child and incitement of a child to talk about problems, greatly improve a child's socio-emotional development, adjustment and satisfaction with life in adolescence and adulthood, as well as the child's intellectual development, social competence, and internal locus of control, and a feeling of being able to manage their behaviors without outside interference (Obradovic-Čudina, 2006).

Investigations of mothers and father's involvement and dealing with children indicate that these two forms of parenting differ not only in terms of the amount of involvement but also the type of dominant activity, ratio of representation of basic parenting dimensions (emotionality and control), type and method of a relationship with the child and the specific and different contributions and consequences, but also the attitudes toward maternal and paternal practices or stereotypical beliefs about parenting (Allen and Daly, 2007). According to these stereotypical beliefs, women's duty is to primarily care for children, women protect children more than the fathers do, and fathers are more protective towards the girls than the boys. There are interesting results about attitudes on mothers and fathers tasks in the household and child-rearing, which were obtained based on research conducted in 12 countries of the European Union and Norway. In 2003 a total of 10,000 participants were tested and participants had to mark assignments as "mother's", "father's" or "common". The list contained following 12 tasks: playing sports games, taking children to extracurricular activities, changing diapers, clothing and choosing the clothing for children; taking children to a doctor, assisting in academic tasks, feeding, buying toys; giving pocket money, punishment, putting children to bed and responding to children's questions (Apparao, Reifman and Munsch, 2003, cited in Čudina-Obradovic, 2006). Results of this research point out a strong influence of traditional gender roles on parenting, and younger people have more egalitarian approach to performing these tasks as well as women and people with liberal political orientation. In addition, egalitarian attitudes are more present among residents from wealthier countries with an individualistic value orientation and a better position of women (Čudina-Obradovic, 2006). If we look at the BiH society, we will notice that Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a rich country, our society is still not showing significant signs of individualistic orientation and position of women in society is not at satisfactory level. All these, along with significant traditional patriarchal inheritance and gender role division, affect attitudes about parenting and roles of mothers and fathers in children upbringing in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, this study is an attempt to investigate whether there is any improvement when it comes to this topic in our society.

Involvement and the Role of Fathers in Child Rearing

Fathers and mothers play an irreplaceable role in lives of their children. This is confirmed by numerous studies conducted on the impact of fathers on children's development. While, in the past, the "good father" was the sole breadwinner, who worked for the family and was concerned whether behavior of his children correspond with assigned gender roles, nowadays a "good father" carefully and lovingly cares for his children spending a lots of time with them and teaches children the equality between sexes (Lamb and Tamis-Lemond, 2002). Father's characteristics and personality traits are less important for child's development than the attachment and relationship between father and the child. If father child relationship or attachment between them is safe, warm, sensitive and supportive, the father will have a

positive impact on a child's development. Many studies confirm importance of the role of fathers in child's development because his involvement in care and children rearing, from the moment the child comes into the world, his rearing practices as well as his relation with other family members, affect child's cognitive, emotional and social development (Lamb and Tamis -Lemond, 2002). Results of research with fathers who have been extensively involved in the upbringing of their children indicate children's increased cognitive abilities, more empathy, less stereotyped thinking about gender and better emotional control (Lamb and Tamis-Lemond, 2002). On the other hand, the absence of a father in the child's upbringing affects the children in a way that girls who grew up without a father tend to be withdrawn and anxious, and boys show excessive dependence and helplessness later in life (Lamb and Tamis-Lemond, 2002).

By and large, children primarily begin to learn from their parents and learn through simplest way, by imitating. Learning by imitation is one of the important forms of learning at an early age of child's development. Children imitate their social reactions based on reactions of their parents. Studies have shown that children who aggressively and angrily solve problems are generally rejected or excluded from other children's play (Carson and Parke, 1995). Studies also reveal that the fathers of preschool children, who are in any way rejected by their peers, show more anger than fathers of well accepted children. Also, children evaluated by their teachers as aggressive or low in pro-social behavior had fathers who often indulged in negative emotions, like replied and reacted to child's temper tantrums with negative emotions (Carson and Parke, 1995). Child's socialization of emotions is affected by the way father treats children's emotional expression. Several studies have confirmed that father's acceptance of the child's emotional state and his support is related with positive peer relationships showing that both girls and boys are generally less aggressive, Roberts, 1994, according to Parke, 1996). By managing their own emotions and reactions to child's emotions, fathers have the greatest impact on children's social relationships with peers and friends (Parke, 1996). In addition, parental behavior in general has an impact on emergence of aggression in children. Parental behavior is reflected in parental child-rearing styles, and parental rearing styles affect behavior of children, child's personality and self esteem.

An example from research of groups carried out with young boys in the aforementioned CARE / ICRW research which pointed out that mothers often support children's non-violent alternatives to conflict resolution, particularly highlighting the value of communication. On one hand, young men in these groups presented their mothers as active opponents to the use of violence by their children and as significant sources who have successfully influenced their reduction of the violence use. On the other hand, according to these boys, fathers can, not only be supporters of sons' violence, but also someone who supports refraining from violence. Significant number of young men mentioned strong influence of their fathers on their own (no) use of violence. For example:
- *"At home I have never seen my father raised his hand to my mother. Never! I simply picked his behavior and planted it in my own head ";*
- *"Dario's parents often quarreled while growing up, and sometimes his father would beat his mother, especially when he was drunk. His father has always taught him that one should not fight, but Dario watched his father mistreated his mother. Dario feels that exposure to violence in his own family had influence on his abusive behavior when he was a child "*
- *"I do not agree that a man should beat his wife. I saw my father slap my mother. That's fine, but not the beating. "*Results of previous studies around the world (Goldman, 2005, Flouri, 2005, Lamb, 2004) show that fathers' personality, interests, life circumstances, living conditions and behavior, directly and indirectly influence the likelihood of antisocial

behavior in children. The quality and quantity of the time a father spends with children are equally important, regardless of whether children live with the father or not. Studies have also shown that children with involved fathers are better friends, have fewer behavior problems, are less exposed to various forms of risky behaviors (alcohol, drugs, and cigarettes), have lower rates of crime and drug addiction, greater empathy, higher self-esteem, less flee and leave school and have higher educational ambitions and aspirations. Father involvement has a beneficial effect on children's school success, social skills and overall success in later in adulthood (Pleck, 1997, cited in Čudina, Obradovic).

Method

Bearing in mind the aggravating circumstances for measuring elements of father's violent behavior and the transfer of such behaviors to children, as well as expectation of socially desirable answers of respondents, this research focused on affirmation of father's role by analyzing the involvement of fathers in the upbringing of their children. Participants (fathers, mothers and children from the same family) were randomly selected by a" random walk" method, or random encountering from urban (170 families) and rural (90 families) area.

Socio-demographics: The convenient sample in this study consisted of a total of 621 participants (207 mothers, ranging from 27 to 59 ages, mostly (61.65%) with high school education, 207 fathers ranging from 28 to 63 ages, mostly (65.7%) with high school education, and 207 children ranging from 7 to 18 ages (109 boys and 98 girls)) in Federation of BiH who volunteered to participate in this research. The questionnaire was purposefully made for this research.

Data Analysis

Before result analysis, the database is purified and adapted for statistical analysis. Open answers were coded, while the multiple-choice questions turned into multiple variables. The study results were subjected to qualitative and quantitative processing, depending on the nature of the results and methods of gathering information on which the results are based.

Instruments

Given all the above, we selected and constructed corresponding Instruments. Considering the main aim of our research, father's participation in rearing children, we created four sets of questionnaires: for fathers, mothers and children and each containing:

- **demographic questionnaire for all**, which consists of standard questions related to gender, age, place of residence, the child's class, education and occupation of parent/ professional staff.
- **Questionnaire** with o**pen ended questions** (for fathers, mothers and children related to their perception of duties of parents in children's rearing (part 2 and 3),

and type (part 2) frequency (5), activity fathers spend with their children.
- Questionnaire on the level of father's involvement and their role rearing children for fathers, mothers and children, which was constructed for the purpose of this study on the basis of previous research Apparao, Reifman and Munsch, 2003rd EU and Henderson, 2007th research in Scotland, which includes 12 items/indicators divided into five categories (school

tasks/obligations, meals/lunch, watching TV/ play/games, outdoor activities, talk). Respondents assessed questionnaire statements on a five point scale, (1 never, rarely, sometimes, often or 5 always).

Results

This study has been conducted on a sample of 207 families (316 fathers and 305 mothers as it can be seen from the table below. Following part shows tables with demographic characteristics of our research sample.

Gender	N	%
Fathers	316	50.8 %
Mothers	315	49.1 %
Total	621	100%

Table 1. Sample of participants in our research

Following is table of study sample based on place of residence

Place of Residence	Number of families	%
Urban	117	56.5 %
Rural	90	43.5 %
Total	207	100%

Table 2. Study sample by the place of residence

In table 3 we state research sample composition based on father's place of residence and educational background.

Father's level of education

Place of residence	No education	Primary school	High school	College	University	total
Urban	**0**	1	66	4	46	117
Rural		5	70	4	10	90
Total	1	6	136	8	56	207
%	0.48	2.89	65.7	3.36	27.5	100

Table 3. Study sample composition based on father's place of residence and educational background.

Considering the main purpose of our research, after demographic inquiries in our questionnaire, we asked our respondents to briefly describe activities they do when they are together (question no. 4 in our questionnaire). Following is the table with activities fathers and children stated they mostly do together.

		1. **Meals**		2. **Talk**
Family member		Subset for alpha = 0.05		Subset for alpha = 0.05
	N	M	N	M
Father	207	4.14	207	4.04
Child	206	4.21	207	4.25
Sig.		.413		.096

Table 4. Activities fathers and children in our sample perceive as most common category of stated five

Moreover, fathers also stated following activities which they spend with their children, with corresponding children's reports:

- Dining - 67 (30 boys, 37 girls)
- Talk - 63 (33 boys, 29 girls)
- Watching TV - 59 (34 boys, 25 girls)
- Play and watch football games - 16 (all boys)
- Walk / hike - 46 (21 boys, 25 girls)
- Homework and school activities - 33 (15 boys, 18 girls)
- Games: chess, cards, computer ... - 45 (26 boys, 19 girls)
- Sport and sport activities - 33 (21 boys, 12 girls)
- Jobs around the house and in the house - 23 (17 boys, 4 girls)
- All male jobs (14 boys)

Afore mentioned results indicate that meals and talk, as two most frequent activities fathers spend with their children, are followed by activities related to school tasks/homework, TV / games, and time spent outdoors (hiking, training, extracurricular activities). Fathers' involved activity category varies based on child's gender, thus fathers spend more time with girls doing schoolwork and tasks (M = M = 3.18 to 2.94 for boys) and walks (M = 3.08 to 2.88 for M = boys), and with boys, fathers spend do more talk (M = 3.88 to M = 3.53), watch TV and play computer games and generally play (M = 3.09 to 2.75), and do sports and training (M = 2.92 to M = 2.67).

These findings suggest that, in accordance with the findings in the theoretical part, fathers in our sample also do similar activities as Henderson found in his sample. In addition to this, we can notice that certain activities are gender conditioned, which will be subsequently discussed. The following are also some examples and excerpts of what fathers, mothers and children stated answering to question no 4 (what do you do with your father/child, or what does your husband do with your children) in our questionnaire.

Fathers stated:

- *"With my children I spend a lots of time doing a variety of jobs in agriculture, forest, some machines, my kids are fond of my work, I teach them to drive a car, tractor, etc. I fulfill their desires" ... (stated by a highly qualified miner)*
- *"A very long time we spend together, my child helps me a lot, we talk and he states his opinions about what he think is wrong". (Stated by a Miner)*
- *"My children are doing everything a man does within a household with me" (Economist)*
- *"We Ski together, swim; take the dog for a walk" (architect)*
- *"We do homework together and learn English" (Mechanical technician)*

Children:

- *"We eat, watch TV, cheer for our team and then I am most happy. (Boy, 15)*
- *With father I talk about football and about God. (Boy aged 9)*
- *Each minute spent with my father is very precious to me. (Girl, 13 years old)*
- *Me and my brother study together with our father, take a walk, play chess, do some wood and coal work. (Boy, 10 years)*

***Mothers**:*

- *Children learn a lot from their father about what should be done and how to respect others and those who are different than us. (Hairdresser)*
- *Every day after work, we all together have mandatory briefing on the daily events. (Lawyer)*

Father's involvement, among other things, can be measured in terms of frequency of time that father spends with his children. We have asked fathers, mothers and children an open question on how often fathers and children spend time together (question no. 5 in the questionnaire). Out of 207 fathers who responded to this question, 173 of them (83.5%) reported that they spend as much time together with their children as they are able to, and 39 of them explicitly stated that they spend their all free time with their children and family. 40 fathers stated that the major barrier to spending more time children their job/work tasks. In addition, remaining 34 fathers stated that they did not spend much time with their children. Although the type of fathers involvement and activity varies based on educational level and milieu in which families live, significant number of fathers (83.5%) stated effort to be active in children's lives, what was confirmed by mothers and children's statement. However, in 13 families (6.2%), fathers and children's responses to this question of time they spend together did not match. Fathers attributed much more time spent with their children in a various activities, while children responses significantly differed. For example:

Father	**Child**
We hang around daily, we talk	We do not spend much time together. When we are together, he mostly asks and I answer
We are together on a daily basis, eat, talk about tasks at school, at home	Dad works a lot and we are seldom together, when we are, we watch TV
We talk all the time, walk, watch TV	Father works abroad and is rarely home

Discussion

When measuring father's participation in children upbringing in F BiH, we conclude that higher involvement in children rearing is perceived by urban, highly educated and young fathers aged 28-40 years. Similar results were obtained from children. When it comes to the categories or types of activities fathers spend with their children these are: meals and conversation/communication, followed by schoolwork, TV / games and time spent on outdoor activities (games, sports, walks etc.) Also, fathers involvement in children rearing varies, based on child's gender, and fathers spend more time doing/helping girls with schoolwork and assignments and walk, and with they talk more, watch TV and play, play computer games and do sports and training. In addition to this, and qualitative analysis of an open question number 4 in our questionnaire and fathers in our sample, and in accordance with previous research (Apparal, Reifman and Munsch, 2003rd in the EU and Henderson,

2007) indicate that most often have meals and talk to their children, with a noticeable difference based on child's gender, where the fathers, in response to this open question stated, with girls spend the most time in the meals, walks and school requirements, and with the boys watching TV, especially playing computer games, play, do sports activities, and perform home tasks called. "Male's job".

Conclusion

Taking into account the relevant recent literature and research, as well as the findings from our research Federation of BiH we can say that father's personality, interests, life circumstances, behavior influence, directly or indirectly, behavior of children. The quality and the amount of time a father spends with children is equally important, regardless of whether children live with their father or not. Studies have also shown that children with committed fathers are better friends, have fewer behavioral problems, better school achievement, lower rates of crime and substance abuse, greater empathy, higher self-esteem. On the contrary, studies show that father's antisocial behavior, much more than mother's, is directly linked with children's behavior. Hence, one of the most important steps to eradicate violence is to properly understand the role and influence father's behavior on the child's personality development (especially boys) and make preventive steps to terminate the intergenerational transmission of negative behavioral patterns.

Our research results show that in our sample in the FBiH most involved in children education fathers from urban areas who are young and highly educated. In addition, regardless of place of residence, education level or age, fathers in our sample (83.5%) reported that they spend as much time with their children as they can, but they would like it to be more. 19.32% of fathers explicitly state that the major barrier to spending more time with their children are work duties and commitments. Generally speaking, when it comes to the activities that fathers do with their children, it is possible to say that fathers are most involved the meal and conversation with their children, followed by schoolwork, TV / games and time spent outdoors. However, it is important to mention that there is some difference in activities fathers spend with children based on child's gender. Fathers spend more time helping with schoolwork and assignments and walk with daughters, and with boys they watch TV and play games (indoor and outdoor) and do sports and training, but also do home tasks called "Men's jobs".

These findings (72.5% of families) reflect presence of traditional division of gender roles in BiH. However, as previously mentioned, this goes in line with traditional gender division of roles assigned to both genders (private roles assigned to women and public to men). Thus, these results should also be read in light of these assigned positions. There are many traditional Bosnian sayings that speak in favor of this thesis, and the most famous it is that the man is the head of the house, but the wife is the neck or as one respondent in a Research in BiH states: "Always turns out that I respect him, all he asks about everything and he decides, but in reality he has no idea about anything"(Spahic-Siljak, 178).

Our research has shows that slowly, the time when fathers in FBiH were not directly involved in the rearing children is coming to an end. Hence, fathers in compliance with their knowledge and opportunities want to be part of their children's lives. However, the barriers posed before BiH fathers who wish to participate in the lives of their children range from inadequate long working hours, lack of knowledge, to the binary system by which fathers who want to be caring and sensitive parents are socially stigmatized. These fathers often

claim that they are victims of unfair decisions by judges and social workers who are prejudiced against them just because they are men, considering them, automatically guilty and violent and depriving them their parental rights and equal contact with the children.

Limitation of Research

This study has limitation associated with sampling and overall responses and study results cannot be generalized to the entire BiH population. As this study was not an experimental type, it was necessary to state the purpose and aim of the research and therefore researchers noted outcry among parents and families often refused to participate in the study. It is noteworthy to mention that respondents were generally reluctant to participate in research and generally disinterested and closed showing skepticism and unwillingness to cooperate and talk about the topic. Still, we believe that this has not diminished the quality of the data obtained, because research was directed towards affirmation of father's role in rearing children by investigation of father's participation in children upbringing in BiH. Of course, there is still the possibility that members of the families who agreed to participate in the study gave socially desirable answers. Also, when looking at the results it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that all three family members filled out questionnaires at the same time and that this could also have affected individual members of the family (i.e. a child or a mother) to provide answers desirable within their household. These were the risks of which we were aware of at the beginning of the research, however, none of the other available methods within the time and resources provided for this study did not allow parallel testing of all three members of the same family (father, mother and child) and compare their answers and the ability to test (dis)agreement and (not) matching attitudes among members of the same family, which we thought was very important and necessary characteristic of this research.

References

Aldous, J., Mulligan, G. M., Bjarnason, T. (1998). Fathering over time: What makes the difference? *Journal of marriage and family,* 6, 703 -716.

Allen S., Daly k., (2007). The effects of father involvement : An updated Research Summary of the Evidence Inventory, FIRA CURA, Centre for families, work and well-being, University of Guelph

Alić, A. (2007). Povezanost sociopedagoških faktora obiteljskog života i transgeneracijskog prijenosa vrijednosnih orijentacija. Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija, Odsjek za pedagogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

Amato, P. R. (1994). Father-child relations, mother-child relations, and offspring psychological well-being in early adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 56, 1031–1042.

Baldry, A. C. (2003). Bullying in schools and exposure to domestic violence. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 27 (7),* 713-732.

Biller, H.B. (1970). Father absence and the personality development of the male child. *Developmental psychology,* 2, 181 – 201.

Brayfield, A. (1995). Juggling jobs and kids: The impact of employment schedule on father´s caring for children. *Journal of marriage and family, 57*, 321-332.

Canfield, K. (1999). Promises worth keeping, UW. Horn Blankenhorn i M. Pearlstein (ur.) *The fatherhood movement: A call to action. 43-55. Lexington Books, New York.*

Čudina-Obradović, M., Obradović, J. (2006). Psihologija braka i obitelji. Golden marketing, Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb.

Dunifon, R., Kowaleski-Jones, L. (2002). Who is in the house? Race differences in cohabitation, single parenthood and child development. *Child development*, 73, 129-1264.

Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: a social role interpretation.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Eagly, A. H., Steffen, V.J. (1984). Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution of women and men into social roles. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 46 (4) 735 - 754.*

Flouri, Eirini (2005). Fathering and child outcomes. Wiley and Sons Ltd, England.

Gender akcioni plan – GAP, Službeni glasnik BiH, 41/09, Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova BiH, Gender centar Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, Gender centar Republike Srpske.

Goldman, Rebecca (2005). Fathers' involvement in their children's education. National Family and Parenting Institute, London.

Hetherington, E. M. (1989). Coping with family transitions: winners, losers and survivors. *Child development,* 60, 1-14.

Istraživanje dimenzija maskuliniteta i nasilja - Zapadno balkanska incijativa za prevenciju nasilja zasnovanog na rodu/polu, CARE/ICRW, 2007.

Izvještaj o humanom razvoju, 2007: "Socijalna uključenost u BiH", UNDP/IBHI, Sarajevo 2007.

Izvještaj o provođenju strateškog plana za prevenciju nasilja u porodici za FBiH:2009-2010, Gender Centar FBiH, 2010.

Jaffee, S.R., Moffitt, T.E., Caspi A., Taylor, A. (2003). Life with (or without) father: the benefits of living with two biological parents depend on the father´s antisocial behavior. *Child development,* 74 (1), 109-126.

Kalmijn, M. (1999). Father involvement in childrearing and the perceived stability of marriage. *Journal of marriage and family,* 61, 409-421.

Kamenov, Ž., Huić, A., Jugović, I. (2011). Uloga iskustva rodno neravnopravnog tretmana u obitelji u percepciji, stavovima i sklonosti rodnoj diskriminaciji, *Rev.soc. polit.,* god. 18, br. 2, str. 195-215, Zagreb.

Kombinirani četvrti i peti izvještaj prema Konvenciji o eliminaciji svih oblika diskriminacije žena za FBiH, 2006-2009, Gender centar FBiH, 2010.

Lamb, M., Tamis-Lemonda, C.S. (2002). The role of the father: The role of the father in child development. 5. izd., Wiley and Sons Inc., New Jersey.

Lamb, Michael (1975). Fathers: forgotten contributions to child development. *Human development,* 18, 245-266.

Lamb, Michael (2010). The role of the father in child development, 5. izd., Wiley and Sons Inc., New Jersey.

Martin, A.C., Colbert, K.K. (1997). Parenting – a life span perspective. McGraw Hill, New York.

Pašalić-Kreso, A. (2004). Koordinate obiteljskog odgoja. Sarajevo: Jež.

Settles, B.H., (2000). The future of families IN: B, Sussman, S.K., Steinmety and G. W., Peterson (editors), Handbook of marriage and the Family, Plenum press.

Spahić-Šiljak, Zilka (2012). Propitivanje ženskih, feminističkih i muslimanskih identiteta – postsocijalistički konteksti u BiH i na Kosovu, CIPS, Sarajevo.

Stephens, M. A., (2009). Gender differences in parenting styles and effects on the parent-child relationship. Texas State University-San Marcos, University College.

Stevenson-Hinde, J., (1998). Parenting in different cultures: time to focus. *Developmental psychology,* 34, 698-700.

Witt, Susan D. (1997). Parental influence on children's socialization to gender roles, *Adolescence,* ljeto, 1997.

The dad deficit: the missing piece in the maternity jigsaw. (2008). Fatherhood Institute. http://www.fatherhoodinstitute.org/2008/the-dad-deficit-the-missingpiece- of-the-maternity-jigsaw/, accessed on 12.1.2012.

THE ROLE OF HISTORY EDUCATION IN VIOLENT CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY FROM LEBANON

Erik VAN OMMERING, PhD Candidate

VU University Amsterdam

Abstract

This paper explores how history education plays a role in the reproduction or transformation of violent conflict. Based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Lebanon, it analyses students' and teachers' perspectives, the production of curricula and textbooks, as well as academic and political involvement in the field of history education to outline the varying agendas and motivations for muting a painful past. As such, history education is approached as a social phenomenon that is constituted in various places and times and by a variety of actors who, despite working with the same curriculum, attribute highly divergent meanings and practices to it. In Lebanon, the paper shows, silencing past conflict in history classrooms effectively reproduced and reinforced conflict rather than overcoming divisions. Moreover, the de-historicised understanding of violence and hostility attained by young generations today deprives them of essential skills that allow them to disentangle the contradictory historical claims made by parents, political leaders, media, and other sources. Instead, we find non-reflexive, one-dimensional takes on violent conflict as something unavoidable and part of everyday normality. The paper calls for new methodologies and contextualized approaches to reforming history education in order to bolster its constructive contribution to conflict transformation in divided societies across the globe.

Keywords: History Education, Violent Conflict, Curriculum and Textbook Design, Lebanon, Ethnography.

Introduction

"I tell my students that they should learn from the past in order to build a better future. But how can they learn when I can't teach them about our history?" Rana, the history teacher at Al Nour school, vents her frustration as we watch our students play a game of basketball on the playground below us. "They ask me 'Miss, why does Lebanon have so many wars?' and 'Who fought in our civil war?' I can only reply that they should ask their parents, or that they will understand as they grow older. I don't know what else to say. Here, talking history means talking politics. And talking politics will only ignite new wars!" The young teacher looks troubled as she describes how her attempts to make students learn from Lebanon's volatile past are thwarted by the fact that discussing history inevitably speaks to today's political differences and, as a result, sparks polarization and hostility among the young.

During the successive lunch break I am accompanied by a group of grade eight students. As they nibble on their freshly baked *mana'eesh*, they complain "mister Erik, we're having a history test but it's too much and too boring!" I enquire about the theme of their test. "It's about Bashir. He was a king, long ago". "Was he a king of Lebanon?" The students look confused and, upon conferring amongst themselves, declare that "Bashir was king of Lebanon, as well as of some other countries". As the group strolls on across the playground, one girl sits down beside me. "Today I memorize this chapter," she sighs, "but tomorrow I will forget everything. History is useless." I ask if ever history lessons had appealed to her and her classmates. She stares at me in disbelief; the mere idea of history offering anything of interest is resolutely rejected. "It's only about old men. Really, I don't get why we should learn all of this. It won't help us in any way! Why do you think we all hate history?"

As students brace themselves for their exams, I find myself a wooden bench in the back of the classroom to examine the history textbook. I am curious to discover what students learn about the twentieth-century history of Lebanon and, in particular, the range of violent conflicts the country witnessed since gaining independence in 1943. How are young generations taught about their nation's volatile past? And how are conflicts from the past linked to society at present?

Leafing through the textbook, I find the historical narrative to come to a standstill in 1943, the year Lebanon cast off French Mandate rule. The textbook's final chapter lauds the freedom, religious coexistence, and prosperity that were to befall the Lebanese in the decades to come. These hopeful prospects, however, contrast sharply with actual post-independence experiences of many Lebanese. Most striking is the complete neglect of Lebanon's civil war which, between 1975 and 1990, killed approximately 150.000 people, injured multitudes, and displaced roughly a quarter of Lebanon's four million population. Up to 17.000 people remain missing to date. Renowned for the scale and brutality of atrocities, Lebanon's civil war affected virtually every family across the country, often inflicting both personal and material loss. Its legacies impact society today and shape its prospects for the future. Still, the history textbook seeks comfort in silence. It also falls short of discussing the decades of sectarian discord that have locked the state in a perennial state of political instability, as well as Lebanon's position in the lingering 'Middle East conflict' – in particular its volatile relations with Israel and the approximately 400.000 Palestinians who have sought refuge in Lebanon since Israel was founded in 1948.

Watching the students fill sheet upon sheet with the paragraphs memorized while pacing up and down the schoolyard, I sense the irrelevance and estrangement they feel towards an official history that ignores events of fundamental importance to their society. Simultaneously, I empathize with teachers' hesitation and helplessness with regard to teaching conflict histories, which would inevitably ignite volatile dynamics tied to present-day political polarization. As the school bell rings and students rush back to the playground, I am left wondering how silencing a painful past, in an institution as significant as formal education, shapes young generations' capacities to overcome prolonged conflict and build a brighter future.

In this paper, therefore, I explore how history education relates to the production of hostility and violence in a divided society. The case of Lebanon serves as analytical example; theoretical conclusions derived from this case study, however, extend their bearing to other societies in conflict. The paper sets out by situating the phenomenon of history education in modern states in general, and in conflict areas in particular. Subsequently, it assesses the

various actors and media involved in the production of the phenomenon of history education, including students and teachers, curriculum designers and historians, textbooks and media outlets, teacher colleges and the Ministry of Education, warlords and policy makers. We examine each of these in detail so as to understand how history education is studied, taught, designed, and discussed in relation to a context of continuing, multi-layered conflict. Eventually, this will enhance our understanding of how history education may play a constructive role in processes of conflict transformation.

History Education in Conflict-Affected Societies

Children across time and place have invariably learned about the past of the communities they are born in. The standardized form history education has assumed today, however, is rather typical of the modern age. Compulsory mass education emerged as part of the eighteenth and nineteenth century rise of nation states as sovereign political actors on the world stage (see Boli, Ramirez, and Meyer 1985; see also Anderson 1991). These newly emerging states usurped a central role in providing education to their constituents, including an authorized narrative of the nation's collective past. Ever since, systems of compulsory mass education have featured as prominent, and often unquestioned, components of 'modern' life and societal development.

State-led educational systems not only prepare young citizens for participation in national economies; they also seek to direct children's loyalties towards the nation and national policies, thus subordinating identifications with religion, ethnicity, class, and gender to the notion of the nation (cf. Korostelina 2008; Schiffauer et al. 2004). A prominent component in the project of the nation state, history education plays a key role in shaping children's identifications. As such, it has been intricately linked to quests for representation and power. Drafting the national curriculum, namely, necessitates a choice as to how the development of the nation is traced and represented through time: who are considered ancestors of the nation, and who are defined as foreigners or enemies? Which historical eras and figures are included in the narrative, and which are left out? The choices made in defining the history of the nation are shaped by political interests and paradigms in the present (cf. Podeh 2000, 81). The acknowledgment of history education as an inherently political endeavour is, therefore, a critical first step in our quest to understand its linkages with violent conflict.

School-taught history tends to differ from a history as object of academic enquiry as it foregrounds cultivating productive and loyal citizens rather than serving inquisitive, reflexive, or 'objective' purposes. VanSledright stipulates that history textbooks, instead, tend to objectify past events, glorify particular political leaders, and downplay episodes of controversy and internal conflict (2008). Accordingly, they arrive at a predetermined, deterministic, or linear understanding of a nation's movement across time which. This conception has been proved to be a cultural construct rather than a natural given (Anderson 1991; Eriksen 2002). To our aim of understanding the relation between history education and conflict, it is important not only to understand history education as inherently political, but also as a cultural product of a particular time and place.

Official or authorized history usually become solidified in national history curricula that outline the selection of what are perceived the nation's key historical episodes and personalities. These history curricula, in turn, constitute the basis for history textbooks as used in classrooms. Not only the contents of national history curricula and textbooks, but also

their production sheds light on current power configurations in a particular context. Both content and production reveal who is entitled to define a nation's historical narrative through the selection of events and actors – and who is not; which approach, style and language are deemed appropriate for conveying the nation's past, and which images, maps, and symbols are incorporated to support the narrative – and which are not. Many of the choices made throughout this processes are politically informed; and all reflect dominant cultural practices and paradigms.

Thus far, we have established that history education plays an important role in shaping children's identifications with social collectives; that its current, near universal application is linked to the rise and hegemony of nation states in the modern era; and that the development of history curricula and the content of textbooks reflect political power at least as much as academic enquiry. History education tends to value one dominant perspective over a complex whole of possible alternative interpretations and is therefore linked to political struggles for legitimacy and representation. This helps us understand why history education in conflict-affected societies is contested to a degree that scholars refer to it as a 'battlefield' (Baranović 2001; Davies 2009; Foster and Crawford 2006), a 'weapon' employed in identity politics (Bush and Saltarelli 2000; cf. Cole 2007; Degu 2005) or a site of 'war' (Korostelina 2010).

National histories tend to frame the past in a way that serves a particular, simplified, and often deterministic understanding of the nation's position in time and space. Yet, when sub-national identifications prevail over national ones, for instance among religious or ethnic minorities, the overarching, national historical narrative may be questioned, challenged, or rejected. This is especially true when communal relations within a state have been marked by oppression, exploitation or violent competition. In such cases, interpretations of the past may diverge substantially from one group to another, thus impeding the emergence of a historical narrative that spans the perceived truths of all parties concerned (cf. Smith 2005, 33). This is particularly acute in societies where fresh memories of violence weigh heavily on social interaction, which is evident in Lebanon. In such contexts, warring parties tend to take great pains to transfer their subjective truths to next generations in an attempt to garner support and legitimacy among the young, as well as to authorize their perspectives through a powerful and internationally recognized medium as education (cf. Hein and Selden 2000, 3–4; Zembylas and Bekerman 2008, 129).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, scholars found history textbooks to 'appear to function more as a disintegrative than integrative factor in post-war reconstruction of social life' (Baranović 2001, 24), thus cautioning that 'post-war history education seems to pave the way for future confrontations' (Höpken 1997, in Torsti 2007, 91). In Israel and Palestine, '[history] education [has turned] into a means for deepening the Jewish-Arab rift instead of [helping] pave a shared civility' (Al-Haj 2005, 67–68; cf. Podeh 2000). As for Northern Ireland, students' identities keep revolving around sub-national communal identities (Barton and McCully 2005). Finally, in Rwanda, Freedman *et al.* witnessed how the 'the distortions of a history that the government wishes to tell, the constraints against teaching students how to be critical thinkers, and, above all, the fear of productive conflict have profound implications for the establishment of a healthy democracy in the country' (Freedman et al. 2008, 684). Overall, academic research on history education in conflict-affected societies has demonstrated that historiography and history teaching is a highly delicate matter in terms of both content and didactic format, and susceptible to political meddling that prioritizes partisan over collective identifications.

Approached as sites of political contestation, an analysis of history education helps us understand both a conflict's perceived historic origins and fault lines (as outlined in textbooks) and its contemporary production and underlying motivations (as reflected in the battlefield surrounding its implementation, reform, and revision). Curiously, however, few scholars have adopted an integrated approach to examining the linkages between history education and violent conflict. In the educational field, literature tends to focus on curricula and textbook content, disregarding the social realities in which texts are read and interpreted. At the same time, social scientists looking at contemporary violent conflict rarely take either children's perspectives or their education seriously; and hardly ever do they assess students' learning materials or question the role of mass education in shaping the dynamics of conflict. This paper seeks to position itself on the junction of educational and social sciences: it examines the production and contents of learning materials, but also their consumption by students and teachers. It studies the history curriculum but also the political negotiations surrounding its production (or the lack thereof). History education is neither found solely in textbooks, nor in the political arena, nor in everyday classroom and playground realities; rather, it is a phenomenon that is constituted in various places and times, and by a variety of actors who, despite working with the same curriculum, attribute highly divergent meanings and practices to it. Understanding how history education is linked to violent conflict requires acknowledging the multi-sitedness and complexity of this relationship; which an ethnographic approach is well-suited to accomplish.

Now, let us turn our gaze to history lessons in Lebanese elementary schools. The subject of history is officially taught from grades six to nine, as students are between ten and thirteen years of age (Ghosn 2010). Yet, the intensity, quality, and outlook of history lessons differ substantially, as we will see. The paper now takes us from students and teachers experiences, via textbooks, academics and curriculum designers, to the administrative and political arena. As such, it examines the role of history education in the reproduction or transformation of protracted violent conflict.

Students' Perspectives on History Education

"In school, we didn't learn anything about the civil war. It is as if it didn't happen. All I know comes from what I heard in my family," recalls Maia, a South Lebanese woman in her early twenties, mirroring the observations of the vast majority of students who participated in this research. Still, silencing the 'Lebanese war' – arguably the most influential and disrupting episode in the country's twentieth century history – in school does not imply indifference among students when it comes to this episode. Contrarily, many of them display keen awareness of civil war events, yet often without being able to picture their context, causes or outcomes, let alone give an impression of the war as a whole. Children usually become acquainted with the civil war in the context of the family. As noted above, many families lost relatives or friends or were forced to flee their homes, the memories of which continue to resonate within families and communities. Still, it seems, parents are mostly reluctant to transfer detailed accounts of suffering and violence to their children. As students, in their quest to find out more about Lebanon's past, are disappointed by family members and history teachers, yet another rich source of information opens up: political parties, sometimes having roots in the civil war era, are more than eager to disseminate their perspective on the past through media outlets, internet forums, scouting groups, books, and websites. As a consequence, subjective civil war memories live on among present generations, unmediated by school-taught, national, history lessons.

Students' often note that history education as taught in schools is irrelevant and unappealing, resulting from both course content and didactics. "Why don't we study the real history?" they would ask, referring to the conflicts and discord that struck their society since independence. A student in the powerful documentary movie *Darson fel Tareekh* (A Lesson in history) by Hady Zaccak (2011) complains that "history just suddenly stops. You get this feeling they think that if history is going to create a problem, then we should just forget it."

Still, students' views diverge as to whether the civil war should become part of the national history curriculum or remain silenced as it is today. "We would love to be taught about the civil war. It was a long war and it had a great impact on Lebanon. It was terrible, and it is important that I know more about it," a girl states in Zaccak's film. Another student argues that "as Lebanese, we should study [the civil war] to understand its consequences, so that we don't repeat it". Proponents of including lessons on the civil war are met with opposition from students who caution that "if we start talking about modern history in school, hatred and problems will come out". This fear that discussing Lebanon's civil war will reignite hostilities reverberates widely in schools. "It is a bad idea to learn about the civil war. I think the civil war will have an impact on students and make them think in another way about what has happened" (in Zaccak 2011).

Not only the civil war makes up what students consider as "the real history". As a rule, all discordant subjects are muted in the classroom; most notably the country's troublesome relationships with its southern neighbour Israel and, related, with Palestinian refugees inhabiting refugee camps across the country. The lack of education on such critical issues causes children to have difficulty interpreting their present surroundings, as exemplified by a student who approached me saying "yesterday I went to the South and I saw a Palestinian ... ehh ... an Israeli farmer!" Officially, Israel does not exist to Lebanese students; the maps in their geography textbooks refer to either Palestine or extend Jordan's borders to the Mediterranean. Still, when asked where the jet fighters come from that deafen our ears as they stage mock raids on a nearby town, students declare "Israel!" When enquiring where Israel is situated, however, they remain puzzled; "it's Palestine! There is no Israel!"

In the wake of the 2006 war between Israel and Hezbollah, students complained that their teachers explained very little about the war. "All windows were broken," one nine-year old boy remembers a few months after the war, "but the teachers said nothing about it". Upon asking why their teachers did not go into details about the war, one of his classmates replied that "teachers did not tell us anything cause then we would remember [the war]". Still, he assured me that everyone did remember the war (see Van Ommering 2011). Likewise, a couple of grade six and seven girls who live close to the border with Israel likewise lamented teachers' lack of reading of events. "We would like to understand more about the war. We did not know why Israel came, why they killed people. But we want to know!"

Accordingly, major issues in Lebanon's post-independence history are left aside in history class. Students are aware of these hiatuses, yet they appraise them differently. Some lament history class not offering insights into civil war as this prevents them from both understanding the socio-political conditions under which they live and drawing lessons from the past. Others claim that discussing conflict history will reignite hostilities instead of dampen them. Fact of the matter is that students receive little training in how to understand conflict as a process in time, the causes and dynamics of which can be assessed and addressed. A de-historicised understanding of violence and hostility deprives young

generations of the necessary tools to disentangle the contradictory historical claims as propagated by parents, political leaders, and news media; to see how conflict is constructed and can, likewise, be deconstructed. The perspectives on Lebanese history that children attain today result in a non-reflexive, one-dimensional view of violent conflict as unavoidable and part and parcel of everyday normality.

Figure 1 - History class during school days. Retrieved from a personal Facebook page on 8 March 2013; attributed to www.michow.org.

The emergence of a de-historicised lens on violent conflict is not only informed by (lack of) textbook content; it also relates to the didactic and pedagogic means through which students are acquainted with the past. To students, studying history generally implies "memorizing information to repeat during the exam". "We memorize the leaders, the dates, the countries; we learn them by heart because our grades depend on it. But the day after the exam, we forget everything!" This culture of learning is powerfully captured by a cartoon (figure 1) that circulated on Facebook early 2013, entitled "History class during school days". The teacher asks her student "What is the Second World War?" upon which the student moves through stages of silent wondering, pretending to think, and poker face. He then requests the teacher to "give me the first word". "The," his teacher responds. "The" makes the student reel off the exact paragraphs as memorized from his textbook: "*The* Second World War was an international destructive conflict that [...]" This cartoon vividly mirrors didactics as witnessed in history and other classrooms, which revolves around obtaining high grades through neatly memorizing textbook content rather than critical learning and gaining an understanding of conflict as comprising multiple viewpoints and complex socio-political dynamics.

Summing up this section on students' perspectives, we have seen how, as a consequence of neglecting vital historical episodes, history lessons are perceived as unappealing and largely irrelevant. Didactic methods prevent students from engaging with the subject of history and historical subjects. As a result, students resort to alternative sources of information – family members, politicized media, and peers – that often reverberate one-sided or unfounded historical accounts. This results in a quandary that is neatly summarized by a student in Zaccak's documentary (2011): "he who doesn't know his own history will not be able to write his future."

History Teachers' Experiences and Perspectives

The perspectives of students on their history education surely raise curiosity as to the reflections of their counterparts in the classroom: how do history teachers perceive their critical position in a conflict-affected society? History teachers operate in a highly complex web of power relations, comprising students' interest in understanding the society in which they live; the limited contents of the national history curriculum; the narrow didactic outlook that radiates from current history textbooks and teacher training; the pressure exerted by political parties to endorse their interpretations of the past; and, finally, the personal conflict histories that teachers brings along to the classroom, shaping their capacities and perceptions. The current section will shed light on how teachers navigate these fields.

History teachers readily acknowledge their students' fascination with "real history". "For our students, civil war is *the* topic. At the end of the year, when we've finished the regular programme, students will always ask 'can you talk about the Lebanese war now?'," a teacher at a Christian private school observed. Similarly, a student in South Lebanon asked her teacher, "Miss, why does Israel want to hit Lebanon?" in reference to the on-going hostilities along the border. "Students want to understand why Lebanon has so many wars," Rana, the history teacher we acquainted in this chapter's introduction, noted. "They are curious to learn about their society". Teachers witness how the sectarian and polarized messages that target students outside school inevitably find their way into the classroom, compelling them to respond. The contradictions between the omnipresence of conflict in daily life – the missing family members, view of bullet-struck buildings, and haunting conflict memories – and its absence in educational environments and official narratives confronts teachers with a highly uncomfortable dilemma as to how to position themselves in relation to their students, both as a person and as teacher.

The foremost strategy employed by teachers to confront sensitive, conflict-related issues in the classroom is evasion. "School is a place for learning, not for discussing politics" is a phrase that I frequently encountered. To substantiate such approach, teachers either point out that history lessons ought to be based exclusively on the official textbook, which disregards recent history, or invoke school-wide bans on discussing 'politics' which sanction any reference to sectarianism or political discord. Both students and teachers proved sensitized to the fact that discussing Lebanon's past easily translates into 'politics' and, consequently, stirs tensions. As a rule, talking politics is sanctioned by suspension of any student or teacher who violation the decree.

Notwithstanding the usual ban on politics inside she school environment, I found both students and teachers eager to share their take on 'politics' and history as soon as a good degree of trust had been established with me, the researcher. Of course I was keen on getting to know their perspectives on these matters, but I cared not to propose the topic myself as this would breach the pledge I made with school principals to avoid raising subjects that touch upon sectarianism or conflict. Yet, when students or teachers approached me, for instance on the playground, in the teachers' lounge, during a break on the balcony, in the school bus, or outside school hours, I seized this chance to take note of their frustration with, or admiration for, political parties, leaders, countries, or the sectarian system in general. Speaking out offered my interlocutors a chance to express themselves according to their own needs, while it simultaneously provided me with important research data. Thus, both among teachers and students I found a widespread awareness that school should be a place away from conflict –

yet at the same time, both felt a need to express themselves as 'politics' and conflict are pressing issues that impact their lives on a daily basis.

Another issue informing teachers' objection to address conflict-related questions in the history classroom stems from a system of teacher training that fails to equip teachers-to-be with skills to manage, contain, or solve conflicts in the classrooms. Curiously, teachers in private elementary schools do not need teacher training in order to be admitted to teaching positions. A Bachelor's degree allows you to teach the lower grades, while a Master's degree authorizes teaching the highest grades. Didactics and pedagogy are supposedly taught on-the-job, not in university: "teaching is learned by doing". Yet, generally, only high end schools pay attention to teacher training and development. In most other schools, didactic practice remains based on static memorization instead of active participation. Exactly this static environment allows teachers to simply ban sensitive issues from being raised. In effect, critical examination of historical sources and appreciation of the multiple perspectives that comprise both the present and the past, is largely nonexistent – as reflected in figure 1, above. "It's all about names and dates: who came, who conquered, who were the leaders, when did they rule, what were their victories and defeats," is how one history teachers summarized the history lesson. The traditional history class thus offers place to neither recent history nor conflict resolution, as teachers feel unprepared to confront these subjects and entitled to ban them from the classroom.

As opposed to the Ministry of Education or other national institutes, political parties are highly active in the field of education. Through outings, scouts, political clubs, summer camps, and media outlets they actively recruit young generations for their agendas. Since the Ministry itself has been implicated in sectarian power struggles, as appeared during interviews with academics and school principals, it offers little counterweight to what some teachers described as an increasing pressure from parties to conform to their lines of interpretation. "When I say something bad about one party, the student will tell his or her parents. They will then call me, or complain with the administration, or come and protest during the teacher-parent meetings. One colleague even left school because she had been too outspoken about [a political party]. The headmaster put her under pressure to leave. I have never heard from her since". As such, addressing sensitive issues in the history classroom may directly impact teachers' basic economic and social security, offering another reason for them to restrain themselves in this regard.

What also impacts the way in which teachers deal with conflict history, are their personal experiences of conflict. Today's teachers generally came of age during the Lebanese civil war, which left its scars on their mental and physical conditions, their family compositions, and ways of coping with imminent or distant threats. "The civil war scarred us for life," one Beiruti teacher noted, "each new episode of violence brings back the horrible memories". A key strategy for coping with protracted insecurity and recurring conflict is the formation of what I conceive of as a 'parallel reality of normality' from which conflict and insecurity are expelled or turned into matters of 'the everyday' that are portrayed as marginal and harmless. Following the 2006 Israeli bombardments of chiefly Shi'a suburbs and villages, for instance, teachers in these areas "agreed that the war should not affect our work. We felt anxious and nervous, and it was very difficult, but we wanted children to experience school as normal so we hardly talked about the war. Of course the students could talk to us in private if they wanted, but in class we focused on our lessons". Similarly, one principal from a South Lebanese city recalls the days of civil war, highlighting that "school went on throughout the war, throughout the fighting". Adults, both in their capacities of teachers and

parents, naturally seek to ward off conflict and violence from affecting their students and children, and school seems to be regarded a powerful tool in this effort. Yet, attempting to push questions of conflict out of their and their children's conscience, simultaneously results in allowing the dynamics of conflict to persist. As such, teachers' own experiences of war and the stress and potential traumas deriving from episodes of conflict play a substantial role in shaping their capacities as actors in processes of conflict transformation.

One last factor I observed in my quest to understand how Lebanon's conflict-affected past and present feature in the history classroom, was the popular apathy towards history. Reading an academic account on Lebanon's history in a teachers' lounge, the English teacher asked me "what are you reading?" "A history of Lebanon," I replied, showing her the cover of the book. "Blaaaahh" she cried out, "I'm not interested!" The old Palestinian calligraphy teacher chipped in, saying "you shouldn't read about history. Just look out of the window, look around you that will make you understand the past". On another occasion, while sipping Arabic coffee on the school balcony and narrating his life story, the old man lamented children's historical ignorance. "Our students know nothing about Palestine, nothing about the *nakbah* (the 1948 'catastrophe' that expelled hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes), and nothing about us living here in refugee camps, in their very own country! They all hate Israel but they have no idea why..." Students' apathy with regard to history is a source of frustration among many history teachers. They often blame parents and the state for fostering a culture in which history has little sway. "I don't think parents teach their children about history. The first time they learn anything about the past is when they come to school. It's not like other subjects like English and math and Arabic, these are considered important in our society. Not history or civics". This reflection by a Muslim teacher from the South is reflected by a Christian teacher from the North who states that

> Youngsters have no clear connection with their roots due to the way they are brought up at home and at school. The relation that they have with history is practically non-existent in houses, unless you find families that would do a personal effort to tell them stories about their past. At school, the relation with history is bad, because the way it is given is very dry. So, he's a kid, he needs to have lots of imagination. The way history is taught at school, especially in public schools, does not allow that. On the other side, you have a more fun way to see that. Especially if parents do tell their children about the Lebanese legends, folk stories, architecture, this is fun, this is something that will push them to discover more.

As we now have examined students' and teachers' perspectives on history education and on learning and teaching conflict histories, it is time to move to explore to the sites where curricula and textbooks are produced, namely the political, administrative, and academic arenas where notions of the past are spelled out, authorized, printed, and disseminated.

The Production of the History Curriculum and Textbooks

At the basis of history teaching in all Lebanese schools, public and private, we find the national history curriculum that was issued by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education in 1971, shortly before the outbreak of Lebanon's 1975-1990 civil war. The curriculum has seen minor amendments in 1997 and 2000; for the most part, however, the framework of national history education has remained the same for more than four decades. The national history curriculum provides an overview of the historical episodes that are

deemed essential for Lebanese children to acquaint themselves with; these episodes revolve mainly around the major civilizations that affected, in one way or another, the territory of present-day Lebanon. Located strategically on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the Lebanese proudly claim their land has seen the rise and fall of no less civilizations than the Phoenicians, Akkadians, Egyptians, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Umayyads, Abbasids, Mamluks, and Ottomans. Its main urban centres of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyr have acted as major port cities across history, with Byblos not only being the cradle of the modern alphabet, but also one of the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world. The Romans, moreover, built their largest temple in Heliopolis and one of their chief law schools in Beirut. The imposing remnants of the former can still be admired in Hezbollah's stronghold of Baalbak; the remains of the latter are threatened by the city's unbridled construction spree.

The history curriculum basically reflects Lebanon's political history: it focuses more on civilisations, their leaders, conquests and defeats than on social and cultural histories of, for instance, common life, architecture, or crafts. Consequently, the curriculum proves susceptible to more than just 'objective' depictions of historical eras. This comes to light when comparing the ways in which textbooks depict certain civilisations and, in particular, in the ways in which they define the links between those past civilisations and present-day society. Reading textbooks authored by Christian or Muslim authors, for example, reveals that Christians tend to centre Lebanon's history on the Phoenician civilisation as opposed to Muslim textbook's prime identification with the era of Arab conquests and the spread of Islam (cf. Bashshur 2005). More recent history, as well, is coloured by current sectarian viewpoints, which is most evident in the way in which the post-Ottoman French Mandate Era (1918-1943) is described. The Christian-authored textbook adopts a positive to neutral stance towards the French, reflecting their close bonds with France, while a textbook authored by Shi'a Muslims denounces the French 'occupation'. The former celebrates Lebanon's transition to independence and the related 'amendment' of the 1926 constitution, while the latter talks about a 'battle' against the French to obtain 'real independence,' implying the 'cancellation' of the original constitution. Textbooks under review here are Hayek, Jean *et al.*, 2009, *Scientific History, Grade 9*. Keserouan, Lebanon: Habib Publishers; and Hawi, Abdul Hussein *et al.*, 2009, *The Clear Curriculum in History, Grade 9*. Beirut, Lebanon: Barakat Publishers.

Accordingly, while drawing on the same curriculum, textbooks vary considerably in their representations of both ancient and recent history and, as such, reflect the historical identities that suit sectarian interests in the present. To be sure, interpretative variation is still contained by the fact that all national textbooks prepare students for the same national exams. Yet, on the other hand, it is augmented by the fact that the Lebanese constitution underlines 'the rights of (religious) communities to maintain their own private schools [...] provided they conform with the general regulations issued by the State' (article 10). This implies that private schools can use materials that cater to the specific interests of the communities they serve, provided that passages dealing with Lebanese history in foreign textbooks are approved by the Ministry of Education. With 74 percent of students attending private schools, the diversity of political orientations in history education is significant. In line with the tendency to interpret the national curriculum along sectarian lines, the supplementary sources used in history classes also tend to buttress a historical outlook that foregrounds Phoenician and European heritage in the case of Christian schools, and Arabism in Muslim schools (Abouchedid and Nassar 2000; Bashshur 2005).

Education in general, and history education in particular, serves as a key facilitator of Lebanon's sectarian political system. Through schools, political parties strive to encompass young generations into narratives of belonging that feed into sectarian or sub-sectarian, rather than national identifications. Strikingly, one of Lebanon's most prominent politicians (and one time history teacher) Walid Jumblatt explained the 'continuing civil war in Lebanon' as 'a war to determine the correct history of the country' (in Salibi 1998, 201).

The high stakes involved in deciding on an official national history are exemplified by the lengthy, fierce, and hitherto fruitless process of curriculum reform and unification that followed the end of Lebanon's civil war. The 1989 Ta'ef Peace Accord that aimed at ending communal strife stipulated that 'curricula shall be reformed and developed in a manner that strengthens national belonging, fusion, spiritual and cultural openness, and that unifies textbooks on the subjects of history and national education,' thus highlighting the fundamental role of history education in processes of conflict transformation (cf. Dupuy 2008). A Plan for Educational Reform was presented in 1994. This document underlined the role of education in strengthening national cohesion and promoting 'authentic Lebanese values' such as liberty, democracy, tolerance and rejection of violence (see Frayha 2003). In 1998, a revised general curriculum (spanning the subject-specific curricula) was produced by the Ministry of Education's Centre for Educational Research and Development. This curriculum underlined values of respect, active coexistence, and acceptance of others. Each subject-specific curriculum was reworked as well – except for the history curriculum, which has been a focal point of sectarian strife from the beginning.

In 1997, a first committee made up of six historians with representative religious backgrounds assumed the task of revising the national history curriculum. 'The work of this committee and its deliberations were handled almost like a state secret,' Bashshur describes (2005). After three years, the committee released a set of guidelines for a unified curriculum that aimed to depoliticise the past through a focus on economic and social, rather than political, history. The text also dealt extensively with Lebanon's civil war, without appointing any of the parties as victor. The Minister of Education, however, disagreed with certain historical explanations and decided to prohibit circulation of the curriculum. Instead, a new committee was assembled. This committee managed to publish a history textbook for grades two and three by avoiding all references to the civil war and focused, instead, on non-Lebanese post-1960 history. Yet again, the educational minister stepped in and banned the textbook for listing the 'Arab Arrival' under the same category as the other occupations and conquests of Lebanon, therefore supposedly devouring the Lebanese of their Arab identity. This move was criticised by opposition forces who accused the Minister of acting on behalf of the Syrian regime which, at the time, exerted military and political control over Lebanon and had little interest in the cultivation of a Lebanese national identity. The head of the commission was fired and left the country when he was summoned for interrogation in Damascus (Fattah 2007).

Again, a committee was formed that, by early 2011, submitted guidelines for a new history curriculum and a draft curriculum for grades one to nine to the Council of Ministers. Following the collapse the government, however, progress towards adoption was stalled once more, as the Minister of Education regretfully acknowledged during the conference 'Learning and Teaching History: Lessons from and for Lebanon' in March 2011. By the end of that year, as a pro-Syrian coalition government had been formed, the draft history curriculum was finally submitted. The following three months witnessed fierce debates between government and anti-Syrian opposition forces, mainly revolving around the way in which the 2005 killing

of former Prime Minister Hariri and the subsequent mass protests, which led to the withdrawal of the Syrian military from Lebanon, ought to be reflected in the curriculum. I use quotes from various news sources (see list below) to summaries the clash:

> Opposition: The new curriculum ignores the 2005 Cedar Revolution, the massive protests that pushed Syrian troops out of Lebanon. Is it possible to deny historical facts and bright pages from Lebanese modern history?
> Government: No. The Cedar Revolution is just an illusion set by the other camp.
> Opposition: The Cedar Revolution resulted in Lebanon's second independence, and formed the basis for the 'Arab Spring' that started in 2010.
> Government: We cannot keep such a phrase in the curriculum. It is sensitive to many in the country and it might create problems between people.
> Opposition: Would it be reasonable to scrap Liberation Day, which marks the withdrawal of Israeli troops from south Lebanon in 2000? I don't think we have the right to remove Hezbollah's liberation of south Lebanon from the history curriculum. The same applies to the Cedar Revolution.

Debates did not only centre on the recent history of Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon in 2005. They focused as well on representations of Hezbollah's resistance against the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon, Lebanon's civil war, and the country's ancient history. In February 2012, for example, the Minister of Education decided that public schools should attribute one hour to 'the Culture of Resistance,' thereby referring to Hezbollah. The anti-Hezbollah opposition sternly objected, asking the Minister "what Resistance are you talking about? Are you referring to the one which plunged Lebanon into [futile] wars and achieved illusory victories? Or is it the Resistance which violated Lebanon's sovereignty through establishing [its own private] telecommunication networks on public properties?" Clearly, a Christian opposition leader claimed, the government is using education to forward its own interests, not those of the country at large.

The subject of civil war sparked even fiercer disputes. The Syrian Social Nationalist Party argued that the civil war should be attributed to internal rather than regional causes, as they claimed was the case in the draft curriculum. Christian leader Gemayel protested that the curriculum referred to certain war-time events merely as 'incidents,' asking "was the Syrian shelling of Ashrafieh for one hundred days an incident? Were the siege over Zahle and the killings there an incident?" Hezbollah, in turn, demanded the curriculum to include additional lessons on Shi'a figures and its own military achievements.

Going even further back in time, Minister of State Qanso complained that the text neither mentioned the secret 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, which divided the Levant between France and the United Kingdom, nor of poet Maroun Abboud "who shed light on Lebanon's historical lands". He also grumbled that the 19th century scholar and politician Abdul Qadir Al-Jazairi was characterized as a Lebanese figure, while he actually wasn't. Finally, an Armenian Member of Parliament protested that the entire Armenian sect had been written out of Lebanon's official history.

It took until the end of February for Michel Aoun, the main Christian leader in the Hezbollah-led government, to cry out that "this history textbook is not suitable for use in schools". Christians in the opposition, in turn, called for "educational disobedience" should the new curriculum be approved. On 10 March 2012, students belonging to Christian opposition parties marched to Parliament to demand the withdrawal of the draft curriculum. As they were met with a blockade of Lebanon's Internal Security Forces, clashes erupted that left fourteen students wounded. They nevertheless managed to hand a letter to the Prime Minister demanding a "review of the draft textbook and the development of a new unified textbook through an impartial procedure that presents all points of view on controversial subjects in order to produce a textbook that respects history". In the face of vehement criticism from all sides and an attempt to curb further escalation, the Prime Minister had no other choice than to "put the history book issue on hold until it acquires the endorsement of the majority of Lebanese".

This section showed how the national history curriculum has been at the centre of political bickering and polarization both among academics, curriculum designers, textbook authors, and politicians. We have seen how successive attempts at drafting a national history curriculum were frustrated once they entered the political realm. As a consequence, a pre-civil war curriculum has set the standards for history education across Lebanon for decades, offering sectarian parties substantial leverage to promote their take on ancient and recent national history. The Ministry of Education, in as much as it would want to promote a unified history that turns the civil war into something overcome, rather than sustained, seems handcuffed by sectarian interests. Now let us try to integrate the views and experiences of the various factors involved in the chain that makes up history education in a conflict-affected setting like Lebanon, so as to arrive at an overall understanding of the role of history education in conflict transformation and reproduction.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, we heard history teacher Rana vent her bitterness at being unable to help students overcome a legacy of antagonism and violence. We also noted students' resentment towards irrelevant and unappealing history lessons that disregard the "real history," compelling them to turn to family members and partisan media to fill the blanks left by national history teaching. In view of Lebanon's continuing sectarian crisis, the threats by Hezbollah and Israel to unleash ever more lethal strikes, and the ongoing destitution of Syrian and Palestinian refugees, this chapter asked how history education can contribute to a transition away from protracted conflict and towards a more secure and less violent future. Cautioning not to raise unrealistic expectations of education alone being capable of achieving major socio-political change, this chapter has nevertheless sought to establish an understanding of history education as a critical conjuncture of past conflict and future prospects, of societies recreating and changing themselves across generations, of local lived realities and political processes at national and international levels, and of structural cycles of hostility and windows for peace-building. As such, history education emerges not only as a productive lens through which to attain better understanding of the interplay between processes at micro- and macro-levels that together comprise contemporary violent conflict; it also proves a hopeful site for interventions in support of conflict transformation and peace building.

A central concern that features in students' frustrations, teachers' didactic aims and strategies, textbook content, curriculum design, and political processes, is the inclusion or

exclusion of controversial historical episodes. This inclusion/exclusion quandary can be reduced to a simple question: what makes an era or person fit for history education? Or even more condense: what makes something history? We have seen that Lebanon's civil war is banished from the realm of history education by students, teachers, curriculum designers, and politicians alike; yet, paradoxically, all of them simultaneously point to this very war as the central defining element in Lebanon's history, as the era that is fundamental to understanding present-day Lebanon, and as an episode that *has* to be addressed in order to move beyond on-going sectarian hostility and trauma.

Curiously, this paradox in Lebanese history education has been signaled by virtually all leading international news outlets. In 2007, the International Herald Tribune warned that 'the failure to forge a common version of the events is dooming the young to repeat the past' (Fattah 2007). The BBC in 2009 described how Lebanon's entire history has been politicized and fuels on-going sectarian tension (Antelava 2009). In 2011, Al Jazeera produced the provoking documentary film A Lesson in History that was referred to above, which highlighted not only students' dissatisfaction with irrelevant and evasive history lessons but also the kaleidoscope of national, religious, and ethnic identifications adhered to by Lebanese children (Al Jazeera World 2011; Zaccak 2011). Finally, in 2012, CNN dedicated a video report to young generations' ignorance of civil war history, cautioning that such conditions risk reinforcing sectarian divisions and extending cycles of violence (Maktabi 2012). These media reports revolve around the strong belief that a new civil or international war is looming, and an equally strong conviction that education, and particularly history education, has the potential to alter the course of conflict – or the course of history itself.

Lebanon's transition to unity and peace, it seems, is obstructed most by the fact that it has not yet referred its own past to the realm of history. This is, in turn, informed by the above described paradox of reluctance to confront past violence out of fear that this would reignite rather than overcome hostilities, a stance that effectively facilitates the persistence of cycles of war. Filmmaker Hadi Zaccak contends that "maybe, military speaking, [the civil war] ended, but the themes are still present". He explains that most Lebanese want to move on and just ignore this sorrowful period; yet "no matter what you want to talk about, you finally [stumble upon] the phantom of the civil war. We have not finished this phenomenon at all" (Now Lebanon 2009). Similarly, Melhem Chaoul, professor of sociology at the University of Lebanon, states that "the problem with the civil war was that nobody won, and you still can't write its history because we are still not at peace" (*ibid.*). This is exemplified by a female student in Zaccak's documentary film (2011). When asked about her view on teaching Lebanon's civil war history, she replies "do you mean the civil war of last year, or the old one?" The civil war of last year that she mentions refers to the events of May 2008 when Hezbollah-led gunmen assaulted neighborhoods and areas generally associated with anti-Syrian, Sunni and Druze parties. Hence, Issam Khalifeh, professor of history at the Lebanese University, concludes that "it is not possible to agree on a unified [history] curriculum since the war in Lebanon is not really over yet; you still have armed factions throughout the country" (Meguerditchian 2012). According to this line of reasoning, Lebanon's history curriculum ignores the civil war simply because the war rages on, albeit less overtly violent than prior to the 1989 Ta'ef Accord.

Yet, on the other hand, we see a nation weary of warfare and instability. Many Lebanese dissociate themselves as much as they can from political elites, their sectarian struggles for power, and the war games staged in Lebanon by regional and global powers. Part of this attitude entails acknowledging the necessity to get to terms with the past; not

necessarily through extensive research and re-exposure, but rather through acknowledging that it is in everybody's best interest to overcome the terror of war as a collective, not as a society incessantly divided along the same confessional lines that inflicted such suffering. In this light, there is little that could serve the nation better than a national history textbook that turns the civil war and other conflicts into a thing of the past: a period drawn to a close, an episode overcome. As much as students, teachers, curriculum designers, academics, and politicians agree on the advantages of banishing the civil war from the nation's collective memory, they assert with equal fervour the importance of arriving at a unified history curriculum, which is seen as a crucial step in breaking cycles of violence that have wreaked havoc among families irrespective of their religious or political background.

This being widely acknowledged, leaves us with the question whose interests are most served by the ongoing, state-led amnesia (see figure 2). This paper alludes to the existence of a tacit understanding across society that opening the wounds of the past is a risk not worth taking – a calculation based primarily on short-term considerations. Yet, it also reveals that the stakes are particularly high for Lebanon's current political leadership, whose opposition to anything close to a national history curriculum is unmistakable. The media accounts that have been scrutinized in the light of this chapter mainly portray politicians as being willing but unable to arrive at a consensus. However, a close look encourages us to replace this suggestion of *inability* with the proposition that leaders instead never have had the intention to reach a consensus in the first place; they are *unwilling* to support the production of history books that shed light on Lebanon's recent past. Why so?

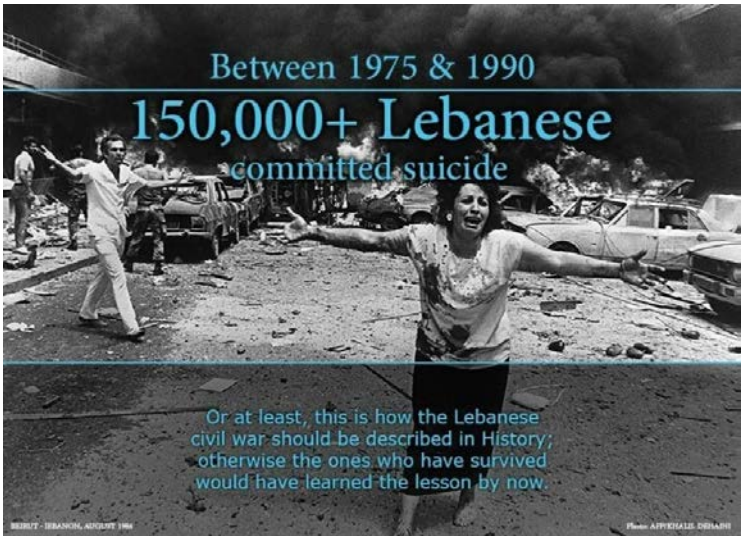


Figure 2 - Image criticising the state-led amnesia surrounding Lebanon's civil war. Unknown source; background image by AFP/Khalil Dehaini; retrieved from Facebook on 8 January 2013.

The status quo of a sectarian-based history teaching that evades controversial subjects effectively serves power holders' cause of nurturing legitimacy and support among the young. Moreover, and importantly, it allows them to prevent a Pandora's box of war crimes, massacres, and corruption from being opened that pertains to most, if not all, current political leaders. The extreme gruesomeness of civil war atrocities has been recorded by journalists (Fisk 2001; Friedman 1990), novelists and film makers (Khoury 2009; S. Makdisi 2006;

Tabbara 1979; for analyses see Khatib 2008; Nikro 2012), as well as academics (Haugbolle 2011; Johnson 2002; Randal 1990; Volk 2010). Benefiting from a general amnesty law that covered crimes committed before 28 March 1991, Lebanon's warlords-turned-politicians from all sides have a strong, *shared* interest in maintaining the sectarian system of power-sharing, *and* concealing their war crimes. Lebanon's political elite, thus, has acted as main proponent of post-civil war 'state-sponsored amnesia' (Young 2000; see also Haugbolle 2010), yet it employs the mass media and committees assigned by the Ministry of Education to uphold the image that they are indeed ready to face the past and pursue a unified history curriculum for all Lebanese – as long as it "reflects the truth" and "leaves no essential episodes aside".

Lebanon's political leadership, however, does not merely consist of politicians in the sense of elected officials who can be deposed in case of disappointing performance. Instead, they are elites in elaborate systems of patronage in which state institutions act more as facade for sectarian interests than as sovereign bodies that serve the nation as a whole. This system of political dynasties, although despised by many Lebanese, has its roots in Ottoman times (if not before) and is anchored in virtually all political and social affairs in Lebanon. In fact, it underpins the very state of Lebanon in which all public posts are allocated according to sectarian background – including the ones at the Ministry of Education – and life is governed by religious rather than civil bodies of law. Until today, efforts at abandoning sectarianism and promoting civil law have mostly been fruitless. There seems to be no critical mass willing to pursue drastic political change; too many people seem either uninformed about the prospects of an alternative political system, or too comfortable in the current situation. This is to say that the prospects for a new curriculum are not merely tied to leadership change, but to a change in Lebanon's political system as a whole.

Until that time, students will lend their ears to the "real histories" disseminated by political parties. Not only do partisan explanations of the past fill the blanks left by official textbooks, but they also offer viable explanations for the everyday realities of sectarian hostility and insecurity. And sectarian media channels do so much better than history textbooks that merely laud Lebanon's pluralism and freedom, representing a disconnect with society as experienced in everyday life. As a consequence, schools in general, and history classrooms in particular, remain essential links in the reproduction of conflict. Firstly, they are used by political parties to promote a view on history and related identifications that support the party's paradigm. Secondly, they serve as spaces where students and teachers share their experiences and perspectives – outside the scope of the no-politics-and-no-religion decrees. Sectarian discourse is thus easily reinforced when left unchallenged by narratives of national unity. Lastly, apart from politicised history lessons, it is mainly what is left untaught in schools that persuades children to inform themselves on "real history" by turning to family members and political parties, who both tend to convey biased and limited interpretations of the past.

In Lebanon, silencing the past in history education effectively reproduces and reinforces cycles of violent conflict. Oppositely, in countries like Bosnia and Herzegovina or Israel and Palestine, it has been argued that teaching conflict histories renders similar outcomes. As both silence and discussion bear negative outcomes, an evident need exists to approach history education from new angles. We should take into account the various spheres and actors involved in the making of history education to understand their interrelations and depart from the lived realities and perceptions of conflict to develop tailor-made, new methodologies of teaching and learning history: thus stimulating the development of critical

attitudes, depoliticized textbooks, and comparative, international approaches of education that move history education out of the danger zone towards being an instigator of peace building in conflict-affected societies across the globe.

List of media reports on the Lebanese history curriculum in general and the 2012 battle over history education in particular

1. Date			2. Source	3. Title
4. 2006	5. 12	6. 22	7. Middle-east-online.com	8. Lebanon School Pupils Learn 'Resistance'
9. 2007	10. 01	11. 10	12. International Herald Tribune	13. A Nation with a Long Memory, but a Truncated History
14. 2009	15. 04	16. 08	17. BBC News	18. History Lessons Stymied in Lebanon
19. 2009	20. 10	21. 20	22. Fox News	23. Lebanese School Rips Pages From Textbook Critical of Hezbollah
24. 2009	25. 10	26. 25	27. NOW Lebanon	28. Hezbollah Censors Private School Textbook
29. 2009	30. 11	31. 15	32. NOW Lebanon	33. A History Lesson for Lebanon [review of Zaccak's documentary film 'A History Lesson']
34. 2009	35. 11	36. 20	37. The Daily Star	38. Lebanon's History Awaits its Textbook
39. 2010	40. 12	41. 10	42. The National	43. Hidden Identities: Writing Lebanon's History
44. 2011	45. 03	46. 28	47. The Daily Star	48. Schools Need Standardized Textbooks, Education Minister Says
49. 2011	50. 04	51. 30	52. The Daily Star	53. Debate over History Curriculum Reignites
54. 2011	55. 07	56. 08	57. Al Jazeera English	58. A Lesson in History [broadcast of Zaccak's documentary film 'A History Lesson']
59. 2011	60. 12	61. 21	62. The Daily Star	63. Ministerial Committee Plans to Approve Draft Unified History Curriculum
64. 2012	65. 01	66. 29	67. A Separate State of Mind	68. The Case of Lebanon's History Book
69. 2012	70. 01	71. 31	72. The Daily Star	73. History Curriculum Revision Sparks Controversy
74. 2012	75. 01	76. 31	77. LBCI	78. [Minister] Kanso to LBCI: There is a National Need for a Unified History Book
79. 2012	80. 02	81. 04	82. NOW Lebanon	83. Is the Cedar Revolution History?
84. 2012	85. 02	86. 06	87. Al Manar	88. Why Did Palestinian Refugees Come to Lebanon? Leb. Schools Won't Tell!
89. 2012	90. 02	91. 07	92. The Daily Star	93. 2005 protests Won't Be in Curriculum: Fattoush
94. 2012	95. 02	96. 25	97. NOW Lebanon	98. March 14 Member Criticizes Decision to Teach "Resistance" as Subject in Schools
99. 2012	100.02	101.27	102.NOW Lebanon	103.Education Ministry Clarifies Reason for Teaching 'Culture of Resistance'
104.2012	105.02	106.27	107.NOW Lebanon	108.LF Students Object to teaching "Resistance" as Subject in official Schools
109.2012	110.02	111.27	112.NOW Lebanon	113.LF Students: Which Resistance Are You Talking About?
114.2012	115.02	116.28	117.LBCI	118.Mikati: History Book Ought to be Drafted Away from Personal Considerations
119.2012	120.02	121.28	122.LBCI	123.Aoun: History Book Inappropriate for Reading
124.2012	125.02	126.28	127.An Nahar	128.Aoun: No Settlement Has Been Reached Yet over Administrative Appointments

129.2012	130.02	131.28	132.The Daily Star	133.Mikati: History Curriculum No Place for Narrow Interests
134.2012	135.02	136.28	137.LBCI	138.Sami Gemmayel: We Refuse a History Book Mentioning Only One Resistance
139.2012	140.02	141.29	142.YaLibnan.com	143.Proposed History textbook Omits the Cedar Revolution
144.2012	145.02	146.29	147.The Daily Star	148.Schools Will Boycott History Syllabus in Current Form: MP
149.2012	150.03	151.02	152.NOW Lebanon	153.Aoun-goals, Day After Day
154.2012	155.03	156.04	157.LBCI	158.Draft History Book Draws Criticism over Omission of Key Facts
159.2012	160.03	161.05	162.LBCI	163.The History Book Dilemma Where Historians are Writers and Politicians are Directors
164.2012	165.03	166.10	167.YaLibnan.com	168.14 Injured in Beirut over Civil War history Book
169.2012	170.03	171.13	172.NOW Lebanon	173.Mikati: History Book Issue 'On Hold'
174.2012	175.03	176.16	177.Al Shorfa	178.Writing of New History Textbook Sparks Political Dispute in Lebanon
179.2012	180.04	181.14	182.Qantara.de	183.History of the Lebanese Civil War: Coming to Blows over a School Textbook
184.2012	185.06	186.08	187.CNN	188.Lebanon's Missing History: Why School Books Ignore the Past
189.2012	190.08	191.22	192.Tayyar.org	193.Lebanon's Crisis: Education

References

Abouchedid, Kamal, and Ramzi Nassar. 2000. "The State of History Teaching in Private-Run Confessional Schools in Lebanon: Implications for National Integration." *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 5 (2): 57–82.

Al-Haj, Majid. 2005. "National Ethos, Multicultural Education, and the New History Textbooks in Israel." *Curriculum Inquiry* 35 (1): 47–71.

Al Jazeera World. 2011. "A Lesson in History." *Al Jazeera World*, July 8. http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/general/2010/04/20104673737483233.html (accessed on 7 May 2013).

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London & New York: Verso.

Antelava, Natalia. 2009. "History Lessons Stymied in Lebanon." *BBC News*, April 8. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7988399.stm (accessed on 7 may 2013).

Baranović, Branislava. 2001. "History Textbooks in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Intercultural Education* 12 (1): 13–26.

Barton, Keith C., and Alan W. McCully. 2005. "History, Identity, and the School Curriculum in Northern Ireland: An Empirical Study of Secondary Students' Ideas and Perspectives." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37 (1): 85–116.

Bashshur, Munir. 2005. "History Teaching and History Textbooks in Lebanon." In Istanbul, Turkey.

Boli, John, Francisco O. Ramirez, and John W. Meyer. 1985. "Explaining the Origins and Expansion of Mass Education." *Comparative Education Review* 29 (2): 145–170.

Bush, Kenneth D., and Diana Saltarelli. 2000. "The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children". Florence, Italy: United Nations Children's Fund.

Cole, Elizabeth A. 2007. "Transitional Justice and the Reform of History Education." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1 (1): 115–137.

Davies, Lynn. 2009. "Think Piece on Education and Conflict Prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011 'The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education'". Paris: UNESCO.

Degu, Wondem Asres. 2005. "Reforming Education." In *Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges*, edited by Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren, 129–145. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Dupuy, Kendra E. 2008. "Education in Peace Agreements, 1989–2005." *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 26 (2): 149–166.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2002. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*. Second Edition. London & Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.

Fattah, Hassan M. 2007. "Lebanon's History Textbooks Sidestep Its Civil War." *International Herald Tribune*, January 10. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/10/world/africa/10iht-beirut.4163377.html (accessed on 7 may 2013).

Fisk, Robert. 2001. *Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Foster, Stuart J., and Keith A. Crawford, ed. 2006. *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*. Greenwich, CT: IAP.

Frayha, Nemer. 2003. "Education and Social Cohesion in Lebanon." *Prospects* 33 (1): 77–88.

Freedman, Sarah Warshauer, Harvey M. Weinstein, Karen Murphy, and Timothy Longman. 2008. "Teaching History after Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience." *Comparative Education Review* 52 (4): 663–690.

Friedman, Thomas. 1990. *From Beirut to Jerusalem*. London: Collins.

Ghosn, Irma-Kaarina. 2010. "Quest for National Unity: The Rhetoric and Reality of School Curricula in Lebanon." In *Curriculum Development: Perspectives From Around the World*, edited by James D. Kirylo and Ann K. Nauman, 208–224. Olney, MD: Association of Childhood Education International.

Haugbolle, Sune. 2010. *War and Memory in Lebanon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2011. "The Historiography and the Memory of the Lebanese Civil War." *Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*. Paris: Sciences Po. http://www.massviolence.org/The-historiography-and-the-memory-of-the-Lebanese-civil-war.

Hein, Laura Elizabeth, and Mark Selden. 2000. "The Lessons of War, Global Power, and Social Change." In *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*, edited by Laura Elizabeth Hein and Mark Selden, 3–52. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Johnson, Michael. 2002. *All Honourable Men: The Social Origins of War in Lebanon*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Khatib, Lina. 2008. *Lebanese Cinema: Imagining the Civil War and Beyond*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Khoury, Elias. 2009. *Yalo*. New York: Picador.

Korostelina, Karina. 2008. "History Education and Social Identity." *Identity* 8 (1): 25–45.

———. 2010. "War of Textbooks: History Education in Russia and Ukraine." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43 (2): 129–137.

Makdisi, Saree. 2006. "Beirut, a City Without History?" In *Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by Ussama Makdisi and Paul A. Silverstein, 201–214. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Maktabi, Rima. 2012. "Lebanon's Missing History: Why School Books Ignore the Past." *CNN*, June 8. http://www.cnn.com/2012/06/08/world/meast/lebanon-civil-war-history/index.html (accessed on 7 may 2013).

Maniscalco, Fabio. 2007. "Preventive Measures for the Safeguard of Cultural Heritage in the Event of Armed Conflict." *Web Journal on Cultural Patrimony*. http://www.webjournal.unior.it/Dati/19/73/Web Journal 3, salvaguiardia bbcc guerra.pdf (accessed on 17 April 2013).

Meguerditchian, Van. 2012. "History Curriculum Revision Sparks Controversy." *The Daily Star Newspaper - Lebanon*, January 31. http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2012/Jan-31/161640-history-curriculum-revision-sparks-controversy.ashx (accessed on 17 may 2013).

Nikro, Saadi Norman. 2012. *The Fragmenting Force of Memory: Self, Literary Style, and Civil War in Lebanon*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Now Lebanon. 2009. "A History Lesson for Lebanon." *Now Lebanon*, November 15. https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reportsfeatures/a_history_lesson_for_lebanon (accessed on 17 May 2013).

Podeh, Elie. 2000. "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)." *History & Memory* 12 (1): 65–100.

Randal, Jonathan. 1990. *The Tragedy of Lebanon: Christian Warlords, Israeli Adventurers and American Bunglers*. London: Hogarth Press.

Salibi, Kamal S. 1998. *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered*. London & New York: I.B. Tauris.

Schiffauer, Werner, Gerd Baumann, Riva Kastoryano, and Steven Vertovec, ed. 2004. *Civil Enculturation: Nation-State, Schools and Ethnic Difference in Four European Countries*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Smith, Margaret E. 2005. *Reckoning With the Past: Teaching History In Northern Ireland*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Tabbara, Lina Mikdadi. 1979. *Survival in Beirut: A Diary of Civil War*. London: Onyx Press.

Torsti, Pilvi. 2007. "How to Deal With a Difficult Past? History Textbooks Supporting Enemy Images in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39 (1): 77–96.

Van Ommering, Erik. 2011. "Schooling in Conflict: An Ethnographic Study from Lebanon." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 31 (9/10): 543–554.

VanSledright, Bruce. 2008. "Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education." *Review of Research in Education* 32 (1): 109–146.

Volk, Lucia. 2010. *Memorials & Martyrs in Modern Lebanon*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Young, Michael. 2000. "The Sneer of Memory: Lebanon's Disappeared and Postwar Culture." *Middle East Report* (217): 42–45.

Zaccak, Hady. 2011. *Darson Fel Tareekh (A History Lesson)*. Documentary Film. Doha, Qatar: Al Jazeera Documentary Channel.

Zembylas, Michalinos, and Zvi Bekerman. 2008. "Education and the Dangerous Memories of Historical Trauma: Narratives of Pain, Narratives of Hope." *Curriculum Inquiry* 38 (2): 125–154.

THE ROLE OF MEMORIALS IN THE POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY: ACTIVE MEMORY AND (IM)POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION

Alma JEFTIĆ, Teaching Assistant

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract

Memorials, ceremonies and rituals have the purpose of reviving the past, honoring the victims and re-remembering. However, quite often these rituals contribute to re-creating conflict. Regardless of the legal basis used to determine placement of memorials in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the manner in which these activities are implemented, interpreted and transmitted by the media, as well as the existence of three different narratives and conceptions of truth complicate the process of reconciliation. Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees published the draft text titled: "The strategy of transitional justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina for the period of 2012-2016", in which memorials have been mentioned as one of the five primary forms of reparations. The aim of this paper is to explore the role of memorials and ceremonies in the creation of collective memory, and the ways in which they can threaten or undermine opportunities for reconciliation. The study is organized in qualitative research design in which literature review and archive analysis is applied. Archive analysis includes documents relevant to memorials and ceremonies of 1992-1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (newspaper articles, documentaries, movies, books, peer-reviewed journal articles). It is to conclude that different narratives and truths about the past existing in today's Bosnia-Herzegovina hinder the process of reconciliation. All of the tasks prescribed by Strategy of transitional justice have still not been met, while memorials and ceremonies in most situations only complicate the process of reconciliation and contribute to creating a sense of collective guilt and responsibility for members of certain groups. It is necessary to reorganize memorials and conduct commemorations in a way they provoke confrontation with the past primarily at the level of the individual, and then group. It is not allowed to ignore the fact that the memorials primarily have pedagogical function and must be placed accordingly.

Keywords: Memorials, Commemorations, Post-Conflict Society, Reconciliation.

Introduction

Memory as a cognitive process involves receiving, retaining and re-reproducing of previously acquired content. However, it also has a social component that separates it from the rigid mechanism of adoption - retention - reproduction. In addition, the collective memory refers to the shared memories of group members that are often associated with the past conflicts.

Memorials, ceremonies and rituals are some of the methods to revive the past, honoring the victims and re-remembering. However, very often these rituals contribute to the

re-induction of the conflict and the attribution of collective responsibility to the members of one group, making it difficult to establish and build reconciliation.

The aim of this paper is to present the role of memorial ceremonies in the creation of collective memory, and the ways in which they can threaten or undermine the possibility of reconciliation. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina today reveals that memorials and the anniversaries of the suffering can contribute to cohesion in the country, since in most cases they contribute to an even greater rift. Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia-Herzegovina in June 2012 published draft text entitled "Transitional Justice Strategy in Bosnia-Herzegovina for the period 2012-2016". It concerns the process of dealing with members of the society of Bosnia-Herzegovina who suffer from war traumas and their consequences. The Strategy was developed in cooperation with representatives of government institutions, organizations and individuals from civil society and representatives of associations of families of victims. Memorials have been mentioned as one of the five primary forms of reparations.

However, regardless of the legal basis used to determine the set of memory and memorials in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the way such activities are implemented, interpreted and transmitted by the media, as well as the existence of three different narratives and conceptions of truth complicate the process of reconciliation. Also, it is necessary to reorganize the way people build memorials and organize commemorations in order to avoid potential confrontation with the past primarily on the level of the individual, and then group. In doing so, it should not be ignored that memorials have primarily pedagogical function and thus must be raised.

Memory and Remembrance

Basically, memory is considered as a mental facility that allows an individual to understand, retain and upon necessity retrieve knowledge relating to personal experiences that influence the formation of identity. The concept of collective memory involves the understanding that both groups and societies have the ability of a common memory and remembrance (Halbwachs, 1992). Sometimes, individual memories can be in conflict with the collective representations of the same event, which is why different subgroups of society apply a variety of ways to remember and report on the same events. Also, there is a difference between direct and indirect lived experience, which is an important way in which certain experiences can be transmitted through generations (Devine-Wright, 2008, according to, Cairns et al., 1999).

Yerushalmi has made the difference between memory (*mnene*) and remembrance (*anamnesis*) (Yerushalmi, 1988, according to, Haas, Levasseur, 2013). According to Yerushalmi, memory is a constant, while remembrance represents consciously re-created version of the past. Therefore, the collective forgetting can be defined as the process by which people voluntarily or passively, by the indifference, laziness, ordinary negligence or any event that disrupts daily routine refuse to re-invoke the memory of past events (Haas and Levasseur, 2013).

It is not easy to define social memory, and the terms "social" and "collective" memory are often used without clear demarcation. In the literature, one can find many definitions of it such as: a memory shared by all members of a community (society, community groups or age groups), memory that depends on social processes such as social communication, as well as remembrance shaped through social interaction, experience and communication (Haas and Levasseur, 2013).

Although memory has been considered as a cognitive component, it has a social category that is emphasized by Bartlett (1932). He was among the first who recognized the importance of conversation and rituals for memory. He also stressed the importance of

participation in social or ethnic groups as important since the process of remembering does not occur in a vacuum, and forgetting is influenced by the emotions.

Some of the research in the field of social identity (McKeever et al., 1993, Cairns et al., 1999) indicated the different ways of remembering and describing the same events by members of different ethnic groups (in both cases, both groups were in conflict). Also, there was a different attribution of responsibility for the same events between members of two different ethnic groups. So the Catholics in Northern Ireland, much more remember the suffering from Catholics (members of the group), but suffering from Protestants in clashes in 1980 (McKeever et al., 1993). Social groups shape memory in terms of conflict, which significantly depends on the status within group and the strength of intra-group representation. The term "instrumentalization of the past" means the manipulation of historical events, which includes the creation of a new order of memory.

There is a lot of literature concerning forgetting as social and collective phenomena (Haas and Levasseur, 2013). Ricoeur (2004) has devoted a part of his book "Memory, History, Forgetting", to this concept and offered interpretation at two levels: the depth and manifestation. However, Merton was among the first who investigated the phenomenon of institutional forgetting. Memorials, museums, monuments and street names are also involved in the formation of historical consciousness, because at this level memory becomes selective and forgetting takes its roll (Haas and Levasseur, 2013).

Active memory is embodied in the concept of tradition and commemoration, which include collective memory and "myths" (Cairns, Roe, 2003). Although analyzed mainly by cognitive psychologists, memory and remembrance have a social component that is particularly reflected in the post-conflict societies in which the memory of the conflict hinders the functioning of the present.

Remembrance as a Creator of New History

According to Harald Welzer (2010) study of social phenomena of memory is opposed to the problem that social memory is neither substrate of senses that remembers nor any central authority of operating memory in the brain. As a consequence, social memory exists solely between subjects and never within them, while the form of existence is determined by communication. Therefore remembrance in the family does not serve as a reservoir of memories, but rather as a catalyst for various elements of the past that need to be specifically combined between the involved parties (Welzer, 2010).

By replication of Bartlett's famous experiment on memory and narrative Welzer came to the conclusion that the adoption and transfer of past imagination follows patterns that are specific to a particular generation, which further indicates the "viscosity" of social memory (Welzer, 2010). Generation can be viewed as ambiguous term because it on the one hand indicates the continuity of life, while on the other marks a new beginning (Kuljic, 2009). It is, as such, an important factor in selective memory, and the different generational relationships determine the structure of society.

Life in the past can be very dangerous, because it prevents progress and creation of vision of future. However, without knowing the past there is no advanced vision for the future (Kuljic, 2009). Different generational communities form and various community memories, and their relationship to the past define their value system. The concept of social memory refers to the dynamic interaction between history, culture and cognition.

At the individual level, there are three sources of knowledge: history, collective memory and individual experiences that are combined to create a subjective view of historical reality, another "common sense" narrative that is often manifested through identity and autobiographical context (Hewer and Roberts, 2012). This model of social memory,

which comes from the theory of social representations, makes a distinction between collective memory, which is resistant to change, and representation of the past discussed within the broader social milieu, which has the potential to develop into a new or changed perspective, especially when these are sensitive to shifts of generations.

The formation and maintenance of collective memory depends on the psychological effectiveness of social practices (Hirst and Fineberg, 2011). Hirst and Fineberg (2011) suggested four ways in which individual memory can lead to the formation and maintenance of collective memory: the efficiency of the action, the presence of inaction, the relevance of the personal past and "presentism." Actions of Flemish nationalists in the construction of the memorial and writing literary works were essential components in the formation of collective memory, and the effectiveness of their actions can be interpreted psychologically by Bartlett's schema-consistent memory (i.e., the new material is better remembered if there is a connection between it and the material that is already stored in memory) (Hirst and Fineberg, 2011).

Also, the formation and maintenance of collective memory is influenced by inefficient actions, or even inactions. As an example of inefficient actions Hirst and Fineberg (2011) cite the decision of the Belgian government on the date commemorating the First World War (whether this will be the date representing the beginning of the war or the date of its completion). First the government declared that this will be the date of beginning of the war, but, three years later, the decision was changed to the date of the end of the war. This relatively rapid change has led to difficulties in understanding clear message about the war, since they were replaced by setting an alternative, which is a classic example of "competing response" according to Baddley (Baddley, 1997).

Also, as stated by Hirst and Fineberg (2011) government representatives in Belgium sometimes used silence as a means to establish collective memory. Partial silence is much more effective means of inducing forgetting, and the role of politicians in doing so was to induce both sides to forget what has been done on time, and was supposed to be done (Hirst, Fineberg, 2011). Forgetting is more active when there is partial silence, because when people remember the past, or listen to others as they do so, they are faced with different memories that are "struggling" to be remembered, while their repression and expulsion reveal on the surface a socially desirable memories on an unconscious level. In the case of complete silence there would be no need to recall information, so that forgetting can occur very quickly, and partial silence leads to reinforced active forgetting of those details that are not mentioned. For example, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a variety of information offered by various politicians lead to oblivion of the unspoken, tacit details depending on which political party an individual favors.

Assman (1995) observed how memories are transmitted through generations for many years through interviews or other forms of communication. However, if these memories date back to the generation of great-great-grandfather, then an ordinary conversation is not enough, and people are starting to consciously maintain memory through monuments, memorials, commemorations, history textbooks. Therefore collective memory include personal memories that are transmitted through communication, and later various forms of memorial. Also, the collective identity of the individual retained position based on personal recollections, and therefore, more personal remembrance is, the more it retains and has a greater impact (Hirst, Fineberg, 2011).

Although the collective memories present the embodiment of the past, they equally reflect the present (Hirst, Fineberg, 2011). Notwithstanding the efforts of the society, people tend to form their memories to reflect current attitudes and emotions (Ross, 1989). According to Ross (1989), if someone changes their attitude towards a contentious issue, she/he will mistakenly remember that she/he always had/have that attitude and will try to shape their

memories to make the political opinion to be stable throughout life. Thus form a circle in which memories encourage existing stereotypes and attitudes, while the same approach is based in part on current stereotypes and attitudes.

Collective Memory and Social Reconstruction

Historical identity of the individual and / or community implies a form of recapitulation of meanings attributed to one's personal past and was adopted as the repertoire of interrelated symbols and representations that monitor the current choices (Mininni et al., 2013). A need for the elaboration of the past often tried to explain the political argument about the importance of paying debts, but reviewing the past is reflected in the state of denial, according to which some events are exaggerated or invented, and others have been completely erased. Sometimes the past is so affected by the identity of the individual or the group that may represent an explanation for the emergence of prejudice (Mininni et al., 2013).

Commemorative discourse analysis showed an association between the common feelings of individuals and historical identity of the community (Leone et al., 2009). This discourse also maintains a dialogue between institutional and public opinion, forming a historical identity, which is made up of discursive practices through which individuals and communities re-elaborate the significance of those events in which they are actively engaged and / or which are very important for their existence (Mininni et al ., 2013).

Collective memory can be seen as a mediator, which implies the interaction between social actors and culture. When viewed in this way, it becomes a product of the interaction between what is stored in memory and what exists in the world, i.e., it can be treated as a publicly accessible symbol. Company reconstructs the world in order to better remember and for this purpose raises monuments and organizes memorial gatherings. For example, in America there is a monument to President Abraham Lincoln, whose role is that people never forget Lincoln, but it is not about any form of forgetting - it is about remembering him as a divine figure (Coman et al., 2009). Policy of building the monument itself and the way in which society ensures that tourists regularly visit the same partly explains the way in which this monument built collective memory of Americans. However, the world is crowded by memorials and commemorations, but not everyone is so effective in keeping the collective memories of the community.

Memorials can change the remembrance of visitors. If it is a significant change, which is also similar to the majority of visitors, then the formation of collective memory can occur. However, if the change is not significant, or if different from the visitor to visitor, the impact on collective memory will be minimal (Coman et al., 2009). Therefore, according to Coman (2009), Lincoln, which sits like Zeus in Greek temple leaves a strong impression on the visitors (unlike, for example, a monument by President Jefferson).

When considered in this way, collective memory can be analyzed as a common individual memory that partly arise from artifacts that society creates and maintains, including memorials. Olick (1999) defined the collective memory as a publicly accessible symbols and thus emphasized its importance and function for society. The function of identity is important, especially because not all shared memories are necessarily collective.

Memorials in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Legal Framework and Psychological Picture

In their report entitled “Memorials and Democracy. Government Policy and Civil Action”, Brett et al. defined demoralization as the process of creating public memorial as a physical representation of the activities related to the events of the past which are in public spaces (Brett, S., et al., 2007). Proponents of memorials consider it necessary to cope with the past conflict, because it contributes to the construction of national identity and respect for human

rights. Also, victims in post-conflict societies support erecting a monument to the murdered and marking the date of death as an act of respect for the casualties.

The construction of memorials and commemoration of important dates from conflicting past are behavioral process that defines the position of the individual in the time continuum (Frijda, 1997). In this process of commemoration and tribute to casualties and murdered victims occurs social identification in which the individual is fully devoted to other group members. According to Schudson (1995), dissociation and loss of emotional intensity disappears during the commemoration activities. Also, these activities are an integral part of the collective memory. Even though the reason for the gathering is tragic because it involves loss, it is still a powerful factor contributing to group cohesiveness and sense of belonging (Cairns, Roe, 2003).

However, the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina today shows that memorials marking the anniversary of the suffering and contribute to cohesion in the country, in fact, in most cases, contribute to an even greater rift. Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees in June 2012 published draft text entitled "Transitional Justice Strategy in Bosnia-Herzegovina for the period 2012-2016". It concerns the process of dealing with members of the society of Bosnia-Herzegovina who suffer from war traumas and their consequences. The Strategy was developed in cooperation with representatives of government institutions, organizations and individuals from civil society and representatives of associations of families of victims.

Within the Strategy memorials have been mentioned as one of the five primary forms of reparations, which include compensation, restitution, rehabilitation, satisfaction and various forms of guarantees of non-repetition (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016).

> "The process of demoralization is directly adjacent to the obligations of the State to ensure satisfaction for violating the law, as well as to protect the historical memory, to prevent the denial, revision and denial of the past and ensure the prevention of violations. Generally, memorials have a function to provoke an emotional response, as well as to provide knowledge about a particular event." (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016, 17)

However, in the process of transitional justice pedagogical function is attributed to memorial which is further reflected in education, stimulating an open and broad social dialogue about their role and importance, with the aim of respecting human rights, and avoidance of repetition of traumatic past (Brett, S., et al. 2007). Accordingly, the Strategy envisages standards and criteria for raising memorials. As the two main problems in the process are determined one-sided view of the past and the inconsistency in the direction of initiation, giving approvals and financing the construction of the memorials. Yet the initiative to raise memorials still comes primarily from family members of victims, and legislation that would regulate the procedure at the state level does not exist.

The legal basis for construction of memorials in Bosnia-Herzegovina are the entity and cantonal laws and legislation, as well as law of spatial planning and land use of Brcko District, which governs the organization, use and allocation of land and the measures and guidelines for the protection of areas of importance to these levels of government, up to local governments (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016). In accordance with these laws, for the construction of any purpose, request must be submitted to responsible institution in which the property is defined. Approvals for raising memorials usually give urban local government services. However, when it comes to

the educational function of the memorial as well as their role in the realization of transitional justice, none of the aforementioned legal regulations provide adequate answers.

Also, besides the aforementioned, at the state level there are certain legal documents, as well as the institutions that regulate the area of raising memorials in their domain of competence: the Law on Missing Persons, Annex VIII of the Dayton Peace Agreement (or the Commission for Perseverance of National Monuments) and Criteria for school names and symbols (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016). Pursuant to Article 20 of Law on Missing Persons it is overseen the right of families of missing persons to request that the place of burial and exhumation (individual or joint) should be marked, regardless of the number of victims or missing persons. Based on that Article the Rulebook on the marking of places of excavation and burial of missing persons is written (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016).

However, financing the construction of the monument and the memorial was to be carried out by the Fund for support of the families of missing persons in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has never been established, so that the necessary funds are set aside by the local government, donors or even the families of the victims themselves to bear all the costs.

Authority to receive and decide on applications for designation of property as a national monument due to the cultural, historical, religious or ethnic importance has a Commission for Perseverance of National Monuments, which consequently determines the criteria and the time period for declaring certain property as a national monument. Commission considers Bosnian-Herzegovinian history to the 1960s as the relevant period which determines whether the monument can be taken into consideration, while all the monuments created after this year can be considered only if they have a special artistic value.

At the state level there is another regulation that treats memorials and which applies only to those raised in the school buildings and courtyards. These are the Criteria for school names and symbols, created under the Interim Agreement on meeting the special needs and rights of the returnees, who are signed by the ministers of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Srpska on 5th of March 2002, with the aim of creating conditions for the inclusion of returnee children in schools across the country and to ensure temporary solutions in the area of education and guarantee equality of all constituent peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Revised Strategy of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the Implementation of Annex VII of the Dayton Peace Agreement, 2008).

Based on these criteria, the eligible school symbols of war are memorial plaque containing names of the fallen, year of birth and year of death, which do not contain interpretations and qualifications of the war, as well as monuments without offensive and unacceptable text messages (Revised Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Implementation of Annex VII of the Dayton Peace Agreement, 2008). However, these criteria lead to problems in the case of multi-ethnic schools (if there is a need for setting up different symbols, it can easily cause a conflict), or mono-ethnic schools ("minority" in a predominantly mono-ethnic schools and their relationship to the monuments set by the majority).

According to the Strategy of transitional justice, reparation mechanisms of justice consists of ensuring the right to reparation and perseverance of the collective memory for the

events from 1992 to 1995, in order to overcome the consequences of violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law, and restore dignity to the victims of war and ensure their social reintegration (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016, 65).

Memorials - the Memory of the Victims or the Birth of a New Conflict

The main strategic goal of memorialization according to the strategy is to build and preserve the collective memory by raising memorials and initiating a dialogue about the past, in order to prevent repeat crimes (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016, 76). Accordingly, the proposed two strategic programs are: establish standards and criteria for raising and maintaining the memorials and commemoration activities; and initiate a dialogue about the past through appropriate processes of memorialization and commemoration, with the goal of building a culture of remembrance.

According to the Strategy, it is essential to organize consultative meetings with representatives of public opinion within which to analyze the emotional, educational and historical role of the memorial and commemoration, but also to initiate the adoption of a unique state law. In the study of UNDP "Dealing with the past and access to justice from the perspective of the public" from 2010, 72.4% of respondents from both entities and the Brcko District said they considered previously built memorials and monuments in Bosnia-Herzegovina important for dealing with the past (UNDP, 2010). Also, 75.1% of respondents from both entities and the Brcko District said there is a need for a uniform law that would regulate the construction of monuments and memorials, while 63.7% of respondents supported the idea of building a monument, the main memorial / museum of War in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNDP, 2010), which is also one of the goals of the Transitional Justice Strategy.

In order to ensure continuous social dialogue strategy the need to build "places of conscience" as a specific form is identified, which aims to develop educational and dialog functions of memorial, or public monuments, in order to build and protect democratic values, culture, memory and human rights, to prevent the repetition of traumatic past (Working Draft Strategy for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2012 to 2016, 78). This implies continuous involvement of citizens in a dialogue about the legacy of the past and contemporary social processes in connection with certain events or phenomena that characterize "the place of conscience". Places of conscience are public monuments which expresses commitment to democratic engagement through programs that encourage dialogue about important social issues and provide opportunities for public participation in the discussion of these issues (Brett, S., et al., 2007, 1).

At the consultations on transitional justice, which were held in Fojnica in 2008, it was stated that there were numerous memorials erected without establishing the truth, so while for the members of one group what happened was considered as a crime, for members of another group was a monument (Guide for Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 2008). Therefore, one of the main recommendations is the need to establish the truth about the memorial, which exists in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the removal of those memorials that have the role of spreading ethnic hatred or denial of the crime.

However, it is questionable how removal of controversial memorial and symbols may contribute to the discovery of truth, reconciliation and transitional justice. Often this situation

spread even more hatred among members of different groups. The basic question is how to organize memorials and commemorations in a way that would not be offensive to any side. This is one of the tasks of places of conscience.

Museum of Natural History in Cape Town can serve as an example for places of conscience, where racial exhibition representing local residents throwing spears as animals was placed. Although after apartheid that could have been removed, the museum was established as a space for conversation about these events, enabling citizens to actively participate and talk about the past. According to the Strategy, the hotel "Vilina Vlas" in Visegrad could be used for the establishment of a "place of conscience", since during 1992-1995 war it was used as a concentration camp where many women were raped. "Vilina Vlas" as a place of conscience can become the venue of conferences on women's rights, sexual violence and dialogue about what happened at that point during the war.

However, discovering the truth through conversation can often be difficult, especially in divided and post-conflict societies such as Bosnia-Herzegovina in which several interpretations and versions of the truth exist. The mere fact that this is a country where actively exist three different teaching curricula reveals inconsistencies and the inability to find a single truth about what happened in 1992-1995 war. It is not surprising that the biggest problem of a memorial is a different interpretation of the events leading to the fact that "a symbol of enemy" to one group becomes "a symbol of heroism" for others. The existence of several narratives and interpretations of truth reveals itself through a variety of reactions to the verdict of the Hague tribunal.

Different reactions of the citizens of Sarajevo and East Sarajevo on trial (and verdict) of Ratko Mladic published in the media indicate completely opposing views on the role and importance of the tribunal, as well as different views of the *hero-villain* dichotomy:

> „In many parts of the country the trial of Ratko Mladic was followed. Reactions are divided so that for Bosniaks trial came too late, and for some Serbs Mladic remains a hero.
>
> Residents of Sarajevo follow the live broadcasting of the trial to wartime commander of the Army of the Republic of Srpska Ratko Mladic on the big screen in the city center. They say that the trial comes too late for the families of the victims.
>
> At the same time, in Pale, about twenty kilometers from Sarajevo, which at the time of the war was the headquarters of Karadzic and Mladic's forces, a completely different atmosphere. The trial follows a group of students." (AlJazeera Balkans, 16 May 2012)

Also, the reaction of citizens recorded by Aljazeera Balkans reveal conflicting views, and therefore affirm the judgment that the ICTY's verdicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not contribute to reconciliation and harmonization of the narrative, but even more divide the society:

> „*1601 children were killed in Sarajevo, and no one is held responsible for it. We are not people who are resentful, we are a nation that forgives, but do not forget*". (Sarajevo resident, father of a girl killed during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, AlJazeera, 2012)
>
> *„I expect justice as soon as possible to prevent the rest of the world of the same event that happened here."* (resident of Sarajevo, AlJazeera, 2012)

> "*Here they accused one honorable man who defended the Serbian people. If he was not there we would not be here either."* (resident of East Sarajevo, AlJazeera, 2012)

> *„They want to accuse Serbs for all the crimes that took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina."* (resident of East Sarajevo, AlJazeera, 2012)

An identical situation occurred during the acquittal of the Croatian generals Gotovina and Markac, when the media reported on the protests by a large number of Serb and celebration of majority of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina:

> „In Mostar, on the square in front of the Croatian great monuments to fallen soldiers, a dozen members of the 'Testament', which calls itself the Association of Croatian Defenders from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Diaspora, celebrated the verdict." (Radio Free Europe, 16 November 2012)
> "In Mostar celebrate the release of Croatian generals, in Banja Luka outrage." (Title, Radio Free Europe, 16 November 2012)

Revision of the past flows in several directions (Kuljic, 2010): omission or additional content in the historical narrative; various interpretation of the meaning of the same facts; changing the ratio between the relevant historical facts; and modification of the framework for the interpretation of historical facts.

The role of the memorial is reflected in the retention of the painful parts of the past with the aim of honoring the fallen. Levinger (1993, according to Cairns, Roe, 2003) found that all 900 war monuments in Israel were erected to fallen soldiers in order to make them immortal. According to Levinger (1993) these monuments have the function of judgment and attribution of responsibility, and as such, can not contribute to reconciliation, and they do not have a pedagogical function. The message that these monuments sent is not the message of peace, because their role is to constantly remind of war suffering and to emphasize what should be done so it could never happen again. The pamphlet issued by the Israeli Ministry of Defense memorial is considered as a constant reminder of fallen soldiers, which is especially important for their families who should never forget what happened and should continue to follow their way (Cairns, Roe, 2003).

Also, the rituals and ceremonies that take place on the days of celebrating battles in post-conflict societies (particularly in the case of divided post-conflict societies) contribute more to the maintenance of conflict than to the reconciliation. Also, the National Day celebration in Israel consists of a ceremony in which the soldiers who died defending the country from enemies are celebrated, and as such should be a role model to younger generations (Cairns, Roe, 2003).

However, in a situation as it exists in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the question is about a different interpretation of the significance of certain historical facts, and different beliefs about the past that are often constructed to serve the socio-political purposes. Bartlett (1932) emphasized that the content and process of remembering is actually a social process and, as such, does not take place in a vacuum, but within certain groups. According to Hunt (2010) in Bosnia-Herzegovina after Dayton Agreement in 1995, it was very difficult to raise memorials due to the political situation that existed in the country. The monument that was erected was a monument in Potocari commemorating the victims of Srebrenica. However, it is not clear to what extent (and if at all) it contributes to confrontation with the past, since contradictory stories about the manipulation of numbers every 11th July are in different ways spread through different parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also, it is often due to the way the whole

ceremony is presented in the media which leads to the renewed discussion of conflict, collective guilt and collective responsibility. In this case we can say that this is a misuse of painful memories in order to resume the conflict.

However, 11 541 red chairs set up in Sarajevo on 6 April 2012 from the "Eternal Flame" to Ali Pasha's Mosque, symbolizing 11 541 victims of besieged Sarajevo, provoked reactions not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also beyond. Honoring the fallen victims without words, text and sad epics proved to be more effective in dealing with the past, even than the monument erected for children killed in Sarajevo during 1992-1995 war, as well as the memorial in Potocari. The purpose of the memorial and commemoration is to challenge the individual coping with what happened once without a lot of words and dialogue. In this way, one should organize a commemoration and raise the memorial. Only such ceremonies become "the place of conscience" that will not leave space for manipulation and creation of a new order of memories that will determine the future.

Monument erected to the murdered children of Sarajevo is not something that could serve the children, because its shape is completely "isolated" from the children's world. To act, monuments must have another function besides reminding. Function of memorial is not to prosecute any other in attribution of responsibility, but to deal with the past without a lot of words and passion. Only in this way they can be allies of the past: the crimes against humanity were committed, and the obligation of the present and the future is to organize remembrance that will be functional. This function should contain only one thing – not to be repeated, even as revised past.

How to Remember

Commemorations are collective representations of common perspective on past events (Ben-Ze'ev et al., 2010). As such they are performative, due to the selecting only certain narratives while repressing others. Since the twentieth century, war has become everybody's business (Ben-Ze'ev et al., 2010). With regard to that fact one can impose the question of how and in what way people can commemorate fallen soldiers and victims of war without glorifying war itself. Are the monuments erected as the reminders of the beginning of war, or end of war, and how to commemorate at all?

Ben-Ze'ev (2010) found that the best way to remember people killed during the war is listing all the names on the tombstones, and not just the names of generals and leaders. However, the commemoration includes the decision to simplify and clarify the message on omission of certain parts of the story, while emphasizing other parts. James Freed, architect of "Holocaust Museum" in the United States explained that he constructed memory "that never was" (Landsberg, 1997). With this statement he tried to draw the connection between the personal archive of images and representations that an individual possesses and experience that exists in the archives of the museum.

In this case, the idea that every individual has her/his own reconstruction of past calls into question the notion of repetition, which is a core component of mimicry (Landsberg, 1997). Through repetition, the images become recognizable, which leads to the formation of public iconography (where events must be presented in order to become part of the politics), but it also does not lead to the repetition of the same result (Landsberg, 1997). Thus Lacan described the natural repetition or mimicry as camouflage, which has the potential to generate diversity (Lacan, 1986). As iconography related to the Holocaust increases, it helps identification and appointment of local trauma and national differences (Landsberg, 1997). If the mass media became an area of information transfer from which students could learn how to deal with the remembrance of such trauma, how to think about it and talk about it, then the

mass cultural technologies of memory and remembrance would deserve the utmost care (Landsberg, 1997).

What means far more than the physical environment is the cultural and political significance that people attach to it (Ben-Ze'ev et al., 2010). Therefore, the very nostalgia sometimes produces images of lost culture that really has never existed (Landsberg, 1997). Monuments are the process through which the past becomes the object of reflection and reconstruction of the present (Brockmeier, 2002). The process of erecting the monument materializes remembrance through regeneration of one form of forced forgetting (Brockmeier, 2002).

There are forms of collective forgetting that correspond to forms of collective memory and that at the individual level can be compared with the suppression, while structural amnesia involves forgetting those elements of the past that are no longer meaningful in relation to the present (Assman, 1995). Therefore the hotel "Vilina Vlas" (if we only consider the function it has now, as a hotel and center for relaxation) ceased to mean "place of conscience" for visitors, since the role it played in the war would neither be mentioned, nor visually presented.

In this case, the process of remembering and forgetting occur in several directions: Hotel "Vilina Vlas" as the concentration camp where women were raped during the war, the hotel as a center for recreation and relaxation, and the hotel as a "place of conscience". The choice of narrative in any situation depends on several factors, however, it is clear that there are several features in each of the three situations: omitting parts of the past, "distortion" of the past and the need to preserve the past (either in its original form, or with the assistance of exaggeration). Due to the presence of different discourses on the past, but also a different kind of silence about the past, memorials in Bosnia-Herzegovina still remain divisive political issues, but not a place to meet and talk about past.

Conclusion

As a cognitive concept memory can be considered in terms of adoption, retention and retrieval of the necessary information. However, as a social concept, it assumes a much broader implications.

Three narratives and three different truths about the past that exist in Bosnia-Herzegovina nowadays hinder the process of coping with the present, but also slow down the process of reconciliation. Memorials, commemoration and remembrance of the battle have their place and role within this process. The programs prescribed by the Strategy for Transitional Justice have not been met at all, while memorials and ceremonies in most situations only complicate the reconciliation process by contributing a sense of collective guilt and responsibility to members of certain groups.

However, the purpose of the memorial should not be the maintenance and further extension of the conflict, but representing a connection with the past, which should prevent its recurrence. For this purpose it is necessary to organize memorials and commemorations in a way to provoke a conflict with the past first at the individual, and then at a group level, and to be something that will have its function and role in society, without being only a case of media manipulation.

References

Assman, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique,* 65, 125-133.

Baddley, A. (1997). *Human Memory: Theory and Practice*. New York: Psychological Press.

Bartlett, F. C. (1932). *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ben-Ze'ev, E., Ginio, R., Wintr, J. (2010). *Shadows of War. A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brett, S., Bickford, L., Sevcenko, L., Rios, M. (2007). Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action. CIDA.

Brockmeier, J. (2001). Remembering and Forgetting: Narrative as Cultural Memory. *Culture Psychology,* 8(1), 15-43.

Cairns, E., Roe, M.D. (2003). *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Coman, A., Brown, A.D., Koppel, J., Hirst, W. (2009). Collective Memory from a Psychological Perspective. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society,* 22(2), 125-141.

Frijda, N.H. (1997). 'Commemorating' u J.W. Pennebaker, D. Paez and B. Rimé (eds), *Collective memory of political events: Social psychological perspectives* (pp. 103–27). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum and Associates.

Gillis, J.R. (ed.) (1994). *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halimović, Dž. (16.11.2012.). *U Mostaru proslavili oslobađanje hrvatskih generala, u Banjaluci ogorčenje.* Sarajevo*:* Radio Slobodna Evropa. http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/u-mostaru-slave-oslobadjanje-hrvatskih-generala-u-banjaluci-ogorcenje/24772863.html (preuzeto: 10.01.2013.)

Haas, V., Levasseur, E. (2013). Rumor as a Symptom of Collective Forgetfulness. *Culture Psychology,* 19, 60-75.

Hewer, C.J., Roberts, R. (2012). History, Culture and Cognition: Towards a Dynamic Model of Social Memory. *Culture Psychology, 18*(2), 167-183.

Hirst, W., Fineberg, I.A. (2012). Psychological Perspectives on Collective Memory and National Identity: The Belgian Case. *Memory Studies,* 5(86), 86-95.

Hunt, N.C. (2010). *Memory, War and Trauma*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jandrić, I. (16.06.2012.). *BiH: Različite reakcije na suđenje Mladiću*. Sarajevo: AlJazeera Balkans. http://balkans.aljazeera.net/video/bih-razlicite-reakcije-na-sudenje-mladicu (preuzeto: 10.01.2013.)

Kuljić, T. (2009). *Sociologija generacija*. Beograd: Čigoja.

Kuljić, T. (2010). Sećanje na Titoizam: hegemoni okviri. *Filozofija i društvo, 2,* 225-250.

Lacan, J. (1986). *Četiri temeljna pojma psihoanalize*. Zagreb: Naprijed.

Landsberg, A. (1997). America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy. *New German Critique,* 71, 63-86.

Leone, G., Curigliano, G. (2009). Coping with Collective responsibilities: An Explorative Study on Italian Historical Identity through Three Generations. *Journal of Language and Politics,* 8(2), 305-326.

McKeever, C.F., Joseph, S., McCormack, J. (1993). Memory of Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants for Violent Incidents and their Explanations for the 1981 Hunger Strike. *Psychological Reports*, 73, 463–6.

Mininni, G., Manuti, A., Curigliano, G. (2013). Commemorative Acts as Discursive Resources of Historical Identity. *Culture Psychology,* 19, 33-58.

Middleton, D., Brown, S.D. (2005). *The Social Psychology of Experience. Studies in Remembering and Forgetting.* London: Sage Publications.

Olick, J.K. (1999). Collective Memory: The Two Cultures. *Sociological Theory,* 7, 333-348.

Ricoeur, P. (2004). *Memory, History, Forgetting.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Revidirana strategija Bosne i Hercegovine za provedbu Aneksa VII Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma. (2008). Sarajevo: Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice. http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/PDF/Izbjeglice/Revidirana%20Strategija%20BiH%20za%20provedbu%20Aneksa%20VII%20DMS.pdf

Ross, M. (1989). Relation of Implicit Theories to the Construction of Personal Histories. *Psychological Review,* 96, 161-176.

Schudson, M. (1995). 'Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory' u D.L. Schacter (ed.), *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (pp. 346–64). Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Schwartz, B. (1982). The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory. *Social Forces*, 61, 374–402.

Strategija tranzicijske pravde u BiH 2012-2016. Sarajevo: Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice, Ministarstvo pravde. http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/ljudska_prava/tran_pravda/?id=1799

Suočavanje s prošlošću i pristup pravdi iz perspektive javnosti – Specijalni izvještaj. (2010). Sarajevo: Razvojni program Ujedinjenih nacija u BiH.

Vodič kroz tranzicijsku pravdu u BiH. (2008). Konsultacije o tranzicijskoj pravdi, Fojnica. http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/ljudska_prava/tran_pravda/?id=1798

Welzer, H. (2010). Re-narrations: How pasts change in conversational remembering. *Memory Studies, 3*(1), 5-17.

Yerushalmi, Y.H. (1988). Reflexions sur l'oubli. U Y.H. Yerushalmi, N. Loraux, H. Mommsen, J.C. Milner, G. Vatimo (Eds.), Usages de l/Oubli. Colloques de Royaumont (pp 7-21). Paris: Seuil.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE COLOR PURPLE BY ALICE WALKER AND ZEHIR ZIKKIM HIKAYELER (VENEMOUS STORIES) BY AYLA KUTLU

Nazife AYDINOGLU, Assistant Professor

İzmir University

Abstract
Alice Walker, a contemporary black woman writer, examines all types of violence against women in her Pulitzer winning novel, *The Color Purple*. Celia, the protagonist in the novel, does not surrender even though she is exposed to physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence. In her magical rise from the gutter to success, she manages to be aware of her body and her power, which she needs to achieve self-confidence and independence. In her struggle for survival, the women around her give her a hand. Ayla Kutlu, one of the leading contemporary Turkish women writers, probes into the problems of Turkish women in her collection of short stories, *Venomous Stories* (Zehir Zıkkım Hikayeler). These stories of the women of Antakya region display a pathetic picture of culturally maltreated and isolated, economically and educationally deprived women, who either stick to life feebly with the support of other women or find solace within the depths of wells. This study aims to examine the similarities and differences between the violence exerted on women in American and Turkish cultures, its various causes and individual and social responses to it. Among the issues that are highlighted are the power relations among women, the struggle of women to survive and feminist interpretations. It is hoped that the study will contribute to a decrease in violence towards women by raising awareness and searching ways of doing away with this global problem.

Keywords: Violence towards Women, Alice Walker, Ayla Kutlu, Feminist Criticism.

Violence against women is a universal problem that has been brought to public notice in recent decades. The United Nations defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, Article 1, 1993). According to a WHO (2012) multi-country study, "between 15–71% of women aged 15- 49 years reported physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner at some point in their lives." The rates can be frighteningly higher because it is estimated that only 1 in 10 cases of domestic violence is reported to the police as it is considered normal. Especially in eastern patriarchal societies it is part of life. When asked, most of the Turkish women in the eastern part of Turkey say, "He is my husband, he is entitled to both love and beat me."

Even though the issue of violence against women is officially recently recognized, it has long been reflected in the works of literature of almost all cultures. Alice Walker's *The*

Color Purple and Ayla Kutlu's *Venomous Stories* are two good examples of these works that chronicle violence against women in American culture and Turkish culture. This study aims to examine the similarities and differences between the violence exerted on women in American and Turkish cultures, its various causes and individual and social responses to it. Among the issues that are highlighted are rape, physical and psychological violence, the power relations among women, the struggle of women to survive and feminist interpretations. It is hoped that the study will contribute to a decrease in violence against women by raising awareness and searching ways of doing away with this global problem.

Alice Walker, a contemporary black woman writer, examines all types of violence against women in her Pulitzer winning novel, *The Color Purple*. Celia, the black protagonist in the novel, does not surrender even though she is exposed to physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence. In her magical rise from the gutter to success she manages to be aware of her body and her power which she needs to achieve self-confidence and independence. In her collection of short stories, *Venomous Stories* Ayla Kutlu, one of the leading contemporary Turkish women writers, probes into the problems of Turkish women. These stories of the women in Antakya region display a pathetic picture of culturally maltreated and isolated, economically and educationally deprived women who either stick to life feebly with the support of other women or find solace within the depths of wells.

Discrimination against women begins at conception in some countries. Prenatal sex selection in favor of male babies is common in Asia; In the Republic of Korea, 30 percent of pregnancies identified as female fetuses was terminated. Contrastingly, over 90 percent of pregnancies identified as male fetuses resulted in normal birth. In most parts of Turkey it is still highly prestigious for women to give birth to a male child; sometimes mothers are downgraded, neglected or even beaten for giving birth to a daughter. In Ayla Kutlu's short story "*The Unfinished Story of Mademoiselle Dimitra*", when Nadya Hanım gives birth to her fifth daughter, she and all her daughters are severely beaten by the husband (Kutlu, 2003:51). When she finally gives birth to a son, there are celebrations and various gifts for her (Kutlu, 2003:54). In western cultures and the United States, prenatal sex selection is not common and this isn't mentioned in Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*.

As girls are of no importance in eastern cultures, the health of a female baby is not of any importance, either. In "*Silkworm Caretaker*" Kutlu mentions that a little female baby wasn't taken to doctor when she was unconscious with high fever. They say, "She is a girl. God will protect her if he wishes" (Kutlu, 2003: 222). She survives as a dumb and deaf child. As a child of no importance, a girl is usually the victim of a father's anger. Girls are beaten for trifle reasons; for example, in "*Arabian Jasmine and Ashes*" the father beats his daughter only because she hasn't eaten dinner or he's seen a boy following her daughter.

This low status of a girl worsens as she turns from a girl to a woman and her subordination to the dominance of her husband becomes the pivot of her life. It is difficult to be a woman both in Turkish culture and American culture because a woman is expected to be nothing and everything. "A woman is expected both to be clever and to look dumb. She should be respectful and have no identity; she should be both inexperienced and masterful; she should be both feminine and asexual" (Kutlu, 2003:37). A woman is turned "... to a slave who is loaded with the hard work of the house" (Kutlu, 2001:97). In Walker's novel, Harpo defines the role of the woman simply by saying, "Women work, women work. I'm a man" (Walker, 2004: 21); he doesn't want to work but he wants his wife to be obedient, "She is my wife. I want her to do what I say, like you do for Pa."(Walker, 2004:60) In his pa's opinion "Wives is like children. You have to let'em know who got the upper hand. Nothing can do better than a good sound beating" (Walker, 2004:35). Dilber in Kutlu's "*The Poem of Life*" explains the meaning of her name and what it means to be a woman saying, "Hi, My name is Dilber. Have you heard my name well? This name is given to me so that I'll be beautiful,

bring good money when I'm sold and charm my husband to be pleased to have a beautiful woman. I was brought up in a family and neighbourhood in which to be a woman didn't mean to be a human being. To be a human being means to be a man... our men are strong, powerful and inapproachable" (Kutlu, 2003:141). In the last story of her book, "*Slippers"* Kutlu is sympathetic to the women who choose death to escape from their lives of misery because "Rules of life bind a woman with knots that cannot be untied". There is no difference between life and death for them as life means "to be in slavery, to be beaten, to be scorned, to struggle in weariness and indifference" (Kutlu, 2003:248).

The magnitude of physical violence is horrible and in a way beyond words; however, a couple of quotations from Walker's and Kutlu's works may help to give a glimpse of it. "Mummy, you began to cry aloud. This made daddy angrier. He began to hurt you in all ways, kicking, swearing, hitting with his fists. Then he twisted your hair in his hand and tore it."(Kutlu, 2003:39). "He beat me like he beat the children... He say, Celia git the belt. The children be outside the room peeking through the cracks..." (Walker, 2004: 23).

In addition to the violence exerted on women by their husbands and fathers there is violence by other women. When Azize Hanım found out that Zühre, her deaf and dumb step daughter, is pregnant to an illegitimate baby, she beats her almost to death till there is no strength in her arm to go on beating. When finally she looks at her, she is frightened at what she has done. "She had torn her hair with its skin. Her eyes were black and swollen. She couldn't walk, she couldn't stand..." (Kutlu, 2003:174). The tyranny of mother-in-law is legendary in Turkish culture. As the mothers of power holders, "the goddesses", these women torture their daughters-in-law. In "*Witnesses*" Kutlu tells how a mother-in-law provokes and encourages his son to beat his wife in the presence of her children and her own mother who has come to visit them (Kutlu, 2003:43).

A similar example of horrible physical violence is given by Walker, but this is caused not by another woman but by the state. When Sophia refuses to obey a white woman who happens to be the wife of the mayor, she is taken to jail and terribly beaten. "When I see Sophia I don't know why she still alive. They crack her skull, they crack her ribs. They tear her nose loose on one side. They blind her in one eye. She swole from head to foot. Her tongue the size of my arm, it stick out tween her teef like a piece of rubber. She can't talk. And she just about the color of a eggplant" (Walker, 2004:82).

One form of violence against women is the deprivation of education. In Turkey, in spite of several campaigns to educate girls, the rate of illiteracy among woman is up to 8.40%; It is 1.74 for men. Literacy rate for women was 76.9% in 1997 and 80.4% in 2006. When these rates are considered it is seen that there is a gradual decrease in illiteracy rates. Ayla Kutlu voices the general attitude towards the education of women in her story titled "*The Unfinished Story of Mademoiselle Dimitra*" ,"What is the use of educating a girl? Send a girl to school and her eyes get worse." Walker mentions the same problem for girls. Celia is taken from school after being raped by her own father. "I got big Papa took me out of school. He never care that I love it... You too dumb to keep going to school." When Nettie goes to Africa as a missionary, she notices that African girls are not sent to school. "The Olinka do not believe girls should be educated. When I asked a mother why she thought this, she said: a girl is nothing to herself, only to her husband can she be become something". This is a naive way of telling that a woman has no identity of her own. She can exist only as the wife or mother of somebody, there is no reason to waste time, money and energy to educate her.

Celia's rape is not a rare event. Although it is often underreported, rape is a very common form of sexual violence. It is estimated that one in every six women is raped in her life time. Likewise, incest and child abuse are unfortunately very common. Statistics show that "nearly 1 in 5 women (18.3%) and 1 in 71 men (1.4%) in the United States have been raped at some time in their lives". Every two minutes, somewhere in America, someone is

sexually assaulted. 15% of sexual assault and rape victims are under age 12; 29% are age 12-17; 44% are under age 18; 80% are under age 30; ages 12-34 are the highest risk years. During the conflict in Bosnia in the early 1990s, between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped.

As Walker and Kutlu document violence against women in their works, they naturally include rape and incest into their plots. Papatya, an orphan girl, explains that she was raped by her aunt's son and threatened not to tell anybody, otherwise she would be sent away. She adds that from time to time her uncle also visits her saying that this is in return for the food he gives her. Although still a child who hasn't reached puberty, she has to endure this. What is more, she learns this is what a man wants of a woman and she begins to make sex with the drivers along the road for some money and some clothes. She has the secret hope that her aunt's son will marry her when she saves her dowry and he completes his military service. Finally, she is killed accidentally when a rough driver is really harsh with her on the rocks. Celia, the protagonist of Walker's novel is a victim of rape, as mentioned earlier. She is only fourteen when her mother gets ill, her father- later on she learns he is her step father- comes to her room and says, "You gonna do what your mammy wouldn't". She doesn't know what is happening but she begins to cry when it hurts. He then says, "You better shut up and get used to it."

Another form of violence against women is psychological violence such as shouting, frightening, threatening, insulting, isolating her from her family, friends and other people, humiliating, imprisoning at home, keeping away from her children, keeping under constant control in the name of jealousy, comparing with other women, putting pressure on what to wear, where to go, who to talk to and preventing her self- development. Kutlu and Walker give several examples of psychological violence: "I'm evil an always up to no good. ... He took my other little baby... I think he sold it to a man... got breasts full of milk running down myself. He say why don't you look decent? Put on something. But what I'm supposed to put on? I don't have anything."(Walker, 2004:5); "Dilber knows three languages and their literatures. She works and earns well. She raises her children. Her husband is unemployed." Yet, these are the remarks of this good-for-nothing husband about his wife, "Are you a woman? Don't you know you have responsibilities to your husband?... The only good thing about you was that you had a hole. You gave birth one after another and loosened it."(Kutlu, 2003: 174); "What you got? You ugly. You skinny. You shape funny .You too scared to open your mouth to people... You not that a good cook either. And this house ain't been clean since my first wife died. Anybody crazy or backward enough to want to marry you, neither. What you gon for? ...Who you think you is? ...Look at you. You black, you pore, you ugly, you a woman, goddam... you nothing at all." (Walker, 2004: 186,187); "You'll drive me crazy by walking around me like a bitch. If I go mad, ..."(Kutlu, 2003:207).

Forced marriages and a second woman are two other ways of psychological violence. In eastern societies a second wife is part of life. "In those days that bastard brought another wife upon me. We had a big fight... They go to their room and in the next small room, I feel like I'm in a dark jail. I send news to my mother and father, they don't care. They say, 'You have no place here.'"(Kutlu, 2003: 56). For a woman, divorce is out of question in many districts. In Turkish there is a proverb that says: "Once you go out of your parent's house in a wedding gown, you can only return in a shroud". The issue of second woman is also mentioned in *The Color Purple*. Celia's husband brings his ex-lover home when she becomes ill and asks Celia to look after her. Surprisingly Celia doesn't feel jealous at all because she doesn't love her husband. Sex with him is only a duty for her, so she becomes happy when her husband sleeps with Shug. Later on, by means of the solidarity between these two women, Celia is able to break all the boundaries around her and become an independent woman.

As it is seen in all the above given examples, women are exposed to physical, sexual and psychological violence in abundance. What are the factors that lead to this violence? First of all, it should always be remembered that violence against women is the manifestation of the patriarchal order in which power relations are unequal and women are degraded into a lower and dependent status. Men who hold absolute power exert this power on women as he wishes. When causes of violence are searched, it is found out that among them are exhibition of power, sadism, right to ownership, honour issues and the load of the responsibilities of marriage. In fact, perhaps it is unnecessary to look for the causes of violence because only to be a woman is enough to suffer from it. When Harpo asks his father why he beats Celia, his answer is all revealing, "...cause she is my wife. Plus she is stubborn. All women good for..."

However, a quick survey of how Walker and Kutlu try to give the causes of violence in their works. "He beat her...in the presence of his mother showing his manly power by humiliating you to the extreme..." (Kutlu, 2004 42). "Beat her, my son...Look at the children she's raised and see how a bad stock she comes from. There is no other way of making this woman to come to her senses. I always tell she doesn't deserve you. Let her know her place" (Kutlu, 2003:43). "Incomplete pleasure. This is not what he expected. The desire to tear, the expectation of strong bleeding... incomplete. These didn't happen. He should crush her body. The rage caused by dissatisfaction gets darker... He leaned on her with all his weight, he crushed the child... The girl sighed. He liked this. It kindled his desire. He missed roughness, unlimited roughness" (Kutlu,2003:18). "He feels his existence strengthens and hardens, becomes harder than the black rocks. There is nobody but himself in the universe" (Kutlu, 2003: 29). "He beat me today cause he say I winked at a boy in church. I may have gor something in my eye but I didn't wink. I don't even look at mens." (Walker, 2004: 7).

When it comes to the question of how violence affects women and how they respond to it, it is seen that women do not have many alternatives. The subordinate position of women renders them vulnerable and helpless in defending themselves against violence and resisting it. Therefore, there is not much choice for women. Either they will accept/ignore it or end up in dark pessimism and depression. These responses are what the women in Walker and Kutlu's works also make. Celie explains her response to her husband's beating like this: "It all I can do not to cry. I make myself wood. I say to myself, Celie you are a tree..." (Walker, 2004:23). Elmas is exposed to physical and psychological violence by her boy friend and she is "ready to accept anything for the physical pleasure her body gets even if it is at a cost of lowering her identity to nothingness... If she should be handled roughly for this, let it be. She will endure everything. She is ready to give up all the values of humanity and to scorn them, ready not to think, ready to be looked down upon, ready to be tortured" (Kutlu, 2003: 199-200). Zaruhi Hanım cannot recover from the trauma of rape all her life; she can only have temporary relief when she washes her body again and again. The woman whom she saved from rape by offering her own body helps her to wash when she is too old to wash herself. When Zaruhi Hanım dies, the other woman carries hot water to her grave every day to show her gratitude. Zaruhi Hanım's words reveal her irreparable psychological wound, "Sniff my arms, my hair, my eye-lashes, my cardigan...it's their smell. Helin, look at my hair, my nails... but, how can you see?... They dirtied me... every part of my body. There is no clean part left. They filled me with their dirty seeds. I can't take them out, I can't clean them, I can't get rid of them" (Kutlu, 2003: 112-113).

Naturally, there are women who have recourse to other alternatives. Some abandon their houses for good, some project the violence to others around her, some condemn the torturer and some find solace in death. Suicide seems to be a solution in most of Kutlu's stories. Dimitra, Zühre's baby, Elmas are all lost in the depths of the wells in their gardens. "wells are dangerous for every young girl and woman. There is an alluring brightness in their deep down darkness" (Kutlu, 2003:63); When "there is a woman who is expelled from

heaven" with "her once lost and never found honor", she gets up at night and opens the lid of the well silently. "Wells, the wells of silent girls... It will soon embrace a body that has lost its soul."(Kutlu, 2004:210-11)

The responses of women that are discussed so far are all pessimistic and disheartening. Walker mentions another possibility that perhaps makes the whole difference: The possibility of solidarity among women to resist their inhuman treatment in the hands of men. Almost every woman in Walker's novel has the common sense of supporting the women around her. When Celia's husband's sisters come and visit them, they notice the maltreatment of Celia by her husband and step sons. They try to make her husband notice that she is a human being. What is more, they tell Celia to fight against the men in the family; "You got to fight them Celia. I can't do it for you. You got to fight them for yourself."(Walker, 2004:21) Their response is different from the attitude of Turkish mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. Solidarity among women, in other words sisterhood may save women from the depths of wells. Celia may end up in defeat but it will be at least an honourable one. Fortunately, she doesn't end up as a loser. She succeeds in freeing herself form the boundaries of deprivation, humiliation and poverty with the help and support of the other woman, Sophia, Shug and Nettie. Her husband has to accept her equal position with him and finally they become good friends if not good husband and wife. Thus, Walker gives us an account of a success story.

In conclusion, violence against women is a manifestation of the lower status patriarchal order sets for women and it cannot be stopped till the status of women is remedied and established anew as equal human beings with men. Ayla Kutlu and Alice Walker's works have significant roles in Turkish and American Literature in documenting almost every issue related to violence against women and raising public awareness for urgent action to put an end to these crimes against humanity.

References

Kutlu, Ayla (2003) *Zehir Zıkkım Hikayeler*, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi

Walker, Alice (2004) *The Color Purple*, Essex: Orion Publishing

National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, 2010 Summary Report, p.1. Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/nisvs_report2010-a.pdf (June 10, 2013)

Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN) calculation based on 2006 National Crime Victimization Survey. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Retrieved from http://www.rainn.org/news-room/rainn-press/2006-National-Crime-Victimization-Survey-Results, (June 10, 2013)

Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN) calculation based on 2010 National Crime Victimization Survey. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice Department of Justice, Retrieved from http://www.rainn.org/get-information/statistics/sexual-assault-victims, ((June 10, 2013)

T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü , Aile İçi Şiddetle Mücadele El Kitabı, pp.7-8. Retrieved from http://www.kutahyasaglik.gov.tr/eski/subeler/ruh/download/kadina_siddet/Aile_Ici_Siddetle_Mucadele_El_Kitabi.pdf, (June 10, 2013)

UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, Article 1, 1993. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm, ((June 10, 2013)

2005 Country Report on Human Rights Practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor; U.S. Department of State, 8 March 2006. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61640.htm, ((June 10, 2013)

UN General Assembly, 61st *Session. Secretary General's Study on Violence Against Women. Paragraph 120, Retrieved from* http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/violenceagainstwomenstudydoc.pdf (June 21, 2013

United Nations Secretary- General Campaign to end violence against women, UN Department of Public Information, DPI/2546A, November 2009. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/events/endviolenceday/pdf/UNiTE_TheSituation_EN.pdf. ((June 10, 2013)

WHO, Violence against Women, Intimate partner and sexual violence against women, Fact Sheet No: 239, 2012, http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs239/en/ ((June 10, 20

THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY IN THE PASSING FROM MODERNITY TO POST-MODERNITY: "MY GRANDFATHER'S PEOPLE" MOVIE

Nurcan Pinar EKE, Research Assistant

Selçuk University

Abstract
In the framework of the study, the phenomenon of identity in the passing from modern culture into post-modern culture and the changes observed in this phenomenon have been examined on the movie called *"My Grandfather's People"* by a sociological reading. In this way, it has been mentioned about the definitions and the approaches firstly about what the identity is, and given information about the making process of the phenomenon of identity. After the basic dynamics constituting modern and post-modern periods have been put forwards, it has been tried to make clear the characteristic sides of these periods mentioned in terms of the role that they play for the making of identity. As for in the part of application, it has been analyzed how the identity in Turkey has changed in the passing from modernism into post-modernism on this Turkish movie called *"My Grandfather's People"*, which is a story about Turkey.

In the theoretical chapter, preferring a descriptive approach as the research method, a literature review has been done; as for in the application chapter, the movie analysis has been made by a sociological reading.

Keywords: Identity, Modernity, Post-Modernity, "My Grandfather's People"

Introduction

Generally especially developed western societies have claimed that since 1970's, they lived some breakpoints during their history and they are now living a new age. This claim being talked about is related to both heading to the different regions of the labor power and changing of it qualitatively as well as social events that are experienced. Today most countries of the world especially western societies have undergone a change as an unavoidable consequences of the globalized culture and trans national capital and are living a new process called *'New Times', 'Postfordism', 'Postmodernism'* or *'Knowledge-based Society'*.

Turkey as a developing country has had its share of this change being talked about. Dominant paradigms of the age have started to follow actually as a result of foreign expansion in 80's and neoliberal policies. Identifications has also effected from this process, the socio-cultural values that appear during the construction of identity change the format properly to understanding and the life style of the new age. It is accepted that the opinion that the social changing in Turkey gained acceleration between 1960-1990. This fact are mentioned as 'changing shell'. On one hand it is discussing that changing caused what kind

of settlement in society and how much the society was able to be modern on the other hand it is pointed that the traditional one started to lose easily (akt.; Güçhan, 1992: 1). The changing speed of the moral and material cultures is as remarkable as the distinction of these. Forasmuch the transformation of the culture is the marker on the process of the identity configuration itself.

Between 1960 and 1990 is the years that turkey found itself in the big formations that force turkey to the social and financial structure changes. Turkey has the saving that accelerates these formations. The proportion of the culture is big in this formation as well as people and material source. But the problems of this culture are also big. There is a traumatic transition caused by the bounce to this stage before the previous one wasn't able to be completed in a society that was gripping the pain of the transition from agricultural society to industrial society in other word a culture which is in the process of capitalist recovery.

Bourdieu who investigates the eastern societies which is under the effect of the western analyses that (trans.; Cem, 1999: 473): '*All cultures undergoes some changes in course of time. The new ideas that occurs as the consequence of the natural progress in the society and cultural contact effects its culture on condition of staying loyal to the value of the culture. While the society accepts the ideas that are in contradiction with its basis, it rejects the one that aren't in contradiction with its basis. The culture protects itself and its balance as long as the voting right isn't lost out. When the voting right is lost out(new imperialism etc.), the basis values change and vital rules shake. As a consequence the culture collapse, decay and the situation called 'being uncultured' appear.*' According to İsmail Cem, Turkey has been in a process of being uncultured since 200 years. The portion of the modernization/modernity which is misinterpreted is great besides many other effects.

Turkish modernization or modernity always is a fact that is tried to be applied by government or by interference. Turkey doesn't take step to the modern culture with the politic and socioeconomic domestic dynamics in a long time, the lifestyle and idea that is seemed the necessity of modernization has become widespread in a short time thanks to the government took as an example of the western civilization and encourage the people to this way. This process committed the same as postmodernism in the past, the cultural changing which appeared in the world with the petrol crisis in 70s bounced to Turkey in 80's. As pointed by Bozkurt (2006:110) Turkey was taken under the influence of the effect of in postmodern age consumption culture before it had internalized the productive culture of the modern society.

In all term the identity fact was affected by these changes because it exists with its own culture and its meaning. The value that is contracted on the identity has been removed from its place and new criteria have been loomed large. While the persons in the modern age are describing themselves much rather according to the position of the production contact, the person of the postmodern age has headed towards the description of the identity to the fields that are able to be handled. The constant identity descriptions on the nation axe of the modernism become liquid and get softer. The labor has depreciated and left its place to the indicator. In brief this new period called postmodernism and has taken a big geographical place under the effect has shaped its own ideal person around the fact of the identity. So what is this case called 'identity' and carry the periods' characteristic like a costume?

The Identity Phenomenon

The identity case that is emphasized on how it changed during the formation from modern culture to the postmodern culture are explained that '*the identity case which shows how a person is as a social creature is all of quality, sign and feature*' by Turkish Language Institution (TLI, 2013). But this formation is more complicated than the description of TLI.

As transferred by Doruk and Bengü (2005:173); '*the identity is a united intellectual formation which has cognitive and emotional aspects, serve to understand itself and put out the differences from the others, provide to show consistency as trying to find need, behavior, motivation, fields of interest and belonging feeling.*'

According to Hall (trans.; Karaduman, 2010: 2887) the identity is a design of belonging permanently established, with a leading, undertaken n order to ensure the confidence and sense of identification with one hand, stabilization / positioning tensions arising from the ongoing negotiations between the different elements on the other hand shaped in the context of global, local, material, historical and cultural discourses and conditions with experiences. The identity is a founder component which also takes part on the basis of communities and groups besides it is the structure on which the person constructs its character. All social systems are shaped on the basis of certain criteria of identity. the relations between societies develops around the phenomenon of identity like relationship and communication between individuals.

Hall states that the identity as a process, narration and speech is always related with 'the other one/the other'. The identity isn't a open area where the singulars behave freely, yet the history establishes the strong and leader organization of the past. So each identity has the trace and connections of the past (trans.; Doruk and Mengü, 2005: 173). Remembered from the work called *Orientalism* (2012) by Edward Said the identities have a close relationship with the descriptions and the one that has the power of being able to descriptions. Not only the persons but also the groups and highly governments can construct their own identities thanks to the other one whom they negate. In the big picture, those that are in socio-culturally and economically advantageous position take the position of authority over those, who are disadvantaged, and mark out the limits of the other within their own frames of reference. So identifying what it isn't and who it is becomes as possible as identifying what is the other. Tanner in his work *Papalagi*(2008) by reversing this picture tells how today widely accepted definitions are spread throughout the world and especially the West in other word the elements of identity are seemed by a Samoa native. Accordingly in the condition that the balances of power are different, it is obvious that the values sanctified today will not have a meaning with regard to the speeches of Foucault on knowledge-capability conceptualization. Therefore when we talk about the identity, it should always be remembered that a notion trying to stand on a sliding and subjective surface are handled.

Another element which is as important as existence of the 'other' in construction of the identity is the fact that the identity isn't a monolayer and simple case. There is more than one question to be answered and more than one social context related to these questions for the simplest description of the identity. Any person has to use the demographic information such as age, gender, religion, language, ethnicity, educational level, or family origin while explaining who he/she is. Each of the information in question points out the different points of the identity and alone or in a combination constitutes the definitions of the identity. This indicates that the identity is dynamic and pluralistic direction. So the criteria which governments find remarkable by describing the identity of the ones or governments can change based on time, the place and the other similar conditions. Furthermore identity as pointed out above is constructed on more than one value. Here which qualification will come into prominence, which one will come down is a subject that passes the filter of the ideology. This case is explained with 'the recall metaphor' by Althusser (2006).

According to Althusser what is at stake in ideology is represented with the position that person has by means of the ideological devices of the government, the imaginary contacts in their minds on this subject. In this representation ideology wants persons to see as the subjects. This desire is explained with the recall metaphor by Althusser. For instance, in a

crowded street, when a person is headed and recalled as 'hey Muslim'; if this person looks and answers this means that this person is becoming a subject for ideology. In other words the person see the qualification of the caller as identifier and separator for itself, internalize this identity by responding. Here, the adoption of Islam, like the excluded of other religious descriptions (Eh Men! Eh Worker! Eh Brother! etc.), is the proof that before the other items the person saw himself as to be a Muslim and the person took forefront a religion-based identity. This evidence doesn't occur regardless of the ideology. At this point, as the discourse of Radical Feminist 'personal is political!'; it's possible to say that 'the identity is ideological!'.

To be transferred by Bellek (2006: 8) the identity is a humanly concept and social. The identity descriptions are a meaningful necessity just for the person who exists in a big or small society. The human who doesn't take place in a social fiction chase the identity that is a notion giving the meaning to the existence of the human and separating he/she from others. In this respect the identity is a social notion and an existence strategy. In the construction of the identity which is a social phenomenon is the dominant values, likes, costumes of the social structure lived in, in a word its culture is the leading actor. Güvenç describes the culture like that (2006: 39): '*everything what people on a part of the community learn by experiences or during education process in a life time, create, appropriate and transfer to the other generation civilization or over-living existence field.*' The culture that is such an inclusive structure is inevitably decisive on the identity of both the persons and government, because the people who are social living interact with the culture of the society where they live in even in the case where they are opposite and radical.

Another important point in the construction of the identity is the necessity of objective component and subjective conscious of the identity. Belek explains this subject like that(2006: 13): it is not possible that the people that haven't got something in common or sharing can meet around a certain identity or construct an identity. Hence objective components and subjective conscious identity is two important constituent; the identity improve with this elements. Another factor in the construction of the identities is the otherness phenomenon. The identities both individual and social appear in the society and gain meaning by making other differentiate as mentioned above. Correspondingly each identity has to contain the otherness phenomenon although it is different levels.

As Belek emphases (2006:17), the people gathering around any identity are similar in terms of the differences from the ones out of the community more than the similarities with each others. For instance as a whole the West constructed the identity on the values which aren't from east, but when looking at the community which compose of the West one by one, all of them have too different characteristics to they can't to be in the same scale. Nevertheless as seen here the otherness is an indispensible value in order that the western identity can be described. Another side of the identity which should be stated is historicity. No identity is an inborn structure. The identities constructed as a consequence of the human-nature, human-human and human-machine struggles, are the structures which are cumulative, depending on time and place, developing in the cause effect relationship with a historical chronology.

The historicity of the identities has a close relationship with their socialites; because while being a historical component of the identity causes variability, being a social component of the identity causes its persistence: so it is provided that it is always exist despite the changes. As understood from this part thing meant by the historicity of the identity is not that it exists only in a historical process (Belek, 2006: 19). Another component about the identity is that it is a given or/and gained structure. As it is said before, the persons have more than one identity, and while some of these identities (such as being a woman or being a member of the black race) are described the person given by with the birth, some of

them (such as being a university student, being prime minister or being a member of the group x) are gained by the person's own struggle.

The second one of these identities 'the gained identity' represents the permanent belonging relationship and compared to the second group, it changes faster and in different directions. The given identities as the first group are more constant and stable. But at this point the person can change even the given identities seemed unchanged. If there is a need to explain this with two popular example from the world media: a famous pop music singer Michael Jackson who is a member of the black race ended his life as a member of the white race. Similar to this, Nil Erkoçlar continues her life as a trans man. So each one of them has differences between their given identities and the next belonging relationship. The supplementary components of the identity not only are the general component in the different identities but also draw the lines of the identity phenomenon. In the historical process although there are a lot of qualifications of the identity such as gender identity, ethnic identity, there are three basis identity kinds that affect the human communities. The other identities are related to the groups influence area thought as the minority. Therefore only three kinds of the identity are took a closer look.

The Class Identity

Reviews class-based social movements have a long and distinguished history. According to Karl Marx, the main source of 'making history' and the main driving force of collective action is the material benefits embodied in the class position (Pakulski, 2007: 33). Marx in his famous theory built the structure and running of the society on the benefits of the class. According to him the society compose of two basis classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in other words the ones who has the production devices and who hasn't them and the history is a history that comprised as a consequence of the benefit conflicts. This theory was very famous until the first quarter of the 1900s but it was started to be examined in the 1920s and 30s with the explosion of fascism and nationalism and almost collapsed in 1991 with the disintegration of the Soviet Unions. However it made busy the world societies for almost 100 years and now the version modernized are talked.

According to Marxism, class points to the social categories added to these intensities besides the structural source of the social intensities consisting of contrary benefits of capital and labor (the changing percentage of the consciousness and organization). So the Marxist goal isn't the classifying of the job categorize hierarchically; it is the identifying the class benefit tied up the social conflicts with the causative connections (Pakulski, 2007: 36). Marx said that the proletariat will become conscious depending the class benefit, organize and conquer the government by making the revolutionary transformation when the appropriate conditions are born. At the eventual point of the Marx theory a classless society will be reached in other words the ownership of the private product devices will be the masses and the inequality because of the private property will disappear. As understood from the whole frame, the class identity depends on a very material base and almost is related to the ownership (on the means of production); but it can't be limited with this. The superstructure institutions that occur depending on the substructure also and their relationships are effective in the determining the class position and staying stable.

The class theory of Marx has a dynamic basis and is the conflict that get started the social changing. Marx class conflict (he built his theory totally on it) is not only about the origins, development and future of the capitalism but also about the history of the all societies (Edgell, 1998: 14) and so it is extremely important. Then according to this theory criticized or explained by its posteriors like Weber, Wright, Goldhorpe the identity of a person shapes with the economic basis that shows the person's situation in other word with the class situation. The class identities are obvious and show the existence with the superstructure

institutions that occur depending on the substructure. Here the most important value that decides the identity is the situation of the person against the means of the productions.

The National Identity

The national identity that started to spread after the nationalism movement and its origins went to 1789 the French revolution effected a lot of societies for a long time. At the beginning of the 19th century this notion became the most important factor of shaping the current world map. When the radical changes brought about by the philosophy of enlightenment was crowned by the industry revolution the appropriate environment was born for building the national countries. The progresses like increasing the social mobility, the knowledge getting rid of the monopoly of the church by increasing literacy accelerate this process. Nonetheless the governments try so hard to make the different ethnic, religious and cultural groups homogeny and monotype (Akıncı, 2012: 69).

The national identity is the feeling of the historical/cultural identity (being us) and the things that all the people who live together in a geographical border feel and share with crating a national culture (depended on the one nation basis) (Mora, 2008: 4). In other word the nation identity is to create a common understanding and a common language by becoming established common history, national thought, morality, emotion and enthusiasm of all members with memories and traditions. According to this having a rich historical accumulation, being eager to love together and having the common demand on protecting the values are necessary and important (Doruk and Mengü, 2005: 171). But this movement famous all around the world and the awareness of the national identity started to be examined by the globalization, the need of new and more various identity representations was appear as a result of and the commoditization of everything by the impact of the consumption culture in the world whose border was getting transparent. Because a modern person built around the national identity is not functional and desirable.

The Cultural Identity

After the World War II the collapse of the big theories also weakened the identities that depended on the nationality, the basis of the developing macro theories considering of the similarities gave its place to improving and supporting the approaches that put forwards the differences. The communication facilities that increased in the last quarter of the 1900s, the neo liberal policies, and the balances which the global world created witnessed a new identity and the birth of the cultural identities. As a result of the globalization, the world has become a village where there is no border. As a natural consequence of this some dominant cultures has gotten more people into their domain and become widespread. Today, even air quotes, it is possible to talk about a globally cultural integration. But when it is said the cultural identity, only homogeny identity whose the area of influence is widespread shouldn't be thought. The cultural identity is a comprehensive concept.

Nowadays in the sectional cultures based on the consumption of the postmodern world, handling the Jewish's Zionism in this frame is as possible as talking about the Mc Donalds culture standing next to the other cultural identities as a cultural identity. The cultural identity can be looked from two different views; essentialist and historical. According to the essentialist understanding the cultural identity is considered as a uncompleted concept, essence formed. According to historical apprehension, the cultural identity is a phenomenon that is open to change and improve, is produced, is always in this production process, is never completed wholly. As pointed out by Hall, it is a formation problem as well as being an existence problem. It belongs to the future as well as to the past.

It is not absolute and constant. Like everything that is historical it changes and converts (Mora, 2008: 4).

In other word, the globalization that affects our way of comprehension of the world creates the identities which have the location or not. Local-global connection is related to the new relationships between extension and ground, stability and mobility, center and environment, inside and outside, the far points and the region (Morley and Robins, 1997: 168). The cultural identities are built like that. As emphasized by Gellner in his work called *Nations and Nationalism* (2008), the situation of encountering with each other is discussed rather than a permanent, long-term relationship between people in the current modern cities. There are a small number of fixed role and position in the professional structure; so that the permanent changing is inevitable. People move along a lot of situation, migrate, change their work or renew their thought on the class belonging by the way of consuming the cultural experiences and different metas. Thereby the identity base on the culture that have new functions in the current societies. The career change and mobility require that not only to prepare people for having an unique profession which has been continue for a lifetime and provide an identity (like priests, artisans, peasants, etc.); but also it's need to be equipped with the skills for moving between the roles in advanced industrial societies. It can be said that the world of the day is the area of the existence and it seems that it will be like that for a long time.

The Phenomenon of Identity in the Passing from Modernity to Post-Modernity

The informing above on the definition of three main identities and the position in the historical process has actually the clues of the transition from modern period to postmodern period and overall information. Nonetheless the emphasis on what is modern and postmodern will be informative to understanding the transition of the identity phenomenon. Depending on the Jeanniere (2000: 95-97), although it is said that the modernity is a word that have the meaning multiple and confusing; it is obvious that the period called modernity is a stage reached as a result of four important revolutions (scientific, political, cultural and technical / industrial) in the historical process.

The modernity is a period that stared in the different part of the world in the 16th and 17th centuries; modernism is a change of paradigm in the art at the end of the 19th century (Lash, 2000: 133). That's why the modernity word is used to describe the changes periodically in the social life. Modernity is the determination of overcoming the obstacles in front of their freedom by refusing all kind of over authority and the imagine of creating a society even a world where the need of personal freedoms and living together don't restrict each other on the contrary enrich (Kahraman, 2004: 1).

The modernity that improved a number of revolutions in the west is a result of the feudal structure that loosed fast because of the wars and capitalism that found place itself as a result of this loosing. The modernity and the modern state as a result of this are talked identical to the process when the nation states exert dominance in the world. An important reason of this is the need of being a united whole in the change and modernization time. In this sense in the dominant conjuncture of the period the state structure based on the nationalism became a suitable mean to manipulate the masses and control them (Kongar, 1995: 238-239).

Because modernity is a process of coming power: It built its foundations for this purpose. It developed methods and mechanism in order to assure the government (the power) (Kahraman, 2004: xi). There is an endless trust to the people's wisdom and skills, positivism is in the foreground and predictability is important. People are in a struggle for exerting dominance on the nature and making the nature service for themselves. Wrong or right are coded as the concepts that separate each other with sharp lines and exclude each other. In the

modernity the clear definition and approaches of the science are like a divine statement; the science is like a sort of religion. The knowledge has come into prominence and become valuable as a meta.

According to Habermas with the modernity the knowledge was started to search in three separate areas. These are scientific-technological, moral-practical and aesthetic-expressive areas. The combination of these and wrapping up in a authoritarian usage by centralizing of the knowledge (taking the upper stratum of the monopoly of the Church at this time in the hands of a different) reflects the research of a new system(trans.; Kahraman, 2004: 6). The servanthood culture addicted to the land and on the condition that unconditioned obedience to the overlord of the past gave its place to an understanding where the person is in the foreground. This research makes feel the effects in all areas.

The modernity is a structure that improved with Enlightenment Ideas and became political as a result of becoming the power of bourgeoisie. The registration of this politicization is the 1789 French Revolution. With this revolution the importance of being an individual found its reflection in the citizen concept and the position of citizen having various right against the government became a raising value. There is no need that the modern citizen do justice to its rights given to him/her and search them, because the government decide the necessary decisions for its citizens on behalf of its citizens (depending on populism). The mission of the citizen provides the survival of the government that is for citizens benefit (Kahraman, 2004: 6). As is seen in the modernity the dominance of the government and foundations is principal.

When the lifestyles of the modern period and social classes are examined in this structure of the government that is said, it is observed that they are separated from each other with dense lines. In this period the feeling of the social identity mostly is built in a stratification which develops in the direct proportion to the job of 'the man of the house' and this generally is a *stable* status. The persons of the modern period feel themselves belong to the social status groups which they are a part of and the ethnic groups where they are born. So there are described choices and likes that are quite clear and are separated with sharp lines of all the social status groups or the ethnic groups. These described structures determine the life styles and at this point the stableness become basis. For example it is expected that a consumer from A class consume only the products of the high culture in this social stratification, it is thought that he can listen to pop music. Naturally the profile of the consumer is obvious and the consumption is made in the borders made by the class.

The economic system in modernity depends on *the production ethic*. As the metas and the consumption patterns aren't multilayer and decomposed, a consumption action depended on the needs where the desires haven't been online. The production style of the period is described with the Fordizm. Fordizm is a production style which aims at maintaining mass consumption with mass production, starts to highly standardization to products, doesn't have flexibility in the production process, uses the new technologies in the business organization, does routine works, is dependent of semi-competent labor and markets the obvious life styles by organizing them with the discovery of the spare time. The ideologies of this production style caused the *middle class* appear.

In the context of all these points underlined, it is possible to talk about two main identities that are dominant bur are in competition with each other; these are the class and nation identities. The struggles for the right of citizenship in the modern government in other words the political and economic participation rights of the worker groups have caused to 'welfare state' in the central countries, planned 'socialism' in the semi central countries and 'developmentalist state' in most of the neighboring countries. In this way the classes and the identities highly entered the control of the nation identities. The government with all these

interventionist models was disposed to respond the problems of the masses in the national unity frame (Gülalp, 2003: 122).

Even if the person has come into prominence with the modernity, the connections, the social belonging and relationships are still strong. With the attribution to the Tönnies's (2002) classification, the relationship of the community is more important than the community. So there is separation of 'us' and 'they' in the modern nation states and the identity components became legitimate on these differences. Generally the world lived a process like that until the 1970s and this process was called modernity.

The recession of the nation and class identities nested of the modernity (even their collapse) is one of the most important presentations of the transition from modernity to post modernity. Another presentation of this transition is losing the importance of the classic classes and the conflict of the class and even getting up the class concept from the circulation. But this situation is contradictory; because on the one hand the getting worker and the class polarization are progressing, on the other hand the class identity as a social property are vanished or it is seen that it is introduced like that (Gülalp, 2003: 122-123). By remembering this contradiction, the main dynamics of the post modernity and the identity design process will be mentioned below.

The Basis Dynamics of the Post-modernity and Identity

Postmodernism is an idea flow which is placed opposite the general modernism and enlightenment philosophy. It rejects positivism and gives value to possibilities. According to postmodernist intellectuals nothing can be proved and nothing can be denied because intellectual activity is all about taking risks. The world is like muddle, complicated and in a chaos. The connection between the relations is not clear and visible like the positivism claims. For example a butterfly that winos today in Beijing can change the wind system in New York next month.

Postmodernism shows what is coming after the modernism. It is a term that is being thought as a solution to analysis of social styles with the modernism. On the other hand there is no consensus about what postmodernism actually is (Sarup, 2010: 184). Because with the postmodernism big explanation were collapsed and personal expressions became much more important. Divisions and being temporary were in the first place other than being holistic. Because of that like Yıldız (2013) emphasizes, There is no mutual understanding in postmodern idea. That's why it is not a philosophical theory and there is no determinate definition on postmodernism. According to Gülalp (2003: 116-117) postmodernism is a situation that comes after modern period but doesn't indicate a different social configuration. Because postmodernism is not about economical or social but cultural and political. So that period should be understood on the basis of postmodernist culture. Postmodernism an intellectual and cultural flow that comes out against capitalism's modernist idea. It represents the faith collapse to people's mind and abilities.

While some thinkers like Harvey and Gülalp defending that only the superstructure groups have changed by the postmodernism, the others emphasizes the transformation of production process. Even it is still thought that capitalism is the main economic activity, it was different than the past and production activities and the production quality have changed. In that context, different from Fordist production style of modern period, it can be said that postmodernist period has got post-Fordist style of production. According to Dağtaş, postmodernist structure can be summated like that (2006: 12-13): getting into a period which is leaning against numeral communication and computer technology, lowering the central power on business administration and labor process, and getting flexible about exportation, reorganizing the production process to letting transitivity between the sectors, developing

services sector, preferring diversity in production other that standard production system, change in the feature of services sector which was based on well qualified and male in past because of white collar workers number is rising now, feminizing and getting ethnicity in especially half time or flexible timing business, globalizing the new finance markets, getting the consumption private and personal, rising diversity in cultural area and getting the communicational adjustments ineffective.

The main substructure changes which are observed in postmodernist period are above. Among all these features the most important factor is the observed change and transformation in information and information technologies. Besides the reality that the information is now merchandise that can be bought and sold is another important factor. In this period the idea that information is an aim changed and it became that information is merchandise which is produced for selling. That situation increased the value of mental afford and decreased the value of physical afford in labor market. Like Sarup emphasizes that the value of information has been increased so highly that the nations started racing and conflicting for information controlling today. But in the past they were fighting for land. (2010: 189). When the reflections of the post modernity in the political life are looked, it is seen that it designed to make the person free and take away the power on the contrary of the modernity. This is a result of shock experienced by the nation-state, the new reviews about the identity, body and subject that are encountered, the throes of expansion in the field of civil and the similar developments (Kahraman, 2004: xi).

That's why the post modernity stands on a pluralistic and clear politic instead of oppressive, integrated politic. It puts the contingency and hesitation ideas instead of the ideas of the progress exactly happened with Enlightenment (Sarup, 2010: 185). This period tied its real knot as a social and politic process in two points: these are the identity and democracy phenomenon. Both of them became secular and lost their structural features. The democracy that gained a divine and otherworldly meaning settled in the life; the identity became a reality that person builds with his/her choices by exiting from the thing that designated above (Kahraman, 2004: x).

In this transformation the most important differentiation is transition from the capital logic is derived from production to a social life built on the consumption and the *consumption economy*. With the postmodern period the *desires* started to be provoked and the *images* started to be created. The meaning of the shopping activities changed. The objects sold have become preferable for being the symbol of the statue that is accepted in the social arena not for their real benefits. It is taught to the persons that if only they behave the consumption norms of the society that they are in or imagine to be in, they can build their social status. Hence the identities is always changing in the postmodern period: the persons can be go into a lower culture and the other easily because of their excitement; can fix everything that take place in the different categories before and suit them to each other. Everything decided obviously as the different and insurmountable patterns for the certain status groups in modernism are gather by fixing in the postmodernism; more flexible approaches are embraced (Bocock, 2005: 86-87). This situation created a multidimensional, mobile and conductive structure.

The post modernity moved away from the described and finished identity which is predicted by modernity. It assumes that the identity is a being process; so the formation of the identity is more important than itself. It can just happen with an interactive development. For this reason the post modernity thinks that the understanding of a free and pluralistic identity is the precondition of creating a focus against the authoritarian and non-civilization government (Kahraman, 2004: 19). There isn't an understanding depending on the classes and the process of building only one and unchanging identity in the post modernity. The process of building an identity is said apart from this. While the person takes place in the

group A of the status on the basis of the consumption habits and the occupation, the person can locate in the feminist movement because of the gender. These examples that seem like creating a contradiction for modernity and excluding each other can be augmented almost infinite number but if it is put briefly, the person of the day haven't got an only and integrated identity that includes everything; because the values on which the identity was built has changed completely.

The identity is related to the images closely in the postmodern period. As underlined by Harvey (2012: 324), there is an industry that produces the images and all of this industry is professional on producing images and accelerating the time of the transferring by the means of marketing. This sector is an area where people become famous for a moment and are forgotten, money talks and decides everything, a mass's culture that repeated serially and in most of time the creativity flows to a pothole. It creates the trends and short lasting interest and produces actively the temporariness that has a big importance on the modernity experience. So the perception of the time and place change and also the usage value/type changes.

The relationship between reduce of the class conflicts and taking over of the images with the postmodern situation shows itself in the appearance of the identity fights and 'new social movements'. Here the active class is professional. The social position of the professional intellectuals is decided by the 'cultural capital' not by the material conditions different from the labor and capital. The persons try to protect their own social statues by not accepting the ones who are not equal them in terms of cultural but this situation creates the culture wars by transferring a continues struggle with making a cultural cooperation net. Though excluding the persons on the status basis is not related to the production relationship quality, the postmodern identity politics endanger in terms of transition of the substructure (Gülalp, 2003: 125-126).

Maybe thanks to not having a stand against the system due to this feature, the postmodern identities are spreading very fast and are encouraged. The dominant revolutionary identities of the modern world vanished in the postmodern times and gave its place to the identities that are more individual and have limited power and these identities are admitted by all the groups especially the middle class raising fast. Even though the professional and middle class has a leading and privilege place, the movement is a structure that goes beyond the classes and is in the cooperation (or it promises that). It is comprehensible why a lot of classes embrace the identity politics in the neoliberal globalization environment. If the way of expression are closed and the structural basis of political grouping based on the common social position like two identity kinds of the modern period shakes because of the globalization or the similar reasons, the persons will stay on their own without belonging a group or they will embrace the most distinctive and unchanged kinds of the identity (Gülalp, 2003: 127).

Thereby the world of the day is the domination area of the cultural identities but it must be emphasized there is a limitation because of the globalization in the recognition of the cultural identities and description of them. As dealt by Akdemir, the globalization makes description with homogenization and differentiation given by the cultural codes of the leader societies. So it is impossible that nonwestern societies can describe themselves apart from these codes. This provides to create the cultural hegemonic or imperialism not create the living areas to the different identities or the cultural pluralism (2010: 48). Even if the cultural identity and the politic that is made on these are popular, on this point it is problematic for most of people. Nevertheless it is obvious that the postmodern world exists on the cultural identity.

The Movie of "My Grandfather's People" and the Change of the Identity in Turkey

It is mentioned above what is the identity phenomenon in general and the transformation during the transition from modernism to postmodernism. This transformation are observed in the Turkish society even it isn't exactly same. Most of the western social scientist portrays the process of the modernization as a process that will be lived similar to western. According to Lerner, modernization means taking over a rational and positivist spirit. According to him the developments such as Urbanization in the West, increasing literacy, development and expansion of the means of mass communication, the wider economic and social participation will be the same in every society and the western sample is universal in this sense (trans., Kongar, 1995: 227). But this argument is not much valid in the eastern societies like Turkey where the internal dynamics work different. The eastern societies shaped their own modernization process in the way they like and stepped to the postmodern period like that or didn't step.

If Turkey is evaluated in its private, it will be seen that there are some qualifications that separate it from the similar in the west. The first one of these is the relationship between the superstructure institutions of the society and the sub structural variables. As a result of manipulations made by the State the superstructure institutions didn't occur as a consequence of the social and economic developments (like in western). The second qualification is the dominant role of the government on the social, economic, and politic life. This role was taken over from ottoman, was intensified in the Ataturk period and became institutionalized in 1960s with military coup. These two qualifications brought about the process worked differently and discontinuously from the west in Turkey (Kongar, 1999: 644-645). As a consequence of this the identity building process developed uniquely and some intermediate forms (such as arabesque culture or moderate Islam) that didn't observe in the western societies marked to the social life (in a certain period of time). The current condition of Turkey still has the effect/trace of this transition.

In this context the movie called *My Grandfather's People* was found remarkable on the point that it reflects the painful periods and the identity conflicts of Turkey and also enlightens the transition of the identity phenomenon. The movie makes a lot of different identity pains and the social atmosphere where these start into a motion picture by focusing on the grandfather and his grandson's problems around a story that tells the 1923 Population Exchange when approximately 3million people migrated replaced mutually. The movie starts at the end of 70s and returns the days of the population exchange and finishes in a recently time. The main character of the movie Ozan is the ten year-old grandson of Mr. Mehmet, a Crete immigrant, who lives in a small town in Aegean and runs a drapery shop. Mr. Mehmet is a Crete Muslim who migrated compulsorily from Crete to Turkey in 1923 when he was a little child with the population exchange. He gets marry his wife, from Salonika, who is also an immigrant and he lives in a small Aegean town with his daughter and son in law.

Ozan is a bad tempered and irritable boy who loves and admires his grandfather but also has conflicts with his grandfather and the other members of his family. Mr. Mehmet hasn't gone to his family home to Crete (even as a tourist) because of some reasons (political obligations, Cyprus Peace Operation, military interventions etc.) since they were exiled from Crete to Turkey and he is a man who lives the dream and longing of this, writes letters with his little Greek from his childhood, puts them into bottles, throws them into the sea and believe that one day they will reach his hometown. This situation is found strange by some people in the town and Mr. Mehmet and his family are excluded by being assumed as 'Son of Greek', 'Giaour' 'Greek Spy' etc. also Ozan's friends call him with these negative adjectives and Ozan is annoyed of this situation. Ozan reacts to his grandfather's longing to his past and his brother who died during the population exchange with a big anger, he rejects to be giaour

and emphasizes that he is Turkish. He sings the National Anthem without any concern for appropriateness, goes to the Non-Muslim street and breaks the windows of the houses or exclude the boy with whom he works in his grandfather's shop because he is Kurdish. As understood from the next scenes this is not because of the Ozan's bad character this is because of his crisis of identity which he can't solve out. Every behavior of Ozan has the trace of the value referred to Turkishness. Ozan wants to be with the majority (composed by his friends and burghers) against his roots that he sees as minority, because if he doesn't behave like this he is afraid of being lonely. He tries to build his belonging connections on the Turkishness identity by influenced the social atmosphere in 70s when he lives his childhood and describes himself in this axis.

The 70s was the complex years where the conflicts of 'right-left' and different view on the national identity are produced. While Left groups were trying to build a national identity on 'The Peoples of Turkey', right groups were working for a structure on the axis of Turk-Islam synthesis. Because Turkey lived a different and most of the time delayed transition, the argument starting from west hasn't come to country yet. With the Revolution of Republic, the people masses raised to the standard of *citizenship* from the *servanthood culture* of Ottoman Empire, who continue to live with agriculture-based society because that haven't lived a industry revolution like the western societies and (despite the struggles) an effective bourgeois class couldn't create. So even though 'rich girl-poor boy/ fabricator-worker' conflicts are the clichés of the Turkish cinema, any class conflict equivalent the examples in the west and the class identity coming with this conflict haven't observed. The groups who built their identities on the axe of the religious belief in the ottoman period were started to be described in national factors after the Republic. So in the young Republic of 70s the national identity issue is still up to date and Turkish identity is dominant as the basis belonging point on the ones.

The severe craving of Mr. Mehmet to the other side of Aegean that felt all of the film, and the tides of him between this side which is adopted the homeland of him although all of the negative situations, are the reflections of this cultural atmosphere. Mr. Mehmet tries to build his identity on the nation within the dominant conjecture of the period, but he can't feel belonging to both sides somehow, because he is giaour here and he is Turkish son there and maybe for this reason, he chooses these between two sides of Aegean eternal house. After the process which developed with the 80 Coup in the movie, the first stirrings of transition from modernity to post modernity are started to observing and the changing values affects differently to Mr. Mehmet and Ozan who's the two main character of the film. With the coup, the daily life is changed, Ozan's father (who's the Deputy Chairman of the Municipality of the Town), contradicts with the Chairman (who's assigned via The Military Junta) because not to accepted the sales of country parcel by parcel and so he was fired from his job. Ozan's father starts to question himself and his values that he believes, but now all of them in dissolution in front of his eyes and he only watches the happenings helplessly. Mr. Mehmet also takes a part in this quest and he tries to interfere in this situation that affects his family. However, with the posture which comes from age and experiences, the answer of President and the indifference of others to one side; all of these come 'heavy'; and Mr. Mehmet finds the solution on leaving himself of the waters of Aegean. Mr. Mehmet had committed suicide who has a posture against to life and can't be adapted to the conditions of the day with the hardness which comes from his age.

His grandson Ozan is affected differently from the events as a boy who is searching his identity. Neo liberalism politics starting with the 80 Coup and the consumption culture started to be felt rasps the Ozan's sensibilities: By the middle of the 90s, on the world which is getting smaller and globalizing, Ozan chooses to build his existence on the multiculturalism not on the Turkishness (that in peace with his roots). The sentence '*They are*

also our people, my son' which is repeated continuously by Mr. Mehmet to Ozan, is provided to develop a new and moderate vision around tolerance and reconciliation in parallel with the dominant paradigm in the world. There is a need to say something as an aside, this sentence is heard throughout the film from Mr. Mehmet, in a sense, is an attempt to neutralize his own exclusion and othering via embracing all. If we close the parentheses and continuing, it will be suitable to talk about Ozan's travel to Greece at the last ten minutes of the film. This journey can read as to be a desire to melting his history and his future in the same pot, as well as to facing of the roots of Ozan. And the dialogues reflect the new trends of the world which are established in there by Ozan. The matches and partnerships no longer occur around the cultural motifs and there is a new and multi-layered perspective for the definition of identity. Lots of details like the discourse of friendship with Greeks, or having the same tableware culture, or communicating via English, reflect the identity understanding and the world which is find meaning by this vision. At the end of the film, we heard a Greek Song its name is Gulbahar, which is include some Anatolian rhythms and vocal style as well as a Rembetico music example that include many Turkish names and phrases (that the meaning of it is not to subservient of authority and mostly played with 9/8 rhythm which is the measure of Turkish Zeybek Dance). The song is like a reference to this new situation. The world is rapidly changing and the perception of identity is transformed and is becoming more complex than ever.

Conclusion

In the framework of the study, the phenomenon of identity in the passing from modern culture into post-modern culture and the changes observed in this phenomenon have been examined on the movie called *"My Grandfather's People"* by a sociological reading. It's a film from Turkish cinema and describes briefly the Turkish history between the early 1900's and today. Even though Turkey is a country that have not completed its modernization yet (and frequently trying to adapt the existing structure via the interim forms); it is faced with the things brought by postmodern stage, today. Even so, the baseline of the transformation process, progresses similar to west. Reflections of this situation can be seen on the differences in the perceptions of identity that observed in certain historical periods. Some break points which are created by the social conditions, causes to building on different values of individuals' entity. But, these values (as long as the internal dynamics of the societies not to follow a completely different line) are always focused on similar and limited definitions.

This structure is seen in the film called *My Grandfather's People* and the main characters of the film, Mr. Mehmet and his grandson Ozan, can't realize their identity building and the conflicts on this process without independent of the existing social structure. While leaving behind a period and passing to another one, holistic concepts such as class and nation are left; the identities are started to be handled on through the values which are more individual, particular and sectional. Thus, post modernity, many others as alleged, makes itself available via the politics of culture and identity.

References

Akdemir, A. Müslim. (2010). *Küreselleşme ve Kültürel Kimlik Sorunu.* Erişim Adresi: www.e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr/index.php. Erişim Tarihi: 28.03.2013, Erişim Saati: 16:50.

Akıncı, Abdulvahap. (2012). *Modern Ulus Devletlerin Doğuşu.* Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Sayı 34: 61-70.

Althusser, Louis. (2006). *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*. İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.

Belek, Kaan. (2006).*Modernleşme Sürecinde Türkiye'nin KimlikProblemleri.* Ankara: Atılım Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi.

Bocock, Robert. (2005). *Tüketim.* (Çev: İrem Kutluk). Ankara : Dost Kitabevi.
Bozkurt, Veysel. (2006). *Değişen Dünyada Sosyoloji* . İstanbul : Aktüel Yayınları.
Cem, İsmail. (1999). *Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Can Yayınları.
Dağtaş, Erdal. (2006). *Tüketim Kültürü, Yaşam Tarzları, Boş Zamanlar ve Medya Üzerine Bir Literatür Taraması,* Eğitim-Bilim-Toplum Dergisi. Cilt 4, Sayı 14 (bahar) : 4-31.
Doruk, K. Ece, ve Mengü, Ç. Seda. (2005). *Adoption Of National Identity In Metropolies: A Study In İstanbul.* Selçuk İletişim Dergisi, Cilt 4, Sayı 1: 171- 182.
Edgell, Stephen. (1998). *Sınıf.* Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları.
Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Uluslar ve Ulusçuluk.* İstanbul: Hil Yayınları.
Güçhan, Gülseren. (1992). *Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Sineması*. Ankara: İmge Yayınevi.
Gülalp, Haldun.(2003). *Kimlikler Siyaseti*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
Güvenç, Bozkurt. (2006). Türk Kültürü: Kimlik ve İmaj, (Ed: Mesut Eren). *Türk Kültürü ve Kimliği,* İstanbul: İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Yayınları, sayfa no 39-59.
Harvey, David. (2012). *Postmodernliğin Durumu*. (Çev: Sungur Savran). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
Jeanniere, Abel. (2000). Modernite Nedir?, (Der: Mehmet Küçük). *Modernite Versus Postmodernite,* Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, sayfa no 95-107.
Kahraman, B. Hasan. (2004). *Postmodernite İle Modernite Arasında Türkiye*. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları.
Karaduman, Sibel. (2010). *Modernizmden Postmodernizme Kimliğin Yapısal Dönüşümü*. Journal Of Yaşar University, Cilt 17, Sayı 5: 2886-2899.
Kongar, Emre. (1995). *Toplumsal Değişme Kuramları ve Türkiye Gerçeği*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
Kongar, Emre. (1999). *21. Yüzyılda Türkiye / 2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı.* İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
Lash, Scott. (2000). Modernite mi, Modernizm mi? Weber ve Günümüz Toplumsal Teorisi. (Der: Mehmet Küçük). *Modernite Versus Postmodernite,* Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, sayfa no133-165.
Mora, Necla. (2008). *Medya ve Kültürel Kimlik*. Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi. 5:1. Erişim: http://www.insanbilimleri.com. Erişim Tarihi: 19.03.2013, Erişim Saati: 16:00.
Morley, David, ve Robins, Kevin. (1997). *Kimlik Mekânları*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
Pakulski, Jan. (2007). Toplumsal Hareketler ve Sınıf: Marksist Paradigmanın Çöküşü, (Der: Hayriye Erbaş). *Fark Kimlik Sınıf*, Ankara: Eos Yayınevi, sayfa no 31-71.
Said, Edward. (2012). *Şarkiyatçılık.* İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
Sarup, Madan. (2010). *Post-Yapısalcılık ve Postmodernizm.* (Çev: Abdülbaki Güçlü). İstanbul: Kırk Gece Yayınları.
Tanilli, Server. (2006). *Uygarlık Tarihi.* İstanbul: Alkım Yayınları.
Tanner, Verlag. (2008). *Papalagi / Göğü Delen Adam.* İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
TDK. (2013). http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts&view=gts. Erişim Tarihi: 12.02.2013, Erişim Saati: 15:28.
Tönnies, Ferdinand. (2002). *Community and Society.* (Trans. And Edit: Charles P. Loomis). United Kingdom: Dover Publications. www.google.com.tr/books?id=sKcITieRERYC&printsec=frontcover&hl=tr&output=html_text.
Yıldız, Hasan. (2013). *Postmodernizm Nedir?* İnternette Yayınlanmış Makale. Erişim Adresi: www.sbe.dumlupinar.edu.tr, Erişim Tarihi: 28.03.2013, Erişim Saati: 14:30.

PART III

Culture and Identity

BEYOND MULTICULTURALISM IN EUROPE - RETHINKING EQUALITY IN THE AGE OF INEQUALITIES

Andreja SRŠEN, Senior Research and Teaching Assistant

University of Zagreb

Abstract

This article deals with the question: is multiculturalism in Europe based on a new understanding of the nature of society? In order to provide an answer, the article first analyses the key insights of the theory of reflexive modernization. Particular attention is given to the ideas of B. Parekh, C. Taylor and W. Kymlicka. The starting point of the analysis is the question about the multiculturalism in the situation of post-traditional social pluralism as an appropriate theoretical and practical model of integration in multiethnic and multicultural societies. The second part moves from the theory to the practice of multiculturalism, discussing a retreat from official multiculturalism policies in Europe. The problems of multiculturalism in Europe are due to a variety of factors: the chronic lack of public support for multiculturalism policies; immigrants who are socially non-integrated and without civil and political rights; the demands for the group-specific protection of cultural minorities; the assimilation of migrants is not seriously considered. The assumption is that the democratic institutions in Europe seem to have lost the idea of common life and public interest. There is no new collective idea of multiculturalism that has captured the public`s imagination. Multicultural public politics in Europe are more transparent and, at the same time, less trusted than ever. The crucial question, however, is a sociological one – have the impacts of globalization and liberalization aggravated existing social inequalities but have also produced new forms of culture inequality in Europe?

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Europe, Society, Integration, Modernization.

Introduction

Europe is a forest of ideas, symbols and myths. Perhaps we can speak about the European Union as a community on a cultural basis. This will raise the question of multiculturalism. I consider one of the ways in which multiculturalism moves from abstract philosophical idea to adoption as a cultural and moral framework that individuals use in establishing their identities. The object of multicultural theory is variously a moral theory derived from the codification of Human Rights (Kymlicka 2007), a political ideology challenging the traditional Western emphasis on individual freedom and rights(Hollinger 1995), an economic strategy (Herring 2009), an explicit policy and legal approach such as those adopted by Australia and Canada, a call for the inclusion of marginalized voices and perspectives in

education (Nussbaum 1997) and the media (Corte´s 2000), and an assortment of best practices for managing, identifying and preserving cultural heterogeneity which variously includes immigrants, indigenous ethno-racial minorities. We can say that multiculturalism wears different faces. It may be qualities of region, ethnicity and race. Struggles for multicultural incorporation also proceed along different paths. In Canada, once-conquered Aborigines and Quebecois forcefully demanded an alternative to assimilation. In the USA, black Americans, first enslaved and then subject to brutal racial domination, struggled not only for equality but for the legitimacy of what came to be called 'African-American' culture. In contemporary Europe, where internal colonialism and racial enslavement have largely been absent, struggles over multicultural incorporation have centered on immigration.

In Europe, not so much the racial but the ethnic and religious qualities of the new wave of immigrant outsiders have challenged the collective identities of Europe's core groups in increasingly troubling ways (Alexander2013). If a society is homogeneous we need not to worry about its stability. It is heterogeneity which is a problem but we have no justification for either forcible assimilation or physical elimination of minority groups. The ideals of multiculturalism may offer very different messages to minority- and majority-group members about the value of their cultures. Minorities may wish to support the goal of multiculturalism in resistance to a negative group identity (Tajfel and Turner 1986).Though the existence of minorities is ahistorical phenomenon, modern minorities differ from the past ones because; **(i)** as against the modern minorities, the pre-modern minorities had accepted their subordinate position;**(ii)** the rising importance of cultures and the awareness of the greater acceptance of cultural differences; **(iii)**economic and cultural globalization in modern time; and **(iv)** the assimilationist motto of the modern states and the recognition of individual as the bearer of rights rather than the group (Parekh, 2000: 7-9).

The Notion of *Identity* in European Societal Culture

The concept of 'identity' is one of the most contentious in the social sciences. Years ago, identity was seen as something that was 'given' to us. Nowadays, debates about identity are focused on identity as a quality that arises in our interaction with others, not as an inherent quality. During the last years, a great deal has been written about the different faces of identity. So, we can discuss about social identity, national identity, group identity, individual identity, personal identity, etc. People who do not belong together will not assort memories of the past together, or elaborate or preserve their symbols or traditions collectively. Typical landmarks and expressions of identity like/ *am Croat* or / *am Italian,* which we naturally often encounter, must have some kind of a basis for the development of identity. But what does 'identity' mean? Firstly, the identity is a concept of absolute sameness: this is identical to that. Secondly, it is a concept of distinctiveness, which presumes consistency over time. On all these levels identity has something to do with a tendency toward 'sameness' or stability. Without social identity there is no society, because without such framework of similarity and difference people would be unable to relate each other in a consistent and meaningful fashion. The building of a nation, historically speaking, has been marked by struggle, by people actively fighting for their cultural recognition, particular language, history, and identity.

Identities are seen as being constituted and validated through ongoing interactions. It is a process that is never completed, being in a continuous construction and reconstruction

throughout the life-course of individuals. The individual identity and the social identity are entangled with each other, being produced by analogous processes and they are both intrinsically social. Europe, like the rest of the world, is becoming more demographically multicultural. But, when we speak about multiculturalism in Europe, the question is - what happens with the identities, in general, in the context of the European Union? Identities are used here as synonyms, perhaps with ethno-cultural being more exact, but referring generally to the same concept: an identity that is assumed by a particular group of people that associate themselves with a particular ethnicity. In this context, ethnicity is defined as something that is, presumably, inherited, rather than assumed. Religion is not ordinarily an ethnic identity, although it may be reinterpreted to construct one.

Any debate where multiculturalism becomes criticized leads to the citizenship–civic virtue discussion, and any debate where an inclusive citizenship is proposed inevitably discuss multiculturalism. Bhikhu Parekh goes further by stating clearly that a politics of citizenships which both promotes the rights of communities with regard to each other, as well as the obligations of communities to each other is an essential precondition of the pluralist vision (Parekh, 2000). He suggests ways of promoting cultural difference in citizenship, such as giving cultural diversity public status and dignity, and encouraging minority groups to accept the obligations associated with citizenship at their own pace. Therefore, liberal multiculturalism tends to focus on the relationships between state, groups and individuals, and provides the theoretical background for group rights. However, whether cultural communities can be viewed as groups with their own special rights or as citizens with particular cultural characteristics whose rights and duties are part of those of the larger community remains unclear. This is mostly due to the complexity involved in defining concepts that deal with issues of cultural difference and cultural identity. Kymlicka`s treatment of minorities is based on three propositions namely; human beings have an essential interest in leading a good life; that individual should be ordered from within and; individual's ends and projects should be revisable. He argues that individual freedom is tied in some important way to membership in one's national group (Kymlicka, 1995: 52).That is why he bases his theory on "*Societal Culture*" which he defines as: a culture which provides its members with meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres. These cultures tend to be territorially concentrated, and based on a shared language (1995: 76). For Kymlicka it is the societal culture which not only gives full autonomy (the autonomy to make reasonable choice) to our life but also a full perfection and perception of good life. According to Kymlicka, liberalism is committed to (perhaps even defined by) the view that individuals should have the freedom and capacity to question and possibly revise the traditional practices of their community, if they come to see them as no longer worthy of their allegiance (1995: 152).

The search for new principles of European societal culture is inexplicable bound up with the attempt to create a space in which collective identities can be formed. All the countries that are members of the European Union have their own national identities but the question is if they will "survive "in the complex story of multiethnic Europe? Gerard Delanty notes that the search for new principles of European legitimacy is inexplicable bound up with the attempt to create a space in which collective identities can be formed (Delamty, G., 1995).Applied to Europe, people would try to create a unique European identity, but it is highly unlikely that there will be a process in Europe where a European identity replaces a Member state national one.

Defining Postmodern Multiculturalism

In this study multiculturalism is taken as an approach to the problem of diversity. Parekh (2000: 3-5) makes a distinction between the fact of diversity and approach toward it. He uses the word *multicultural* for the existence of diversity in a society and mentions the following three forms of diversity (Parekh 2000: 3-5):

- Sub-cultural Diversity: Though sharing a broadly common culture, some of the members of plural society might have different behavior, practices and beliefs etc. pertaining to a particular area of life like gays, lesbians and miners etc. They follow the dominant system of meaning but try to find a place for their deviant behaviors in it. It is embedded in a share culture and wants to diversify and open rather than replace it.
- Perspective Diversity: Here some of the members of the society are very critical of some of the prevailing valves of the system and struggle for its modification and correction. It is more radical and comprehensive than sub-cultural diversity. The members have a vision which the dominant society either ignores or only accepts in theory. Feminists attack of patriarchy and Islamists of secularism are examples.
- Communal Diversity: This is the attempt of self-conscious and more or less organized group to live according to their own value system. This sort of diversity is firm and strong and cannot be accommodated easily. Newly arrived immigrants, Gypsies, Amish, various religious communities, Indigenous and the Quebecois are the examples.

Multiculturalism is best understood as a critical-theoretical project, an exercise in cultivating new conceptions of solidarity in the context of dealing with the realities of increasing diversity in contemporary societies. Multiculturalism is a response or a set of responses to diversity that seeks to articulate the social conditions under which difference can be incorporated and order achieved from diversity (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005).Hartmann and Gerteis (2005*)* elaborate four kinds of diversity referred as multicultural by B. Parekh:

- Assimilation: This vision supports substantive moral bonds as the basis for moral cohesion. Assimilationism strongly denies the mediating role of groups. The group and the nation are the same. The boundaries of the social whole thus tend to be strong, while internal group boundaries are weak. It forces the individuals to lose the characteristics of prior outsider identities and to accept the society's main values. This vision deals with difference by removing it. Difference is believed as something dangerous, to be rid of or at least minimized. The emphasis is instead on cultural homogeneity and conformity. Private difference may be tolerated under this conception of plurality only if it is not pushed into the public sphere.
- Cosmopolitanism. The cosmopolitan approach supports diversity only if it allows and expands individual rights and freedom. The most important features of cosmopolitanism are its lack of cultural specificity and the resulting vagueness of its external boundary. While the assimilationist conception sees a strong macro boundary and a thick, substantive understanding of moral solidarity, cosmopolitanism emphasizes a thinner, more procedural understanding of the macro-culture. The emphasis in this vision is on tolerance and individual choice rather than mutual obligations. It does not insist that all members share the same main principles. For the individuals, membership in the social whole is one among many sources of identity,

and not necessarily the most salient. It is the thinnest of the visions, but it is at least one in which diversity exists without major conflicts.

- Fragmented Pluralism: this version supports the existence of a number of unique and independent communities as a social reality, but also as a necessity and strength. Structurally, it is the closest to being the opposite of assimilation. It supports procedural norms rather than common moral bonds and gives emphasis on the role of groups and tends toward a weaker macro-social boundary but very strong internal groups and boundaries. Under assimilations the social groups are absorbed into the social whole. Under fragmented pluralism, the social whole is dissolved into its component collective units. For cosmopolitanism, group membership was a matter of individual choice. Here, group membership is seen as essential rather than voluntary. It implies social units that are more or less autonomous and discrete, and group self-determination is considered as vital for identity. Conformity force is strong here, but it is group specific rather than conformity to a common center which is the feature of assimilation
- Interactive Pluralism: Here distinct groups and cultures exist but emphasizes the need to cultivate common understanding across these differences through their mutual recognition and constant interaction. Cross-cultural dialogue and exchange becomes the crucial feature and value to be cultivated. For interactive pluralism the emphasis is on mutual recognition and respect of differences. Like fragmented pluralism, it points to the importance of groups as the chief basis for association in society but with a difference in emphasis. While both visions prioritize the role of groups, interactive pluralism emphasizes inter-groups interaction.

Parekh's solution for a multicultural society is that the constitution of such a state should be framed by *consensus* (emphasis added). The derivative (derived from its members) and primary collective rights derive their justification from contributing to the individual's well-being (Parekh, 2000: 213-218).Multicultural society needs a *common culture* (2000:219) which grows out of interaction of various cultures which respect the diversity and unite them around a common way of life. This common culture is maintained properly by a *multiculturally oriented system of education* (2000: 225-227).It should be education in freedom, freedom from ethnocentric prejudices. National identity should allow for multiple (cultural) identities, should not consider the minorities as outsiders, and respect and accept them equally valuable (though the definition of national identity will not be culturally neutral).The relations between majority and minorities should be adjusted on the basis of Operative Public Values (OPV) embodied in the state's constitutional. The OPV should be justified and the rejection of the minority culture should be explained. Now putting his argument for multicultural society, Parekh is also pleading for toleration on the part of majority toward minorities (2000: 207).

Some of the main problems raised and not resolved by liberal multiculturalism are the notions of origin, ethnic purity and exclusion to be faced when trying to define what forms an identity and what makes one identity different to another. As has been shown, liberal multiculturalism seeks to establish a balance between difference and equality and freedom and culture, while dealing with issues of citizenship and cultural policy. Nevertheless, it is still far from providing any clear guidelines that target ethnic and cultural integration in a satisfactory way. On the other hand, postmodern multiculturalism focuses on the possibilities of difference and the shifting relationship between people and their identities and cultures. While discussions of multiculturalism have brought great progress to intercultural dialogue, cultural policy in Europe should not simply promote multiculturalism and celebrate difference. The dangers of doing that include the development of ''parallel societies'' that

neither share close intercultural communication nor try to transcend difference and achieve integration through mutual dialogue (Schiffbauer, 2005: 30).

Cultural Diversity in the European Union

The notion of 'cultural diversity' appears in a series of debates concerning the European Union. There is no denying that the European Union has a well-defined territory with solid ground and confinable borders, as well as unique political characteristics. At the moment, it is taken for granted by most observers that the countries of the European Union are multicultural; this is not a value judgment, but a descriptive statement of fact. National identity has political and cultural elements: not only a common state, but also a common language, a common history etc., the unity of the so-called "state nation "and the so-called "culture nation". The European Union has - at the moment – only political and economic grounds; and perhaps some historical one. Identification with the European Union and common European consciousness can only develop to the extent to which the citizens of the Member States can feel and consider, through their immediate experiences, that the European Union is their real common home.

The "citizenship–civic virtue" and "minority rights–multiculturalism" debates are precisely where the rights of the minority over the majority and vice versa are discussed in today's world. In the European Union specifically, there are currently two main expressions of this liberal model, with some variations. The first has a good example in the dominant French paradigm, found its poignant manifestation in the "the headscarf affair" in September 1989. In 1989 three teenage girls of North Africa origin arrived at school in Creil, France wearing veils that covered their hair. Despite warnings to remove them, they refused and were eventually expelled. This incident, commonly referred to as the "headscarf affair", was the first of the series of many. The headscarf affair raised the questions about the rights of minority groups and religious expression in school. For those who demanded that the Muslim schoolgirls take off their headscarves, France was a single and indivisible nation based on a single culture. The state was to aggressively and positively pursue a policy of assimilation; differences were to be accepted only if they were not judged to be against the principles of French culture, which are universal. To follow a different path would be to deny the universal nature of French culture, and further, to invite a threat against it. Taking into account this situation in France it is thus possible to formulate some practical models of liberal multiculturalism in European Union. In France, the mainstream political establishment has adopted the following logic in "headscarf affair":

- The French state (the Republic) is based on French culture.
- French Republican cultural values are universal.
- Anything opposing universal values must be proscribed.
- The subjugation of a gender (women) is in opposition to universal values.
- The headscarf is a symbol of female subjugation and must be proscribed.

A number of questions arise here: were the French legislators correct in assuming the headscarf was a symbol of female subjugation? If they were correct to oppose it in on moral principle, would this moral abhorrence be justifiable in terms of universal validity such that it would necessitate a ban? Even if the headscarf was against the emancipation of women, a key concept of French Republican thought, was it the place of the French state to proscribe it?

Are French, German, or for that matter, "Western" values truly universal, and to be upheld at any cost? (Hellyer, 2006: 339).

While Europe is unifying, it is also becoming more diverse, making multiculturalism one of the most hotly debated political issues in Western Europe. Minority citizens occupy an important place in the landscape of this challenging issue. European multiculturalism is further complicated by the degree to which both immigration rates and citizenship rights vary cross nationally and the continuing project to create a pan-European citizenship. Embodying these tensions are European citizens of minority heritage. These are people who formally hold European citizenship but are living multiple identities at a time when Europe is grappling with unifying its multiple identities, making their attitudes a particularly important portal to study cultural integration and cleavages in the citizenry. What is more, as Europe becomes increasingly diverse, understanding attitudes of citizens with minority heritage holds a key to understanding the future of the European population.

Taking into account Parekh's considerations of institutions and participation, and drawing on a balance between liberal and pluralistic concerns, it is thus possible to formulate a succinct and appropriate definition of an integrated society. An integrated society is one where society as a whole removes unfair and unnecessary barriers to access, respecting reasonable pluralism without unrestricted relativism, and where the individual is freely able to become an integral part of it, identifying the said society as the main field of participation. This definition thus places most of the onus of "integration" squarely on society as awhile, whereas the pursuit to become "integral" is an interest of the integrated subject, whether individually or communally. Relating this concept we could emphasize that most discussions about multiculturalism in Europe Union focus on "ethnicity". As a side effect, the recognition of religion and religious identity is marginalized or not considered, yet research shows that religion "still" plays a significant role in-groups' relations among each other and the society at large.

It is important to note that a strong cultural policy common to all members of the European Union does not exist and may be said not to be in the interest of European nation states. Multiculturalism debates and practices have been topical in Europe over the past forty years with varying results in different countries and social settings. The European Commission defines multiculturalism as the acceptance of immigrants and minority groups as distinct communities whose languages and social behaviors and infrastructures distinguish them from the majority (Meinhof & Triandafyllidou, 2006: 8). Moreover, multiculturalism advocates members of such groups should be granted rights equal to each other and, more importantly, to members of majority groups.

Conclusion

Nowadays, cultures, traditions, societies, and interests are becoming highly interconnected and linked, as societies become increasingly multicultural. European community and identity need cultural grounds. The character of the European Union is multinational and multicultural. But it is possible to have a "lingua franca" and democratic publicity, so the European historical, cultural and political tradition can be the ground for European identity. Multiculturalist approaches may lead to have people who resent the rapid cultural change and call for assimilationist and possibly racist policies, on the one hand, and on the other reactionary and extremist behaviour among migrants that has become a major unsettling and confrontational feature of various European societies. Migration is one of the major

influences to challenge traditional conceptions of Europe structured on nation states, and the increased flux of people across European borders has encouraged critics and policy-makers to re-assess the impact of cultural policies in Europe. For critical multiculturalism, it is particularly important to examine how equality fits into the liberal and republican models of democracy.

The first advantage of critical multiculturalism's understanding of cultural differences is its potential for political alliances and social unity. To the extent that cultural interests are not grounded on fixed heritages, but on social perspectives and that each social perspective does not absorb a person's full identity, fruitful alliances based on common (even if not fully overlapping) social positioning become possible.

References

CORTE´ S, C. E. 2000 The Children Are Watching: How the Media Teach about Diversity, New York: Teachers College Press

DELAMTY, G. 1995 Inventing Europe – Idea, Identity, Reality. London MacMillan

HARTMANN, D & GERTEIS, J. 2005 Dealing with diversity: Mapping multiculturalism in sociological terms. *Sociological Theory*, *23*(2), 218-240.

HELLYER, H. A. 2006 Muslims and Multiculturalism in the European Union. Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. 26, No. 3

HOLLINGER, D. A. 1995 Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism, New York: Basic Books

HERRING, C. 2009 'Does diversity pay? Race, gender, and the business case for diversity'. American Sociological Review, vol. 74, pp. 208_24

KYMLICKA, W. 2007 Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity. Oxford: Oxford University Press

KYMLICKA, W. 1995 Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights. Oxford University Press

MEINHOF, U. and TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, A. 2006 *Transcultural Europe. Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

NUSSBAUM, M. C. 1997 Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

PAREKH, B. (2000). *Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory.* London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

SCHIFFBAUER, W.2005 ''Parallel Societies and Integration: German Turks and their Communitiesin Germany'', Kultur journal of the Goethe-Institut, 1: 30–33.

TAJFEL, H. and TURNER, J. C. 1986 The social identity theory of intergroup behavior, in S. Worchel and W.G. Austin (eds), The Psychology of Intergroup Relations, Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall, pp. 7_24

BRIDGES OF HEART: TOWN TWINNING PROTOCOLS BETWEEN TURKEY AND BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

Kasim KARAMAN, Associate Professor

Erciyes University

Abstract

The concept of town twinning or sister city refers, in a narrow sense, to the cooperation on various areas between towns that have a common border. This concept is used, in international sense, to refer to protocols that are made between local administrations of towns that are far from each other in order to exchange information and cooperate on education, finance, tourism, and culture. The number of international town twinning protocols has increased particularly in the context of post war era (after the World War II) in order to improve the relationships between countries through local partnerships. Today there are twinning protocols between more than 11000 towns in 159 countries across the globe. 71 towns made protocols with of their counterparts in Bosnia Herzegovina as of 2013 in Turkey. This paper focuses on the functionality and contribution of twinning protocols that have been made between Turkish and Bosnian local administrations to the relations between Turkey and Bosnia Herzegovina. It attempts to consider what Turkish towns have been doing and planning in the context of town twinning. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews that were carried out with authorities of 15 towns. According to the findings, the activities are usually limited to visits and cultural activities. They tend to be in the form of "bridges of heart" stressing historical links.

Keywords: Town Twinning, Sister City, Local Administration.

Introduction

Town twinning, represents the bilateral protocols, at national and international levels, signed in between two cities or towns for partnership and cooperation. Town twinning could be limited to only one area of cooperation such as economy, politics, culture, tourism, health, environment etc. or it could include cooperation in multi fields. Town twinning's, in the local context, are the protocols formed by cities or towns located in the same country, for cooperation and solidarity. These cities and towns can either be close to each other or far away from each other. The concept of town twinning is, more extensively, being used to represent town connections which have international dimension. Twinning can occur in between cities or towns close to each other and the ones far from each other too (Joenniemi; Sergunin, 2011a: 232).

Also, there are many other concepts referring to connected cities or towns. These concepts are as follows: sister, connected, double, trans-border, binational, neighbored, coupled, partner, companion, border-crossing and friendship (Buursink, 2001: 15-17). Among these concepts, the most common ones are "sister cities" and "town twinning". In

Europe, the concept of town twinning, which is also preferred by The European Council in their official publishing, is used to represent connected cities. However, the concepts which are being used to explain the connected cities that are neighbours but located in different countries, are "Twin Cities" or "Twin Towns" (Köhle, 2005:9). In Europe, the history of town twinnings goes back to the year 1945, in which World War II ended. Town twinnings, which were aimed to improve cultural bonds and develop the relationships in order to clear away the problems brought by the war and to establish the peace again, started to increase in numbers between municipalities as a new and powerful instrument of establishing connections after 1970's (http://int.twinning.org).

In recent years, European Union and its member countries under the identity of europeanness, are trying to overcome the historical fragmentedness and cultural diversity of Europe by town twinnings (Shultz, 2002: 66-67). On this context, the concept of "town twinning" is emerging as a new instrument of a regional cooperation, which is formed by an initiative of the local actors from Europe. European local administrations are, on the one hand, seeking possibilities of sharing knowledge, developing joint projects and developing joint sustainable development projects, on the other hand, they're aiming to cooperate with each other for solving local and global problems like; energy, food, water, air pollution, migration and climate changes (Joenniemi, Sergunin, 2011b: 120).

In USA, Australasia and, partly, Great Britain, the concept of "sister cities" is beeing used to represent connected cities. This "sister cities" concept is similar to "town twinning" but includes different meanings than it. "Sister Cities" is a concept and an organization which are produced by American President Dwight Eisenhower, in 1956. The organization named "Sister Cities International (SCI)" has been operating since 1967, as a non-governmental organization. At the beginning, sister city organization was an initiative of the immigrants living in the United States who are willing to protect the connections of the immigrants with their homelands. Today, its aim is expressed as; developing global cooperation between local administrations and strengthening international partnerships (Köhle, 2005: 10; www.sister-cities.org).

Town twinnings, which are formed on different purposes and represented by different concepts, can be grouped in terms of their aims and structures. These groups can be denoted as *local* twinnings occurred in the same country, *regional* twinnings, providing regional cooperation and partnerships like European Union and *global* twinnings, bringing absolutely universal cooperation without borders and limitations. On this context, connected cities are trying to achieve instituonalisation as forming associations (Joenniemi, Sergunin, 2012: 17-20). Organizations like, CEMR (*The Council of European Municipalities and Region*), EUROCITIES (*network consisting of major European cities*), METREX (*Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas*), CTA (*The City Twins Association*), BaltMet *(The Baltic Metropoles*) and SCI (*Sister City International*) can be mentioned exemplarily.

In Turkey, preferred concept for town twinnings is "sister cities". This concept, which is emphasizing sentimentality, is basically important because it manifests the viewpoint of the local administrations on town twinnings. According to the law, which is related to local administrations and came into operation in 2005, local administrations are allowed to join international activities related to their scope of duties. They need to have the consent of The Turkish Republic - Ministry of Interior and they have to act in accordance with the national foreign policies and international treaties (www.tbmm.gov.tr). The municipalities who are willing to establish town twinning relationships, have to apply to Turkish Ministry of Interior

with an explanation document, including on which fields they are planning to conduct the town twinning relationships, the aim of the prospective activities and expected utilities of them, a hard copy of the twinning protocol and the decision of the municipal council which is approving the twinning process. The expected utilities of town twinnings in the town twinning protocols are as follows: making different cultures get to know each other, improving tourism, establishing commercial relationships, achieving knowledge and technology transfers and sharing knowledge and experiences (Ozcan, 2006: 20-21).

As of the year 2013 (May 20th), the number of town twinning protocols on international level is 1241 (www.migm.gov.tr). However, these town twinning protocols, which exist in big numbers, cannot be called as "successful" when they are compared to many other samples from the rest of the world and when they are evaluated from the aspect of their contents and sustainability. In fact, they appear to come to an end with the same speed of their starts and thus the expected efficiency cannot be obtained from them (Ozcan, 2006: 21).

The obstacles encountered frequently in establishing, conducting and improving town twinning relationships can be discussed in two groups: (1) international problems, including financial needs, lack of political and public support and lack of support of the employees working in municipalities; (2) external problems including cultural differences, language problems and incompatible goals (Iller ve Belediyeler Dergisi, 2012: 6). Today, despite the phenomenon of town twinning, which can easily be denoted by the numbers of tens of thousands in between over 100 countries on all over the world (Zelinsky, 1991: 1-2), continues to broaden and improve rapidly, the academic interest on the subject is, unfortunately, weak. Thus the literature on town twinnigs is not at the level it deserves (Jayne, Hubbard and Bell, 2011: 27-28). The related studies are generally limited to the evaluations of town twinning relationships over real life examples. Discussing town twinnigns at theoretical level still stands as an important problem.

The prominent approaches which take place in the limited numbers of studies related to town twinnings, can be listed as follows: transnationalism (Zelinsky, 1991: 28), internationalism (Joenniemi, Sergunin, 2011b: 124-125), regionalism (Joenniemi, Sergunin, 2011b: 120), as 'quiet revolution in local governance' entrepreneurship (Cremer, Bruin and Dupuis, 2001: 397), new localism movement (Clarke, 2009: 505). In this paper, it is aimed to evaluate the planned and performed activities of Turkish municipalities, which have made town twinning protocols with the municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

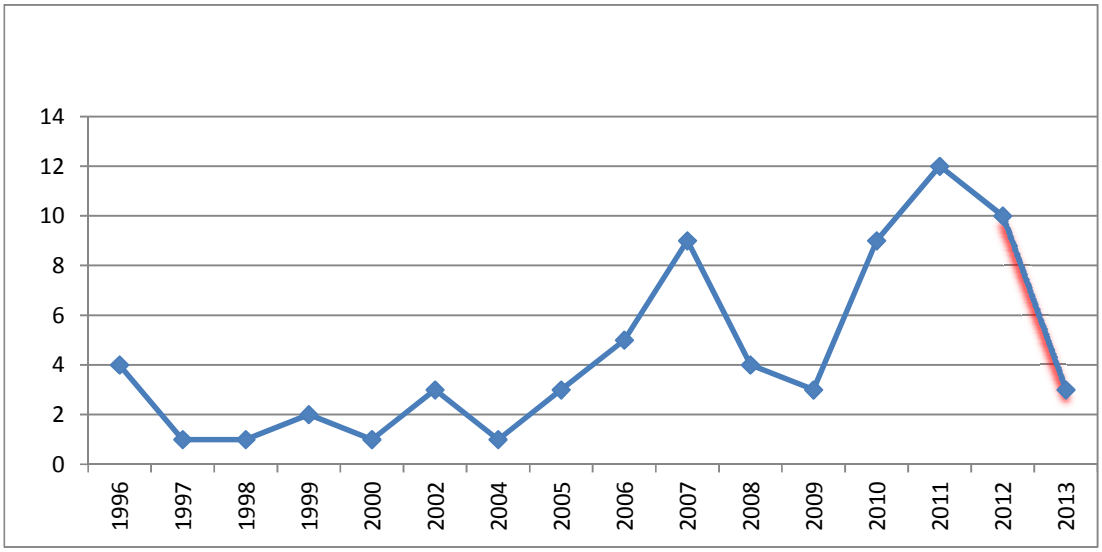
In this research as of the year 2013, the data which was obtained from the semi-structured interviews conducted through phone calls, in person interviews and e-mails with the managers or employees working in the related departments of 15 municipalities coming out of 71 municipalities of Turkey which have town twinning protocols with Bosnian municipalities, is being evaluated. While selecting 15 of the municipalities which are formed the sample, the factors including demographic characteristics of the cities, the number of connected cities or towns, the dates of the twinning protocols, are taken into consideration.

Findings

As of the year 2013, the number of the protocols signed in between Turkish and Bosnian local administrations which are approved by Turkish Ministry of Interior, is 71. Considering the protocols, covering the years between 1996-2013, there is an increase in the numbers of

the protocols signed in last three years (2010-2013). The number of protocols signed in 2013, is 3.

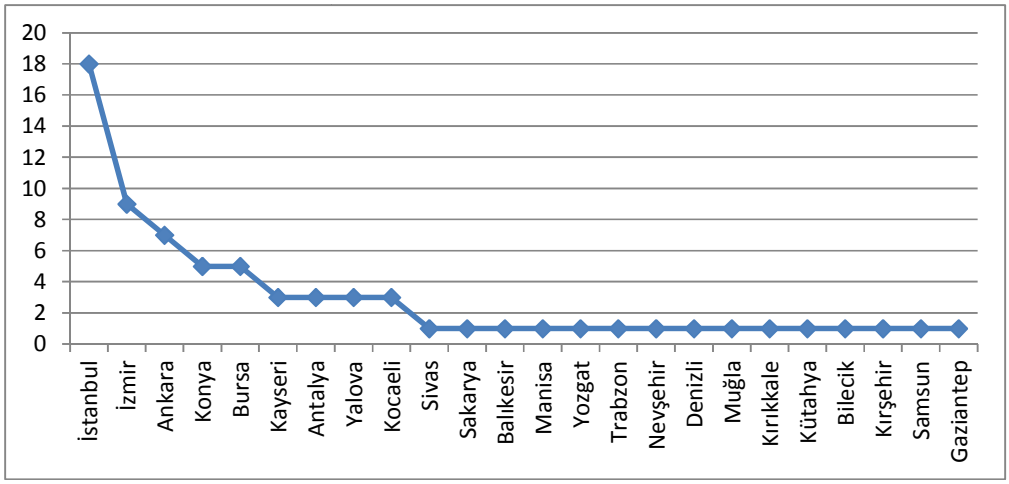
Graphic 1: The Dispersion of Turkey-Bosnia Herzegovina Town Twinning Protocols With Regard to Years (1996-2013)



Source: http://www.migm.gov.tr/IstatistikiBilgiler.aspx (15.06.2013).

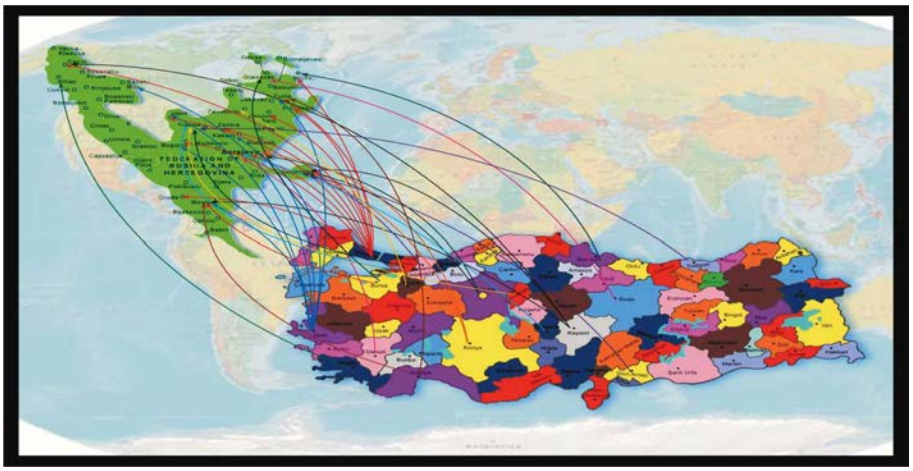
The numbers of the protocols signed with the municipalities of Bosnia Herzegovina by each Turkish municipality is as follows: İstanbul 18, İzmir 9, Ankara 7, Konya and Bursa 5, Kayseri, Antalya, Yalova, Kocaeli 3, Sivas, Sakarya, Balıkesir, Manisa, Yozgat, Trabzon, Nevşehir, Denizli, Muğla, Kırıkkale, Kütahya, Bilecik, Kırşehir, Samsun and Gaziantep 1.

Graphic 2: Cities which have Town Twinning Protocols with Bosnia Herzegovina



Source: http://www.migm.gov.tr/IstatistikiBilgiler.aspx (15.06.2013).

It is understood that, some of the reasons are more dominant among the reasons of Turkish municipalities' making town twinning protocols with Bosnian municipalities. Those reasons are historical bonds with Bosnia Herzegovina, cultural familiarity, religious beliefs and Bosnian origin Turkish citizens. Especially Bosnian associations in Turkey and consular agencies in both Bosnia and Turkey, have an important role in signing those protocols. Considering the dispersion of the town twinning protocols, it can be seen that the cities of western and central regions of Turkey, in which the Bosnian immigrant Turkish citizens intensively live, have made town twinning protocols with Bosnian cities or towns. The areas of cooperation mentioned in these are quite extensive but the protocols are mostly limited with bilateral visits. These visits are being carried out with the presence of mayor and municipal managers.



Map 1: Connections Between Turkish and Bosnian Cities

The most important cooperation after the visits is cultural relation. The activities carried out in Bosnia by Turkish municipalities, in accordance with the town twinning protocols are as follows: Financial support for protecting, restoring and reanimating the cultural heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina; Construction and Restoration of Mosques and Other Religious Places; Concerts; Folk Dance Performances; Participating in Festivals; Participating in Exhibitions; Opening Career Making Courses; Student Visits

Town twinning relationships are not being carried out according to a plan or program. The relationships are being formed randomly, as most of the town twinning protocols. The areas of cooperation with the twinned towns are indefinite. One of the reasons of unsustainability of the town twinning relationships is, the ideological approaches of the local administrators while selecting "sister cities". The expression "*Former administration has signed it...*" displays the viewpoint of the local administrations toward the issue of selecting "sister cities".

In municipalities, there is no expert staff capable enough to conduct town twinning relationships, to provide information flow, to seek cooperation opportunities or to consult local administrators about the subject. While the works related to town twinning are being conducted under the activities of international offices in metropolitan municipalities, in smaller municipalities, the departments responsible for the cultural activities are in charge.

Personnel assigned to town twinning operations do not know foreign languages. The awareness on "sister cities" is quite low. Even most of the municipal employees are not aware of the sister cities. In very few of the web sites of Turkish municipalities include information about the sister cities and activities related to them. Promoting symbols about the sister cities do not exist in the central squares and viewable places of the cities.

Conclusion and Further Recommendations

Turkish–Bosnian sister city protocols can be considered at a satisfactory level quantitatively. However, when the protocols are evaluated in terms of their results, they do not go beyond positive intents, bilateral visits and participating in limited numbers of cultural activities. In this sense, with the words of a local administrator "*the brotherhood is not a blood brotherhood but it is a step-brotherhood*". The sustainability level of sister city relationships is quite low. Many of the protocols stay at the level of written protocols only. Also, the considerations of local administrators about the town twinning relationships do not go beyond just good intentions and wishes. Town twinning/sister city relationships should not be limited with the bilateral visits of mayors and other top managerial people in municipalities. The activities should be widened through including citizens living in the twin cities. Especially the cooperation opportunities of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) must be searched for. When sister cities give a place to promotional videos, articles and photos about each other in both of their web sites, it will contribute to the relationships.

Giving place to signboards, outdoor signs, symbols and flags promoting sister cities, in the city squares and viewable places of the cities, will contribute to the awareness about the sister cities. Local administrations need to have expert staff to conduct and sustain sister city relationships. The works and processes related to the protocols should not be defined as "random duties" and they should not be given to the employees as an "extra workload". Despite directing criticism toward the sister city relationships, it can be said that, Turkey and Bosnia Herzegovina have a potential for deeper cooperation and partnerships with the contribution of the local administrations of them. Strengthening the "heart/love bridge" between the two countries with concrete steps, will support the existing historical bonds between them. In this context, the opportunities of cooperation must be sought in economic, political and cultural areas, particularly in the areas of education, tourism and health.

References

Buursink, Jan. 2001. "*The Binational Reality of Border-Crossing Cities,"* GeoJournal, Vol. 54, pp. 7-19.

Clarke, Nick. 2009. *"In What Sense 'Spaces of Neoliberalism'? The New Localism, The New Politics of Scale, and Town Twinning",* Political Geography 28, pp. 496–507

Cremer, Rolf D., Bruin, Anne de, Dupuis, Ann. (2001). *"International Sister-Cities: Bridging The Global–Local Divide"*, American Journal of Economics and Sociology 60(1), pp. 377–401.

History, Twinning and Partnership for Development, http://int.twinning.org/en/page/history.html (16.06.2013).

Mahalli İdarelerin Kardeş Kent ve İşbirliği İstatistiki Bilgileri, http://www.migm.gov.tr/IstatistikiBilgiler.aspx (15.06.2013).

To promote peace through mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation —one individual, one community at a time http://www.sister-cities.org/mission-and-history (20.06.2013).

Belediye Kanunu, Kanun No: 5393 http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5393.html (13.06.2013).

Jayne, Mark; Hubbard, Phil; Bell, David. 2011. *"Worlding a City: Twinning and Urban Theory",* CITY, VOL. 15, NO. 1, pp.25-41.

Joenniemi, Pertti; Sergunin, Alexander. 2011a. *"When Two Aspire to Become One: City-Twinning in Northern Europe"*, Journal of Borderlands, 26:2, pp. 231- 242.

Joenniemi, Pertti; Sergunin, Alexander. 2011b. *"Another Face of Integration: City Twinning in Europe",* Research Journal of International Studies, 22, pp.120-131.

Joenniemi, Pertti; Sergunin, Alexander. 2012. "*Laboratorıes of European Integratıon: Cıty-Twınnıng in Northern Europe",* Peipsi Center for Transboundary Cooperation.

Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği, 2012. *"Kardeş Şehirler, Uluslararası Belediye İşbirlikleri ve Belediyelerimizin Rolü"*, Vol. 776.

Köhle, Bernhard. 2005. "'*Town Twinning', 'Jumelage', 'Kommunale Partnerschaften'",* http://www.rm-austria.at/wartung/uploadmanager/dateiupload/Kommunale%20Partnerschaften%20700%20Jahre%20Krems.pdf (09.06.2013).

Ozcan, Umit. 2006. *Yerel Yönetimler Arasında Ortaklıklar ve Kardeş Şehir İlişkileri El Kitabı,* http://www.dapaturk.com/docs/siyasi/Kardes_Sehir_El_Kitabi_Son_Hali.pdf (13.05.2013).

Shultz, Helga. 2002. "*Twin Towns on the Border as Laboratories of European Integration"* http://www.europa_uni.de/de/forschung/institut/institut_fit/publikationen/discussion_ papers/2002/04-02-Schultz.pdf (09.06.2013).

Zelinsky, Zilbur. 1991. *"The Twinning of the World: Sister Cities in Geographic and Historical Perspective"*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 81, No. 1 pp. 1-31.

AN EXPERIENCE IN GETTING THROUGH CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN AN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN STUDIO: EXTRACTED FROM CULTURE AND REFLECTED TO SPACE IN ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION

Senem Kaymaz KOCA Research Assistant
Yildiz Technical University

Çiğdem Canbay TÜRKYILMAZ, Research Assistant
Yildiz Technical University

Abstract
Every architectural production is undoubtedly expected to be a specific reaction to its specific place, this place's culture and identity. It is considered that all the belongings in that specific place could be transformed into an architectural space by being abstracted and interpreted them during architectural design process. In this sense, it is possible to interpret that architecture is a tool reflecting culture, identity, values, and images; and, architectural education is a process producing this vitality. Moving from this vitality of relationship between architecture and culture/identity, this study is a sharing experienced on how an architectural studio reveals, interprets and deals with the culture, identity, history, and meanings which are embedded in the studying area during the design process. In this sense, the subject put forward in this study proceeds in two stages. The first stage comes up with the vitality of the relationship between architectural design process and culture, and the importance of this process in architectural education, referring to a great number of literatures focusing on cultural dimension of architecture. In the second stage, it is tried to be analyzed the context which is set forth in the first stage through the experiences of the studio that is conducted in Eminönü region in Istanbul. During this educational semester, it is aimed that the designs which are generated in this region equipped with immense cultural characteristics in a specific geography should be sensitive to the current environment and begin to live with it. In this sense, it is discussed that how the things extracted from the culture of this specific environment are abstracted and how these are reflected to the architectural space in the design process. In the context of the results that this study puts forward, it will be emphasized that understanding what culture sheltered in has a great necessity during architectural design process and education given in an architectural studio should be directive in the means of causing students to perceive the culture.

Keywords: Architectural Studio, Architectural Design-culture Relationship, Istanbul, Eminönü.

Introduction

Every architectural production is undoubtedly expected to be a specific reaction to its specific place, this place's culture and identity. It is considered that all the belongings in that specific place could be transformed into an architectural space by being abstracted and interpreted

them during architectural design process. In this sense, it is possible to interpret that architecture is a tool reflecting culture, identity, values, and images; and, architectural education is a process producing this vitality. Moving from this vitality of relationship between architecture and culture/identity, this study is a sharing experienced on how an architectural studio reveals, interprets and deals with the culture, identity, history, and meanings which are embedded in the studying area during the design process.

The students' experiences acquired from a studying area equipped with immense cultural characteristics are appraised during the study, emphasizing the importance of this process in architectural education. In this sense, the subject put forward in this study proceeds in two stages. The first stage comes up with the vitality of the relationship between architectural design process and culture, and the importance of this process in architectural education, referring to a great number of literatures focusing on cultural dimension of architecture. In the second stage, it is tried to be analyzed the context which is set forth in the first stage through the experiences of the studio that is conducted in Eminönü region in Istanbul.

Architecture, Culture and Place

Culture is formed by coexisting of needs, meanings and symbols of one society; and, place is founded by entirety of things inherent in that culture. Every place, in this sense, is enclosed by a specific spirit which varies from the others depending on what it brings together; and, the spirit contains traces of its culture. According to Norberg-Schulz, spirit of place was defined as 'Genius Loci'; and, main concern of architecture is to make it concrete and visible. Therefore place is a concept that has to be understood in an existential manner; and should not be considered in a quantitative and functional way. Because such an approach will neglect that place has a specific spirit. Place requires to be understood with culture of place rather than geographical location and physical features of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, 1993). According to David Ley (1983), place is both a mirror and shaper; and, its character is permanent and dynamic, not stable.

Deviren (2001) states that place is associated with our beings rather than its formal characteristics; and, history, geography, society and individual overlap in place. Similarly, Aydınlı (2003) defines place as an entirety which composes of its society's structure, cultural values and behavioral patterns. According to her, every place has different realities which respond different cultures. After all, it can be said that place is a reflection of its culture and identity; and, understanding it correctly during architectural design process is necessary and crucial. According to Deviren (2001), it is possible to understand place by studying in primarily historical and geographical scales. Because a newly built building starts to live together with topography, landscape, culture, and history it locates in. During this symbiosis, building forms terrain it settles into, while people create new relationships with new place. New building confronts place's memory; and is a part of it, as well.

According to Roger Trancik (1986), the character of a place, on the one hand, can be defined with many concrete features like material, form, pattern and colour, on the other hand, includes cultural components that have been created by people over time. According to Kahvecioğlu (1998), architectural space is created by being interpreted after being abstracted; and it is vital and cultural rather than functional and physical. Space is vital because it exists as if it was integrated with features related to human life. It has also cultural dimension because human is a part of his culture with the things that he transfers from generation to generation. Thus, space is not only a cavity but also a reality which life and culture merge in (Zevi, 1990).

To sum it up, place composes of its culture, identity, values, meanings, and symbols. In other words, all potentials of its own culture are embedded in place. Place shelters endless

potentials which wait for being analyzed, appeared and interpreted in architectural design process. These potentials in place are directly related with culture living there. Thus, during architectural design process they requires to be transformed into space by being interpreted in not a way that conflicts with culture but a way that starts to live together with culture. Spirit, culture and identity of place are not the facts that could be experienced by sensations. Revealing and comprehending them could be possible by analyzing comprehensively during architectural design process. Architectural education has also a great importance because it teaches how to be revealed embedded information in place.

Thinking of Designing Experience of an Architectural Studio

Moving from vitality of relationship between architecture/place and culture/identity, this chapter deciphers experiences in a studio work carried out in Eminönü Region in Istanbul during one educational semester. In other words, this study discusses how the students in this studio revealed, interpreted and designed the embedded culture, identity, meanings and potentials in the studying area. Moreover, in this study it is tried to be analyzed how the things extracted from the culture of this specific environment were abstracted, and how these were reflected to architectural space in this design studio.

Objectives of Education in Studio: Understanding Place and Interpreting Culture

The studio intends to improve the students' designing abilities according to architectural subject and program that they determine on the basis of their analysis related to place. In other words, it is expected that the students reveal place's qualifications and make an architectural design integrated with these qualifications. The expectations from the students during the education in studio can be summarized as follows:

- Contextual Convenient: Architectural proposals compatible with context, culture, identity, meanings, and symbols of the studying area should be developed. New produced spaces can be sensitive to current context and sustain to live with it.
- Perfect Figure-Ground Relationship: Proposed projects should create a figure-ground relationship in accordance with urban context which they locate in.
- Compatibility with natural environment: Produced spaces should be compatible with topographical, climatic and plantar characteristics of place.
- Citizen Participation and Community Action: Proposed new spaces should satisfy current needs and activities of culture; and should have properties enabling individuals to participate to the current life.

In this case, this process proceeds in three stages for students. In the first stage, the students are directed to make a research in order to comprehend genius loci in studying region and to read the region as if it was an urban text. In this sense, they attempt to find out urban relations and region's culture and to establish needs of studying area and citizens. In the second stage, the students are expected to transform the information acquired from the first stage into urban decisions. Considering urban and cultural features of region, every student defines his personal problem and proposes an architectural program related to it. In the third stage, the architectural proposals, which are not only compatible with the qualifications of place defined in the first stage but also created through the problem and program defined in the second stage, are come up for discussion. Every student should suggest an architectural project concerning both the physical and concrete characteristics of its environment and the conceptual, cultural and abstract characteristics of it. In this stage, it is emphasized that architectural prosperity correlates with exposing, interpreting and reflecting genius loci. The figure below expresses the relationships between there stages.

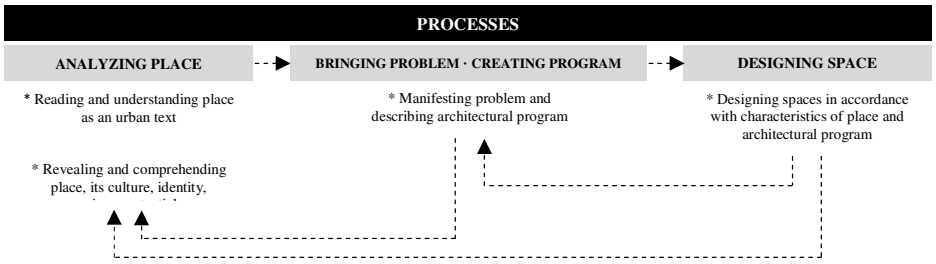


Figure 1. The Processes in an Architectural Design Studio

Embedded Information in Studying Area: Place, Culture, Identity, History, Meanings, Symbols, Potentials

The architect Thomas Thiis-Evensen (1989) puts forward an architectural grammar; and explains this grammar with an example of stair. According to Evensen, narrow stairs are more depressing and individualistic than other types; and they lead people to move quickly, while wide stairs imply sociability. Similarly, steep stairs explain struggle, while people feel safe and comfortable in not steep stairs. According to David Seamon (2003) who is a social scientist, Evensen does not claim that all narrow stairs are personal, and all steep stairs are holy. Moreover, different cultures express these qualifications in distinctive manners. The thing that Evensen underlines with this example is that if one carefully listens to steepness or narrowness of stair, stair will reveal its own meaning. Therefore, realizing these expressions during design process produces a harmony between built environment and human experience.

It is possible to think that the example of stair expressed by Evensen thoroughly correlates with architectural design process. If a place is listened carefully, not only the embedded meanings and potentials in it but also the thing that place wants to be will reveal. So, the emergent thing is already in accord with its environment. Similarly, the embedded information in place, which is directly related to place's culture, identity, history, meanings, and potentials, waits for being revealed, interpreted during design process and transformed into space. In this meaning, place is required to be analyzed carefully. It is required that designs which are generated in Eminönü-Istanbul, in a specific geography which is equipped with immense cultural and historical characteristics, are supposed to be conformed to embedded information.

Deciphering Experience: Transformation Embedded Information to Architectural Space

In this sub-chapter, seven students' projects, each of which produces different solutions to different problems, are deciphered in context of things extracted from place/culture and reflected to space. What the embedded information in place is and how it is interpreted during the process are different for each student. In this meaning, dynamics related to place are manifested through the problem, program and algorithm defined by each student. A student map prepared by Gönül Şahin, which shows studying areas that the students focus, important buildings, and urban pattern, is below.

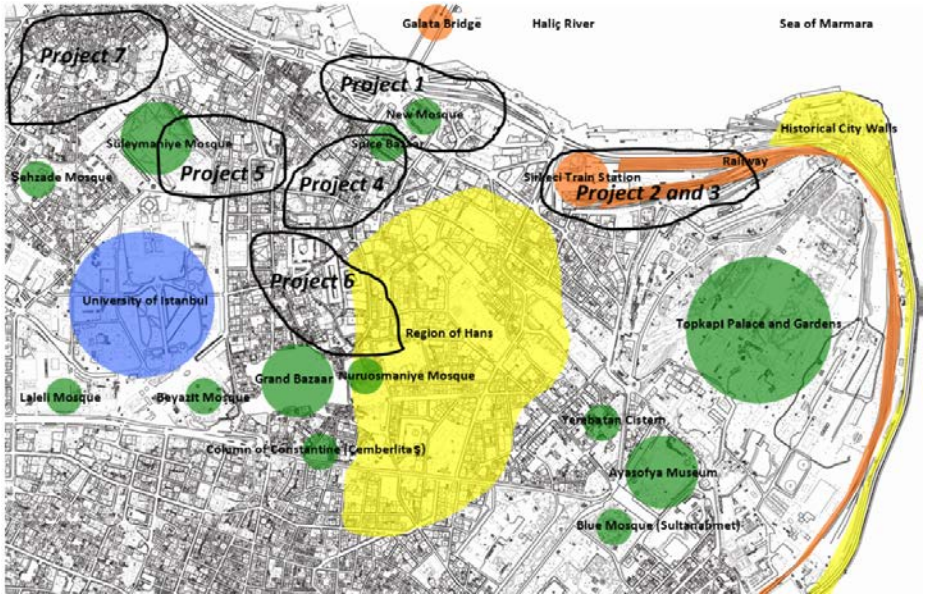


Figure 2. A Student Map, Prepared by Gönül Şahin ©, Showing the Study Areas, Important Buildings and Urban Pattern

Project 1: Event/Interaction Square by Ferit Aydoğan ©

Student's project area is the square in front of Spice Bazaar and New Mosque; and, the square is the busiest area in Eminönü during daytime pedestrian circulation. In the analyses which were performed in order to understand genius loci, the square was recorded with a camera during daytime, so that diversity, density and movement of people were monitored. As a result of the analyses, many diagrams showing the diversities, densities and flows were produced. After the analysis stage, the identified problem was that many people from different cultures passed every day from this square without interacting each other. The current square was functional, but had not any organized event; so, people could not interact with each other in it. Hence, this problematic square was redesigned, as *Event/Interaction Square*, to be able to let people bring close together, interact each other, and direct their ways. Event spaces which would raise intercultural interaction in the square were designed. Moreover, in the student's design the circulation was fluent in certain spaces, whereas it was stopper in other spaces. The event spaces were also not only densely located in the square, but also were spread to courtyards of surrounding buildings and branch roads. In the design, the events accompanied to people passing from the square; so, the interaction of people was both voluntary and compulsory.

Project 2: New Station: Workshop and Exhibition Areas by Yiğit Çetin ©

In the studio process, an area used as a parking lot, which is next to the historical Sirkeci Train Station and in the midst of many historical buildings and cultural diversities, was evaluated by this student. At the end of the analysis, it was pointed out that the area was starting point of a road coming from Topkapı Palace; and, the road is called as Imperial Council's Road from Roman Period. In this meaning, it was put forward that however this area was in an important point in terms of identity of Istanbul, it could not reveal its own potentials. Finally, the proposed project, *New Station: Workshop and Exhibition Areas,* was

asked to proceed as a new production and interaction station expressing and regenerating culture.

Project 3: Interpretation Center of Turkish Culture by Lara Rooke Elvira ©
This Project, *Interpretation Center of Turkish Culture*, was located in the same area with Project 2, next to the historical Sirkeci Train Station. In the beginning of the process, the advantages of the area were determined as a green pattern coming from Topkapı Palace, the Historical Walls of Istanbul, the accessibility to the area, and spatial, functional and cultural diversities which the area locates in the midst of. However, it was contradictious indicated that all these advantages were also the disadvantages of the area. That means; because of the fact that the advantages of this area could not be interpreted with a way that could reveal potentials positively, the area was being used disadvantageously. In this meaning, the aims of this project are to enhance the Historical Peninsula's Waterfront, to decompress transportation density, to create more green space, to encourage pedestrian movement throughout the Historical Peninsula, to revitalize Sirkeci neighborhood, to preserve the ancient railway and to use the old rails.

Project 4: Culture-History-Trade Axis and its Extension by Özge Gamsız ©
During the process, the region of Hans in which trade in Eminönü was actualized was appraised, while culture, history and trade were solved all together. This project mainly aimed to increase usability of Hans, to reveal historical values, identities and potentials of Hans, and to regulate cultural relationship in region. Therefore, an axis of relationships between culture-history-trade, which was defined a route starting in the coast, passing through the region of Hans, and finishing in Valide Han, was created. Along this axis, the project's spaces, such as music studios, concert halls, multi-functional activity areas, and guesthouse, spread to the courtyards of Hans.

Project 5: Ateliers for Producing, Exhibiting and Experiencing Toy by Gülnur Cengiz ©
In the analysis, it was concluded that Eminönü had many characteristic qualifications in terms of history and culture; and was a distinctive district in respect to urban pattern and morphology. It was focused the problems of a specific area in which toy factories and wholesale stores located; and, for this area, designed *Ateliers For Producing, Exhibiting And Experiencing Toy*. During the design process, the project repeated current urban pattern, so that it was compatible with it. Interior streets and courtyards were designed as spaces in which people could not only pass but also interact.

Project 6: Multicultural Platform by Ceren Yıldırım ©
In the analysis, it was observed that different cultures, histories and values could controversially live together in Eminönü; and, such a life sheltered controversy as well as reconciliation in itself. It was accepted that this structure strengthened the urban identity. In this meaning, the project, *The Multicultural Platform*, was designed as a controversy-reconciliation platform in which multicultural structure could meet and interact. In this platform, many practices of art from different cultures were brought close together; and, audiences were aimed to be a part of these practices. For these reasons, this project was proposed in the courtyard of a historical Han; and wrapped around it; but just the opposite of it in terms of spatial configuration, composition and structure. Thus, the project was like a patch; and, the emerging contrasts were the reflection of the concept.

Project 7: New Cultural Layer by Belen Zevallos ©

This student evaluated an area between Manifaturacılar Market and Süleymaniye Mosque; and, her proposed project, *The New Cultural Layer*, was not only an urban reflection of history and context but also like a manifest of the thing that this culture didn't have. In the beginning of the process, the current embedded information in place was thought as a palimpsest; and then, new information/layer which would be written on the current information was tried to be found. The project was asked that how a new, temporary and organic cultural layer could be added to current urban pattern. In the first step, the region was thought as if it had different layers. Then, these layers, which were classified as Eminönü's organic urban layer, historical layer and mass-void layer, were decomposed. As a result, a new cultural layer, which covered these layers and which symbolized the relationships between people, was proposed. Empty spaces along new layer were transformed into cultural boxes and performance squares. Each box was a carrier of culture; and has different dimensions and functions like cafe, playground, daycare, library, market, shop, and art gallery. Each box, which was placed in specific positions and locations, had a different view from others; and it was in a relationship with other boxes thanks to the topography of the area.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">ALGORITHM</th></tr>
<tr><th>PROJECT</th><th>PROBLEM</th><th>ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Project 1:

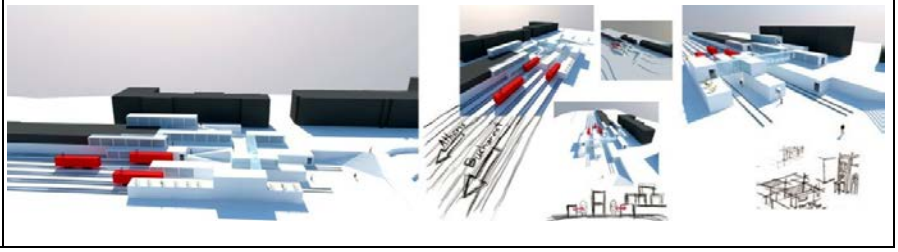
Event/Interaction Square

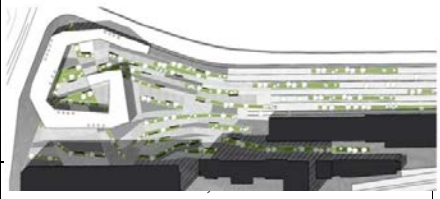
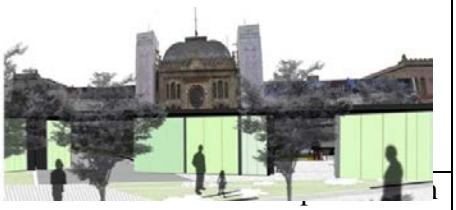
by Ferit Aydoğan ©</td><td>* Many people from different cultures passed every day from this square without interacting eachother.

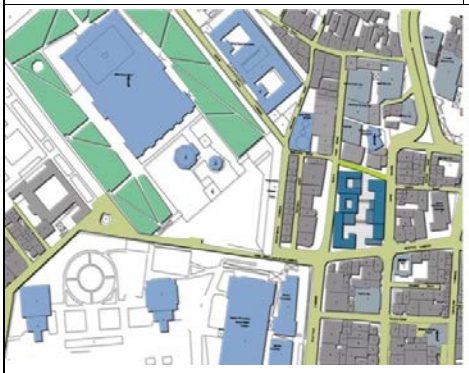
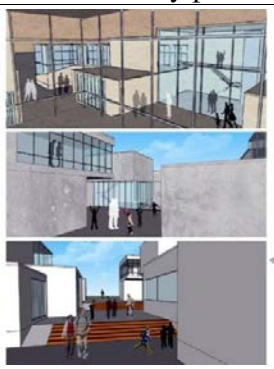
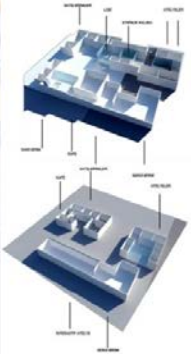
* Current square was functional, but had not any organized event.</td><td>* Current square was redesigned to be able to let people bring close together, interact each other, and direct their ways.

* Event spaces which would raise intercultural interaction in the square were designed.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"> </td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Project 2:

New Station: Workshop and Exhibition Areas

by Yiğit Çetin ©</td><td>* Project's area was in an important point in terms of identity of Istanbul, it could not reveal its own potentials.</td><td>* Project was asked to proceed as a new production and interaction station expressing and regenerating culture.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">  </td></tr>
</table>

Project 3: ***Interpretation*** ***Center of Turkish Culture*** ***by Lara Rooke Elvira ©***	* The advantages of this area could not be interpreted with a way that could reveal potentials positively. * The area was being used disadvantageously.	* The aims of this project are to enhance the Historical Peninsula's Waterfront, to decompress transportation density, to create more green space, to encourage pedestrian movement throughout the Historical Peninsula, to revitalize Sirkeci neighborhood, to preserve the ancient railway and to use the old rails.
		
Project 4: ***Culture-History-Trade Axis and its Extension by Özge Gamsız ©***	usability of Hans could not reveal their potentials * Trade in Hans could not regulate cultural relationship in region.	culture-history-trade, which was defined a route starting in the coast, passing through the region of Hans, and finishing in Valide Han, was created. * Along this axis, the project's spaces, such as music studios, concert halls, multi-functional activity areas, and guesthouse, spread to the courtyards of Hans.

PROJECT	PROBLEM	ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN
Project 5: ***Ateliers for Producing, Exhibiting and Experiencing Toy by Gülnur Cengiz ©***	* It was focused a specific area in which toy factories and wholesale stores located. * It was tried to be solved the problems of this specific area.	* Project repeated current urban pattern, so that it was compatible with it. * Interior streets and courtyards were designed as spaces in which people could not only pass but also interact.
	  	
Project 6: ***Multicultural Platform*** ***by Ceren Yıldırım ©***	* Different cultures, histories and values could controversially live together in Eminönü; and, such a life sheltered controversy as well as reconciliation in itself. This structure strengthened the urban identity.	* A controversy-reconciliation platform was designed. * Multicultural structure in Eminönü could meet and interact in this platform. * Many practices of art from different cultures were brought close together; and, audiences were aimed to be a part of these practices. * Project was wrapped around the courtyard of a historical Han; but just the opposite of it in terms of spatial configuration, composition and structure.
Project 7:	* Project was not only an urban	* A new cultural layer, which

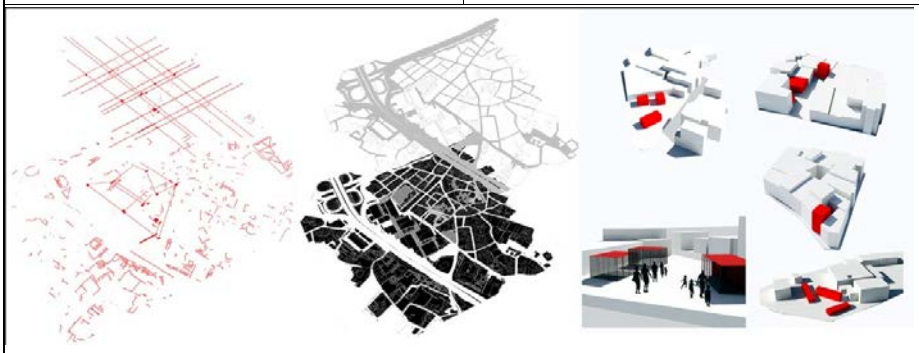
New Cultural Layer by Belen Zevallos ©	reflection of history and context but also like a manifest of the thing that this culture didn't have. * Current embedded information in place was thought as a palimpsest; and then, new information/layer which would be written on the current information was tried to be found.	covered the current urban layers and which symbolized the relationships between people, was proposed. * Empty spaces were transformed into cultural boxes and performance squares. * Each box was a carrier of culture; and has different dimensions and functions.
		

Figure 3. An Algorithm Showing the Urban Problem Produced and Architectural Design Proposed

Conclusion

Values, meanings, and potentials, which a society creates, transforms and collects in many years, generate this society's culture and identity. The culture and identity of a place has many distinctive information which separate this place from other places. In this meaning, during architectural production process, place should represent these information; and, space should emerge from its society's culture and identity.

In the beginning of an architectural design process, abstract character of place should be revealed; and new produced spaces should be blended with this place, and then begin to live with it. In architectural education, students should be directed to create spaces with an approach that asks for what a place essentially was and what it actually wants to be in future. In only this approach, culture and identity of a place could be understood; and, potentials of it could be revealed. Moreover, new produced spaces could compromise with all needs of a culture; by this way, it could be possible to create social environment that could provide cultural sustainability and raise social communication. Conversely, if a produced space does not compromise with culture, it will damage cultural relationships and cause to disappear identity.

Architecture is a media that regenerates culture; and, it is possible to reflect culture into its environment through architectural production. The importance of place, culture, and identity in architectural design process should be given firstly in education process. In this process, architectural design studio is also the first redirector in terms of letting students know about this necessity. This studio work, which was conducted in Eminönü-Istanbul and is put forward in this study, emphasizes the importance and necessity of education process, while deciphering the ways of getting through the problems produced by seven students who could fulfill the studio's objectives.

References

Aydınlı, S. (2003). Mimarlığı anlama, kaynağa ulaşma ve özü yakalama (Ing. Undertanding the architecture, reaching the origin and grasping the essence). *TOL Journal*, 3, 54-60.

Deviren, S. (2001). *Mimarlıkta yer: Yapının araziyle ilişkisinin kavramsallaştirilmasi (1980-2000)* (Ing. *Place in architecture: Conceptualizing relationship between building and land (1980-2000)*). PhD. Thesis. Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Science and Technology.

Kahvecioğlu, H. L. (1998). *Mimarlıkta imaj: Mekansal imajin oluşumu ve yapisi üzerine bir model* (Ing. *Image in architecture: A model over formation of spatial image and its structure*). PhD. Thesis. Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Science and Technology.

Ley, D. (1983). *A social geography of the city*. New York: Harper and Row.

Norberg-Schulz, C. (1993). *The concept of dwelling*. New York: Rizzoli.

Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980). *Genius loci*. London: Academy Editions.

Seamon, D. (2003). Duyguları açmak: Fenomenoloji, çevresel deneyim ve yer yapmak (Ing. Expressing feelings: Phenomenology, environmental experience and making place). *TOL Journal*, 3, 33-35.

Thiis-Evensen, T. (1989). *Archetypes in architecture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Trancik, R. (1986). *Finding lost space: Theories of urban design*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Zevi, B. (1990). *Mimariyi görmeyi öğrenmek* (Original Book Name: *Architecture as space: How to look at architecture*). Trans.: D. Divanlıoğlu, Istanbul: Birsen Publishing.

THE ROLE OF COMPUTER-MEDIATED TECHNOLOGIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE CULTURAL SELF: EMBODIMENT, IDENTITY, COMMUNITY

Christos D. MERANTZAS, Assistant Professor

University of Patras

Abstract

Over the last two decades, computer-mediated communication (CMC) technologies have constructed a novel reality based on the global entanglement of a plurality of fragmented cultures. In light of this global unification, human beings are thought to be liberated from the limitations of time, space and the hierarchical structure of socioeconomic relations. They have also exceeded the limitations of bodily presence as well as their exposure to risk. On the one hand, human embodiment is inextricably linked with specific cultural settings that are been established well in advance through a number of relations including those of solidarity or conflict. Over the centuries, the human body has been the vehicle of a cultural capital embedded into specific contexts that made it the prisoner of history and traditions. Nowadays, due to CMC technologies, detachment from reality is tantamount to disengagement from specific cultural practices that may cause multiple risks to the embodied self. On the other hand, in pre-modern societies, language, ethnicity, gender and religious beliefs have been the constitutive elements of cultural identities. In the paper we will first investigate the impact of the "glocally" rooted body on the formation of the cultural self in a technologically mediated environment where boundaries between nature and technology, embodied and disembodied presence, local and global identities are blurred. We will then try to explore how CMC technologies have led to the liquidation of pre-modern and modern cultural identities. We will then elaborate on the issue of the "Digital Divide", its formation of a homogeneous global culture and if it can indeed be accompanied by a new type of normative framework that fosters accountability within the newly established digital human community. Our final objective will be to address whether this change could work in favour of cultural moderation through the recognition of locally constructed cultural identities placed within a globalized environment.

Keywords: Cmc Technologies, Embodied/disembodied Self, Cultural Identity, Multiple Identities, Ecosphere.

"Naïve Realism" vs. "Network Idealism"

In theory the debate on the use of information and communication technology (ICT) usually starts with the battle between the benefits of a utopian "network idealism" and the disadvantages of "naïve realism." Since "naïve realism" is thought to threaten human essence and its conscience (Gunkel, 2007: 11 - 17), supporters of "network idealism" predict a breakdown of our pre-existing experiences. In other words, the latter believe that, when the body no longer possesses its collection of personal experiences, the whole of cultural capital

tumbles. Of relevance is Mark Dery's description of the human being's potential to "float free of biological and socio-cultural determinants" (Dery, 1994: 3).

This breakdown of one's cultural capital removes all experiences that were previously shared by human beings and inextricably linked to time and space. So the body's awareness in cyberspace clearly affirms the pre-eminence of the real over the unreal. In reality, the body is the receptacle and recipient of the self. It is connected to the production of meaning and concepts but also to its own experiences as it ages. Actual disembodiment is only possible when the self's receptacle or recipient is entirely absent (Bury, 2005: 5). Here, the divide between the real and the virtual seems to have analogies to the divide between the sensible and the intelligible, or the real and the ideal.

Through computer-mediated technology, the absent body may exist as a memory trace, because technology represses it into a metaphysical principle. This principle thrives on the use of the absent body, as for example is the case in Christian salvation. Consequently, a "growing separation from reality" is inevitable (Slouka, 1995: 1). Virtual reality removes the diversity of senses from the tangible self and is completely geared toward replacing these with an illusionary reality. But instead of being viewed as opposites, the real and the virtual should be viewed as a result that emerges because of the real body's unsuccessful attempt to integrate itself into actual reality (Woolley, 1992: 63). The link that exists between the virtual and the real, on the one hand, and the artifactual on the other, plays a crucial role as it abolishes traditional classifications and oppositions of common binary concepts and, thus, introducing a new "third gender" which doesn't belong to the tangible body as it presupposes a special kind of freedom. This evolution indicates the emergence of a distinct event that threatens to dismantle the body's ability to exist in history as an ethnic or gendered entity. So the virtual-real opposition goes beyond the disparities that exist in class systems and hence the dual character of the universe.

Assuming that identity as a fundamental principle can only exist when the subject is known, virtual reality offers an ideal environment "for various and even multiple identities and identifications" (Stanovsky, 2004: 174). Any subject may as well construct and reconstruct instantly new ethnic and racial identities which can be made up either simultaneously or alternatively. Consequently, what is deconstructed in virtual reality is the very sense of a homogeneous space and of a unified self. The subject can move through new and fluid identities that, among other things, "may serve multinational corporate capitalism and the new regime of the market replacing nation" (Kaplan, 2004: 435). The mobility of the multiple virtual selves may create a new and dense network of relations that is based on the dispersed self. Interconnected systems are set up in order to replace conservative and traditional identities that have defined distinctiveness, opposition or similarity. However, in the new virtual environment fluid identities dominate, contrary to uniform class systems that have traditionally construed binary opposites. The outcome of this evolution is the fluid reality of a human-machine hybrid. This hybrid entity creates a new enlightening environment (Taylor, 1997: 269), where the boundaries among traditional binary oppositions (i.e. human and animal, living organism and machine, natural and non-natural) are overcome (Haraway, 1991: 151-152) and thus come together under a sole principle.

What is induced from the above is that fluid identities are free from the pressures of history-permeated biases and preconceptions. In reality, by reshaping the existing differences between the *I* and the *other*, new distinctions between the *I* and the *self* are also established. The *I*, when replicated, could function as an opportunity to secure a new type of solidarity that would serve broader interests such as the protection of the environment, peace in a globalized environment, consumer protection or food safety. Similarly, in the new "cyborg

reality" the natural and the artificial do not exist as opposites, which brings to light a new kind of reality. Sherry Turkle recognizes a whole new dimension to this hybrid reality that has no analogous to the traditional or modern visions of the world:

> "Our theories tell us stories about the objects of our lives. As we begin to live with objects that challenge the boundaries between the born and created and between humans and everything else, we will need to tell ourselves different stories" (Turkle, 2011: 307-326).

The Shift from the Real to the Virtual Body

The body has always been the main vehicle for human being to conquering the world, both physically and mentally. In order to do so a synthesis between the immediate embodied experience and the vast collection of cultural contents is required. In fact, we are always inevitably immersed in this vast collection of cultural contents. But if tangible matter in virtual reality is not matter, then, how could the term "body" be redefined? Specific patterns are required for matter to shape a body, in the absence of which the bodily form is unidentifiable and in essence boundless. Inclusive of language, specific codes are instrumental in shaping the body due to the fact that they serve as a network of control mechanisms (Geertz, 1975: 215-217) that impose not only physiological, but also socio-political constraints onto the body. These constraints predate the body and function as a means to control it. Bodily constraints have been manipulated time and time again by every disciplinary power, as Michel Foucault has wonderfully exposed (Foucault, 1979: 135-141; 218 -228). It is on this very foundation of burdensome discipline and standards that bodies have been produced and reproduced over and over again. Therefore, starting from the very moment of birth, the body first forms, then develops gradually and eventually takes on the whole collection of the aforementioned standards (Ess, 2005: 171-173). These predefined standards that have all along standardized the body have been exploited by every authority in order to sustain power and thus shape identities even before identities can shape themselves.

On the other hand, the virtual body emerges as an alternative destined to substitute for the "real" body. It encourages the tangible body's enrolment into a new reality. If the ability to feel a diversity of emotions is applicable to the real body, in the case of the virtual body, there is a tendency to substitute for or even reduce this sensory diversity down to two senses alone, those of sight and audition. It is on the basis of those reduced sensations that virtual reality reaches the point if replicating real bodies. It is probable that future technological advances will make possible the duplication of bodies but, for now, virtual reality has taken over the reproductive function, as it tends to de-materialize the confined "real" body, thus, leading to disembodiment. External bodies are thus produced in a non-authoritative space, where ethnicity and other distinctions that identify the material body into the world no longer emerge (Dimitrica & Garden, 2009: 3-23).

In this new virtual environment, the human body possesses the added advantages of a new, peculiar kind of solitude that is never lonely. It also creates a new type of interaction that protects the human subject from exposure to risk and trauma (Turkle, 2005: 280). We are all aware that the possibility of physical injury exists permanently in the real world: "Should synthetic words, then, contain no death, no pain, no fretful concerns?" (Heim, 1993: 136-137). In addition to this, the new globalized environment encourages the being's liberation from territory or land (Morley & Robins, 2002: 72-76). Referred to as the "virtual courier" human beings can find themselves anywhere in the world they wish without the need to relocate, as the ability to communicate via computer-mediated technologies eliminates all distances. Last but not least, the "virtual courier" is in favor of removing the distance between the self and the other. However, human subjects remain firmly captive to the biological cycle of life which confirms its mortality and "impels us to search for

transcendence-in religion, history, art, the relationships in which we hope to live on" (Turkle, 2005: 283).

The potential of a simulated self creates a new type of experience, one of a fragmented human being, as a new being is created from a phantom reproduction of the self that simply mimics the regulatory authorities of the initial self. The creation of this new type of simulated or hybrid reality gives an impression of "true" reality. Nevertheless, as the virtual self begins to form, it eliminates racial, sexual or other kinds of disparities. Thus, through virtual simulation, all other constitutive elements of a subject's identity (i.e. religion, ethnicity, race, gender) are lost. The human subject is positioned against the phantom-based self, whose images now simulate reality (Thornham, 2007: 114; Baudrillard, 1994). Technology's instrumental nature activates further human capabilities (Lyotard, 1984: 44). Thus, the use of computer-mediated technology as a means to extend human potential establishes two different ways to mediate reality. First, computer-mediated technology simply acts as the machine's progressive development and second, it sets the foundation for an alternative reality that instills the promise of replication.

Contrary to reality *per se*, virtual reality has an added advantage, to the extent that frees the subject from society's supervisory methods considered to have paved the way toward cultural conventionalism. It is in this light that it may opposes all conventional standards of the past including the ethnic component of one's identity. The human subject's guaranteed reminiscence of the past is now ruptured along with its various characterizations. However, this same evolution may also pose serious threats to the human subject's very identity. The new multilateralism proposed by computer-mediated technologies inevitably disrupts and definitively eliminates all past trauma from resurfacing. The human subject's identity takes on a new position, both toward oneself and others. Virtual reality, then, takes on the role to keep away potential trauma which in itself is essentially anti-natural (Cubitt, 1994: 243-245). While substituting both the human being's physical and, more importantly, moral "fragility" in real time and space, virtual reality ensures the everlasting abolition of boundaries and discriminations thus resulting in destabilizing characterizations. Consequently, by destroying conventional characterizations, a new range of meanings that define the self are brought to the forefront. Sean Cubitt designates this new cultural self "cybernatural" defined by the multitude of options available to it (Cubitt, 1996). Thus, identity once determined by gender, race or ethnicity is no longer applicable to postmodern societies. Neither does identity belong to the traditional class systems, which until recently held firm power on it. The self is now dispersed into multiple fluid and flexible identities (Kellner, 1996: 233 -235; Waldby, 2005: 259). A technologically-mediated environment provides the possibility to take on non-spatial relationships, since bodily presence breaks down in real time and space. The human subject, when freed from conventional characterizations, suffers a serious loss, as on the virtual level the subject becomes the bearer of new kinds of relationships and shapes an environment that from the outset doesn't correspond to a real one.

In virtual reality, on the one hand, the human subject becomes an "eternal phantom", while, on the other hand, it gives up on its permeable, embodied presence. Consequently, what emerges from this evolution is a new kind of technologically-mediated "immortality" that challenges the fragility and permeability of the embodied human being. Any relationship with the past and the unpredictable present breaks down in order for the "technological illusion" to dominate (Sobchack, 2004: 173-178; Woodward, 1994: 50-51), so by substituting the perishable tangible body we now have a glorified ideal of the immortal body (Blackman, 1998: 134). Sensible perceptions are disrupted. The once living tangible present is now absent in consciousness, as it is considered the "technological substitute for the Christian

space of Heaven" (Wertheim, 1999: 19) or the "spiritual space with an immaterial and ephemeral ontology" (Hountman & Aupers, 2010: 19). In both cases, the transcendental and the virtual, in terms of the human subject's relationship with death, are independent of sensible perceptions and emotions.

Virtual reality leads to freedom from pre-established discriminatory distinctions. First, it challenges the "burden" of history which first and foremost establishes binary oppositions in identities. Secondly, it removes hierarchies of the religious kind from societal operations. Thirdly, through the difference between the real and the virtual emerges the possibility for them to coexist, where human experience is set free from the historical, social, racial and geographical boundaries of the past instead of fixing itself in binary oppositions, tensions and conflicts.

Additionally, virtual reality builds a new reality that works wonderfully on the basis of anonymity. Virtual communities of common behaviours and interests form new core meanings (Kahn & Kellner, 2004: 183-200). Thus, members of virtual communities can challenge past cultural standards or even activist movements, as they invest constantly in building new cultural spheres as an attempt to reform society beyond the bipolar logic of ethnic or other discriminations and conflicts. This is how conventional boundaries are ruptured along with their entrenched standards, thus, generating new regulations. This deconstruction of identities can indeed dismantle traditional power relationships and build new polyvalent relationships. This dismantlement of the past has the potential to redefine the real. At the same time, it establishes a new kind of supervision and control which are governed by principles of opacity and invisibility (Fuchs, 2008: 267-282). Virtual reality favors a new "culture of dialogue" (Hamelink, 2004: 184) as a means to extend power. New social networks express a willingness to challenge both authoritative policies and technocrats. This new reality reinforces and encourages a pluralistic, lively and interactive dialogue where everyone interacts with each other and where all possible settings are feasible.

The creation of a deliberative reality through computer-mediated technologies bores into both the political and social spheres. It is essentially an act of political and social overthrow. There is potential for political freedom, reinforcement of dialogue including the dismissal of past authoritative world idols. Traditionally accepted connotations are gradually replaced by a diversity of options that exist in the virtual bringing to the forefront "civic pluralism" (Bickel, 2003). The boundaries of traditional obstacles transcend and undermine sovereign hierarchies and instead nurture "cultural humility" (Ess, 2005: 174). Therefore, instead of the fantasy ideal of a peaceful universal community, as imaginatively created by James Cameron in Avatar (2009), we are presented with a cultural mosaic which affirms one's right to differ. It thus introduces us to a new reality of cultural symbiosis. Nevertheless, this doesn't imply the immediate overthrowing of established standards and conventions, because cultures are not shaped *ex nihilo*. Cultural selves are tied to space and cultural commitments.

As we mentioned above, virtual reality breaches traditional binary oppositions and nurtures the ideal of a self-contained self. A multicultural environment is one where a pluralistic reality exists (Willson, 2007) and where the polymerised self who lacks altruism is substituted (Fuller, 2005: 154). Virtual reality, while undermining traditional cultural standards, helped kick start the process of their subversion. Previous normative principles are substituted by an emerging cultural equality which, nevertheless, has gradually brought to the forefront the depreciation of history (Bennett, Kendall, & McDougall, 2011: 128-129).

Are Computer-Mediated Technologies a Threat to our "Maximum Grip upon the World"?

We are aware of the culturally-mediated fact that for millions of years the real human body accessed all kinds of experiences, even traumatic ones. It has been subjected to authorized ramifications created by power mechanisms which have practiced their repressive interventions on the human body up to the point of exaggeration. The real human body has often been the territory to test for a maximum amount of pain, but also for what was soon to exceed this maximum. Its tolerance had often become the paramount condition for cultural recognition. In contrast, in a post-modern environment the virtual body is no longer the territory where traumatic –among other– experiences are performed. It has the added advantage to participate in risk without relying on circumstances where bodily harm and ensuing pain exist. But pain is not only physical but also moral, which often determines our relationships with others. However, in cyberspace relationships are conducted exclusively within a simulated reality of disembodied experiences, or through what we might call the nullification of pain, shock and suffering (Bleeker, 2002: 156-158). In the pre-modern cultural environment, aside from religious transcendence, tradition contributed to the transformation of authoritative mechanisms (Renaut, 2009). The religious authority and tradition along with their powerful vertically structured hierarchical organizations and class-based categorizations had established an element of social inequality that was directly related to the use of power. Consequently, by replacing traditional classifications, virtual reality has nurtured the subject's drive for emancipation (Olsen, 2010: 208-262).

Considering all the above, it becomes obvious that, in a computer-mediated environment, withdrawing from traditional disciplinary patterns results in the fragmentation of the self. Identity is then the result of the self's enlarged presence dispersed in a variety of virtual environments (Turkle, 2004: 103-107). This fact is of great importance, because in virtual reality anyone can exhaust a swarm of possibilities and make appearances under completely different names that correspond to an even greater number of identities. Multiplicity of the self is of relevance to ethnically built class systems. In fact, the transition from the single self to multiple virtual selves can be a state of liberation from the past dominating forces. The steady reproduction of identities which disintegrate in order to create new ones rattles the borders that once defined identities by ethnicity and gender. Thus emerges a horizon where the subject is not the bearer of predefined properties rooted in the traditional nation state. Computer-mediated technologies test such traditions through mixed power relations and moving borders, whereas the cultural establishment of the self is conducted on a different level from that of proximity and locality.

As already mentioned, virtual reality constructs techno-imaginary utopian bodies that attempt to simulate the real human body. It belittles the latter by breaking down multi-dimensional perceptions into sight and audition. This breakdown of perceptions, while promising an alternative body, does nothing more than to substitute for physical experience. When the virtual becomes a substitute for the real, it is deprived of meaning. The virtual body, while thriving on the power of visualizations, degrades the subject to what is solely visible; reality is thus reduced to mere depiction.

On the one hand, for the American phenomenologist Don Ihde, a perception is always a perception-in-its-wholeness, which means that it is built through all our senses, not only sight. But at the same time, the living body is never completely entrenched into the virtual. This means that the virtual environment never fully establishes a meaningful symmetry between what is human (i.e. real) and non-human (i.e. virtual) (Ihde, 2006: 275 - 277). On the other hand, for the phenomenologist Hubert Dreyfus, virtual reality relates to the disembodied "telepresence" that moves away from reality (Dreyfus, 2001). Dreyfus questions whether our relation to the world is one of a disembodied, fragmented viewer or one of an

embodied, active participant. As tangible vulnerable human beings we should always be ready for unpleasant surprises in the real world. When that feeling of vulnerability is missing, all of our experiences are felt as unreal. However, how do we grasp the world? There isn't a more basic type of need than our need for security, because it is a kind of need that, for as long as we possess our bodies, we cannot eliminate. According to the French phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty, the need to ensure a "maximum grip upon the world" is essential (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 344). When we observe something, we unconsciously attempt to find the best explanation of the item as a whole and through its individual parts so that we can understand it. While the explanation is unspecified, our perceptual skills motivate our willingness to engage in making unidentifiable objects sufficiently identifiable in order to achieve that "maximum grip". Without this eternal feeling of an uncertain and unstable world, in addition to our constant motivation to surpass it, stability will hardly ever be achieved. Consequently, face-to-face presence involves a unique coordination of head and hand which is not visible. The ability to control our body's coordination allows for better engagement with the world, something which is lost in virtual "telepresence". When in a static state we can neither get close nor distance ourselves in order to achieve what we feel is optimal engagement with the world, so our sense of the immediate environment is lost.

Except from this, another key issue is the way our real, tangible existence is related to the moral value of trust. By trusting others we accept our own vulnerability. But trust is based on the grounds that one will not exploit the weakness of the other. So, contrary to what happens in the virtual world, it is in the real and tangible world we are in constant jeopardy but where we can experience a sense of power, from the smallest to the largest of vulnerabilities.

Virtual Reality as a New Way to Forge Cultural Identities

Through virtual reality we are starting to live differently, so we must also face the world in which we live differently. In particular, the transition from *things* to *objects* meant that the latter suffered a loss in value. Traditional *things* had the cosmic power that served to differentiate human from animal. But in modernity when *things* were converted into *objects* they consequently lost their momentum. Thus, along with the objectification of reality, our relationship with the world began to shrink. An environment of computer-mediated technologies can redefine our relation to the world and to the *things* within it. This new kind of relationship restores the meaning of *things*. It does so without restoring their metaphysical burden. Within this perspective we should recognize a certain privilege to the virtual world. The holistic view of the world can be the privileged outcome of virtual reality, whereas in modernity and late modernity world subject and object are divided. Such an understanding of the world must take on a radical change of attitude. This new reality can fundamentally process an effective peace instead of maintaining a shallow pacifism (Serres, 2007).

Hence, the creation of a new model of coexistence between *things* and humans should guide our reflection on how we can precisely deal with this new virtual reality as it provides an escape from the crisis of modernity and late modernity. The virtual reality model possesses intangible information: what is most intangible, yet global, also exists in the material world. The most powerful form of circulation is information. Therefore, virtual reality goes beyond the scope of confined identities. It provides access to another kind of reality, one that creates a new sense of efficacy and coexistence. Considering that it is not centred exclusively on postmodern script, it shifts the focus to a "holistic concept of the ecosphere" (Giblett, 2011: 17). Virtual reality allows a new kind of relationship with the world, the foundation of which is equivalent to the adolescent that eternally seeks validation while violating asymmetrical universalism thanks to a new political ecology.

What is also certain it may be that technology will mediate between human subjects and their daily tasks where traditionally one's actual existence was responsible for its duties. However, even when cultural practices are activated in highly sophisticated technological systems, they take on an instrumental role in their very own meanings and transformations (Dourish, 2001: 97). On the one hand, virtual reality provides the unique opportunity to break down "the bureaucracy" of binary oppositional identities which we have inhabited for centuries (Lydenberg, 1987: 127). In doing so, it can build a holistic understanding of the cultural and natural heritage. However, this could lead to a cultural melting pot. Cultural diversity was addressed by Claude Lévi-Strauss in the public lecture delivered in UNESCO in 1971, which was proclaimed The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (see Geertz, 2000: 68-87). In his lecture Claude Lévi-Strauss emphasized that cultures are

> "all passionately fond of one another, would aspire only to celebrate one another, in such confusion that each would lose any attraction it could have for the others and its own reason for existing" (Lévi-Strauss, 1985: iv).

Taking the latter into perspective a new relationship between the self and others should be nurtured. Virtual technologies substitute confined pre-modern and modern identities. Because they remove spatiotemporal commitments, they have the potential to cultivate a "transpersonal ecology" (Fox, 1995; Carter, 2007: 24-25), where the subject rejects its own particularities so that it can coexist in harmony with others in addition to the entire natural world (Connor, 1997: 277-284). It is noteworthy that in the new globalized environment the meaning of the self is found primarily in the need to accept diversity instead of renouncing it (Cubitt, 2001: 97).

References

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation.* (S. Faria Glaser. Trans.). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Bennett, P., Kendall, A., & McDougall, J. (2011). *After the Media. Culture and Identity in the 21st Century*. London & New York: Routledge.

Bickel, B. (2003). Weapons of Magic: Afghan Women Asserting Voice via the Net. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 8 (2).* Retrieved from http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol8/issue2/bickel.html.

Blackman, L. M. (1998). Culture, Technology and Subjectivity. An "Ethical" Analysis. In J. Wood (Ed.), *The Virtual Embodied. Presence, Practice, Technology* (pp. 132–146). London and New York: Routledge.

Bleeker, M. (2002). Disorders That Consciousness Can Produce: Bodies Seeing Bodies on Stage. In M. Bleeker, S. De Belder, K. Debo, L. Van den Dries & K. Vanhoutte (Eds.), *Bodycheck: Relocating the Body in Contemporary Performing Art* (pp. 131–160). Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi.

Bury, R. (2005). *Cyberspaces of Their Own. Female Fandoms Online*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Carter, N. (2007). *The Politics of the Environment. Ideas, Activism, Policy* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Connor, S. (1997). *Postmodernist Culture. An Introduction to Theories of the Contemporary* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA, Oxford & Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Cubitt, S. (1994). Supernatural Futures. Theses on Digital Aesthetics. In G. Robertson, M. Mash, L. Tickner, J. Bird, B. Curtis & T. Putnam (Eds.), *Future Natural. Nature, Science, Culture* (pp. 237–255). London & New York: Routledge.

Cubitt, S. (2001). *Simulation and Social Theory*. London & Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Dery, M. (1994). Flame Wars. In M. Dery (Ed.), *Flame Wars: The Discourse of Cyberculture* (pp. 1–10). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Dimitrica, D., & Garden, G. (2009). Knee-High Boots and Six-Pack Abs: Autoethnographic Reflections on Gender and Technology in Second Life. *Journal of Virtual Worlds Research*, *1/1*, pp. 3–23.

Dourish, P. (2001). *Where the Action Is. The Foundations of Embodied Interaction*. Cambridge, MA & London: The MIT Press.

Dreyfus, H. L. (2001). *On the Internet.* London: Routledge.

Ess, C. (2005). Moral Imperatives for Life in an Intercultural Global Village. In R. J. Cavalier (Ed.), *The Impact of the Internet on Our Moral Lives* (pp. 161–193). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Fox, W. (1995). *Toward a Transpersonal Ecology*, *Developing New Foundations for Environmentalism*, Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). (2nd ed.). New York: Vintage Books.

Fuchs, C. (2008). *Internet and Society. Social Theory in the Information Age*. New York: Routledge.

Fuller, M. (2005). *Media Ecologies. Materialist Energies in Art and Technoculture*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, C. (2000). *Available Light. Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Giblett, R. (2011). *People and Places of Nature and Culture*. Chicago: Intellect, The University of Chicago Press.

Gunkel, D. J. (2007). *Thinking Otherwise. Philosophy, Communication, Technology*. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press.

Hamelink, C. J. (2004). *The Ethics of Cyberspace*. London & Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Haraway, D. J. (1991). *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge.

Heim, M. (1993). *The Metaphysics of Virtual Reality*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Hountman, D., & Aupers, S. (2010). Religions of Modernity. Relocating the Sacred to the Self and the Digital. In S. Aupers, & D. Houtman (Eds.), *Religions of Modernity. Relocating the Sacred to the Self and the Digital* (pp. 1–29). Leiden: Brill.

Ihde, D. (2006). Forty Years in the Wilderness. In E. Selinger (Ed.), *Postphenomenology. A Critical Companion to Ihde* (pp. 267–298). Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Kahn, R., & Kellner, D. (2004). Virtually Democratic: Online Communities and Internet Activism. In A. Feenberg & D. Barney (Eds.), *Community in the Digital Age. Philosophy and Practice* (pp. 183–200). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Kaplan, E. A. (2004). Women's Studies. In V. E. Taylor, & C. E. Winquist (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Postmodernism* (pp. 428–437). London: Routledge.

Kellner, D. (1996). *Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics Between the Modern and the Postmodern*. London & New York: Routledge.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1985). *The View from Afar.* (J. Neugroschel & P. Hoss, Trans.). New York: Basic Books.

Lydenberg, R. (1987). *Word Cultures. Radical Theory and Practice in William S. Burroughs' Fiction*. Urbana & Chicago: The Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, University of Illinois Press.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. (G. Bennington & B. Massumi, Trans.). Mineapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of Perception*. (C. Smith, Trans.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Morley, D., & Robins, K. (2002). *Spaces of Identity. Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*. London & New York: Routledge.

Olsen, G. W. (2010). *The Turn to Transcendence. The Role of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press.

Renaut, A. (2009). *La fin de l' autorité*. Paris: Flammarion.

Serres, M. (2007). *The Parasite*. (L. R. Schehr, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Slouka, M. (1995). *War of the Worlds: Cyberspace and the High-tech Assault on Reality*. New York: Basic Books.

Sobchack, V. (2004). *Carnal Thoughts. Embodiment and Moving Image Culture*. Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.

Stanovsky, D. (2004). Virtual Reality. In L. Floridi (Ed.), *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of Computing and Information* (pp. 167–177). Malden, MA & Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Taylor, M. (1997). *Hiding*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thornham, S. (2007). *Women, Feminism and Media*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Turkle, S. (2004). Our Split Screens. In A. Feenberg & D. Barney (Eds.), *Community in the Digital Age. Philosophy and Practice* (pp. 101–117). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Turkle, S. (2005). *The Second Self. Computers and the Human Spirit*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Turkle, S. (2011). What Makes an Object Evocative? In S. Turkle (Ed.), *Evocative Objects. Things We Think With*. Cambridge, MA & London: The MIT Press.

Waldby, C. (2005). Iatrogenesis: The Visible Human Project and the Reproduction of Life. In M. Fraser & M. Greco (Eds.), *The Body. A Reader* (pp. 256–261). New York: Routledge.

Wertheim, M. (1999). *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace: A History of Space from Dante to the Internet*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Willson, M. (2007). Community in the Abstract. A Political and Ethical Dilemma? In D. Bell & B. M. Kennedy (Eds.), *The Cybercultures Reader* (pp. 213–226). (2nd ed.). London & New York: Routledge.

Woodward, K. (1994). From Virtual Cyborgs to Biological Time Bombs: Technocriticism and the Material Body. In G. Bender & T. Druckrey (Eds.), *Culture on the Brink. Ideologies of Technology* (pp. 47–64). Seattle: Bay Press.

Woolley, B. (1992). *Virtual Worlds. A Journey in Hyper and Hyperreality*. New York: Penguin Books.

CONTOURS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE MODERN SOCIETY (THE CASE OF LITHUANIA)

Agnė JUŠKEVIČIENĖ, Lecturer

Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences

Abstract
This paper aims to discuss the concept of national identity and the essential theoretical insights. The laws and documents of the education field of the independent Republic of Lithuania are analyzed from the aspect of the national identity. It also presents the results of a qualitative survey of Lithuanian pupils and pre-service teachers, in which the expression of the national identity (the case of Lithuania) is disclosed under various categories and sub-categories, i.e. family history, the sense of "ego", relationships with others; also other aspects are approached.

Keywords: National Identity, Expression Of National Identity, Lithuanian Pupils, Lithuanian Pre-service Teachers.

Introduction

A rapid change of technologies, communication and other areas, which creates a modern, global world but debilitates the sense of belonging to a wider community and the attitude to national identity, is typical to a society. This stimulates a crisis of the meaning of existence mentioned by D. Zohar and I. Marshall (2006); and B. Kuzmickas describes the identity crisis by as a condition of humans who do not know or do not want to know who they are, who do not longer wish to be what they were or at least what they had considered themselves to be. Full-fledged identity is being lost because a human being prefers commerce, consumerism, mass phenomena, however, being the very own-self is not conceived. National identity's fragmentation, national fundamentalism entrench, and transformations of the national identity's concepts take place. M. Kundrotas notes that the massive cultural fusion does not enrich but instead destroys them as "the rejection of individual expression's forms erases the contained versatile valuable content" (2009, p. 216). According to A. Liekis (2004), people without nationality and without ethnic self-esteem become only a source of strength to large nations. It is departed from the national identity which is significant for self-knowledge, identification with a certain group of people - a people, united by uniqueness, common cultural heritage and its development in the global context (Kelman H.C., 1997). However, issues of national identity are addressed and established in the global scale. National identity is significant for the growth of nations, even for the formation of the European and global identity. Other "scientists acknowledge that preservation of national identity can protect a personality from decay" (A. Katinienė, 2003, p. 87), as ethnocultural values cover an emerging personality from negative spiritual influences. Culture is considered to be the foundation of national identity because the native language, customs, traditions, etc., determine the consciousness of our nation, give the people more pronounced contours and powers to reveal itself to the world.

Considering specifically the Lithuanian state, it should be noted that Lithuania counts the twenty-second years of independence. The preservation of national identity is particularly significant to this nation which has experienced long years of occupation and a communist regime period. In Lithuania, educational at the policy level, national identity and culture are considered to be an important goal of public education from the times of the National School Concept (1988), then the content of education had to be based on the national culture whose direct mouthpiece is the Lithuanian language – the foundation of the teaching of all taught subjects. Also the significance of culture and identity is indicated under the categories of educational objectives, principles and provisions in other of regulating documents of the Republic of Lithuania as well (Education Concept of Lithuania, 1992; Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1995; Provisions of Lithuanian Cultural Policy, 2001; Provisions of the National Long-Term Development Strategy of 2003-2012; National Strategy for Sustainable Development, 2003; Children and Youth Cultural Education Programme for 2006-2011, 2006; Children and Youth Cultural Education Concept, 2008, Primary and Basic Education programmes, 2008, the National Research Programme "The State and the Nation: Heritage and Identity ", 2010, Law on the Alteration of Law on Education of the Republic of Lithuania, 2011, Standards of Secondary Education in General Programmes and Education, 2011; etc).

It should be noted that development of national identity in scientific pieces of work, laws of the Republic of Lithuania and the documents of the education system is being regulated and encouraged, therefore is important to research the young generation as the successor of the nation's culture. Thus the **problematic question** was formulated accordingly: what is the expression of the national identity of Lithuanian 9-10th grade students and pre-service teachers (Lithuanian case)? The **aim** is the expression of the national identity of Lithuanian 9-10th grade students and pre-service teachers (Lithuanian case). The **objective** is to research the expression of the national identity of Lithuanian 9-10th grade students and pre-service teachers (Lithuanian case).

The Main Goals:

- To define the principal theoretical insights of national identity.
- To reveal the expression of the national identity of Lithuanian 9-10th grade students and pre-service teachers.

Methods of the Research:

- Theoretical researches: study and analysis of philosophical, psychological, educational, historical, sociological literature from the view of aspects chosen by the documents of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Lithuania;
- Empirical qualitative research: essay, applicable while researching the expression of the national identity of Lithuanian 9-10th grade students and pre-service teachers.

Contours of National Identity

National identity includes individual and collective meanings as well as the feelings of belonging to a people (T. Raney, 2009), significant to self-knowledge, identification of oneself with a certain group of people – a people which is united by uniqueness, cultural heritage and its development in a global context. Also, national identity does not enclose or overwhelm a person from the wide world. On the contrary, according to B. Kuzmickas (2004), national identity values openness, exposure to the public, authentic thinking and the recognition of identity.

M. Barnnett (2000) has provided arguments showing indivisibility of a human being and the national identity, its power to the man. One of the reasons is a permanent **identification and materialization**, i.e. we consider our national identity not as artificial and conditional derivative, but as an objective reality, which is inevitable and necessary to the structure of the world. The second reason, which shows how strong our national identity is, is **its extraordinary prevalence**. In other words, various issues, related to our national identity, are intertwined with almost every field of our lives: from the very language we speak, to the food we eat, clothes we wear, our life style, etc. The very system, in which we live, is suffused with ethnic characteristics and everyday practices. However, national identities **are invisible** in our daily lives for ourselves: handling daily affairs, we simply do not think about our national identity, however, this does not mean that our daily lives are not overcrowded with matters related to national identity. The very perception of ethnic characteristics and everyday practices becomes brighter when a person visits a country where different ethnic characteristics and daily practice prevail.

It should be noted that in the modern society, national identity cannot simply be understood as a symbol of the past, giving a sense of a nation's cultural heritage; it has to be created by a man of the current society and oriented to the future. The expression of national identity is important to a nation's specific narrative, fostering of culture and continuation. For the expression of national identity, two parameters are significant: inner assimilation of the content and its dissemination to the outside. It is important to expression of national identity that an individual would take from other generations the core of the nation's culture and would complete it himself / herself, would construct the history of the nation and its narrative. Expression can be evaluated by a human's inner experience, knowledge and activity based on the nation's culture and values.

In this case, the essential measure of national identity and its expression is culture, which performs a dual function in a human's life, when a person is not only the creator, but also is created by it. Thus the most important function of culture is the creation of the meaning, which requires to determine what is the most important in life to an individual (R. Vasiliauskas, 2005). "Because a person who has lost meaning, loses opportunities to create his / her own life: he / she absorbs the lifestyle patterns of others or construct them under desires and expectations of others (V. Aramavičiūtė 2005, p. 18). Therefore, the culture, spreading higher ideas, touches the human spirit and only then moves on to the "supreme" world (Maceina, 1991).

Culture is inseparable from traditions, customs, etc., but the native language is distinguished as the basic factor, which, according to L. Jovaiša (2003), creates a person's worldview, worldview, self-understanding and orients to self-awareness and consciousness completion. The importance of the mother tongue to national identity was deduced already in the 16th century, and, as a symbol of the spirit of the nation, was sued above material goods. It should be noted that a language is not just a superficial process of communication, it accommodates feelings, worldview, which, like a vicious circle of life, during the change generations, conveys the spirit and culture of the people. S. Šalkauskis (1992) follows an analogous approach, arguing that it is a link that links a people in the past, present and future. Language is a symbolic system, according to which social groups form and recognize their identity and maintain the social structure (T. Tender, T. Vihalemn, 2009). The importance of the mother language and its power are also revealed by J. Girnius, 1995; A. Maceina, 1991; K. Ušinskas, 1987; M. Lukšienė, 2000; etc. Also, M. Lukšienė considers a native language as the main cultural component, because in the language "the main old and new sealing mechanism lies through word - sign – thinking" (2000, p. 21). A language contains diachronic-historical cultural information. According to M. Barkauskaitė (2007), the learning

of the mother tongue is the first nation-building tool, the most distinctive feature and value of Lithuanians' nationality. Through the language a person recognises the culture of the people and the world.

Development of National Identity in the Documents of Education of the Republic of Lithuania

Development of national identity and its expression also depends on the government's approach, therefore it is relevant to research the situation of national identity in the laws and documentation of the independent Republic of Lithuania.

The National School Concept (1988) for the first time established education and school goals of Lithuania in the conditions of the reviving nation and the recovering state. It is emphasized that the school is based on the interaction of an individual and his native culture. The curriculum had to be based on the national culture whose direct mouthpiece is the Lithuanian language – the foundation of the learning of all subjects.

The Lithuanian Concept of Education (1992) was probably the first document in the field of education in the independent Lithuania which defined a person's education as "the entirety of conditions necessary for the expression of the abilities laying in the nature of an individual, taking over and developing the culture" (p. 6). Also educational principles were significant: humanity, democracy, openness and nationality, which were considered to be the basis of the development of a state and a nation, inevitably relevant to the development of culture as well.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (July 3, 1995, No. 1-983 Vilnius), Article 29, which emphasizes that one of the child's educational goals is associated with respect to the parents, cultural identity, language and values; the country in which the child resides; education about civilizations that differ from his / her own civilization."

The Provisions of Lithuanian Cultural Policy, which were published ten years after the restoration of Lithuania (Decree No. 5422 of May 14, 2001), also state that "Lithuanian culture is the expression of the creative powers of an individual and the nation, the guarantee of their identity and survival; it forms and reveals spiritual and material values of different social groups and ethnic communities; it contributes to the development of a democratic, free and open society; it promotes the country's social-economic development, enhances its security. "

Also, "the following cultural policy objectives are established: to preserve and enhance the identity of the national culture; to promote creative activities and artistic diversity; to develop the information society; to promote the openness of national culture; to enable the society to participate in the culture and to use it."

The State Strategy of Long-Term Development (approved by Resolution No. IX-1187 of November 12, 2002, of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania), "... the main goal of the Lithuanian culture's long-term strategy is to preserve and to highlight the inherited Lithuanian cultural identity, uniting common European cultural values, and to ensure its continuation, open spread and competitiveness in the context of modern Lithuania, EU and the global cultures" (p.18).

In the **Provisions of the National Education Strategy 2003-2012**, the aspect of the educational mission is significant, i.e. "To ensure the continuity of the nation and the country's culture, constant creation, preservation of identity, to foster the openness and dialogueness of this culture" (p. 3).

The National Sustainable Development Strategy (Resolution No. 1160 of September 11, 2003) establishes the priorities of the sustainable development of Lithuania, including the Lithuanian cultural identity preservation, point 23.11. Point 258 provides long-term goals: to preserve and to revive the Lithuanian cultural identity, reflecting the inherited

individuality and peculiarities and uniting the common European cultural values, to ensure its continuity, spread and competitiveness in the modern global culture medium, to preserve the Lithuanian language, the historic Lithuanian ethnic and regional culture, the cultural originality of the national communities residing in Lithuania“ (p. 46).

The Programme of Children and Youth's Cultural Education for 2006-2011 (September 212006, No. 926, Vilnius) distinguishes the following goal: "to develop systematic cultural education of Lithuanian children and youth, helping to develop artistic, aesthetic and cultural skills and cultural competencies required in order *to take over the cultural experience, to actively participate in the cultural life*, to involve state and local cultural, educational institutions, non-governmental organizations, individual culture and art creators into the process" (p. 29).

The power of culture to the education of a person is also strengthened by the **Resolution of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania declaring the year of 2007 as the children's culture year** (November 23, 2006, No. X-923, Vilnius); it stated that "children's culture is an investment in the future of Lithuania ..." (p. 4).

Two years later, the developed **Concept of Cultural Education of Children and Youth** (January 9, 2008, Order No. ISAK-43) also emphasized that in order to preserve the authenticity and originality of the country, special attention is necessary to culture, cultural heritage, as well as a new approach to the development of artistic education. Therefore, one of the main objectives of this law is "to promote the integration of the Lithuanian cultural heritage and artistic culture to the education."

The National Education Programme "State and Nation: Heritage and Identity" (January 5, 2010, Order No. V-7) identifies the initiation of the research of the change of the concepts of identity and traditional ethnolinguistic nation, related to the intangible cultural heritage (language, culture, customs, mentality), as the starting point of the preservation and enhancement of the identity. Thus it is sought to fundamentally examine and describe all the changes in this field in order it would be possible to predict their further progress and to manage the situation.

The Law on the Alteration of the Law on Education of the Republic of Lithuania (March 17, 2011, No. XI-1281, Vilnius) stresses that education protects and creates the national identity, transfers the values which make a human life meaningful, the society's life - sustainable and solidary, and the state's life - advanced and safe.

The vision of **the National Progress Strategies "Lithuania 2030"** elevates the fostering of the national identity; appreciation of history; cultural affinities with other countries; dialogueness: openness, cultural spread, revision of the national identity' unity / indivisibility; involvement of world's Lithuanian in the nation's life; active participation in cultural activities; cultural dynamism, etc.

The **"Global Lithuania" (2012)** programme orients to the maintenance of the Lithuanian national identity by foreign Lithuanians in the conditions of globalization and the protection of the rights of Lithuanian, belonging to a national minority abroad.

It should be noted that the National Progress Strategy "Lithuania 2030" and the "Global Lithuania" programme already reveal the features of the global world, when a lot of Lithuanian have emigrated and it is necessary to think as how to maintain the connections of Lithuania and its Diaspora.

It is also important to examine how national education is regulated in the general programmes of Primary and Basic, as well as Secondary Education and in education standards. For example, the **General Provisions of the General Programmes of Primary Education** establish the following purpose of the primary education: to provide conditions for a child to gain the foundations of moral and social maturity, cultural, including ethnic culture <...>" (p. 3).

The **General Provisions of the General Programmes of Primary Education** emphasize that "linguistic education is an important part of general education. Development of language skills is a precondition of the development of pupils' intellectual and creative capacity, emotional, moral, social and cultural maturity, civic and ethnic identity development" (p. 3).

General Programmes of Secondary Education establish the following purpose of the linguistic education: "to help pupils to develop their communication, literary and cultural competencies necessary for every human's full-fledged personal life and integration in a changing society; successful social activities, public activity; further studies and successful lifelong learning" (p. 1) .

Results of the Research of Expression of National Identity of 9 - 10th Grade Pupils and Pre-Service Teacher (Lithuania Case)

The scope and organization of the research. For an empirical qualitative research, 9-10th grade pupils of the Lithuanian nationality and pre-service teachers of the Lithuanian nationality obtaining the specialty of physical training at the Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences had been chosen. The empirical research was carried out in April - May of 2013. The scope of the research: twelve 9th grade students, thirteen 10th grade students and 15 pre-service teachers of Lithuania. The method of the research was an essay. The research was aimed to reveal the respondents' expression of national identity. The subjects were given a preliminary plan: his / her family history (significant for formation and expression of national identity); the meaning of nationality to the very subject (the person must realize his /her own "I"; this is considered to be the essence of identity); national activity the personal life is based on (it is revealed that a person has assumed the cultural content and uses it to base the life and communicates it to others); the factors promoting the formation of national identity (it is significant what environment surrounds the respondents, whether their environment is interested in the expression of national identity, and maybe this is relevant only for individual respondents); communication with countrymen and people of other nations (relations is an important dimension of national identity. Only communicating with others, you can see yourself, also the national identity, to develop and nurture it. Socializing with countrymen is even more significant, because a united community creates a culture, develops the nature, and foreigners are an importance dimension of human tolerance and openness of the people, even the strength of culture. According to Barnett, the identity reflects "a sense of self –perceiving in relation with others; thus identities may be collective, depending on the character's interaction with others and his /her place in the institutional context" (p. 9) and future prospects, related to the homeland (future planning can reveal the situation of attachment, valuable personal space, etc.).

The results of the research. Analyzing the data of the research, the following categories were researched: 1) family history, 2) personal understanding of nationality, 3) national activities, 4) the factors determining the formation of the national identity, 5) communication with countrymen, 6) communication with people of other nationalities; 7) future prospects. The extraction of sub-categories also depended on the responses of each researched group.

Parameters of the expression of national identity of 9th grade pupils
Table 1

Category	Sub-category	Confirming statement
Family history	Origin and life event associated with Lithuania	"I have been living in Lithuania for all my life..." (n = 2); "I consider myself a Lithuanian because, first of all, I was born in Lithuania, my whole family are Lithuanians and I was raised in Lithuania" (n = 3).
Personal perception of nationality	Pride in homeland, achievements, culture	"This status makes me proud of the best Lithuanian basketball, beautiful Olympic champion, delicious traditional food and our history of conquest of independence" (n = 2).
	Pride in nationality	"I am proud to be a Lithuanian" (n = 2).
	Honour	"In my opinion, it is a great honour to be Lithuanian" (n = 4).
	Commitment to the nation	"In my opinion, to be a Lithuanian means to be committed to the homeland Lithuania. You do everything you can for it."
	Feeling of community	"After all, we live in a country where Lithuanians prevail, in the end, the very country itself is Lithuania."
	Origin in the homeland	" To be a Lithuanian means to me is that I was born in Lithuania" (n = 2).
	Life in homeland	"To be a Lithuanian means to reside in Lithuania to me..." (n=2).
	Assimilation of culture (native language, traditions, etc.)	"... to speak in Lithuanian, to make Lithuanian food, to follow Lithuanian traditions" (n=5).
	Negative assessment of nationality	""Being a Lithuanian is not such a great thing, because the country is falling apart due to economic problems, also a response of other countries about us is quite negative."
National activity	Culture-based life	"... We follow a few traditions that does not express the national spirit in a large degree"," "I think it goes without saying that it is necessary to know the country's main language."
Factors determining formation of national identity	Family	"Dad is a pure Lithuanian, so he tells me to speak only in Lithuanian.." There are many patriots in my family. One of the example is the events of January 13. On that day my grandfather was near the Seimas, and the parents, relatives - near the TV tower ... " (n = 6).
	Friends	"Yet you are close to your friends, and the support is always needed" (n = 3).
	School	"Nationality is mainly encouraged by the school. You may learn about the past of Lithuania in school, about the present and the future; also we participate in school events that remind us of who we are" n = 3)
	Culture	"Probably the most stimulating factors are traditions, holiday celebrations, which helps to consider

		yourself Lithuanian." (n = 2).
	National society	"Mostly I am supported and encouraged to participate in the activities, of course, by people of the same nationality – Lithuanians" (n = 2).
	Birth in homeland	"I am encouraged to consider myself as Lithuanian, first of all, the fact that I was born in this country."
	Political situation of minorities	"I am encouraged to consider myself as Lithuanian perhaps more by the fact that young people, well, a big part of it, does not recognize x, although I think we are all the same."
	Negative influence of living environment	"In the city where I live in, the community does not try to maintain the national identity, as most of them are Poles and Russians, who speak their own language and have their own customs."
	No incentives	"I am not encouraged to be a patriotic, because this is just my own choice. Similarly, I myself choose the faith. So, in my opinion, patriotism need not to be cultivated, it either is or is not." (n = 3).
Communication with countrymen	Positive feelings – unification by culture	"When we talk with each other, we feel free because we speak in the same language." (n = 5)
	Positive feelings – communication from abroad	"When I am abroad, there is always a lot of fun to interact and share experiences with Lithuanians"
	More positive feelings than communicating with people of other nationalities	"Communicating with other Lithuanians I feel better than communicating with people of other nations" (n = 2), ""Indeed, communicating with my countrymen I feel better, because there is no any discrimination, which takes place communicating with people of other nationalities (i.e. we are better, this is our order and this is yours)."
Communication with people of other nationalities	Positive feelings – interest of knowledge	"... However, in Lithuania I increasingly try to communicate with people of other nations. Thus I practice not only social skills, but learn and reinforce the knowledge of foreign languages", "... it is quite hard to talk to people of other nations and to find a common language, but this is interesting." (n = 2).
	Cautious communication due to differences	"... With people of other nations we feel wary, because this is not our language" (n = 2).
	Discomfort due to the differences of attitudes	".. It is more difficult to communicate with people of other nations because their communication and approach are different" (n = 3).
	People of other nationalities know the homeland better	"Many of our countrymen have forgotten the Lithuanian language and do not know the old meanings of words. Sometimes communicating with people from different backgrounds you understand better of what they want to say; Lithuanians now have forgotten how to express their thoughts clearly."
	Positive feelings towards people	"I feel great because all people are like me, and the language is not important" (n = 2).

Future perspectives	Associated with Lithuania	"In the future, of course, I'd love to stay in their homeland, because I no other country I like better than Lithuania" (n = 7).
	Perspective of returning to the homeland	"However, thinking about the future, I hope to finish the 12th grade in Lithuania, to study medicine abroad, and to return to Lithuania if there will be possible" (n = 2).
	Emigration from the homeland due to the economic standard of living	"No matter how I love Lithuania, I cannot say that I am a patriot. More and more I think about the future of in the United States, where there are much more prospects and higher living standards" (n = 5).

The data of the research shows that five respondents mentioned that they specifically relate the family history to the origin and life in Lithuania. While analyzing the personal understanding of nationality according to the provided responses, a group of sub-categories has been identified. Most respondents, answering what it means to be a Lithuanian, linked it to the speaking in Lithuanian, compliance with Lithuanian traditions (n = 5). The importance of the mother tongue highlighted, which is the essential part of national identity. Also, the subjects wrote that they are honoured to be Lithuanians. Other 9th grade pupils linked their nationality to their origin and living in the homeland (n = 2). Two of them said they are proud to be Lithuanians. National activities, which base their life, were the most difficult to specify and to distinguish. Only a few pupils indicated that they follow traditions and speak in Lithuanian in everyday life.

Among the factors influencing the formation of the national identity, most often the pupils identified the family and school. However, one student is negatively affected by the living environment in which the respondent claims many foreigners live. Also three pupils indicated that nobody encourages participation in the activities nourishing nationalism. Positive communication with countrymen is acceptable to five respondents, also three students emphasized that they feel better communicating with their countrymen than with people of other nations. Communicating with people of other nationalities is acceptable to three students due to the knowledge of a foreign culture, the development of social skills. However, the other three respondents indicated they feel discomfort due to the differences of approach, and the other two feel caution. The pupils eagerly commented and described future prospects. The data are distributed quite evenly. Five students stated that they relate their future with Lithuania, and the other five emphasized emigration from the homeland due to the economic standard of living.

Parameters of the expression of national identity of 10th grade pupils

Table 2

Category	Sub-category	Confirming statement
Family history	Origin and life event associated with Lithuania	"My grandmother with her sister and parents were exiled to Siberia. Life was difficult; all missed their homeland, home, the rest of the family. My grandmother grew up there, but when she was able, she returned with her family to Lithuania" (n = 3).
Personal perception of nationality	Pride in homeland, achievements, culture	"My nationality is Lithuanian and I am proud of it. The Lithuania past is generous and its people were noble." (n = 3).
	Learning at Lithuanian school	"... To learn in the Lithuanian school"
	Origin in the homeland	"I was born in Lithuania and this means a lot to me, I grew up here, I learned and realized a lot. I cannot even imagine myself speaking another language or living in another country. With the word of Lithuania, many memories come to my mind."
	Patriotic feelings	"... I am a patriot, I feel nationhood."
	Living in the homeland	"Being a Lithuanian means to me to have a Lithuanian identity, to live here and to be proud of it" (n = 3).
	Usage of culture (mother tongue, traditions, etc.)	""".. To speak Lithuanian."
	Duty	"But to be a Lithuanian is my duty."
	Negative assessment of nationality	"I simply know who I am. But it is clear, I would like to be not a Lithuanian" (n = 2).
	Indifference	"Being a Lithuanian is no different than being a citizen of another country. Each nation has its own pluses and minuses, it is not possible to say that being a citizen of a particular nation brings you shame or something like that"(n = 4).
National activity	Culture, tradition-based life	"In the family, we speak Lithuanian; grandparents love to sing folk songs" (n = 3);
Factors determining formation of national identity	Family	"I have always stimulated to consider myself as a Lithuanian by my daddy. Now and in the childhood he often stressed the importance of knowledge of the Lithuanian culture and history. Overall, I am brought up under quite ethnically ideas" (n = 5).
	Friends	"... Friends, all experiences, our history encourage to consider myself as a Lithuanian."
	School	"The school hosts a variety of events that promote love and respect to Lithuania. The Lithuanian language teacher encourages to love the Lithuanian language and to speak and write correctly" (n = 5).

	Culture	"I am encouraged to be a Lithuanian by my native language, traditions" (n = 2), "There is nothing much to encourage me to be a Lithuanian, maybe just basketball and some historical events, but not the current situation in Lithuania."
	National society	"Probably the most stimulating is the environment, as almost everyone speaks Lithuanian, especially since we live in Lithuania, so it would be strange to suddenly change the language or ethnicity."
	Origin	"The fact that I was born a Lithuanian encourages me to be such, and not a Pole."
	Birth in the homeland	"The first thing - I live in Lithuania"
	No incentives	"Nobody encouraged me to participate in activities that nourishes the national identity" (n = 4).
Communication with countrymen	Positive feelings – unification by ideas	"I can communicate in my own language with my nation's people, we understand each other more easily."
	Negative feelings	"Collaborating with countrymen, I feel bad. In my opinion, the Lithuanian nation is behind other nations."
Communication with people of other nationalities	Positive feelings – interest in knowledge	"I'm very happy to interact with people of other nations, I learn something new, interesting." (n = 4).
	Cautious communication due to established differences	"I found it more difficult to communicate with people of other nations and to understand them, because each nation has different beliefs."
	People of other nationalities know the respondent's homeland better	"Collaborating with people of other nations I feel the same way and as communicating with my nation, but communication is more interesting."
	Positive feelings towards people	"I do not distinguish people into nations and this does not matter to me. If a person has a pleasant personality, I do not care about his / her origin" (n = 5).
Future perspectives	Associated with homeland	"Maybe to stay here, to learn, to create a family" (n = 3).
	Emigration due to the economic standard of living	"However, the future ... sometimes the question arises whether to it is possible to create future, I mean good future here? Is it worth it to learn and then to get the minimum, plus working the job you don't like? Well, this is the current future of the majority, therefore a mass emigration from Lithuania takes place. No matter how I love my country, it does not offer me good living conditions, because there are groups of people who think only about themselves and how to harm others" (n = 5).
	Perspective of returning to Lithuania	"I think in the future I will live in my homeland, but maybe I will go to study to other countries. They give more choices than Lithuania" (n = 2).

Analyzing the data of the study of 10th pupils, it is clear that only a small part of pupils wrote about their family, the origin and life events (n = 3). Personal understanding of nationality even brings other parameters. The most emphasizing aspect among 10th grade students is indifference to their nationality (n = 4), and a negative assessment of nationality (n = 2). The respondents do not emit the Lithuanian nationality as a special factor or condition. However, another part of the students reveals (n = 3) that they are proud with their homeland, culture and achievements.

The respondents found it difficult to indicate the national activity, however, three students mentioned the usage of the Lithuanian language and song singing. The factors determining the formation of national identity are the family (n = 5), school (n = 5). Also, the pupils of 10th grade distinguish the culture (n = 3). This suggests that for the expression of the national identity, the core of culture is important, which, in the first place, must form the content of individuals' national identity. However, attention should be paid that the formation of the national identity of even four students is not encouraged.

Communication with countrymen distinguishes into two sub-categories: positive feelings, when common culture and negative feelings unite. However, it should be noted that not all the pupils indicated communication with countrymen in their essays. More thoughts were revealed talking about communication with people of other nations. For example, five students expressed positive feelings towards all people, because all people are equal and are not divided in accordance with nationalities. Another part of the pupils (n = 4) emit distinguished emotions that arise communicating with people of other countries because they are curious to know another culture and their lives.

Future prospects of 10th grade pupils are not favourable for the survival of Lithuania since pupils of quite young age (n = 5) emphasize emigration due to the economic standard of living. Other pupils relate their future with Lithuania or consider about the departure with a perspective of returning to the homeland.

Parameters of the expression of national identity of pre-service teachers

Table 3

Category	Sub-category	Confirming statement
Family history	Origin and life event associated with Lithuania	"My family is true Lithuanians. They were born and raised in Lithuania. Great-grandparents and grandparents were also Lithuanians <...>" (n = 12).
	Origin and life event associated with other countries	"My parents were born in the Lithuanian capital Vilnius, they are Lithuanians. But my the parents of my parents are of different nationalities. My mother's parents and family are Russians, who moved to live in Lithuania many years ago, and the father's family is descended from Lithuania, Marijampolė region." (N = 2).
Personal perception of nationality	Pride in homeland, achievements, culture	"I am Lithuanian and am proud of it, no matter what the living conditions are in this country" (n = 7).
	Other positive feelings	"Being a Lithuanian, I feel great" (n = 8).
	Shame	"Sometimes, when I'm overseas, I'm ashamed for my

		countrymen, as you often heard that the Lithuanians did something wrong to foreigners and their country, as the majority of emigrants are hard-living people who cannot find a job in Lithuania <...>'.
	Indifference	"Being a Lithuanian I feel as good as I would feel if I would be of any other nationality."
National activity	Culture, tradition-based life	"By my activity, I celebrate as more national holidays as possible. I am brought up in such a way that Lithuania is important to me as well as its traditions "," ... we used to travelled carrying the Lithuanian flag and singing Lithuanian songs" (n = 5).
	Basketball	"I play basketball <...> and maybe it describes me as Lithuanian" (n = 2). .
	Representation of sport teams	"... I have represented Lithuania in youth events many times." (n = 4).
	Importance of feelings towards nation	"... I am not a true patriot promoting his country, but deep in my heart I feel love to the homeland" (n = 4).
	Military service	"Friends, like me, love my country, with two of them I serve in the Lithuanian army. It gives a lot of nationalism in the formation of our identity. "
Factors determining formation of national identity	Family	"The family contributed a lot to my national identity. Ever since the early days parental ethnic hobbies become interesting for their kids (folk dances, basketball games, etc..)" (N = 7);
	Friends	"Later it is formed growing with your friends, in school" (n = 5);
	School	"A large part of the formation of the national identity is determined by the school, its teachers" (n = 5).
	Personal initiative	"Personal initiative is also important, as only being interested in something it may be possible to develop the nationhood in the personality."
	Culture	"Language, traditions, < ...>".
	Media	"The media also forms it, but you need to select what to listen to and what to read" (n = 2).
	National society	"My environment is very national. Now and since childhood I cooperate with youth groups, the priests." (n = 2).
	Internet	"This is the family, friends and a small part of the internet."
	Military service	"Friends, like me, love my country, with two of them I serve in the Lithuanian army. It gives a lot of nationalism in the formation of our identity. "
	No incentives	"Now I do not feel that some factors influence the formation of my national identity. I have my own opinions and will not change it for a while. "

Communication with countrymen	Positive feelings – unification by ideas	"My relations with other Lithuanians, ideas are sometimes similar, but sometimes opinions differ." (n = 5).
	Respect	" I respect countrymen, thus communication is very simple, friendly."
Communication with people of other nationalities	Positive feelings – interest in knowledge	"I have friends foreigners (of other nationalities) in Switzerland, America, Spain, England, and I keep in touch with all of them and we perfectly agree" (n = 3).
	Do not communicate – communicate little	"... I have only a couple of friends of other nationalities. I do not have anything against people of other nationalities, just I do not communicate with them." (n = 3).
	Relationship is determined by historic events between the nations	"My relationship with people of other nationalities is quite normal, just I don't like the Russian, simply because that their country held us oppressed, killed and exiled."
	Positive image of the homeland is created	"I try to communicate with foreigners so that they would obtain a proper image of Lithuania."
	Formal communication	"I know many foreigner friends thus I feel good about other nationalities, however, I do not take over their customs, I have knowledge of the peoples' customs and traditions."
	Positive feelings towards people	"My relationship with people is in general the same, no matter whether he / she is Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, I judge about all people by their inherent characteristics rather than by nationality" (n = 7).
Future perspectives	Associated with the homeland	"... I associate my future with Lithuania, rather than emigrating to another country." (n = 6).
	Emigration due to the economic standard of living	"I would like to work in Lithuania, to transfer and preserve the traditions, but I do not see any prospects for Lithuania in the present prevailing situation. Lithuania as a state has long lost its identity."
	Place of residence is not emphasized	"I hope to finish a university and work according to my speciality" (n = 3).
	Perspective of returning to Lithuania	"My future is related to the homeland. If only the circumstances will allow, I would like to live in another country temporarily as it is interesting to experience life in another country" (n = 3).

The data of the research of pre-service teachers on family history is divided into two subcategories: the origin and life events associated with Lithuania and the origin and life events associated with other countries. The majority of the respondents (n = 12) associates their family background and the life history with Lithuania.

Another category - personal perception of nationality - varies among two sub-categories: pride in the homeland, achievements and culture (n = 7); other positive feelings (n = 8). However, it was established that one teacher, being a Lithuanian, is ashamed of his countrymen. The national activity is divided into two subcategories. First of all, a number of pre-service teachers mentioned cultural integration into daily activities. As the pre-service

teachers study the specialty of physical education and many of them are related to sports, they pointed out that the representation of a national team is considered as a national activity, also military service was distinguished. Two students highlighted the basketball as their national activities. It is interestingly that this sport is really becoming a part of the Lithuanian culture.

The factors influencing the formation of the national identity are comprised of a significant part of sub-categories. First of all, the nearest community - the family (n = 7); friends (n = 5); school (n = 5). It should be noted that the pre-service teachers who have graduated from high school and who will become part of this community, consider school as an important factor in the formation of national identity. Also the media is mentioned (n = 2), as well as the national society (n = 2). Although not all respondents indicated communicating with countrymen, however, they indicated it only positively, when the culture unites (n = 5). Communication with other nationalities is also relevant to pre-service teachers, however, seven subjects expressed positive feelings towards people in general and did not distinguish them in accordance with their nationality or other criteria. Others (n = 3) are interested in communication and knowledge of the life of foreigners, while others do not communicate or interact little. A significant number (n = 6) of the pre-service teachers relate their future with Lithuania or considers the perspective of returning (n = 3). Others (n = 3) express specific desires, but do not emphasize the importance of the place of residence.

Conclusions

The analysis of the theoretical material suggests that national identity is inseparable from a human being. It is also recognized that national identity and its expression do not covers a person against the world, on the contrary: for the strengthening of the national identity, openness and exposure to other nations are required. Culture is a fundamental part of national identity, which forms a human's and nation's spiritual and material world and is regarded as the key factor of the expression of national identity. Basing on the qualitative analysis of the data of the research, it was established that the pre-service teachers wrote the most about the family and its history. Personal understanding of nationality is related to positive feelings mostly by the pre-service teachers, and the indifference to the nationality is mostly emphasized among 10^{th} grade pupils (n = 4). The respondents of both grades found it difficult to indicate national activities, and the pre-service teachers relate activities with culture, traditions; representation of sports teams, etc. In the responses of 9^{th}, 10^{th} grade pupils or pre-service teachers, family, school, friends are indicated as factors determining the formation of national identity.

Communication with countrymen, as an important and positive event was distinguished by 9th grade students and the pre-service teachers. For the majority of the respondents, interaction with people of other nations does not cause exceptional emotions because they do not tend to divide people by their nationality and other criteria. It should be noted that the majority of 9^{th} grade pupils and the pre-service teachers relate their future with Lithuania, but the other part of these groups emphasize the emigration from the homeland because of the economic standard of living. Also quite a serious situation is observed in the responses of 10^{th} grade pupils, as most of the subjects would like to emigrate from the country.

References

Aramavičiūtė, V. (2005). Vertybės kaip gyvenimo prasmės pamatas. *Acta Pedagogica Vilnensia,* 2005, 18-27. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas.

Barkauskaitė, M. (2007). Valstybingumo pagrindų ugdymas pedagoginiame procese. *Tautiškumas ir pilietiškumas. Atskirtis ar dermė?: Mokslinės monografijos.* Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, p .261.

Barrett, M. (2000). The Development of National Identity in Childhood and Adolescence. *Inaugural lecture presented at the University of Surrey,* 22nd March. Available from: http://epubs.surrey.ac.uk/1642/1/00_Inaugural_lecture.pdf

Girnius, J. (1995). Raštai.T.III. Vilnius: Mintis.

Jovaiša, L. (2003). Hodegetika: *auklėjimo mokslas.* Vilnius: Agora.

Katinienė, A. Etnokultūros vertybės – asmenybės tapsmo pamatas. Acta paedagogica Vilnensia, 2003 (11), 85-92. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas.

Kelman, H.C. (1997). Nationalism, patriotism, and national identity: socio-psychological dimensions. *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations [editors Bar-tal D., Staub, E.].* Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers.

Kundrotas, M. (2009). Tauta amžių kelyje. Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas.

Kuzmickas, B. Tapatumui reikia atvirumo. *Šiaurės atėnai*, 2004-10-09 (720).

Liekis, A. (2004). Lietuviai inteligentai lemiamais tautai ir Lietuvai laikotarpiais. *Lietuvių tautos – lietuvių kalbos likimas.II dalis. Lietuvių kalbos likimas mūsų pačių rankose.*

Lietuvos kultūros politikos nuostatos. Pritarta LR Vyriausybės 2001 m. gegužės 14 d. nutarimu Nr. 542. Available from: http://www.lrkm.lt/index.php

Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo nutarimas „Dėl 2007 metų pasklebimo vaikų kultūros metais“ 2006 m. lapkričio 23 d. Nr. X-923 (Žin., 2006, Nr.133 -5027).

Lietuvos Respublikos švietimo istatymas. Nauja įstatymo redakcija 2011 m. kovo 17 d. Nr. XI- 1281. Available from: http://www3.lrs.lt.

Lietuvos švietimo koncepcija. (1992). – Vilnius. Available from: http://www.smm.lt/startegija/docs/srp/koncepcija/koncepcija1.htm

Lietuvos Respublikos vyriausybės patvirtinimas dėl „Globalios lietuvos“ – užsienio lietuvių įsitraukimo į valstybės gyvenimą – kūrimo 2011–2019 metų programos patvirtinimo 2011 m. kovo 30 d. Nr. 389. Vilnius.

Lukšienė, M. (2000). Jungtys. [editor R.T. Bruzgelevičienė]. Vilnius : Alma littera.

Maceina, A. (1991). Raštai.I. Vilnius: Mintis.

Marshall, I., Zohar, D. (2006). Dvasinis kapitalas: gerovė, kuri gali padėti išlikti. Vilnius: Tyto alba.

Nacionalinė darnaus vystymosi strategija. Patvirtinta LR Vyriausybės 2003 m. rugsėjo 11 d. nutarimu Nr. 1160 (Žin., 2003, Nr. 89-4029).

Nacionalinė mokslo programa „Valstybė ir tauta: pveldas ir tapatumas“. Patvirtinta LR švietimo ir mokslo ministro 2010 m. sausio 5 d. įsakymu Nr.V-7 (Žin., 2010, Nr. 4-170).

Pradinio ir pagrindinio ugdymo bendrosios programos. Patvirtinta 2008 m. rugpjūčio 26 d. įsakymu Nr. ISAK- 2433 (Žin., 2008, Nr. 99-384). Available from: <www. pedagogika.lt>. [Online 2011-06-10].

Raney, T. (2009). As Canadian as Possible ... Under What Circumstances?: Public Opinion on National Identity in Canada Outside Quebec. *Journal of Canadian Studies. Revue d'etudes canadiennes*, 43(3), 5-29.

Šalkauskis, S. (1992). Rinktiniai raštai. *Pedagoginės studijos.* I. Vilnius: Leidybos centras.

Tautinė mokykla. (1989). I. Mokyklų tipų koncepcijų projektai. Kaunas: Šviesa.

Tender, T., Vihalemn, T. (2009). Two languages in addition to mother tongue-will this policy preserve linguistic diversity in Europe?. *TRAMES*, 13(63/58), 1, 41-63. Available from: http://www.kirj.ee/public/trames_pdf/2009/issue_1/trames-2009-1-41-63.pdf

Ušinskis, K. (1987). Pedagoginiai raštai. Kaunas: Šviesa.

Vaiko teisių konvencija. Patvirtinta 1995 m. liepos 3 d. Nr.I-983 (Žin., 1995, Nr. 60 – 1501).

Vaikų ir jaunimo kultūrinės edukacijos 2006-2011 metų programa. Patvirtinta LR Vyriausybės 2006 m. rugsėjo 21 d. Nutarimu Nr. 926 (Žin., 2006, Nr. 102-3950).

Vaikų ir jaunimo kultūrinio ugdymo koncepcija. Patvirtinta LR švietimo ir mokslo ministro 2008 m. sausio 9 d. Įsakymu Nr. ISAK-43. Available from: www.smm.lt/teisine_baze/docs/.../2008-01-09-ISAK-43(2).doc

Valstybės ilgalaikės raidos strategija. Patvirtinta LR Seimo 2002 m. lapkričio 12 d. nutarimu Nr. IX-1187 (Žin. 2002, Nr. 113-5029).

Valstybinės švietimo strategijos 2003 – 2012 metų nuostatos. Patvirtinta 2003 m. liepos 4d. nutarimu Nr. IX-1700. Available from: www.smm.lt

Valstybės pažangos strategija „Lietuva 2030“. Available from: http://www.lrv.lt/bylos/veikla/2030.pdf

Vasiliauskas, R. (2005). Vertybių pedagogika: įžvalgos į vertybių ugdymo teoriją ir praktiką: *metodinė priemonė skirta bakalaurams, magistrams, mokytojams.* Vilnius: VPU, 2005.

Vidurinio ugdymo bendrosios programos. Patvirtinta 2011 m. vasario 21 d. įsakymu Nr. V-269. Available from: www. pedagogika.lt

WOMEN'S IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN DRAMA: A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THREE MINOR PROTAGONISTS IN VIJAY TENDULKAR

Sonali JAIN, Senior Assistant

University of Delhi

Abstract

In this paper, three plays by Vijay Tendulkar, one of India's major playwrights, are examined from a psychoanalytic point of view. They are: *Kamala*, *Mitrachi Goshta* (*A Friend's Story*), and *Baby*. All the three plays have female protagonists and deal with issues of minority, identity and representation. My analysis draws on Freud, Melanie Klein, Lacan, Luce Irigaray and other contemporary feminists. *Kamala* is about a slave and her acceptance of slavery as her given. Her master represents power and its workings within the system. An analysis of the text and the cultural context is discussed using the sado-masochistic dynamic as well the slave-master discourse. Mirroring and identification are significant to the play, and are examined psychoanalytically as well as socially. In *Mitrachi Goshta* the protagonist is a female college student, who is attracted to, and has a physical relationship with, another woman. The story is told through the experience of her male friend , who has intense feelings for her. The end is tragic, revealing the deep hypocrisy embedded in the social system. The dynamic between trauma and the emergence of selfhood – or the lack of it – remains a central issue. The play opens up critical positions – the erotic and the maternal. The protagonist of *Baby* is a young woman who lives as the mistress of her rapist, and has to care for her 'mad' brother. The play once again is charged with sexuality and sado masochism. Narcissism is also a vital concern in the play. Tendulkar establishes violence and sexuality as integral to a marginalized representation, which has its own discourse in the development and consolidation of identity. All three women belong to minorities within a patriarchal system. Nevertheless, I focus on their own motivations and unconscious choices, and argue that psychic reality is an important ingredient in understanding minority identity.

Keywords: Minority, Identity, Psychoanalysis, Slave-master, Sado-masochism.

Women's Identity in Contemporary Indian Drama: A Psychoanalytic Study of three Minor Protagonists in Vijay Tendulkar

Vijay Tendulkar is a celebrated Indian playwright and screenplay writer. Tendulkar's body of writing is deeply suggestive of his fascination and preoccupation with the very origins of psychic life. Importantly, in his plays, the playwright does not remain merely omniscient; he asserts his choices. In this paper, I have chosen to examine three of his neglected plays *Kamala, Mitrachi Goshta* and *Baby* and their minor female protagonists. I seek to explore,

using a psychoanalytic lens, the nexus between minority and identity in the face of a social morality which is difficult to negotiate. While looking at the identities of the protagonists we realize how their own unconscious choices and drives also play an important role in determining their reality.

In the first play, *Kamala*, the identity of the protagonist is that of a slave. Kamala is a "bought" woman, used to establish to the Delhi Press that slavery still exists in India. The play comes full circle when each character realizes their 'Kamala' within. I examine the play using Hegelian and Lacanian concepts of the slave master dialectic. The next play is *Mitrachi Goshta* (*A Friend's Story*). Tendulkar was one of the first Indian playwrights to tackle the issue of same sex love/lesbianism. He is sympathetic towards the protagonist, who is lesbian, and scathing towards the hypocrisy entrenched in society. In my reading of the play, psychoanalytic concepts of the maternal and ambivalence in the characters are addressed. The last play is *Baby*, in which the central character lives with her rapist, and is essentially disenfranchised till the very end. The play captures nuances of 'madness and sanity'. Once again the slave master relationship is central to any reading of the play. Along with these concepts in psychoanalysis, I look at sadism and masochism in the texts. I end with a short concluding section.

***Kamala*: Slave and Master**

Kamala is based on a real incident that shook the country in 1981. A journalist working with a reputed newspaper, based in Delhi, discovered that there was a town in Central India where women were bought and sold like cattle. Encouraged by his editor, he went to the market and bought a tribal woman, the real-life Kamla/Kamala. After being exhibited at some sensational press conferences and attracting media coverage, Kamla disappeared. Vijay Tendulkar read the newspaper accounts of the story, and was moved to write a play about it (Tendulkar 1992). In the play, details are appropriately fictionalized. Importantly, the journalist and his family are Marathi-speaking. (Tendulkar's mother tongue is also Marathi.)

The play opens with Sarita's elderly uncle, Kakasaheb, answering telephone calls. The setting is the journalist Jaisingh Jadhav's posh bungalow in Neeti Bagh, New Delhi. He is away and his wife, Sarita, meticulously takes down details of all telephone calls. Soon she gets news of his return, is excited and begins to make preparations for her husband' return. Jaisingh arrives with a tribal woman, Kamala, whom he has bought. He has made a journalistic coup and wants to disclose to the Delhi press that slavery still exists in India. He brings Kamala to stay in his house; Kamala, as the bought woman, follows him quietly. Sarita is shocked to see Kamala in a tattered sari wrapped around her. The other main character in the play, Kakasaheb, who runs a vernacular press, has a more traditional and humane approach to journalism. He too is taken aback to see Kamala. Tendulkar takes a crack at the modern concept of investigative journalism through the character of Kakasaheb, much older but a foil to Jaisingh professionally.

Jaisingh wants Kamala to accompany him to the press conference to show that women are still bought and sold. He is extremely selfish and narcissistic, and hardly cares about others as long as his needs are met. As Nancy McWilliams(1994) points out, "people whose personalities are organized around maintaining their self esteem by getting affirmation from outside themselves are called narcissistic" (p.168). Jaisingh doesn't let his wife enter his workspace; she cannot even question him regarding Kamala.

Jaisingh: Kamala, this evening we're going out together.

Kamala: Oh, I'll see Bombay! They say it's a very big city.

Jaisingh: There's going to be a big feast where we're going. … It's a place where these big feasts take place. Very important people will be coming. There will be food and drinks.

Kamala: You go, master. What will I do there?

Jaisingh: Those people will want to meet you.

Kamala: *Hai daiyya*! And me in this mess. Look at my clothes! I won't go there.

Jaisingh: But it's all in honour of you. … Kamala, you won't obey me?

Kamala: How can that be? You are Kamala's master.

Jaisingh: I order you to come there with me today. (pp. 19-20)

…

Jaisingh: I'll stay with you. And people will talk to you.

Kamala: With me? But I don't know how to talk with people. I'm an ignorant woman. What will I say in front of all those men?

Jaisingh: You will just have to answer questions.

Kamala: What sort of questions?

Jaisingh: They will ask things about you. What your village is like, what your family is like, what work you did there, what you ate.

Kamala: I'll have to tell it all?

Jaisingh: Yes.

Kamala: Do I have to tell everything? How we starved? How we had no clothes? (pp. 20-21)

Jaisingh's obvious motive in thus forcing Kamala to accompany him is to gain professional recognition and the acclaim of his fellow journalists. It is important to rewrite and reinscribe the relations between power and issues of identity. The text develops a slave master equation between Jaisingh and Kamala. For Kamala, she is the chosen one, who must consciously keep the master happy. However, unconsciously the desire is for the Father and

Jaisingh fits into that role. Following a 'successful' press conference, in which Kamala is the object of ridicule and sexual jibes, Jaisingh sends Kamala to stay in an orphanage. Sarita, his wife, has identified with Kamala at both the conscious and unconscious levels. Through Kamala she reaches a benumbed resignation and experiences how she has been exploited by her husband at various levels. However, perhaps in the unconscious, she has chosen this exploitation, for her desire too is for the Father. We will come back to this issue later.

The maid is also called Kamalabai, and is completely silent over the whole Kamala issue, unable to express anything. Tendulkar seems to imply that those of us who speak out are those who can afford to. After a celebratory party, Jaisingh is shocked to learn that he has been dismissed from his job. He too has become Kamala metaphorically, a pawn in the hands of the system. Lacan's dialectical model is influenced by Hegel's description of the master-slave relationship. The conscious is visualized as the Master and the unconscious as the slave. The central idea is the struggle for recognition and the ultimate undermining of the master's (consciousness) sense of superiority, purpose, and freedom in relation to the slave (unconscious). On the face of it, consciousness appears to be the master of the psyche and of its repressed unconscious. The unconscious however, works in its own way, generating resources which allow for the very existence of the consciousness. The unconscious is the master, consciousness its slave.

This Hegelian dialectic also applies, for Lacan, to the relations between Subject and Other. The Subject will project his own desire onto the Other, and the Other will see himself in the Subject: "the unconscious is the discourse of the Other." The unconscious is that which the Subject does not recognize to be herself and which she experiences as other from herself. The crucial moment of identification between Sarita and Kamala occurs much later, in Act II of the play. In psychoanalysis, identification is a defence mechanism, used to connote a mature level of deliberate, yet at least partially unconscious, assumption of the characteristics of another person, since most of us consider the capacity to identify with another or some aspect of the other person as a benign and non-defensive tendency. "…psychoanalytic thinkers continue to regard many instances of identification as motivated by needs to avoid anxiety, grief, shame…" (McWilliams, p. 135).

Sarita: Do you like this house, Kamala?

Kamala: It's got everything. Just like a dream. Really [pause] Where does he sleep?

Sarita: Who?

Kamala: He, the one who bought me. (p. 34)

Kamala questions Sarita about children, and becomes pensive when Sarita says she has none. Kamala remarks that it is all God's will. Sarita agrees that it is very lonely without children. Kamala feels sorry for Jaisingh and says that he must be unhappy. Sarita is stunned at the next question that Kamala asks.

Kamala: Can I ask you something? You won't be angry?

Sarita: No. Go on.

Kamala: How much did he buy you for?

[Sarita ia confused at first.]

Sarita: What?

Kamala: I said, how much did he buy you for?

Sarita [recovering]: Me? Look here, Kamala. [Changes her mind and sits down beside her.] For seven hundred. (p. 34)

Kamala is appalled at the amount quoted. She expresses her shock because for her it is too high a price for a slave who cannot bear children and hence cannot generate prosperity. Sarita asks Kamala about her children. Kamala replies that she does not have any, but can produce as many as required. Kamala asks Sarita how much land is owned by "their master". On hearing Sarita's reply in the negative, she reflects over the situation.

> Kamala [prepares herself mentally. Then speaks very seriously.]: Memsahib, if you won't misunderstand, I'll tell you. The master bought you; he bought me too. He spent a lot of money on the two of us. Didn't he? It isn't easy to earn money. A man has to labour like an ox to do it. So Memsahib, both of us must stay here together like sisters. We'll keep the master happy. We'll make him prosperous. The master will have children. I'll do the hard work and I'll bring forth the children, I'll bring them up. You are an educated woman. You keep the accounts and run the house. Put on lovely clothes and make merry with the master. Go out with him on holidays and feast-days. Like today. I can't manage all that. And we must have land of our own. Don't worry about it, that's my responsibility. Fifteen days of the month you sleep with the master; the other fifteen, I'll sleep with him. Agreed? (p. 35)

Sarita is too stunned at first but then she agrees. Unconsciously, the phantasy expressed in this speech is that of a threesome, both wishing to stay like sisters, as Kamala says, both desiring the father. Sarita's reaction and consequent response to Kamala is difficult to compartmentalize into one set of emotions or any defined intellectual stance. Her defence of Kamala does not take into account Kamala's own desires and wishes from her master, her fused sense of comfort and unrest in her 'home'. Sarita could have experienced Kamala as a threat, but that fear does not arise because of apparent hierarchies of class and caste. She sees Kamala as a victim, and feels for her the way a privileged woman would feel for an unprivileged counterpart.

Before long, however, Sarita realizes that she too is a slave, and that the discourse applies equally to her relationship with her husband. Unconsciously, Sarita is also projecting her own experience of the master slave relationship on to Kamala. It is not Kamala who is unhappy, but Sarita. Sarita staggers under the weight of her recent awakening; she is led to confront her own angst. After the press conference where Kamala has been ridiculed, Sarita is extremely upset. Neglected by her husband, her helplessness and inability to do anything concrete for Kamala expresses itself in an intense outburst. Sarita expresses her sado

masochistic relationship with her husband to Kakasaheb, saying she too wants to hold a press conference:

> I am going to present a man who in the year 1982 still keeps a slave, right here in Delhi. Jaisingh Jadhav. I'm going to say: This man's a great advocate of freedom. And he brings home a slave and exploits her. He doesn't consider a slave a human being – just a useful object. One you can use and throw away. He gets people to call him a sworn enemy of tyranny. But he tyrannizes his own slave as much as he likes, and doesn't think anything of it – nothing at all. Listen to the story of how he bought the slave Kamala and made use of her. The other slave he got free – not just free – the slave's father shelled out the money … (p. 46)

Kakasaheb expresses surprise and concern. Sarita continues:

> I was asleep. I was unconscious even when I was awake. Kamala woke me up with a shock. Kamala showed me everything. Because of her, I suddenly saw things clearly. I saw that the man I thought my partner was the master of a slave. I have no rights at all in this house. Because I'm a slave. Slaves don't have rights. Do they, Kakasaheb? … (p. 46)

Jaisingh is firmly rooted on the dictating, desiring end of the power matrix. In the beginning he comes across as someone worthy of his name Jaisingh, meaning an achiever, a go-getter. The truth is that he is as self-deluded about his ideological stances as he is about his relationships. However, his fall is grim. After holding and being held at the centre all the while, he is completely taken aback when things fall apart in one stroke, and he loses his job. *Kamala* brings home the fact that the dynamics of exclusion are integral to a tribal minority who bear the historical weight of otherness. Unconscious choices cannot be ignored, however, and they are very much influenced by both culture and psyche.

Mitrachi Goshta: a Friend's Story

In this section I seek to explore the psychoanalytic implications and underpinnings in the play *Mitrachi Goshta*. The play has been translated into English by Gowri Ramnarayan as *A Friend's Story*. As in the case of several other of Tendulkar's plays, the inspiration for *Mitrachi Goshta* came from real life. The play was produced with Rohini Hattangady in the lead in 1981. By then, Tendulkar had carved a niche for himself by involving himself with issues, both social and individual, which were complex and had no easy answers. In post independence modern Indian theatre, Tendulkar is one of the first to take up the issue of the lesbian minority on stage.

The narrative revolves around a college student, Sumitra, and her attraction and subsequent involvement with another woman, Nama. Sumitra and Nama play the male and female roles respectively in a college play. The story is told through the experience of Sumitra's male friend Bapu, who has strong feelings for her. Bapu is confused about Sumitra's sexual identity at first, even tries to deny it but soon after, when Sumitra confesses to him her homosexual wishes, Bapu supports her almost till the very end. Her friendship with Bapu, goes through a succession of quick, turbulent episodes that reveal its complex nature. In the process, the playwright also portrays a cross-section of a homophobic society, a society both fascinated and disgusted by the idea of same sex love. Two of the characters in

the play, Pande and Dalvi, are averse to the idea of lesbianism, while Bapu is awed by it. The end is tragic, revealing the deep hypocrisy inherent in Indian society.

Psychoanalysis sees the need for a lesbian identity as a wish to recreate the maternal. Sumitra describes herself as 'different'. After her first, unsuccessful attempt at suicide early on in the play, she confesses to Bapu that she had done so because she realized that she did not have heterosexual urges and couldn't possibly think of living with a man. With her family pressurising her to get married, she felt she had no option but to end her life. Sumitra's failed suicide attempt is rage turned inward against those who expect her to conform to their norms. In psychoanalytic terms it is also a wish to return to the womb where she will be eternally fused with the mother. When psychoanalysis refers to the internal mother or the internal father, it includes imagoes of the self's mother and father; it also assumes aspects of the self idiom projected into these internal objects, and finally it refers to inner psychic structures. There is a structure in the name of the mother and a structure in the name of the father (Bollas 2000, p. 71).

The primary need in Sumitra is to receive the mother, which expresses itself as an ever hungry need for lesbian love, exclusivity from Nama, and an obliteration of Nama's heterosexual life with the goon Manya Dalvi. Nama comes across as weak willed, almost guilty about her relationship with Sumitra. Freud describes lesbianism as wanting to be a man to the mother. (However, it should be noted that Freud does assert the underlying bisexuality of both men and women.) Lacan gives us the concept of the Name of the Father, which does not connote the biological father. The object of the mother's desire is what Lacan terms the phallus:

> The need for the unconscious as a container for the loss of the mother and the desire associated with her is provoked by the recognition, in both girl and boy, that they do not or cannot have the phallus the mother wants. So the phallus symbolises both Desire and loss. (Minsky, p. 150)

Sumitra and Nama are confined to a butch femme paradigm by the playwright. Sumitra is the butch in the play and Nama the femme. Butch and femme are used to describe the identities of each person in a lesbian relationship in terms that are analogous to a heterosexual relationship, with butch representing the traditionally male role and femme the traditional female role. Elizabeth Wilson (1986), in her essay "Gayness and Liberalism", argues that butch-femme roles have the potential for being just as sexist as heterosexual roles. Because the identities of both butches and femmes are built on popular cultural stereotypes of male and female behaviour, she argues, they tend to reinforce the inequality in power inherent in this dichotomy, where one of the partners is active, strong, dominant, initiating, etc., and the other is passive, weak, submissive, and enduring. The assumption here, however, is not that butch and femme roles are inherently sexist, but that in the popular construction of these roles along heterosexual lines, the possibility for sexism is increased.

Unconsciously, in Sumitra, is the fear/knowledge that the 'mother' finds the 'father' much more interesting and that the mother is not exclusively oriented towards her. By becoming male like him, she tries to replace the father. The reality of seeing Nama and Dalvi together reminds her severely of her own smallness in wanting to possess the mother. The room she chooses is the father's space, it is Bapu's room. The room becomes the oedipal space for Sumitra. She seeks out Bapu's room as if the father's space in her mind will give her some sanction to be with the mother. Nama is sexually drawn towards both Sumitra and

Dalvi. It is, however, interesting to note that Nama too chooses to confide in Bapu. Sumitra is curious about Nama's sexual relationship with Dalvi. Seized by jealousy she demands to know the secrets of their love making, again, in the classic hysteric sense, wanting to witness the primal scene. When Dalvi expresses his desire for the same space, Sumitra is angry, she 'circles around like a wild animal' and says:

> I want to tear that friend of yours, Manya Dalvi, from limb to limb. Claw him to pieces. Drink his blood. … I don't mind lending your room to him. But not Nama. He must not bring Nama here with him. This is my haunt. I tell you, I will not tolerate his presence here with Nama. (p. 47)

All the hate is projected on to Dalvi. He is the hated part of the self in Sumitra, that part which constantly reminds her of her own sexuality and her guilt around it. Sumitra is pained by the helplessness and hopelessness of her lesbian wish. It is an intensity she cannot rid herself of; she fears it because it drives her to desperation and suicide. Sumitra is a hopeless narcissist. In his work on narcissism, Heinz Kohut traces it back to the infant and claims that the infant experiences itself in a state of unlimited power and knowledge. We, as outsiders, deprecatingly call this state the child's grandiose self. It may happen, for a variety of reasons, that this infantile grandiose state of narcissism is prevented from maturing into healthy self-esteem. In that case we meet with what looks like an adult, but in reality is a very shakily put together person, an oversensitive narcissist, prone to rage and shame.

Ambivalence was used by Freud to indicate the simultaneous presence of love and hate towards the same object. According to Melanie Klein (1986), love and hate start off as clearly differentiated emotions in the infant's life. I use the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions in Bapu to see the coming together of love and hate in him. Klein stressed the importance of inborn aggression as a reflection of the death drive and talked about the battle of love and hatred throughout the life span of an individual. If one were to see Bapu through this paradigm, as an infant, also wishing to seek the mother, it would be clear that that both good and bad aspects of the self are split in him and later on projected as love and hatred to the mother and the others around.

During the paranoid-schizoid position, Bapu experiences the world, especially Sumitra, as good or bad, according to his experiences. Objects are seen as bad when the infant's wishes are not met adequately and frustration prevails. Therefore, the infant must keep these loving and hating emotions as distinct as possible, because of the paranoid anxiety that the destructive force of the bad object will destroy the loving object from which the infant gains refuge against the bad objects. This is how Sumitra keeps herself in a paranoid-schizoid position throughout the play. For her, the mother must be either good or bad and the feeling experienced is either love or hate.

However, in Bapu, these emotions begin to get integrated, in a natural process. In Klein's theory, as the infant's potential to experience ambivalence grows, during the depressive position, the infant starts forming a perception of the objects around it as both good and bad, thus tolerating the coexistence of these two opposite feelings for the same object. This is something that Sumitra is unable to do. Her self is too split for her to be able to tolerate ambivalence. Her paranoid anxiety (that the bad object will destroy everything) is not able to transform into a depressive anxiety. This is the intense fear that one's own

destructiveness (hate) will damage the beloved others. Subsequently, for the coexistence of love and hate to be attainable, the child must believe in her ability to contain hate, without letting it destroy the loving objects. Sumitra is unable to do this. She destroys her loving object Bapu, as also Nama. She is not able to sustain the loving feelings over her aggressiveness. Since this ambivalent state is hard to preserve, under difficult circumstances it is lost, and the person returns to the previous manner keeping love and hate distinct for a period of time until he/she is able to regain the potency for ambivalence.

Tendulkar has chosen a difficult theme to address, since lesbians are a doubly placed minority – firstly as women in a patriarchal system and then as being situated outside the heterosexual code. Lesbianism has been widely accepted as not only a sexual but also a political choice. A lesbian is better described as one who is not restricted to a patriarchal code. Let us focus briefly on the construction of lesbian identity through the lesbian movement. In the early feminist movement, the lesbian was identified as the "woman-identified-woman". This, on the face of it, let her acquire an identity entirely separate from the male power structures.

In feminist critical practice, however, this notion of separateness often turned into a consideration of relations between the sexes. Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1969), one of the most important early feminist manifestos, demonstrates this. Her critique of male writers assumes the presence of the female subject and the male writer; the man-woman dichotomy is always the prerequisite for study (Bredbeck 2002). As feminism moved forward in the 1970s, it also moved into a more "woman-identified space". Works such as Ellen Moer's *Literary Women* (1976), Elaine Showalter's *A Literature of Their Own* (1977), and Sandra Gilbert's and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979) all look at writing by women from a woman's perspective. However, by emphasizing "woman" as a category, this phase of lesbian criticism – "gynocritics," as Showalter later called it – actually erased the difference between the lesbian and the heterosexual woman.

Lesbianism has emerged most strongly as a framework in the work of French feminists. Writers such as Luce Irigiray, Marguerite Duras, Claudia Hermann, and Hélène Cixous have championed what has become known as *l'écriture féminine*, or writing from/of woman. "In contradistinction to masculine writing, which champions a unitary vision of meaningful language structured by the phallus, woman's writing would, theoretically, break up that unity and provide a plural and fragmented vision based on the unboundedness of female desire." (Bredbeck 2002) Cixous, for example, in "The Laugh of the Medusa", implores women to remember the early American feminist slogan that "we are all lesbians". Luce Irigaray's provocative early essays, *Speculum of the Other Woman* (1974) and *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1977/1985), have been influential in the discourse around subjectivity, sexual difference, and representation, and are frequently cited by feminist literary critics. Irigaray (1985) summarizes Freud's analysis in his case study as follows: "Only as a man can a female homosexual desire a woman who reminds her of a man" (p. 194). Therefore, she argues, a certain 'logic of the same' underpins Freud's psychoanalytic theory, which promotes sexual indifference rather than sexual difference. In spite of its overt espousal of lesbianism, *l'écriture féminine* again uses lesbianism to subvert the relationship between the terms *Man* and *Woman* and thus erases the lesbian.

To conclude this discussion, I refer to the pioneering essay "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" by American poet Adrienne Rich (1980). She puts forward two ideas that form the basis of contemporary lesbian theory. Firstly, lesbian desire

exists as a continuum of desiring possibilities between women that range from friendship to sexual involvement – "not simply the fact that a woman has had or consciously desired genital sexual experience with another woman". Secondly, culture presupposes heterosexuality as inevitable, and hence the multiple manifestations of lesbian desire in culture become either erased or distorted. For Rich, then, lesbianism exists as both a disrupter of male power and a genuine bond of meaning between women.

Psychoanalysis so far has not found a place within a specifically lesbian politics or theory; nevertheless, it currently occupies a central position within contemporary feminist theory. Pioneering feminists such as Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose have turned to Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis (Lacan 1982), as a way of addressing the internal psychic construction of women's identity in patriarchal culture. In a patriarchal culture, women's inferiority and oppression comes at a great psychic cost. Since psychoanalysis recognizes this, it addresses patriarchal authority and women's acquiescence to it as fundamentally fragile and precarious. Jacqueline Rose (1983) says that "Feminism's affinity with psychoanalysis rests above all … with this recognition that there is resistance to identity which lies at the heart of psychic life". Sumitra's death punishes her for her intense desire, her sexuality. Her suicide is Tendulkar's final comment on alternate sexuality. One who rejects the heterosexual code cannot exist in the mainstream that is full of hypocrisy.

Baby

The third play I have chosen is called *Baby*. Tendulkar strives to achieve in *Baby* not just the external reality of characters, which may be revealed through speeches, gestures, actions, and thoughts, through comments made by other characters. His treatment of form is unique. He concentrates on the human psyche, is extremely sensitive to issues of madness and sanity and captures the nuances of both in the play. He establishes that psychopathology is intrinsic to the way the human mind works. The protagonist of the play is a young woman called Baby, a fairly common name for adults, both male and female, in India. The play opens with an array of images of separation with the arrival of Raghav, Baby's mad brother, at her house. Baby is introduced to us standing in front of a mirror looking at herself. Raghav begins with a wish to be fed and looked after by Baby. He laments his sister's lack of concern for him all the while he was in the madhouse and enquires after her persistently. Finally Baby reveals that she now works as an 'extra' in films and is her rapist Shivapa's mistress. Shivapa and Baby are in a strange sexual relationship. She lives with him even though he has raped her.

Shivapa had thrown Raghav into the madhouse after raping Baby, whom Raghav had tried to protect. Raghav is crestfallen at his sister's plight, and regrets not having assumed the responsibility of her welfare. He remembers his promise to his dying mother and his shock quickly turns into indignation and finally to a piteous despair. In spite of the horror of her situation, Baby lives on with an implicit faith in God and goodness. She stoically clings to a hope of a better future, believing that her virtue will be rewarded some day. Essentially a loner, Baby reads most of the time. Bhushan Chanda's romantic novels are her favourite reading.

Karve is the assistant director in the film unit in which Baby works. He displays some sexual interest in Baby and sells her the fantasy of being cast as the heroine in his adaptation of Bhushan Chanda's novel. While Baby obliges Karve, Shivapa comes in, grieving over his wife's death and in her moment of flickering protest, Baby confronts Shivapa. She is soon kicked out of the house by Shivapa and of course abandoned by Karve. Her hopes are dashed.

The play closes with a climactic streak of pathos in Raghav's laughter. In Shivapa's unconscious patterns, the first thing that is striking is his perverse sexuality, aggression and violence. He embodies power in the play. He has raped Baby, beaten up Raghav and forced him into the mental asylum. Shivapa comes to Baby every night and his behaviour with Baby is cruel. He calls her 'Bobby' and expects her to behave like a slut who must thrust her breasts and pose for him, dance for him and then behave like a bitch, not just metaphorically but literally, walking on all fours and panting and salivating like one. While the whore excites him, the bitch can promise him unfailing loyalty over and over again. He must generate this excitement every night for himself to make himself believe that Baby belongs to him and that he is not alone. He cannot bear to be alone and this is how Baby becomes a perverse maternal presence.

Shivapa: Say again!

Baby: Chu-Chu!

Shivapa: Again, again.

Baby: Chu…Chu…Chu

Shivapa: [Feels tickled and pulls out half his vest.]
Here…!

…

Shivapa: Bobby, Gillas! Water!

[Baby fetches everything, acting like a bitch. Is getting tired.]

He cannot rest until he has blotted out Raghav who dared to oppose him. He beats him up and tickles him to the point of excruciating pain. The scene between Shivapa and Baby, after the death of Shivapa's wife, is quite complex. He begins by mourning the death of Gangamma to Baby. This is the only brief sequence in which one sees more of Shivapa the man and not the perpetrator. He cries at his insensitivity towards the mother of his children, a woman who perhaps mothered him most clearly: 'Gangamma you were my ma'. This time Baby speaks to him as an equal and rebukes him for his utter callousness towards her. However, as soon as Baby points out that now he must fend for himself, his sense of abandonment, and guilt becomes too much for him to bear. He reacts with extreme rage again because his own 'badness' threatens him and he must compulsively block out guilt. He must exhibit power to counter his own helplessness. This archaic rage goes on and on and on. This rage can be read psychoanalytically as the need to separate from internal objects through external violence. If we accept Freud's formulation that phantasies of violence in the primal scene are universal, in Shivapa this violence acquires actual belief.

The madhouse, with its stink and filth, is everything but a place of healing. It signifies castration – a loss of manhood. Raghav feels castrated, like young boys who have been metaphorically castrated by the father for desiring the mother sexually; all he can do is regress in order to cope. Raghav uses the defence of regression unconsciously but much more

after he realizes the newness of violence and trauma, post asylum, and finds it impossible to deal with. As I have argued elsewhere, Raghav is quite in need of a 'good enough mother' in Winnicott's terminology. Baby's house provides the holding environment. He is the helpless one, the psychotic, the baby. There is a clear demarcation between an outer and an inner in the play. The action is clearly divided between the outer room and the inner room. Baby also repeatedly marks this distinction between her soul and her body. Her response to her body is "not me", whereas the soul must remain pure. She is introduced to us standing in front of a mirror. Baby has a fantasy image of herself as Bhushan Chanda's heroine. The "mirror" in the play is at once self and not-self. A permanent split within Baby's self-image is thus suggested at the outset with the introduction of the mirror. Klein describes splitting as the way in which a child seeks to retain good feelings and introjects good objects, whilst expelling bad objects and projecting bad feelings onto an external object.

Splitting and projection is integral to Baby's tragedy. The good and the bad objects are not external; they are feelings that lie within the psyche. Baby would like to retain good feelings and introject her good object Bhushan Chanda, who is the mother she is so much in need of. Baby reads to have her fill from her mother, and her psyche develops a kind of "fantasy pump" attempting to use fantasies with good affects to counteract bad ones. She devours quotations like a hungry baby. However, along with the good feelings, the sadism has also been deeply internalized. Shivapa is the perpetrator yet she protests about his good intentions. Baby is anxious throughout the play as if she does not really believe herself. Her staying with Shivapa is objectively more destructive and dangerous than her leaving him would be, yet she continues to behave as if her ultimate well-being were contingent on her enduring mistreatment. Baby feels resentment and indignation on her own behalf. She sees herself as suffering miserably but unfairly; as ill starred, cursed through no fault of her own as she rails against her fate. She endures pain and suffering in the hope of some greater good.

It could be argued that Baby suffers abuse as she tries to avert a more painful eventuality, that of abandonment. Baby's confusion regarding Shivapa is not consciously felt deeply by her. She cannot accept her own perversion and thus blames Shivapa out and out in the end. The good and the bad cannot live together for Baby does not reach that maturity. Her self-image, maternally derived, is invested primarily with feelings of rejection experienced as coming from the mother, and secondarily with aggressive feelings first projected on to the mother and subsequently reintrojected and directed towards the self. When she is with this good part, her own bad part seems to laugh, scold and smirk at her which she quickly expels and projects on to Shivapa. Indeed, there has been external violation, but the subsequent sexual relationship could not have happened only through force on the part of Shivapa. She must enact the sado- masochism repeatedly with Shivapa (and with Karve in a drunken state) in order to protect the good object from being contaminated by the bad object. These internal attempts to regulate bad feelings run amok in the case of Baby.

In keeping with the theme, the form of the play is also split. The stage directions to Act II Scene II begin like this:

> [Afternoon. Half the stage is set as a film studio. In the remaining half is Baby's outer room and the space outside. An old poster or two. A piece of a palace set. Lower ground level is another part of a set.

The sound of hammering.

Karve at complete ease, sitting and smoking a cigarette.

Raghav is pacing, agitated in the outer room in Baby's house.
Gesticulates. Mutters. Holds his head once or twice. Gets up.
Mutters excitedly. Sits down. Starts pacing again.]

The narrative spins with a visual and mental momentum as the stage is split and differently located events are depicted simultaneously. In the outer world, the studio, Baby is being doled out exciting fantasies by Karve whereas in the inner world, her home, Raghav is being beaten mercilessly by Shivapa. At the manifest level Raghav is being beaten but at the immanent level a vulnerable weak part, unable to resist violence, is being bruised and scarred. Baby's battered psyche is seen in Raghav. In this scene, the apparent and the immanent coalesce in Baby and Raghav.

Again, in the same scene, excitement is juxtaposed with deadness and death. Baby says 'I cannot take in so much of happiness…' and immediately the scene shifts to Shivapa sitting like a shadow next to his dying wife. Baby is with Karve at night. As Baby gets drunk, hysterical, and finally unconscious, Shivapa's chair is empty and his wife lies dead. A little later Baby spontaneously barks like a bitch even in that drunken state when she hears Shivapa's voice. In juxtaposing these two scenes, Tendulkar reiterates the fact that too much splitting and projection of bad objects/bad feelings can thin the personality through dispersal, so that one passes from excitement/ rage/dread through progressive phases of deadness. It is essential to keep the memory of loss.

It is also interesting to examine the way laughter has been used in the play. Each night Baby is forced to laugh by Shivapa. Laughter expresses complicated conscious and unconscious psychological meanings. Freud (1938) says "… laughter arises when the sum of psychic energy, formerly used for the occupation of certain psychic channels, has become unutilizable so that it can experience free discharge". Unendurable psychic conflict can be recognized to be related to fear, hate, aggression or frank hostility. In the play Raghav, unable to express his aggression directly, expresses it indirectly in laughter. The sadism having been turned from great things to small, a laugh results.

Sadism and Masochism in the Texts

There are certain psychological processes which are common to all the three plays and to their protagonists. I shall first take into account sadism and masochism because it figures prominently in all three.

Freud stresses as early as "The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality" (1905) that sadism and masochism are the two faces of a single perversion whose active and passive forms are to be found in variable proportions in the same individual: 'A sadist is always at the same time a masochist, although the active or the passive aspect of the perversion may be the more strongly developed in him and may represent his predominant sexual activity.' It is commonly held that sadism is prior to masochism and that masochism is sadism turned round upon the subject's own self. In fact, sadism in this context has the sense of an aggression against the other person in which the other's suffering is not a relevant factor and is simply an aggression unconnected with any sexual pleasure. Masochism corresponds to a turning round against the subject's own self and at the same time to a reversal of activity into passivity. Only in the masochistic period does instinctual activity take on a sexual meaning, and only

then does the infliction of suffering become intrinsic to this activity (Laplanche and Pontalis, pp. 402-403). Masochism is fundamentally an expression of forbidden sexual desire and it eroticizes power differentials modeled on those between father and child. This equation of masochism with oedipal sexuality has long been reinforced by both Freudian and Lacanian traditions.

In his 1919 paper "A Child is Being Beaten", Freud states:

> … the first phase of beating phantasies among girls, then, must belong to a very early period of childhood. The child being beaten is never the one producing the phantasy, but is invariably another child, most often a brother or a sister if there is any. This first phase of the beating phantasy is therefore completely represented by the phrase: 'My father is beating the child'. I am betraying a great deal of what is to be brought forward later when instead of this I say 'My father is beating the child whom I hate.'
>
> Profound transformations have taken place between this first phase and the next. It is true that the person beating remains the same (that is, the father); but the child who is beaten has been changed into another one and is now invariably the child producing the phantasy. The phantasy is accompanied by a high degree of pleasure. Now, therefore the wording runs:
>
> 'I am being beaten by my father.'

Freud adds that "if the child in question is a younger brother or sister, it is despised and hated: yet it attracts to itself the share of affection, and this is a spectacle the sight of which cannot be avoided. One soon learns that being beaten, even if it does not hurt very much, signifies a deprivation of love and a humiliation. The idea of the father beating this hateful child is therefore an agreeable one. It means 'My father does not love this other child, he loves only me.' The pleasure attaching to this phantasy is both sadistic and masochistic." In *Kamala*, Jaisingh and his obsequious friend Jain ridicule Kamala. They gleefully recall the ridiculous questions that Kamala was bombarded with at the press conference. Jain describes it as 'fun'. Jaisingh justifies it to Sarita and Kakasaheb saying, "These people from the jungle are good and tough." (p. 30). The relationship between Sarita and Jaisingh is also sado-masochistic. It falls more into the slave-master dialectic as discussed earlier.

> In *Mitrachi Goshta*, Sumitra and Nama are caught up in a sado-masochistic relationship, almost as a defence against change. Sumitra knows the futility of her desire yet she must cause the other and herself pain in the process. However, Bapu too is a masochist, causing himself hurt and pain on account of others, especially Sumitra. As Bapu points out in the play:
>
> Bapu: (To audience) Where does such stubbornness come from? Why do some people insist on the impossible? What does one do with people who are bent on treading the path of endless pain and agony? (p. 42)

Baby, of course, is full of overt violence, with Shivapa as the sadistic perpetrator. Accordingly, Baby seems to be her own worst enemy. Her life is filled with decisions and actions that are antithetical to her own well being. Her behaviour is self defeating or masochistic in which she seems to say "if I suffer enough one way or the other, I will get love from my father". Unable to express their sadistic drive more directly, Raghav and Baby turn part of their own sadism as well as Shivapa's against themselves. Laughing, therefore, has a definite relationship to their sado-masochistic and compulsive dynamisms. Shivapa terrorizes Raghav into laughter, poking him and tickling him till Raghav can no longer bear it and has an epileptic fit. It is as though he hastens to laugh at everything for fear of being obliged to weep. The more normal person, who has learned to manage his hostilities and is unafraid of his aggressions, is capable of occasional laughter. The ending, too, builds up a contrast between horror and laughter. Tendulkar is quite remarkable in thus understanding and portraying the distortion of an emotion and its transformation into its opposite. He turns his characters' anxiety, grief and depression into laughter just the way it happens in life.

Through the violence in the play the playwright asserts his sense of being alive. In *Baby* he does this, remarkably, without using the authorial voice through the entire text. The violence is a metaphor for aliveness because at the other end of the spectrum lies abandonment. And, of course, for all three characters abandonment carries an annihilatory anxiety that is too pervasive. Tendulkar tortures his readers to the point of madness by reducing them to scar tissue in search of an outlet. The audience is led into simultaneous positions of the torturer and the tortured. There is a disconcerting, discomforting intimacy with the violence that they see on the stage and hence, must live. And, perhaps, this is where his sadistic and masochistic pleasures also lie.

Conclusion

Tendulkar is a pioneering dramatist of post independence modern Indian theatre, very sensitive to unconscious desires and struggles. While his plays embody a strong critique of patriarchy, he makes his heroines battle with their very existence. All the three plays dealt with in this paper concern themselves strongly with the issue of a minority identity within a patriarchal set up. It is significant to examine why they do not cover the mainstream, why they are on the margins. Indeed, Tendulkar establishes violence and sexuality as integral to a marginalized representation, which has its own discourse in the development and consolidation of identity. Nevertheless, I have attempted to focus on the protagonists' own motivations and unconscious choices, and to argue that psychic reality is an important ingredient in understanding minority identity. The core issue remains: is it the system which is to blame or are they just individual tragedies?

References

Bollas, C. (2000). *Hysteria*. London: Routledge.

Bredbeck, G. W. (2002). Literary Theory: Gay, Lesbian, and Queer. glbtq: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Culture. Retrieved from http://www.glbtq.com/literature/lit_theory,4.html

Freud, S. (1905). Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality. In SE Volume VII (1901-1905) (pp. 123-246).

Freud, S. (1917). Mourning and Melancholia. In SE Volume XIV (1914-1916) (pp. 239-258).

Freud, S. (1919). A Child is Being Beaten. In Collected Papers II (pp. 184-185). London: Hogarth Press, 1919 rpt 1924.

Freud, S. (1920). Beyond the Pleasure Principle. In SE Volume XVIII (1920-1922) (pp. 7-64).

Freud, S. (1938). Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious. In *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York: The Modern Library.

Irigaray, L. (1985). *This Sex Which Is Not One*. (C. Porter, Trans.). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Klein, M. (1986). *The Selected Melanie Klein*. J. Mitchell (Ed.). Harmondsworth: Penguin. pp. 176-200.

Kohut, H. (1972). Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 27*, 360-400.

Lacan, J. (1982). *Feminine Sexuality*. J. Mitchell and J. Rose (Eds.). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Laplanche, J., & Pontalis, J.-B. (1973). *The Language of Psycho-analysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: W. W. Norton.

McWilliams, N. (1994). *Psychoanalytic Diagnosis*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Minsky, R. (1996). *Psychoanalysis and Gender.* London and New York: Routledge.

Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence. *Women: Sex and Sexuality.* Spec. issue of *Signs*, *5*(4), 631-660.

Rose, J. (1983). Femininity and its Discontents. *Feminist Review 14***,** 5–21.

Tendulkar, V. (1992). Kamala (P. Adarkar, Trans.). In *Five Plays*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Tendulkar, V. (2001). *A Friend's Story*. (G. Ramnarayan, Trans.) . New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Tendulkar, V. (2007). Baby (S. Jain, Trans.) In *Vijay Tendulkar Omnibus*. M. Sathe (Ed.). New Delhi: Arvind Kumar Publishers.

Wilson, Elizabeth. (1986). *Hidden Agendas: Theory, Politics and Experience in the Women's Movement*. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd. pp. 137-147.

Winnicott, D. W. (1931). *Clinical Notes on the Disorders of Childhood*. London: William Heinemann.

FEMININITY CULTURAL DIMENSION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Azra BRANKOVIC, **Assistant Professor**

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract

Femininity, in cultural studies, means that in society social gender roles overlap: both man and women are modest, tender and concerned with quality of life. In masculine cultures, social gender roles are clearly distinct: man are assertive, tough and focus on material success and women are more tender and concerned with quality of life. Bosnia and Herzegovina was the land where women have had certain equality through history and played important roles in society. Comprehensive secondary research, done in the period when Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of Yugoslavia, by Dutch scientist Geert Hofstede, indicates a high degree of femininity. The aim of this paper is to determine if this is still the case. Bosnia and Herzegovina had a terrible war on its territory for four years, followed by a period of extreme poverty. All these condition do not favor a feminine culture. The paper will examine, firstly women's access to education, taking into account all forms of education from primary education to PhD level. The paper will examine, after that, women's access to employment. Also examined will be women's participation in the public health sector, judiciary sector, education and politics (parliament, Council of Ministers, diplomatic offices). Secondary sources and statistical data will be analyzed for the purpose of this paper.

Keywords: Femininity, Culture, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Education, Employment.

Introduction

Femininity, in cultural studies, means that in society social gender roles overlap and that assumes gender equality. In masculine cultures, social gender roles are clearly distinct: man are assertive, tough and focused on material success and women are more tender and concerned with quality of life. The paper will present a list of countries in the world according to the femininity/masculinity index, based on secondary research, done by Dutch scientist Geert Hofstede, on huge samples in more than 70 countries. Bosnia and Herzegovina was the land where women have had certain equality through the history and played important roles in society. Comprehensive secondary research, done in the period when Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of Yugoslavia, indicates a high degree of femininity.

The aim of this paper is to determine if this is still the case. Bosnia and Herzegovina had a terrible war on its territory for four years, followed by a period of extreme poverty. All these condition do not favor a feminine culture. The paper will examine firstly women's access to education, taking into account all forms of education from primary education to PhD level. The paper will examine, after that, women's access to employment. In addition, it will examine participation of women in the judiciary sector, education and politics (parliament, Council of Ministers, diplomatic offices). Secondary sources and statistical data will be analyzed for the purpose of this paper.

Femininity Cultural Dimension

All societies consist of man and women. They are different biologically and they have different social roles in society. Gender differences have existed since the beginning of times. Man was usually bigger and stronger, hunting, fighting, protecting the family and a woman was delivering children and then caring about them and the family. Even, in modern times, in many countries, man is expected to be aggressive, competitive, hard, oriented to material success and his career. A man usually has the challenging jobs and technical jobs, as a manager, politician, engineer, and scientist. A woman is expected to take care about children, sick family members and to sacrifices or postpone her career for the sake of the man's carrier or family.

Participation of women in business and social life is recent phenomena. Men have been dominating in business and society through history. Economic opportunities, and even more so, economic needs in the era of industrialization enabled women to enter business and social life. However, in the era of industrialization, women have been working on low ranked and low paid jobs. Only in the rich countries and only recently women got a chance to enter into business and politics at the same position as men. In the twentieth century, managers on high positions were mainly men. The shift happened in this century (Adler, 2002, 173). The number of women who have the highest position in the company or society has been constantly increasing. This happened the first time in history. Out of 47 women, who held the highest position, as presidents or prime ministers, in their country, two thirds came to this position in the last decade and all of them but 7 were the first women elected to that position in their country. A similar situation is with business. All women who lead the big global companies are the first women in history of these companies ever elected to these positions. The situation is different in different countries, depending on the femininity cultural dimension. However, 45% of managers in US are women. It is a surprise that only 14% work outside of US (Cullen, and Parboteeah, 2008, 537).

The change has been happing all over the world. Brazil was once a macho and patriarchal place: in 1960 women had an average of six children and only 17% worked outside of home. Women these days have been flooding into the workforce, especially in the biggest cities. Grant Thornton, a consultancy, reports that women make up 27% of the senior managers of Brazil's leading companies; compared to the global average of 21% (Sweden manages 23%, Britain 20% and the United States 17%). *Forbes*, a business magazine, calculates that 20% of the country's billionaires are women, compared with a global average of 10%. Brazil has a higher proportion of women in the labor force (59%) than developed countries such as France (52%) or Britain (57%). Not all the figures are so flattering. McKinsey, another consultancy, reckons women constitute only 7% of board members. Less than 9% of seats in the lower house of Congress are held by women. But the change has been dramatic (*Economist*, June 15th 2013).

Femininity, in cultural studies, means that in society social gender roles overlap: both man and women are modest, tender and concerned with quality of life. In masculine cultures social gender roles are clearly distinct: man are assertive, tough and focus on material success and women are more tender and concerned with quality of life. Societies are predominantly feminine or masculine, because most people in that society have these characteristics; some people, of course, can have different characteristics. However, social roles of men and women depend on the country. Doctors in Russia are mostly women; nurses in the Netherlands are mostly men. There are a lot of women managers in the USA, but no women managers in Japan.

Gender differences and their social roles are favorite media, movie and TV topics. Many authors researched femininity and masculinity. One of the most important, Dutch

scientists, Geert Hofstede, conducted a study in IBM subsidiaries in over 70 countries around the world between 1967 and 1973. He empirically demonstrated that different countries in the world have different degrees of femininity and masculinity (Hofstede et. Al., 2010, 135-186; Hofstede, 2001, 279-340). The tables below show differences among countries in masculinity and femininity. Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland) and Baltic countries have the highest degree of femininity.

Table 1. High degree masculinity countries

Country	Masculinity index	Rank (out of 76 countries)
Slovakia	110	1
Japan	95	2
Hungary	88	3
Austria	79	4
Venezuela	73	5
Italy	70	7
China	66	11-13
Germany	66	11-13
Great Britain	66	11-13
USA	62	19

Source: Hofstede, G., G. J. Hofstede, and M. Minkov. (2010).

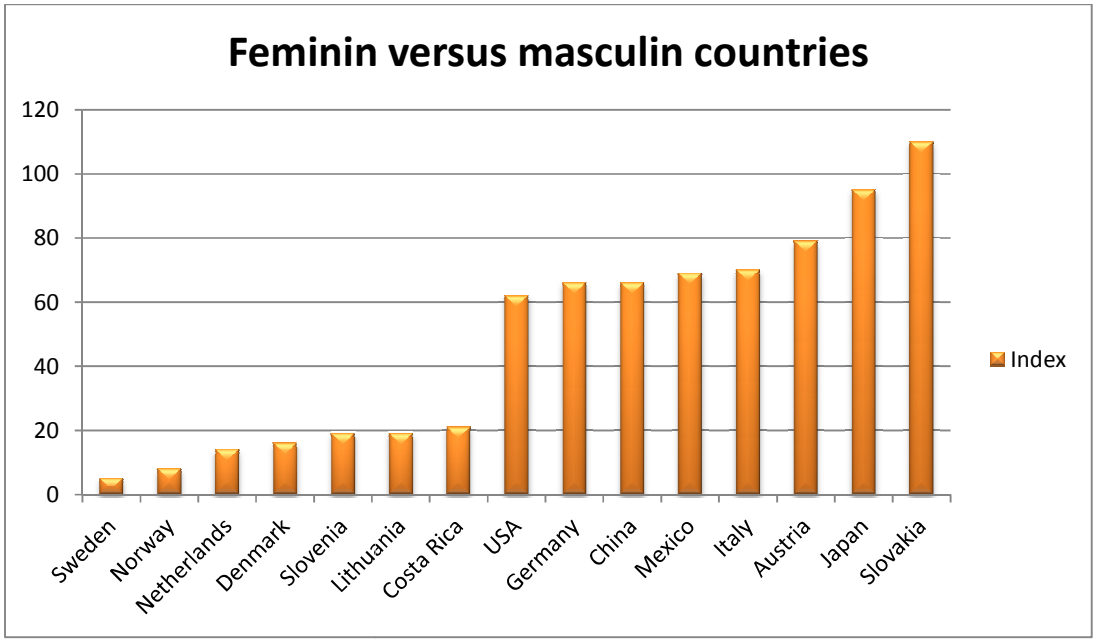
Japan, USA, Austria, Germany, Italy have the highest degree of masculinity. It is interesting to note that femininity/masculinity cultural dimension is not connected with wealth. The richest countries in the world, Scandinavian countries are feminine countries. However, Japan, USA, Austria and Germany are also very rich countries, but they have a masculinity culture. However, Costa Rica, a poor country, has a feminine culture, in contrast to Latin-American counties like Mexico and Venezuela that have a masculine culture.

Table 2. High degree femininity countries

Country	Masculinity index	Rank (out of 76 countries)
Sweden	5	76
Norway	8	75
Netherlands	14	73
Denmark	16	72
Slovenia	19	70-71
Lithuania	19	70-71
Costa Rica	21	69

Source: Hofstede, G., G. J. Hofstede, and M. Minkov. (2010).

Chart 1. Feminine versus masculine countries



Source: Hofstede, G., G. J. Hofstede, and M. Minkov. (2010).

Femininity Cultural Dimension in Bosnia and Herzegovina

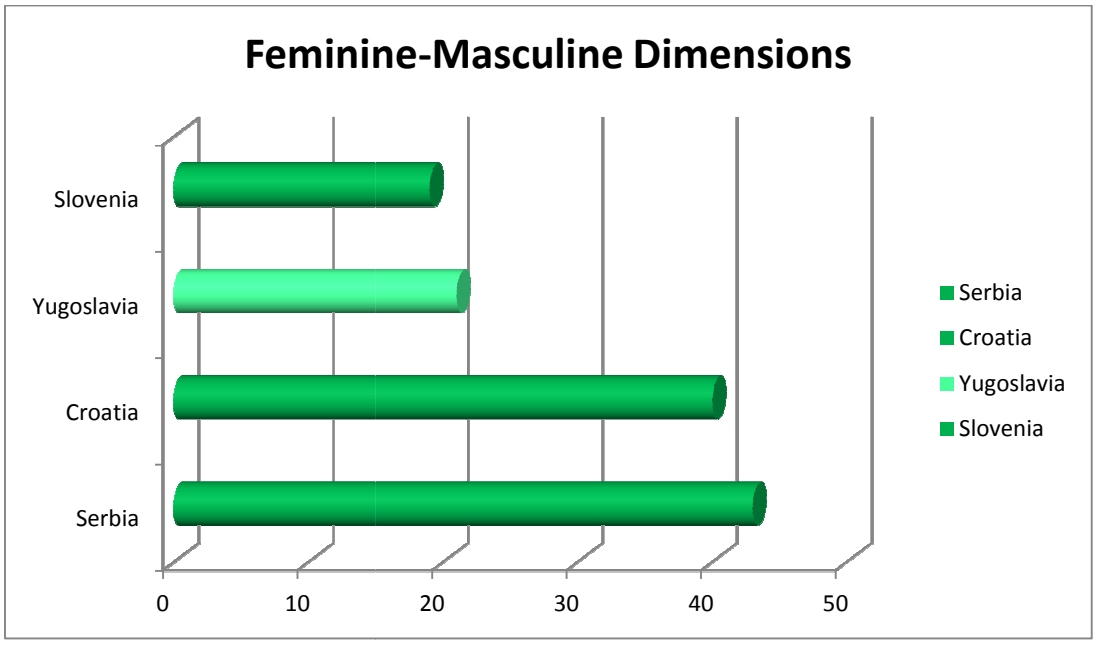
There is no femininity/masculinity index value for Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, there are data for former Yugoslavia, of which Bosnia and Herzegovina was part in the time when this research was done. In Hofstede's calculations, Yugoslavia was located very high, with an index of 21, which means that Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as part of it, belong to the countries where the femininity index is quite high. Data on neighboring countries, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, which was recalculated based on the original research, also suggests that all these countries have a high femininity, which, based on the principle of correlation, can be claimed for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Slovenia shared 70th and 71st place, what indicates very high femininity. Croatia shared 55th and 58th place and Serbia 47th and 50th place. All these dates indicate feminine cultures.

Table 3. Rank and masculinity index for former Yugoslav countries

194.Country	195.Masculinity index	196.Rank (out of 76 countries)
197.Serbia	198.43	199.47-50
200.Croatia	201.40	202.55-58
203.Slovenia	204.19	205.70-71

Source: Hofstede, G., G. J. Hofstede, and M. Minkov (2010).

Chart 2. Rank and masculinity index for former Yugoslav countries



Source: Hofstede, G., G. J. Hofstede, and M. Minkov (2010).

A country will have a higher femininity culture if women in society are more equal. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country where, through history, women have had certain equality. Illyrian Queen Teuta, has been leading the Illyrian warriors in the battle against Rome. The Bosnian state was ruled by Queen Jelena at the end of the 14th century. Bogomilism, the official Bosnian religion, recognized women equality. Historical data show that many women have been fighting in the battles with Austria. A large number of women participated in the Second World War in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Women were equal during the period of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as we can see from Hofstede's research, whose results place Yugoslavia very high on the feminine side.

Education

In feminine countries, there is equality between genders in life opportunities. We will examine firstly access to education using statistical data. Girls and boys in Bosnia and Herzegovina have the same access to education according to the State statistical agency.

Table 4. Pre-school, primary and secondary education in Bosnia and Herzegovina

206.Year	207.Pre-school		208.Primary		209.Secondary	
210.	211.Girls	212.Boys	213.Girls	214.Boys	215.Girls	216.Boys
217.2010/2011	218.8.066	219.8.962	220.163.056	221.172.347	222.75.076	223.76.604

Source: Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2011)

It is clear from data that both boys and girls have access to pre-school, primary and secondary education. The percentage of boys attending these schools is a little bit higher than girls, but it can be disregarded as the difference is about 1% in all three cases. It is interesting to note that the number of both, boys and girls in pre-schools has been increasing since 2006 and the number of boys and girls in primary schools has been decreasing.

Table 5. Students in higher education

224.Year	225.Students	
226.	227.Female	228.Male
229.2010/2011	230.59.886	231.47.651

Source: Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2011)

Statistical data indicate that female students attend universities in an even larger number than male students. It is obvious from the data that access to higher education is granted to both man and women. Historically, statistical data indicate the increase of number of students, both male and female. It is also interesting to note that the number of full time students has been constantly increasing and the number of part time students has been constantly decreasing, both for female and male students. The number of distance learning students has been increasing for men and women, although these students make just a small percentage of all students.

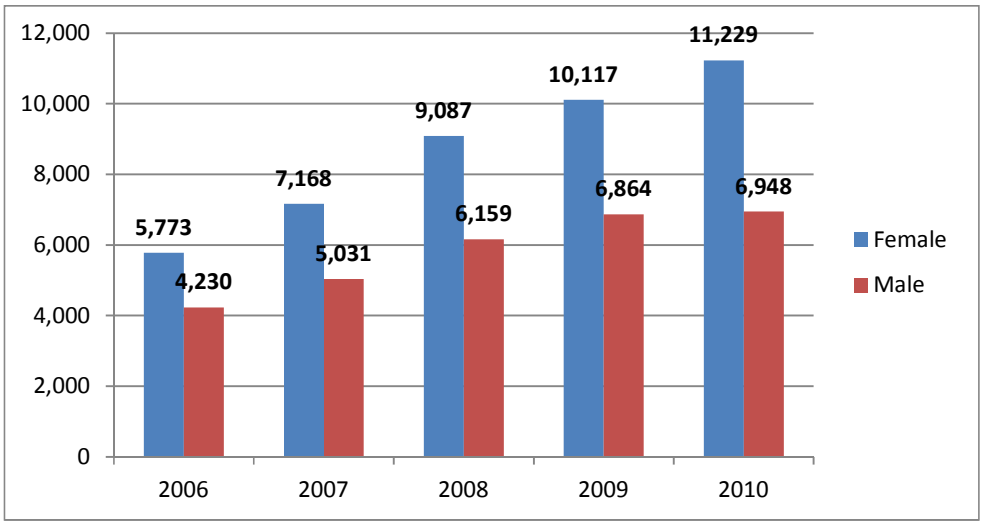
Table 6. Graduated students

232.Year	233.Female students	234.Male students
235.2006	236.5.773	237.4.230
238.2007	239.7.168	240.5.031
241.2008	242.9.087	243.6.159
244.2009	245.10.117	246.6.864
247.2010	248.11.229	249.6.948

Source: Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2011)

Number of graduated female students is higher than the number of graduated male students.

Chart 2. Graduated students by gender and year



Source: Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2011)

Statistical data show that there is the same trend of increase of graduated students, for the both man and women.

Table 7. Master of Science and Doctors of Science

250.Year	251.Master		252.Doctors	
253.	254.Female	255.Male	256.Female	257.Male
258.2006	259.140	260.188	261.54	262.89
263.2007	264.182	265.245	266.45	267.91
268.2008	269.291	270.289	271.59	272.127
273.2009	274.440	275.434	276.56	277.101
278.2010	279.677	280.621	281.89	282.116

Source: Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2011)

There are more women who obtained Master of Science degree than men in the last 5 years. It is visible from the table that the number of students with a master degree, for both women and men, has been constantly increasing in the last 5 years. However, PhD degree seems to be reserved more for man than for women.

Employment

Jobs in pre-school education are reserved for women. In 2011, out of 1,208 educators in pre-school institution, 1,188 were women and just 20 were man. The similar situation is with primary schools where women dominate. There are more women than men teachers in high schools; however, the difference is not so big. There are more men than women working as professors at the university level. Out of 8,643 professor positions in 2011, 3,440 positions were held by women and 5,203 by men.

Politics are reserved for men, according to the statistical data. In the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina, out of the 57 members of Parliament in 2011, 11 were women and 46 were men. The situation in the Council of Ministers is even worse. All 10 ministers in 2008 were men. It is similar at the local administrative levels. Only 3% of women were elected as majors at the local election in 2008. It is interesting to note that women exercise their right to vote in the same percentage as men. The ambassadors and consuls are mainly men. Only 9 women versus 57 men were ambassadors in the year 2011. This percentage was constant from 2006, no increase noted. There are many female judges in the judiciary system. There were 63% female judges and 37% male judges in the year 2010. It is interesting to note that women are dominant in municipality courts, regional courts and cantonal courts. However, the higher the court, the more male judges there are.

The country has a more feminine culture if women participate in business and social life. Research on women leaders, done on a sample of 403 business women from the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2010, shows that business women are highly educated; one third has a masters, PhD or specialization. They work mainly in public administration (52.6%), private companies (36.5%), nongovernmental sector and just a few of them own private companies. Women managers work hard, mostly 40 to 50 hours weekly, although 15% say that they work 60 hours weekly. Women managers expressed satisfaction with their jobs.

Conclusion

We can conclude that Bosnia and Herzegovina still has a feminine culture. This conclusion is based on access to education and access to jobs. Girls and boys in Bosnia and Herzegovina have the same access to education. The number of girls and boys in pre-schools, primary and high schools is about the same. There are more female students, more graduated female students and more female students who obtained Master of Science degrees. However, more men are PhD holders. Women have the same access to jobs as men, except for the highest

positions in society. Women dominate in educational jobs at all levels except universities. There are also more women judges than man. However, politics are reserved for man. Members of the Parliament, ministers and ambassadors are men.

References

Adler, N. J. (2002). *International Dimension of Organization Behavior*. 4th edition. Cincinnati, OH: South Western Thomas Learning

Agencija za statistiku BiH (2011). Women and man in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Thematic bulletin. Sarajevo: Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Cullen, J. B. and Parboteeah, K.P. (2008). *Multinational management: A Strategic Approach*, 4th edition. Mason, OH: Thomson South Western

Economist (2013), Redeemers of a macho society, 15. 06.2013.

Ekapija (2011). Women from NGO sector and company owners in B&H – the most satisfied with their jobs. 01.04.2011. accessible at www.ekapija.ba

Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the mind*. London: McGraw Hill Companies, Inc.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations across Nations*. Thousand Oaks, Ca : Sage publications, Inc,

Hofstede, G., Hofstede G.J., and Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the mind*. 3rd edition. New York: McGraw Hill Companies

THE BALKANS PERCEPTIONS: HISTORICAL AND GEOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS

Muhidin MULALIĆ, Assistant Professor

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
The perceptions of the Balkans, as a region torn apart by the ethnic conflicts, have an historical and geopolitical basis. The term Balkans itself was especially associated with the ethnic and tribal strife during the 1900s and again in the 1990s. Therefore, common perceptions prevail that the term Balkans represents something negative, which is furthermore linked with backwardness, corruption, anarchy, instability, violence, hatred, enmity and bigotry. This paper begins with an analysis of the historical and geographical works that deal with the term Balkans as both geographical and cultural concept. This paper also explores the historical process and the theoretical framework of the Balkans image making based on Todorova's *Imagining Balkans*. The author will analyze and discuss the creation of a contrasting image by Western writers, poets, diplomats and journalists, who purposefully created a negative image of the Balkans. They gradually constructed the Balkans as culturally "the Other" in comparison to Western Europe. The Balkans, as a physical and cultural zone, possesses historical and geographical characteristics and continuity. Therefore, this paper will also address Balkans geopolitics by considering the concepts of crossroads, a buffer zone, transitory culture, cultural periphery, cultural openness, Balkan mentality, and Balkanization.

Keywords: Culture, History, Geography, Geopolitics, the Balkans

The Term Balkans

The perceptions of Balkans, as a region torn apart by the ethnic conflicts, have the historical basis. Therefore, the common perceptions prevail that the term Balkans represents something that is negative, which is furthermore linked with backwardness, corruption, anarchy, instability, violence, hatred, enmity and bigotry. The term itself is often associated with various historical negative events such as the 6th century ethnic and tribal strife, the Ottoman period, the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the World Wars and the 1990s events. However, the events during the 1900s and again during the 1990s had affirmed that hatred and animosity among the people of Balkans has become the destiny of the region. Therefore, due to frequent wars and the destruction in the Balkans, the Europeans, as supposedly civilized, have always considered it as a duty to make arbitration treaties as to stop these wars that were also endangering the foundations of Western civilization (Todorova, 2009, pp. 3-4). However, it is significant to mention that those conflicts among the Balkan nations were often provoked from abroad and they were instrumentalized for the needs of the great powers. The Balkan region has been often represented as an object of the international relations and for centuries this region has been under someone's tutelage. The geopolitical map have been tailored by the interests of the great powers, first of all, the actors of the Ottoman Empire, followed by

the Austrian Hungarian Empire, then Russia and, today, Germany and the US. Therefore, the political geography of the Balkans has changed many times over the centuries mostly through the agency of the major powers who tried to accomplish their objectives in the region.

What is the Balkans? The term Balkans is derived from the highest mountain called in Latin *Hemos.* In Greek same mountainous region is called *Aimos*. The Balkans is also a Turkish word for a chain of wooded mountains, which also signifies the Ottoman legacy. This mountain is concentrated in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula, ranging from the Eastern borders of Bulgaria to the Western borders of former Yugoslavia. The Italian humanist writer Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimaco made the earliest mention of the name Balkans in the fifteenth century. Then Anton Vrančić, who also made reference to the Balkans around same time, was an author of numerous historical and geographical treatises. Many others such as Salomon Schweigger and Martin Grunberg made a mention of the Balkans in their works (Todorova, 2009, pp. 22-26). In 1794, the British traveler John Morritt referred to the Balkans in the English language travel literature. In 1808, the German geographer Johann August Zeune (1778-1853) further developed the term Balkans into a phrase "Balkan Peninsula" that signified region's mountainous terrain. Besides, he was the first who in his works extended the territory of the Balkans. In 1893 the German geographer Theobald Fisker insisted on the name "Southeast Europe" or in German language *Südosteuropa*.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Balkans was affirming itself in place of "European Turkey." Therefore historians and geographers used the term Balkan as a substitution to "European Turkey" and the Ottoman territories in Europe, which was clearly shown on old maps. After the Berlin Congress this term underwent significant changes. Therefore, due to negative meanings of the term Balkans some give preference to Southeast Europe as an alternative. The main role for revitalizing the term Balkan had Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijic (1865-1927) who published his work *Balkan Peninsula – Human Geography*. In his work Cvijic (1918) extended the territory of the Balkans to Croatia and Slovenia as to justify the establishment of the first Slavic state. Besides he also introduced the conception of *homo balcanicus* that defined a special character of the Balkan culture and civilization. Similarly, Stoianovich (1994) in his works was also discussing a very unique character of the Balkan culture and civilization.

The present usage of the term Southeast Europe generally denotes a post-socialist states and societies in the Balkans that are in the transition towards the EU integration. Then, the term Western Balkan began to be used in the 1990s. According to Belloni (2009) this term was widely used by the EU to denote the countries that are in the process of approaching and joining the EU. The main objective of the EU towards the Western Balkans is elimination of conflicts and stabilization of the region. From the perspective of the political geography, Western Balkans is an integral part of Europe but it is also a relatively autonomous sub-region.

Imagining the Balkans

What are the perceptions of the Balkans and its inhabitants worldwide? Historical process and the theoretical framework of the Balkans image making could be rightly derived from Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Todorova's *Imagining Balkans*. Edward Said's work *Orientalism* laid down the methodological basis of how an image of "the Other" could be

constructed and deconstructed. According to him such construction of "the Other" was important not only to show Western supremacy over the Orient but also to justify colonial politics, economics and hegemony over the centuries across the Orient. Therefore, in order to justify Western colonial and postcolonial politics, Western writers presented Oriental cultures, traditions and societies as inferior and as a static to those in the West. More importantly, centuries old Oriental image-making process resulted in the creation of a bias which is deeply imbedded in the Western consciousness. Thus, mystifying "the Other" eventually begins to take place in the form of one's own biases, which are deeply rooted in our mind and consciousness.

Fleming (2000), who was taking into consideration historical context, also made extensive study on so-called Balkans Orientalism in his work *Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography*. According to Said (1978) Orientalism is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and…'the Occident'" (p. 2). For Europe the Balkans as a negative term represents something that is opposite to the European culture and values. Bakić-Hayden (1995) rightly pointed out that the European subjective representation of Eastern Europe "has been commonly associated with "backwardness," the Balkans with "violence," India with "idealism" or "mysticism," while the west has identified itself consistently with the "civilized world" (p. 917). Usually the Balkans inhabitants are presented as those who do not care to conform to the normative civilized norms of behavior (Todorova, 2009, p. 3). For European diplomats and policy makers the Balkans is always considered to be a periphery or the province and one of the biggest obstacles for European stability, peace and security. For this purpose the notion of Balkanization as a geographical and political term, which signifies territorial and political divisiveness, hatred among the people and even apocalyptic devastation, was introduced by Western scholars. According to Todorova (1994) Balkanization "became a synonym for a reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive, the barbarian" The term Balkanization was frequently used during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), which signified destruction and divisiveness. However, its usage again gained the prominence in the 1990s.

An idea of drawing civilization border lines began with Greeks who introduced the notion of a foreigner or a barbarian when they were referring to the people outside of Greece. Similarly Romans were considering regions on the western and southern borders from their Empire as barbarian lands. Todorova was among the first who applied similar approach in presenting European *Imagining Balkans,* which is same as that of Greek and Roman. By using Said's creation of a contrasting image, Todorova clearly pointed out that European writers, poets, diplomats and journalists have purposefully created a negative image of the Balkans. They gradually constructed the Balkans as culturally "the other." Consequently, the Balkans has always been an object of "externalized political, ideological and cultural frustrations and has served as a repository of negative characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the "European" and "the West" has been constructed" (Todorova, 1994, pp. 455). Obviously such negative international perceptions on the Balkans throughout the history became important in shaping the diplomatic approach towards the region and towards its problems. For instance many works during the 1990s as Kaplan's (1993) *Balkan's Ghosts: A Journey Through History*, which became a bestseller in the United States perhaps due to savage representation of the region, significantly shaped the conception of Western discourse and foreign policy towards the Balkans.

The Balkans signifies not only a geographic position of the given place and region but also a cultural and geopolitical heritage. The Balkans, as a physical and cultural zone, possesses historical and geographical characteristics and continuity. The Balkans as a region

represents a specific crossroads between the East and the West, the North and the South. Such a geographic position gave the Balkans its transition function. Todorova (2009) explained that, being at the crossroads, Balkans signifies "stages of growth and this invokes labels such as semideveloped, semi colonial, semicivilized, semioriental…this in-betweenness of the Balkans, their transitory character, could have made them simply an incomplete other; instead they are constructed not as other but as incomplete" (pp. 16-18). Balkan region has a controversial transition identity and the Balkans is a zone of multiple, very painful and contradictory transitions and transformations. Such transformations are especially apparent in the past few decades. Social theorizing of 'transitory cultures' indicate that societies in the transition are mostly represented as civilizationally incompetent as they are unable to deal with the demands of progress and development (Buchowski, 2006, pp. 469-470). Perhaps due to its transitory and crossroads culture, the Balkan people have been misunderstood and misinterpreted by the great powers. Besides, for Europe this region is even today a periphery to great European culture (Pavlowitch, 2000, pp. 479).

The emergent and/or consolidating intellectual elites in the Balkans have always suffered from a Balkan inferiority complex, which determined their own cultural self-perception and identity for a large degree. After the Cold War, a new turn in the Balkans emerged from the conflicts in ex-Yugoslavia during the 1990s, providing the West with a new civilizing and pacifying mission (Bechev, 2011, pp. 42-44). In the 1990s former Yugoslav republics, especially Slovenia and Croatia, reintroduced a collection of the Balkan tavern (*balkanska krčma*) ascribed to Miroslav Krleža (1893-1981). Accordingly, "*Balkanska krčma* is…a metaphor for a place where the ex-Yugoslav people do not want to be thought to belong to but are afraid that they might be dwelling in: a dark, disorderly society with bloodthirsty company" (Mitani, 2007, pp. 292). Balkan taver conception was widely used during the 1900s, whereby the Balkans region is defined by Anic *et. al.* (2002) in *Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary* "as a bad, primitive society, in which no one would know who drinks and who pays; such a state in society" (*loše, primitivno društvo u kojem se ne zna tko pije a tko plaća; takvo opće stanje u društvu).* Therefore, after 1990s Croatian historiography refused any correlation with the Balkans. According to Croatian historians the term Balkan, which is today widely used for defining geographical and geopolitical position of Croatia, is against the principles upon which geographical regionalization of Europe is based. Similarly, Slovenian historians furthermore do not identify themselves with the Balkans. Actually there is a common subjective tendency for each state to consider other cultures and religions to the south and the east as more conservative and primitive (Bakic-Hayden and M. Hayden, 1992). Therefore, considering past and present predicaments there is a need for the redefinition of the term Balkan. According to Todorova (2009) the term Balkan represents the zone of interaction, a space of permeation and overlapping, where individual and collective identities have constantly been (re)created in the game of attraction and rejection.

Balkans Geopolitics

In his work Mazower (2000) attempted to explore the significance of geography in shaping the Balkans history. He explained that physical geography of the Balkans is characterized by a peninsula shape, high mountains and rivers. The Balkan region is a triangular peninsula surrounded by the Aegean, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic Seas, which served as both barriers and entry points. Although the Balkans is surrounded by the seas, the peninsula is connected with the neighboring regions. Therefore, due to its geographical position the Balkan region has been at the crossroads (Jelavich, 1983, p. 3). The mountains divide the region into small units and thus have enabled distinct ethnic groups to sustain themselves

throughout history. The mountains have also been physical obstacles to regional, political, economic or cultural cooperation. Therefore, throughout the history the ethnic groups had a tendency to create their own distinctive national cultures, local economies and political autonomies. Being too small for communication and transportation, the Balkans rivers had mostly local influence, with an exception of the Danube River. Just as mountains the rivers in the Balkans couldn't play the role of fostering greater unity in the region. Then, knowledge of Balkans national and ethnic groups - Albanians, Greeks, Romanians, Slavs, Hungarians and Turks - is fundamental towards understanding regional history and how regional religions, languages and cultures evolved (Kostanick, 1963, pp. 1-5).

The Balkans was under Greco-Roman, the Byzantine, the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian historical and geographical spheres of influence. As a result of such influence the Balkans became the place of different religions, cultures, heritages and traditions (Jelavich, 1983, pp. 5-14). Besides, due to such interrelationships, and yet despite significant differences, the Balkans represents very unique geographical and cultural whole. The Balkans unique ethnographic, cultural and political mosaic was gradually gaining shape as a result of centuries of civilizational synthesis and influences that were coming from different parts of the world. The Balkans Peninsila, therefore, represents a synthesis of eastern and western worldviews but yet the Balkans unique cultural and civilizational features have been preserved.

Diverse historical experiences and influences contributed towards multidimensional cultural developments of the Balkans. The northwestern parts of the Balkan Peninsula and the Panonian plains mostly belonged to the Habsburgs and as a result this region was significantly under German and Hungarian cultural influence. Then, the Adriatic region was mostly under Roman, Hungarian and Venetian cultural influences. For instance, in the Adriatic region Venetian influences are obvious in the architecture of residential and public buildings. The mountainous interior of the Balkan Peninsula in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania and Bulgaria was under Slavic, Byzantine and Ottoman cultural influences. The central, eastern and southern parts of the Balkans Peninsula were mostly under Byzantine and Ottoman cultural influences. Due to the very long historical and cultural presence in the region, the Ottoman legacy still makes a significant pillar of the Balkans identity (Mazower, 2000, pp. 17-19).

Geographical and historical features of the Balkans indicate significance of cultural influences on the Balkans. From historical and cultural perspectives, Balkans encompasses diverse cultural traits. Being culturally open, the heritage of the Balkans is interwoven with foreign and yet friendly cultures. Therefore, from a cultural perspective, the Balkans has been very unique throughout the history and, as its heritage indicates, it belongs neither to the West nor to the East but contains elements of both. The Balkans has significant historical and geopolitical experience in keeping Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Western Catholic Christianity at balance while at the same time maintaining religious diversity from within. Then, the Balkans during the time of Ottomans developed unique historical multicultural experience from within and the Balkans was used for the constructive dialogue of the world of Islam with the West.

Historical and cultural diffusion in the Balkans is often associated with the Greeks, Romans, Byzantinians, Ottomans and Austro-Hungarians. They left great mark on the cultural map of the Balkan Peninsula. Their legacy is clearly visible in the Balkans arts,

architectures, literature, religions, culture and traditions. Considering this short overview of cultural and civilizational syntheses in the Balkans it is obviously wrong to define the Balkans as “a cultural and a civilizational periphery”. Besides, the Balkans association with cultural underdevelopment, backwardness and divisiveness is certainly in contrast to the Balkan Peninsula which has always been open to other cultures, civilizations and traditions. Actually, due to different historical circumstances the Balkans has been more prone towards openness and cultural synthesis than some other parts of the world. Therefore, the Balkans geographical and cultural “openness” to different civilizations, empires and nations indicate that the Balkans people managed to deal with the burden of their past successfully since they assimilated foreign cultural elements without loosing their own Balkans identity. The dynamics of formation of a unique Balkans Eurasian culture depended on geographical and historical features of crossroads that was in contrast with the geography and history of isolation and separation. Due to these reasons Greek historian Kitromilides (1996) coined the term “Balkan mentality” as to denote special features of the Balkans cultural identity, which gradually evolved due to the convergence of local and foreign cultures. Similarly, Stoianovich (1994) attempted to define a particular Balkans moral value system based on honor and shame.

Balkans geopolitics has always been outside of the European politics, being so-called the "periphery of Europe" and “a buffer zone.” Actually the Balkans existence has been explained and justified as serving as “a demarcation line” between the barbarian lands and Europe. Serbian historiography has been entirely based on an idea that the people of the Balkans defended European borders and Christianity, worthy of a martyr, against the Turks preventing their further advance towards Western Europe (Anzulovic, 1999, pp. 124). Throughout the history due to strong “imperial presence” the Balkans significance declined and, on the contrary, the Balkans grew dependent on the great powers beginning from the Ottomans until today. The Western Balkans countries were prevented to shape their own policies as during the time of former Yugoslavia. During this time Western Balkans was much more autonomous as it played a neutral role between two blocks during the Cold War. Such active geopolitical role has never ever been revitalized.

The Balkans region, especially former Yugoslavia as one of its largest parts, has enjoyed peace for almost 50 years during the Cold War. During this period the Balkans acted as “a buffer zone” between East and West. However, Balkans role as a buffer zone came to an end after the Cold War. As a result, the Balkans again gained an attention from Russia and became an important geopolitical bridge towards Western Europe. Such geopolitical and geostrategic planning of Russia is apparent with regards to gas and oil. Due to Russian *South Stream* gas pipeline project the Balkans became an important energy transforming center of Europe (Toci, 2011, pp. 553-570). These new geostrategic games over the pipeline are reviving Russian historical interests in the Balkans. Due to Russian geostrategic interests the American influence in the Balkans has also been greatly manifested during the last fifty years of the 20th century. According to Sztompka (1996) the end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new "silent" struggle between two great rivals for control of energy resources and supply routes. Both countries became interested in covering the areas of the Balkans.

According to Bechev (2011), since 1990s the Balkan region became the new geopolitical strategic center. The Balkans that has always been perceived as turbulent and prone to instability is located at the southernmost limit of the geopolitical zones of the so-called Soviet system, and somehow did not belong to either Europe or Asia. However, after the Cold War the strategic position and importance of the Balkans have completely changed.

Moreover, the Balkans is still considered vulnerable geostrategic area. However, only economic development could position Balkans at the heart of Europe, with much more active involvement in the Euro-Atlantic area.

Great powers have dominion over the Balkans. Twenty years after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the government of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo have returned to their traditional model of being externally managed by great powers. This time, the European Union and NATO, as well as Russia and Turkey are those external powers that affect the Balkan states. Although they are much weaker than the times when they were empires, Russia and Turkey are experiencing a rebirth. Russia in the energy sector and Turkey in commerce and trade have been playing significant political and economic role in the Balkans. Moreover, Austria maintains a strong presence in the banking system. These powers will continue to maintain their political and economic interests in the Balkans.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has indicated that the perception of Balkans as a region torn apart by the ethnic conflicts was gradually created by the great powers. Therefore, history and geography played significant role in shaping negative perceptions of the Balkans. On the other hand, the historical and geographical features of the Balkans also indicate significance of cultural influences on the Balkans. Therefore, spreading much more positive image of the Balkans should be cultivated and inculcated from within and across the region. The Balkan states should use cultural diplomacy in determining their constructive character. There is an urgent need for the cultural diplomacy for the sake of changing the Balkans image remained from the 1990s.

Certainly, culture could be essential tool in fostering effective regional cooperation, especially by placing emphasis on cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. This paper has suggested that the Balkans should utilize its geopolitical position by strengthening common socio-political and economic interests further. Similarly, in order to transform their bitter past relations, the Balkan states need also to consider inevitable current state of regional interdependence. The Balkans has potentials from turning itself from a ‘bridge’ and ‘buffer zone’ to the geopolitical center and decisive subject of world politics. The Balkans common cultural values and interdependence open up many opportunities for cooperation in trade, communication, energy and security.

References

Anić, Vladimir et al. 2002. *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik* [Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary]. Zagreb: Novi Liber.

Anzulovic, Branimir. 1999. *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide*. London: C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.

Bakic-Hayden, Milica. 1995. “Nesting Orientalism: The Case of Former Yugoslavia.” *Slavic Review* 54/4, pp. 917-931.

Bakic-Hayden Milica and Robert M. Hayden. 1992. “Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 1-15

Bechev, Dimitar. 2011. *Constructing South East Europe: The Politics of Balkan Regional Cooperation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Belloni, R. 2009. "European integration and the Western Balkans: lessons, prospects and obstacles." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 11, 3, pp. 313-331.

Buchowski, Michał. 2006. 'The Specter of Orientalism in Europe: From Exotic Other to Stigmatized Brother', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 79 (3), pp. 463-82.

Cvijić, Jovan. 1918. "The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula." *Geographical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 6, pp. 470-482

Edward, W. Said. 1978. *Orientalism.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Fleming, Katherine E. 2000. "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography." *American Historical Review* 1005/4, pp. 1218-1233.

Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. *History of the Balkans: Vol. I: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaplan, D. Robert. 1993. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Keiko, Mitani. 2007. "*Balkan* as a Sign: Usage of the Word B*alkan* in Language and Discourse of the ex-Yugoslav People." In Tadayuki Hayashi and Fukuda Hiroshi, (Eds.) *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present*, Tokyo: The Slavic Research Center.

Kitromilides, Paschalis. 1996. "Balkan Mentality: History, Legend, Imagination," *Nations and Nationalism,* 2 (2), pp. 163 – 91

Kostanick, Louis Huey. 1963. "The Geopolitics of the Balkans." In Charles and Barbara Jelavich (Eds.) *Balkans in Transition.* California: University of California Press.

Mazower, Mark. 2000. *The Balkans: A Short History.* New York: The Modern Library.

Pavlowitch, S. 2000. *History of the Balkans, 1804-1945*. London: Pearson, Education Ltd.

Stoianovich, Traian. 1994. *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe.* Armonk, NY and London, England: M. E. Sharpe.

Sztompka, Piotr. 1996. "Looking Back: The Year of 1989 as a Cultural and Civilizational Break." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies.* 29, (2): 115-129.

Todorova, Maria. 1994. "The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention." *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 453-482

Todorova, Maria. 2009. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Toci, Clirim. 2011. "Russian Federation's Foreign Policy towards the Balkans." In Cuneyt Yenigun and Ferdinand Gjana (eds). *Balkans: Foreign Affairs, Politics and Socio-Cultures*. Tirana: Epoka University.

CONCEPT OF IDENTITY AND SENSE OF BELONGING IN CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WHITE AND ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS FEATURED IN THE SECRET RIVER BY KATE GRENVILLE AND LISTENING TO COUNTRY BY ROS MORIARTY

Vesna SULJIĆ, English Language Instructor

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract

The article *Concept of identity and sense of belonging in cross-cultural relationships between white and Aboriginal Australians* examines issues of identity and the sense of belonging as well as cross-cultural relationships between two races – the white Australians of European descent, and the black Aboriginal race – featured in Kate Grenville's *The Secret River* (2005) and Ros Moriarty's *Listening to Country (*2010*)*. The research methods include: evaluation of the primary sources, literary reviews, and literary theory of outsiders within society discussed by contemporary literary critics. There are several converging points in these two literary works – they are both written by female authors; they both focus on the contacts of different races in the same geographical environment; and both authors address the issue of cross-cultural relationships. The differences between the two works are, however, that the protagonists live through sharply opposed experiences; that they are two hundred years apart; that their sense of identity and belonging as well as their awareness and knowledge of the different cultures are vastly influenced by their education; and that they have different opportunities and freedom in making life choices. Grenville's *The Secret River* provides an example where cultural misunderstanding arises from ignorance and fear which indicates that what is different is dangerous and causes horrific consequences. On the other hand, Moriarty's *Listening to Country* demonstrates that where there is desire and openness of mind and heart, boundaries stretch and new horizons widen, which means that what is different is interesting. Both authors have raised their voice and used literary tools to describe what it means to be different, why the differences can make people fear each other, and how they can make them closer.

Keywords: Identity, Cross-Cultural Relationships, Australian, Aboriginal, sense of belonging.

Introduction

The twenty-first century has shown the power of cultural exchanges. Due to globalization, mass media, easier transportation and exchange of information, cultural boundaries have extended immeasurably. However, there are fears that that by keeping their sets of beliefs, traditions and customs, ethnic minorities would affect or endanger the culture of the majority in a society. Social inclusion of „outsiders from within", such as people of different ethnic background, race, skin, or economic status, and their further interaction with the mainstream

society can be a powerful catalyst of change of attitudes and improvement in intercultural relationships worldwide. Nevertheless, there must be the desire and effort put in to achieve such targets.

This paper will examine issues of identity and sense of belonging as well as cross-cultural relationships between two races – the white Australians of European descent, and the black Aboriginal race –featured in Kate Grenville's *The Secret River* and Ros Moriarty's *Listening to Country* from the perspectives of feminist-postcolonial literary criticism and diacritical hermeneutics. It will address the issues of identity, the notion of Self embedded in the social and natural environments of the female protagonists in the two works. It will also contrast their life experiences in regards to the effects of the colonization of Australia.

There are several converging points in these two literary works – they are both written by female authors; they both focus on the contacts of different races in the same geographical environment; and both works address the issue of cross-cultural relationships. Their differences are, however, that the protagonists live through sharply opposed experiences, that they are two hundred years apart and that their sense of identity and belonging is vastly influenced by institutional policies, by freedom in making life choices, as well as by their education, awareness and knowledge of and access to different cultures.

The Authors

Kate Grenville has been acknowledged and acclaimed for her work on *The Secret River*, which is a part of a trilogy, and for which she has won a number of literary awards, including: the Commonwealth Prize for Literature; the Christina Stead Prize for Fiction (the NSW Premier's Prize); the Community Relations Commission Prize; the Booksellers' Choice Award; the Fellowship of Australian Writers Prize and the Publishing Industry Book of the Year Award. It was also shortlisted for the Miles Franklin Award and the Man Booker Prize, and included in the list for the IMPAC Dublin prize. The book has received affirmative reviews both in Australia and abroad. „Orange Prize-winner Kate Grenville presents a powerful portrait of the conflict between convicts and Aborigines in The Secret River", says Geraldine Bedell from the Observer (22.01.2006); Helen Brown from the Telegraph (5.2.2006) appreciates the rich and colorful description of "an Australia so overwhelmingly beautiful"; and Jem Poster from the Guardian (28.6.2006) claims that Grenville's novel is "an outstanding study of cultures in collision".

The second author whose work will be examined is Ros Moriarty. Having married John Moriarty, an Aboriginal and also a victim of the Stolen Generation, Ros Moriarty, a Tasmanian born of Anglo-Saxon descent, was drawn into exploring Aboriginal spirituality and practices and was able to embrace both cultures and learn from each one. She acknowledges the values of being bicultural in the multicultural Australia. Moriarty has been a relentless advocate for keeping the Aboriginal culture, tradition and customs from dying out. Inspired by the traditional paintings and Dreamtime stories, the Moriartys started the family business which resulted in further promotion of the Aboriginal culture to the world. They designed textiles with the Aboriginal motifs, and the highly successful Australian airline company – Qantas – had John's totem – a kangaroo – painted on the bodies of its aircrafts. Throughout '80s and '90s of the last century, the Moriartys promoted *Balarinji* designs in the world, participated in the world exhibitions and encouraged numerous Aboriginal artists to present their works of art, which stirred international interest comparable to that which had occurred in Europe at the end of the 19th century with the discovery of Japanese and Chinese art and literature.

Ros Moriarty challenges former and contemporary Australian government policies, and presents with substantial evidence the current situation in the Aboriginal community at Borroloola, in Australia's Northern Territory, and across Australia. *Listening to Country*

provides insights into the Aboriginal history, culture and laws, and into the women's Law business in particular, making a statement in regards to the Aboriginal relationship to the land**.** It explores the Aboriginal sense of identity and unity in the myriad of different Aboriginal cultural practices. The book has been warmly received by the audience as well as critics. It was shortlisted for *The Age* Book of the Year 2010 as well as for *2010 Human Rights Literature Non-fiction Award.*

Two Hundred Years Apart

According to Peter Craven, reviewer from the prominent Australian newspaper, The Age, *The Secret River* is „full of contemporary insight and it is also a subtle expression in fictional terms of the myth of collective guilt for the fate of the Aborigines." For years, the highest government officials declined to offer an official apology to the Aboriginal population for the atrocities committed by ordinary citizens and which were also approved by the previous governments, claiming that today's generations cannot be responsible for what has been done in the past. Tasmania has become infamous as one of the first and worst penal colonies for convicts brought from England in the early nineteenth century, but also as a place of genocide of Aborigines in 1850s. However, in the interview to Radio National given on 11th May 2010, Moriarty states that during her childhood in Davenport, Tasmania, she had not known a single Aboriginal person. In this respect, *The Secret River* is a literary attempt to acknowledge the sufferings of the natives as well as to provide a historical backdrop for the actions done in the past.

Grenville's book was published in 2005, and Moriarty's in 2010. In between, in February 2008, the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Kevin Rudd, said the long waited "Sorry" to the so- called Stolen Generation of Aborigines for the sufferings and pains inflicted by the Australian Government in the infamous policy which disrupted Aboriginal tradition and caused irrevocable damages to their sense of identity and belonging. Aboriginal children were removed from their natural families and placed in foster care with the white Australian families, or in the Christian church missions of various denominations. In accordance with the colonial practices, such actions were done on the pretext to care better for the children because the Aboriginals were considered less responsible parents than the white ones. In fact, the government policy intended to speed up the process of integration and assimilation of numerous Aboriginal communities into the white community of Australians. Consequently, the children were forbidden, or were not taught, to speak their tribal languages, and having been removed from their cultural environment, thousands of years of cultural heritage could not be passed on. In the period between 1909 and 1969, about one hundred thousand Australian-Aboriginal children were separated from their families – parents and siblings, many of whom never learnt who their parents or kin had been. Moriarty's husband was one of the victims of the Stolen Generation. It took 30 years for John to re-connect with his maternal culture. Although the official apology by the Prime Minister, however, was limited only to the Stolen Generation, it has been viewed as an important, essential first step in an attempt to reconcile with the victims and their families, and reconstruct the contemporary Australian history in order to build better relationships in the future.

Identity and the Sense of Belonging

A culture can be regarded as a boundary which encompasses individual identities in a collective environment. Individuals can feel their sense of identity based on their individual past experiences, status or education in a collective environment; or, their sense of collective identity can be based on race, ethnicity or religion they share with others. The core values of the culture are expressed through norms and rules imposed by the communal beliefs, interests, tradition or other important collective historical terms of reference. Mack-Canty

suggests that culture is related to men, and the human capacity to dominate nature. The nature, on the other hand, is referred to as female due to its reproductive capacity. According to eco-feminism, our behaviors affect our relationships with others – both human and nonhuman (2004:169).

The feeling of being protected, safe and secure in society gives individuals affirmation of belonging to the society. Communication plays a crucial role in sharing information, beliefs, customs, tradition, social expectations and the relationships between individuals and in society as a whole. Therefore, communication and the common language as well as willingness to understand, accept and/or adopt cultural differences are essential for good cross-cultural relationships. "Giving in is not a sign of weakness, rather it reflects tolerance, self-control, flexibility and maturity." (Gudykunst, 15) Grenville's *The Secret River* provides an example in which cultural misunderstandings arise from ignorance and fear from the Other, thus indicating that what is different is dangerous and can cause horrific consequences. Moriarty's *Listening to Country*, on the other hand, demonstrates that where there is desire and openness of mind and heart, boundaries stretch and a new horizon widens. That means that what is different is appealing. Being different can enrich individuals and their sense of identity and belonging and thus they can go beyond the limitations of mono-cultural boundaries. In order to **belong**, you do not have to **be long** there; however, if you will **be longing** for another place to return, you will never feel **belonging** in the place where you are.

The starting point for both authors is that they both set on a journey in which they address the same issue: the concept of identity – **who** am I; and the concept of belonging – **whose** am I? In the following paragraphs, particular attention will be paid to identification of terms related to concepts of identity, belonging, and culture, so that these, at times opposing meanings, can provide a clearer picture of these concepts explored by the two authors. Identity can be interpreted twofold: as being a part of an entity; or as being unique. The same can apply to the sense of belonging: you can either belong to an entity; or, you can belong to yourself. Identity as being part of an entity is imposed by society through customs, rules, and laws. For example, you belong to a certain gender, or culture, or society the laws of which you abide. On the other hand, identity as being unique is achieved through self-exploration, education, family, or societal support. Identity is identified in dictionaries as the quality or condition of being a specified person or thing; or a person can have a particular identity if the person has been a long resident, or well known in a place. (The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary) An identity crisis occurs when an individual needs to establish an identity in relation to society. The root of the word, however, comes from the late Latin *identitas* which was derived from the Latin *idem* meaning *same*. Therefore both contradicting meanings are implied by the same word – one meaning the same as others in a particular entity, or environment; the other means an entity which is completely different, unique. Synonyms related to the first meaning of the word are: sameness, oneness, unanimity, indistinguishability; and for the second meaning, they are: personality, individuality, distinctiveness, uniqueness, particularity, singularity.

The concept of belonging also bears several meanings which, nevertheless, converge to the point of: having the right personal or social qualities to be a member of a particular group; or to be rightly placed or classified; or to fit a particular environment. (The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary) Etymology of the word belong goes back to Middle English, where *belong* is related to Old English *gelang* meaning *at hand, together with*. Synonyms related to the meaning of belonging are: association, connection, alliance, relationship, affinity, relation. The notion of culture refers to the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively; a refined understanding of such achievements, and also intellectual development; the customs, civilization and achievements of a particular

time or people. The word culture comes to modern English from Middle English, which derived it from French *culture* or Latin *cultura*, where the root of the word is in *cult,* meaning *to worship*. Synonyms for culture are: cultivation, refinement, sophistication, (good) breeding, background, education, enlightenment, learning, taste, discrimination (!), discernment; but also, civilization, customs, lifestyle, way of life, sense of values. When we talk of a culture bond, we refer to something which is restricted in character or outlook by belonging to a particular culture. A culture shock is the feeling of disorientation experienced by a person suddenly subjected to an unfamiliar culture or way of life. To conclude this list of terms directly associated with this topic, a colloquial expression a culture vulture, besides its obviously alliterative and humorous characteristics, also refers to a person who is eager to acquire culture.

In both *The Secret River* and *Listening to Country,* there are numerous examples of different identities, a different sense of belonging, various cultural bonds, as well as experiences of a culture shock. As Ros Moriarty identified her reasons for telling the story, there is

> something of the spiritual wealth that wraps these (Aboriginal) women tightly together, and which has taught them the rules for happy lives. It would be a story, too, of Australian identity and its future in the face of the catastrophic legacy colonial collision continues to inflict on Aboriginal people. Why to tell it would be to open the window to the times of Yanyuwa Law women. To reveal a glimpse of the philosophy they have gleaned along humanity's pathway of more than forty thousand years, set down by the oldest living culture on Earth. I felt that in this story others would find moments of inspiration and revelation along their own life journeys, as I had. (2010:2,3)

Kate Grenville was inspired to write a story while researching about her own family history – a story of the white settlers coming to Australia, first as convicts, then as settlers-emancipists, occupying the land which they claimed from the indigenous inhabitants. Ros Moriarty, on the other hand, set on a journey to explore the core of spirituality and the sense of identity of the Aboriginal culture to which her husband proudly belongs and which she also feels to be part of. Although both authors come from an Anglo-Saxon background, they address cross-cultural issues between the two races with compassion, divulging the most horrific episodes from the clashes between the two cultures which have occurred during the two hundred years of co-existence of the two races in the same land.

In their literary forms, the two stories are quite different. Grenville's is a fictional-historical rendition of the events set in 1806, while Moriarty's is an intimate diary in which she depicts her encounters with Aboriginal Law women in 2006. As a former journalist with Radio Australia and having worked in the Department for Indigenous Affairs, Women's Issues and the Environment, Moriarty also tells the story of a contemporary Australia. There is a time span of two hundred years between the two stories. The two works will be compared from the aspects of identity and the sense of belonging of the main protagonists – Sal and Will Thornhill from *The Secret River*, and Ros Moriarty and the Law women from *Listening to Country*.

What is Different is Threatening – *The Secret River*

The story of the Thornhill family, set in the Dickensian-style early nineteenth century dark and gloomy London, continues in Sydney where Will Thornhill, an outsider in the highly-stratified society, was sent in lieu of a death sentence which he had earned for some petty crime. Will's wife, Sal, is firstly portrayed as a modest, quiet, devoted daughter and wife, whose moral values degrade due to their unbearable life conditions in London. However, she grows into a strong and competent mother and partner. After their arrival to Sydney, Sal is

assigned a new role – having a legal status of a free person, she is in charge of her convict husband, who has to work for her until he eventually gets (buys) his pardon (by getting his "ticket of leave") and becomes an emancipist – a freed convict. Neither Sal nor Will wanted to go to Australia. Neither of them had the opportunity to get an education or earn a comfortable living while in England. Their departure to Australia was not their choice, but a matter of dire circumstances to save Will's life. In Australia, after gaining his freedom, Will Thornhill suddenly recognizes vast opportunities opened up for him – he is able to own land, something he had never imagined he could have in his home country. He is resolute not to miss it. Sal, on the other hand, wishes that she, her husband and their children could go back home. Having left her familiar territory, Sal experiences displacement and struggles to establish and create a new identity. She cannot accept that the new land, with all the odd things around her – from vegetation, to climate, animals, and the natives who are dark and scary – could be a substitute for her homeland.

> To the Englishmen especially, Australia was a land of deviations and contrarieties. It departed from their norm. There, convicts – the very outcasts of their own society – grew rich as emancipists and became influential in the land. There, signs of real prosperity and social mobility marked a country where the refuse, the dregs of civilized society, were consigned. It was not just the plants or animals that veered so sharply from their European kind. *(*Moyal. 67*)*

Contrary to Will, Sal feels alien in the new land. She does not feel safe there, although living conditions are in some ways much superior to those she had in England. William works hard and Sal runs the inn, they keep saving and fancy about their future – to go back to England one day where they would own a house and a business with the money they will make in Australia, and where people would regard them with respect brought by ownership of a property. "He knew he would make a good rich man, having had so much practice as a poor one. A little luck, a deal of hard work: with those, nothing could stop them" (Grenville. 87). Still, Sal feels estranged because coming to Australia was not her choice in the first place. "Out on Sydney Cove, pulling an oar, Thornhill could imagine himself back on the Thames, but Sal could never for a moment stop seeing the differences between that place and this. (…) It was exhausting to look at: different everywhere and yet everywhere the same." (87/88) The color of leaves is different – not lush green as she was used to, but a washed-out silvery grey. There are new insects, lizards, vegetation. Christmas comes in the summer. There is no twilight. "Darkness came down sudden and absolute." (88) She is homesick and cannot let go. Referring to Freudian hermeneutics, Richard Kearney in *Stranger, Gods and Monsters* (2005) argues that when we are not at home with our own selves, we tend to project our unconscious fears onto others thus creating a deeper gap between the self and the object of one's fear.

At home, Sal keeps her dreams alive and ensures that the children learn about her home country. Her relationships are limited to her children and a few Anglo-Saxon settlers. She teaches her children nursery rhymes and persistently talks about streets and squares and buildings around the place where she and Will were born. From all the children, only the eldest Willie, a twelve year boy, has some vague memories of London, which they left when he was about five. Of other five children, one was born on the way to Australia, and the rest in Australia. "As far as the other children were concerned, though, the place their mother and father called Home was nothing more than a word, something they needed to be taught." (219) For children it is incomprehensible since the only environment they know or remember is the Australian one. They cannot understand Sal's longing, nor could they picture those strange buildings or remember unfamiliar names of places. "London, that place of hard stone

and cobbles, was becoming just another story, its exact shape gone fluid." (217) Their place and heart are there where they are growing up, which creates their Australian identity. The children feel that they belong where they are. This creates more alienation between Sal, her husband – a prospective businessman - and their children.

> It is Sal who tries to establish friendly relationships with the natives, by providing them with food and trying to negotiate contacts by keeping them at a pleasant but safe distance. However, there is a lack of knowledge of each other's culture; there is a lack of communication due to inability to speak each other's language; and there is also a mutual belief in superiority of one's own culture. Most ideas of identity have been constructed in relation to some notion of alterity (Kearney, 65). For the Thornhills, Aboriginals are strange to the extent of being monstrous. Aboriginals know their territory. It is their land. The Thornhills feel threatened, although they are those who usurped the land (or, according to law practices of the time, were *not forbidden* to take) to settle down. In a hurry to mark their territory, the Thornhills build fences. They could not know that there is no notion of land-ownership ingrained in the Aboriginal culture. For Will, he works on the land, produces crops, grows farm animals, builds a house, he has the right to the land – the land he occupied belongs to him and his family. Aboriginals, on the other hand, seem not to be interested in any farm work.

> Thornhill stared at the patch of dirt, drying grey now the sun was on it. Dick would be right, except that everyone knew the blacks did not plant things. They wondered about, taking food as it came under their hand. They might grub things out of dirt if they happened on them, or pick something off a bush as they passed. But, like children, they did not plant today so that they could eat tomorrow. It was why they were called savages. (141)

In the brief encounters with them, Will and Sal notice that Aboriginal families are always "busy" singing to their children, chatting, laughing, playing, or just plain sitting and doing nothing. Both adults and children go around mostly naked. "It seemed that they did not even feel naked. They were clothed in their skins, the way Sal was clothed in her shawl and skirt." (194) Sal shows intelligence as a business woman. She trades some of her clothes with Aboriginal women and gets some of their handicraft in return. "Will, look what I got! (…) Mrs. Herring says gentry pay good money for them kind of things, back Home. I get one a month for five years, we'll make a pretty penny when we go back." (201)

From the Thornhills' point of view, Aboriginals are lazy and do not care for the land, so there is no feeling of guilt or injustice for taking the land from them – the land was there anyway, and it is vast and unused. This stereotype was shared by most newcomers to Australia. Aboriginal practices of burning the land for the purpose of clearing it from the pest, or for hunting purposes, or for tribal signaling – which has been in use for tens of thousands of years – could not be understood by the new settlers. Aboriginal fire-stick farming is not considered a serious cultivating activity. „Burn the whole place for a couple of lizards. Got less sense than that babe there." (223) For the white settlers, a fire is a symbol of destruction, of punishment; or of the uncontrollable power of nature; or of the insignificance of man's efforts because they can be destroyed so easily. Therefore, a fire is a threat.

Social status and the land ownership relationships have been historically interacted and legally founded in most communities around the world, where the land owners have had the power over those who have worked on the land for them. In the Aboriginal culture, nevertheless, the land could not be owned because it belongs to all who inhabit it – the living

and the spirits – therefore, there is no need to divide it, fence it, or possess it in any manner. In the article *Country belonging to me,* Jessie Mitchell (2011) elaborates that colonists asserted that Aborigines had no legal or moral claim to the land, as they had never owned or used it productively. It seems to the Thornhills that everyone was gentry in the Aboriginal society because they never work on the land.

The second generation, Sal's and Will's seven-year old son Dick, crosses the boundaries – both physical, social and cultural – and gets closer to the dark-skinned people. He is fascinated by the ability of one of them to make fire by using only a stick and a stone. The boy makes his father meet the man. Despite his obvious uneasiness and feeling of losing face for not being able to compete with the Aboriginal in this ancient practice, Will starts to realize that the difference in appearance is no longer so striking. He becomes aware that there are more similarities than differences between the two races. „With no one but blacks around him, other than his own son, Thornhill saw that their skins were not black, no more than his own was white. They were simply skins, with the same pores and hairs, the same shadings of color as his own." (214)

The Aboriginal spiritual gathering – a ceremony – inflicts terror upon the Thornhills who believe that the natives are preparing for war – to kill the white settlers.

> A circle of men stamped and jumped around the fire, and one sat at the wide side with his legs crossed and his face tilted up, singing in that way that made everything urgent. They were striped with white, their faces masks in which their eyes moved. The firelight made them insubstantial, webs of light dancing. (242)

As women and children also have their faces painted and as they join in by clapping sticks together, Thornhill concludes that it was "war paint. They're doing bleeding war dance (…) and he realized he had been expecting this moment for a long time" (243). Although Sal is threatened by the behavior of the natives which she cannot understand, her husband feels he belongs in the new land. He feels a master of his destiny there, he feels free, and a man of his own. He feels he could not let it all go because of some blacks' threat. The language as the communication barrier can account for cultural misunderstandings. Those who are in marginalized or less powerful groups must learn to be bicultural or bilingual in order to pass in the dominant culture. Since the white settlers consider themselves superior to the dark-skinned Aboriginals, they do not attempt to learn the natives' language. Will Thornhill gives English names to his Aboriginal neighbors – for instance, Long Bob, or Jack, or Polly, because he is unable or unwilling to repeat „a string of sounds" in the Aboriginal language (214). On the other hand, the Aboriginals manage to learn enough English to be able to communicate with the newcomers. However, it does not help accomplish any more understanding between the two distant cultures due to the imbalance of power between the conquerors and the conquered.

Grenville is therefore building the story on "tragedy of mutual incomprehension" (*Cultures in collision*, The Guardian). Furthermore, Kearney also points out that the notion of fear of others lies in demonizing them as mirrors of our own selves. They are „our othered self" (2005:75). Materialistic views of the world and greed of the Europeans clash with the non-materialistic, non-possessive Aboriginal philosophy. The lack of cultural understanding initiates conflicts, which results in the blood-shed and horrific massacres perpetrated on the Aborigines in the climax of the story. In order to preserve their self-granted entitlements to the land, Will Thornhill and his compatriots use extreme violence and slaughter almost all members of the Aboriginal tribe. As Kearney puts it, "Faced with a threatening outsider the best mode of defense is attack". (65) William Thornhill experienced that in his adolescence, and again in the new land: "fear could slip unnoticed into anger, as if they were one and the

same." (Grenville, 285) William feels his world is in this place now and he is prepared to do anything he can to keep it.

> He was no longer the person who thought that a little house in Swan Lane and wherry of his own was all a man might desire. It seemed he had become another man altogether. Eating the food of this country, drinking its water, breathing its air, had remade him, particle by particle. This sky, those cliffs, that river were no longer the means by which he might return to some other place. This was where he was: not just in body, but in soul as well. A man's heart was a deep pocket he might turn out and be amazed at what he found there. (289)

Ten years after the massacre, the Thornhills buy a property, a house and a hundred acres of land. Sal becomes complacent and accepts her new life. They are well-off now, and the money, accompanied by respect and social status it brings, make her feel a new person. The fear from the blacks subdues. For their children, Home overseas remains a story and both Sal and Will know that children would feel strangers there,

> outsiders, with their suburnt skin and their colonial ways. They might see London Bridge and hear the great bell of Bow, that Sal had told them about. They might even see Cobham Hall and its grape arbour. But they would be places with a shrunken look about them, places from a story that belonged to someone else. (317)

William Thornhill, like most others, has changed the story of his life and made it more appealing and less compromising. He has acquired a new identity as a well-off, reputable property owner, who has even had two portraits made, and he has also succeeded in having atonement with the new land.

Being Different is Empowering

According to the theory of ecofeminism (Mack-Canty, 2004:170), the happiness and the sense of identity are based on the interactions and interdependent relations of humans with their physical, biological and social environments. The traditional Aboriginal sense of belonging relates to being one with the nature, with spirits of the land and with all the living creatures. This timeless and spaceless dimension of the spirit is what unifies different communities spread across the vast land, despite the language barriers.

In May 2006, Ros Moriarty set out on a journey with two hundred Aboriginal Law women to learn more about the country and their common physical environment; about her husband's Aboriginal relatives and their biological environment; and to understand better the tradition and practices of the different cultures co-existing in Australia – their social environment. She has shared experiences from that trip as well as her life experiences in *Listening to Country*, demonstrating that the sense of belonging and identity can converge from different backgrounds, where education, tolerance and willingness to learn play the crucial role in forming one's powerful self. Ecofeminists claim that the wilderness is a setting which focuses on building relationships between human beings and cosmic forces (Mack-Canty, 2004).

Although during her childhood in Tasmania Moriarty was attracted by its pristine landscapes, only from the Aboriginal Law women ceremonies did Moriarty learn how to open up to the nature. In her interview to Radio National (2010), Moriarty asserts that it is heartbraking to know that Australia knows so little about mystical, deep, intellectually based phenomenon that is Aboriginality. Their sense of unity and atonement is kept alive by rituals.

> It seems there is a pathway gouged by a metaphorical river of intricate knowledge and wisdom deep inside my husband's community, which feeds a positive outlook in the face of dire hardship. It is clear that people's lives are

> not without sadness, but they find a way to nurture the spirit. The Yanyuwa call it 'anyngkarrinjarra ki-awarawu', 'listening to country'. It is a time and place to sit down, absorb, reflect, see how things really are in the place you come from. A place in the mind, a place with family, or a physical place where the mind is free. (*Listening to Country*: 6,7)

Most Westerners have lost the connection with the nature and never have time to sit down and listen to the sounds of the nature. The beauty of just being in those landscapes is something the Aboriginals believe everyone should learn to enjoy. Native women are a positive force to continue legacies of the pre-colonial times. The idea of listening to country means: stop, go to a place with family and free your spirit. Moriarty is not just a story teller, but also a politically engaged activitist. *Listening to Country* tells about the hardships and emotional sufferings endured by the Aboriginal women whose children or kin had been taken away from them. Moreover, it focuses on the teachings of the Aboriginal Law women on how to achieve happiness through the realization of one's sense of identity and belonging to the community. As Kearney puts it, the other is another self. „I am a self before another self – brother, sister, neighbour, citizen, stranger, widow, orphan: another self who seeks to be loved as it loves itself." (2005:81)

Other protagonists of the story, Aboriginal Law women, claim that the life quality is measured as the experience of life, rather than the conditions of life. The importance of one's identity is emphasized through a hierarchy of duties and authorities set by the Law which never changes and which must be passed on from generation to generation. The women's and men's roles in life are separate; their protocols in ceremonies are different; and even the Dreaming stories for men and women are not the same. For example, the Milky Way is the men's business, while the Evening Star is the women's business. Although the gender roles are strictly identified and specifically ordered, it seems that there is no gender oppression in that order. Men do not interfere with women's business and the other way around. The Law has to be obeyed because it is a tradition that has continued from the ancestral times.

A family hierarchy is extremely important, where elders teach youngsters and pass on their life experiences by means of the sacred rituals, songs or dance. The Aboriginal spirituality is turned towards the wholeness, the universe, while other world religions are homocentric, meaning that man is on the top of hierarchy of all the living beings, and was created by God in order to praise God. Physical and emotional perspectives are interwoven in the Aboriginal culture and therefore the Aboriginal identity comprises both the people and the land. The people must care for the land, because they make unity.

> The Dreaming (...) is a concept outside European frames of thinking. It is the Law and it is the stories that were given to the ancestors in the creation time, and passed faithfully down from generation to generation ever since. The Dreaming is in everything, it is an essence, it is in animals, plants, birds, fish, people, and the elements. It is in the songs and ceremonies, the names for all the land and the sea. When the spirit ancestors travelled the Australian landscape in the Dreaming, they made the songs, the maps for knowing country. They made the marks for body paint, so when people ochre up to dance they are respecting the Law that never changes, continuing the traditions that will keep everything right. People must protect country so that its Dreaming stays safe forever. (77-78)

Feminist scholars have recognized that women's roles are socially determined (Andersen. 2005:442). Through the intricate community networks, the role of the nurturer and the protector of life does not limit the Aboriginal women only to their own households,

but they also share their responsibilities, including breastfeeding and childrearing, in the community. Women look after children whose blood mothers passed away. The teacher's role is achieved through storytelling, advising, encouraging, or being a role-model. Contemporary Aboriginal „women desperately want to divert their grandchildren from the destructive town camp lifestyle that is the only role model they know." (Moriarty, 18)

The network of solidarity secures the shelter and is also the empowering force in the psychological and spiritual development of a person. The importance of the women's business in the Aboriginal culture is emphasized in the sister-to-sister talks, which is the way to communicate emotions, share life experiences, or teach life lessons. According to American psychiatrist Daniel Goleman, emotional intelligence of men and women differs in the way they solve problems. (*Emotional Intelligence*. 1996:131) From early days, girls tend to help each other as a group. When a girl gets hurt in a game, for example, the game immediately stops and everyone gathers around the girl who is crying. The importance of these feminine-style strategies in solving problems is evident in the relationships between the Aboriginal women. This sense of kinship and mutual support is of the crucial importance in building their self-esteem and self-awareness. Consequently, the importance of feminine is emphasized through the choices of Dreamtime characters in whose life journeys we can see the importance of kinship as well as the family relationships, obligations and privileges of both giving and receiving. (Kapululangu website)

The Law unites women of many bloodlines (skins), and in order to perform the sacred ceremonies, the women follow very strict protocols. They come from geographically distant areas to the sacred ceremony sites; they speak different languages and dialects; and they also belong to different clans. However, the sense of belonging to the community, to the Dreaming, to the Universe, is strengthened through these ceremonies. The time is a continuum and life is the bond with the past and the future. The Dreamtime stories are not bedtime stories for children, however; they provide important knowledge, or how-to-instructions: how to travel safely in the one of the most extreme climates in the world; how to relate to other living creatures; and how to bear special responsibilities towards their immediate physical, as well as social environments. Although seemingly egalitarian, the Aboriginal social structure is one of the most complex cultural and relationship structures in the world. People are classified into eight skin groups, separate for men and women, and the intricate network of their hierarchy and bloodlines has ensured the continuation of the race for more than 50,000 years. (austhrutime.com/kinship) As Moriarty further explains:

> Eight skin groups for men, and eight for women, stretch across the centre and the north of the Australian continent, linking people to land and ceremony. It embeds them in the comfort of family relationships and obligation and privilege: giving and receiving. Skin determines who can marry each other, a pragmatic necessity in earlier times when purity of bloodlines ensured healthy births among nomads who lived on the edge of survival. (44)

In this respect, William Thornhill from *The Secret River* was right when he thought that the Aboriginals were like gentry: they have pure blood lineage. However, Moriarty additionally informs that

> sociological mapping of skin in tribal times was a complex web, a sophisticated and highly successful way to bind families and people together. It was unforgiving system, too. Wrong-way marriages were punishable by death, and deformed babies resulted from bad blood unions were often put to death. The survival of the tribe demanded it. (44)

The European gentry, on the contrary, have often married close relatives – first cousins even – in order to maintain power, property, or for other materialistic reasons which they found superior to the healthy, biological ones. After the arrival of the British, however, the enormous wealth of the Aboriginal cultural knowledge and spirituality has been destroyed or has been on the brink of extinction. The displaced Aboriginals have lost connection with their skin, do not have an understanding of the rules of ceremony, and consequently get into wrong blood relationships.

Effects of Colonization and a Need for Change through Education, Dialogue and Tolerance

The ideology of the colonizers is based on the assumption that they are superior to the colonized in many ways – religion, customs, technology, to name a few. As Moriarty refers to the post-colonial practice,

> It (has been) a recurring pattern of European colonization the world over, where the dominant economy wrests control of land from Indigenous people, who then become marginalized within the new society, lose their traditional knowledge, and succumb to destitution through long-term economic and social reliance. (181)

Having been oppressed themselves by the institutions, social, or cultural constraints, the emancipists in the nineteenth century took advantage from gaining their freedom in the new country to subjugate the natives. Grenville concedes that Sal's husband tried to prevent the bloodshed, however he changed his mind in order not be labeled by others as the one siding with the „savages". The gap between „us" and „them" was worlds apart. The „savages" were regarded as only partly human. The natives, from Sal's visure, are seen only as Others. Being the Other herself as a woman from the lower socio-economic stratum, a wife of a former convict, a displaced nobody, however, she cannot identify herself as being part of the new culture. She constantly feels the cultural clashes. According to the standpoint theorists, the "outsider within" is a position when people who feel outsiders for various reasons cannot participate in the society (Lentz, 98). Sal's feelings of not belonging comes from the trauma of her own displacement, a sense of „unhomeliness" as referred to by Homi Bhabha (Tyson, 2006).

The Europeans wrote a history of the people they found on their native grounds and whom they decimated. As Moriarty puts it,

> those falling under the guns were seen as miserable specimens of the stone age, remnants of a bizarre and worthless culture, when in reality they (the Aboriginals) were the custodians of the longest continuing human tradition in the history of the planet. (2010:62)

There are many parallels between the female characters in *The Secret River* and *Listening to Country*. Both Sal as a fictional character, and Ros as a real life protagonist, have learnt from another culture; they have both exercised roles of nurturers and educators in their community; and through the story-telling, they have both provided an extended sister-to-sister talk with the audience. In view of the feminist post-colonial approach, this process can be viewed as assisting in affirmation of the women's self-assertiveness and self-definition, and furthermore, in promoting the importance of universal human values of respect, equality and freedom, thus bringing in the wholeness to one's sense of identity (Collins, 18). As Moriarty emphasizes in the subtitle of the book, her story is a journey to the heart of what it means to belong.

The clash between the white and the black cultures occurred mostly due to the white culture's imposing dominance and supremacy. For example, Aboriginal people respect each

other's territory and know where exactly they can go fishing or hunting, without intruding anybody else's territory. This is completely opposite from the Western practices which build power on occupation, territorial conquests, usurpation of others' land. As one of the Aboriginal Law women explains to Moriarty, Aboriginal people went to school and learned about the European culture, language and so forth, which rarely happened the other way around. Also, the white people come and fish or camp at the Aboriginal land as they please, but when the Aboriginals want to set their camp in a town, or a park, for instance, the "European people will hunt us away" (149). The Europeans come uninvited, but the Aboriginals can come to the white people's place only if they have been invited. Also, the Europeans promise and tell lies and then do not keep their promises, which is disrespectful and unforgivable according to the Aboriginal Law. Tourists come to the sacred tribal grounds, disrespecting the sacred sites. All these are examples that there is still a need for a change in the intercultural relationships, which can be achieved through education, promoting tolerance and co-existence.

Nevertheless, there are some positive changes. In 1967 Referendum, for example, a great majority of the Australian citizens voted 'yes' to grant the Aboriginal people the right to vote for the first time. *Listening to Country* also tells a story of a successful business Ros and her husband John started in order to promote the Australian-Aboriginal cultural heritage. Their vision was "to blend ancient Aboriginal designs with a contemporary world to speak truthfully and respectfully about Aboriginal culture and its place in Australia's view of itself." (101) This visual communication using the Aboriginal cultural symbols is a very good, original and powerful business innovation since it promotes the view of Australia being proud of the Aboriginal heritage and its inclusion in the mainstream Australian culture. The Australian culture is a blend of the Aboriginal indigenous peoples and the British colonizers as well as settlers from other parts of the world who chose Australia either as a shelter from the prosecution in their own homeland, or from war, or as a land of opportunities – economic, educational, cultural, or other. The Moriarty's Balarinji designs are painted on high quality materials (silk, wool). As the products are not outsourced to places with cheap labor but made in Australia, John and Ros also maintain the dignity of the culture they have been inspired by and endeavor to match the value of the arts with the good quality products, not making cheap, non-durable, worthless objects. "It was almost beyond belief that the Australia that had taken John away from his family and forbidden him to speak in language or hunt or make spears was now heralding his culture on the world stage." (139)

Moriarty focuses on the current Australian Aboriginal concerns by providing numerous data to raise the audience's attention that, due to the institutional policies, younger generations lost their sense of identity, skin, or kinship, and the older generations are trying to rectify the identity crisis in the younger generations to keep their culture alive. (90-109) A policy of imposed assimilation started around 1948. As Moriarty describes, the following actions were taken in line with the institutional policies: „Ceremonial activities were discouraged by most welfare officers; Aboriginal customs were seen as an impediment to the transition from black society to white, particularly as they restricted time available for employment." (159) It has been estimated that more than three hundred different Aboriginal languages have been lost since the colonization started.

> Thirty years ago, there were two hundred Yanyuwa speakers, now there are fewer than ten. It is difficult to see how the language will survive the passing of these people. In the same way that more than three-quarters of the estimated three hundred Aboriginal languages in use across the country when the British arrived have been lost. (204)

Moriarty's guide to the ceremony, the Aboriginal women Law leader, Annie, died in 2008. Dr John Bradley, a linguist who created the first Yanyuwa dictionary to save the

language from its disappearance, gave the eulogy at her funeral. Some other people, including academics, were also present there to show respect to an outstanding Aboriginal. However, she was not buried according to Aboriginal Law and on the land of her skin. She was buried „the white man way". During her lifetime, Annie wanted to learn everything she could about the „white world" and she also educated those willing to learn about the „black world". She believed people could live door-to-door in harmony, regardless of their race or skin color. According to Moriarty, with Annie's death, most of the Aboriginal cultural wealth is doomed to disappear. Moriarty has been emotionally and also politically involved in the pursuit of reconciliation with the Aboriginal people, thus crossing the boundaries of her own upbringing, cultural norms and practices. In *Listening to Country* she emphasises that „a new educational model in a two-way world would be a powerful start – embrace Indigenous culture in any incarnation that fits the particular family or community, because identity is inseparable from self-esteem." (209) She talks of her experience of having been included in the Law women ceremony:

> I feel a sense of pride and belonging that I have done nothing to deserve. They know their culture, their ceremonies. They are strong from the secrets they know. From the secrets they don't tell. Tragically, from the secrets that will die with them. (120)

It cannot be denied, though, that the government allocates funds for improvement of the Aboriginal educational or health services. Tenodi (2010) implies that most of the funds are spent on the government officials on their own maintenance and that this problem has been raised by many activists and recipients of the social security allowances. Also, the „sit down money" kills self-respect in those who receive it and they become indolent, prone to drug abuse, or physical violence (Moriarty, 36). Through the hardships and life choices of their female protagonists, the authors educate the readers not only about the Aboriginal issues, but also about how to be courageous, individual, emancipated. A Croatian-born artist who lives and works in Australia, Gina Sinozich, states:

> I paint Wanjinas because that's the central part of Aboriginal spirituality. If someone said I should stick to my own tradition, I'd tell them it's all the same. Spirituality is one, God is one – call him what you will. There is the same wisdom in all the world's traditions. (…) I give them mouths, because they need to be heard. They've been mute for too long. They say it's time to speak out. (Tenodi, 2010:8)

Both Kate Grenville and Ros Moriarty describe what it means to be different, why differences can make people fear each other, or how they can make them closer. They both demonstrate that the dialogue and willingness to accept and adapt are crucial in building fruitful cross-cultural relationships. Through protagonists' experiences we learn the importance of being brave and loyal; for instance, Sal accompanied her husband to the unknown, while Ros married an Aboriginal in the 1970s, when such practice was not generally regarded welcome. Considering that Ros Moriarty had very little contact or awareness of the Indigenous culture in her youth, it is arguable, though, whether she would have been so enthusiastic about the Aboriginal culture had she not been married to an Aboriginal. However, her book is an asset which promotes the value of learning.

> I felt sorry that most Australians could not experience what I'd discovered about our country. What lay beneath the deprivation and the pain of our nation's first people. I know it would change the negative view so widely held about the Aboriginal community, and could create a very different dynamic about how we see ourselves as a people. Our history of links to Britain, our allegiance to the Allied powers, our status in the Asia-Pacific region, our multicultural pride and our easygoing personality are floating elements of the

whole – but we miss the glue of ancient heritage that could better ground us, pull us all together into our own unique identity. (99)

In conclusion, both Grenville and Moriarty emphasize the importance of the dialogue and education in learning about oneself and about the Other. Marginalized groups such as the Indigenous peoples, migrants from different ethnic backgrounds, or people of lower socio-economic status have difficulties to take part in the post-colonial societies. Moriarty's anti-colonial standpoint is expressed by promoting the co-habitation and antidiscrimination in the social environment which should bring people together. Grenville's line of reasoning is on the dire consequences which can arise from the absence of such willingness.

References

ANDERSEN, L. Margaret. *"Thinking about Women": A Quarter Century's View.* Gender and Society, Vol.19, No.4 (Aug., 2005), pp. 437-455. Sage Publications, Inc. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40044611. Accessed 25/06/2010

ARDEN, Harvey, „*Dreamkeepers*" – A Spirit-Journey into Aboriginal Australia. 1994. HarperCollins Publishers. New York

BERNDT, R. M & C. H. , *The World of the First Australians*. 1964. Ure Smith Pty Ltd.

COLLINS, Patricia Hill. *"Learning from the Outsider Within": The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought.* Social Problems, Vol. 33, No.6, Special Theory Issue (Oct.-Dec. 1986), pp. S14-S32. University of California Press on behalf of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. http://www.jstor.org/stable/800672. Accessed: 21/06/2010

GOLEMAN, Daniel. *Emotional Intelligence.* 1996. Bloomsbury. London.

GRENVILLE, Kate. *The Secret River.* 2005.Text Publishing Melbourne Australia.

GUDYKUNST, William, B. editor, *Cross Cultural and Intercultural Communication*. 2003. Sage Publications, Inc. Thousand Oaks

KEARNEY, Richard. *Stranger, Gods and Monsters.* 2005. Taylor and Frances e- library.

LENZ, Brooke. *"Postcolonial Fiction and the Outsider within": Toward a Literary Practice of Feminist Standpoint Theory.* NWSA Journal, Vol. 16, No.2 (Summer, 2004), pp. 98-120. The John Hopkins University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4317054. Accessed: 25/06/2010

MACK-CANTY, Colleen. *Third-Wave Feminism and the Need to Reweave the Nature/Culture Duality*. NWSA Journal, Vol.16, No.2 (Autumn 2004), pp.154-179. The John Hopkins University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4317085. Accessed: 11/03/2013

MORIARTY, Ros. "*Listening to Country." A journey to the heart of what it means to belong.* 2010. Allen & Unwin. Crows Nest

MOYAL, Anne, *Platypus.* 2010. Allen & Unwin. Crows Nest

TENODI, Vesna, *Dreamtime "Set In Stone", The truth about Australian Aborigines, Dreamraisers trilogy.* 2010. Anan Press. Arncliffe

TYSON, Lois. *Critical theory today. A user-friendly guide. Second edition.* 2006. Routledge.

Internet Sources

www.kapululangu.org/Publications.php accessed on 23/11/2010

http://austhrutime.com/kinship_systems.htm accessed on 23/1/2011

http://kategrenville.com/The_Secret_River accessed on 1/2/2011

Craven, Peter. „ *The secret river"* The Age Online.
www.theage.com.au/news/reviews/the-secret-river/2005/07/08 accessed on 8/2/2011

Bedell, Geraldine. *"Bush ballad*. " The Observer. www.guardian.co.uk/books/2006/jan/22/fiction.features 2 accessed on 8/2/2011
Poster, Jem. „*Cultures in collision*." The Guardian www.guardian.co.uk/books/2006/jan/28/featuresreviews.guardianreview22 accessed on 8/2/2011
Brown, Helen. „ *When God was as foreign as a fish"*. The Telegraph www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3649896 accessed on 8/2/2011 Owen, Katie. *„Outrages in the outback"*. The Telegraph www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3649894 accessed on 8/2/2011
Mitchell, Jessie. "*Country Belonging to Me*: *Land and Labour on Aboriginal Missions and Protectorate Stations*, 1830-1850", Eras Journal. Australian National University. 2011. www.arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-6/mitchellarticle.php
Moriarty, Ros. Interview: *Sharing Heart to Hearts,* by Zoe Sheridan, youtube 18 June 2010. www.youtube.com/watch?v=0-ejhmNe6zo&feature=related
Moriarty, Ros. Interview: ABC National, May 2010 www.jumbana.com.au
Moriarty, Ros. Interview: ABC Late Night Live. www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2010/2896464.htm

MIR ISKUSSTVA: THE FOUNDATION OF RUSSIAN SILVER AGE CULTURE

Barbara Ann BROWN, Associate Professor

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract

The goals of the Mir iskusstva were to bring about a renaissance of Russian literature and art, and to initiate a dialogue with the Russian Orthodox Church. Some members of Mir iskusstva were interested only in the artistic and literary endeavors of the Symbolist movement, while other members wanted to focus on the literary, artistic and religious aspects of the proposed renaissance. The Mir iskusstva group worked together during the first years (1898-1900) on these ideas, and achieved several fundamental successes. However, with each success the group began to splinter and to engage in artistic, literary, and religious polemics. In particular, the international art exhibitions Sergej Djagilev produced in 1899 and 1900 afforded the Mir iskusstva significant national as he was appointed Personal Assistant to Manager of Imperial Theaters in 1901. (Pyman, 351). As Mir iskusstva neared the end of its publication, other prominent figures such as Zinaida Gippius, Dmitrij Merežkovskij, and Dmitrij Filosofov decided to channel most of their energies into a religious dialogue with the Church. They envisioned a major renaissance of Russian literature and art based on God as the center of any artistic or literary success. According to Merežkovskij, in his lecture "O pričinax upadka i o novyx tečenijax sovremennoj russkoj literatury," the best representative of Russian literary culture could not as yet be found. But Merežkovskij was very clear that no matter who this representative was, God had a personal stake in the art this person created. Merežkovskij stated, "Poetry is a primordial and eternal force, an involuntary and spontaneous gift from God" (Merežkovskij, 3). Obviously, Merežkovskij saw a direct link between poetic creation and divine inspiration. Ultimately, this paper will show that the monolithic title of Mir iskusstva or even the term "Silver Age" blankets significant divisions between two major threads of discourse. Sometimes these divisions intermeshed, but they are still distinctive from one another and should be defined and discussed within the larger context of Silver Age Culture. Mir iskusstva contributed to Silver Age culture throughout Russia and Western Europe long after the journal shut down publication in 1904. This paper will seek to explain the emergence of the Mir iskusstva as an important forum for the Symbolist artists and writers after the 1898 closure of the journal Severnyj vestnik forced them to establish their own, "truly Symbolist" journal. It will also examine the dissolution of the group after 1904, and follow Sergej Djagilev's move to Paris and his subsequent foundation of the Ballets russes. Additionally, it will discuss the continued commitment of the Merežkovskijs and Filosofov to the metaphysical approach of Mir iskusstva thought. A comparison between the two distinct lines of artistic pursuit deserves exploration and discussion. Each laid the foundation for what is currently thought of as "Silver Age Culture." This technical term encompasses a very compelling time in Russian culture and history, and its components should be defined and examined in current scholarship.

Keywords: Zinaida Gippius, Russian Silver Age Culture, Mir Iskusstva, Ballets Russes, European Symbolism

The Russian literary period from 1880-1930 was an exciting time of innovation and invention. Zinaida Gippius's verse contributions to the Symbolist movement of this time set the standard for those who followed her and contributed to the movement. Most scholars date the advent of Russian Symbolism at 1894, but I contend that the Russian Symbolist movement began in 1892, when the literary journal *Severnyi Vestnik* (The Northern Herald) first published poems by Gippius and Feodor Sologub under the editorship of Akim Vloynsky. Additionally in 1892, Gippius's husband, Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, published his collection entitled *Simvoly. Pesni I poemy* (Symbols. Songs and Poems). In that same year, Merezhkovskii read in public on the seventh and fourteenth of December in St. Petersburg his famous lecture entitled *O prichinakh upadka I o novykh techeniiakh sovremennoi russkoi literatury* (*On the Causes and the Decline and on New Trends in Contemporary Literature*), which has long been accepted as the Russian Symbolist manifesto. This lecture was made up mostly of articles Merezhkovskii published in various journals from 1888-1892. It caused great controversy among Russian literary figures of the day due to its rejection of Russian Populism.

Prior to reading his lecture, Merezhkovskii had made quite a name for himself as a poet and critic among the Russian Populists, most notably the Populist critic Nikolai Mikhailovskii. Along with the publication of *Simvoly* and *O prichinakh upadka*, Merezhkovskii turned his back on his previous circle of literary friends and intellectual peers. Although Merezhkovskii's early Symbolist poetry was symbolist in name only, it did concern *fin-de-siècle* notions and called for solidarity between Russian and French symbolist sensibilities. Mikhailovskii, however, maintained that Europe was suffering from a reversion to "mysticism," with "magi," "neo-Buddhists," "theosophers," etc., cropping up everywhere. He considered the artistic expressions of these trends to be "symbolism" and "impressionism," and he contended that "Франция одно дело, Россия-другое," which means "France is one thing, Russia is another"(Mikhailovskii 1900).

Mikhailovskii's ideas regarding the differences between France and Russia are enlightening to scholars of Russian Symbolism due the nature of his approach. When Merezhkovskii read his lectures, Mikhailovskii had just finished defending Lev Tolstoi against a personal attack from Max Nordau, who wrote *Degeneration*. Nordau's *Degeneration* had been published in 1895 and spoke out against the disease of degeneracy because of his philosophical bent for asking the big questions, such as "Why am I alive?" and "What is the purpose of our lives?" in his prose (Nordau 1895).Nordau takes issue with Tolstoi's philosophical system present in most of his works, but treats *The Kreutzer Sonata* with considerable contempt largely due to the fact that the story afforded Tolstoi international fame, and Nordau considered it an inferior aesthetic effort. Mikhailovskii was an ardent Populist and deplored Symbolism; he disagreed with Nordau's assessment of Tolstoi, but he agreed with the idea that societies should be safeguarded against "the very small minority who honestly find pleasure in the new tendencies." Further, he concurred with Nordau's idea that literary critics and "all healthy and moral men" should boycott the Symbolists. Thus his approach began the debate between those who believed Symbolism to be socially and artistically detrimental and those who were ready for new ideas and new ways of representing visual and verbal art.

Nordau defined degeneracy as a pathological condition inconsistent with talent or genius. He considered the appearance of degeneracy in art as symptomatic of a social disease that French critics called *fin-de-siècle* or *fin-de-classe*. Symptoms attributed to this disease were unhealthy nervousness, moral idiocy, states of depression, exaltation, mysticism,

childishness, atavism, feeble intellect, an inability to think in terms of cause and effect, extreme subjectivity resulting in diagnosable egomania combined with a tendency to congregate in groups (Nordau 1895). All of these things, according to Nordau, were abnormalities of the criminal mind and documented by forensic psychiatrists. These perverted inclinations of the artistic degenerate (as opposed to the criminal degenerate), Nordau argued, did not express themselves in actual crimes. Rather, Nordau stated, the artist infects healthy society with his own dangerous techniques and methods created by a sick mind.

One result of creation by the sick mind in question comes in the form of synaesthesia. Synaesthesia is the association of an idea perceived, felt, or described in terms of another; it is a combination or substitution of one sense for another. For example, a voice can be described as velvety, or heavy, or sweet; a sound can be described in terms of a color. The blaring fire truck siren can be described as "red." Synaethesia is also defined as the babbling musicality of the lunatic who strings together words for the sake of their sound without regard to meaning. Examples of synaesthesia can be found in any century, any literary medium, and in any culture. Percy Shelley was the first English poet to use it extensively in his poems "Alastor," "Epipsychidon," and "The Triumph of Life." It finally came to be defined as a technical literary term in 1891 (Greene and Cushman 2012). Jules Millet was the first to have applied it in 1892. Of course, Baudelaire's sonnet "Correspondences" and Rimbaud's sonnet "Voyelles" popularized the technique in the poetic form. Further, Joris-Karl Huysmans employed it heavily in his novel *À Rebours* (Against Nature), hence synaesthesia came to be greatly associated with the theory and practice of the Symbolist movement.

Nordau also attacked Théophile Gautier's famous preface to Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* citing that, "Poetry cannot, under pain of death or degradation, assimilate itself to the science of morals" (Nordau 1895). Nordau maintained that it was dangerous for society when respectable people, like newspaper critics, took the part of degenerate artists. He stated that the task of the "critical police" was to expose and ridicule the propagators of such pernicious opinions. The fact that Baudelaire's influence had become so great not only in French society, but also in England, Germany, Scandinavia, North America, and Russia irritated Nordau greatly. Nordau also took Nietzsche, Tolstoi, Wagner, Ibsen, the English Pre-Raphaelites, Oscar Wilde and many others to task in his book. Ivan Turgenev seems to be the only Russian writer who received a better review, and Nordau's ignorance of Dostoevskii happily spared his audience from more diatribes.

Merezhkovskii was keenly aware of the tenuous nature of the Symbolist movement, but he also understood the excitement attached to such a potentially liberating school of thought. As the title of *O prichinakh upadka i o novykh techeniyahk sovremennoy russkoy literatury* implies, Merezhkovskii offered an analysis of Russian literature and the literary climate in Russia during the 1880s and 1890s. He welcomed the ideas regarding the right of art to complete autonomy, to the freedom from other branches of artistic philosophy and embraced the possibilities of the discipline of beauty. He cites the French poets as precursors to a Russian idealist school of thought in which critics would approach such authors as Tolstoi and Dostoevskii from a mystical point of view. Merezhkovskii likened Paris in the nineteenth century to that of Florence in the fifteenth century, "Was there in Russia a truly great literature worthy enough to measure up to other world literatures?" Merezhkovskii continues to describe the contributions of Pushkin, Tolstoi, Turgenev, Dostoevskii, and Gogol as worthy of world-class literary status, but begs the question of whether the time was ripe for a new, different literary style that could be perceived as Russia's new cultural force.

Merezhkovskii's definitions of the role of the poet and poetry and his definition of literature are of utmost importance in *O princhinax upadka.* He locates poetic creation within

the realm of the individual, and he asserts that the poet and poetic creation do not necessarily have to exert an influence over their readership.

> The poet may be great in complete isolation. The force of inspiration does not need to depend on whether the poet is heeded by humanity, or by one or two persons, or indeed by anyone at all.

For Merezhkovskii, the poet and poetry do not have to exert any kind of influence over the public. This idea flies in the face of Nordau's concern that those involved in the French Symbolist movement were risking certain harm to those readers interested in the new poetic trends. Further, this notion replaces the age-old position of the poet and poetry as potentially immortal entities responsible for the historic continuity of specific national literatures. Moreover, this notion implies that poetic creation does not depend any more on human dominance than on any other acts of nature, as, according to Merezhkovskii, "Poetry is primordial and eternal, an *elemental* force, an involuntary and spontaneous gift of God." Thus, for Merezhkovskii, poetic talent is God-given and may appear in anyone; it may appear in the seventeen-year-old Arthur Rimbaud, or in Goethe, or in Homer.

Merezhkovskii views literature as a fundamental cultural force, and he defines literature as an outgrowth of poetry, and more importantly, he considers literature to be superior to poetry:

> In essence, literature is the same as poetry, but only determined not from the point of view of the individual creation of specific authors, but as a force that moves whole generations, entire nations, along a certain cultural path, as a succession of poetic phenomena which are passed on from age to age and united by a great historic foundation (Merezhkovskii 1893).

Literature for Merezhkovskii is then a unified body of individual poetic creations, spanning centuries, and has emerged as a cultural force. He cites Homer as the biggest example of his notion. Homer's works were written in poetic form, but only centuries later during the Golden Age of Greek civilization were his works considered to be literary and poetic contributions to Greek culture. Thus Homer serves as a "historic foundation" that unifies individual literary contributions to Greek literature, and conversely, classical Greek literature as a whole reflects Homer's influence.

Along with this "unifying foundation," literature, as with any other manifestation of culture, such as painting, sculpture, and architecture, can only develop within the right atmosphere. Merezhkovskii observes that the talents of Ghirlandaio and Verrocchio might have flourished at any time in history, but only in Florence during the fifteenth century was the atmosphere right for them to contribute the essence of the national spirit afforded to their students Michelangelo and Leonardo Da Vinci. Once established, the Florentine Renaissance permeated Italian culture and dominated cultural expression. Merezhkovskii points out that the same thing happened during the era of Romanticism and the subsequent Naturalistic reaction against it in France. This example then implies that the atmosphere necessary to create Romanticism in France must have decayed in order for a different atmosphere to foster Naturalism. In turn, the atmosphere for Naturalism began its decay in the 1880s, thus creating a new atmosphere for the advent of Symbolism. Merezhkovskii's atmospheres appear, flourish, and decay; the atmospheric changes that occur during the decay make for a different favorable atmosphere for something new to begin. Merezhkovskii accounts for the idea of this decay with his notion of the "decline" (upodok) of Russian literature. It is important to note that Merezhkovskii's "decline" is not the same as Nordau's notion of degeneracy for *fin-de-siècle* decadence (dekadenstvo). Rather Merezhkovskii's notion of decline resides within the artistic standards brought about by preaching the "useful prejudice" of morality as though it were sacred truth:

> …only ugliness, only banality in art are immoral. No pornography, no seductive pictures of vice corrupt the human heart so much as the lie about the good, as the banal hymns to the good, as hot tears shed by naïve readers over falsely humane sentiments and bourgeois morality. He who has grown accustomed to weeping over lies will pass by truth and beauty with a cold heart (Merezhkovskii 1893).

For Merezhkovskii, prose is superior to poetry and it is based upon individual talent and individual genius. Prose is a cultural force, but poetry is not. Prose is the expression of national spirit, but as a part of a national culture, it can only emerge given the correct atmospheric elements. The transformation of poetry into literature has occurred in each national culture during various historical epochs. If all of these elements of his definition of literature hold true, then Merezhkovksii's attempt to locate such a period of literary fecundity within Russia could not be completed according to his own definition of literature. For Merezhkovskii, the atmosphere for world-class literary production had not yet emerged with Russian culture or history.

Despite Merezhkovksii's own analysis of Russian literature from Pushkin up until 1892, he asserts that the conditions necessary for the transformation of poetry into literature had not occurred. Russian writers had traditionally flourished in isolation from one another, thus they had never united to lend a national spirit to Russian literature. Merezhkovskii cites several examples of the isolation of Russian writers, most importantly Pushkin, Lermontov, and Gogol. He also refers to the enmity between Dostoevskii and Turgenev, and between Turgenev and Tolstoi. He discusses Nekrasov's and Saltykov-Shchedrin's lack of enthusiasm of Dostoevskii, and Turgenev's aversion for the poetry of Nekrasov. Merezhkovskii shrewdly observes that, for Tolstoi, there was an obvious desire to escape from culture:

> In Pushkin, who perhaps derived the most daring of his inspirations in the wild gypsy camp; in Gogol with his mystic raving; in Lermontov's scorn for people and for contemporary civilization in his all-absorbing Buddhistic love for nature; in Dostoevskii's sickly-proud dream about the role of the Messiah, granted by God to the meek Russian people, who are come to put right everything that Europe has done: in all these writers there is the same elemental principle as in Tolstoi – *a flight from culture* (Merezhkovskii 1893).

Therefore, literature, which he has already defined as a cultural force, could not come into being because each major Russian writer refused the role of the writer who would unite the national spirit of Russian literature. Russia was in need of a Goethe, a representative of historic culture, and Merezhkovskii's ideal of a "man of letters." This could not be found in Tolstoi, as he withdrew into nature and away from science and culture. Despite this need, Russia could not produce such a representative of the national spirit as long as it had no literature, no cultural force, as long as it recognized that one nation alone was not enough to carry world literature. The obvious answer to this dilemma, then, was for Merezhkovskii to locate the representative of historic culture. Whether or not he viewed himself in this role, there is no doubt that his analysis of Russian literature's contemporary situation and his view on the new idealism posits him s one of the pioneers in the creation of a great national Russian literature.

However, his condemnation of the state of contemporary Russian literature continued the prevention of the very thing he sought to find – the emergence of a national literature. He put his efforts into publishing enterprises of his time, to the journals and to the literary circles that grew up around them. Throughout this process, he observed that Russian culture was indeed in a mire of monotonous boredom, and that it pervaded Russian culture. As an advocate of culture and the arts, he could not condone the debasement of the Russian literary language, which he attributed to those who imitated the method of Dmitrii Pisarev and

Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin. Concomitantly, there seemed to be a complete ignorance of the "democratic Bohemia" that was developing and was manifested in such literary contributions as Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. For Merezhkovskii, complete ignorance (or lack of education) was better than incomplete knowledge; but it greatly irritated him that the uneducated commanded a pure, beautiful language:

> But in an environment that is semi-ignorant, semi-educated, that is already estranged from the people but has not yet attained culture, precisely in that environment from which come all the literary hacks and all the democratic newspaper Bohemia, the language grows dead and decays (Merezhkovskii 1893).

Merezhkovskii states that not only were the journals responsible for the decay of the Russian language, but they also contributed to the decline of the author. Merezhkovskii bitterly opposed the idea of honoraria, and he regretted the fact that writers should be paid for their compositions. He felt writers should give their compositions freely to the public. He himself was in the enviable financial position of a literary aristocrat. Merezhkovskii indicts the very idea of honoraria as one of the first reasons for the decline of literature. His reasoning spoke to the notion that literature had been given over to the "street crowd" and pandered to the lowest tastes of society. Moreover, he cites the "petty press" for fostering this "most degrading form of prostitution" by forcing the author to surrender his freedom and fetter his inspiration (Merezhkovskii 1893).

Obviously, Merezhkovskii's own experiences with Russian literary journals and their editors are revealed with these less than charitable remarks. He encountered great difficulties getting his own work published in the periodical press. With *O prichinakh upadka*, his first major critical work, Merezhkovskii presented views on literature and delineated the essential features of the Symbolist movement in Russian literature. Of utmost significance, however, was the fact that, at such an early stage in his career, Merezhkovskii explicitly outlined his trajectory as a writer and, with typical lack of humility, proclaimed the divine inspiration that was to guide his future course.

Merezhkovskii's lectures were heard by a handful of people, whereas Mikhailovskii's reverberated throughout literate Russia. Mikhailovskii's statements propagated the myth that is still prevalent in current scholarship, that Russian Symbolism was a direct transplant from France and that it was nothing more than a trendy version of decadence. Although Russian Symbolism was part of a wider European trend, it was primarily a creative, poetic movement that was not a direct transplant.

Viacheslav Ivanov, in retrospective articles published in 1910-12, emphasizes the importance of its roots in *Russian* culture. Ivanov contended that "symbolism does not cut itself off from the soil; its desire is to combine roots with stars and to grow up as a starry flower from familiar, native roots" (Ivanov 1971). Ivanov identified Feodor Tiutchev (1803-1873) as the first poet to apply the ideas of Symbolist poetry. Tiutchev developed the method of poetry that is based upon suggestion rather than on communication, and he began publishing his work in Pushkin's *Sovremennik*, which was in publication from 1836-1866, and then made a comeback from 1911-1915. Tiutchev's poetry laid the groundwork for the Russian Symbolists by his ability to express the inexpressible and to show how "poniatnym serdste iazykom, tverdiat o peroniatnoi muke" (pain beyond understanding is told in a language that speaks to the heart). Tiutchev was also responsible for supplying the Symbolist movement with its first slogan, "The thought, once spoken, is a lie." The slogan was taken from a line of Tiutchev's poem entitled *Silentium!*

Another precursor to the Symbolist movement was Afanasii Fet, who was an army officer and landowner. Fet had a natural gift for verse, which Valery Briusov considered to be "a call to the great intoxication of the moment, which suddenly, beyond the colors and the

sounds, opens into a transparency through which we can glimpse the 'sun of the world' – out of time into eternity" (Briusov 1913). Konstantin Bal'mont was also extremely impressed by Fet's gift for verbal art. Fet became, for the younger Symbolists, something of a cult figure. Andrei Bely, between the ages of seventeen and nineteen, admired Fet more than any other poet. Bely found Fet's verse to correspond with Schopenhauer's (whose work, incidentally, Fet translated into Russian) concept of music and found his poetry to be the epitome of "harmonious meeting of thought and feeling: their transformation into something else again. Of course, for me, he is a 'SYMBOLIST' (Bely 1969). Aleksander Blok identified strongly with Fet's idea of the function of the poet. Blok thought Fet set the precedent for the concept of self-immolation so central to the poet, and even took the title from his last collection of verse from a poem written by Fet, "Za gran'iu proshlykh dnei" (Blok 1977). Fet's career, however, suffered during the utilitarian age of Populism. Fet consciously kept his poetry within the realm of the beautiful and consequently critics of the 1860s dismissed his work as empty-headed and superficial. He continued to publish poetry in *Russkii Vestnik* between 1863-1883 and he enjoyed limited attention as, during this period, no collections of his verse had been published.

The freshness of Symbolist poetics came on the heels of Semën Nadson. Nadson was a friend of Merezhkovskii, and he was popular during the 1880s only to be rejected by his former admirers as the epitome of civic sentimentality and flaccid prosody. However, Nikolai Nekrasov game him a forum in which to publish in his journal *Otechestvennye Zapiski*. Nekrasov exerted influence over the early Symbolists, but Viacheslav Ivanov did his best to protect Blok and Bely from his reach. Merezhkovksii, however, considered Nekrasov to be among the ranks of poets such as Tiutchev and stated "[…]in Russian squiredom, in Russian serfdom – Tiutchev, as if on a bed of roses, was lulled by mortal indolence, whereas Nekrasov was tormented by mortal anguish, wounded to death by the thorns of those same roses" (Merezhkovskii 1915). Nevertheless, Nekrasov endured harsh criticism by the likes of Turgenev and Tolstoi, even though he had been, in his heyday, considered a great poet. The popularity of his poetry faded with the entrance of the Symbolists as they began to change the face of Russian poetry. The Symbolists struggled against, and banned outright, superficial civic commitment and sentiment from their poetry. As they identified their poetic goals, they realized the need for a strong forum in which they could produce their art, share ideas, and expand their exploration of suggesting, rather than communicating. In order for this to occur, they had to find a journal willing to back them and their cause and to provide an outlet for their creative work.

Although *Severnyi Vestnik* began publication in 1885 and was a well-established Populist journal, it was also responsible for publishing the earliest Symbolist writers, such as Nikolai Minsky, Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, Zinaida Gippius, Feodor Sologub, and Konstantin Bal'mont, not to mention translations from Maurice Maeterlinck, Paul Verlaine, and Gabriele D'Annunzio. All of this occurred under the editorship of Akim Volynsky (Akim L'vovich Flekser), who took the job as editor in 1891. *Severnyi Vestnik* was losing popularity at the time Volynsky took it over (Vengerov 1914). Volynsky was an old-fashioned Kantian who, in fact, strongly opposed what these new poets were trying to do in their verse. Volynsky would often subject their contributions to extremely harsh criticism in his commentary section of the journal. Interestingly enough, he bitterly opposed utilitarianism, materialism, and the cultural complacency of the cultural establishment – all things the Symbolists were opposed to as well. Although *Severnyi Vestnik* can hardly be considered an exclusive forum for the Symbolists, it did provide an introduction to the Russian literary scene as early as 1892.

Volynsky became encouraged by the journal's publisher Liubov' Gurevich to use his position to further the cause of "idealism in art." As a literary editor, Volynsky gained an

acceptance of the new art by challenging the established tradition of radical literary theory. He argued against the most important literary theory. He argued against the most important literary critics of the day, such as Vissarion Belinsky, Nikolai Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Dobroliubov, Dmitrii Pisarev, and the successors in the 1880s and 1890s (Volynsky 1898). Volynsky undertook this challenge in defense of the values of Russian literature. He contended that Russian literature was "austere, simple and serious" against the radical critics' views that Russian literature "lacked civic merit" (Volynsky 1895).

Volynsky's criticism against the radical critics took the form of logical questions aimed at the core of their theories of literature. Belinsky, for example, believed that literature should convey a civic moral. Volynsky questioned Belinsky's ability to know where such a "civic moral" could lead. In the case of Chernyshevsky, whose utilitarian demands were clearly and concisely presented and whose definition of "content worthy of the attention of a thinking man" was taken very seriously, Volynsky asked, "Tell me *in the name of what* you wish people well and I will tell you whether I can be your comrade" (Volynsky 1893). Volynsky asserted that there is nothing higher than the notion of abstract truth, and he considered political questions regarding literature as superficial. Dobroliubov and Pisarev, who relied heavily upon Realism and usefulness in their literary theories were, in Volynsky's eyes, "a generation of worthy militants" who were "heading in the wrong direction" (Dobroliubov 1900). Volynsky contended that their ideas, which were strongly held and advocated under great external pressure, had been "handed in for small change" by their successors, "losing all their vital freshness" in the process (Volynsky 1895). In summary, Volynsky recognized the need for changes in the Russian literary climate and in the periodical press; however, he was not certain that the Symbolists were the solution to the problem.

The difficulties that new poets and artists had in placing their works in the Russian periodical press had become untenable. Zinaida Gippius, Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, and several others were forced to offer their works to such journals as *Mir Bozhii*, which was a monthly illustrated publication with photographs of famous paintings and shiny pen-and-ink drawings depicting melodramatic, sentimental scenes in the style of the new age; *Trud*, which was as uninspiring as the name of the journal itself; and *Niva*, which was barely distinguishable from *Zhurnal dlia Vsekh* (Martinsen 1997). For both the Merezhkovskii's and Volynsky, *Severnyi Vestnik* became a publication haven. Volynsky was not afraid of Gippius's new poetry, even though his decision to publish her work brought him serious troubles with his other editorial colleagues. He also began serializing Merezhkovskii's first novel *Otverzhennyi* in January 1895, but demanded that the work be radically edited. This did not help the relationship between Volynsky and Merezhkovskii, nor did the fact that both authors chose to write about subjects such as Dostoevskii, Tolstoi, and Leonardo Da Vinci . Volynsky published Gippius's poems "Pesnia" and "Posviashchenie" and Feodor Sologub's first novel *Tiazhelye sny* in the journal. However, Volynsky published these works with reservations. He considered the works to be evidence of decadence and moral degeneracy. He refused to publish other "decadent" works, such as Valery Briusov's *Moskovskie simvolisty* and Aleksandr Dobroliubov's *Natura naturans*. He allowed publication of Konstantin Bal'mont's poetry, even though he greatly criticized Bal'mont's first two books for lack of depth and simplicity. At the same time, he repeatedly pointed out Bal'mont's superior poetic talent to Nikolai Minsky and Dmitrii Merezhkovskii. He charged Sologub with moral turpitude and disparaged the Nietzschean element in Merezhkovskii's novels and in his 1896 collection *Novye stikhotvoreniia* (Gippius 1951). Gippius and Merezhkovskii left *Severnyi Vestnik* on bad terms in 1897, when Volynsky refused to serialize Merezhkovskii's sequel to his first book on Da Vinci, *Voskresshie bogi. Leonardo Da Vinci*. In 1898, *Severnyi Vestnik* closed down.

In the spirit of bad-mannered literary criticism, Volynsky placed himself among editors of other journals who considered the Symbolist contribution to be morally and politically objective. Volynsky struggled constantly with rejecting Populist critics and criticism, and he agreed with those critics who though Symbolism was a deplorable example of a literary movement. One thing the early Symbolists were very serious about was the overhaul of back-biting sarcasm and personality assassinations in literary criticism. Volynsky disagreed. Instead, the Symbolists sought to replace these elements with ironic statements, focusing criticism on the merit of the argument rather than the personality of the writer. In later Symbolist journals, such as *Mir Iskusstva*, *Novi Put'*, and *Vesy*, the early Symbolists were able to put better-mannered criticism into practice and thus elevate literary criticism to a more civil exchange of aesthetic ideas.

Although Volynsky was opposed to Populism and its purported materialism, he shared the Populist's optimistic views of human nature and their belief in progress. Thus *Severnyi Vestnik*, although it had served as the early Symbolists' introduction to readership and crititicism, was still too close to Populism to be able to provide a stable periodical environment for the young Symbolists. The journal *Mir Iskusstva* began as an academic discussion at regular Friday receptions hosted by Sergei Diagilev and Dmitrii Filosofov. From January 15 through February 8, 1898, Diagilev and Filosofov arranged a very successful art exhibition of Finnish and Russian painters. This exhibition fostered introductions and growing friendships of key participants during the inception of *Mir iskusstva*. The group approached Princess Tenisheva, a noblewoman, and Savva Ivanovich Mamontov, a merchant patron, for funding to bring the journal into publication. On November 9, 1898, they celebrated the publication of *Mir iskusstva No. 1-2*. The journal was always published in double volumes, it was printed on fine-quality paper, and it was filled with opulent illustrations by new artists. The journal also serialized many of the great contributions to the Russian Symbolist movement. For example, Gippius's *Zerkala: Vtoraia kniga rasskazov* was published during the journal's first year of publication. *Mir iskusstva* allowed for a truly creative collecting and collaboration for the Russian Symbolists. The point of this new and innovative journal was aptly determined by its publisher Sergei Diagilev: "We must force our way through. We must amaze people and not be afraid to do so, we must make our entrance at once, reveal our whole selves with all the good and bad qualities of our nationality" (Diagilev 1982). It was not critics or poets who began this, the first truly modernist literary journal in St. Petersburg, Russia. Rather, it was painters, musicians, and people who loved the performing arts and who finally found the confidence to break out from Populism, Naturalism, and Romanticism and launch this most successful Symbolist journal. The key participants were a cosmopolitan group of amateurs of the fine arts who were closely linked by blood or patronage to the *dvorianstvo* and the court. The *dvorianstvo* was the class of "serving nobility" originally created by Peter I. The purpose of this class was to counter the power of the old feudal nobility and to provide an educated upper class devoted to the crown. They were rewarded throughout the eighteenth century with land and serfs, and they acquired a great deal of independence. In spite of the root of the word *dvorianin*, which means courtier, this class became comparable to gentry who owned land and upper-middle-class professionals.

The earliest incarnation of what was to become of *Mir iskusstva* developed in a private school run by the Hoffmannesque German pedagogue Karl Ivanovich May. His students included the young Aleksandr Benois, Walter Nouvel, Dmitrii Filosofov, and Konstatin Somov. The group began calling themselves the "Nevsky Pickwickians," and their main interests lay in the theatrical and artistic world of St. Petersburg – their "world of art" by birth. Somov's father was an art historian and worked as the curator for the most famous museum in St. Petersburg, the Hermitage; Filosofov's mother was Anna Diagileva, a pioneer

of higher education for women and a renowned society hostess. Diagileva's salon was famous for providing both Turgenev and Dostoevskii with their models of social types throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Incidentally, Diagileva was eventually exiled for aiding and abetting terrorists in the 1880s. Nourvel and Benois were products of the *nemetskaia sloboda* – Petersburg foreigners whose people had made their home in Russia for several generations and who, without losing residual ties of language and religion with their homelands, had acquired an open-heartedness and passionate appetite for world culture more characteristic of their adopted country.

It was common in Russia for schoolboys to form circles of self-education, such as the circle Benois formed to study the history of art. The group would devour such art and architecture journals as *History of German Culture* and other journals from England, Germany, and France. The Benois family home always took several subscriptions to these journals; hence they were at the boys' disposal. Benois would deliver papers on Dürer. Cranach, and French artists at the time of Napoleon. Benios and Nouvel would set the pace for the others; they would reproduce whole scenes from operas they attended. Somov and Filosofov, while refusing to take part, giggled and laughted at their spectacles (Benois 1980). Somov left school two years before the others and enrolled in the Academy of Art. Benois and Filosofov became closer friends when Somov went off to the Academy, and Benois still spent a great deal of time at the Somov family's country estate "Bogdanovskoe." This estate had a system of ponds with islands and islets joined by tiny bridges. The fir trees were clipped to resemble sugar cones, and lime trees rose up above the pathways to form archways. The estate served as inspiration for Somov's paintings – landscapes with people *aux fêtes galantes* (Podkopaeva and Sveshnikova 1979). Watteau and Aubrey Beardsley were important influences on Somov, but his figures from the past or from the *commedia dell'arte* were conjured up to reflect a real landscape featuring the disintegrating estates of his friends. These paintings served as his first major artistic success at the *Blanc et noir* exhibition in 1897. Obviously, another great source of influence for the young artists was the many royal parks and palaces in the city of St. Petersburg. The boys had a common interest in creating artistic renditions of scenes from the past, and they had a keen interest in painting Russian palaces, such as Tsarskoe Selo, Peterhof, Pavlovsk, and Oranienbaum with their French counterparts Versailles, Fountainbleau, Rambouillet, and Vincennes. They considered their attempts at artistic representations to be an endeavor of the highest order: to discover the legendary "Russian soul" in art.

Sergei Pavlovich Diagilev moved to St. Petersburg in the summer of 1890 from his family estate in Penza. His father was a military man with a passion for music and a fine singing voice. It was rumored that the entire Diagilev family was very musically inclined, and that they were capable of casting and performing an entire opera. Diagilev's dream was to become a professional singer, and he took lessons from Rimsky-Korsakov. His ability to read a score and reproduce the tune was considered to be a great artistic asset in the days when recorded music was nonexistent. However, his friends suggested that his singing was too florid and too Italianate for their tastes. Nevertheless, Diagilev's influence on the group helped them to hone their own elemental musical instincts, and they all matured into professional musicians.

Sergei Diagilev and Dmitrii Filosofov were cousins, and Sergei was accepted into the "Nevsky Pickwickians" even though he was self-conscious of his country upbringing (Benois 1980). Diagilev traveled abroad with Filosofov, and the two began their university study together. Diagilev's musical taste varied from that of Filosofov, Benois, and Somov. While Filosofov, Benois, and Somov had outgrown Italian opera and were now interested in Wagner, Diagilev had been raised on Glinka and grew to discover Borodin, Chaikovskii, and Mussorgskii (Benois 1980). It was in the winter season of 1890-91 that all of the

Pickwickians were converted to Russian music. Borodin's *Prince Igor* and Chaikovskii's *The Queen of Spades* were performed in St. Petersburg. These operas brought Benois and the others to an epiphany and changed their attitudes toward Russian history (Diagilev 1982). Before *Prince Igor*, the Russian middle ages were represented as a blood-thirsty, barbarous wasteland in which Russian culture became stifled by the Tartars. Instead, *Prince Igor*'s presentation of a strong concept of Christian chivalry amidst foreign occupation gave the story a foundation in national pride. Chaikovskii's *The Queen of Spades* brought an evocation of eighteenth century Petersburg that opened Benois's eyes to the uncanny beauty of his own city (Benois 1980). Additionally, the representation of the past melded with the group's interest in retro-artistic representations and served as the signature *leitmotif* for the *Mir iskusstva*.

Around 1895, Benois began to follow a different path from Diagilev and the rest of the group. He met his future wife, got married and became a young father. His attention moved from artistic endeavors to raising his family, but Diagilev was to continue channeling his intellect, emotion, and vitality into stimulating, organizing, and influencing his more "creative friends" to form a new cultural force (Benois 1980). Ironically, the awkward country boy of the "Nevsky Pickwickians" became the leading figure of the *Mir iskusstva*. The group never lost touch with one another, and they still retained their devotion to one another and to Beauty in all of its manifestations. Some new faces came to the group in 1891-1892. Alfred Pavlovich Nurok introduced the Marquis de Sade, Choderlos de Laclos, and Oscar Wilde to the group toward the end of 1892. He is considered to be one of the more "decadent" influences on the Pickwickians as he advocated the new trends in moral freedoms and questioned traditional social protocols. Nurok brought Charles Birlet, a junior functionary at the French Embassy in St. Petersburg into the fold in the autumn of 1891. Birlet supplied the group with "scandalous" literature from Paris and also served in introduce the Pickwickians to the French Impressionist painters. Until they met Birlet, their interest in French art had been primarily in the Symbolist paintings of Gustave Moreau and the neo-Catholic mystic art of Puvis de Chavannes – whom they considered to be a parallel to the neo-Byzantine style of Nesterov and Vrubel'.

The first numbers of the *Mir iskusstva* journals document that Birlet did not necessarily succeed in turning the young Russians from their early enthusiasms, yet he did influence them to consider the idea that art is an expression of the artist's personality. According to Benois, this was a new ploy of the galleries to insist that an artist should be accepted or rejected for his indwelling genius rather than for the comparative worth of this or that picture (Benois 1980). The Petersburg group resisted the idea at first, but ultimately it was enthusiastically accepted by Diagilev, who was always more interested in the creative personality rather than the end product. As he stated in *Mir isskustva* nos. 3-4, "A work of art is important not in itself, but as an expression of the personality of the artist" (Diagilev 1899). Diagilev's emphasis on the importance of the creative personality manifested itself throughout the publication of *Mir iskusstva* as he repeatedly gave time and editorial space to some of Russia's most flamboyant and outlandish artistic personalities of the day.

One such example of Diagilev's penchant for intriguing and enchanting artists was the most admired and most professional Leon Bakst. Bakst, whose real name was Lev Rozenberg, became friendly with Benois and Diagilev through a circle of water-color artists organized by Benois's older brother Albert. Although Bakst had very little command of the French language, he got along very well with Birlet (who was also a skilled water-colorist), and Bakst soon became a member of the *Mir iskusstva* group. Influenced by his new friend, Bakst outgrew the conventional Populist social and political interests that had characterized his early art. Instead, he developed a sensuous, unmistakably *fin-de-siècle* artistic personality of his own. Bakst was the first to introduce the sinuous line and oriental flair for flat

patterning and rich color into the still-life paintings of garlands, gardens, flying draperies, and architectural sketches that appear in many of the *Mir isskustva* journals.

Bakst was very comfortable straddling the worlds of the sensual and the ideal. Unlike his friends, however, he had to support his widowed mother and numerous siblings, thus he was always on the lookout for commissions and tutorial positions. He became drawing master to the children of the Grand Prince Vladimir in 1892, and he received a royal commission to visit Paris. In Paris, he drew his famous "The Reception for the Russian Soldiers." Bakst laid the essential foundation for a cosmopolitan career and began to acquire the polish and poise of Western Europe granted to the rest of the group by affluent parents. Upon his return to Petersburg, Bakst began one of the most important aspects of his artistic career – he began to frequent the backstage area of the Mariinsky theater in St. Petersburg. This rare privilege granted by Genady Petrovich Kondrat'ev, the Mariinsky operatic director, allowed Bakst to study set designs and mechanical stage techniques. This was only to be the beginning of an international artistic vocation.

In 1893, the group began attracting a wider circle of practicing Russian artists. Benois began taking a subscription to Muther's *Geschichte der malerei im XIX Jahrhundert* in February. The journal stated that the Polish and Scandinavian chapters would be published, but made no mention of Russian art. Benois wrote to Muther and offered to give the journal information about Russian art and artists. Muther then commissioned him to contribute a chapter on Russian art. Thus, in October 1893, an installment on Russian art appeared with the by-line "with the co-operation of Alexander Benois." Benois's achievement inspired Filosofov and Diagilev to continue their efforts to present Russian art to Europe; they were more convinced than ever their group was one to expose the rest of the world to what Russia had to offer artistically. Additionally, Benois's success sparked German interest in Russian contemporary Russian artists. Diagilev also began writing art criticism for the newspaper *Novosti i Birzhevye Vedomosti*, which was the stronghold for the renowned Russian art critic Vladimir Statsov. Stasov held similar opinions about art and music to Nikokai Mihailovskii, and Diagilev at first afforded him exaggerated respect.

Benois consulted Diagilev's first critical effort and was surprised at Diagilev's innovative ideas. Diagilev's tone in these first articles was self-assured and, at times, brash. He began the discussion of light and color in art, which was new in Russian criticism at the time. He showed a schoolboy wit for which *Mir iskusstva* eventually became known. One such example of this came when, after Diagilev had finished commending the work of those artists who interested him, he went on to say "The rest are not worth discussing. This is dead art, and *de mortuis aut bene, aut nihil*" (Diagilev 1896). Having a few publications under their belts, the Nevsky Pickwickians had laid the foundation for what was to become known as *Mir iskusstva*. It is important to note that the title was more than just the name of the journal; the participants had created a "society" of those interested in making the introduction of Russian art to Western Europe as well as fostering a renaissance of artistic sensibilities in Russia a vocational endeavor. From 1896-1899, Benois accepted the appointment of curator of Princess Mariia Tenisheva's personal art collection and moved to Paris in order to make purchases on her behalf. Benois and his family welcomed Diagilev, Somov, and Bakst to visit Paris for long periods of time. Together, they would go to concerts, the ballet, the *Comédie Française*, the *Opèra Comique*, and the *Opèra*. They lamented the declining Parisian ballet and discussed ideas to revitalize the international ballet scene. They had the opportunity to study the French Impressionists, and Benois managed to promote Russian art in France as he acquired works of art for Princess Tenisheva. Diagilev organized the Seventeenth Exhibition of Russian Water-Colorists in St. Petersburg in 1897, and his art selection was inspired by the spontaneous, sketchy, "unfinished" quality of charcoal, ink and colored pencil works of art.

Although the exhibition was met with harsh criticism, Diagilev nonetheless opened the argument for new, younger, lesser known artists in Russia as well as Eastern Europe:

> A new generation is coming with demands of its own and it will make itself heard and say what it has to say. Your fear of the West, of everything that is new and talented, is the beginning of your divorce from your public, your dying sigh. The opposition is growing and you sense this, but you will have to change your tactics, change yourselves, otherwise you will be defeated (Diagilev 1896).

Diagilev kept up the pressure on the Russian art establishment by courting Moscow artists and identified "a handful of people" who was interested in new trends and new ideas that would place Russia on the international artistic map. Additionally, he widened the circle of those with an interest in Russian art during the 1897 exhibition was met with mixed reviews; nevertheless, Diagilev had managed to impress some of the critics. In May 1898, the exhibition moved to Paulus in Munich and was so well received by the German critics that it was only a matter of time before international attention was paid to Russian art. The risks Diagilev took to assure a reconsideration of Russian art was more successful than anticipated. Poets and prose writers sat up and took notice of how the "new art" and longed to be included in discussions as both critics of art and producers of art.

It was only natural for the Petersburg writers to have a vested interest in Diagilev's projects. Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, Zinaida Gippius, Feodor Sologub, and Nikolai Minsky had a huge interest in Diagilev's next big risk – founding a journal that would "unite all our artistic life." Gippius and Merezhkovskii were introduced to Diagilev's circle by Benois and Filosofov. Gippius and Merezhkovksii had great influence over the circle. They encouraged those involved to stick to their dream of re-creating Russian art and literature with a unified, national foundation that, heretofore, Russia lacked. Although all of the participants had a common goal, not all of them went about meeting that goal in the same ways. Nouvel, in particular, had a tough time identifying exactly *what* they were trying to achieve:

> […]I do see something true, good and beautiful in our former enthusiasms. These are the three words which, at the moment, we can't treat but with irony. Yet, when all's said and done, truth, goodness and beauty were the foundation, and a solid one, and what kind of foundation do we have now? And do we – *take a stand* – at all? In my case, I can't even call my condition *irren*, because the word implies a quest. I am simply *un jouet du flux et du reflux*. I despise the state that I am in but accept it as something unavoidable, fated… [sic] Yet I do have hopes for better times and I am convinced that some day we shall come to believe in something (Nouvel 1898).

This nostalgia for youthful idealism and this yearning for something intimate and personal to believe in led the founders of the *Mir iskusstva* to seek out and welcome the collaboration and contributions of other "teachers and philosophers" who had spent their time seeking truth, goodness, and beauty in the world. This quest for truth, beauty, and goodness was believed to be the remedy for a world that had lost its moral foundation. Thus, the Merezhkovskiis suited the *Mir iskusstva* group's style. As seirous "seekers," they appeared to be the epitome of cosmopolitatn refinement. Gippius had a passion for friendship and bold, creative discussions. Merezhkovskii interested them as one who perceived culture in terms of a man's quest for God. When Benois and Filosofov first sought them out (quite independently of one another), Merezhkovskii was just beginning to emerge from the dualism portrayed in his early works, and he was focusing on his growing interest in Christ. Approaching this stage of development as a writer and philosopher, and after his argument with Volynsky over *Severnyi Vestnik*, Merezhkovskii was searching for an outlet for both his original literary work and his criticism. Gippius and Merezhkovskii felt an instant affinity

with the *Mir isskustva* group, and the group reciprocated their enthusiasm with a profound interest in the couple's quest for a renaissance of Christianity in Russia. The flamboyant personality of Gippius – her strong opinions and her androgynous play with fashion and gender in particular – attracted younger artists such as Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, as well as the group as a whole. Diagilev was of the opinion that art should reflect the personality of the artist, and this philosophy of art was fully applicable to Gippius. She was the only woman in the group (except Diagilev's old nanny), and she thoroughly enjoyed th attention afforded to her at the lively Wednesday receptions for, as it was now officially called, *Mir iskusstva*.

Feodor Filosofov was to be the literary editor and busied himself with the Herculean task of getting the journal off the ground. He had little help in spite of having secured the Merezhkovskiis's support. They had left in the summer of 1899 for Italy, Sicily, and Germany. Filosofov took on the daily responsibilities of organizing the literary section, choosing the luxurious paper and elegant eighteenth century typeface, rendering the pen-and-ink drawings to the publication, planning the lay-out of the first numbers of the journal, and keeping up with the massive correspondence of the new project. Diagilev was in charge of securing funding from Princess Tenisheva and Savva Mamontov. Mamontov negotiated the delicate politics associated with finding new patrons while at the same time avoiding conflicts of interest with his own "Petersburg" group. When such conflicts arose between entrepreneurs and art collectors, Diagilev and Filosofov acted as diplomatic, artistic marketers by romanticizing both industry and native, neo-primitive forms of art. The place for the new art, they maintained, was not in museums but rather out in the street for all to see and appreciate: in the design and decorations of railway stations and in mosaics on new public buildings and in church frescoes. Moreover, if the *nouveau riches* wanted to imprint their personalities on their surroundings by building richly ornamental mansions with artist-designed furniture, this could be seen as an implementation of the *Mir iskusstva* slogan "We seek only the individual and believe only in ourselves" (Diagilev 1898).

Diagilev often asserted independence from Tenisheva and Mamontov, but did manage to come to some compromises in taste. Manmontov suggested that the first numbers of the journal be devoted to Viktor Vasnetsov, a heavy-handed nationalist painter, from whom Diagilev acquired many of his best works for reproduction right out from under the nose of a rival journal *Iskussvo i Khudozhestvennaia Promyshlennost'* (Vasnetsov 1987). When the first numbers of *Mir iskusstva* appeared in St. Petersburg in November 1898, forces of Russian history and politics made the achievement bittersweet. Famine in the provinces of Penza and Kazan devastated the population; the generation of the 1860s (who had emancipated the serfs on February 19, 1861) were still struggling with their ideas of "moral renewal" and were bound to serving the peasantry from the standpoint of enlightenment, affluence and privilege; citizens were debating ideas about the historical process on the basis of philosophical arguments by Nietzsche and Marx; and *Mir iskusstva* was attempting to "save" art and artists from the banal, monotonous foundation of Russian literature. The reception of the first numbers of *Mir iskusstva* was a mixed bag of social, political, and historical reactions. Many felt that, although the idea of bringing art to the masses and "out in the street" was a good intention, there was so much suffering and misery in Russia, what good could art do for those who were starving, illiterate, and destitute ? The debate between justice and charity began. Nietzsche had discredited charity and Marx had established that it was not individuals who moved history, but rather the dialectic of class struggle (justice). It would seem, then, that the historical process could be left to itself. Akim Volynsky asserted, "The real aim of the socialist workman and the capitalist dandy are one and the same." Merezhkovskii shared the view that Marxism emancipates art from social concern and wrote in the second number of *Mir iskusstva*: "In politics, the fathers are 'populists,' the children 'Marxists,' in art 'realists and 'decadents,' in philosophy 'positivists' and 'mystics'"

(Merezhkovskii 1901). Feodor Filosofov, as literary editor of *Mir iskusstva*, was interested in the idea of the autonomy of art. He purported an artistic "freedom for the sake of freedom" and believed that this notion did not need to rely upon an exterior force – whether it is conservative or liberal. In the first editorial, Diagilev dismissed the critical police of Populism as "decadents of realism, boring enemies, still boasting of the vigor of their flabby muscles and of the seasonableness of their moldering truths" (Diagilev 1899).

The psychology of the *Mir iskusstva* and its aims were a combination of a disappearing social class and a nation poised for revolution. Begun at the end of the great nineteenth century, funded with borrowed money, and approaching the turn of the century, *Mir iskusstva* was the epitome of binary oppositions. The group bore the brunt of critics, and they made their journal analogous to Janus; to them, *Mir iskusstva* had "its gaze fixed ahead and through what it sees there is utter balderdash, at least it enjoys the contemplation thereof with immense enthusiasm" (Burenin 1898). This idea of *Mir iskusstva* having the ability to look forward and backward at the same time afforded the journal the ability not only to see the history and the future of Russian literature and culture, but to broaden the scope of its gaze to exceed cultural boundaries. The "immense enthusiasm" must be credited to the participants and contributors of the journal. The interesting class-based mix of the participants consisted of aristocrats, bourgeois patronage, cosmopolitan Petersburgers, as well as provincial writers and artists.

The artistic tastes of these people were a very diverse reflection of the "new trends" in Russian art and literature at the end of the nineteenth century. Of course, with so many people of such different backgrounds with such different tastes and individual artistic philosophies, there were bound to be splits within this group. In short, there were conservative contributors and radical contributors. The conservatives were Benois, Evgennii Lanceray, Iaremich, Merezhkovskii, and (sometimes) Serov. The radicals were Nurok, Nouvel, Bakst, Gippius, Minsky, and (sometimes) Serov. Diagilev and Filosofov balanced the group out, and often their disagreements were laid out in the pages of the journal itself. However heated the discussions and disagreements became, the policy of *Mir iskusstva* gave each individual the freedom to express his or her viewpoint. This freedom fostered the revolution in literary and artistic taste. Thus, *Mir iskusstva* was successful on two very important fronts: first, it encouraged its readers to appreciate the beauty of St. Petersburg palaces and museums, to appreciate the elegance of the reigns of Paul and Alexander I, and sparked interest in medieval Russian studies by featuring medieval architecture and Russian iconography. Secondly, it educated its readers in history and brought out the contemporary significance of their readers' literary heritage. One example of this can be found in numbers 13-14, in which in the group devoted an entire publication to Alexander Pushkin (1899).

In the fall of 1899, almost one year since the publication of the first numbers of *Mir iskusstva*, the journal experienced very serious financial crises. Benois, who had been responsible for augmenting Princess Tenisheva's art collection – and who had arranged her financial support of the journal – left her service upon the death of his father. His speedy exit from her service resulted in a feeling of betrayal on the part of the Princess. Further, Tsar Alexander III had refused to accept her art collection for the Russian Museum. Mamontov also had to withdraw his funding from the journal due to a stock-exchange scandal that led to his arrest and financial ruin. Benois, Diagilev and Serov scrambled to secure funding for the continuation of the journal. They approached Stanislavsky's patron, Savva Morozov, for help, but he could not oblige them. Support was secured from a very unexpected patron during a fortuitous royal commission. Serov had been asked to paint a portrait of the future Tsar of Russia, Nicolas II. During the sittings, Serov confided his worries about *Mir iskusstva*'s future to Nicholas. Nicholas responded with a subsidy from the "privy purse."

Once people heard of this support, the support of other patrons was won and the financial future of *Mir isskustva* was assured.

Benois's return to St. Petersburg allowed him to assist Diagilev with the many entrepreneurial tasks of the *Mir iskusstva* journal. Further, when I.A. Vsevoloshky, the old director of the imperial theaters, retired, he was replaced by the young Prince Sergei Volkonskii, who viewed the *Mir iskusstva* favorably. Diagilev was then offered the post of *chinovnik osobykh poruchenii*, which, loosely translated, means a personal attaché to the new imperial director. Filosofov also found a new avenue for his talents- he accepted a post on the repertory committee for the Alexandrinskii Theater. These new position for the "Nevsky Pickwickians" allowed *Mir iskusstva* ideas about art to filter onto the Russian stage. By the turn of the century, most of the imperial theaters were at the disposal of the group. Diagilev was also entrusted with the editorship of the *Annual of the Imperial Theaters for 1899-1900*, and it goes without saying that he asked his friends to contribute. This transformation of the *Mir iskusstva* from an opulent journal to theatrical repertoire delighted the Tsar and also confirmed the group's good standing in the field of Russian art.

In the summer of 1900, Benois took the post of secretary and editor to the imperial *Obshchestvo pooshchreniia khudozhestv* (Society for the Encouragement of the Arts). He renamed the journal *Khudozhestvennye Sokrovishcha Rossii* (Art Treasures of Russia) and transformed it into a complement for *Mir iskusstva*. The new journal was an exercise in the education of public taste, and published reproductions and photographs of what was considered to be the national cultural heritage, and contained factual documentation on the works that were reproduced. Benois viewed *Khudoshestvennye Sokrovishcha Rossii* as a way people could educate themselves about art in general, then turn to *Mir isskustva* for critical analyses of art, literature and culture.

This new journal allowed the group to assume a role of influence and pedagogy in the field of art and seemed to grow by the hour. However, Diagilev was not exactly happy with his new role within the group in 1901 due to "a series of intrigues directed against his patron Volkonsky" (Lieven 1936). These intrigues caused him to be dismissed from the imperial theaters just before the staging of the very first *Mir isskustva* ballet, Delibe's *Sylvia*. This was a huge set-back for Diagilev, and he retreated to the *Mir iskusstva* journal and finished his book on the eighteenth century Russian portrait painter D.G. Levitsky, which he published before the end of 1901. This book was a serious, extended *History of Russian Art.* Both books lent the *Mir iskusstva* an academic responsibility and respectability they had not yet achieved.

The set-back to the *Mir iskusstva*'s advancement to the Russian stage proved to be temporary. Within the year, V. A. Teliakovskii had replaced Prince Volkonskii, and brought with him from Moscow the artists Korovin and Golovin. He also asked Bakst and Benois to work on ballets and operas, but he refused to re-open the door to Diagilev. It was through Teliakovsky that Bakst received the commission to design sets and costumes for Merezhkovskii's translation of *Hipploytus* at the Alexandrinskii Theater. Bakst was also asked to design a ballet, and Benois was offered the Wagner opera *Götterdämmerung*. Diagilev was essentially left out in the cold, and it was difficult for him to stand by while his two good friends were given such positions of influence.

The appearance on the scene of the *Mir iskusstva*'s Munich correspondent, Igor Grabar' (a painter and an art historian) did not ease Diagilev's woes. Grabar' had the backing of the wealthy Sergei Alexandrovich Shcherbatov. Diagilev took his emergence in St. Petersburg as a direct threat to his position in *Mir iskusstva*. Although Grabar' did not easily fit in with the Nevsky Pickwickians, Serov, Benois, and Filosofov were prepared to tolerate his presense. Grabar''s place in *Mir iskusstva* became apparent as there was plenty of room in the group to foster a wider movement of rediscovery of Russian icons (Grabar' 1909).

Diagilev's suspicions that Grabar' might undermine his already compromised authority was not exactly without merit. Within one year of his arrival in St. Petersburg, Grabar' along with the help of Shcherbatov and another wealthy patron from Moscow founded his own society called *Sovremennoe iskusstvo* (Contemporary Art). The society was located in the heart of St. Petersburg and the windows were decorated and signed by *Mir isskustva* artists (Diagilev 1899). The commercialism of the project shocked the older members of *Mir iskusstva*. Gippius, in particular, was taken aback when she visited the society's office. In an article she wrote on the project, she stated "[s]uch a short time ago it seemed to us, the way of contemporary art appeared as a way out into the infinite, when we still expected something from it, hoped for something" (Gippius 1970). Gippius found many problems with the room of the new society. The daydreams of spending millions upon millions of rubles necessary so that artists would be at her service and of herself working on an article or poem at Korovin's desk are fallacious. She asserted that under no circumstances would anyone be able to do something as inelegant as to die in that apartment that was *only designed for living*. Finally, she decided that she preferred to be "In my current ugly apartment with hideous tables and armchairs, with shelves full of old books, with bright curtains and the icon of Christ in the corner…" (Gippius 1970). It is interesting to note Gippius's contrast between the amenities that were available to the new group and the attitude with which the *Mir iskusstva* sought to bring to the Russian art scene, and the very attitudes the *Mir iskusstva* sought to change began to emerge as new artists and thinkers used *Mir iskusstva* as their model for a renaissance of Russian culture.

To *Mir iskusstva*, the years 1899-1900 were more than just the end of one century and the beginning of a new one. The art exhibitions they hosted were worldly successes. It was this very success that caused the group to splinter into sub-groups when points of view clashed. Diagilev's dream of bringing St. Petersburg a truly international art exhibition was realized. The paintings of forty-two artists, including Boecklin, Moreau, Whistler, Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, and Monet were shown alongside Russian works chosen by Diagilev. In February 1900, a committee was formed to plan another exhibition. The committee included Diagilev, Benois, Serov from *Mir iskusstva*, and Roehrich, Golovin, Golubkina (a sculptor) and Prince Trubetskoi. The exhibition was arranged under the auspices of *Mir iskusstva* and the Petersburg Academy of Arts. However, Diagilev, Benois, and Somov also participated in a second exhibition that year. This second exhibition was in a broader scope than the *Mir iskusstva*/Moscow school exhibition. This second exhibition was entitled "Exhibition of Thirty-Six Artists" and was held at the Stroganov Institute in Moscow in 1902-1903.

Diagilev supported the exhibition, but found himself struggling for independence within the committee. The problems among Diagilev, Benois, Serov, and the Moscow group continued to grow until Diagilev's authority was usurped in November 1903. Two more exhibitions were held in St. Petersburg, and they were arranged according to Diagilev's principle that an exhibition is not just a collection of paintings and sculptures, but should be organized like a work of art in itself. Diagilev's effort to outdo the "Thirty-Six Artists" exhibition to be held in Moscow made the exhibition a very important event. A student from the Natural Science Faculty of Moscow University, Boris Bugaev. Bugaev, who wrote under the *nom de plume* Andrei Bely, was still reluctant to admit to his authorship of *Vtoraia (Dramaticheskaia) Simfoniia*, a sensationally innovative first book, attended the preview of this exhibition. Bely was a *protégé* of Gippius and Merezhkovskii. He observed the exhibition as well as the split within *Mir iskusstva*. He noticed the difference between the "snob artists" and the writers at the exhibition, and in particular, he noticed how Diagilev stood apart from the group, obviously uncomfortable due to his fall from grace at court (Bely 1933). Bely became a regular contributor to *Mir iskusstva* via his friendship with Merezhkovskii and Gippius. His contributions signaled a new generation of Symbolists

finding a voice within the group. The inclusion of new talented writers in *Mir iskusstva* did very little to ameliorate relationships within the movement.

The in-fighting that was already going on in the editorial office was exacerbated by the difference between those who considered themselves to be "writers" and those who considered themselves to be "thinkers." The diversity of new material did little to unite the group. The group soon tired of the arguments between Diagilev and the rest. This was readily apparent in the next Mir Iskussva exhibition, hosted by Benois in his Petersburg Society for the Encouragement of the Arts in February-March of 1903. During the debriefing following the exhibition, a vote was taken and Diagilev was ousted. It was decided that the art exhibitions and their committees would unite with the "Moscow Thirty-Six" and form a new society that would be called "The Union of Russian Artists" (Benois 1980). Filosofov and Benios were extremely relieved by this vote, although they knew it would signal the end of the *Mir iskusstva*.

Diagilev managed to organize a final farewell *Mir iskusstva* exhibition two years after the demise of the journal in 1904, and just before his own departure to Paris for the "Russian seasons" ballets. This exhibition was held in St. Petersburg in February-March 1906. The public loved this exhibition. Not only were the usual Russian artists featured, there were also important selections from Vrubel' and Viktor Borisov-Musatov. There were more painterly, more mysterious, more truly Symbolist works of art within the exhibition. The majority of the pictures depicted an interest in and respect for form and material that had been cultivated by *Mir iskusstva* for over a decade. After this resounding success, Diagilev went on to have more triumphs when he left for Paris and the *Ballets russes*.

Bt the time Diagilev left, most of the alliances in *Mir iskusstva* had disintegrated. It was not merely a reflection of division between the writers and artists that caused this break down, but rather an intrinsic quality of the group that caused them to self-destruct. In 1901, Diagilev and Filosofov physically threw Bakst down a flight of stairs for giving away secrets of the imperial stage to a gossip columnist, Bakst came back, but Somov was so extremely indignant about the incident that he broke off tires with Diagilev and never forgave him for the incident.

Also in 1901, Benois had a very public falling out with Filosofov about a religious polemic printed in *Mir iskusstva*. Both had been followers of Merezhkovskii and Gippius, yet Filosofov wanted more religious and aesthetic content in the journal and Benois wanted more literary content. Benois claimed in his memoires that Filosofov was already tired of working on the journal; he also stated that Filosofov was getting closer and closer to Gippius and Merzhkovskii on a personal as well as religious basis. By 1902, Filosofov and Diagilev were clearly going in different directions. The reason for this was their different attitudes to the "new religious consciousness" that had at one time been cohesive between Gippius and Merezhkovskii and the rest of the *Mir iskusstva* group. This particular religious bent never appealed to Diagilev, and he certainly grew more and more tired of it was it grew into a broad-based, socially active movement. The idea of entering into a dialogue with the Russian Orthodox Church greatly appealed to Filosofov at this time. He seems to have gone through a religious transformation from the beginning of *Mir iskusstva* to the end. As Diagilev was heading off for Paris, Filosofov was to become more allied with Gippius and Merezhkovskii. Filosofov remained close with them until he elected to stay in Poland instead of going to Paris with them in 1919.

Ultimately, the monolithic title of *Mir iskusstva* or even the term "Silver Age" blankets significant divisions between two major threads of discourse. Sometimes these divisions intermeshed, but they are still distinctive from one another and should be defined and discussed within the larger context of Silver Age Culture. *Mir iskusstva* contributed to Silver Age culture throughout Russia and Western Europe long after the journal shut down

publication in 1904. The emergence of the *Mir iskusstva* was an important forum for the Symbolist artists and writers after the 1898 closure of the journal *Severnyj vestnik* forced them to establish their own, "truly Symbolist" journal.

References

Bely, Andrei. *Nachalo veka*. Moscow-Leningrad, 1933.

---, *Simvolism. Knigia statei*. Müchen, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1969.

Benois, Alexander. *Moi vospominaniia v plati knigakh*. Vol. 1. Ed. D.S. Likachev. Moscow, 1980.

Blok, Aleksandr. *Byli i inebylitsy*. Ed. I. Paul'mann and L.S. Fleishman. Bremen: K-Presse, 1977.

---,"O sovremennom sostoianii russkovo simvolizma," *Apollon*. Vol.8, 1910.

Briusov, Valerii. *Dnevniki 1891-1910*. Moscow: Izd. M.I.S. Sabatnikovyx, 1927.

---, "O 'resi rabskoi', v zashchitu poezii," *Apollon*, vol. 9, 1910.

---, and A. L. Miropol'skii. *Russkii Simvolisty*. 2 vols. Moskva: Vozhvizhenka, Krestovozd', Per., D. Lusskera, 1894.

---, *Sobranie sochinenii*. St Petersburg, 1901.

Burenin, V. P. *Novie Vremia*. No. 816. St Petersburg, 1898.

Diagilev, Sergei. "Akvarel'naia vystavka," *Novosti i Birshevaia Gazeta*. No. 8. 1896.

---, "Opyt khudozhestvennoi otsenki," *Mir iskusstva*. No. 3-4. St. Petersburg, 1899.

---, *Sergei Diagilev I russkoe iskusstvo. Stat' I Otkrytye pis'ma, interv'iu. Perepiska.*

Sovremenniniki o Diagileve v 2-x tomakh. Ed. I.S. Zilbershtein and V.A. Samkov. Vol. 2. Moscow: 1982.

, Alexander. *Sobranie sochinenii*. Moscow, 1900.

Gippius, Zinaida Nikolaevna. *Dmitrii Merezhkovskii*. Paris, 1951.

---, *Literaturnii dnevnik 1899-1907*. Müchen, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970.

Grabar', Igor. *Moia Zhizn'. Avtomonografiia*. Moscow/Leningrad, 1937.

Greene, Roland and Stephen Cushman, eds. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. 4th

Edition. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2012.

Ivanov, Viacheslav. *Sobranie sochinenii*. Vol. 2. Briussel: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1971.

---, "Zavetu simvolizma," *Apollon*. Vol. 8, 1910.

Lieven, Prince Peter. *The Birth of the Ballets Russes*. Trans. L. Zarine. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1936.

Martinsen, Deborah A., ed. *Literary Journals in Imperial Russia*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Merezhkovskii, Dmitrii. *Dve taniny russkoi poezii*. St. Petersburg, 1915.

---, *Mir iskusstva*, No. 23-24. St. Petersburg, 1901.

---, *O prichinax upadka i o novye techniiax sovremennoi russkoi literaturyri.* St. Petersburg: B. M. Bol'fa, 1893.

Mikhailovsky, N. K. *Literaturnye vospominaniia I sovremennaia smuta*. Vol. 2. St. Petersburg, 1900.

Nordau, Max. *Degeneration*. Trans. from the 2nd edition of the German work. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Nouvel, Walter. *Severnyi Vestnik.* Nos. 10-12. St. Petersburg, 1898.

Podkopaeva, Iu.N. and A.N. Sveshnikova, eds. *Konstantin Andreevich Somov. Pisma. Dnevniki.*

Suzhdeniia sovremennikov. Moscow, 1979.

Vasnetov , V. M. *Viktor Mikhailovich Vasnetsov*. Moscow, 1987.

Vengerov, S. A. ed. *Russkaia literatura XX-veka 1890-1910*. Moscow: Mir, 1914.

Volynsky, Akim. *Severnyi Vestnik.* Nos. 10-12. St. Petersburg, 1898.
---, *Severnyi Vestnik*. No 5-6. St. Petersburg, 1895.
---, *Severnyi Vestnik*. No. 1-2. St. Petersburg, 1893.

BOSNIA'S KIN IN TURKEY AND THE CULTURAL IMPORTANCE OF THE AFFINAL RELATION "PRIJATELJI"

Keith DOUBT, Professor
Wittenberg University

Abstract
Marriage practices can mark the distinctive identity of an ethic group. This study examines one shared marriage custom of Bosniaks in Bosnia and Turkey. The objective is to understand the cultural similarities between Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia and Bosnian Turks in Turkey. The study conducts interviews of Bosniaks in Eastern Bosnia and Western Turkey. In Bosnia, ritualized visitations between the husband and wife's families after marriage establish the affined relation called "prijetelji" (friends). The visitations are called "pohode." The visitations build community, strengthen ethnic identity, and develop social capital. In Bosnia, affine relations may become close and friendly. Due to assimilation, Bosniaks in Turkey follow Turkish pre-wedding customs like *kiz isteme*, *söz kesme*, and *nişan*, which are not commonly practiced in Bosnia. At the same time, Bosniaks in Turkey retain the custom of ritualized visitations between families after marriage, calling them *prvice* (first visit) and *povratak* (return visit). Such visitations do not typically occur in the larger population of Turkey. As reported in various anthropological studies, affine relations in Turkey are distant and formal, perhaps even hostile. This custom of ritualized affine visitations is thus unique to Bosniaks living in Turkey and shared with Bosniaks living in Bosnia. The visitations are "confirmatory ceremonies" for individuals, families, and community; as rites of passage, they are crucial to the ethnic identity of Bosniaks.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Affine Relations, Bosniaks, Bosniaks in Turkey, Marriage Customs.

On the Asian side of Istanbul in a section of the city called Pendikis an area populated by a large number of Bosniaks. I am the beneficiary of several conversations with Professors William G. Lockwood and Victor Ayoub. Whatever flaws are in this study are my own. I would like to think Colin Martin for his assistance and good company during visits to Pendik and Bursa. I am grateful to Aida Hadžiavdić Begović at Mareco Index Bosnia for advice and support. On a street approaching the five-block neighborhood stands a restaurant called Mostar Restoran. Covering the restaurant's front wall is a gigantic picture of Stari Most. Further on the street is a small bakery that serves burek and pita. Inside the bakery are pictures of the Seblj in Sarajevo and "kuća" on the Nervetariver. In a tall community center on the third-floor is a large hall with a café where men play chess. In one corner of the hallis a museum with adult-size manikins Bosnia costumes, pictures of people dancing in "kolo," and cultural artifacts. Children study their parents' mother-tongue in the community center on weekends. The Bosniak ethnic identity is sustained in Turkey in this small section of Pendik in Istanbul.

For two days in spring of 2013 I walked through the neighborhood and talked with people in cafes and the civic center. I asked people whether they had lived in Bosnia. They answered no. I asked whether they had relatives in Bosnia. Only a few answered yes. I asked whether they ever visited Bosnia. Almost all answered no. The people I talked with were

mostly from Novi Pazaar. Nevertheless, the most prominent pictures in the neighborhood were from Bosnia, well-known locales in Bosnia, not Sanjak. For Bosniaks who are not from Bosnia, symbols of the Bosniak identity originate from Bosnia.

There is a deeper way in which Bosniaks in Pendikmaintain their ethnic identity. Besides material culture, there are social customs they maintain. One custom is the establishment of affined relations after marriage. The in-law-ship is called "prijatelji," which means friends but names in-law-ship as well. People in Pendikspoke warmly of their "snaha" (daughter-in-law), "zet" (son-in-law), "svekar" (wife's father-in-law), "svekrva" (wife's mother-in-law), "punac" (husband's father-in-law), or "punica" (husband's mother-in-law). These Bosnian words for different affiant relations were immediately recognized and understood. The taken-for-granted use of these words in Pendiktestifies to the preservation of this custom. When I asked about "prijatelji" and its importance, people smiled. Older men's eyes watered. These in-law relations are woven into the tapestry of Bosniak family life in Turkey. The custom is important to the identity of Bosniaks, certainly as important as the public displays of images from Bosnia.

In *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way*, Tone Bringa (1995) describes the importance of affiant relations among Bosniaks. She argues that the marriage process is not complete until certain prescribed rituals occur after marriage. The rituals create an interconnectedness between the bride and groom's families. The in-laws-hips are not established automatically, but need to be enacted. Visitations and gift-giving during visitations confirm the affiant relationship. These relations, moreover, are established in a secular rather than religious sphere. A couple from central Bosnia commented in an embarrassed way that it was not unusual for them to visit their parents and find their spouse's parents already there drinking coffee.

This in-law-ship called "prijatelji" is the water Bosniaks swim in, but Bosniaks are not aware of the water they swim in, its distinct nature as a culture and its social importance. After my own marriage in North America, my wife's parents, who are from Canada, visited my parents on the East coast in the United States for two days on route to South Carolina. Their visit occurred without the involvement of either my wife or me. My wife and I heard of the visit only after it occurred. Two months later, my wife's parents visited second time. When a couple's parents make the effort to become friends after their children's marriage, it is confirmatory. While the affiant visitation is somewhat out of the ordinary in North America, it is ordinary in Bosnia. What is atypical in other cultures is normative in Bosnia.

Like Bringa, the anthropologist William G. Lockwood (1972)discusses the importance of "prijatelji" for the ethnic identity of Bosniaks. Lockwood argues that affiant relations, which he refers to as "prijateljstvo," "tends to be regarded more highly than any other bond between households, including all but the closest agnatic relations." The high regard is unexpected because in Bosnia marriages are generally couple-initiated rather than family-initiated. When marriage is couple-initiated, families have little say about the initiation of the marriage. One way a couple initiates a marriage is through elopement. In Bosnia elopements are a cultural tradition, as traditional as arraigned marriages. If arraigned marriage is family-initiated, elopement is couple-initiated. In 2011 twenty-two percent of 861 subjects selected from the Bosnian population reported marrying through elopement. It is unexpected, as Lockwood indicates that after couple-initiated marriage, families would make the effort, feel obliged to make the effort, to become inter-connected as in-laws.

The effort to establish meaningful in-law-ships is a feature of the Bosniak's cultural heritage and perhaps the Bosnian heritage in general. It is noteworthy that Bosniaks in Turkey maintain this uniqueness in the broader context of Turkey's national culture. In Turkey, affiant relations are established, but they are enacted before rather than after marriage. Families are highly involved in the pre-wedding events even if a marriage is not an

arraigned in marriage. A set of pre-martial events characterize marriages. The first event is called "kizisteme." The groom's family goes and visits the bride's family to ask for the hand of the family's daughter. The bride's family typically anticipates this visit. The visit formalizes the couple's situation. The second event is called "sözkesme." This is a private ceremony that involves family members on both sides. An elder figure in the community gives a short speech and put rings on the fingers of the future bride and groom. The third event is called "nişan." This is an engagement party, a public gathering, where it is declared publically that the couple is engaged. The rings put on at the previous event are replaced with new and different rings. Orhan Pamuk's *The Museum of Innocence* dramatizes the extremely public character of the "nişan." The final event is the wedding itself, called "düğün."In order "to carry the couple's relationship to its culmination in marriage," families from both sides are brought into the marriage process (Tekçe 2004:184).

In Bosnia, engagement parties called "vjeridba" occur, but they occur less frequently and are not a national custom as they are in Turkey. Twenty-six percent of 671 subjects in Bosnia reported having an engagement party when they married in a survey conducted spring 2013. The percent of Bosniaks having an engagement party before the wedding was 24.9% , the percentage of Serbs 26.7%, and the percentage of Croats 33%.Engagement parties occur less frequently among Bosniaks in Bosnia. What is unique among Bosniaks is that making a connection between a bride and groom's families occurs after marriage. Cultural customs confirm the affiant connections. There is a phrase in Bosnia, "hiljadu sela, hiljadu običaja," [one thousand villages, one thousand customs].In different regions visitations have different names. In central Bosnia, where Bringa did her study, visits are called "pohod." The visiting family brings gifts for the host family. Other names are "mirnost" [in peace] or "prvine" [first visit]. Members of the husband's household still visit the wife's family, done as soon as possible, even when marriage is created through elopement, and the visits called "namir" [for peace]. Lockwood (1972:74) reports the following custom during a visitation.

> On one evening of the visit in the bride's natal home, a group of kin and neighbors attempts to hang her husband by his feet from a house beam. The girl's mother intercedes and "buys" her son-in-law (*kupiti zeta*) by paying ransom of coffee and *šerbe* to the world-be abductors. From this point on peace prevails between the two households and they are regarded as *prijatelji*.

Bosnia sin Pendik reported that they follow variations of these customs. They distinguished these visits with two different names: "Prvice" [first visit], which refers to when a husband's family visits the bride's family, usually within one week after the wedding, and "povratak" [return visit], which refers to when the bride's family makes a reciprocal visit after receiving a visit from the groom's family. Inhabitants in Pendik indicated that there were frequent interactions between affines. The intensity of their in-law ties in their neighborhood is high.

Within the Turkish national culture, there do not appear to be specific social customs to strengthen the affiant relation after marriage is consummated. In *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940*, Alan Duden and Cem Behar (1991) point out that social arrangements for betrothal and marriage are conducted by the families. The groom and bride's families remain connected to the couple, but they themselves do not connect in any ritualized manner. Through continuing financial contributions, the families remain involved in a couple's marriage. When in a café I asked an elder Bosniak who had lived in Turkey more than fifty years what it was like to be "svekar" and "punac," two different words for father-in-law, having both a married daughter and a married son, he said with a smirk that he was always being asked for money.

A recent study of marriage in Turkey examines the first-year of marriage and compares family-initiated marriages to couple-initiated marriages (Hortaçsu 1999). The study makes the following observations: couples in couple-initiated marriages are closer to the wife's family, men in family-initiated marriages are more involved with their natal families, and women in couple-initiated marriages interact more with their own families. There is no mention of group interactions between the husband and wife's families as in-laws after marriage.

Bosniaks in Pendik indicated that they follow the Turkish customs and the Bosnian customs, organizing engagement parties before the wedding and making in-law visitations after the wedding. Bosniaks are assimilated into the national Turkish culture and at the same time Bosnia sin Pendik retain their ethnic distinctiveness. In a paradoxical way, the more Bosniaks assimilate into the Turkish culture, the more they retain their ethnic customs. Bosniaks do not sacrifice their ethnic distinctiveness. At the same time, Bosniaks are not framed as "Other" within the Turkish society. When in the civic center I pressed an older man about his Bosniak heritage, he raised his eyebrows at me and showed me his veteran's card saying he had fought in Cyprus as a Turkish soldier. Despite participation and membership in surrounding cultures and the broader Turkish society, the discrete category of an ethnic identity is maintained. Cultural differences persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence (Barth 1994).

In Turkey the betrothal process is family-initiated rather than couple-initiated. This is true in rural and urban communities, in traditional and modern settings. Within the Turkish culture betrothal rituals endow the marriage with its moral character. The non-involvement of one side of a couple's family in the betrothal process is a hurt that "lingers a long time after the marriage has taken place" (Tekçe 2004:184).In Bosnia, the situation is different. The betrothal process is couple-initiated rather than family-initiated, which from the viewpoint of the Turkish national culture is viewed as deviant. Then, after marriage is consummated, marriage is symbolically family-initiated through ritualized affine visitations. It is these visitations that endow the marriage with its moral character in Bosnia. The marriage process is not complete until "prijatelji" has been established (1995).

Bronislaw Malinowski said that the study of kinship is like "kinship algebra" (Ferraro 2007:232).Kinship can be based on either blood or marriage. Relations through blood are called agnatic or consanguine relations. Relations through marriage are called affinal relations. Algebra computes sets of numbers; the sets may be finite or infinite. When calculating interrelations of agnatic relatives, ego's blood line, anthropologists calculate a finite set, a finite set of elements, that is, a finite set of *blood relatives.* When calculating interrelations of affiant relatives, anthropologists calculate what may seem to be an infinite but nevertheless countable set. It is difficult to surmise the limit of affinal kinship.

Bringa (1995) and Lockwood (1975) both report that in contrast to Christian households who can often count their ancestors as a finite set back ten generations, Muslim households "display little interest in recounting long genealogies" (Lockwood 1972:75). In the village Lockwood(1972:76) studied nobody could "name a forebear beyond his grandfather's generation." To say that Bosniaks do not calculate their agnatic lineage, however, is not to say that Bosniaks lack algebra to calculate kinship. It is rather to say that Bosniaks use a set that is more like an infinite than finite set to calculate kinship in that they calculate affinal as well as agnatic kinships.

Marriages serve two functions in society, which anthropologists refer to as the vertical function and the horizontal function (Ferraro 2007:234). The vertical function preserves continuity by sustaining a family's blood line. The agnatic group is paramount; agnatic solidarity is emphasized. One frequently cited example of marriage that serves the vertical function, which is found desirable in the Middle East, is when a bride marries the son of her

father' brother. Such a marriage tightens the ties of the agnatic group, making it stronger. In the Balkans, this marriage, however, would be viewed as incestuous among not only Bosniaks but also other Slavic ethnic groups, which is not to say that among Christian Slavic groups the agnatic group is unimportant.

Marriages that serve the horizontal function tie society together across a single generation. Relations outside one's blood line are established creating a wider solidarity within the society. In every kinship structure there is each function, verticalness and horizontalness, in one way or another. Eugene Hammel's (1968) study of Serbian Orthodox kinship structures points out that horizontalness within a Serbian Orthodox community was traditionally achieved through fictive kinship or "kumstvo."Fictive kinship, kinship based on neither blood nor marriage, is created through specific cultural rituals, in some cases drinking blood in order to mime agnatic kinship. Hammel indicates that one latent function of fictive kinship is to cut-off the development of and the dependence on affinal relations. While fictive kinships serve the function of horizontalness, they also preserve the hegemony of agnatic kin.

In a study of a traditional Serbian Orthodox wedding in Macedonia, D. B. Rheubottom (1980) finds that one function of the traditional Orthodox wedding is the negation of affinity. Only the groom's family and kin are present at the traditional wedding and ceremony. No representatives from the bride's family are included. Once the daughter leaves her natal home with the groom's bridal party to the groom's home, her family is no longer obliged to offer her support. The dowry the daughter receives as an endowment from her family when she marries brings closure to the family's relation to her. Rheubottom argues that the traditional wedding in the Macedonia community he observed devalues affinity.

It is important and timely to appreciate the findings of Lockwood in this context. "Prijatelji" emphasize affinal solidarity. The function of horizontalness is emphasized more than the function of verticalness, which is not to say that either function is absent in the kinship structure. The bias for affinal relations contrasts with the basis for agnatic relations in the Christian South Slav ethnic groups as reported by Hammel and Rheubottom. Marriage among rural Bosniaks strengthens not the agnatic group vis-à-vis another agnatic group but the affinal group, creating the opportunity, the moral imperative, to establish enduring bonds between no agnates for their own sake.

Such is the cultural water Bosniaks swim in, whether they live in Bosnia or Turkey, and whether they are aware of this cultural water. One question for further study is whether Bosniaks are able to retain their ethnic identity if they cannot swim in this cultural water. Another question for further study is whether Christian ethnic groups in Bosnia share a bias for affinal relations vis-à-vis agnatic relations, in contrast to brethren ethnic groups in Croatia and Serbia.

References

Barth, Fredrik. 1996. "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries." Pp. 294-323 in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*, edited by W. Sollors. Washington Square: New York University Press.

Bates, Daniel G. "Normative and Alternative Systems of Marriage among the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey."*Anthropological Quarterly* 47 (3):270-287.

Brass, Paul. 1985. *Ethnic Groups and the State.* London: Croom Helm

Bringa, Tone. 1995. *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2003. "Ethnicity without groups." *European Journal of Sociology*. 43 (2):163-189.

Bynes, Robert F. 1976. *The Zadruga: Essays by Philip E. Mosely and Essays in His Honor.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Cagaptay, Soner. 2006. *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* London: Routledge

Cuisenier, Jean. 1976. "Kinship and Social Organization in the Turko-Mongolian Cultural Area." Pp. 204-236 in *Family and Society: Selections from the Annals*., edited by Robert Forster and Orest Ranum. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cvijić, Jovan. 1930. "Studies in Jugoslav Psychology (I)."*The Slavonic and East European Review*.Vol. 9. No. 26: 375-390

Cvijić, Jovan. 1931. "Studies in Jugoslav Psychology (II)." *The Slavonic and East European Review*.Vol. 9. No. 27: 662-681

Cvijić, Jovan. 1931. "Studies in Jugoslav Psychology (III)."*The Slavonic and East European Review*.Vol. 10. No. 28: 58-79

Duben, Alan & Behar, Cem. 1991. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family, and Fertility 1880-1940.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferraro, Gary. 2007. *Cultural Anthropology: An Applied Perspective*. 7th Edition. London: Wadsworth.

Filipović, Milenko. 1982. *Among the People: Selected Writings of Milenko S. Filipović,* edited by E. A. Hammel, R. S. Ehrich, R. Fabijanić-Filipović, J. M. Halpern, A. B. Lord. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Gennep, Arnold van. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Halpern, Joel M. *A Serbian Village*. New York: Harper, 1967.

Hammel, Eugene. 1968. *Alternative Social Structures and Ritual Relations in the Balkans*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Hangi, Antun. 2009. *Život i Običaji Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini.* Sarajevo: Dobra Knjiga.

Hart, Kimberly. 2010. "The Economy and Morality of Elopement in Rural Western Turkey." *EthnologiaEuropaea*40 (1):58-76

Hortaçsu, Nuran. 1999. "The First Year of Family- and Couple-initiated Marriages of a Turkish Sample: A Longitudinal Investigation." *International Journal of Psychology* 34:29-41.

Ilbars, Zafer. 2000. "The Turkish Family in the Process of Change." *Ethnologia Balkanica* 4:59-64

Kaser, Karl. 1998. "Anthropology and the Balkanization of the Balkans: Jovan Cvijić and Dinko Tomašić." *Ethnologia Balkanica* 2:89-155.

Kudat, Ayse. 1974. "Institutional Rigidity and Individual Initiative in Marriages of Turkish Peasants."*Anthropological Quarterly* 47 (3): 288-303

Lockwood, William G. 1979. "Living Legacy of the Ottoman Empire: The Serbo-Croatian Speaking Moslems of Bosnia-Hercegovina." Pp. 209-225 in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, edited by A. Ascher, T Halasi-Kun & B. K. Kiraly. New York: Columbia University Press.

---------- 1975. *European Moslems: Economy and Ethnicity in Western Bosnia.* New York: Academic Press.

---------- 1972 "Converts and Consanguinity: The Social Organization of Moslem Slavs in Western Bosnia." *Ethnology* 11 (1):55-79.

Rheubottom, D. B. 1980. "Dowry and Wedding Celebrations in Yugoslav Macedonia."Pp. 221-249 in *The Meaning of Marriage Payments*, edited by J. L. Comaroff. London: Academic Press.

Sertel, A. 1969."Kidnapping and Elopement in Rural Turkey. *Hacettepe Bulletin of Social Sciences and Humanities.*1 (2):96-104

Stirling, Paul. 1965. *Turkish Village*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Tekçe, Belgin. 2004. "Paths of Marriage in Istanbul: Arranging Choices and Choice in Arrangements." *Ethnography* 5 (2): 173-201.

Tomašić, Dinko. 1945. "Personality Development of the Dinaric Warriors." *Psychiatry* 8:449-93

Tomašić, Dinko. 1942. "Personality Development in the Zadruga Society." *Psychiatry* 5:229-261

Weber, Max. 1978. "Ethnic Groups." Pp. 385-398 in *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich. Berkeley: University of California Press.

THE HERO'S JOURNEY AS A METAPHOR OF THE MODERN MAN'S QUEST FOR SELF-REALIZATION

Nađa BERBEROVIĆ, Senior Assistant

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
The modern society, although desacrilized and demythologized, still contains remnants of myths and rituals in the deep layers of its collective unconscious. From religion and war, to love and death, all the aspects of man's life are ritualized and mythologized. The remnants of mythology support the walls of our inner belief systems. Since the beginning of time, rituals helped people to attune and integrate their lives. Today, in a globalized world, rituals are almost completely forgotten. Many psychologists and anthropologists have suggested that the "spiritual technology" has a survival value for humans, as well as ecological benefits. Rites and rituals present man with a "moment in and out of time", in and out of secular social structure of a generalized bond of social ties, such as caste, rank, and class hierarchies. The ultimate goal of the heroic myth and the rites of passage is the transformation of the profane into the sacred, death into immortality, and illusion into absolute reality. The initiate strives to reach the ultimate point of apotheosis, spiritual rebirth or transmutation, which is "the transformation of a mortal into an immortal being, of a corporeal into a spiritual being, and of a human into a divine being".

Keywords: Rites of Passage, Heroic Journey, Initiation, Transformation, Monomyth.

The modern, non-religious man lives in a demythologized and desacralized world. He is focused on the outer, material world, and as a consequence, he has lost touch with his spiritual center and his inner Self. However, the modern man has the same body, with the same organs and energies, that his ancestor Cro-Magnon had thousands of years ago. The caveman and the modern man go through the same life stages - childhood, sexual maturity, adulthood, marriage, the failure of the body, and death. The stages of human development are just the same as they were in the ancient times. The modern man has the same body experiences, and so he responds to the same images as his ancestors (Campbell, 1991., p. 55). Mythology is a manifestation of man's inner body energies in symbolic, metaphorical images.
Eliade distinguishes the religious from the non-religious man. The *homo religiosus,* ancient or modern, believes in the existence of a higher reality, the zone of the sacred, which transcends the material world, but also manifests itself through it, thereby sanctifying it. For him, all life has a sacred origin, and the human existence realizes its spiritual potential in regard to its religious participation in reality (Eliade, 1987., p. 202).
The aim of mythology is primarily to preserve the divine and semi-divine deeds of gods who created the world and the culture heroes who completed the sacred Creation. The religious man believed that, by imitating "divine behavior", he keeps himself close to the gods and the sacred zone. On the other hand, the modern man, who strives to free himself from the "superstitions" of his ancestors, is the result of the process of desacrilization (Eliade, 1987., p.

203-204). However, no matter how hard he tries to free himself from the burdens of his ancestor's religious tradition, creating a secular society, the modern man also inherited certain relics of behavior of his religious ancestors. Most of the "irreligious" subconsciously behave religiously. There are countless modern examples of various "superstitions" and "taboos" which have magical or religious structure, such as festivities that accompany the New Year, marriage ceremonies, the birth of a child, obtaining a new social position, etc. The modern man's books, films and theatre plays are full of mythical motifs and archetypes. Even non-religious men hold onto "pseudo-religion and degenerated mythologies" because they are, after all, the descendants of *homo religious* (Eliade, 1987). The reason for this is that a great part of man's existence is dictated by unconscious impulses.

Where do these unconscious impulses come from? According to Jung, they are formed in the phylogenetic substratum of man's psyche, the *collective subconscious* (Jung, 1996., p. 286). Archetypes are dynamic manifestations of certain psychological processes of the unconscious, symbolically expressed through the guises of figures or other symbols. They are found in mythology, fairy tales, art, literature and dreams. Jung discovered archetypes by observing and studying over 80,000 dreams of his patients. He realized that all dreams seem to follow an arrangement or pattern, consisting of certain figures, landscapes and situations. The dreams, which are a part of a psychological web of factors, form series, which slowly change over time, as the dreamer's attitude is influenced by appropriate interpretation of the dreams and their symbolic contents (Jung, 1964., p. 157). Jung also discovered that these dream factors – figures, landscapes, and situations, often appear in mythology and fairy tales. The archetypes are the "primordial images", mental forms whose presence cannot be explained by anything in the individual's own life. They seem to be aboriginal, innate, and inherited forms of the human mind. The psyche's unconscious tendency to form archetypes corresponds to an instinctive trend, such as the impulse of birds to build nests and of ants to form organized colonies. Jung defines the archetype as "a tendency to form such representations of a motif—representations that can vary a great deal in detail without losing their basic pattern" (Jung, 1964., p. 67).

Since the primitive man was not interested in objective explanations of the obvious, his unconscious psyche assimilated all outer sense experiences to inner, psychic events. For example, if the ancient man sees the sun rise and set, he must transform this external observation into a psychic happening. For him, the sun in its course represents the fate of a god or hero. All the mythologized processes of nature, such as the seasons and the phases of the moon, are in not allegories of these objective occurrences; rather they are the symbolic expressions of the unconscious drama of the human psyche (Jung, 1996., p. 5-6). The archetypes transmit particular messages to man, thereby ensuring and establishing the equilibrium of the psyche. Through them, the religious man seeks to attain the universal sacred truth. The archetypes of the collective unconscious transform the individual experience into a metaphysical understanding of the divine order of the Universe. Even in the case of the nonreligious man, these archetypes have retired into the deep layers of the subconscious. The modern man, even though he has "lost the capacity to live religion consciously", still retains a memory of it (Jung, 1987, p. 213). In modern secular societies, initiation no longer exists as a religious act, but certain patterns of initiation still survive, desacralized in the modern world.

A modern example of the modern man's myth is the communist ideology of Karl Marx. In this mythology, the redeeming role of the proletariat takes over the eschatological myth of the Just (the "innocent, "chosen one", the "messenger"). The communist ideal of the classless society has its origins in the ancient myth of the Golden Age. Marx enriched his vision with Judaeo-Christian mythology- the prophetic role and stereological function of the proletariat and the final battle between Good and Evil (Jung, 1987, p. 206-207). Eliade offers

even more examples of the remnants of the sanctified life of our ancestors in the secular existence of the modern man, such as the movement for nudism or sexual freedom as an ideology which expresses the traces of "nostalgia for Eden".

According to Campbell, mythology and magic or religious rites serve four basic functions in a man's life (Campbell, 2004., p. 6). The first is the mystical function. Myth introduces man to the dimension of mystery and the realization of the mystery that underlies all life. It awakens in an individual the "feeling of grateful awe before the mystery of existence" (Ibid). Myths give man the experience of living meaningfully. The second is the cosmological dimension, the aspect with which science is concerned – it shows the shape of the universe, but in such a way that the mystery comes through. Mythology presents an image of cosmos which maintains the experience of mystery. The third aspect is the sociological function - supporting and validating a certain social order; presenting a shared set of right and wrongs. In this aspect myths vary enormously from place to place. Finally, there is the fourth function of myth, possibly the most important one - the pedagogical or psychological function, which teaches man how to live a human lifetime under any circumstances. The myth carries the individual through the stages of his life, from birth to maturity through senility to death. Myth has to do this in accord with the social order of the group, the universal order, and the mystery of life.

Regarding the psychological function of mythology, it might be said that myths and rites of passage play a crucial role in the psychological development of an individual. Every human being shares the same common life stages (birth, childhood, puberty, marriage, motherhood or fatherhood, mature age and death). Accordingly, the transition of every life stage is marked by special traditional ceremonies or rites of passage which vary from culture to culture. The aim of these rituals is to "change people into mates, children into adults, childless individuals into parents, living people into ancestors" (Grimes, 2000., p. 6).

According to Van Gennep, every person in its lifetime goes through a cycle of changes, a series of relatively static and clearly defined positions, which he names *statuses.* At the junctures between these life stages are *pivots,* turning points of intense danger and intensity. The rituals are the primary means of safe passage into new statuses. There are different kinds of rites which emphasize different moments in a person's life. Funerary rites emphasize separation, births and weddings, incorporation, and initiations into social groups or communities, transition (Ibid, p. 104).

The secular aspect of society is dominated by the sacred. Being born, giving birth, hunting and dying, are all aspects of the *sacred sphere*. All of these important life events are accompanied with special magic or religious rituals which serve the aim of inducting the individual into a new stage of life. In any society, primitive or modern, the life of the individual is a "series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another" (Grimes, 2000., p. 2-3).

The human lifetime is made up of a succession of life phases with similar beginnings and endings: birth, social puberty, marriage, motherhood or fatherhood, advancement to a higher class, specialization, and death. For each of these events there is a ceremony – a *pivot* - whose aim is to induce the person from one defined position to another.

Turner believes that the human race has created special spaces and times in the calendar, which he calls "routinized spheres of actions" and "liminal areas of times and space" (Turner, 1969. , vii). These include rituals, carnivals, and dramas. From them are generated new models which may have the power to replace the existing political and jurally structures that control the society's life. For Turner, rituals are not just mere reflections of economic, political and social relationships; they are rather the keys to understanding how people feel and think about these relationships, and the natural and social environments in

which they function. In other words, man needs myth and ritual in order to understand the Universe and his place in it.

Eliade believes that when a child is born, it has only a physical existence, since it is not yet recognized or accepted by his community. This is why there are rites which are performed immediately after birth that give the baby the status of a true "living person" and which induce it into the community of the living (Eliade, 1987., p. 185). Therefore, myth and rite also have a sociological function, in inducting the newborn into the community. Examples include the Christian rite of baptism and the rite of circumcision of the male child in many cultures across the world.

The rites of passage correspond to the life stages of any man in any society at any time, ancient or modern. Man is transferred from one life phase into another, changing, transforming and evolving. The beginning and end of each life stage is marked with special ceremonies and initiation rites, "stylized and condensed actions intended to acknowledge or effect a transformation" (Grimes, 2000., p. 6). This kind of transformation is not just any kind of change, but a deep, meaningful and life-changing metamorphosis.

The human life is a cycle of constant struggles, difficulties, ordeals, challenges, tasks and tests that stand in the way of a man's ambitions. All these obstacles present the ordeals of initiation. Every person has to experience a certain amount of torture, pain, suffering and disappointment in his life, so that he may prove himself, become aware of his potentials and finally evolve into a responsible, creative and spiritually mature adult. Man's whole existence is a series of challenges or ordeals, "by repeated experience of "death" and "resurrection"" (Eliade, 1987., p. 209). The entire experience of the human life, is in fact, a series of initiations from one life stage to another.

In all cultures, children are brought up in a world of discipline and obedience, completely dependent on the elders. This dependency has to be transcended when the child comes to maturity. The passage of the threshold is symbolized in the heroic quest in the form of the "active door" or the passage from the common world into the world of peril and supernatural wonders in which the individual must overcome certain trials and slay the monster which is in fact, the symbolic expression of his personal Shadow, his dark, savage side. If the initiate can't cross this threshold, he has the basis for a neurosis. In this case the myth serves the aim of inducting the young person into the community (Campbell, 2004., p. 10).

This crossing of the threshold is anticipated in the puberty or initiation rituals of early tribal societies. The rites of passage include ceremonies of birth, naming, puberty, marriage, burial, etc. and are distinguished by formal exercises of severance, whereby the mind is radically cut away from the attitudes, attachments, and life patterns of the stage being left behind. Then follows an interval of retirement, during which are enacted rituals designed to introduce the individual to the forms and proper feelings of his new estate, so that when the time has ripened for the return to the normal world, the initiate will be symbolically reborn(Campbell, 2008., p. 6).

In rituals of initiation, the child is compelled to give up its childhood and become an adult - to die to its infantile personality and come back as a responsible grown-up. This is a fundamental psychological transformation that every person has to undergo. To evolve out of this position of psychological immaturity to the courage of self-responsibility requires a symbolic death and a resurrection (Campbell, 1991., p. 57).

This is the archetypal motif of the hero quest- leaving one condition and embarking on a quest for the symbolic source of life to bring man forth into spiritually richer condition. The modern society has provided no rituals by which children become members of the tribe, of the community. All children need to be born twice, to learn to function rationally in the present world, leaving childhood behind.

In primal societies, there are initiation rituals in which the body is violently modified in different ways - the teeth are knocked out, there are scarifications, circumcisions, amputations, etc (Campbell, 1991., p. 21).

Body mutilations carry a symbolism of death and they are connected with the lunar divinities. The moon periodically disappears, or dies – to be reborn three nights later. This symbolism expresses the idea that "death is the preliminary condition for any mystical regeneration" (Eliade, 1987., p. 190). The initiate is mutilated and tormented, and given a new name, which becomes his true name henceforth. The symbolism of the rites of passage is that of a second birth. The novice abandons his former life and claims a new identity. In the first stage of initiation, the initiate is separated from his former life. In the case of primitive tribal societies, the boy is usually isolated from his village in a hut for several days. He is bathed and tattooed, and his head is ritually shaved (Gennep, 2010., p. 65-70). The idea of these puberty rites is to separate the boy from the mother. In anthropology, this is considered a typically male rite of passage. Since men cannot give birth, they decided to separate from women and their fertility ceremonies and create their own kind of ceremony in which they could celebrate their own manly power. Unlike women, who cannot escape their womanhood, men could not be certain of their manhood. This is why, for the sake of their ego development, they invented initiation rites (Grimes, p. 93). The elders separate the boys from their mothers and take them through a series of severe, often cruel procedures, in which the boys are taught to endure pain and "become men".

Campbell (1991) describes the initiation rites of the Australian aborigines: when the boy comes to puberty, a couple of men from the village come for him and take him away from his mother. They are completely naked except for stripes of white bird feathers which are stuck to their bodies with their own blood. These men are disguised as spirits of the ancestors. The boy seeks shelter from his mother, and she pretends to protect him, but the "spirits" take him away by force. When the boy is taken to the "men's sacred ground" he goes through an ordeal including painful body modifications, circumcision, etc. He is forced to drink the men's blood. Just as he had drunk his mother's milk as a baby, now he drinks men's blood. The symbolic meaning of this ritual is that he is being separated from the mother and turned into a man. During the initiation, the boy is shown the enactment of mythological episodes and thus he is instructed in the mythology of the tribe. He becomes a participant of the sacred mystery. At the end of the initiation ceremony, the boy is brought back to his village, where his future wife is already chosen for him. The boy has now come back, transformed into a man. He has been separated from his childhood, and his body has been scarified, and circumcision and subincision have been performed. Now he has a grown man's body. There is no possibility of relapsing back to childhood after an experience like this.

A modern example of initiation into manhood is the young man who has just enlisted in the military, and is sent away to boot camp. He has to dispose of his personal possessions, his head is shaved and he is given a uniform to wear. In this stage, a part of the old self is repressed in order for the initiate to create a new, more masculine and mature identity. In the second phase, the stage of transition, the initiate is tested through several tasks and challenges. He is at the threshold between two worlds – no longer a part of his former life, but not yet fully inducted into his new role. He is now taught new knowledge needed to become a full-fledged member of society. In primitive tribal societies, the initiate participates in severe ritual ceremonies which involve pain and endurance, under the guidance of the elders. In the case of the modern day soldier, his masculinity is also put to the test, as he goes through severe physical training, is being yelled at, and is disciplined to receive a rank and title. The boy becomes a man. In the final stage of re-incorporation, the initiate, having passed the trials and having proved himself worthy, is re-introduced into his community with a new status. In tribal societies, this was celebrated in a village feast. The young man is now

recognized as a man and allowed to participate in the activities and responsibilities of the adults. For the modern day soldier, this also meant the recognition of his new statues as a full-fledged member of the military.

The meaning of initiation rites for boys is that they must overgrow the "popular idyll of the mother breast" (Campbell, 2008., p. 115) and enter the world of manhood. The initiate is transferred into the sphere of the father. The father becomes the priest of initiation through whom the novice passes into the new life stage. According to Lincoln, women's initiations follow another scheme - *enclosure, metamorphosis*, and *emergence* (Grimes, 2000., p. 104). In most cultures, a woman's social status is not outwardly changed, so the rites emphasize her "symbolic" transformation rather than social advancement. Women are not spatially separated from their community the way men are in the classic "territorial passage". Instead, they stay at home and are secluded and isolated from their community. The phase of *metamorphosis* corresponds to the expansion of a woman's biological experience in which she moves from daughter to wife and mother. In Lincoln's theory, the threshold phase isn't available to women. Finally, the phase of *emergence* describes the process of coming out of seclusion and the re-incorporation into society. The structure of Lincoln's theory is symbolically represented in the woman's initiation rites of the Moca Nova festival in Tukuna (Northwest Amazon) which uses the metaphor of insect metamorphosis – the caterpillar, the cocoon and the butterfly.

Marriage also represents a passage from one social group into another. The husband leaves the group of bachelors and becomes a member of the group of heads of families. The boy must evolve from childhood to manhood and take on the responsibilities of the married life. Eliade notes that every marriage implies a danger and crisis, and this is why it's performed by a rite of passage. The Greek word for marriage was *telos,* meaning consecration, and the ritual of marriage represented that of the mysteries (Eliade, 1987., p. 185). Funerary rites are much more complex when compared to birth, puberty and marriage rites, since they present not only a natural phenomenon, but also a change in the ontological and social status. The dead person goes a series of ordeals concerning his destiny in the afterlife, but he also must be recognized and accepted by the community of the dead (Ibid.,).

In performing magical and religious rituals and rites, man is re-enacting the universal hero myth. In passing from one stage to another, he abolishes common, "natural" humanity and experiences a supernatural death and resurrection or second birth on a superhuman plane Ibid., 187). Rites of passage, entailing various ordeals and a symbolic death and rebirth, are believed to be instituted by gods, heroes or mythical ancestors and by performing them, thus the initiate imitates a divine, superhuman deed (Eliade, 1987). The primitive man has strived to conquer death by transforming it into the supreme rite of passage. He believed that he has to die in order to be reborn on a higher plane of spiritual existence; to die to the profane life to be reborn to the sacred eternal existence. Generation, death and regeneration (rebirth) were considered as three stages of a single mystery, and that for the ancient man there should be no intervals between these stages (Ibid., p. 196-197). Ancient man realized that life is a constant movement, a cycle of changes.

This idea is expressed in the universal hero myth. Campbell defined the structure of the archetypal heroic quest. He believed that all stories of the heroic quest have the same basic plot structure, which he named the *monomyth* (Campbell, 2008., p. 23). The hero's quest is a symbolic rite of passage, represented in the formula: *separation-initiation-return.* The three phases of Campbell's *monomyth* express the three stages of initiation rites as constituted by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep – *separation-transition-re-incorporation.* As Grimes (2000) points out, Van Gennep and Eliade's three-phased structures of initiation are often equated in the Western culture:

Separation (Death) → Transition (Return to the origin) → Incorporation (Rebirth)

The formula of Campbell's *monomyth* defines the basic plot of the mythic quest: the hero wanders forth from the common world into the region of fantasy and supernatural powers. There he encounters a monster and wins the decisive victory. He then returns home from his adventurous journey, transformed and blessed with the power to transform his world. The quest of the mythic hero has been re-told in many mythologies across various cultures. A legendary hero is usually the founder of something - the founder of a new age, a new religion, a new city, a new way of life (Campbell, 1991, p. 172). In order to found something new, one has to leave the old and go in quest of the germinal idea that will have the potential of bringing forth a new beginning. In other words, one must abandon his former life, and after a series of rites of passage, in which he dies to his old self and is reborn anew, enter a new life phase. The main character of the myth is a hero or heroine who has found or done something beyond the normal range of human achievement and experience (Ibid). It takes a great deal of courage, wisdom, strength, self-sacrifice and determination for the initiate to go through the ordeal of his initiation and to be advanced to the level of the mythic hero.

There are countless examples of the heroic quest in world mythologies. Campbell (2008) mentions a few: Prometheus ascended to the heavens, stole fire from the gods, and descended back to Earth to share his discovery with mankind; Jason sailed through the Clashing Rocks into a sea of marvels, outwitted the fierce dragon that guarded the Golden Fleece, and returned with the magical boon and the power to reclaim his rightful throne from the usurper. Aeneas journeyed into the underworld, crossed the dark river of the dead, threw a sop to the three-headed watchdog Cerberus, and spoke to the shade of his dead father. Dangerous voyages of heroic expeditions are a common theme in myth and fairy tale, e.g. the expedition in search for the Golden Fleece, the Herb of life, the Golden Apples, the Holy Grail, etc.

The universal hero myth refers to "a powerful man or god-man who vanquishes evil in the form of dragons, serpents, monsters, demons, and so on, and who liberates his people from destruction and death" (Jung, 1964., p. 79). In primitive societies, the hero is worshipped through rituals and ceremonies, dances, music, hymns, prayers, and sacrifices, which "grip the audience with numinous emotions and exalt the individual to identification with the hero" (Ibid). Through his identification with the hero, man embarks on his own quest of self-realization. The mythic archetypes function as triggers which initiate the unconscious processes of healing and *catharsis.*

The archetypal hero's quest is a symbolic expression of the universal human quest for self-realization and fulfillment. The heroic quest itself is a symbol of transcendence. The themes of the lonely journey or quest symbolize a spiritual pilgrimage (Ibid., p. 151-152). The road is always a dangerous and difficult path – *durohana* – because it leads to the sacred Centre. The journey is a symbolic rite of passage from the profane to the sacred; reaching the Centre is equivalent to an initiation or consecration. In religion, the quest of self-realization is expressed through sacred pilgrimages to holy places, such as Mecca, Jerusalem or Hardwar (Eliade, p. 18). The hero is also a pilgrim, for he must pass tests of faith and spiritual strength, as well as tests of courage and physical strength. The outer journey becomes a symbol of the inner journey of transcendence. In Eliade's words, the perilous path symbolizes:

> …the rite of the passage from the profane to the sacred, from the ephemeral and illusory to reality and eternity, from death to life, from man to the divinity. Attaining the center is equivalent to a consecration, an initiation; yesterday's profane and illusory existence gives place to a new, to a life that is real, enduring, and effective (Eliade, p. 18).

Campbell (2008) refers to the first stage of the heroic quest as the *call to adventure* (p. 48). The hero crosses the threshold between the ordinary world and the world of danger and adventure, which symbolizes the passage from the dependency of childhood to the responsibility and challenges of adulthood. In rites of passage, this stage of the hero's quest corresponds to the separation of the initiate from this community and the beginning of the ordeal of initiation. The crossing of the threshold signifies the crossing from the conscious into the unconscious, from reality to fantasy, and from light into the darkness. It also expresses a symbolic pilgrimage of the individual toward a spiritual awakening and rebirth. The threshold defines not only the boundary between the inside and outside, but also the passage from the profane to the sacred. In mythology and funerary rituals, this archetype is usually expressed through the image of the bridge and the narrow gate, suggesting a dangerous passage (Eliade, 1987., p. 181). The passage is dangerous because it leads to the zone of the unknown, which is dark, mysterious, but also rich with unrealized potential.

In mythology, the unknown region may be represented in various ways - as an enchanted dark forest, a secret island, an underground kingdom, an exotic land, or even as a profound dream state. The threshold is symbolically expressed in the form of a magic door, a gate or portal, the crossing of a river, lake, or sea. Campbell refers to this threshold as the "active door" (Campbell, 2004., p. 114-115). In anthropology, Van Gennep uses the Latin word *limen* meaning threshold or doorstep (Grimes, 2000., p. 104). The unknown region is the in-between region; it is neither here nor there. The initiate is first separated from his family and community and taken into the dark and dangerous forest, which psychologically is a symbol of death and the "infernal regions" (Eliade, 1987., p. 189).

Turner refers to this phase of initiation as *liminality.* Liminal entities, neophytes, are neither here nor there, they are "betwixt and between the positions assigned and arranged by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (Turner, 1969., p. 95). Liminality symbolizes death, darkness, the womb, invisibility, the wilderness. The initiates are often naked, or wear only a strip of clothing, indicating the loss of status, property, insignia, rank, role or position. They must be absolutely humble and passive, obeying their mentors implicitly and accepting arbitrary punishment without complaint.

Since this zone is a no-man's land, it is dangerous, guarded and full of symbolic meaning. Accordingly, a rite of passage used for transferring the initiate from the zone of the former, common life into the zone unknown, is a "set of symbol-laden actions by means of which one passes through a dangerous zone, negotiating it safely and memorably" (Eliade, 1987., p. 189). In hero myths, the first encounter of the quest is usually with a protective figure, a guide or a helper, who provides the hero with a magic talisman against the dark forces he is about to pass (Campbell, 2008., p. 57). In rites of passage, the initiate is always guided and aided by the elders – members of the community into which he will be initiated. In another case, the mythic hero might encounter his dark counterpart, his personal Shadow; his task is to slay the monster and come back into his world alive (Campbell, 2004., p. 115). Sometimes the hero must take the darker path, the journey into the underworld, which symbolizes the transit into a sphere of rebirth. The hero, instead of conquering the Shadow, is swallowed into the unknown, and would appear to have died and returned to the World Womb. In classical mythology, this motif is known as *nekyia,* the passage through the underworld realm, the descent into Hades, and it symbolizes the passage into the deepest and darkest regions of the unconscious (Campbell, 2008., p. 74-77). This motif is very common in hero myths, such as the myth of Jonah who is swallowed by the whale, which carries him on a night sea journey from the West to the East, symbolizing the transit of the sun from sunset to dawn. The hero goes into the darkness, which symbolizes death, and is reborn like the sun (Jung, 1964., p. 120-121).

The master of initiation is usually an ancestor who conducts the initiate into the underworld; in some cultures the initiate is believed to be swallowed by a monster. In the stomach of the monster there is "cosmic night; it is the embryonic mode of existence, both on the cosmic plane and the plane of human life" (Eliade, 1987., p. 187). In some primitive tribes the novice is placed in an initiatory hut, which symbolizes the maternal womb, and the boy's symbolic death signifies a regression into the embryonic state. According to Eliade, the meaning this is not to be understood only in terms of psychology, but also in cosmological terms; for the fetal state symbolizes a temporary regression to the pre-cosmic mode (Eliade, 1987., p. 187). The initiatory symbolic death is expressed though various rituals – the novice is buried in the ground, covered with mud and branches, lying motionless, or painted with white powder to look like a ghost.

The motif of *nekyia* plays a significant role in heroic myths. The return to the World Womb has a cosmological significance; for "it is the whole world that symbolically returns, with the candidate, into the into cosmic night, in order that it may be created anew, that is, regenerated" (Ibid., p. 195). The initiate who emerges back into the world from the dark belly of the monster is symbolically reborn – the rebirth of the hero is equivalent to a cosmogony. Out of chaos emerges cosmos. Once having passed the threshold, the hero enters the favorite phase of the heroic myth – the *road of trials* (Campbell, 2008., p. 81). After the hero has overcome the trials and the quest has been accomplished, he must return home to complete the full round, the norm of the *monomyth.*

In Campbell's monomyth, there are four kinds of trials that the hero must pass. The first is the *sacred marriage*, the alchemical *hieros gamos,* in which the hero encounters and integrates his Anima (Ibid., p. 115). The hero meets his soul-mate, his ideal beloved, embodied in the Anima figure. In the case of the heroine, she meets her Animus, her male counterpart (Jung, 1996., p. 183). This is the symbolic expression of the wedding ceremony, which marks the beginning of a new life stage. According to Grimes, both the wedding ceremony and the aftermath of the wedding are ritualized. The wedding ceremony is not primarily about exchanging community wealth, performing one's duty to the tradition, family or nation, establishing lineage or creating alliances. The ceremony is the symbolic expression of the meeting of the soul-mates, a celebration of love, which ratifies the "mythic experience" of being in love (Grimes, 2000., p. 157). According to Campbell (1991), marriage expresses the myth of the union of the separated duad (p. 17). Originally, the two were one, but were separated in the world. They must seek and recognize each other as spiritual identities, in order to be reunited again. Marriage is about finding one's male or female counterpart in order to "reconstruct the image of the incarnate God".

The second kind of trial is the *atonement with the father*. This stage of the hero's quest corresponds to the puberty rituals of primitive tribal societies, which have been previously described. The initiation is presided over by a master of initiation, a shaman or medicine man. In mythology the master of initiation is represented by the archetype of the wise old man (Jung, 1964., p. 110). The initiate's weakness is balanced by the appearance of the strong "tutelary" figure or guardian who helps him to perform superhuman tasks. He represents the totality of the psyche, the "more comprehensive identity that supplies the strength that the personal ego lacks" (Ibid., 110-112). The role of the master of initiation is the development of the individual's ego-consciousness — his awareness of his own strength and weakness - in a manner that will equip him for the perilous tasks with which his quest confronts him.

In fairy tales, the master of initiation is usually represented as a wizard, hermit, shepherd, or smith, who supplies the hero with magical amulets and advice. In higher mythologies this archetype is expressed through the figure of the spiritual guide, the mentor,

the ferryman, or the conductor of souls to the underworld. Campbell notes that the master of initiation is

> Protective and dangerous, motherly and fatherly at the same time, this supernatural principle of guardianship and direction unites in itself all the ambiguities of the unconscious – thus signifying the support of our conscious personality by that other, larger system, but also the inscrutability of the guide that we are following, to the peril of all our rational ends (Campbell, 2008., p. 59-60).

In society, the master of initiation could be a priest, a rabbi, an imam, a shaman, a medicine man, a guru, an elder from the community, the "spirit" of an ancestor, etc. Psychologically, the archetype of the wizard or the wise old man is the personification of those traits which the initiate lacks - wisdom and experience. The purpose of the master of initiation is to guide the novice through the ordeal of rites of passage toward the ultimate goal of spiritual rebirth. The third station of the monomyth is *apotheosis*, where the hero comes to realize the full scope of himself through self-realization (Ibid.,). This is the ultimate initiation - a passage from the profane to the sacred, from death to immortality. Apotheosis symbolizes the spiritual stage of the quest. Campbell notes that the founders of all religions have gone on spiritual quests of this kind - Buddha went into solitude and sat beneath the tree of immortal knowledge, where he received illumination – Nirvana (Campbell, 1991., p. 172). After being baptized, Jesus went into the desert for forty days; and then he came back from this desert with his message to share with mankind. Moses went to the top of a mountain and came down with the tables of the law. The spiritual quest is the quest for individuation, which refers to the psychological and spiritual process of integration of the *self*. Jung, who coined this term, defines it as

> The premonition of a centre of personality, a kind of central point within the psyche, to which everything is related, by which everything is arranged, and which is itself a source of energy. The energy of the central point is manifested in the almost irresistible compulsion and urge to become what one is, just as every organism is driven to assume the form that is characteristic of its nature, no matter what the circumstances. This centre is not felt or thought of as the ego but, if one may so express it, as the self (Jung, 1996., p. 357).

The forth kind of realization is of a different spirit; instead of a slow progress, there is a violent rush through all obstacles to seize the desired boon. Campbell refers to this fourth stage as the "Promethean theft of fire", when the hero must grab the treasure and escape as quickly as possible back into his world (Ibid.,). After the quest has been accomplished, the hero must return home to complete the full round, the norm of the monomyth. The shape of the heroic quest is circular. The monomyth begins and ends at the same place, the zone of the symbolic Centre. The balance which was broken is re-established again. However, the hero who returns home is not the same person that embarked on the journey. He is now transformed through his quest, and uses his knowledge and wisdom, like an elixir, to heal the kingdom of humanity.

The hero myth is a metaphor which connects two different ideas - the spiritual quest of the ancestors with the modern man's search for identity and self-realization. The purpose of myths and rites of passage is not only to induce the individual into a new life stage, but also to guide him through the process of initiation. Grimes claims that the enactment of any kind of a rite is performance, but the enactment of a rite of passage is also a transformation (Grimes, 2000., p. 7). Since ritual is the enactment of a myth it might be said that the initiation rites actually represent the enactment of the universal hero's mythic quest, in which

the individual is reborn every time on a higher plane of existence. The myth and the ritual both serve to harmonize the mind and the body, putting the mind in accord with the body and the way of life in accord with the nature (Campbell, 1991, p. 111).

The outer journey corresponds to the inner, symbolic journey. The microcosmic quest is of a macrocosmic importance. By transforming himself, the hero transforms the Universe. Self-realization is the ultimate goal of the quest, often symbolized in the lost treasure, the magical boon, or the elixir of life. Campbell uses the terms *apotheosis.* In psychoanalysis, Jung names this process *individuation*, which denotes "the process by which a person becomes a psychological "individual" a separate, indivisible unity or "whole"" (Jung, 1996., p. 275). Individuation signifies the psychological development and centralization by which the individual finds its own *self*. This doesn't mean finding one's own ego-identity, but the ultimately unknowable inner centre of the total personality.

The ultimate goal of the heroic myth and the rites of passage is the transformation of the profane into the sacred, death into immortality, and illusion into absolute reality. The initiate strives to reach the ultimate point of apotheosis, spiritual rebirth or transmutation, which is "the transformation of a mortal into an immortal being, of a corporeal into a spiritual being, and of a human into a divine being" (Ibid, p. 114). The initiate has transcended death and life by the fateful metamorphosis in which he is consecrated. In sacred mysteries and rites of passage, the initiate experiences the eternal continuation of life cycles through transformation and renewal. The transcendence of profane life is symbolically expressed through the symbolic death and rebirth of a god or mythic hero. The novice may be either a mere witness of the mystery or take a part in it, and see himself identified through rituals with the god / hero (Jung, 1996., p. 117).

The modern society, although desacrilized and demythologized, still contains remnants of myths and rituals in the deep layers of its collective unconscious. From religion and war, to love and death, all the aspects of man's life are ritualized and mythologized. The remnants of mythology support the walls of our inner belief systems. Since the beginning of time, rituals helped people to attune and integrate their lives. Today, in a globalized world, rituals are almost completely forgotten. Many psychologists and anthropologists have suggested that the "spiritual technology" has a survival value for humans, as well as ecological benefits. Rites and rituals present man with a "moment in and out of time", in and out of secular social structure of a generalized bond of social ties, such as caste, rank, and class hierarchies (Turner, 1969., p. 96).

Certain anthropologists and sociologist assume that the violence of the modern society is a consequence of the loss of great myths and rituals which help young people relate to the world and to understand the world beyond its material aspect. The modern man still needs some kind of initiation rituals of rites of passage in order to define his place in the society and in the Universe.

Grimes notes that the modern demythologized world's lack of rites of passage may present a dangerous global problem, since it leads to a serious breakdown in the process of maturing of the individual. The social structures don't consider it their responsibility to establish initiation rites which would mark the passage from child to youth, youth to adult and adult to elder. The society has no clear expectation of how people should participate in their social roles and therefore, young people don't know what is expected or required from their society. In the absence of these rites of passage, other major life transitions become ritualized (Turner, 1969., p. 96). For example, young adolescents choose to join street gangs and are initiated through a series of rites of passage to test their strength and courage. They are shaved, tattooed (to show their belonging to the "tribe") and physically tested. Students who choose to join a university fraternity or sorority also go through a series of rites of passage, which are designed in the same way as initiations into secret societies. The initiate is

tried and tested in countless way in order to prove that he is worthy to become a member of the group.

The hero myth symbolizes our ability to control the irrational savage within us (Campbell, 1991., p. 8). It teaches man the lesson of overcoming his dark side and regaining the wisdom and power to help others. By transforming himself, man transforms the world. The true hero is not the man who seeks spiritual release or enlightenment for himself, but uses it as a tool to redeem the society. The modern man can learn a lot from the ancient hero myths. Like Prometheus, he can learn to share his fire of wisdom with humanity. Most importantly, though ancient myths man can learn that the whole lifetime is a quest of adventure and that the purpose of this adventure is not just to find, but also to reincorporate the symbolical elixir of life into his society, so that it can be healed and regenerated.

References

Campbell, Joseph. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces.* Novato: New World Library. 2008.

Campbell, Joseph. *The Power of Myth.* New York: Anchor. 1991.

Campbell, Joseph. *Pathways to Bliss: Mythology and Personal Transformation.* Novato: New World Library. 2004.

Eliade, Mircea. *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return.* New York: Harper & Brothers.1959.

Eliade, Mircea. *Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1987.

Grimes, Ronald L. *Deeply into the Bone: Re-Inventing Rites of Passage.* California: University of California Press. 2000.

Jung, Carl Gustav. *Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious.* Vol. IX, London : Routledge, 1996.

Jung, Carl Gustav. *Man and His Symbols.* New York: Anchor Press Doubleday, 1964.

Victor Witter Turner. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure.* New York: Cornwell University Press. 1969.

RE(CON)STRUCTION OF IDENTITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: THE CONCEPT OF 'THE OTHER'

Indira HASANOVIĆ, PhD Candidate
International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
The aim of this paper is to highlight the concept of "the Other" as built element of identity in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as to demonstrate the ability of transformation and concept of the Other, based on other identities in B&H. The work will focus on the relationship of citizens in post-war B&H as a case study through which will be demonstrated the identity and definitions on how they have changed over time, depending on the historical events. There are sharp differences in the perception of the situation within the group and outside the group. The nature of the rival interaction, "we versus them" perception is reflected in the other group (for example nation) as a rival and enemy. Most of the time, ideology, religion and power structure had a strong influence on these changes. The paper first gives the theoretical discussion of the concept of identity and conceptualization of "the Other". After that, in the paper will be presented a brief historical background of the Bosnian society from cultural perspective. As a case study, an after war individual events analyzes will be discussed, and at the same time clues will be given, that are necessary for the preservation of multiculturalism in B&H. The paper aims to research whether constructed postwar identities will create a multicultural and open society as universal, or culturally homogeneous society, which tries to assimilate their minorities. If we are looking to establish relatively harmonious relations and lasting peace, it is necessary to restructure the boundaries between their own and other groups.

Keywords: Identity, the Other, Multiculturalisam, B&H, Postwar Situation, Culture.

Introduction

This paper attempts to explain the specific relationship between the people of the Bosnia and Herzegovina according to their own history. It will study the phenomenon of collective memory in its beginning, which can provide insight into the recent historical events in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Specifically, this paper will show that the corporation is a major point in the reconstruction of post-war B&H society. Denial and selective memories only keeps creating a gap between the citizens in B&H, rather than recognition and the development of the debate. While the socialist regime was breaking in front of the waves of European democracy, ethnic nationalism was finding the way in the structures by using historical events as the main source for national consciousness. Therefore, the ethnic nationalism played a major role in legitimization of new boundaries and political framework. The aim of the paper is to highlight the importance of (national) identity and place that this complex phenomenon has gain in modern society.

The role of "the Other" in the process of its formation and its construct as "the enemy" is crucial for understanding the conflict, especially ethnic ones. After the war, the mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina was not only the material reconstruction but also a multicultural reconstruction of society. Specifically, the paper will analyze some cases by focusing on the

factors that affect the process of reconciliation and restoration of common cultural values of the B&H society. In the post war period, one of the biggest challenges was identifying and finding a consensus over the facts, as well as the responsibilities concerning the outcomes of the war. The concept of truth is crucial for understanding the current challenges of democracy in B&H. The truth is a moral duty to the victims and to the next generations, but it is also important for building a stronger and justices society in the present time and the future. In the first part of paper both the concept of identity and the problem of defining 'The Other' will be determined.

Identification of Identity and Formalization of the Other

By the Oxford dictionary, the definition of identity is defined as: "the identity of persons or things at any time or circumstance; condition or the fact that the person or things are equal to themselves, and not something else; individuality, personality", "state or fact of the survival of the same personality through various stages of existence; continuity of personality." (Gleson) This definition is an example of philosophical understandings of identity, which is by itself confusing. However, the definition of identity must be sufficiently precise and abstract so it can reach its complexity. According Borbalan "individual is socializing and building its identity ... over a long period which is extending from birth to adulthood. Individual reveals itself through its own observations and actions, but also through the relationship with others and by perception of the others." (Borbalan, 2009. p.6) In fact, from this, we can conclude that identity is constructed through knowledge of itself, but also as well in relation to the environment such as family, social groups, states, etc.

Collective identities are consisted in the social sphere (cultural, religion, political, national and other institutions) through which the group socializes the individual, as the individual identifies himself within the group. All groups of identities are characterized by the individual desire to belong and depended on same. (Borbalan, 2009. p.42) It is the question whether to balance or to establish a hierarchy between different identities. Therefore for some people; personal identity is dominant, and for the others religious or ethnic identity. They often contain the myths, cults and rituals, which can contribute to an idealization, preservation and dissemination of identity as well as homogeneity of the group. In addition to ideology and strategy, an essential element for the group identification is the category "the Other."

Thus, identities define who "We" are and who "They" are. From this we see that the identification of We is inextricably linked to the construction of ''the Other.'' '' The Other'' is suitable for comparison and the establishment of common difference. (Huffman, 2009. p.27) In fact, each group is establishing through a relationship with other groups and thus defines its basis, the identity and the reason of being. Collective identities are not only constituted by the shape inside of the group, but also by beyond them. In this case, the Otherness is shaping the identities. The theory of identification is primarily focused on the role of identity within the inter-group competition, conflict and by social changes. The philosophy is characterized by different concepts of identities, among which we are underlining the concept of Karl Schmitt. His concept of "political" and "enemy" has particular applicability in terms of the historiographical narratives. Schmitt defines the state as "an entity which varies public friend from the enemy." (Schmitt, 2009)

In fact he, Schmitt considered the essence of its sovereignty, which otherwise can be challenged by another entity. Also, he considers that the concept of friend and an enemy must be understood in a concrete and existential sense. His hypothesis of division of a friend and enemy can be seen among the Yugoslav peoples who have replaced the socialist ranking of brotherhood and unity with the violent confrontation. We can say that Yugoslav socialist community has formed its own political identity in relation to the external and internal

enemies. Internal enemies were represented by individuals or groups of different ideological beliefs, and external enemies were capitalists and communists. Former Yugoslav community was designed as supranational within the national identity of the people of Yugoslavia.

In the 90s, the same national history became the basis for the creation of a "communities" that were established by the continuity of the "national" past, myths and narratives. What is important to point out here is the difference between the Yugoslav citizens of different nations. By the analysis of the historical events, the war was not a surprise, but it also justifies Schmitt's claim that the war (violence) was one way for confirmation and recognition of the political (national) identity. (Schmitt, 2009) In the second part, we will start with analyzing the post-war Bosnian society and its present time.

Collective Memories in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina

After the genocide, division and material destruction, B&H is now what we can call the *society of survivors*. The consequences of suffering have pervasive impact on the whole functioning of the society. By this we are not neglecting individual responsibility, knowing that in B&H line of demarcation between the victims and the offender are often overlapping, even though, despite the fact the war for both of them has destroyed and deprived the common state identity. Also, knowing that all members of the Bosnian society are affected by the tragic act of violence, they also have to deal with the new situation that is compounded by political (nationalist) action. Memories of the events from the war constantly keep an individual or a group confined in to the past, which is in serves to the same political elites to manipulate them. For example, the decision brought by Republic Srpska (RS), prime minister Milorad Dodik in pre-election period where it is said that in Srebrenica a genocide had never been committed has provoked the public and the families of the victims, but also it has shown that Bosnian Serbs are not ready to come to terms with the past. When the denial comes from a president of a country, or a prime minister, then it becomes a big problem, because people trust these figures.

As a consequence, their words are accepted by their compatriots as a truth, and not pure nonsense. And as long as people in the RS refuse to accept facts about what happened in Srebrenica, the denial of genocide will continue. By this analyze of the political culture, politicians are in effort to play psychological games with an individual or a group in realizing of their goals, i.e. power. In fact, as in everyday life, we praise people with good memories, while criticizing those who are forgetful. Forgetting something or someone is often seen as an expression of neglect or denial, in which person can be affected by this act by producing frustration. (Diegoli, 2007. p.22) Actually, this state is the one in which both an individual and the group are trying to put themselves in social historical frame, throughout it is trained to search for identity and their belonging. The very fact that memory is an integral part of our identity; the same lack of the memory can be equivalent to the loss of control over ourselves. Thus, society is functioning in the same way- in case that is prevented from the ability to speak or not to speak openly about the past, those who are feeling affected by this denial are expected to be frustrated. That same frustration can lead to unrest and also they can lead to conflicts, which can lead to suppression of memory on a social level. Preservation of ethnicity as a process by which are marked the boundaries of each group on the basis of ethnic characteristics also can indicate those who are not members of the group in order to establish and maintain the same differences. (Diegoli, 2007. p. 23)

In the same way are established ethnic identities in Bosnia, by the creative process which includes historical elements such as background and cultural features. All this has resulted by the formation of separate ethnic groups, which actually destroyed the pre-war multicultural society which was based on the mutual recognition of differences between groups. The function of collective memories must not necessarily encompass forgetting, in

order to ensure a favorable picture of the good side of the memories by the living behind a bad one. Selective omission of events takes place when the political regime decides that a specific event should be omitted from the official recognition. So in today's reality in B&H, the political structure ignores the bad ones by focusing on the good side of their history in order to defend their current positions. In fact, to blame the enemy is a form of forgetting, thus by that the group is releasing themselves of any responsibility.

According to Halbwachs, accesses to memories which are giving priority to the social dimension are showing that we are automatically filtering our memories in to the frames in which we are living. In other words, despite over personal perception, individual memories do not exist without the frame of cultural discourse in which we are located. (Halbwachs, 1992) Namely, the memories and forgetting are not only depending on official historical act, either on decision of individual. They are coordinated through the interaction of the social and individual organization of memories. (Brockmeier, 2002, p.32).However, if this trend continues in B&H, historical silence could lead to further mystification and even conflict. It is the environment that has given the rise of nationalist objections on the account of the history. According to Ricoeur, history cannot remain trapped in an oscillation between hatred and forgotten memory ... Society cannot forever be angry on itself. (Ricoeur. 2004. p. 501) The survived citizens of the B&H know from their own experience that they cannot continue to live together like this, without finding the way to clarify their victimization.

In all of this, we must not neglect the issue of forgiveness, which also cannot be denied to citizens to who underwent injustices. By maintain the current social order; the priority is in maintaining boundaries of historical memories. In this sense, in the interests of today's political elites is to strengthen the social order by exposing citizens to the official representations of memories that are contributing to their maintaining of power. All of this at the same time represents the tool for persuasion and values that are underpin the national ideology. The violence in the B&H has also been linked to the lack of dialogue on a common past, which is even today rarely initiated. The very act of remembering the war facts, political leaders in B&H decided to cherish the memories of particular event or person, in order that the same ones continue to be a role model for future generations.

For example, we can indicate the use of a calendar as a tool for emphasizing the foundations of the state or rituals. For example, all holidays (religious, national, cultural) are not recognized equally in both entities. Not all of them are treated as public holidays, because they are not regulated by the law at the state level. So far, there has been no agreement on which holidays the country should celebrate at the level of the state as a whole. For example, university students whose exams can be scheduled for the date of their religious festivity and there can be no rescheduling because such practice is not foreseen for religious holidays. The political use of ethno-cultural diversity through inappropriate legislation leads to a violation of human rights, as in the case of regulation of public holidays. (Bošković, 2011, p.144) Therefore, the image of the Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multicultural society was doomed to failure, precisely because of these national ideologies. This kind of collective thinking mainly derived from stereotypes and favoritism which more belong to self-deception than the science.

Based on this, we can conclude that individuals or groups are often afraid of changes, and therefore “they use a self-delusion to apply something foreign to something known, but at the same time they are losing from the sight the specificity of a given phenomenon." (Moscovici, in 1988. p.231)Therefore, separation between "we" and "them" is often the starting point of the enemy team, which sometimes cannot be an excuse for the violence against those that we designated as "the Other". We can say that in B&H the recent process of consolidation of identities are still strongly influenced by external neighborhood political units such as Croatia and Serbia. Also, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been geographically and

also cultural, economic and political crossroads of empires in Europe. (Diegoli 2004, p.39) The ethnic communities depend on each other in the process of production and reproduction of cultural differences.

According to Smith, there are six components that are defining ethnicity in the system of the national government. Smith sees the ethnic groups as so called "designated population'' with myths of common origin, history and culture, which are connected to a specific territory and a sense of solidarity. (Smith, 1986, p.32) In the Bosnia, the context of shared history seems to be the most problematic indicator. Therefore, the processes of changes in B&H have passed a stable complex whose outputs are fuzzy or not changed at all. In the table below, it is shown the description for the direction of the movement of these indicators in the post war period of B&H.

Table 1. Indicators for development of ethnicity in B&H between pre-war and post-war period

	Republic B&H (SFRJ)	**B&H**
Commen name	Jugosloven/Bosnian	Bosnian? (Bosniaks, Bosanian Croats, Bosanian Serbs
Commen myth about the origin	Period Illyria/Partisan war	Period Illyria/War in Bosnia 1992-95
Commen history/ memory	World War II	Unidentified?
Commen Culture	South Salvian	South Slavian
Connection with the territory	The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (six federal republics and two autonomous provinces)	Federation B&H and Republic Srpska /Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole?
Sense of solidarity	Throughout the Republic, but gradually declining due to economic, political and institutional crisis.	In most cases, limited to the ethnic groups to which the individual belongs. Does the Bosnian solidarity emerge?

(an example by: Smith 1986) in : Diegoli, 2004.p. 41

Renewal of Social Values and the Process of Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The current situation indicates that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina have not yet confronted with their past. B&H is now held back with various memories formed in the relation to the demarcation between ethnic and religious groups to which are belonging all individuals. The problem is that, none of the three nations do not fully recognize their mistakes, and their memories are used to warn future generations not only against the evil but also against its source, which is seen as something that is ethnically different. The national cultures repeatedly focus on their historical approach to political changes which are affecting the collective memories. Therefore, according Brockmeier the culture is changing as well as their practice of memories and ideas about what is valuable and desirable to remember. (Brockmeier, 2002.p.2) According to the following history chart of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Diegoli in his studies used the following representations by combining and blending history, legend and myth. In his examination of the following three indicators the correct state of B&H society dominates:

- *War every fifty years* - This opinion is often pronounced or implied by the Bosnians and Bosnian literature. The idea that the war and history repeats, also as the study shows the fact that every senior Bosnian for has survived three major military conflicts trough his life.
- *We are primitive - presentation of self-perception*- according to this war is something that is inevitable, as part of the Balkan primitivism. Tendency to the war is considered

as a sign of backwardness, and therefore they do not draw lessons from the past and it's seen as their own inability.

- *Evil is on the other side - presenting the Others* - belonging to the Others is defined depending on who is considered as a threat to a group identities. Also, contrary to the view of the past contributes to this notion, and therefore contributes to the bias lines. (Diegoli, 2004.p.71-76)

The previous war in B&H is often characterized as a conflict between projects those in power, which are based on ethnic legitimacy. The same division also is taking the place in post-war society. Citizens believe that politics do not serve them, and that the political divisions caused by the war and post-war developments do not express the will of the people. Although it has always been obvious that the cultural and ethnic differences were fueled the violence against those who were not members of the community, until the Other were not held responsible for the collapse of the entire social and the institutional apparatus. Therefore, the enemy is defined by various ways, he is always the culprit in the assumption that "we" are innocent and "they" are guilty.

When it comes to reconciliation, nowadays it is a concept that has been promoted mainly by foreign institutions. B&H citizens see nothing behind this idea except the rhetoric. The problems of ethnic nationalism must be addressed openly if we want to avoid further outbreak of the conflict in Bosnia. The process of reconciliation is still just an empty phrase to be converted into concrete experience that people will understand. Thus, it is time to move forward to more harmonized approach. Dealing with the past on the common ground means finding a way to embrace the good and bad memories, but also to share it with ''the Other.'' The path of progress involves investing in an identity which is parallel and superior in relation to the different ethnic groups, and also their legitimacy is more favorable to a respect of human rights rather than ethnic. (Diegoli, 2004.p.89)Collective memory is more like a bunch of social and individual processes, and not like something given. Despite all the efforts of the international community to overcome the divisions and differences among the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the ethnic tension is still present. This is primarily due to the lack of cooperation between the three nations, and common views about the past and future of this country. According to research conducted by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, it is shown that all three nations in Bosnia despite the fact that they are living in the same country, they have a relatively poor knowledge and interest between themselves. The members of certain nations are getting information from "their" media mostly, while at the same time the most of the media does not give enough information about ''the Others.'' (Skoko, 2011.p.23) From this we see that the relations between nations are not good enough and that they are burdened by mutual distrust. The biggest reason for the lack of reconciliation is still lack of consensus among the people about the causes of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, each nation has its own view and the truth about the war, which is one of the key problems in closing pages about the past and turning to the better future. However, the main issue here is how to make B&H a state in which all citizens will be happy? Primarily a solution to this problem for improvement of the relations between themselves would be by improving by engaging better politicians from all three nations. Secondly, by making fairer and better laws that would contribute to the strengthening the relations between nations. In fact, as long as the national policy is presiding into the everyday politics, such solutions will be difficult to reach.

The previous occurrence of politicians in process of implementation of the national policy has leaded to a lack of interest by politicians in other nations. Basically everyone meets their interests and their desires, in which usually excludes the Other, or include them only when it is not possible to overcome the situation. In political milieu in the B&H there is still some political resistance about the discussing the process of reconciliation. There were some strong efforts of the political leaders to preserve a national framework, by maintain a

fear from 'the Other,' and thus using the same fear to govern the state. (Skoko, 2011.p.25) It is logical that the process of reconciliation and the process of reducing inter-national tensions relativized power of nationalist leaders, which can be certainly one of the reasons why some politicians quite consistently are opposing the idea of the establishing tolerance, trust and coexistence in Bosnia. In a whole present environment in B&H it is very difficult to deal with the reconciliation if you do not know what is the main reason for doing it.

Most of the people in B&H think that reconciliation is something that will erase some part of their identity. Specifically, it is very naive, if we talk about the reconciliation and not talk about dealing with the past. According to Esad Bajtal "peaceful, meaningful and dignified human life is possible only in form of a co-existence of community and mutual trust between the citizens. The main problem is in the fact the mutual trust was never authentically given to us. By its nature, a person is human of the mistrust and a suspicion ...that is why trust should be build on hard and consistently through the mutual relations of the different civil users." (Bajtal, 2012) For the process of reconciliation in B&H, the best result should be delivered to the young people who have little knowledge about the previous war or who do not remember it at all.

They need to understand the past, and what was happening, so they can by their future actions contribute that such past will never happen again to them and their future generations. Also through that, young people need to learn how they can create a better prospect for advancement, education, by ensuring not return to the crimes past. If young people start working on the process of reconciliation, it is possible that it can lead to the same. Today, young people are more passive than active, because being aware of the daily happenings in the country it is obvious that they are not fully motivated to fight for the better atmosphere in the society. According to Professor Besim Spahić, he believes that the process of the reconciliation in the B&H must start from kindergarten where children learn more about each other and their differences. Moreover, media education is also very important for this segment.

On the other hand, according Professor Mirko Pejanović, one of the most important social process of rebuilding trust and reconciliation is to develop interpersonal communication. For them the meaning of the reconciliation is building long lasting peace and economical prospect. In fact, the war did not started by a group of citizens or an ethnic group. War was in the power of political elites, in the power of the leaders of ethnic parties. For citizens the peace was and will be the leading ideal. (Pejanović, 2008. p.11)

Conclusion

To sum up, the current situation in B&H is resulting in something that can be called „non-funcional stability" even though in this case, B&H is characterized by high levels of system durability. The changes in institutional conditions in B&H are not possible without a true understanding of relevant cultural and psycho-social factors. From a sociological perspective, the reconciliation is the antidote to maintain the selected trauma-based anger memories. In B&H this risk is representing the discourse of genocide. We can conclude that the coexistence of three constituent people of B&H seems to be the only valid option. Advocacy in the field of social reconciliation should involve the initiatives of ordinary citizens as a support for civil society. Selfless love and hatred for the Other are manifestations of cultural nationalism, which is reflected in the material actions taken on behalf of the country. The entire Bosnian population will eventually have to find a way to create unique and inclusive memory, which will then most probably be used as a passing point in common mourning over the loss of a multicultural society.

However, to be rescued from the vicious circle of war, Bosnian society must learn to resolve conflicts in non violent way, by beginning with our own vision of the history. The

process of the reconciliation of peoples in B&H is very important for the future of this country. Restore of confidence in the Bosnian post-war social reality is possible only within the implementation of assumptions for the construction and consolidation of the peace in Bosnia. In the end we can see that the performance of the reconciliation mostly depends on the consolidation of peace in Bosnia, and the same peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be attached to the path of social development that will lead to integration of country in the European Union and NATO.

References

Borbalan. Ž.K.R., (2009*). Izgradnja identiteta*. in: Halpern. K. and Borbalan. Ž.K.R. (urs.). *Identitet(i): pojedinac, grupa, društvo*, str.6, 42.

Brockmeier. J., (2002). *Remembering and Forgeting: Narrative as Cultural Memory*. Culture and Psychology, vol.8(1). p.2,32

Diegoli. T., (2004). *Kolektivno pamćenje i obnova društva u poslijeratnoj BiH*. Fond otvorenog društva. Sarajevo, p.22,23,39,41,71-79,89

Ejdus. F., (2009). *Opsane veze-teorija sekularizacije i šmitovsko nasljeđe*, Bezbednost Zapadnog Balakan, vol.4 (13). str.11

Gleason. P., (). *Identifying Identity: A Semantic History*. The Journal of American History, vol.69(4). p.991.

Halbwachs. M., (1992). *On Collective Memory*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago

Huffman. C.C., (2009). *The Role of Identity in Conflict*, in: Sandole D.J., Byrne. S., Staroste. I.S., Senehi J (eds.). *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, Routlege, p.19.

Moscovici. S., (1988). *Notes Towards a Description of Social Representations.* European Journal of Social Psychology. Vol.18. p.231.

Pejanović. M., (2008). *Pretpostavke mira i pomirenja u BiH*. Fridrih Ebert Fondacija. Sarajevo. p.13.

Ricoeur. P., (2004). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Sarajlić. E., and Davor. M. (eds.). (2011). State or Nation? The Challenges of Political Transition in B&H.CIPS. University of Sarajevo, Sarajevo. p.144

Schmitt. C., (2007). *The Concept of the Political*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p.27.

Skoko. B., (2011). *Šta Hrvati, Bošnjaci i Srbi misle o drugima a šta o BiH*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung BiH. Sarajevo. p.23-27.

Smith. A., (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Basil Blackwell. Oxford. p.32.

PART IV

Literature, Art and Media

THE CRISIS OF THE FUTURE: THE PAST OVERSHADOWING THE PRESENT

Asja MAKAREVIĆ, Sarajevo Talent Campus Manager

The University of Amsterdam

Abstract
Numerous contemporary Bosnian films center around characters lost in the turmoil of conflict and sociopolitical transition. Overwhelmed with changes and unable to adapt quickly, they are often depicted as confused loners and anxious characters. Many of them, affected and shaped by their war experiences, nostalgically seek refuge in their former, pre-war past. This somewhat general observation made me curious to learn more about the filmic treatment of the characters' emblematic ties with their past. In my paper, I address two short films by the Bosnian director Namik Kabil: *Interrogation* (2007) and *Inside* (2012). These films provide the spectator with a journey through a variety of collective and individual memories related to the atrocities in Bosnia. Both films explicitly address the characters' relation to their past and explore how the past overshadows the present, shapes the characters' lives and distorts their visions of the future. One of the main suppositions of this paper is that due to the characters' denial of atrocities and their reluctance to discuss disturbing past events, the characters are neither open to nor anticipate their future. The paper is built around a notion, which I call "the crisis of the future". The aim is to explore the workings of this proposed concept by means of reflecting upon the relations between the past and the present, collective and individual (memory), remembering and forgetting and action and inaction within both films. This discussion is set in a theoretical context provided by Maurice Halbwachs' concept of collective memory and Michel Foucault's notion about counter-memory. In addition, Todor Kuljić's reflections on newly formed pasts, and Jörn Rüsen's concept of de-traumatization highlight a discussion on the denial of atrocities. Lastly, Henri Bergson's conception of time as duration along with Gilles Deleuze's notion of time-image provide a theoretical framework for this paper.

Keywords: Cinema, Memory, Denial, Crisis of Future.

Introduction

Numerous contemporary Bosnian films center around characters lost in the turmoil of conflict and sociopolitical transition. Overwhelmed with changes and unable to adapt quickly, they are often depicted as confused loners and anxious characters. Many of them, affected and shaped by their war experiences, nostalgically seek refuge in their former, pre-war past. This somewhat general observation made me curious to learn more about the filmic treatment of the characters' emblematic ties with their past. In my paper I address two short films by the Bosnian director Namik Kabil: *Interrogation* (2007) and *Inside* (2012). These films provide the spectator with a journey through a variety of collective and individual memories related to the atrocities in Bosnia. Both films explicitly address the characters' relation to their past and

explore how the past overshadows the present, shapes the characters' lives and distorts their visions of the future.

One of the main suppositions of this paper is that due to the characters' denial of atrocities and their reluctance to discuss disturbing past events, the characters are neither open to nor anticipate their future. The paper is built around a notion, which I call "the crisis of the future". The aim is to explore the workings of this proposed concept by means of reflecting upon the relations between the past and the present, collective and individual (memory), remembering and forgetting and action and inaction within both films.

This discussion is set in a theoretical context provided by Maurice Halbwachs' concept of collective memory and Michel Foucault's notion about counter-memory. In addition, Todor Kuljić's reflections on newly formed pasts, and Jörn Rüsen's concept of de-traumatization highlight a discussion on the denial of atrocities. Lastly, Henri Bergson's conception of time as duration along with Gilles Deleuze's notion of time-image provide a theoretical framework for this paper. Before I further engage with the concrete examples and the methodology of this paper, I would like to introduce the two objects of my study.

Film Summaries

Interrogation and *Inside* provide the spectator with a journey through a variety of collective and individual memories related to the atrocities in Bosnia. These memories are brought to the viewer in the form of testimonies and interviews, face-to-face exchanges between the interviewer and the interviewees. Through *interrogation* both films expose an *inside* view of the Bosnian conflict.

Interrogation

In *Interrogation*, the director Kabil takes on the position of an interviewer, whereas his friends, neighbors and acquaintances come into view as interviewees. The latter ones are of different ages and have varied professional and educational backgrounds, ethnicities and nationalities. The title of the film refers to a juridical form of interviewing with the specific goal of extracting a confession or obtaining information from an interviewee or witness. The director "interrogates" because he wants to learn more about the interviewees' relation and experiences to the war. The viewer learns that during the war, Kabil lived in Santa Monica, in the USA. Because he lacks war experience he interrogates. The exchange between the interviewer and the interviewees takes place around a table in a dark, abandoned warehouse. The interviewer's questions range from: when did the war start; who was the aggressor; and is peace righteous; to should one talk about the war nowadays? Surprisingly enough, the same question evokes different answers and therefore different views on the past. As the film progresses a consensus about what happened during the war is lost within the turmoil of evoked memories. Due to inconsistent answers to the questions Kabil proposes, the film emphasizes the issue of war denial.

Inside

Namik Kabil's subsequent film, *Inside*, takes up where *Interrogation* left off. The subject matter is the denial of atrocities. *Inside* takes place in a spacious hospital with long, bizarre looking labyrinthine corridors. Similarly to *Interrogation*, *Inside* is characterized by the use of the same interviewing technique – an " interrogation". Within the diegesis of the film, the position of the interviewer is being shifted from the psychiatrist character to the patient character. At the beginning of the film, the psychiatrist is the one in charge of asking questions; while later in the film the interrogator's role is assigned to the patient. It is important to add that the patient is a survivor of the genocide in Srebrenica suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The film *Inside* consists of three distinct parts. The

first one comprises conversation scenes between the psychiatrist and the patient while the second conveys "interrogation" of five Serbian women (all played by the same actress, Jasna Ornela Berry) conducted by the patient. And the third one focuses on the patient's discussion with another patient (again played by the actress Berry). The first segment revolves around the doctor's treatment of the patient's traumatic recollections and the second offers view into a slightly "distorted" confrontation between the patient and five different and yet similar Serbian women. This segment raises the issue of war denial because four out of five Serbian women refuse to acknowledge the genocidal nature of the crimes committed by Serbs forces in Srebrenica. Finally, the third part consists of a more nuanced discussion between the two patients. As can be presumed, all of these exchanges touch upon the issues of collective and individual memories, denial of atrocities and empathy.

Another Remark

Before I engage with my research, it is essential to introduce the term ethno-religious group. Both films gather fictional characters and real individuals who are citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, hence, Bosnians and Serbians. Besides, Bosnians comprise members of at least three different ethno-religious groups: Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats. An explanation of the term ethno-religious group follows:

> An ethnoreligious group (or ethno-religious group) is an ethnic group of people whose members are also unified by a common religious background. Ethnoreligious communities define their ethnic identity neither exclusively by ancestral heritage nor simply by religious affiliation, but often through a combination of both […].

Bosniaks are predominantly Muslims, Serbian predominantly Orthodox Christians, and Croats Catholic Christians. Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats are officially termed constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The term *constituitive* "refers to the fact that these three ethnic groups are explicitly mentioned in the constitution, and that none of them can be considered a minority or immigrant." According to data from 2000 cited in by the CIA, "Bosniak constitute 48% of the population, Serbs 37.1 %, Croats 14.3%." Beside the three main ethno-religious groups (Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats), a minority of Jews, Roma and Albanians constitute 0.6% of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nevertheless, the mentioned statistics do not entail a number of atheists who insist on being referred to as Bosnians and reject any type of ethno-religious classifications. These kinds of classifications are insufficient when attempting to explain the population.

However, for the purpose of this paper, I make use of the mentioned ethno-religious classifications. This is especially valuable due to the fact that my further discussion involves notions that deny war crimes, collective guilt and collective responsibility, as approached and reflected on in both films *Interrogation* and *Inside*. Another remark to be made here concerns a difference between the use of term Bosnian Serbs and Serbs. Bosnian Serbs denote the ethno-religious group of Orthodox Christians from Bosnia, whereas Serbs signify the national group of Orthodox Christians from Serbia. However, within both films and therefore within my paper, the term Serbs may occasionally refer to both, the ethno-religious and the national group. The line between these two groups gets blurred when the involvement of the army, police and paramilitary units in the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina are mentioned

The Crisis of the Future

In order to examine the workings of the concept of the crisis of the future within the films *Interrogation* and *Inside*, it is necessary to look at what has instigated this crisis. As it is evident from the summaries given in the Introduction, both films provide the spectator with a journey through a variety of collective and individual memories related to atrocities

committed during the war in Bosnia. These memories are brought to the viewer in the form of testimonies and interviews, face-to-face exchanges between the interviewer and the interviewees. As these conversations suggest, the fictional characters of *Inside* and the real people of *Interrogation* are caught up and consumed by their past. Their collective past has an immense impact on their current life situation and distorts their vision of the future. In this and in the following chapter, I have isolated and described some film fragments which support this assertion. But first, it is important to reflect on the notion of a collective past, or more precisely, on the concept of collective memory. By touching upon this notion, the aim is to indicate what provokes the crisis of the future within the diegesis of both films. By deepening the understanding of the impact of the past on the lives of the characters in *Inside* and the real people in *Interrogation*, my intention is to bring clarity to the proposed concept of a "crisis of the future."

Collective Memory

In his book *The Collective Memory,* the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs shows that collective memory is not a given, but a socially constructed notion.

> While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember. While these remembrances are mutually supportive of each other and common to all, individual members still vary in the intensity with which they experience them. (Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* 48)

In addition, Halbwachs argues that there are as many collective memories as there are groups and institutions in a given society. Families, social classes, religious groups, armies, corporations and trade unions all have distinctive memories that their members have constructed, mainly over a long period of time. According to Halbwachs, individuals are the ones who remember, not institutions or groups. Since individuals are located in a specific group context, they draw on that context to remember or create their past.

For Halbwachs the past is not given, but is a social construction, mainly shaped by the concerns of the present. This means that the past is not fixed in time but is subject to change, so that the past is not static but rather a dynamic concept. Halbwachs argues that "the beliefs, interests, and aspirations of the present shape the various ways of the past as they are manifested in every historical epoch" (Coser, "Introduction" *On Collective Memory* 25).

Halbwachs makes a clear distinction between historical and autobiographical memory.

> The first reaches the social actor only through written records and other types of records, such as photography. But it can be kept alive through commemorations, festive enactment, and the like. […] Autobiographical memory, on the other hand, is memory of events that we have personally experienced in the past. (Coser, "Introduction" *On Collective Memory* 23)

When it comes to historical memory, the person does not remember events directly. Rather memories are stimulated indirectly, e.g. through a person's reading of written historical documents or through his/her taking part in various commemorations. The past is stored and interpreted by social institutions. Autobiographical memory, on the other end, refers to the directly, personally experienced past events (Coser, "Introduction" *On Collective Memory* 23). In this sense, one could say that the past is stored in individuals, who are members of a specific group.

The majority of the people interviewed in the film *Interrogation* share, to a certain extent, a common war experience. Having spent the war in the besieged Sarajevo or in other Bosnian cities, they form a group of people who survived the shelling, the continual sniper fire, the life threatening situations, accompanied by the overall shortage of electricity, gas,

water and food supplies. Their memory is both historical and autobiographical as well as collective and individualized at the same time. In accordance with Halbwachs' beliefs, it is possible to assert that these interviewees remember the war events by placing themselves in the perspective of the group. At the same time, the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in their individual memories.

Halbwachs' distinction between historical and autobiographical collective memories proves relevant and at the same time insufficient for the purpose of this paper. It is relevant because it draws a clear line between two different types of collective memory. It sets historical memory apart from autobiographical by differentiating the mediated from the directly experienced past. This division, however, proves inadequate in the case when autobiographical memory does not corroborate historical memory, or, what is more, when it challenges and even questions the institutionalized representations of the past. *Interrogation* provides numerous examples in which these two types of memories are in dissonance with each other. Namik Kabil "interrogates" his friends, neighbors and acquaintances about their war experiences. Throughout the film, the same questions are addressed to all of the interviewees. They range from: when did the war begin; who was the aggressor; is peace righteous; to should one talk about the war nowadays? Interestingly, the simple question, when did the war begin, incites a wide range of different responses.

It is relevant to emphasize that the names, occupations, exact ages and other biographical data that might help the viewer identify the interviewees are not explicitly given in the film. Nevertheless, the group of seventeen interviewees comprises the Bosnian public figures (e.g. a theatre director, a journalist, two writers) and relatively unknown individuals. Their appearances are juxtaposed. For the audience coming from Bosnia it is clear who these public people are, whereas for the spectators outside the state or the region of the former Yugoslavia, the functions and social positions of these figures, remain unknown. Later in this chapter I reflect on the effects of this strategy of omitting information. To allow the readers to orient themselves throughout the film I have provided interviewees with provisional names. Within the attached cast list, the interviewees are presented as Woman A, Woman B, Woman C, etc., Man A, Man B, Man C, etc. The A, B, C, D order follows the chronological order of their appearance within the film. In addition, within the cast list every interviewee is presented with a name and a corresponding photo, a screenshot of his/her face.

Interestingly, the film provides the spectator with two cases, which do challenge the official beginning of the war.

> *Man A*: "Actually, for me personally it started with Radovan Karadžić's speech in Parliament. With his famous pointing finger… although I was only 21 at that time. Was that in '91?"
>
> *Man H*: "For me the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina started in mid-October in '91 with the attack on the Ravno village. This is how I perceive it. The official politics unfortunately don't see it that way, but for me the attack on Ravno marks the beginning of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Why those who at that time were political leaders didn't recognize that… it is their problem, not mine."

Radovan Karadžić's infamous speech to the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the 5th October in 1991, and the Bosnian Serb army's attack on the Ravno village in eastern Herzegovina, in mid-October in 1991, form two historically precise, datable events. These events predate the official beginning of the war by six months. Therefore, the interviewees' personal beliefs and recollections about the mentioned events contest the historically legitimate date marking the beginning of the war. Having detected this fact, it is quite important to critically update Halbwachs' distinction between autobiographical and historical

collective memory. For that reason I present the notion of counter-memory, a term initially coined and proposed by the French philosopher Michel Foucault.

Counter-Memory

Foucault (1977) defines counter-memory as a political force of people who are marginalized by universal discourses, whose knowledge have been disqualified as inadequate to their task, insufficiently elaborated or as naïve knowledge, located low down in the hierarchy. These elusive group memories, which are frequently in a sharp contrast to the dominant/ official representation of the past, provide a group with a repertoire of categories for enacting social divisions. Counter-memory illuminates the issues of the discontinuity of traditions and the political implication of alternative narratives. (Misztal 78)

According to Foucault, the idea of counter-memory clarifies the relationship between the hegemonic order and official historical representations. Additionally, it provides the opportunity to account for subordinated, misrepresented and "naïve" knowledge about a collective past. The group of "neglected" voices, as can be seen from the latest examples, is in opposition with official historical representations. Consequently, directly experienced or mediated past events can appear as counter-memory and, therefore, undermine the official history. The interviewees' recollections of Karadžić's well-known, mass-mediated speech and the attack on the Ravno village are alternative narratives that have political implications. These narratives imply that the circumstances, which led to the Bosnian war, could have been identified already six months before the official beginning of the war. So, the war would not have come as such a surprise. Essentially, the interviewees' alternative accounts provoke a political doubt as they question the official beginning of the war and the linear historical narrative of the state's hegemonic order.

Group Cohesion - Paradox of Safety

After having introduced the notion of counter-memory and having examined the cases that exemplify disparate views about the beginning of the war, I now touch upon the recollections on the past that are more or less similar. In my view, these analogous recollections and beliefs tend to unify the group of interviewees. The film *Interrogation* provides the spectator with a wide range of interviewee responses that illuminate a strong sense of belonging to a group. The following question about the existence of friendship and solidarity during the war exemplify this point.

> *Man D*: "It's not a myth, it's not a myth because all of us who lived during the war in Sarajevo, who went to work, we know the amount of friendliness, and I wouldn't call it anything else but that, I wouldn't use any special adjectives to describe it. People were ready to help everyone; somehow we felt like one family, there were no limits, which are now, in times of peace, being imposed. Those limits naturally came with some kind of existential security. I have a feeling, it's a paradox, that we were safer during the war, because we had some support from the people around us, while today, in my view, we have a situation like the saying 'man is a wolf to man'."

The above given example illustrates how individual memories can be in harmony with each other. The memories about human compassion, friendship and solidarity during the war are commonly shared by most of the interviewees in the film. As evident from the film, these individuals shared the same need for food, water and gas supplies. The fact that they had been exposed to the same living conditions made them less alienated and more supportive of each other. The supportiveness and the comfort they found in each other illuminates a notion brought up in the latest answer – a paradox of safety. Most of the interviewees in the film feel nostalgic about human compassion and the mutual support, which, in their view, have

gradually vanished in the post-war time. In addition, the interviewees are strongly connected by a sense of the overall loss, apathy and emptiness in the period after the war. The fact that they equally feel that nobody won the war makes them a cohesive group of people.

The latest example has demonstrated how memories of solidarity and friendship during the war can bring members of the group closer to each other. Consequently, the individuals are grouped around a shared identity. In relation to that, it is relevant to indicate that the names, occupations, exact ages and other information specifying the interviewees in *Interrogation* are left unknown for two possible reasons. In my view, one of them is to accentuate the fact that the individuals have a certain number of collectively shared war experiences, which unify them. The strategy of "un-naming" and leaving out information about the interviewees results in de-individualization of the interviewees. I believe that de-individualization enables for a stronger integration of the interviewees into the group of people who experienced the siege of Sarajevo and the war. Additionally, this strategy draws attention to collectively similar war experiences as opposed to different ones, which leads me to the second explanation. The strategy of omitting biographical information implies that the interviewees are not being automatically differentiated by their names and classified in their ethno-religious groups. Their belonging to a certain ethno-religious group and their political affiliations remain unspecified.

Un-Naming Strategy within *Interrogation* and *Inside*

As previously noted, the "un-naming" strategy within *Interrogation* has a two-fold effect. On one hand, there is a strong sense of unity of the group whose members share similar war experiences; on the other hand the ethno-religious classification of the interviewees is avoided. Consequently, the individuals are distinguished or unified by what they say about their past and not according to their names. It is important to add that during and after the war in Bosnia, it was common practice to seek a person's ethno-religious background in a person's first and last name in order to presume possibly related political affiliations. For that reason, Bosnian names have become markers of ethno-religious differences. During the rule of one political party in The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the ethno-religious differences were not expressed nor appreciated as such. The unity and the brotherhood of different nationalities and ethnicities were the state's motto and future goal.

Following this line of thought, the strategy of omitting biographical information within *Interrogation* conveys a strong sense of unity of the group whose members share similar war experiences. At the same time, the "un-naming" of the interviewees prevents their automatic ethno-religious classification. One can argue that within *Interrogation* the "I" and the "we" are tightly intertwined to convey a sense of solidarity during the war. Yet, both films, *Inside* in particular, demonstrate that the merging of the individual and the collective results in upgrading one group for the purpose of downgrading the other. Consequently, positive characteristics and virtues are attributed to one national or ethno-religious group while guilt and errors are assigned to the others.

Both films address the problem of the complexity of national and ethno-religious group identity. *Inside*, which can be perceived as a follow-up of *Interrogation*, addresses this issue more directly. Even though the viewer is not provided with the names of the characters, already at the beginning of the film it becomes apparent that the protagonist is a Bosniak, a survivor of the genocide in Srebrenica suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). What is more, the film thematizes the patient's encounters with five Serbian women, whom he "interrogates" in order to learn more about their views on the atrocities committed by the Serb army in July, 1995 in Srebrenica. At the beginning of the film, the viewer learns from the patient's conversation with his psychiatrist that he grew up with the Muslim myth "They (Serbs) are all the same", which he, allegedly, did not believe. He confronts five women in

order to discover if this myth bears any relevance for him. Interestingly, the same Bosnian actress Jasna Ornela Berry plays the roles of all five women, who are physically distinguished by a small modification in their styling and the way they verbally express themselves. Their opinions about the Srebrenica genocide differ to a certain degree. The first woman claims that Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić were CIA agents and that the CIA should be blamed for the war. The second one admits Serbian involvement in the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and feels sorry and ashamed, whereas the third claims that people, especially young ones should not be bothered by some Balkan war torn past. The fourth woman accuses the media of the wartime atrocities, while the fifth has an irrational view in general. In this film, like in *Interrogation*, the characters are not specified by their names. For that reason, I have provided the characters with their provisional names that are included in a separate cast list. The patient and the doctor are regarded as Patient and Doctor, whereas five Serbian women are, in accordance to the above given order of appearance, referred to as Woman 1, Woman 2, Woman 3, Woman 4 and Woman 5. The other patient is named Patient 2. Each character is presented with a photo of his/her face, accompanied with his/her provisional name.

Ethno-Religious Differences

During the protagonist's confrontations with these five Serbian women they express the negative implications of ethno-religious and national classifications. To varying degrees, in four out of five exchanges, the women characters use their ethno-religious and national group identity to excuse for discrimination against the other group's identity. Seemingly upset due to the questions raised about Serb involvement in the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, Woman 4 acts as if she was attacked on a personal level. Because she is defensive about Serbian group identity that she feels strongly affiliated to, she keeps repeating how the protagonist's intention is to slander Serbs as if they haven't been slandered enough in the past.

> *Woman 4*: "You've said more than enough. As if it's not enough that an entire people are considered to be … mere criminals and slaughterers. As if it's not enough that this nation has lost its standing in the world. And if we don't know that we have to start asking ourselves questions. But clearly, this is a stereotype."
> *Patient*: "And how did this stereotype come about?"
> *Woman 4*: "It just did."
> *Patient*: "This wasn't a natural disaster but the result of particular politics."

The woman's answer about Serbian involvement is significant not only because it indicates her strong affiliation with Serbian national and Orthodox religious group identity. The major problem lies in the fact that Woman 4 is more worried about the bad reputation assigned to Serbs after the war than about the actual reasons, which led to this reductive and damaging "stereotypical" view. Similarly, Woman 1, who shifts blame for the war crimes committed by the US and the CIA, is equally defensive of the Serbian national group identity.

> *Woman 1*: "No, no, no, you are simplifying things. Of course, some Serbs, some individuals are to blame. Criminal scum who were deliberately organised. But you can't blame an entire people. As if the Americans didn't know Karadžić and Mladić's plan for Srebrenica? As if they couldn't see it by satellite? As if they didn't have their own people on the ground? As if they had no idea?"

Aside from Bosnian "allies" - the US and the CIA - the criminals, the "scum" working for drugs and money are to blame for the war. Some suspicious "others" are the scapegoat and not the Serbian nation itself. This view is significant for two reasons. First, the guilt and errors are attributed to someone else, outside their own group. And second, this belief

indicates a distortion of publicly available facts about the series of massive killings in Bosnia that were planned and instructed by the former Yugoslavian and Serbian president Slobodan Milošević, the former leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadžić, the former commander of Bosnian Serb forces Ratko Mladić and other generals, and directly executed by the Army and Police of Republika Srpska and Bosnian Serb and Serb paramilitaries. The misrepresentation of facts brings me closer to the core of my investigation. Due to dismissal of significant information about the war crimes I come across the issue of denial of atrocities that the film *Inside* thematizes. My intention is to further prove that the temporal relations within *Inside* and *Interrogation* are complicated because of the facts are distorted. One of the main suppositions is that due to the characters' and the real people's denial of atrocities and their reluctance to discuss disturbing past events, the characters of *Inside* and the real persons of *Interrogation* are neither open to nor anticipate their future. On the contrary, they are deeply affected by historical facts, which are constantly and repeatedly bargained over, negated, distorted or covered by an overall silence. This assumption leads me to the notion of forgetting.

Forgetting and Remembering

In his text "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia", the German comparative literature and memory studies scholar Andreas Huyssen reminds that long ago Freud taught us that "memory and forgetting are indissolubly linked to each other, that memory is but another form of forgetting, and forgetting a form of hidden memory" (27). In a similar manner, the German literature and memory studies scholar Aleida Assmann relates remembering to forgetting. She suggests that in order to remember some things, other things must be forgotten, and that our memory is highly selective.

> Memory capacity is limited by neural and cultural constraints such as focus and bias. It is also limited by psychological pressures, with the effect that painful or incongruent memories are hidden, displaced, overwritten, and possibly effaced. On the level of cultural memory, there is a similar dynamic at work. The continuous process of forgetting is part of social normality. (Assmann 97)

In the head of the individual, as in the communication of a given society, much information must be continuously forgotten to make place for new information and new ideas in order to be able to face the present and the future (Assmann 97). One can agree with the belief that in order to remember one must forget, especially in the face of the present and the future. But what happens when the information revealing crimes committed by one group against the other are deliberately effaced? Or when certain "painful" facts and figures are never remembered in the first place? The dictum "to forget in order to remember" does not seem to offer the most convincing answer.

In her writing, Assmann offers a possible resolution to the problem I rose by categorizing two forms of forgetting: a more active and a more passive one.

> *Active* forgetting is implied in intentional acts such as trashing and destroying. Acts of forgetting are a necessary and constructive part of internal social transformations; they are, however, violently destructive when directed at an alien culture or a persecuted minority. […] The *passive* form of cultural forgetting is related to non-intentional acts such as losing, hiding, dispersing, neglecting, abandoning, or leaving something behind. In these cases the objects are not materially destroyed; they fall out of attention, valuation, and use. (Assmann 98)

Even though Assmann relates the active and the passive form of forgetting to cultural material products, which can be intentionally and unintentionally forgotten, I can certainly

utilize her notions while discussing the deliberate distortion of the information about war crimes. Assmann's distinction between intentional and unintentional forgetting clearly separates the acts of losing, neglecting and abandoning from the acts of trashing or destroying. The acts of forgetting that are directed at an alien culture are relevant to the discussion at hand. The way I see it, no matter how painful findings about one group's acts are, they should not be modified, rewritten or erased. The facts about the collective past need to be dealt with, remembered and brought to the awareness. The possible resolution of the crisis of the future, which both films *Interrogation* and *Inside* directly address, is to be found in active remembering. Assmann explains this form of remembrance by referring to the institutions of active memory that preserve the past as present, as opposed to the institutions of passive memory that preserve the past as past (98). Different rooms of the museum may illustrate the two modes of cultural memory.

> The museum presents its prestigious objects to the viewers in representative shows which are arranged to catch attention and make a lasting impression. The same museum also stores house storerooms stuffed with other paintings and objects in peripheral spaces such as cellars or attics which are not publicly presented. (Assmann 98)

Drawing from the illustration of the museum's representative and peripheral spaces, Assmann refers to the actively circulated memory that keeps the past present as the canon and the passively stored memory that preserves the past as the archive (98). Following this line of reasoning, it can be argued that collective memory first needs to circulate among the members of the ethno-religious group who have suffered and committed war crimes, before it is stored. "Painful" events need to be actively remembered, kept present and alive before they are preserved as past. Therefore, the possible resolution of the crisis of the future that is implied within both films is to be found in the form of active remembering, as opposed to active forgetting. As a matter of fact, both films, *Interrogation* and *Inside* are made in an attempt to extract "painful" memories, that are being silenced. The necessity to discuss war memories is in line with the obligation to remember the past no matter how damaging and disintegrating it may seem to one group's identity. To evoke memories about the collective past is, however, not an easy task. The reluctance to discuss war memories, accompanied with the denial of atrocities has been present in Bosnia and in the Balkans ever since the war has ended. One of the possible reasons people avoid discussing and exchanging their war experiences is well exemplified in the answer to the question about the silence about the war past, given by Man D in the film *Interrogation*.

> *Man D*: "This is one of the worst forms of non-freedom, because those transitional processes completely repressed our remembrance about the war. Simply, if we were fully conscious of the war that happened here, today we would have different mutual relations, respectful ones. However, the transition took its toll. But we don't even live the transition. In my opinion, we live one form of the cruelest capitalism."

As it is evident, the transition from socialism to capitalism in the countries of the former Yugoslavia offers a possible explanation to the raised issue of the overall silence. This fact might have prevented individuals from keeping their memories alive. Unfortunately, the persons' unwillingness to adapt to social changes may explain the presence of passive forgetting but does not entirely justify the emergence of active forgetting or his denial of atrocities. The denial of the atrocities of the war needs to be perceived as a kind of planned amnesia since it involves a structure, an intention with the specific goal of causing harm to the other group. This aspect of forgetting remains to be addressed further on.

Denial of Atrocities within *Interrogation* and *Inside*

The first example I am providing here is an extract from a dialogue between the interviewer and Woman G from the film *Interrogation*. From the questions and answers that preceded this exchange, the spectator has learned that the woman was married to a Serb officer, whom she divorced in 1978. Her accent reveals that she originally comes from Serbia as well. After her divorce she lived in Sarajevo and her ex-husband most likely lived in Belgrade. What the viewer learns in addition is that at the beginning of the war, the Bosnian army and police officials searched Woman G's apartment and had ruthlessly interrogated her. She was questioned about where her ex-husband was and whether at that time he was on the hills surrounding Sarajevo, shooting at the people in the city. The following exchange was instigated by the question related to the woman's war experiences.

Woman G: "I spent eight months in the atomic bomb shelter when the first entrance in our building 'Šibica' was set on fire, on 5th of October '92."
Interrogator: "Who shot at 'Šibica'?"
Woman G: "Ah, who shot, the one who aimed at it!"
Interrogator: "Who aimed at it?"
Woman G: "It's a well-known thing who shot at it, we didn't shot at ourselves!"
Interrogator: "But, who was shooting?"
Woman G: "Well, I have no clue, how do I know my child, I was sick, it didn't matter to me, they took my medicine when they searched my apartment."
Interrogator: "Did you hear people talking about who was shooting?"
Woman G: "Well, they talked."
Interrogator: "What did these people say then?"
Woman G: "Those from the hills."
Interrogator: "Who was on the hills?"
Woman G: "We all know who was there…"
Interrogator: "Who was there? I don't know I was in the USA during the war, that's why I'm doing this movie."
Woman G: "Well Serbs, I guess, what do I know who was there… I was sitting in my building and our building was shelled the most and we suffered the most."

As can be seen from this example, Woman G is well aware of the exact date when the building was set on fire. She remembers having spent eight months in the atomic bomb shelter, hiding from the shelling. In her view, the building she has lived in was shelled the most and the people living there suffered the most. Even though her memories of the past suffering are clear, Woman G faces difficulties naming the perpetrators. The precision with which she expresses the extent of her suffering diametrically opposes the vagueness of her past knowledge about the perpetrators. How is it possible to be a victim for such a long period of time and refuse to name the perpetrator? The paradox rests on the tension between two poles. Woman G belongs to two separate groups. As a victim of the continual shelling of Sarajevo, she belongs to a group of Bosnians of different ethnicities (Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats and others) who stayed in the city during the war and were equally victims of the aggression. And as a Serb, she is affiliated to a group of Serbs, of whom many were perpetrators directly involved in the armed attacks over the city. Torn between two groups, Woman G is unable to name the perpetrators. Declaring that Serbs were the people shooting from the hill would have meant that she was not loyal to her Serbs group. Likewise, strongly negating Serbs' involvement in the city's shelling would have undermined her other collectively shared identity. In their mutual exchange and the interplay, the two group identities fight against each other for domination.

Unable to separate one group identity from the other, and distinguish her personal experiences and memories from the collective ones, Woman G sounds naïve and comical at

the same time. Even though she may seem oblivious, her intention to deviate from facts indicates the active form of forgetting, hence, the denial of atrocities. There are several examples in the film *Interrogation* that illustrate the view that "everyone is a perpetrator", whereas *Inside* provides us with an example which elucidates the idea that "everyone is a victim". It follows a conversation between Patient and Woman 4 who accuses the media for the atrocities.

> *Patient:* "And what happened in Srebrenica?"
> *Woman 4:* "As if you don't know?"
> *Patient*: "You can't talk about it?"
> *Woman 4*: "And what happened in Croatia? What happened in Slovenia? What happened in Kosovo, in the 1980s? What happened in other parts of Bosnia? If you really want to analyze what happened, you need a broader perspective. Srebrenica is only one piece of the puzzle."
> *Patient*: "8000 people were killed there."
> *Woman 4*: "But many more were killed overall. People of all nations, not just Muslims. Isn't that true?"

Asked about what happened in Srebrenica, Woman 4 avoids answering the question. She deviates from the course of discussion in the direction of other war crimes and killings in Croatia, Slovenia, Kosovo and other parts of Bosnia. Many people of different nations were undeniably killed in different parts of ex-Yugoslavia, but saying that Srebrenica is only one piece of the puzzle does not shed light on the fact of the organized massive killings in Srebrenica on July 1995. The trading with the numbers of dead people does not provide an explanation for the atrocities, but certainly signifies the intention to overlook the facts about the crimes one has committed. Interestingly, in his text "Remembering Crimes – Proposal and Reactions", Kuljić elaborates on the lack of national responsibility for committed crimes while making a reference to the term de-traumatization.

Inside De-Traumatization

The term de-traumatization originates from the writing of the German cultural historian Jörn Rüsen. Kuljić provides an explanation of the term in relation to war crimes committed by the Balkan's nations.

> Instead of drawing attention to national responsibility and nurturing the memory of one's own traumatic crimes, the ideologies that are dominant in the Balkans today de-traumatize the crimes of their own nations. De-traumatization is a process of making crime a daily issue, which leads to its trivialization. (Kuljić, "Remembering Crimes – Proposal and Reactions" 4)

De-traumatization conceptualizes incomprehensible crimes as a necessary defense. At the same time "it relativises, trivializes and sends these crimes to oblivion" (Kuljić, "Remembering Crimes – Proposal and Reactions" 4). Various illustrations of the relativization and the trivialization of one's own crimes can be found in the film *Inside*. One of the examples is the exchange between Patient and Woman 3, who believes that people should not be bothered by some Balkan war past. Asked about the massive killings in Srebrenica, she answers that 8000 people were killed and that there is no controversy about that.

> *Woman 3*: "Well, I didn't say it was a good thing. Killing is always controversial. But, let's be honest, it's just Balkan history. We still have unresolved issues. Someone is always exacting vengeance."

According to her, the massive atrocities in Srebrenica are perceived as a cyclically recurring event in the historical chain of killings. This view naturalizes the war; and genocide is only a single episode within the "normal" process of killings and vengeance in the Balkans.

In his writing, Rüsen categorizes several strategies for de-traumatization, and one of them is normalization (Kuljić, "Remembering Crimes – Proposal and Reactions" 7). Normalization explains that crimes have always happened, that human nature is the same everywhere, evil, and that evil is inseparable from human nature. By claiming this, the destructive character of a traumatic event weakens and becomes somewhat comprehensible. Perceiving the massacres in Srebrenica as "just Balkan history", as a part of the history of a never-ending vengeance, normalizes and conceptualizes the highly incomprehensible atrocities. The above example illustrates a belief that killings have always happened in the Balkans, and will most probably continue to happen in the future. So, there is nothing anomalous and surprising about that fact. Needless to add, this form of de-traumatization is a way of distorting facts and denying one's own crimes.

Another example that illustrates the act of planned amnesia or de-traumatization can be found in the exchange between Patient and Woman 1, who claims that Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić were CIA agents.

> *Woman 1*: "With the blessing of the CIA, Milošević carefully chose… planted, so to speak, the worst scum among the Serbian people. He rounded up all of the worst criminals and psychopaths. I wouldn't be surprised if the killers get everything they needed… drugs, money… the things you have in these situations. In that way, they were almost forced into killing Muslims in Srebrenica."

The character's belief that Slobodan Milošević supposedly acted as a CIA agent and surrounded himself with the worst criminals trivializes the act of killing. The idea that individuals from the underbelly of society, while in need of money and drugs, "were almost forced into killing" de-traumatizes the Serbs' involvement in the organized massacres in Srebrenica. In this way, the nation's collective responsibility for the atrocities diminishes. The inability to come to terms with the one's own crimes prevents the characters from *Inside* to distance themselves from the past and advance towards the future. An inevitable apathy associated with the ever-lasting denial of atrocities, articulated in both films, *Interrogation* and *Inside*, constructs the rule of the past over the present. While in the first two chapters of the thesis I explored the cause of the crisis of the future while deploying various historical and sociological concepts and relating them to the specific film fragments, in the following chapter I examine the modes in which the past overshadows the present.

The Past Overshadowing the Present

As evident from the chapters "The Crisis of the Future" and "Denial", the characters' and the real people's unresolved relation to the past blocks their anticipation of the future. In order to gain a better understanding of this temporal vacuum within the diegesis of *Interrogation* and *Inside*, one needs to approach the concept of the time-image, as proposed by the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze. In his book *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, Deleuze attributes the rise of the time-image cinema to the films made after the Second World War. Even though this book, first time published in 1985, addresses the post-Second World War cinema of European directors such as Michelangelo Antonioni, Jean-Luc Godard, Roberto Rossellini, Deleuze's notions directly correspond to the post-Bosnian war cinema of Namik Kabil's two films. Deleuze's major concepts like "any-spaces-whatever", "seers", and "crystal image" are reactivated and brought in dialogue with modes in which the past overshadows the present within the diegesis of *Interrogation* and *Inside*.

As already mentioned, Deleuze relates the emergence of the time-image to the period after the Second World War. Or in his words, "the fact is that, in Europe, the post-war period has greatly increased the situations which we no longer know how to react to, in spaces which we no longer know how to describe" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* xi).

Deleuze names these spaces "any-spaces-whatever" and describes them as "deserted but inhabited, disused warehouses, waste ground, cities in the course of demolition or reconstruction" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* xi).

Any-Spaces-Whatever

Interestingly one can draw a comparison between his notion of "any-spaces-whatever" and *Interrogation's* mise-en-scène. *Interrogation* is set in an abandoned factory, "charged" with collective memories of the pre-war Yugoslavian industrial prosperity. As an abandoned, partly demolished venue, it proves to be a proper stage for "extracted" war memories. The film operates with three different levels of time. First of all, a choice of the post-industrial place induces collective memories of the socialist past. Secondly, the interviews evoke memories associated with Bosnian war experiences. Finally, the interviews take place 15 years after the war. Consequently, two layers of the collective past - the socialist and the Bosnian war past – co-exist in a more recent, present moment. It is possible to claim that we are dealing here with a non-linear, Bergsonian conception of time as duration (durée) and the co-existing layers of time. This conception sees time as unquantifiable quality and intensity, as opposed to another view, which perceives time as quantifiable, and measurable in space. In his *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, Deleuze reinforces the Bergsonian notion of time as duration.

> In any case, what we call temporal structure, or direct-time image, clearly goes beyond the purely empirical succession of time – past-present-future. It is, for example, a coexistence of distinct durations, or of levels of duration; a single event can belong to several levels: the sheets of past can coexist in a non-chronological order. (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* xi)

Deleuze utilizes the Bergsonian conception of time in order to refer to sheets of the past and peaks of the present as characteristics of the time-image. Two sheets of the past and a contracted point of the present were already detected within *Interrogation*. On the other side, *Inside* takes place in a bizarre looking hospital with many labyrinth-like corridors and entrances to numerous rooms. It is important to mention that Kabil shot this film in the biggest nuclear bunker in the former Yugoslavia and in one of Sarajevo's hospitals. The nuclear bunker, built between 1953 and 1979, is located 200 meters under ground, inside the mountain Prenj, 60 km southeast of Sarajevo (Hinterreiter 1). In his article "Beneath the Regular", the Austrian architect Christoph Hinterreiter claims that the nuclear bunker D-0 was supposed to "ensure the survival of the political and military elite of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" in case of a nuclear war after the Yugoslavia's exclusion from CPSU dominated Cominform (Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties) (Hinterreiter 1). *Inside* implies that collective memories of the president Tito's prosperous Yugoslavia and his legendary split from the Soviet leader Stalin resonate in the numerous corridors of this outlandish space. Collective memories belong to one layer of the past, whereas exchanges between Patient and Doctor, like other conversations within *Inside*, refer to another sheet of the past. These dialogues evoke memories of the protagonist's traumatic survival, which took place next to the mass execution of 8000 people in Srebrenica in 1995. Two sheets of the past – memories of Tito's Yugoslavia and those of the protagonist's survival - are simultaneous with the present. The present is referred to as the actual time in which the conversations took place. The Bergsonian conception of time as duration is reintroduced within *Inside* as well.

Aside from acting as a Deleuzian "any-space-whatever", this outlandish setting with it's numerous, long and narrow corridors, evokes the image of brain lobes. Interestingly, the film's title refers to the inside of the protagonist's mind. In addition, the protagonist's post-traumatic stress disorder and memories-based hallucinations indicate that the viewer experiences the same events as the protagonist. As if the viewer could have inhabited the protagonist's mind. Patient relives his past through his hallucinatory encounters with

imaginary Serbian women. For most of the film, the viewer experiences the protagonist's visual hallucinations with him. Hence the confusion between what is true and what is false or, using the Bergsonian distinction, between what is actual and what is virtual. Later, in this chapter, a more elaborate account on this notion will be provided.

As specified in the beginning of this chapter, Deleuze elaborates on various conditions, which have contributed to the emergence of the time-image. He relates the period after the Second World War to the appearance of "any-spaces-whatever" and "situations, which we no longer know how to react to". The emergence of mentioned situations is connected with the loosening of the sensory-motor schema.

> […] the characters were found less in sensory-motor "motivating" situations, but rather in a state of strolling, of sauntering or of rambling which defined pure optical and sound situations. (Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* 124)

The rise of "pure optical and sound situations" followed the shattering of the sensory-motor schemata, which, according to Deleuze, characterizes the classical Hollywood cinema, a prototype of the movement-image. A linear unfolding of events, a firm narrative structure, and a goal-oriented characters' behaviour are implicated in this type of image. Determined, self-conscious characters, heroes of the classical cinema enter, without hesitations, action-reaction relations with other characters. This mode of action implies the existence of an organic link between a man and the world. A certain unity, a system of values, or an organic whole presupposes a firm narrative structure, a well-defined plot, and coherent characters of the movement-image. In order to support this claim, an explanation, provided by the Dutch film scholar Patricia Pisters in her text "The Fifth Element and the Fifth Dimension of the Affection-Image" follows:

> Deleuze calls this a form of action-thought, where there is always a relation between man and the world. Hence its organic qualities, always relating to a synthetic whole in which everything can be kept together. (231)

After the Second World War, the system of values is shattered, the organic link between a man and the world is broken and characters' actions are halted. In these conditions, Deleuze sees an emergence of a "new race of characters", whom he calls "seers", "wanderers", and "a kind of mutants" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* xi). They appear opposite to the so-called agents of the movement-image.

> […] the time-image produces seers who find themselves struck by something intolerable in the world and confronted with something unthinkable in thought. So the "task" of cinema is no longer to produce thought in showing the connections to the Whole, but to produce "the psychic situation of the seer, who sees better and further than he can react, that is think. (Pisters 232)

Seers

Interrogation gathers a wide range of "seers". Both, the film director's friends and his acquaintances, people of different ages and various backgrounds, have, in some ways or another, experienced the Bosnian war. According to their statements, there are no goals that were achieved during or after the war. "Nobody won the war", "everybody lost", "what we fought for was utopia" are statements that echo throughout the film. Recurring variations of these and similar statements imply a certain sense of loss, disorientation and a state of being common to Deluzian "seers". The movie title implies that individuals are brought into the factory and seated around the table to be "interrogated". They are not supposed to move nor leave; it is assumed that they will be confronted with their memories. In many ways, the mise-en-scène of the film insinuates that an interrogation or an artificial trial might take place. The specific lighting of the film, the face-to-face position of the interviewer and the

interviewees evoke a resemblance with the film noir aesthetics.[15] Low-key lighting, which is a characteristic of film noir, makes use of shadows and contrast in order to convey a sense of danger and intrigue (Prammagiore 93). The faces of the interviewees are partly covered by shadows. This type of lighting conveys their feeling of uneasiness while reminiscing the war. In fact, as *Interrogation* clearly demonstrates, some interviewees do not wish to discuss their past. Woman D, whom at this point the spectator distinguishes as a woman selling vegetables on the market place, is determined.

> *Woman D*: "I suffered but I have gained nothing from talking about it, let us move on, what happened, happened."

As evident from the chapter "Denial", few others seem to be reluctant to name the aggressor. Even though they are well aware of devastating atrocities committed during the war, they avoid naming the perpetrator. On the opposite end, there are interviewees, like Woman F, known at this point as a school educator, who addresses the relevance and pressure to discuss the past experiences.

> *Woman F*: "Well, this not talking about the war is very bad, it's like when you have an elephant in the middle of the room and everyone pretends it's not there. Most people really try to act as if it didn't happen and as if somebody else is to be blamed for everything. I believe that in order for a conflict to be resolved it has to be somehow de-escalated. No matter how painful that process is, we need to talk about it."

Evidently, all of the "interrogated" individuals in *Interrogation* are in some ways aware of the overwhelming silence related to the past atrocities. The only difference is that some of them do not find it relevant to discuss traumatic events; the others tend to disprove of them, while the third acknowledge the importance of talking about them. An important question emerges: why is there no firm stand by the interviewees, a straightforward action against the overspread silence and the increasing denial of the atrocities? A possible explanation is to be found in Deleuze's formulation. There is "something intolerable in the world" and "unthinkable in thought" which occurs after a war, which breaks an organic motor-sensory link between a man and the world and produces a line of "seers". Or, as Woman F in *Interrogation* declares in the following example:

> "How is such dehumanization possible… to have snipers shooting at children? We in our neighbourhood had a case in the Fatima Gunjić School, when shells exploded at 11 o'clock, at time when the largest number of children was gathered there. The first shift of school was finishing and the second was starting. That you cannot comprehend, that's something that always remains a question: how is that possible?"

Deleuzian "seers" within *Interrogation* are struck by something "intolerable" and "unthinkable", they are incapable of taking actions and, thus, keep themselves immersed in their collective past.

Inside is a film which revolves around a psychic situation of a "seer". A deeply traumatized victim, a sufferer of PTSD relives his trauma through his visual hallucinations. The protagonist's delusions compose the largest portion of the film and are framed by a supposedly therapeutic conversation between him and Doctor. The only action, which Patient is capable of taking, is to "interrogate" five Serbian women. These women, nevertheless, prove to be a product of his imagination. The protagonist seeks to learn more about the women's views over the genocide in Srebrenica. Yet, once he has been asked questions in return, he is incapable of providing answers to all those raised questions. Several times he stares in silence instead of reacting firmly against the aggressive provocations. Relevant to stress, the protagonist is depicted sitting when he is in his therapy session, when he confronts his "imaginary" enemies and even when he talks to Patient 2. Most of the time, he does not

move. The immobility of the character, or an impossibility to react to occurring situations is what enables the Bergsonian conception of time to enter this type of the image. In Deleuzian terms, time emerges and subordinates movement to itself.

> And thanks to this loosening of the sensory-motor linkage, it is time, 'a little time in the pure state', which rises up to the surface of the screen. Time ceases to be derived from the movement, it appears in itself and itself gives rise to false movements. […] Even the body is no longer exactly what moves; subject of movement or the instrument of action, it becomes rather the developer (*revelaeuter*) of time, it shows time through its tiredness and waitings (Antonioni). (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* xi)

The "immobilized" characters of *Inside* and the real individuals of *Interrogation* are bodies in process of waiting, true developers of time. They exhibit their tiredness, while staring, unable to react and unable to protest.

Actual and Virtual

Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the viewer of *Inside* mostly experiences what the protagonist's visual hallucinations "informs" him of. Nevertheless, the protagonist's delusions are not clearly separated from his "real-life" perceptions. Hence the confusion between what is true and what is false, between subjective and objective. How can the viewer orientate himself within the diegetic world of *Inside*? Deleuze's understanding of the actual and the virtual might be helpful in touching upon this matter.

> We run in fact into a principle of indeterminability, of indiscernibility: we no longer know what is imaginary or real, physical or mental, in the situation, not because they are confused, but because we do not have to know and there is no longer even a place from which to ask. It is as if the real and the imaginary were running after each other, as if each was being reflected in the other, around the point of indiscernibility. (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 7)

A sense of disorientation, a lack of centre to refer to, or a whole to develop an organic sensory-motor relationship with, creates the conditions for the emergence of the principle of indeterminability.

In her text "The Fifth Element and the Fifth Dimension of the Affection-Image", Patricia Pisters puts forward that Deleuze, inspired by Bergson, proposes replacing the real/unreal (true/false) opposition by the actual/virtual distinction (Pisters 95). This suggestion does not see the actual and the virtual in antagonism with each other. They are both real, "as opposed to the conception of distinguishing the mental/imaginary/etc. as unreal from the physical/factual as real" (Pisters 104). The virtual (dreams, memories, imaginations, pure qualities of, for instance, light or color) is real insofar as it has an effect on us (Pisters 95). The virtual and the actual correspond to the mind and the body (Pisters 104). In his book *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, Deleuze suggests that the actual is always objective, and the virtual is subjective (80). These two images insist upon each other; they are in perpetual exchange, as they continually follow each other, run behind each other and refer back to each other around a point of indiscernibility (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 67). The point of "indiscernibility" is what, according to Deleuze, forms the crystal-image. In fact "the crystal constantly exchanges the two distinct images which constitute it, the actual image of the present which passes and the virtual image of the past which is preserved" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 79).

The difference between the actual and the virtual is a difference in time. The present that passes defines the actual, whereas the virtual is defined by the past that conserves itself. The crystal image consists of the indivisible unity of an actual and its 'virtual' image (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 77). Inspired by Bergson, Deleuze names this unity a

mutual image and claims that the present is the actual image, and its contemporaneous past is the virtual image, the image in a mirror.

> 'Every moment of our life presents the two aspects, it is actual and virtual, perception on the one side and recollection on the other… Whoever becomes conscious of the continual duplicating of his present into perception and recollection… will compare himself to an actor playing his part automatically, listening to himself and beholding himself playing.' (qtd. in Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 77)

According to Bergson, memory is a virtual image, which co-exists with the actual perception of the object. Memory is a "virtual image contemporary with the actual object, its double, its 'mirror image'" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 150).

Crystal Image

Inside can be perceived as an exchange or interplay between the actual and the virtual. In the beginning of the film, the viewer follows a conversation between Doctor and Patient. Within a therapeutic process, Patient reveals details about his traumatic past. Since he suffers from PTSD, he starts to relive his past through his hallucinations in which he confronts five Serbian women. By the end of the film, the viewer comes to understand that all five women, played by the same actress, physically resemble Patient 2 who shares a hospital room with the protagonist. Essentially, all of the women "residing" in the protagonist's imagination are modeled around the appearance of his hospital roommate.

It is possible to sketch out the following organization: the film is divided into three parts. The first segment revolves around Doctor's treatment of Patient's traumatic recollections; the second one offers a view into a slightly "distorted" confrontation between Patient and five "invented" women; and the third part consists of a more nuanced talk between the two patients. The first and the third part of the film might be perceived as the actual. Both segments refer to what Bergson calls the actual perception. On the opposite side, the second part of the film acts as the virtual. Shaped by the protagonist's hallucinations, this piece might be conceived as the virtual image co-existing with the actual perception of the first and the third part of the film. Furthermore, the aforementioned segment functions as a double, a mirror-image to the actual depiction of the conversations of the first and the third part. In fact, the first part of the film introduces Doctor-Patient or the interrogator-interrogated relation, whereas, the second one brings a change, a shift of the mentioned power positions. The interrogated person of the actual becomes the interrogator of the virtual. Consequently, *Inside* produces a mutual image, a coexistence of the actual image of interrogated Patient and the virtual image of the interrogator. This simultaneity goes back to Bergson's notion of the continual duplicating of the present into perception and recollection. His illustration of an actor playing his part while listening and beholding himself playing comes to mind. The spectator watches the protagonist tell a story in which the protagonist sees himself playing the role of the interrogator.

In his *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, Deleuze refers to many cases where a film is either reflected in a theatre play, a show, a painting, or in another film (73). He argues that the film within the film is a mode of crystal-image (74).

> It will be observed that, in all the arts, the work within the work has often been linked to the consideration of a surveillance, an investigation, a revenge, a conspiracy, or a plot. This was already true for the theatre in the theatre of Hamlet, but also for the novel of Gide. (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 75)

Since the second part of Inside functions as a mirror-image to the first and the third part of the film, it is possible to claim that this "double" functions as a film within the film. The previously mentioned segment is related to an investigation. Within the therapeutic process, the protagonist has to investigate if the myth "Serbs are all the same", which he grew up with, bears any relevance for him. As a survivor of the genocide in Srebrenica, he asks himself if he can make a distinction between Serbs. He needs to determine if he believes that all Serbs are perpetrators. Therefore, he makes a "mental" journey, an investigation, in which he confronts five Serbian women to learn more about their views on the committed atrocities in Bosnia. Throughout his introspection he relives his trauma in order to be able to leave his past behind and move towards the future.

According to Deleuze, the forger or the falsifier is the main character of the crystal-image. As he states, "it is not the criminal, the cowboy, the psycho-social man, but the forger pure and simple, to the detriment of all action" (128). He could previously appear as a liar or traitor, but now he presupposes an endless appearance, which "creeps in" and "overwhelms" the entire picture. The forger stands for "indiscernibility" of the real and the imaginary, of the actual and the virtual. He makes the direct time-image, the crystal-image apparent. The forger "provokes undecidable alternatives and inexplicable differences between the true and the false, and thereby imposes a power of the false as adequate to time, in contrast to any form of the true which would control time" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 128).

The lead character of *Inside* is the forger. He is a magician with words, a storyteller. He is the one who, while speaking to Doctor, continually makes up stories. Unlike a liar or traitor of the movement-image, his appearance is not accidental or short-lived but endless and permeates the entire narration. He is the maker of a 'pseudo-story', the one who plays tricks with the viewer's mind, makes the viewer suspicious about the objectivity and truthfulness of the unfolding events.

> The story no longer refers to an ideal of the true which constitutes its veracity, but becomes a 'pseudo-story', a poem, a story which simulates or rather a simulation of the story. Objective and subjective images lose their distinction, but also their identification, in favour of a new circuit where they are wholly replaced, or contaminate each other, or are decomposed or recomposed. (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 144)

As seen from the latest examples, objective and subjective images have lost their distinction; they are decomposed or recomposed; the actual and the virtual are hardly distinguishable because they are constantly moving; they run after each other, and refer back to each other. The story and the simulation of the story are hardly differentiated. The actual Doctor-Patient talk and the virtual Serbian women-protagonist talk influence each other and refer back to each other.

Contrary to the organic form, which is unifying and presupposes a coherence of the character, the power of the false cannot be divorced from an "irreducible multiplicity" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 129). According to Deleuze, French poet Arthur Rimbaud's credo 'I is another' ('Je est un autre') has replaced Ego=Ego. The protagonist ceases to be reduced to a coherent, self-conscious and self-determined subject. Instead, he becomes a series of many possibilities and versions of himself.

> Even 'the truthful man ends up realizing that he has never stopped lying' as Nietzsche said. The forger will thus be inseparable from a chain of forgers into whom he metamorphoses" (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 129).

The falsifier exists in a series of falsifiers who are his metamorphoses. According to Deleuze, a becoming, an irreducible multiplicity, characters or forms are now valid only as variations of each other (140).

Five "invented" Serbian women appear as transformations of each other, and as transformations of the protagonist himself. All five women are physically identical, yet in terms of their narratives, they differ from each other. Woman 1 claims that Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić were CIA agents and that the CIA should be blamed for the war. Woman 2 admits Serbian involvement in the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and feels sorry and is ashamed, whereas Woman 3 claims that people, especially young ones should not be bothered by some Balkan war past. Woman 4 accuses the media for the atrocities, while Woman 5 has an irrational view in general. All five of them are forms of what Deleuze refers to as "becoming". Patient keeps on transforming himself, becoming five women, while telling his stories to disinterested Doctor.

> What cinema must grasp is not the identity of a character, whether real or fictional, through his objective and subjective aspects. It is the becoming of the real character when he himself starts to 'make fiction', when he enters into 'the flagrant offence of making up legends' and so contributes to the invention of his people. The character is inseparable from a before and an after, but he reunites these in the passage from one state to the other. He himself becomes another, when he begins to tell stories without ever being fictional. (Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* 145)

Patient tells the stories and thus invents people. The five Serbian women, variations of him, are not accidental, short-lived appearances within the film. In the process of continuous re-invention, they permeate the narrative. They continually make the viewer question the truthfulness of the unfolded events. In the beginning of the second part of the film, the protagonist acts as the interrogator, a person in charge of asking questions. By the end of this part, his "becoming", five different variations of himself attack him back and overtake his interrogator's throne. The protagonist's inventions, powers of the false become dominant, self-evident and inescapable fact of the narrative.

Interrogation, on the other side, provides the viewer with a few scenes that, in a slightly different mode, exemplify Deleuze's concept powers of the false. The forgers, intercessors, resistant interviewees of *Interrogation* insist on telling stories, which oppose, destruct and undermine the director's construction of truth. At the same time, the interviewees' memories are set against the official versions of Bosnian history and can be, therefore, conceived as Foucauldian "counter-memories". However, Woman G and Man E's answers do not offer a critical distance from the hegemonic narrative nor they provide the viewer with some other, politically relevant explanations.

In the case of *Interrogation*, Woman G does not privilege some other experience as truth. Or I would say she does not explicitly privilege some other experience as truth. However, at the core of her statements lies a deliberate aim, an attempt to distort, hide and deny facts about the one group's committed war crimes. The character ends up creating a fiction, producing lies. Her answer cannot be conceived as a critical re-consideration of the established and sedimented "truth" since it relativizes, normalizes and equalizes war crimes for the purpose of sending these very crimes to oblivion. Therefore, what might have occurred to be an initial obstacle in making this documentary has turned out to be its specificity. What might have been the interviewee's straightforward refusal to provide clear-cut answers has turned out to signify a deeper and more complex problem, the crisis of the future. Consequently, the crisis of the future or the temporal vacuum caused by the denial of the atrocities and the interviewees' reluctance to discuss war experiences has formed a basis for the fictional treatment of the subject matter in the film *Inside*. The forgers of *Interrogation* have got their counter-parts, a whole series of forgers, multiplications and variations in *Inside*. What has been an expression of the false in some parts of the film *Interrogation* has resulted in an overall rule of the powers of the false within *Inside*. What has

been an insinuation of the denial of atrocities in *Interrogation* has got its clear contours in *Inside*.

Conclusion

In the first part of this paper I explored the cause of the crisis of the future within the diegesis of both films. Within the chapter "The Crisis of the Future", I deployed different memory concepts, such as collective memory, counter-memory and cultural memory in order to bring them into dialogue with a selection of fragments from both films. These concepts were utilized to help me clarify the active exchange between collective and individual memory and between remembering and forgetting, as exemplified within *Interrogation* and *Inside*. Kuljić's reflections on new pasts, new histories and new values in the newly formed Balkan states, along with Rüsen's concept of de-traumatization of one's own crimes supported my discussion within the following chapter "Denial". It is my hope that this chapter provided an insight into the collective nature of the denial of atrocities, as expressed in the isolated scenes from *Interrogation* that form a basis for the subject matter of *Inside*.

While in the first part of this paper I explored the cause of the crisis of the future, in the second I examined the modes in which the past overshadows the present. In order to come to a better understanding of this temporal vacuum, I approached and utilized Bergson's conception of time as duration and his "actual/virtual" distinction, and Deleuze's understanding of the time-image within the chapter "The Past Overshadowing the Present". These concepts supported my reflections on the dynamic temporal relation between the past and the present, action and inaction, inside and outside within *Interrogation* and *Inside*. It is my hope that this chapter provided insight into the nature of temporal relations within the two films, and the type of film narration that emerges in the post-conflict period in Bosnian cinema. One of the main suppositions of this paper is that due to the characters' denial of atrocities and their reluctance to discuss disturbing past events, the characters are neither open to nor anticipate their future.

References

Assmann, Aleida. "Canon and Archive." *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handboook*. Eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nürning. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. 97-107.

Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handboook*. Eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nürning. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. 109-118.

Deleuze, Gilles. *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011.

Deleuze, Gilles. *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*. London: Continuum, 2010.

Erll, Astrid. "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction." *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handboook*. Eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nürning. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. 1-15

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Ed. Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Hinterreiter, Christoph. "Beneath the Regular – The Architectual Remnants of Cold War Yugoslavia." *Oris: Magazine for Architecture and Culture* 56 (2009): 160-167.

Huyssen, Andreas. "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia." *Public Culture* 12.1(2000): 21-37.

Kuljić, Todor. "The New (Changed) Past as Value Factor of Development." *Sociologija*, 158.3 (2006): 219-230.

Misztal, Barbara A. "The Sacralization of Memory." *European Journal of Social Theory* 7.1 (2004): 67-84.
Pisters, Patricia. "The Fifth Element and the Fifth Dimension of the Affection Image." *Cinema Studies into Visual Theory?: D-Vision Yearbook* 1 (1998): 93-107.
Pramaggiore, Maria. *Film: A Critical Introduction*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2008.
Taylor, Tony. *Denial: History Betrayed.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2009.

List of the online articles:
Halbwachs, Maurice. "Individual Memory and Collective Memory." *The Collective Memory University of California Santa Barbara Department of History*. n.d. ‹http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/201/articles/80HalbwachsCollMemChap1.pdf›.
Jokovich, Eddy. "The Role of the Media in Bosnia." Institute of Communication Studies University of Leeds. May 1996. ‹http://ics-www.leeds.ac.uk/papers/pmt/exhibits/807/okane.pdf›.
Jurišić, Duška. "Problem Srebrenice nisu izbori." *BH Dani.* 11.05.2012, 16-19.
Kuljić, Todor. "Remembering Crimes – Proposal and Reactions." *Kulturni centar Zrenjanina*. n.d. ‹http://www.kczr.org/download/tekstovi/todor_kuljic_remembering_crimes_proposal_and_reactions.pdf›.
Wikipedia. "Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Wikimedia Foundation*. 20 June 2012. 21 June 2012. ‹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnia_and_Herzegovina›.
Wikipedia. "Ethnic Groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Wikimedia Foundation*. 12 May 2012. 21 June 2012. ‹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_groups_in_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina›.
Wikipedia. "Ethnoreligious group." *Wikimedia Foundation*. 15 May 2012. 21 June 2012. ‹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnoreligious_group›.
Wikipedia. "Mostar." *Wikimedia Foundation*. 10 June 2012. 21 June 2012. ‹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mostar›.
Wikipedia. "Role of the media in the Yugoslav Wars." *Wikimedia Foundation*. 10 June 2012. 21 June 2012. ‹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Role_of_the_media_in_the_Yugoslav_wars#cite_note-45›.

Films

Interrogation. Dir. Namik Kabil. SCCA Production, 2012.
Inside. Dir. Namik Kabil. SCCA Production, 2007.

MEDIA AND IDENTITY

Yafez KILIC, Lecturer
Nevşehir University

Abstract
Although the historical origin of the concept of identity goes back to ancient times, it has been used frequently in the beginning of 20th century. This situation came up with the arguments about the formation of identity. The concept of globalization has brought new dimensions to these arguments. With the concept of globalization economic structures, cultural movements, new social values, beliefs, political systems and life styles, which are adopted all around the world, started flow fast from developed countries to less-developed countries. Mass media, which is a part of cultural, political, social and economic structures, has become the most effective tool in reproducing, carrying and accepting on social basis. In this paper, the effects of mass media, one of the principal tools of globalization based on the literature, on the formation process of personal and social identity are demonstrated. Message generation and transmission technologies, becoming incredibly fast, widespread and cheaper, enabled reaching any information in a very short time from any part of the world. This development provides the countries, which control the mass media in technical, economic way and in terms of content, to present the information, which is shaped with their own cultural, social and political values, to the audience and to make them to accept it. These new values also form the identity of the person whose social life is covered with this information and cultural production. This new identity that doesn't have his own values.

Keywords: Media, Identity, Globalization, Mass Media, Social Identity.

Introduction

Since its existence, human being entitles time sections according to developments and changes in all fields. The time section we live now is titled as "technology age", "information age", "identity age", "communication age", "space age" and etc. due to developments and changes presented by post-modernity. While defining the same time section with different names puts forth the focus of point of view to that time section, on the other hand it emphasizes the subjects, which are considered as the most important, in that time section.

We can say that titling this age as "identity age" has influence on the start of debating identity concept at the beginning of the 20th century, although historical origin of identity concept dates back to ancient times (DUMAN, 2007, 4). On the other hand the phenomenon of globalization, which is emerged as a product of post-modern understanding, offers new economic, social, political and cultural structure and this situation forces change and paves the way for change in all foundations created by modernity. Postmodern approach, which emerged as a rejection to economic, social, political and cultural structure set by modernity, can carry new concepts and ideas, which it offers in all fields, to the every part of the world in a very short time by using the rapid development in communication technology. Also it makes people to accept these new concepts by means of mass media. The era we live is referred as "communication age" because of considering the developments in communication as a reference point.

One of the rejections made by postmodern approach is the concept of "identity" which was created in the frame of modernity. Arguments focused around the identity concept are shaped by people who quantitatively owe and qualitatively supply the technologies which rapidly got cheaper and more common due to globalization. The aim of this study is to show the effect of media –which is the reason of titling this age as "communication age"- on the formation and the creation of identity –which is the focus point of titling this age as "identity age". Effect of media on the formation of identity is exhibited by explaining "media" and "identity" concepts with literature search.

The Meaning of Identity Concept

In Meydan Larousse, identity concept is defined as "all of the various circumstances that make someone described or identified" (Meydan Larousse, c.11, s. 196), in Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük as similar definition "all of the features that make someone himself/herself" (Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, s.1730). In the Dictionary of Sociology it is written that the origin of the word comes from a Latin word *idem* which means "including sameness and continuity", and identity arguments continue basically sociologically and psychodynamic(Marshall,1999, 407, Çev. Akınhay-Kömürcü).

According to the meanings of the word and Marshall's expressions it is obvious that the basic of identity arguments is "the formation process of identity". As mentioned in the introduction, in this study it is tried to present the effect of media – which is one of the pillars of globalization- on "the formation process" of identity.

Approaches about the Formation Process of Identity

Many branches of social sciences showed their interest in identity concepts, included in it and tried to explain it. Disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, political science, social psychology and social anthropology are the very first ones to come to mind(AŞKIN, http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr, 2007, 23.04.2013).

Psychology among them, put individualism and personality in the center of identity and tries to define and analyze identity in this context. It is possible to say that according to general view of psychology identity is defined as "consisted and structured indicators that distinguish one person from the others". Philosophy says "identity is the reality which is occurred as a result of ontic, epistemic, ethical, and aesthetic determinations of the existence of the subject". Sociology generally handles identity as "sociologic identity" and says that it is "a concept used in determining social gender and class" and "expresses the person's social situation"(AŞKIN, http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr, 2007, 23.04.2013).

Nevertheless, generally there are two approaches about the formation process of identity called as "Subjectivist" and "Objectivist"(AŞKIN, http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr, 2007, 23.04.2013).

- **Subjectivist Approach:** According to this approach, identity is the "self" which is consistent, does not change much throughout life and remains nearly same. This opinion is criticized because it "gives importance to internal environment of the organism and ignores the external environment and the change of it"(AŞKIN, http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr, 2007, 23.04.2013).
- **Objectivist Approach:** According to this approach, identity is integrity, a consistency and continuity as a result of mutual interactions and communication of entire external environment of the organism besides its internal dynamics(AŞKIN, http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr, 2007, 23.04.2013).
- **Sociologic Theories:** Generally sociologic theories act in accordance with the thesis which claims that "because of the fact that human is s social present social life has defining effects on the occurrence and shaping of identity as well as internal dynamics

of organism". New expansions are introduced to identity concept in the frame of this opinion called as "Symbolic Interaction". Integral parts of these approaches are "language" and "representation". According to this, identity expresses the situations, attitudes, interactions, relationships, and communication of the "self" -which is aware of its presence- against alter ego(AŞKIN, http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr, 2007, 23.04.2013).

The Importance of Identity Concept

Nowadays, identity concept is one of the most interesting concepts because of loading individuals "a characteristic, a quality". Because while it answers "who-what" the individual is, on the other hand it displays "who-what" the individual is not. As stated in the meaning of the word, identity displays "includes all the features of individual: both how he/she sees himself/herself and how the society sees him/her". Human who is a social presence adapts to social environment by means of identities (TATAR, 2008; www.hbvdergisi.gazi.edu.tr, 23.04.2013).

"A painful process that began at birth" gives meaning "to the answers given to the question Who am I". Although the individual is in the centre of the answer and although it is important how he/she sees himself/herself, judges and definitions like "that's what you like" and "that's what we like" populates the identity. The process carries "the past –a set of true-life-" into "the situation –which is happening-". Memory is the treasure where the past is collected. Memory is always filled with continuous flows. In this way memory is not an accomplished fact or constant structure. On the other hand, it is not a dam that collapses against the flow. Memory has a unique process that separates and purifies the flow. With these features, the things that seem "unfamiliar" are processed and given a meaning here. So the flow shows itself not by switching from one situation to another but by the continuousness that manages the change. The flow and continuousness reach the future without remaining stable in the current situation. Remaining stable means being broken and crumbling. To break with the past means rootlessness. The thing without a root is dragged in the flow but the thing with a root holds and feeds from the flow. The person, who has an identity with the chain of past-current-future bodily, reigns the time. A break in the chain brings you conviction to the time or breaking away from the time. Because the identity starts to be built in the past but lives at the moment (TATAR, 2008; www.hbvdergisi.gazi.edu.tr, 23.04.2013). As clearly understood from these states, it is important to use the identity as a base for designing the future by keeping the past alive at present.

Having Different Identities

It is impossible to restrict the identity of people that compose society as displayed on the official records. People out of official records may feel that they belong to "a nation, maybe two nations, an ethnic group, family, a profession, an organization, a particular social environment, state, a village, a neighborhood, a tribe, a sports team, a professional group, and a group of friends, a trade union, a business, a party, an association, a congregation, a society that shares same desires, same sexual preferences, same physical disabilities or a society exposed to similar harmful effects"(TATAR, 2008; www.hbvdergisi.gazi.edu.tr, 23.04.2013). In fact, they may join philosophical movement or political organization that redefines roles and social status of a gender. Or they may gain new identities just depending on trendy. "All these identities do not carry same importance at the same time. But none of them is completely meaningless"(TATAR, 2008; www.hbvdergisi.gazi.edu.tr, 23.04.2013).

This case shows the presence of "identities that are wearable and removable like clothes". As mentioned in the formation process of identity, social environment where the

person lives both play a role in the formation of identity and defines which identity the person will use. "Human is directed to be a product of national, religious, political and economic value judgments of the society where he/she lives". The identity that he/she prefers depending on social structure is "vested identities"(AŞKIN, 2007; http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr, 23.04.2013).

Media Concept

Meydan Larousse defines the word media as the abbreviation of "mass media" and "a technique to spread news, an advertisement, a declaration; this is both a way of expression and a tool to inform a public audience or a group of people without special status about something" (Meydan Larousse, c.13, s. 287). This term which is written and pronounced as "medya" in Turkish, comes from the English word "media" which is the plural of the word "medium" and means "tools" or "mediator"(ATILGAN, 2009; www.bgc.org.tr, 24.04.2013).

In Turkish "The Press" and "Mass Media" are sometimes used as synonyms. Media concept refers many different set of communication tools such as newspapers, magazines, television, radio, film, advertisements, video games, and Compact Disc. Some of them, "newspapers, magazines, television, radio, film" are called as "traditional media". Some of them such as digital television and internet are called as "new media". In order to emphasize the importance, effect (maybe the power) of mass media today, this era is called as "communication age" or "internet age" (ATILGAN, 2009; www.bgc.org.tr, 24.04.2013)..

Social Effect of Media

Arguments about the effects of media on the individuals and the society continue. Studies about the subject are directed to the degree of media effect on the individuals and the society. Although it is not completely expressed in figures yet, it shows that media has effects on the individuals and the society. Studies about media provided many models and theories to arise in this field. As a result of studies, although data that prove the powerful effect of media is gained, there are some evidences that show the effect is not on the predicted level (IŞIK, 2002; 69).

Theories, put forward by researchers who examined the effects of media on individuals and the society, are located here with their names. Explaining theories one by one is beyond the scope of this study. But even the names given to theories can show in which ways the media affects society: Socialization Theory, Agenda-setting Theory, Cultivation Theory, Gate-keeping Theory, Reinforcement Theory, Spiral of Silence Theory and Cultural Imperialism Theory (IŞIK, 2002; 70). It is generally accepted that mainstream media broadcasts according to opinions, thoughts and wishes of dominant forces. It is stated that the basis of this condition is ownership structure that the companies have. That is; having great media organizations demands great funds. It is contrary to the nature of things to broadcast against the great funds that owes media organizations. Therefore, media has the most important role in making a great audience accept the thoughts and opinions of dominant class (the financier) and composing social consent. Professionals looking from the perspective of the capital reproduce the opinions of dominants and transfer to the social life and try to convince people that the current life is the best, the most ideal and the normal life that can be(ERDOĞAN, 1999; http://acikarsiv.ankara.edu.tr, 25.04.2013).

Media that Surrounds Individual

This part of study actually contains the intersection point of the concepts argued under the title of Literature. If we summarize the explanations about the identity concept, the state comes out is: human a social presence uses both his/her internal dynamics and the data flow him/her as a result of the social environment and the communication he/she set with it. The main question is who composes this environment. In this place it is possible to produce answers by summarizing the thoughts that occurred around the identity concept: person absorbs the messages sent to him/her by his/her family, school and the environment where he/she lives. Today media takes place for family at home, teacher at school, and other individuals in social structure (IŞIK, 2002; 85). When the complexity and plurality are taken into consideration, it seems impossible for an individual to perceive and give meaning to the things happening in the world alone. So it seems that to purify this complexity, to choose one among many events and deliver the messages prepared in this frame to the people/society is the expected method for the media. People who prepare messages and servers –that is media professionals- appear as people who set the agenda and determine the current views (IŞIK, 2002; 75). By this way, media sets the agenda and shapes and directs individuals' perception of the universe.

New Life Styles Presented by Media

Gerbner and his friends did some studies on television –in general called as media and as a part of general called as one of the media organs- and compared the reality of daily life and television reality and received striking results (GÖKÇE, 1998; 229). According to this, media "especially television composes a symbolic environment and affects growing and life styles of individuals" (IŞIK, 2002; 85). The effect is so great that it has magnificent influence on people's growing as family elders, religious leaders and teachers have. TV audience lives in the environment that the TV created and with the courses repeated by media tool(IŞIK, 2002; 85). For example; in Turkey when you look at the context of media and television there are music-entertainment shows, sparkling life presented in magazine programs, soap operas full of love, intrigue, passion and betrayal, TV series full of consumption and rich life styles, TV series that praise feudalism, sit-coms full of joy and fun... on the other hand news unaware of events, discussion programs that do not talk about or just handle subjects such as hunger, unemployment, social problems, inequality in education, political spaces, legal irregularities, wars in the world, imperialist acts of great and powerful states in a low level. And all these compose the broadcast streaming.

At this very point human, who is a social presence, compose the identity that both knows "self" and paves the way for locating itself as a result of communicating and contacting other "selves".

Results

Identity concept and formation process of identity, which is intensively being argued since the beginning of 20th century, achieved a new dimension because of the globalization concept produced by post-modernism. The identity concept is affected by new thinking styles offered by globalization phenomenon in all fields. And media, the carrier of thoughts and experiences of globalization that is flown from developed countries to less-developed countries, became the leading actor in the formation process of identity. Because during the formation process individuals are affected by not only their internal dynamics but also the social environment they live in. Media, accepted as indispensable today's world, has become an actor that reconstitutes/reforms all biological environment of human and actualizes this by receiving people's consent.

References

Meydan Larousse, C.11-13. Sabah Yayınları, İstanbul.
MisalliBüyükTürkçeSözlük, C.2, MAS, İstanbul.
MARSHALL, Gordon (1999): SosyolojiSözlüğü, Çeviri: Osman AKHINAY-DeryaKÖMÜRCÜ, BilimSanatYayınları, Ankara.
DUMAN, M. Zeki (2007): "Modernden Post-ModerneGeçişteKimlikTartışmalarıveÇokkültürlülük", *UluslararasıİlişkiIer*, Cilt 4, Sayı 13, s. 3-24.
TATAR, Taner (2008): "Kimlik: ÖtekiniBelirlemekya da KendiniBilmek", http://www.hbvdergisi.gazi.edu.tr/index.php/TKHBVD/article/view/1074/1063, Sayı 48, (2008).
AŞKIN, Muhittin, (2007): "Kimlik Ve Giydirilmiş Kimlikler", http://e-dergi.atauni.edu.tr/index.php/SBED/article/viewArticle/431, Cilt 10, Sayı 2 .
ATILGAN, Gökhan, (2009): "MedyaSiyasetİlişkileri", http://bgc.org.tr/seminer/medya-siyaset-iliskileri.html.
ERDOĞAN, İrfan, (1999): "DördüncüGücünİlettiği: AmerikanÖrneği", http://acikarsiv.ankara.edu.tr.
IŞIK, Metin (2002) :KitleİletişimTeorilerineGiriş, EğitimKitabevi, Konya.
GÖKÇE, Orhan (1998) : İletişimBilimineGiriş, TurhanKitabevi, Ankara.

TELEVISION SERIES IN REPRODUCTION OF THE REALITY

Ruhi GUL, Lecturer
Selcuk University

Ramiz GOKBUDAK, Lecturer
Selcuk University

Yaprak ISCIBASI, Assist.Prof.Dr.

Anadolu University

Abstract
After the Industrial Revolution, changes in culture, social life and its perception to humans during their non-work times actualized in parallel with mess media and its process (Oskay 1983: 165). These devices have an important role in people's lives and they people start to spend their time more on these devices than their individual events. The most mentioned device among mess media is television (Erdoğan ve Alemdar, 2005: 79). Cultural products provided by television are not unconnected to the society and the culture (Yumlu, 1994: 61). Television industry, creating, keeping, maintaining and if necessary, changing the popular ideas; popularize its products, determines the agenda and becomes a popularity tool as well as making the products popular (Erdoğan ve Alemdar, 2005: 79). Seen as popular culture product, television produces protective messages explaining and supporting the reason of the existence of the established order of the social life. Television draws a new and original world using the daily life while creating its messages. Series hold an important place in television's schedule where daily life turns into spectacle events. Television series are programs, where 'fake' replaces the 'real', that reproduce the dominant values and can reach easily to the broad masses by means of the stories that grow out of and continuously make references to the people's own lives (Oktay, 1987: 64). Representative world in these programs are consistent. This consistency is always repeated. Thus, a symbolic world that doesn't change depending on the time is presented to the audience with its characters, relations and stories. This world is not a reflection of the real world; it's a made-by-own-self, routinized world (Mutlu, 2005: 124). Although values that are contradicted to each other are handled in series, those who are required to be protected are kept out of criticisms. Being the most important formats of television, this programs function as the dominant ideology. They ease the functioning of the society by presenting the individuals that are integrated to the society, preventing the possible errors in the functioning of the society and universalizing the local values (Parkan, 1989: 80). The battle between those who want the system to continue and those who don't is presented. Those who wish to destroy the dominant system are shown as "enemy" or "evil"; those who wish to maintain it are shown as "heroes". A symbolic routine world with its characters, relations and stories is continuously presented in television series. In this study, Qualifications in different levels of the relation between television and the television series,

which is a product of the popular culture, on reproduction of the reality will be handled to comprehend it with all aspects.

Paradigm Shift from Modernity to Post-modernity and the Visual Culture

Transition to visual culture happened during the maturation stage of capitalism and thus new types of commodities got involved to cultural forms; this situation caused changes in human mind as well. "New technologies change the way of interests (the way of thinking). New technologies change the character of symbols (means of thought)." (Postman, 2006: 31). To understand the mentioned transformation better, it will be helpful to analyze modernity and intellectual structures causing it.

After 1850's historian Eric Hobsbawm, who argued that industrial capitalism had become a real world economy and that the sphere turned into a continuous operational reality from a geographical expression, said "From now on the history will be the history of the world." From 1850, machinery industry has been developed and machines have started to produce machines. 19th century witnessed great inventions in terms of communication revolutions: The civilization that switched from oral culture to written culture evolved in visual culture in 20th century with the invention of photograph and the process of the developmental evolution of photography devices. "Photograph and other visual materials caused the image to take a great part in the world of symbols. Photographs, posters, pictures and advertisements took their parts in the world of symbols. The new phraseology, which prioritizes photography, has been the dominant vehicle of comprehending, understanding and analyzing the truth rather than performing its function of helping the language (Postman, 2006: 83).

The visual communication which consisted of printed material at the beginning underlined the horizontal cross-border communication by processing the moving image "simultaneously" with the development of television. Dominance of the written culture gave its place to a world that image and visual culture possessed with the discovery of the image-based communication tools such as photo camera, cinema and television in parallel to the development of technology. According to McLuhan (2001:25), technology forces one of the human senses to outshine; at the same time, all other senses are either weakened or taken away temporarily. At this point, it declared the dominance of the "eye-centered" (ing.ocularcentrism) society with the help of technology, in connection with the rise of the visual paradigm which is insisted by modernity (Levin, 1993: 191).

According to Larrain, this situation (1995:207) can be defined as "the process, operating in a global scale that makes the world more connected in reality and in experience by integrating and connecting the society and institutions in new compounds of time and place by crossing borders. In addition, "the place and the time that was accelerated in postmodern period melt all kinds of sense of identity. Television changes the temporal and spatial organization of life. As regards to the time, clock-time change places with something that can be called "current time" (Urry, 1999: 37-38). In this regard, television converts us to "lounge imperialists" with its view that covers everything; thus, we become the "audio-visual masters of the world" (Morley and Robins, 1997: 180). "Media classifies, serializes the world, draws, expands, shortens or colors the frames and makes up assertions for the world view on our behalf" (Postman, 1994: 19).

Modern forms of vision were presenting new perspectives on individuals and the society including practices of everyday life. The actual transformation was that the individual could reach the image lacking integrity in consequence of disappearing borders came with the postmodern period.

On Popular Culture and Television Association

"Popular" is a legal and political term derived from the Latin word "popularis" which means "people". The meaning of the concept "popular" changed from "something that belongs to the public" to today's dominant "something that is loved and preferred by most of the people" sense (Özbek, 1991: 83). This change takes place by means of the rise of bourgeois democracies and the legitimacy claim of these democracies. Thus, popularity becomes the acceptance stamp of the government that legitimizes the policy implementation. The usage of "popular" was moved to different areas and it takes over the underlying roles by placing new meanings for the system. "The popular media products" means what is provided to the political and the cultural markets by music and film industry and television series is loved and held by the public. Preferred legitimacy is created by designations such as 'popular television program', 'popular television series' or 'popular music'. Those who own means of production suck advantage out of popularity which is attributed to the majority. The majority described as the utility providers acts as consumer/audience/user. The people in the position of audience/consumer are transferred to the distinctive position by using what advertising market and television present, so the market system of capitalist democracy and the media gain legitimacy by basing what they present on popular system (Erdoğan, 2004: 68-69).

Popular culture is a culture that helps escape from the negative aspects of the reality and produces artificial happiness according to those who think sophisticatedly. Even though they were produced in the class that is against to the ruling class, the fantasies put into words in popular culture products keeps people from seeing the reality as they carry a deceptive character in today's becoming-technologic societies. In the narrow sense, while it includes the entertainment as an input of daily reproduction of the labor; in a broad sense, it provides the preconditions of ideological reproduction of a specific lifestyle. It creates the expansion and validation environment of the daily ideology (Batmaz. 1981: 163). At the same time, it provides routinized joy denser than the daily one but still in rhythm with it and legitimates its discipline game with its enthusiastic satisfaction (Mutlu, 2005: 314-315).

All of the aspects of the social life change with the mess media. As it could create collective changes on social life, media interacts with the social life. Admittedly, media has the biggest role in presenting and generalizing the popular culture. Media reflects the popular culture on our lives by means of magazine programs, series and floor shows presented on television. Popular culture is a cultural phenomenon that people participate at the level of consumption in public as well as an individual and can sometimes direct its production. Because forming elements of popular culture are affected by every segment of the society, each period of history, the values permeated into everyday life, the antiquities; in short, by life experiences and everyday life practices. Both in production and consumption aspects, people from any segment of society can be interested in popular culture and can join its activity area. From the upper social strata to the lower segment of the society, anybody can be among the producers of popular culture products. It has consumers from any educational level, age or sex (Güngör, 1996: 9).

These approaches see television as the mainspring of the mass culture. Television is the main producer organization of popular culture. Because, television organizations take the demand of the payer-audience into account just to reap a profit. The demands of the mass audience are shallow, entertaining products reflecting a lower measure of appreciation, just for wasting time (thus serving an opportunity to escape the real situations of the real life). Television organizations are bound to produce in the same quality to be able to maintain their profits. But as people are isolated and misdirected in the mass society, they are dependent on television on account of its guidance to the real life experiences. The idea, image, symbol and behavior patterns lead and give directions to people. This approach correlates "the extinction of exclusive and high values" to "guidance of the isolated individual by means of messages

produced with similar criteria" with the mass phenomenon consisting of homogeneous individuals.

This is the case in almost all production and consumption areas of popular culture. Especially television should be seen as a very important area at this point. The production area of television includes people from any layer of the society. Television series are particularly a popular culture production and consumption area. Television series appeal to the audience from any segment of the society. Especially in some series the reason they are watched by the majority of the society is because the plot is simple and easy to understand and the sequence of the events are based on a simple cause-and-effect relation. Also, cultural and social values and motives in daily social life are commonly used. Thus, the audience embraces and adopts the events and situations handled in the series. It is possible to see this as a reason why series like "How I Met your Mother", "Big Bang Theory", "Dexter" and series like "Öyle Bir Geçer Zaman Ki", "Behzat Ç.", "Kayıp Şehir" and "Kurtlar Vadisi" from Turkey are really popular and watched in our society.

Television and Television Series in the Context of Construction of Reality

Walter Lippman was the first to investigate the relation between the content of the modern mass media and the real world systematically. Lippman states that mass media distorts the real world while reflecting it; creating the images in people's head with this distorted reflection. Just like there's not a one-to-one equivalence between the world people imagine in their minds and the real world, detecting the distorted view of reality keeps people, who actually formats the real world, from responding to the reality in an ideal way (Mutlu, 1991: 78). According to Daniel Botts the content of the mass media consists not only of selected view of the real world but also manufactured, artificial events presented to people as real views of the real world (Mutlu, 1991: 79). This feature of the television is that it draws a world of its own with the material it took from the real world. So, people watch and experience not the real world, but the television world built with elements from the real world and representations of these elements on the TV screen. A fictional reality that replaces the reality is being mentioned here (Mutlu, 2005: 411). According to Raşit Kaya, television transfers the case and event information and news of the world that members of the complex modern societies stay out of. Media performs this transfers by forming definitions of reality; this can be entirely virtual as well as a reality whose fiction is built by taking references of cases (Kaya, 2001: 203-204).

Making the world visible with its adverts and programs, television degrades all the reality to the status of "visible" and thus gives the illusion that the reality is obtainable: to see is to understand. The world is seen as a total of objects, things and people. Making the world "unchanging views", television tells about the modern human lifestyle: Series, soap operas and movies sells unattainable false dreams to the audience. The only way to reach is to try to imitate what they see and to buy and to consume for being able to imitate. This way is an endless way that has no bottom (Erdoğan and Alemdar 2005:168).

According to C. Wright Mills, mass media not only functions as a tool and a filter for outer world perception, they can also make people reflect and adopt themselves however they want. Being able to infuse what they are, what they should be, how to look into people, mass media is active about making people adopt new habits and imitate the types they are told (Mills, 1974: 440). Television presents an incomplete world and constantly forces people to build this world. Television estranges people from daily life takes them to other worlds.

Contrary to what is seen, television produces and build reality instead of representing any part of it. Television camera and microphone does not record the reality but encodes it; codification creates an ideological sense of reality. Thus, what is represented is not reality but ideology and the efficiency of this ideology is provided by TV visuals. Hereby it tries to

position the claim of accuracy in the objectivity of the truth and thus hides the truth that each "right" it produces is not actually reality but an ideology. Industrial system does not only production and re-production of goods; what it reproduces inevitably is capitalism itself. Television also reproduces not objective reality but capitalism during the production of television reality. Surely, this is not a material but a ideological reproduction. Neil Postman (1994: 99-100) says that entertainments is the meta-ideology of all types of discourses in television. Instead of what is shown or which standpoint it's reflected from, what matters is all of them are presented for fun. A lot of events are transferred to the audience by means of programs produced with this kind of ideology. It also doesn't matter what is told or which point of view is presented. What is being held upon everything is the aim to entertain the audience, filling their free time and keep them from thinking. Television feeds on everyday life. Television cannot be isolated from social life, its negations and ups and downs. "Because television is not independent from time and place" (Kaplan, 1993: 15).

Television lets people see places they may never see, take them to places they may never go and let them listen to what they cannot hear in their lives. Mass media connects the country to the outside world, lets people living in small groups pass to the "larger society" and society to pass from "traditional community" to "modern society" by providing information to people about the places and subjects they haven't seen, haven't gone or don't know. Also, mass media brings in new consumption patterns by making the society acquire pro-reform attitudes and lead them to desire for new ideas, new goods and new lifestyles (Oskay, 1978: 69).

Criticisms of mass society theorists are not only for television itself, but for all mass media, especially entertainment-based ones. Though they differ from each other in terms of sources of their ideas and extensions of their critiques, mass society theorists share some common views. Three processes that characterize the mass society are urbanization, industrialization and modernization. These three processes cause traditional community structures to get untied, leading to the alienation of the individuals. Thus these individuals are left desperate in front of mass media in need of redefining their position and role in society (Mutlu, 1991:16-17).

A central culture and an institution in contemporary societies, television works the way primitive societies produced their myths. Although it cooperates with other parts of the mass media, television is the optimal myth producer nowadays. Television uses tale rituals and methods where dances are used just like primitive societies crated their myths, while it enhances its myths. In the roots of all the narrative myths, there is verbal expression. According to Dougles Kellner, "television is the dominant producer of the cultural symbols". Capitalist values like "consumption", "individualism", "success" and "greed of power" are presented as the "rising values" by means of media. These are some of the myths television produces (Kaplan, 1993: 9).

Television series take an important part in television program schedule where everyday life turns into spectacle events. Available to be bought and sold in the international market and accepted as a product of mass culture, television series are evaluated according not to the aesthetic values but to their own utilization values; they are used daily. They are discussed like any other daily event. Mass media produce a culture where fake replaces the real via the stories coming from peoples' own lives and continuously make references to those lives. The actors in series are called and recognized as who they are in those series (Oktay, 1987: 64-65).

In mass media, specific form of the series is generated by means of content and persistence of massages. Real world is a raw monotonous material which does not appeal to the audience at all. Yet this world can be made appealing with more violence, more attractive characters and with the representation of a garish way of life. Furthermore, this representative

symbolic world on the screen is consistent and it repeats this consistent structure. Thus a symbolic world that doesn't change depending on time is continuously presented to the audience with its characters, relations and stories. This world is not a reflection of the real one; on the contrary, it's a structured and routinized world by its own (Mutlu, 2005:124).

Even though conflicting values are handled in series, values to be protected are always left out of criticism. This is because of the ideology of television. The most important form of television, soap operas function as the dominant ideology and thus eases the functioning of the society by creating individuals compatible with the community, blocking failures in functioning of the society and making local values more common (Parkan, 1989:80). Ideologies related to existing patriarchal gender are effective in determination of formats in terms of functioning the dominant ideologies. As they are watched by almost all the members of the community, soap operas and their cast become a cultural phenomenon. The society is told in a symbolic form of its own in series which are seen as culture products. As well as internationally accepted formats of TV series, factors belonging to the Turkish society culture in local soap operas shown great interest by Turkish audience.

Shooting techniques and constructs also help fragmentation and sometimes destruction of sense of criticism is series. For example; questioning commonly used close-up technique in TV movies and series, Mutlu suggests that this technique is peculiar to the popular culture and it has ideological content rather than a narrative element, and qualifies it as "a modern myth". Mutlu explains what close-up works for: "Close-up myth functions as a tool to ignore and exterminate the environment-individual dialectic, interaction and human sociality on behalf of human individuality.

Formal reduction is actually physical-technical justification of reduction regarding the core carrying the ideology. Logic in formal reduction works like this: Television screen is small; small screen doesn't allow the environment to show, reduces the effect of it, and even neutralizes it. In that case close-up, which isolates individuals from their environment, is the prime scale of television. This physical-reasoned reduction wraps in an ideological color adopting the claim that there is an individual world. This claim concludes that the truth individual makes sense with a society cannot be thought for television. Close-up heads for resolving the action itself instead of the relation between action and environment. Thus failure or success of the action is consubstantiated with the ability, the power, effort or insufficiency of the action's subject (Oktay, 2002: 295).

"Soap operas are drama productions published in at least three sections, handling the same topic or consecutive integrity of topics" defines TRT (Sayılgan, 2003: 16). When drama on television mentioned, an entirely fictional world comes to mind. Events, relationships and character pattern in a fictional world are created and manufactured according to the generally accepted rules. This is a pattern different from its counterpart in real world and investigating contrivances of these differences is a prerequisite for understanding of dramatic genres and formulas in television (Mutlu, 1991:77).

The most common sub-categories of television series are formed according to the jobs of characters they include, for example; detective, lawyer, doctor, cowboy or journalist series. According to E. Mutlu the most popular television series are crime-type series or those that include crime-related themes. Crime series on television hold an important place in terms of production and consumption in mass communication industry. Everybody has some images and/or judgments in their minds to the terms "organized crime" or "mafia". Not all of these images and judgments are obtained through personal experiences. A judgment is formed by means of information and impressions from mass media. An under the light of these judgments, behavior pattern is developed. Reaching the goals community offers to people has become an impossibility for those who lack tools. The offered tolls are not enough for the

goals; thus, selecting the short paths (guilt) risking a conflict with his values, the individual feels himself uncomfortable and feels the need to legitimate his behaviors.

Therefore he creates scapegoats to escape the pain of responsibility and living an illegitimate life by putting the blame on others. The most important program type where crime myths take part in popular culture on television is television series. In crime series, detective or mafia series, the structure is based on the conflict between good and bad. "Bad" is the crime and the criminal here. The history of the crime or the criminal and the cultural basics or sources of the crime are not investigated; these characters are already only supporting characters. Each episode starts with a crime and after a while ends with the punishment of the criminal. The bad people and the criminals are ideological. These people either endanger the national unity or represent another country threatening the country in a different way (Mutlu, 1991: 208-209). "Dexter" from abroad and "Behzat Ç." from Turkey can be given as examples of these kinds of series.

Conclusion

Understanding television with all of its extents requires contacting its inter-level relations and developing concepts that will place them in a coherent framework. Because television is both an industry and a technological device; it's both culture, production and a source of entertainment; it also is a economic, political, technologic and cultural product of a political and social institution (Mutlu, 1991: 22-23) and a particular social structure (Erdoğan and Alemdar, 2001: 169).

Mass media also play a major role in reproduction of dominant values. Television presents the dominant values in the fastest, common and most-true-to-reality way compared to other mass media. When television's role in society is investigated, it can be seen that it is not isolated from the social, economic and political situations. Bound to reach to wider and different audiences, television is a product of the society it is in and it reproduces the social structure. Dougnes Kelner tries to prove that ideological messages justifying and reinforcing the existing system take place in popular culture texts like television texts, ads and series intensely. According to this opinion, there is no big difference between popular culture and mass culture. They are both the names given to the same cultural phenomenon and they can be used interchangeably.

Mentioned cultural phenomenon is a very important tool used by those in dominant position to strengthen and sustain their dominance over those in dependent position (Güngör. 1999: 12-13) and in developed capitalism popular culture lost most of its features and became a vehicle for class domination. Television ethics actually produces and transmits the hegemonic ideology: Images and stories given in the programs produce new myths to solve problems in life. Basically these are stories explaining, teaching and justifying practices.

Television produces the messaging systems and symbols by making use of different program types where it can display its specific phraseology. One of these program types are series. Values, rituals, roles, stereotypes in series helps people shape the world presenting them contents from their environments and themselves. When lifestyles, clothing styles, ideas of the actors in series are presented in magazine programs, people who watch and adopt these start to dress like them, style their hair like them; in brief, they shape their lives according to those people. Especially teens that see the only way is to prove themselves desires to live and look like the characters in those series. Narrative structures unique to series convert the reality into different shapes and create an illusion to mask the tight bond between work lie and free time. What reality and dominant values are and how they are presented are as important as how the presentations were comprehended in these narratives.

References

BATMAZ, Veysel (1981), 'Popüler Kültür Üzerine Değişik Kuramsal Yaklaşımlar", İletişim, 1981/1 (AİTİA Gaz. ve Halkla İlişkiler Yüksek Okulu Yayını)

ERDOĞAN, İrfan (1997), İletişim Egemenlik Mücadeleye Giriş, İmge Kitebevi, Ankara

ERDOĞAN, İrfan (1999), "Popüler Kültür: Kültür Alanında Egemenlik ve Mücadele", Nazife GÜNGÖR (Der.), Popüler Kültür ve İktidar. Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.

ERDOĞAN, İrfan (2004), "Popüler Kültürde Gasp ve Popülerin Gayri Meşruluğu", Doğu Batı, 15

ERDOĞAN, İrfan ve K. ALEMDAR (2005), Popüler Kültür ve İletişim. Ankara: Erk Yayınları.

ERDOĞAN, İrfan ve K. ALEMDAR (2001), "Televizyon: Dünyaya Açılan Pencere?", Yıllık 1999

MUTLU, Erol (1991), Televizyonu Anlamak. Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları.

MUTLU, Erol (1999), Televizyon ve Toplum, TRT Yay., Ankara

MUTLU, Erol (2005), Globalleşme, Popüler Kültür ve Medya. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi.

OKTAY, Ahmet (1987), Kültür ve İdeoloji. İstanbul: Gür Yayınları.

OKTAY, Ahmet (2002), Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları.

OSKAY, Ünsal (1978), Toplumsal Gelişmede Radyo ve Televizyon. Ankara: AÜSBF Yayınları.

OSKAY, Ünsal (1983), "Popüler Kültürün Toplumsal ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevi Üzerine", K. ALEMDAR ve R. KAYA (Der.), Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar. Ankara: Savaş Yayınları.

OSKAY, Ünsal (1992), İletişimin ABC'si. İstanbul: Simavi Yayınevi.

OSKAY, Ünsal (1981), "Benjamin'de Tarih, Kültür, Fantazya Anlayışı", Oluşum, 43

OSKAY Ünsal (1993), XIX. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri/Kuramsal Bir Yaklaşım. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.

OSKAY, Ünsal (2004), "Yıkanmak İstemeyen Çocuklar" Olalım. İstanbul: YKY.

OSKAY, Ünsal (2005), "Efendi/Köle İlişkileri Açısından Şiddet ve Görünümleri Üzerine", Cogito, Kış-Bahar

OZANKAYA, Özer (1980), "Türkiye'de Yığın İletişiminin Demokratik Siyasal Kültür Gelişimindeki Yeri ve Önemi", A.Ü.S.B. F. Yay., Cilt: XXXV., Ankara

ÖZBEK, Meral (1991), Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

PARKAN, Mutlu (1989), "Dizi Film ve Etkileri", Dokuz Eylül Üniv. GSF Dergisi, 7

PARSA, Seyide (1994), Televizyon Program Türleri. İzmir: Ege Üniv. İLEF Yayınları.

POSTMAN, Neil (1994)(1985), Televizyon: Öldüren Eğlence. Çev. Osman AKINHAY, İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

SAĞLAM, Tülay (1996), Popüle rKültür Açısından Televizyon Yayın Mantığı, Basılmamış Yük. Lis. Tezi, Marmara Üniv., İstanbul

SAYILGAN, Ş. Gülbin. (2003), Yayınlarda Program Türleri Kod, Tanım ve Sınıflandırmaları. Ankara: RTÜK Yayını.

YUMLU, Konca (1994), Kitle İletişim Kuram ve Araştırmaları, İzmir: Nam Basım.

THE RHYTHM IN THE DOCUMENTARY FILM IN TURKEY

Kadir YALCIN, Lecturer

Selcuk University

Halim ESEN, Associate Professor

Anadolu University

Abstract
Besides Turkish cinema couldn't provide a strong industrial construction, also there is no short film or documentary film in its genre tradition. Therefore, the first acquaintanceship of the audience with the documentary film occurred via TV sets. Dramatic elements in life itself from the dramatic tension of documentary. These elements become effective with the authentic interpretations and style of the documentary filmmaker. The rhythm, which is indispensable element for film and takes part in the studies of many film theoreticians, arises in the result of so many factors. Script comes first of all these. Shooting process of documentary film, camera movements, audio-music, editing and transition effects, all of these affects the rhythm. It is not possible to present a receipt to determine the characteristics which will contribute the accuracy of the rhythm in documentary film.

Keywords: Rhythm, Documentary Film, Cinema, Television.

Introduction

The word "documentary", on the contrary of narrations based on imagination, in its ordinary context, means witnessing the reality that's going on in the outer world. There is a tendency to naturalism in narrative movies and TV dramas. This tendency makes the TV and film producers struggle to look like real while creating an atmosphere. Documentary type, that becomes more important with the spread of television have been used in many countries, planned and organized. With the spread of public broadcasting service at first in Western Europe and later in the other parts of the world, main goals like informing, educating and entertaining are used for public service broadcasting in general and for documentary in special. Moreover, some part of the commercial cinema walked the same way with the documentary film and began to exhibit successful works which has argued deeply some social problems. The definition of the documentary has a change parallel to the history of the development of the television. According to L. Herman, "Documentary film is a study that the story of it emerges from the reality. Therefore it occurs in a real place with real people and real story". One of the foremost directors and theoreticians of British Documentary Movement Paul Rotha says: "The word documentary determines the approach, not the subject or the style. The advantage of either educated actors or the staging can be denied in the documentary. Documentary film differs from narrative cinema by its objective" (Adalı 1986 :14). According to the developing tradition of documentary filming, documentary programs have explicit social objectives and democratic functions.

The most important feature of the documentary which is trying to make the audience to look at the real world with a new perspective, not on the orbit of a story, is waiting the audience to comment instead of consubstantiating with the events and people (Adalı 1986:8). Documentaries has always goals that hast to be fulfilled. It is preferred that this goal is attractive to viewers. Such an approach which aims to raise awareness on issues in society is obviously educational.

The relationship of documentary film with the reality begins with the picking up a subject. Documentary takes a reality which exists before itself and will exist after itself. The topic is chosen in the film is an independent entity. And documentary film director interprets the material which was designed earlier. Therefore the documentary filmmaker deals with the subject without interventions. On the other side the relationship established between the film and the reality is more than an intersecting relation that also contains of traces from director's world. Human being is a kind of receptor that behaves selective to percept the realities that surrounds them. He detects some areas, while some areas remains closed. It is real what he perceives, what he didn't perceive is not present for him. Moreover, today, the individual is exposed to information bombardment and the perception of reality becomes so blurred. So, the perception of reality may differ from person to time, and the reflection of the reality on the film is formed by the director's point of view.

The subject of the documentaries must be quite clear and short. Every point that is discussed in the documentary has to have a quality that must be understood quickly. Otherwise, viewers may lose control over the issue. We also need to avoid any confusion with the coexistence of image and sound. Most of the documentaries are thought to be the same size of narrative films, but many of them are shorter. Besides Turkish cinema couldn't provide a strong industrial construction, also there is no short film or documentary film in its genre tradition. Therefore, the first acquaintanceship of the audience with the documentary film occurred via TV sets.

Most of the time it is put forward that there isn't big difference between documentary films and newsreel. This mistake originates from that the both styles use natural and real material. Even if the material of these two styles are same, the approach and interpretation are very different. In the essence of the documentary, there it lays the dramatization of the material. Great artists that develop documentary type were interested in handling the reality in a creative way, not information transfer or helping the future research. On the other side newsreel filmmakers aim to transport actual events to the viewers from the shortest way as soon as possible. However, the newsreel can have a dramatic structure because it transfers the life's own drama. It becomes impossible to differ from documentaries that is prepared for special purposes with the help of the action that editing brings. Today, by the help of the development of television and technical progress, these newsreels have reached to more successful results rather than some documentary films. On the other hand, it is possible to meet some filmmakers who established bridge between the newsreel and documentary film throughout the cinema history. There is no doubt that one of the most practitioners and theoreticians is Dziga Vertov with his theory "cinema-eye".

Dramatic elements in life itself forms the dramatic tension of documentary style. These elements becomes affective by the documentary filmmaker's authentic interpretations and style. Documentary audience differs in the range from illiterate to college graduates, subject experts that is handled in the documentary to non-informed people about the subject. The audience is so general there is an uncertain manner for the documentary filmmakers. Faced with this situation, the documentary filmmaker cannot be sure of the knowledge of the audience about the subject. For this reason, the documentary filmmaker, to be understood by a wider audience, makes his preference on the ones who know less.

As many communication academics agrees that television has informing function besides other functions. There is the real question that must be asked is what does TV teaches and which method does it use while doing this. At this point, it can say that documentary is a true informing medium when it is evaluated through its type specialties. The function of documentary, after it has become a part of culture for society, the situation becomes more important in terms of both documentary filmmaker and audience. More concerned audience, with a more judgmental point of view, will watch the documentaries with a more critical and sensitive manner. Addressing a more conscious audience makes the documentary filmmaker more careful in the name of the sources, the methods he uses and the comments that he makes.

The Concept of Rhythm

Rhythm consists of movements related to each other. Not only in film, in the other branches of art also like statue, graphic, painting, music, literature it is like this. Every rhythmic movement, as well as independent units, has related units with each other. Rhythm, harmony, measure or symmetry, as a result, everything that is reduced in the final analysis is order concept (Huisman 1994:26). Shortly, we can say rhythm can create order. Rhythm is seen in poetry mostly in literature. The unity, verses, style of writing and the rhyme of the poem put forward the rhythm. But it is not valid for prose. There is also rhythm in prose, but this rhythm is not clear like in the poetry.

Kuleshov likens the director who is conveying ideas to mason and poet. All the shots, which contain idea or story particles in the dramatic texture , are settled like bricks one on the top of the other. Thus, the rhythm of the film is obtained by arranging the shots like the poet uses words. The content arises from the shots and the editing of the shots (Abisel 1989:117). All films do not need a hit of tempo. According to the requirement of the subject this or that way is chosen. Whichever the format is chosen, the job is all up to capability of the director. Germaine Dulac believes that the rhythm must be used for visually. Dulac, opposed to narrative cinema, always defended aesthetics. Dulac, like all other avant-garde artists, is not behind telling stories. He explores the capabilities of cinema with his visual experience. He thinks the commercial and narrative cinema slaughters the seventh art and castrates the audience. He also defends that it is necessary to create “visual forms” to call mind and sentiments, to reach the feelings of shadows, light, rhythm, facial expressions. According to Dulac, the value plastic value of the image and rhythmic editing, should be evaluated to the last point. Creating the rhythm, maybe a face, maybe a geometrical form, a line whatever it is the movement in all richness of proper angles and curves: The opening of a wheat spike, horse jumping, visual actions of similar lines can be used to create rhythm (Abisel 1989:155). Germaine Dulac repeats the Gance’s simile by putting forward cinema and music have a common side that both of them can create enthusiasm by the help of rhythm (Perkins 1985:136).Gilbert Selder in the book “The Public Arts “says that the tempo inside makes the music most similar art to cinema (Demir 1994:23). Also Eisenstein says that the decisive factor for the length of the shot is motion. If there is not any motion in the scene, a static scene, decisive factor is again motion. The roaming of the eye on different parts of the image even provides this. Getting use of motion in transition from one shot to another is either a good thought or a method of emphasizing.

Factors Affecting The Rhythm Of Documentary Film

The rhythm that is inevitable for film and many film theoreticians talk about it in their studies, appear after the result of so many agents. Scenario comes first of all.

Scenario

The purpose of rhythm is to create emotional or action affects on people. High emotions and low emotions can be balanced in the scenario. Exciting events can be adjusted by sad events. The balance on the film design must be preserved for the rhythmic structure of the film. Mood densities ranging from the dramatic events must take place in the form of scenario contrasts. These effects continue until the end of the film with the right rhythm. Emotions fluctuating up and down should be mobilized (Rotha-Griffith 2001:26-27). These effects continue until the end of the film with the right rhythm.

While screenwriter is drafting the stage he attempts to define the action of each scenes and the essence of a brief and clear manner. He shows special attention to the beginning and end of each scene. Because of the draft that is going to be used in the control of development line of the scenes is important to determine tense and relaxed moments, to see peak and low spots, and each is important to stabilize the rhythm of the scene (Miller 1993:183). There are spatial rhythms that harmony or contrast creates beside the rhythms developed by time in the scenario. These rhythms can be developed by balancing internal and external spaces or indoor or outdoor environments.

In so many documentary films there is a flow rather than a detailed script. The flow determines the speed and pace of the film like script. Rhythm is the emphasis felt while watching a movie. Tempo is the ratio of this rhythm. Flow identifies the changes in rhythm. However in practice, the difference between these terms remain at the theoretical level. The important thing is how the structure of the scene contributes to the flow of the film. Flow depends on the length of the scene and the talks (speed of saying the catchwords) in the scene. Action seen on screen, camera movement, editing caused by changes in lighting, sound and music all effect the flow. The quickly forgotten item in cinema is knowledge. For this reason, you have to repeat important knowledge for the film often while not giving so much information. Instaurations in cinema must be in the different tones as it is in the music: Thus fluency and vitality is provided in documentary (Chion 1992:220).

While determining documentary film scenes, needs to be kept in mind, not only the plastic content of each piece, but also the length of each one of them. In this way, the attachment of scenes together in the rhythm is considered from the beginning. This rhythm is the tool to affect the audience emotionally. The director has to soothe or excite the audience by the rhythm. A mistake in the rhythm can take the whole affect of a scene to zero. On the other hand, a rhythm in its proper place can increase the affect of a scene highly. Processing the scenario in terms of rhythm is not just finding the necessary images and processing the shots.

Shooting

Shooting is the most important step for documentary film. After the scenario phase the shooting step comes and there are so many things to be careful on this phase. At this stage, a meticulous study of the entire team, including the director must be exhibited. The director must deal with the shooting scales and camera movements during the shooting process.

Camera Movement

While the director creates tense moments to keep the audience attention high, on the other hand he thinks about new ambience to comfort the viewers and prepare them for new tense moments. He makes this by controlling the length of the shots. But here we must make a choice between cutting or camera movements. In this election the only measure is the mental structure of the scene. Camera movement should not be noticed by the audience. It should be felt as the audience is following the event. If the camera movement hits the viewer's eye this movement is not successful. The shots with the camera movements use the screening time

much, so the tempo of the scene tend to be reduced. If the nature of the last shots are dynamic and strong, for example panning is useless to continue the rhythm. When used, it gives an impression of a slowdown because it provides relief and change.

Panning or dallying movement of the camera is always slow. If the image is important through the whole camera movement, not only in the beginning and at the end, the change is so slow that the part of the composition area gets away from being the center of attention. The difficulty in the pans with the moving people and objects is the speed of panning cannot be controlled easily because everything in the scene are interesting. Panning itself creates its own rhythm.

To prove the role of movement element in perceiving a shot immediately which has a static composition, these films cannot be defined as slow ones since the images are at the right length which were composed with the pictures that is hold on the screen for a specific time that their content requires. What Eisenstein said here is confirmed: Eye travels on the image to understand everything. Well-known examples of the art of painting on the chart as a documentary or film studies, the panning is very important. If these films are being shot by a director who is sensitive to composition, transition motions can be distressing. Camera (even if it is a well-known picture) by entering into the picture can examine it part by part so close and monitories it, it also can reveal the style specialties that is unknown till then. Such a study, a well-organized composition and panning movements, not only in their own self, will easily be understood when establishes a logical meaning relation and won't create an emotion of slowness when time is set correctly.

Sound and Music

Sound brings a wealth to the cinema as well as the image. First of all, the sound, brings the cinema closer to the truth, especially increases the reality affect so much in the documentaries. Beside natural sound, dialogue has a greater role here. In daily life, change of attention, in the formation of new centers of interest, in other words it is the most important factor to perceive the sound and noticing the objects consciously. Directing the attention to only some of the surrounding sounds, the closing process of the awareness to others set light to director's style on using the sound. The director makes a selection in sound to form the meaning which will make the scene most effective. In terms of narration, he strengthens the sound somewhere since keeping others at a very low level.

In real life there are always two rhythms: The first one is the rhythmic flow of the objective world, and the second one is the rhythm of human perception of the world. The world, itself up to down, is a rhythm. And human being with his ears, eyes and skin can perceive a little part of this world. Though the rhythm of the objective world goes on with a tempo that man perceives, the impressions of people change depending on awakening and settling feelings (Pudovkin 1995:202-203). When an image comes up the screen in a documentary, there is no obligation that a related sound has to come up with and fade when the image has gone. Every sound, speech or music may develop without having any changes in a sequence composed of short shots or just the opposite the sound stripe may change with an authentic rhythm during the long shots. The rhythm in the sound emerges from the right composition and editing, not only because of motion of actor or the objects on the screen.

Editing

Editing, in its simplest definition, is a process of selecting and arranging. To create a particular effect, the shots are combined together in an accordance with a predetermined order by the director. The secret meaning in the shooting shines like a spark during the editing. The meaning of smiling is clear. But editing determines its dramatic meaning. Editing brings style, speed and rhythm to the movie. Thus, the dramatic rhythm of the

narrated story reflects in the rhythm of the film (Büker 1989:16). Editing in fact is eliminating the viewer's thought and connotations in a compulsory and conscious way. If the editing becomes only combining various parts, the audience will not understand anything from this. But if this is specific flow of events or specific parts joined together, moving or stationary, it will excite the audience or cool down (Pudovkin 1985:31-32). Editing was always thought to be a sledgehammer to provide a rhythm in the image size (Kılıç 1995:87). This understanding has remained as a legacy of evil. Seeing the rhythm as the result of editing, is bringing the editing to a determinative position on its own since reckoning without the other elements.

In a movie, a second consists of 24 frames. The editors says that only one frame of these, namely 1/24 second, can change whole the rhythm and the story. At this time the audience really watches the unseen. This is the incomprehensible world of some unseen things that is in fact in front of the eyes (Carriere 1998:120). At this point, the movie shows the viewer just what he wanted to see. A wizard-like dexterity of the editor is faster than the human eye. The change in the length of the shots is the foundation of metric editing. Short, long, medium-length shots to be created entirely determined by the desired atmosphere. For example, each of the series of shots with a five-second periods creates slower rhythm than the resizes of shots with one-second period. Metric editing is only related with the length of the shots. Cutting length patterns, similar in concept to the measure of the music, can be repeated in order to create a background measurement. Eisenstein compares metric editing and rhythmic editing. In rhythmic editing the lengths of the parts of the visual content is determined according to the rhythm of the cases, especially in shots; not according to a formula (Caroll 1985:166).

Transitions

How the punctuation marks have a role to understand the meaning of a text easily, the transition forms have the same role for films (Özön 1984:83). While editing assembles the shots, at the same time, it provides a forward move in time by eliminating unnecessary time connections from the event. In editing, to provide the development of the theme and to take the action forward by throwing away the unnecessary time zones, transition between the shots becomes important. The simplest method for combining the different time zones is cut. In simple terms it is seen that the continuity in time is ensured between the shots and in real time the continuity is preserved. In this kind of approach, there is no gap between the shots by the means of time. From a different perspective, cut is also used for throwing away the events which do not contribute to the development of action, thereby it is also used for the jumps in time or shortening the time. For example, the director can tell a woman goes from work to home in five shots. Due to the structure of the shots, the audience understands that the event is shown shortly by cuts. If the cut is used so often in this kind of event, the flow of the event gets so faster and the rhythm of the film changes. Sometimes the directors use the cuts so much to have parallelism with the dramatic rhythm of the story. Balazs says "it is perfect if using the cut so much supports the inner rhythm of the film, otherwise it is a very usual method" (Büker 1985:114). It should be noted here; if the cuts are so much or unstable, the viewer's mind can be confused and feel uncomfortable. If the shots are so long the audience can be distracted and the power of the film decreases.

Another transition from "mix" has, first of all, a rhythmic meaning. Mix provides a smooth transition and slows down the rhythm of the film. It can be used instead of "cut" or for other purposes. Fade in – fade out can be used at the beginning and at the end of the film. It is also preferred for the transitions between sequences. This transition technique has also a rhythmic meaning. It has a good usage for slowing down the rhythm and giving the audience a space for breathing. While the directors choose important moments which will contribute to

the story and jumping in time by using transition methods, on the other hand they create dramatically tense moments by processing time in a complex way by editing.

Result

In documentary filmmaking, analysis of the events and dividing into shots is more effective than the general shot displaying. It must not be forgotten that the effect can be achieved with the rhythm of correct length. The correct length of the shot depends on the relation between the form of the image, content and time. Composition, shutter speed, cut point, the maximum length, these are all analyzed together and create the rhythm that lies in the nature of assembled images.

Is it possible to give a prescription to contribute the accuracy of the rhythm in documentary film to determine all these features? Unfortunately no. However, everything is tied to each other with an effect. It is not easy to explain the essence of the art (Montagu 1994:168-189). For example, it is easy to say "to teach that short shots deliver excitement, long shots deliver stability; a film which has a perfect timing has the ability to give the chance to the director to catch the audience". The point to be focused on, there are so many options to take the rhythm under control in documentary film. Rhythm is not ornament, but it is a strong tool to increase the power of cinematic expression.

References

Abisel, N. (1989) Sessiz Sinema, Ankara Üniversitesi Basın-Yayın Yüksekokulu Yayınları, Ankara

Adalı, B. (1986) Belgesel Sinema, Hil Yayın, İstanbul

Büker, S. (1985:114) Sinemada Anlam Yaratma, Milliyet Yayınları, Eskişehir

Büker, S. (1989) Film ve Gerçek, Anadolu Üniversitesi Eğitim Teknolojisi ve Yaygın Eğitim Vakfı Bilimsel Araştırma ve Bilimsel Yayınlar Dizisi No:020, Eskişehir

Carriere, J. C. (1998) Sinemanın Gizli Dili, Çev. Simten Gündeş, Der Yayınları, İstanbul

Carroll, J. (1985) "Sinema Kuramının Çözümlenmemiş Sorunları," Sinema Kuramları, Der. Seçil Büker-Oğuz Adanır, Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

Chion, M. (1992) Bir Senaryo Yazmak, Çev. Nedret Tanyolaç, Afa Yayınları, İstanbul

Demir, Y. (1994) Filmde Zaman ve Mekan Üzerine, Turkuaz Yayınları, Eskişehir

Huisman, D. (1994) Estetik, Çev. Cem Muhtaroğlu, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul

Kılıç, L. (1995) Görüntü Estetiği, Kavram Yayınları, İstanbul

Miller, W. (1993) Anlatı Filmleri ve Televizyon İçin Senaryo Yazımı, Çev. Yılmaz Büyükerşen, Yalçın Demir, Nesrin Esen, Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, Eskişehir

Montagu, I. (1994) "Ritm," Filmde Zaman ve Mekan Üzerine, Çev. Yalçın Demir, Turkuaz Yayınları, Eskişehir

Özön, N. (1984) Sinema Sanatı, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul

Perkins, V. F. (1985) "İlk Film Kuramlarının Eleştirel Tarihi" Sinema Kuramları, Der. Seçil Büker-Oğuz Onaran, Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

Pudovkin, V. (1985) "Yoğrumsal Gereç", Sinema Kuramları, Der. Seçil Büker, Oğuz Onaran, Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

Pudovkin, V. (1995) Sinemanın Temel İlkeleri, Çev. Nijat Özön, Bilgi Yayınevi, İstanbul

Rotha, P., Griffith, R. (2001) Sinema Yazıları, Çev. Ayzer Ocatman, İzdüşüm Yayınları, İstanbul

REFLECTIONS OF THE EVER-CHANGING VISUAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES ON THE ADVERTISEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS: THE CASE OF RESIDENCE ADVERTİSEMENTS

Metin EKEN, Research Assistant
Erciyes University

Abstract
The concept of globalization has become a magical and omnipresent word, which has been often referred to describe the economical, political, and cultural changes since the second half of the 20th Century. In this study, the concept of globalization is dealt with as a factor, which directly gives shape to the daily routines, spatial organizations, and to the social experiences and practices, and is examined particularly within the context of the ever-changing structure of the visual signifiers and urban locations. In this context, the transformations in progress in the urban locations by virtue of the multi-dimensional flows of culture, information, and finance are dwelled on, and how the visual signifiers, in particular, have reshaped the residence advertisements within the context of global advertisement industry and consumer culture is examined. For this purpose, firstly, theoretical information regarding the globalization and ever-changing visual communication strategies is presented, then the advertisements of the two leader companies of the housing sector in Turkey, which were published in the media during the year 2012 are analyzed on the basis of Roland Barthes' "two levels of signification". In the conclusion part, how globalization and ever-changing visual communication strategies are reflected on the residence advertisements is analyzed within the context of Gottdiener's "Social Semiotics" method. From this analysis forth, it is ascertained that, the concept of globalization has shaped the residence advertisements into a cluster of promises by virtue of the consumption culture. It is stated in this context that, consumption-oriented life style format has been visually internalized by means of the cultural codes, which are conceptualized as Elitist/Modern, Naturalist/Anti-Urban, Centralist, Future-Oriented, and Pro-Security, upon being materialized in the forms of either the ideal home, or dreamland.

Keywords: Globalization, Visual Culture, Consumer Culture, Advertisements, Social Semiotics.

Globalization - the Conceptual Framework

Globalization is a concept, which takes all the word under its influence since the second half of the twentieth century and becomes much-debated with its all dimensions from economics to the theory of politics and from sociology to international relations. According to Bauman (2010:7), this buzzword transforms into a magical word and a key that can open the door of the whole past and future secrets, and the process lived is an irremeable process. In other word, globalization is the inevitable fate of the word. However, it is the possible fact that it

has not reached a consensus yet on the most important characteristic of the concept of globalization.

This concept, moving from various points of views, can be used in different meaning and content. While some authors highlight the economical dimension of globalization, some of them emphasize its political or socio-cultural dimension. In the same way, as some thinkers use the concept of globalization to express a process developing spontaneously, others use the mentioned concept by the aim of explaining a phenomenon that is particularly manipulated by some developed countries. Once again, while some scientists refer to the word of globalization to point to a formation of which roots go to time immemorial, some of them can name relatively a new development with the same word (Yüksel, 2001:7). In this context, the concept of globalization has been defined differently, and much different approaches have been presented on it by many thinkers. While Giddens (2008:84) defines the concept of globalization as a process that increases the speed and extent of the interaction among the worldwide people and that is directed by information and communication technologies, Gilpin (Cited: Baylis, Smith, Owens, 2011: 17) describes it as the integration of the world's economy, and as for David Harvey tries to explain it on the concept of "time-space compression". Marshall Mc Luhan (1999:50), in his book called "*The Gutenberg Galaxy*", with his words about *"new electronically interdependency re-constitutes the world in the image of 'global village'*", highlights that this process constitutes a new world, which can coincide with the concept of '*global village*' and that this new world excludes the senses by transforming into an electronically brain, and in this way, a phase of integral interdependency is constituted. Undoubtedly, the phenomenon of globalization passing through various phases constitutes the motives of many changes and transformations socially, politically, culturally, economically and technologically. Especially, together with the fast developments happening information and communication technologies, the variation of mass media and the emergence of new medias and the economic growth accompanying with these developments lead that some things gain the characteristic of being, with the word of Goerge Ritzer, '*omnipresent*'. in this sense, new global actors have consisted, and cultural exchange and standardization have begun to gain speed. This state, at the same time, has made the debates of globality-locality start, and the concept has been evolved into new dimensions day by day. In this context, in the political, social, cultural and economical fields, many new concepts have derived. The concepts such like *Localization, Fundamentalism, Fragmentation, The Clash of Civilizations, The End of History, The New World Order, Alien Culture, Americanization, The CNN's Effect, Coca-Colonization, Meta Fetishism, Homogenization, Liquidity, Culture's Industry, Hybridization, The Ideological Devices of the State, Information Age, McDonaldization, Neo-Liberalism, Network Community, Open Society, Post-Colonialism, Post-Fordism, Simulation, Hypermodernity, Deterritorialization, Epistemic Society, Cosmopolitanism, Global Cities, Orientalism* are much complex and only few of the concepts that are used by the aim of being able to give the meaning for an effective process of globalization.

The Approaches Concerning Globalization

Held and et al. (2003), who broadly examine these approaches formed with the debates developing global transformations and around it, go to a trio-classification as *Hyperglobalists*, *Skeptical* and *Transformationalists.*

Hyperglobalists

The globalization resolutions put forward by Hyperglobalists focus on the changing role of the national state in general meaning. In these resolutions, it is discussed that the countries cannot audit their own economies anymore one by one with the reason of the substantial

growth in the world's markets. The national governments and the statesmen in these countries gradually lose the powers of controlling (auditing) on the transnational problems lived in their countries and on unsteady financial markets and on environmental threats (Giddens, 2008: 95). However, Hyperglobalists do not present a homogenous view. Because, in the inside of this group, there are different ideological approaches as well. For example; while neo-liberals welcome the effect of the market and the individual autonomy on the State, neo-Marxists inside the same group see the modern globalization as one phase of the repressive global capitalism (Cited: Bozkurt, 2011: 338).

Scepticals (Globalization's Opponents)
While this view supported by Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson (Hart, 1997: 571-574) considers the effects of globalizations, they highlight the regional and local administrations. In addition to this, they emphasize that the future of economy is tied only to the cooperation of these national, regional and international powers. This group, just opposite Radical (Hyper) Globalists, emphasizes globalization is not a new process.

Transformationalists (Pluralist Pragmatics)
This view supported by the searchers, like Roland Robertson, Anthony Giddens and David Held, has defined globalization as a structure, which rebuilds and restructures globalization and consists a deeply effect and transforms the political structure of the states and at the same time the mechanism of the world. Globalization, according to Transformationalists, refers to an ungiving and non-central process that is characterized with cultural flows and with the links functioning multilaterally. Because globalization is the product of the numerous global interpenetrated networks, it cannot be thought so that it is being directed from a definite region of the world (Giddens, 2008: 96). The phenomenon of globalization, besides, is perceived as a directly result of modernity by the most important representative of this group, Anthony Giddens, and interdependency and global integration are emphasized.

Globalization in Terms of its Cultural Conclusions
In the previous sections of this Study, from different aspects, it has been explained the definition of the concept of globalization, its historical development, and the factors affecting on this development, In this way, many thinkers have evaluated the cultural conclusions of globalization with different approaches. Without doubt, one of the most important matters at necessarily hand together with globalization has happened **culture.** The debate and the analyses, which form Popular Culture, Mass Culture, Culture's Industry, Americanization, Mcdonaldization, Hybridization, Homogenization and more different concepts, have constituted a very broad literature. Some thinkers have highlighted the key importance of culture by making the examinations of globalization on the concept of culture; as for some of them have emphasized that the explanations becoming concrete with the concept of **global culture** are not too significant. Nevertheless, while a part of the researchers concerning with the cultural effects of globalization defends that globalization generates a homogenous culture, others make various explanations about it brings a heterogeneous cultural structure into being. The owner of one of the most serious approaches which are about globalization is a homogenous process is Anthony Giddens. Giddens (2008: 98), who points to globalization as a directly result of the Westerner modernity, states that all the cultures, which are present at the world and have been isolated from each other once upon a time, will encounter with global culture and will be transformed by itself one or at most two generations later no matter how they try to preserve their own old styles of life. The approach, which discusses globalization as a result of modernity, according to those assessing globalization as a

heterogeneous process, has not been soundly accepted because it shows those ontologically being out of the West as passive and as in a plane tied to the West (Aslanoğlu, 1997: 256).

Francis Fukuyama (1992), in his work called "*The End of History and The Last Man*", has emphasized that the understanding of **Liberal Democracy** has succeeded in the global scale; he has expressed that differences are dissolved by becoming the same and that a cultural homogenization emerges. With regard to Roland Robertson, who makes researches in detail about the relationship of globalization and culture, has made important contributions into the field, giving priority to culture in the analyses of globalization. Especially, when considered the analyses about global economy and transnational media networks have removed the cultural boundaries and in this way it leads to a global culture, the points highlighted by Robertson gain highly importance. When Arjun Appadurai (1990: 296) mentions about the features of global cultural flows, he has presented important bouquets of concept and underlined that the cultural flows have five significant dimensions. These are *ethoscapes, mediascapess, techoscapes, financescapes* and *ideoscapes*. As for George Ritzer (1998: 1-3) has gone to explain the concepts of Globalization and Americanization by the concept of Mcdonaldization and set the new meaning of the consumption culture on this conceptionalization. Assessing fast-food restaurants and credit cards as modern phenomenon, he has addresses its effects on mass culture and taken these effects under a detailed examination. In this context, Ritzer, as a theatrical starting point, has taken the **rationalization** thesis of Weber and underlined that the conceptionalization of Mcdonaldization is an effort toward the modernization of the rationalization thesis.

The most important one of the academic studies conducted on culture in the context of globalization is undoubtedly critical texts, which become concrete with the name of **Culture's Industry** and which question how mass culture is produced. In these texts, it has been emphasized in general meaning that the benefit, which the consumer gains from the meta, namely the usage value of the meta, becomes a product of the capitalist production process and highlighted that the products made by Culture's Industry functions as classification and schematization.

The Emergence of Global Communication Networks and the Global Transformation of the Visual

It is surely beyond doubt that, the evolution that mass media evolves together with globalization and the increasing varieties have grand effects on the global transformation of the being visual. in this sense, Thompson (2008: 231) has emphasized that the systematically organization of the global communication networks in the global scale was hardly possible in the ninetieth century, and he has stated that this became thanks to the new technologies that partly separate communications from physical transportations (communications). However, Thompson has examined this process, which is directly related to military, politic and economic elements, by focusing on the three key developments of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. These are: *the developing of the underwater cable system by European empire rulerships*; *the establishing of the international news agencies and their separating the world into the special working regions*; and besides, *the establishing of the international organizations that are concerned with electromagnetic spectrum allocation*. In addition to this, Thompson (2008: 243), who highlights that he flow of global communication and information comes in a dominant characteristic of social life occurs at the same time as the twentieth century, has explained the developments in this period as the four main topics. These are:

- The emergence of transnational communication holdings as the key players in the broad(cast)ing of the global communication and information: Like *Time Warner Communication, News Corporation,* and *Bertelsmann*.

- The social effect of the new technologies that are particularly developed as related to satellite communications: The increasing using of satellites, and the emergence of microprocessors as the units of information processing and storage.
- The asymmetric flow of the information and communication products inside the global system.
- The emergence of varieties and inequalities in the access to global communication networks.

Before looking at which transformations the being visual recently lives in modern times, shortly mentioning about its historical adventure will be in good taste. In this context, it is stated that the verbal culture, which is previously dominant by the life in the word begins, leaves its place to the written culture by the times advancing and developing. After the emergence of the written culture, particularly by the modernity appears with its all dynamics, it is accepted to be gone into a period on which the visual culture is dominant. By the Parsa's (2011: 1) explanation, since the day when the world was created, never has it stayed under the siege of the beings visual this much intensively. It is sure that, among the main reasons of this, together with the dizzyingly-speedy development of technology, there is the development of mass media and personnel computers. In both modern communities and developing countries, it is a view accepted by everybody that mass media continuously sends messages and these messages have an undeniable role inside economical, cultural and social life. By the specific discourse structure of these media, the perception and the evaluation of the messages, which it produces, and the giving meaning for them with a critical way gradually gain importance.

Guy Debord, in 1960's, had asserted that modern community could be defined as a "*society of the spectacle*". People, as to him, were passively consuming symbols, images and observation objects which are broken off from real life and real necessities. In the same way, Michael Foucoult had written, in 1970's, that the Westerner communities differed the being visual as well; saying that community is a close follow-up and observing community but a community of watch, he had differed from Debord. According to him, people are watched more than watching, and they are examined and continuously recorded. In this way, people are reducing to the images, which are going to be carefully examined, being scanned by indefinite authorities (Barnard, 2002: 13). In this point, moving from the assumption that one of the most important characteristics of modernity is exhibitionism, the processes explained above can be placed on a little more net context.

Martin Jay (Cited: Parsa, 2011: 1) had emphasized that the writing is absolute dominant in every period in the making of meaning and explaining; in this modern new century on which visual culture is dominant, however, he had underlined that the images in the modern Westerner communities are in the center and so "ocularcentric" communities consist. In this way, together with modernity and the phenomenon of globalization that emerges as a natural result of this, it can be expressed that visual culture live a very serious change and transformation. That the intention of communication, which become internalized in the being visual as directed towards a practical objective on the cave's walls, is evolved into an ideological goal together with the changing and transforming structure and that some industries like movie, photo and advertisement come to be the most important communication (transmission) instruments of this ideological goal is the main indicators, which humanity goes under the irresistible effect of the pervasive visual indicators in a way that human being never witnesses. As for the simulation conventionalization of Baudrillard shows the bigness of this effect.

In this context, according to Barnard (2002: 35), it can be offered the opinion that visual culture is the examination of the thing what is called as "**the indicator system of community**" by Raymond Williams. William's offering can be adapted as establishments,

objects, actions, values, and beliefs, which a social structure is visually produced in the indicator system and reproduced and proved. Under the circumstances, this side of the visual culture is concerned with ideology and politics and with how the visual culture produces the community and reproduces it and at the same time with how it can be challenged and opposed against the identities and the states in that community. Right after the paragraphs mentioned above and emphasizing that the community evolved into a view-centered structure anymore, also it should be highlighted that the community transforms into **a community of spectacle**, **a community of watch**. Sayın (2011: 13), underlines that the **panopticon** described by Jeremy Bentham used to be used to express an observation (watch) mechanism since Foucoult. **Panopticon**, which describes some places like a round building or a tower, where is present in its center and watches the inner side of this round (building), or like a mental asylum and a prison in an architectural order, which is seen from everywhere and see everywhere in the design of city planning, and which is opened into the power center, has been organized by the aim of observing the cells transforming into a small belvedere place –a small theatre according to Foucault– where is present at the side of the round: The eye, which is the center of audit (observation) mechanisms, is everywhere at the same time.

Global Advertisement Industry and Consumption Culture

Advertisement (*ad*) can be discussed as informing news, transferring news and giving news. When approached in this sense, it can be said that human being has lived with ad one within the other since created. As for in the present day; it is seen as a communication instrument prioritized especially to provide a commercial benefit and an advertising activity; *advertisement*. If considered in terms of economic systems, it stands in front of us as a basic element a building stone that provides for the standing-up of capitalism (Çamdereli, 2006: 35). When looked at it with this perspective, advertisement in the global system stands in front of us as a system of giving meaning (to something) in the context of culture and ideology, and it makes various symbolic products. Leiss and et al. (Cited: Dağtaş, 2012: 79) have expressed the formats of ad texts meet several changes in the historical process and classified these changes under the four headings. These are;

1. Period (1890-1925), The Format of Product-Information: Advertising is product-centered, the ad messages are rational, and it is explained why the product should be used.

2. Period (1925-1945), The Format of Product-Image: It is the period when symbols are used. The ad texts are not product- and usage-centered. It is brought the social context of the ad and its powerful brand image into the forefront.

3. Period (1945-1965), The Format of Personalization: In advertisements, human's personality and in parallel with this, psychological concepts come to the forefront. It is treated the feelings that individuals will live as a result of the relationship that they make with the product.

4. Period (1965- ~), The Format of Style of Life: In the ad texts, the tendency inclined towards presenting a style of life gains importance. It is set a link between a certain product and a definite style of life

One of the most important results of global processes and global phenomenon of advertisement is the global phenomenon of consumption and consumption culture. In this context, when basically assessed, consumption can be seen as an action realized by the aim of fulfilling the needs in a traditional meaning. However, the using of the word of **consumption** together with **culture** implies an approach special to modern times without doubt. With another word, it can be said in the first place that consumption is a symbolic industry, which is located on the artificial needs are constituted by consumption stops being a need and on these needs are reactivated by speedily meeting them. Bauman (2010: 93), while he mentions

about this social structure in which we are, makes eye-opening explanations. As to him, the consumer of this consumption community is completely more different creature than any consumers in another community who are seen until this day. In this context, Bauman mentions about there is a new dilemma, which we hear it is pondered at most nowadays such as philosophers, poets and scholars of ethics at the time of our ancestors ponder about the question what does human work for living or lives for working. This dilemma is that does human consume for living or live for being able to consume; namely, it is whether s/he is still able to separate and feels the need of separating living and consuming from each other. In this context, it will be good taste to briefly mention about the historical process in which consumption emerges and the factors consisting of this process. If we look at the historical phases of consumption culture, Dagtas' (2009: 29) classification has importance in this point. Dagtas classifies these phases under the three main headings. These are:

- **The First Period:** The Consumption Culture in the Developing Process of Capitalism and Styles of Life: It shows the beginning phases of capitalism and the period in which the motives that constitute these phases begin to become.
- **The Second Period:** The Consumption Culture in the Fordist Period and Lifestyle: It indicates the period when massive production begins and in this way an accumulation emerges in the production.
- **The Third Period:** The Consumption Culture in the Fordist Period and Styles of Lifestyle: Some reasons, such the saturating of demand for massively-produced goods and the differentiation happening in the demands and such that technological equipment going to be used has not a flexibility that can make a different kind of production and that industrial relations are spoiled as tied to the increasing crisis, have negatively affected on the Fordist system of production (Cited: Dagtas, 2009: 43).

The Analysis of Residence Advertisements

In this chapter of the study, the housing advertisements and the reflections of the visual communication strategies, which change in the context of globalization, on the advertisement, and the cultural effects of these reflections will be used as an object. In this sense, the advertisements, which are present in the press (newspaper and magazine) in 2012, of the two building companies – ***Agaoglu Construction and European Houses***–, which are the most important in Turkey in the field of housing, will be analyzed by the method of semiology.

The Methodical Design

The approach of semiology, since 1960's, has appeared as an important field of study that presents the interdisciplinary approaches for the fields of the cultural studies and the communication sciences. Despite Charles Sanders Pierce and Ferdinand De Saussure, who are accepted as the founder fathers of semiology, have laid the foundations of this scientific approach at the end of 1980's and at the beginning of 1900's, 1960's have become the years when this scientific approach were intensively used in various fields. Especially the followers of the constructivist linguistics approach, in this way, have often used the approach of semiology/semiotics as a method. When looked at the roots of the concept of *sign,* we can go until the doctorship practices of the ancient civilizations. The doctors in the ancient civilizations were deprived of the beginning theory about patients. For this reason, all illnesses were able to be cured, setting out from their symptoms. For every sign of illness – *coated tongue, pallor* etc.–, there were some medicines that had been tried beforehand and been effective until that time. This old practice had brought the first definition of the concept of '*semiotics*' in the Greek language into being: the signs of doctorship or symptoms of illness (Gottdiener, 2005: 15). In this study of us, especially Roland Barthes' method of sign analysis and Mark Gottdiener's approach of "Social Semiotics" will be used as an important

methodological proof. Barthes, as distinct from Saussure, sees semiotics as a sub-branch of linguistics, not as a sub-branch of semiotics. By the Barthes' (2011: 183) explanation; in a myth, we find a three-dimensional graph: *signifier*, *signified* and *sign*. However, a myth is a special system. This emerges by it is set, setting out from a semiotic chain that is present before itself; namely, it is a second semiotic system. The element that is a sign in the first one –namely, the associative total of a concept and an image– is only a signifier in the second one. In this place, no matter how different the substances (in the real terms; *language, photo, picture, poster, object,* etc.) of the mythical word are in the beginning, they are reduced in a pure semantic function as soon as entering into the field of myth. The myth sees them as the same raw material; their unities are all of them were reduced in a simple provision of language. Whether a real writing or a pictural writing in question, the myth here wants to see a total of signs, a total sign, and the last term of a first semiotic chain. What Barthes has done in its work called "***Modern Myths***" is either to draw the conceptual framework of this system or to explain it with examples.

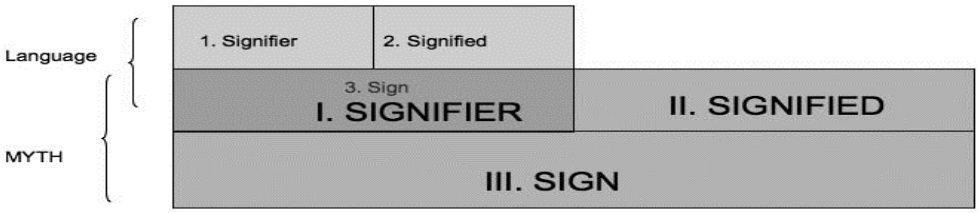
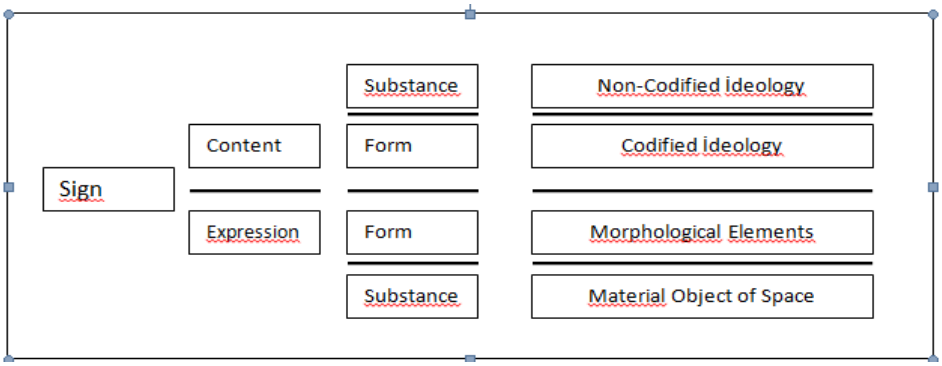


Figure 1: Barthes' Depiction of the Sign

When looked at the table, the denotation in the first level emerges as a result of the relationship between *signifier* and *signified.* This level, according to Barthes (2011:184), is a linguistic process, which the myth benefits to set its own system, that, this is the linguistic system of de Saussure. In this point, Barthes, however, emphasizes on a second process in which a meta-language, namely a myth is added that, this separates it from the beings before itself. In this process, a set of connotations, which is articulated with culture and ideology, occurs. This point consists an important reference point for the approach of "*social semiotics*" that is fictionalized by Gottdiener.

Figure 2: The Separation of the Sign as to Social Semiotics (Gottdiener, 2005: 51)

According to the table above, **the content** is the thing called by Hjelmsley as **the**



signified, and as for **the expression** is **the signifier**. With regard to the other elements (Gottdiener, 2005), **The Substance of the Content**; is much-articulated and much-

determined culture; namely, it is the culture of community that constitutes both a resource and a base for specially-coded ideologies about authentic cultural practices as a whole. **The Form of the Content**; on the contrary of the content substance, is a special ideology that has been materialized in the objective world via social interaction and symbolic behaviors coded in the practice. **The Form of the Expression**; reflects the special formal elements correspond to the coded ideology. **The Substance of the Expression**; reflects the objects themselves, which are materially present and correspond to the coded ideologies, even if its materiality in the state of fictional objects is only a text.

The Istanbul Institutional Advertising of Agaoglu

Figure 3: Agaoglu Istanbul Institutional Advertising

Linguistic Messages

One of the most significant elements that is frequently underlined in the housing advertisements of "*Live Istanbul with Agaoglu*" is the promise of **life**. However, in the linguistic message mentioned above, the relationship of /life/, /Istanbul/ and /Agaoglu/ attract attention. Istanbul struggles with a lot of problems like unplanned urbanization, noise, park and traffic problems, and a great deal of Istanbulites live these problems almost in every day. Nevertheless, Agaoglu, with the projects it makes and the opportunities it presents, promises a life far from troubles, in Istanbul. In this point, the word of **life** includes not only rescuing from the troubles mentioned but also some other symbolic values. The elements such happiness, ease/peace and health, in this way, can be regarded among the symbolic values in the scope of the word of **life.** *Agaoglu Companies Group* promises a happy, easeful and healthy metropolis life that is missed in Istanbul. As for the basic determinatives of the life presented in this linguistic message we examine are presented in the linguistic messages located just underside this message. We can concretize the fiction, which these messages constitute, as in the table below.

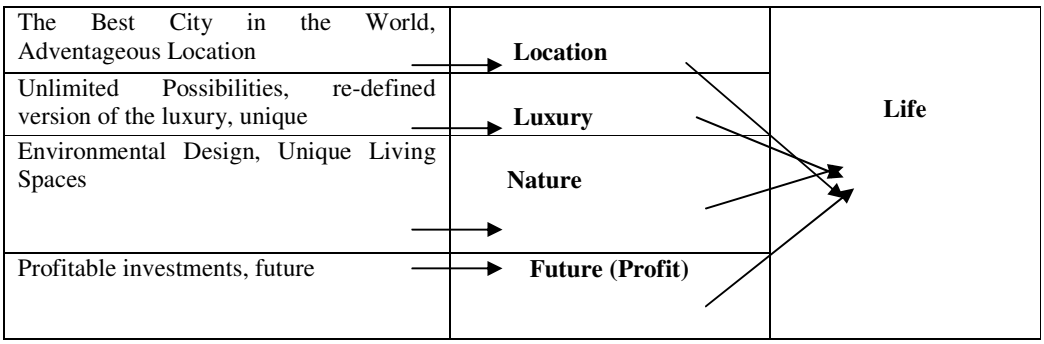
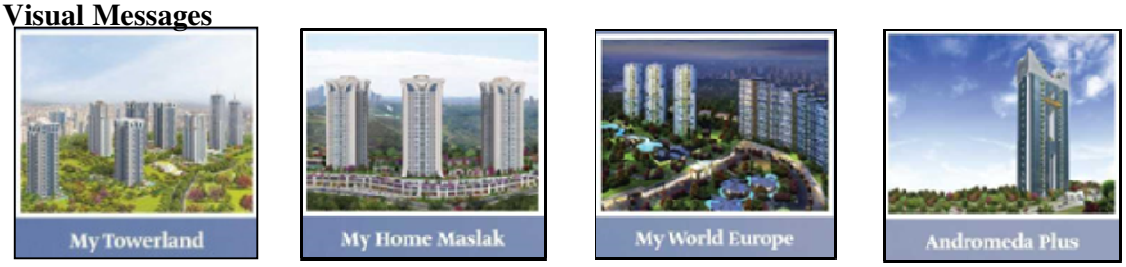


Figure 4: Basic determinatives of the life format presented in the linguistic message

When passed on the other linguistic messages, the names belonging to the projects located underside the visuals belonging housing projects related to Agaoglu Companies Group just in the middle of the poster, attract attention. The names such *'My Towerland'* , *'My Home Maslak'* , *'My World Europe'* and *'Andromeda Plus'* are worthy for examining, especially because they are in English. In this sense, the stresses on luxury and technology, which are present among the most important promises of the global consumption culture and are presented in the housing advertisements, in this example that we can also read as the concretization of the global flows in a common language, are meaningful with regards to show to what extend the place is articulated with culture and ideology.

Visual Messages



When examined these project visuals with broad strokes, between the blue sky signifier in the backspace and the airy and technologic buildings spread on a wide space and the grand life areas in which a lot of tones of green color are, it is clear that there is a harmony. In these three visuals, there are several codes, which are present in the visuals that we examined before and which widely stand in front of us almost in the complete of housing advertisements. The most important beings of these codes can be stated as naturist codes, technologic codes, luxury and elitist codes. As for the meanings transferred from these codes onto the house that will be sat have an importance in terms of having longing for the target group and of functioning as a satisfaction element for those who fulfill this longing and as an object of wish for those who do not fulfill. As for now, it can be looked another visual messages that are used on the poster.

The Bosphorus Bridge

The Bosphorus Bridge is an important construction that interconnects the sides of Europe and Asia, and when Istanbul is in question, it is one of the symbols coming to mind. When this poster is specially examined, the using of the Bosphorus Bridge as a symbol gives significant clues. In the context of the basic linguistic message of the poster –"*Live Istanbul with Agaoglu*"–, it can be clearly expressed that the Bosphorus Bridge is identified with Istanbul. If that's so, what does the Bosphorus Bridge mean as a scene and what sort of links can be

made with the housing projects that are presented on the poster? When looked at the poster in general, if we remember the stresses made on the link-up of the nature with luxury, technologic and flashy constructions again, we can express that the Bosphorus Bridge transforms into a resemblance element with its great and striking flashy structure and with its aspect that it monumentally integrates lux and technology with a magnificent nature consisting of the forest-sea duet.

Blue Sky and Sea

We can mention about the imaginary, fictional and poetic associations met in the message of blue sea. Tranquility, wideness, broadness, contentment, rich dreams, horizon, ships, a brand-new life presented, etc. are solely some of these associations (Çamdereli, 2006: 91). When considered these associations, it can be easily expressed that the thinking of using of blue color as a backspace emerges from an effect intention based on trust.

The Cengelkoy Mesa Advertisement for the European Houses

Figure 6: The Cengelkoy Mesa Advertisement for the European Houses

Linguistic Messages

"The Last Istanbul Remaining in Istanbul", Cengelkoy is one of the precious villages of the Bosporus, which comes to mind firstly when remembering Istanbul and still preserves the Istanbul's old climate in its body. Cengelkoy, where is between Beylerbeyi and Kuleli and one of the coves that the Bosporus can be watched at the most, means a lot of things for Istanbul and the Istanbulite. As for the reflection of this precious district of the old Istanbul on the advertisement of "*European Houses*", naturally, has become as *"The Last Istanbul Remaining in Istanbul"*. Berger (1995: 139) expresses there is something nostalgic in the essence of advertisement and says that the duty of advertisement is to sell the past to the future. When considered the publicity poster in this context, we can easily state the nostalgic effect of Cengelkoy, which ranges from the past to the future, is transferred into the new houses built. Despite they are produced by taking the old tissue of Cengelkoy into account, these constructions that present an **elitist** and **sterile** style of life behind the closed doors and

the security walls do contrast against the warm and vivacious district life of Cengelkoy. The most important way that overcomes this contrast is to transfer the image of Cengelkoy into these constructions, using the symbolic meaning structures. For this image, as mentioned below, it has been used the expression of **Cengelkoy** (Figure 8), which is located at the ferry port of Cengelkoy in the past, and **a visual of ferryboat** (Figure 8), which cruises in the line of Bosporus in Istanbul. When the linguistic messages on the poster are examined, it is possible to see some elements met in the previous analyses of the housing advertisement. These are some elements like '*a special project*', which gives an **elitist** impression; '*In the center of Istanbul*' or '*In Cengelkoy where Istanbul keeps its beauties*' which highlights **location**; and '*Almost its complete has been kept apart for green*', which refers to **nature**, etc. Together with these elements, a stress of **nostalgia**, which separates this project poster from the others and is identified with the old Istanbul, draws attentions, besides.

Visual Messages

We can state that the stress of nostalgia that is aimed at benefitting from the old climate of Istanbul and that is intensively treated in the linguistic messages consolidates with visual messages. When Cengelkoy is in question in the old Istanbul, the elements firstly remembered are the ferry port where is present just at the side of the Bosporus, and on this port, the embroidered expression of "Cengelkoy". This expression has located on the upmost side of the poster, and in this sense, the symbols, which this poster wants to present, have enriched the world of meanings considerably. As for just in the underside of this expression, in the left side of the linguistic messages presenting the features of the housing area built, a ferry visual has been used, and in this way, the intended fiction of the old Istanbul has been significantly caught.

Figure 7: The Nostalgic Expression of Cengelkoy Used on the Poster and the Poster Visual

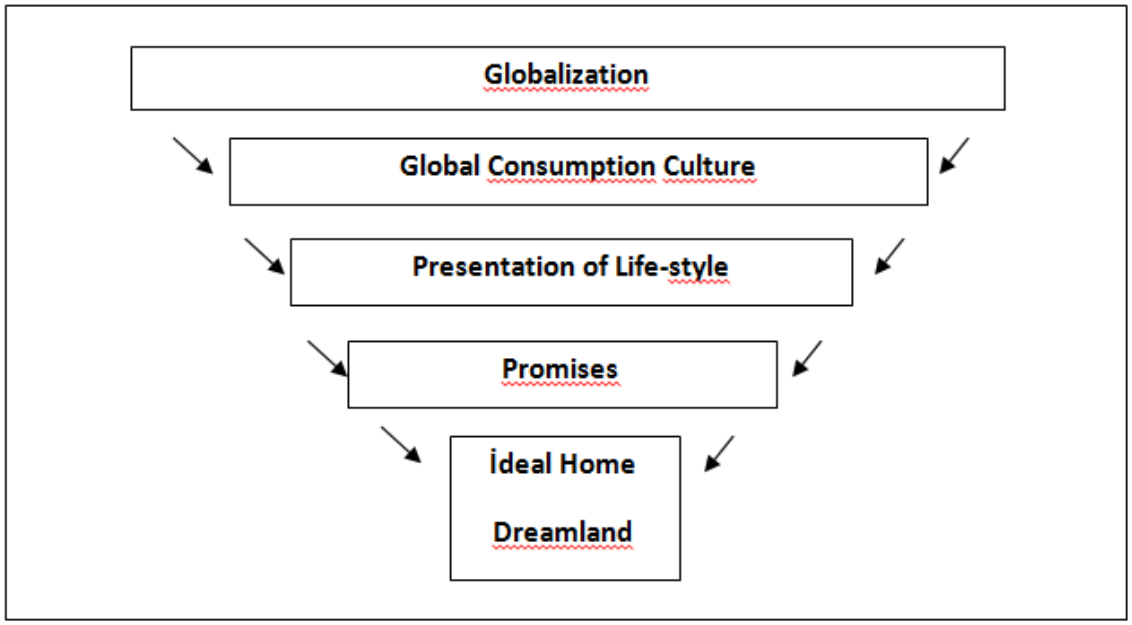
It was stated that the stress of Istanbul, which is present in the visual messages and also supported with linguistic messages, includes a set of meanings. However, it is a worth-stressing important point that this set of meanings consists of various elements, besides. One of these elements is a system of signification fictionalized on the contrast of **the Old Istanbul** and **the New Istanbul.** In this context, it has an importance to highlight what the old Istanbul is and what sort of meanings it contains. Erder (2009: 193) states that the complex characteristics of the people who lived in Istanbul until 1950's generally unite on the platform of townsmanship. The most important attribute of the stress of townsmanship, in this place, is identified with the concept of **Istanbuliteness** (*being an Istanbul resident*), which is considerably affected by the historical heritage and the demographic condition of Istanbul.

When we look at the other visual messages, there is a model that is just in the middle of the poster and shows the completed state of the houses. This life space where has been

established inside a green area and people can comfortably walk around with their children has been presented as an ideal space. As for just in the underside of this visual, there is the transportation plan to Cengelkoy that is a region which houses are built. In the plan, the two bridges in the Bosporus are seen at the same time, and the region in which the houses are is positioned just between the two bridges. A plan drawn like this restates that the life area built is at the one of the most favorite spaces of Istanbul, and from this aspect, that it is important and valuable.

Conclusion

When looked the general framework of the housing advertisements discussed, it has been determined that the commercial and economic activities developing in the global dimension and the modern consumption culture shaped by the transnational global flows of the national state significantly shape the systematic and syntagmatic structure of these advertisements. In this context, it can be said that the modern consumption culture is reflected on the advertisements as the representation of style of life. This representation of style of life is shaped by the promise-centered expressions, and the new semantic structures are constituted by building the subliminal binding processes with the houses bought with these promises. The widest and the most inclusive ring of this chain of promises in the housing advertisements discussed and examined in the context of globalization consists of sets of



promise that we can define as 'Your Ideal House' or 'the Dreamland'.

Figure 8: The Basic Fiction and Its Elements Met in the Housing Advertisements

The social semiotics approach assesses the semantics as the systematic set of ideologies that is articulated with the out-semiotic processes of the economical or political-juristical relations. These codes, beyond individual comprehension, are obtained by setting out from the concepts on which socially are carried; in short, these are interactional products. The production of semantics inside the space and its consumption by consumers needs to the associative ideological practices that prioritize the representation (Gottdiener, 2005: 207). Moving from this approach, the posters treated stand in front of us in the form of the **'Substance of expression'** as material *signifiants*. As for the special formal elements that are

present in this explanation substance present the **'Form of Expression'**. By setting out from the form of expression, it is reached the coded private ideologies that, this is the **'Form of Content'**. The '**Substance of Content'** in our study is the culture of community that has a feature of being a base for these coded private ideologies. In this context, mentioning about the substance of content, namely, the culture of community in the process of the analysis of the housing advertisements prioritizes the phenomenon of globalization referred in the first part of the study and the cultural results that this phenomenon leads to. With regard to the most important conclusion of the cultural results discussed on which should be carefully laid stress in the context of this analysis is that the visual culture has an unprecedented significant change and transformation. One of the most effective factors of this cultural process of which spreading gains a big momentum by mass media is the global advertisement industry, and together with the global consumption culture, it is that a new format of style of life emerges. In this sense, for this study, we can describe **the substance of content** as the culture of **life-style** having the global consumption determination. It will be good taste to refer to the codes, which significantly affect on the virtual/formal elements of the housing advertisements that are discussed, namely, 'the form of expression' and to express what way these codes are reflected on the being virtual by underlining with what sort of side elements the consumption-directed format of life-style transforms into the promise of '**Your Ideal House**' or '**Dreamland**'. These codes, in general terms, have been gathered under the five headings. These are conceptualized as Elitist/Modern, Naturalist/Anti-Urban, Centralist, Future-Oriented, and Pro-Security, upon being materialized in the forms of either the ideal home, or dreamland.

References

Adorno, T. W.: 2012, Kültür Endüstrisi: Kültür Yönetimi. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Alpaykut, S. S.: 2011, İstanbul'da Yeni Konut Biçimi Olarak Kapalı Siteler: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz. İstanbul Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi. İstanbul, Türkiye.

Alver, K.: 2010, Siteril Hayatlar. Ankara: Hece Yayınları.

Appadurai, A.: 1990, Disjucture and Differances in the Global Cultural Economy. M. Featherstone içinde, Global Culture Nationalism Globalization and Modernity (s. 295-310). London: Sage Publications.

Arslan, U. T.: 2003, Görsel Olanı Okumak; Eleştirel Görsel Okuryazarlık.İletişim Araştırmaları, 39-64.

Aslanoğlu, R. A.: 1997, Bir Kültürel Karışım Olarak Küreselleşme. A. S. E. Fuat Keyman içinde, Küreselleşme, Sivil Toplum ve İslam (s. 254-274). Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.

Aydın, M.: 2009, Moderniteye Dışarıdan Bakmak.İstanbul: AçılımKitap.

Balcı, A.:2006, Roland Robertson, Küreselleşme ve Kültür. Bilgi, 26-36.

Banu Dağtaş, E. D.: 2009., Giriş. E. D. Banu Dağtaş içinde, Medya, Tüketim Kültürü ve Yaşam Tarzları (s. 7-24). Ankara: Ütopya Yayınları.

Banu Dağtaş, E. D.:209, Tüketim Kültürü, Yaşam Tarzları, Boş Zamanlar ve Medya Üzerine Bir Literatür Taraması. E. D. Banu Dağtaş içinde, Medya, Tüketim Kültürü ve Yaşam Tarzları (s. 27-75). Ankara: Ütopya Yayınları.

Barthes, R.:2011, Çağdaş Söylenler.İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Batı, U.: 2005, Bir Anlam Yaratma Süreci ve İdeolojik Yapı Olarak Reklamların Göstergebilim Bir Bakış Açısıyla Çözümlenmesi.C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 175-190.

Baudrillard, J.: 2010, Tüketim Toplumu. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Bauman, Z.: 2010, Küreselleşme Toplumsal Sonuçları. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Bayar, F.: 2008, Küreselleşme Kavramı ve Küreselleşme Sürecinde Türkiye. Uluslararası Ekonomik Sorunlar, 32-36.
Berger, J.: 1995, GörmeBiçimleri. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
Berman, M.: 2004, KatıOlan Her Şey Buharlaşıyor. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
Bernard, M.: 2002, Sanat Tasarım ve Görsel Kültür. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi.
Bernstein, J.: 2012, Sunuş. T. W. Adorno içinde, Kültür Endüstrisi: Kültür Yönetimi (s. 9-43). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
Bozkurt, V.: 2011, Değişen Dünyada Sosyoloji: Temeller Kavramlar Kurumları. Bursa: Ekin Basım Yayın Dağıtım.
Bravo, I. B.: 2010, Küreselleşme ve Görünümleri Üzerine.FLSF (Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi), 3.
Castells, M.: 2010, The Rise of the Network Society. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing.
Çamdereli, M.:2006, Reklam Arası. Konya: Tablet Kitabevi.
Çamdereli, M.: 2008, İletişime Giriş. İstanbul: Değerler Eğitim Merkezi Yayınları.
Dağtaş, B.: 2012, Reklamı Okumak. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınları.
David Held, A. M.: 2003, The Global Transformations Reader: An İntroduction To The Globalization Debate. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.
Erbay, Y.: 2011, Küreselleşme Sürecini Anlamaya Yardımcı Bazı Kavramları. İletişim Kuram ve Araştırmaları Dergisi, 280-294.
Erder, S.: 2009, Nerelisin Hemşerim. Ç. Keyder içinde, İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel Arasında (s. 193-205). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
Fiske, J.: 2003, İletişim Çalışmalarına Giriş. Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları.
Friedman, J.: 2005, The World City Hypothesis: Development and Change. R. K. Neil Brenner içinde, The Global Cities Reader (s. 67-71). New York: Routledge.
Friedman, T. L.: 2005, The World is Flat: A Brief History of The Twenty-First Century. New York: Picador/ Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
Fukuyama, F.: 1992, End of the History and the Last Man. New York: The Free Press.
Geniş, Ş.: 2007, Toplumsal Eşitsizlik ve Mekansal Ayrışma. Sivil Toplum, 69-84.
Giddens, A.: 2000, Elimizden Kaçıp Giden Dünya: Küreselleşme Dünyamızı Nasıl Yeniden Şekillendiriyor. İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayın Dağıtım .
Giddens, A.: 2008, Sosyoloji.İstanbul: Kırmızı Yayınları.
Gottdiener, M.: 2005, Postmodern Göstergeler: Maddi Kültür ve Postmodern Yaşam Biçimleri. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
Hart, J. A.: 1997, Book Review: Globalization in Question The İnternational Economy and The Possibility of Governance By Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson. İndiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, s. 571-574.
Harvey, D.: 1989, The Condition of Postmodernity An Enquiry İnto The Origins of Cultural Change. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
İnal, A.: 2003, Roland Barthes: Bir Avant-Garde Yazarı. İletişim Araştırmaları Dergisi, 9-38.
Jensen, K. B.: 2002, The Humanities in Media and Communication Research. K. B. Jensen içinde, A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies (s. 15-39). London/New York: Routledge.
John Baylis, S. S.: 2011, The Globalization of World Politics An İntroduction to International Relations. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
Kahraman, M.: 2010, Medya 101: Pazarlamacılar İçin Sosyal Medyaya Giriş. İstanbul: MediaCat Yayıncılık.
Karakaş, M.: 2009, Tüketim Toplumu. T. Erdem içinde,Feodaliteden Küreselleşmeye(s. 285-307). Ankara : Lotus Yayınları.
Karl Marks, F. E.: 2008, Communist Manifesto. London: Pluto Press.

Keyder, Ç.: 2009, Enformel Konut Piyasasından Küresel Konut Piyasasına. Ç. Keyder içinde, İstanbul: Küresel İle Yerel Arasında (s. 171-191). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Keyder, Ç.: 2009, İstanbul: Küresel İle Yerel Arasında. İstanbul: Metis Yayınevi.

Keyman, E.: 1997, Globalleşme ve Türkiye: Radikal Demokrasi Olasılığı. E. K.-A. Sarıbay içinde, Küreselleşme Sivil Toplum ve İslam (s. 34-55). Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.

Kılıç, P. L.: 2011, Durağan ve Hareketli Görüntünün Öyküsü. P. D. Uçar içinde, Görsel Kültür (s. 102-138). Eskişehir: Andolu Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Korkmaz, N.: 2009, Türkiye'de Tüketim Kültürü ve Yaşam Tarzları. E. D. Banu Dağtaş içinde, Medya, Tüketim Kültürü ve Yaşam Tarzları (s. 142-164). İstanbul: Ütopya Yayınları.

Küçük, A.: 2012, İmge. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi.

Luhan, M. M.: 1999, Gutenberg Galaksisi Tipografik İnsanın Oluşumu. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Mattelard, A.: 1995, Beyin İğfal Şebekesi. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Şan, M.K., İ. H.: 2012, Frankfurt Okulu ve Kültür Endüstrisi Eleştirisi. www.daplatform.com/: http://www.daplatform.com/images/frankfurtokulu.pdf adresinden alınmıştır

Mütevellioğlu. N., D. E.: 2008, Küreselleşme ve Sosyal Devlet. Küreselleşme, Demokratikleşme ve Türkiye Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı (s. 160-173). Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi.

Nişancı, E.: 2007, Vatandaşlık ve Demokrasi İçin Potansiyel Mekan Olarak Şehirler ve Şehirci Söylem. Sivil Toplum Düşünce ve Araştırma Dergisi, 22-42.

Öncü, A.: 2000, Mekan, Kültür ve İktidar: Küreselleşen Kentlerde Yeni Kimlikler. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Öncü, A.: 2010, İdealinizdeki Ev Mitolojisi Kültürel Sınırları Aşarak İstanbul'a Ulaştı. P. W. Ayşe Öncü içinde, Mekan, Kültür, İktidar: Küreselleşen Kentlerde Yeni Kimlikler (s. 85-103). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Özdel, G.: 2012, Foucoult Bağlamında İktidarın Görünmezliği ve "Panoptikon" ile "İktidarın Gözü" Göstergeleri. Turkish Online Journal of Design, Art and Communication, TOJDAC, 22-29.

Parsa, A. F.: 2011, İmgenin Gücü ve Görsel Kültürün Yükselişi. Fotoğrafya.gen.tr: http://www.fotografya.gen.tr/cnd/index.php?id=226,329,0,0,1,0 adresinden alınmıştır

Pehlivan, V.: 2010, Küreselleşme Yoksulluk ve Tükiye.Yüksek Lisans Tezi. İstanbul.

Polat S. Alpman, G. G.: 2010 , Sınıfsal Farklılıklar Bağlamında Aseptik Mekanların Temsili: Konut Reklamları Örneği.Akdeniz İletişim Dergisi, 67-92.

Rıfat, M.: 2009, Göstergebilimin ABC'si. İstanbul: Say Yayınları.

Ritzer, G.: 1998, The Mcdonaldization Thesis Explorations and Extensions. London: Sage Publications.

Ritzer, G.: 2011, Globalization: The Essentials.West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Ritzer, G.: 2011, Küresel Dünya.İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Said, E. W.: 2010, Şarkiyatçılık Batı'nın Şark Anlayışları. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Sarıtaş, İ.: 2009, Küreselleşme. T. Erdem içinde, Feodaliteden Küreselleşmeye(s. 399-432). Ankara: Lotus Yayınları.

Sassen, S.: 1991, The Golabal City: New York, London, Tokyo. New Jersey: Princeton Üniversity Press.

Saussure, F. D.: 1998, Genel Dibilim Dersleri.İstanbul: Multilingual Yayınları.

Sayın, Z.: 2011, Sunuş. P. Florenski içinde, Tersten Perspektif (s. 7-36). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Sönmez, V.: 2002, Küreselleşmenin Felsefi Temelleri. Eurasian Journal of Educational Research, 1.

Stoudmann, D. G.: 2006, Historical Milestones of Globalization. Geneve: Geneve Center For Security Policy.

Şimşek, A.: 2005, Yeni Orta Sınıf. İstanbul: L&M Yayınları.

Tellan, D.: 2009, Tüketim Kavramını Anlamlandırmak: Tarih ve Sosyoloji. E. D. Banu Dağtaş içinde, Medya, Tüketim Kültürü ve Yaşam Tarzları (s. 76-102). Ankara: Ütopya Yayınları.

Thompson, J. B.: 2008, Medya ve Modernite. İstanbul: Kırmızı Yayınları.

Toki.: 2013, Toki Konut Üretim Raporu. TOKİ: www.toki.gov.tr adresinden alınmıştır

Tülin Görgülü, S. K.: 2009, Küresel Akışlar, İstanbul ve İstanbul'da Küresel Mimarlık.Megaron, 101-109.

Virilio, P.: 1998, Hız ve Politika. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Wallerstein, İ.: 1974, The Modern World System. New York, San Francisco, London: Academic Press.

Weber, M.: 1996, Sosyoloji Yazıları. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Williamson, J.: 2001, Reklamlarda Anlam ve İdeoloji. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınları.

Yaylagül, L.: 2010, Kitle İletişim Kuramları: Egemen ve Eleştirel Yaklaşımları. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları.

Yüksel, M.: 2001, Küreselleşme Ulusal Hukuk ve Türkiye. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

SREBRENICA GENOCIDE IN THE WORKS OF ARTISTS

Amila Smajovic, Assistant Professor

International University of Sarajevo (IUS),

Abstract
Artistic works are significant historical sources and, in effect, artists are often playing the role of historians. Artistic and literary works, especially those that were dealing with human tragedy such as with the slavery, the holocaust and the genocide, are added value to the plain narrative historical accounts; if not they are complementary historical sources. This paper has an objective to depict the Srebrenica genocide by presenting and analyzing main artistic works. Besides articulating the theme of genocide these artistic works were also addressing the questions of war-destruction, morality, ethics and justice. For this purpose this paper will analyze and discuss the works of the following artists: Mersad Berber, Safet Zec, Sejla Kameric, Andrej Derkovic, Marina Abranovic and Tarik Samarah. Apart from analysis of the main artistic works this paper also aims to deal with the role of the artistic works in the conflict resolution and the peace-building process. Spreading historical truth about genocide by using the artistic expression is vital for preparing future generations as to deal successfully with the effects of Srebrenica genocide on the multiethnic society in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Artistic expression, therefore, is not only a mode of giving a historical testimony but it is a reflective source of a catharsis and eventual coming to terms with terrible implications of the Srebrenica genocide.

Keywords: Srebrenica Genocide, Artists, Artistic Works, History, Identity, Visualization of Crime, Art and Message, Historical Memory

Introduction

Common conception of the memory involves the ability to acquire, retain, store and use information. Therefore, memory is greatly important as it determines human development and shapes personal identity. In addition, memory (Pierre,1989, 26: 7-25) involves the process for acquiring the knowledge and information and very indentification with this process, or more precisely, with the results of the process, leads to the collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992, 8). In this regard it is significant to consider does the traumatological experience of a crime defines collective memory and does it affect identity of the whole community? Is there a culture for the recognition of the crimes committed in the 21st century?

Certainly, collective memory affects current and future prospects of social renewal in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) (Diegoli, 2007, 7). Different fields of study, including social psychology, sociology and history, deal with the process of reconciliation. It is particularly important to point out the danger of the historical gaps that can create a space for the dissemination of hostile social perceptions. Such historical approach towards the past can create the conditions for future conflicts between the constituent peoples - Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs. Denial and recognition seem to be problematic for different national groups in BiH, therefore as an alternative critical approach towards the past should be used (Diegoli, 2007, 7).

The end of the twentieth century and the beginning of 21st century are characterized by the development of the advanced technologies, mass communications and global processes. However, this period is also characterized by the violations of human rights and crimes against the people (Robertson, 2007). The mass media as a result has been covering various tragedies and crimes that are happening around the world. Due to different and opposing representations of such tragic events and pervasive access to different information, those who speak the truth and those who manipulate affected significant disorientation in human behavior (Vujevic, 1998). Although the definition of a crime and human rights is clear there is a problem of defining the crime especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Very often artists are in effect the historians and they are a mirror of social awareness. Artistic production and their works are indicators of social anomalies (Foster and Blau 1998). It is obvious that the artistic production has clearly indicated the problems of alienation, indifference and absence of the values in the contemporary society. In this regard, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the war of 1992 -1995 terrible crimes occurred, mass killings, rape, displacement of population and destruction of cultural, public and private property. As a result human suffering and tragedy have become the main content of the artistic works in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore this paper attempts to portray artistic representation of Srebrenica Genocide with an aim to establish possible relationship between arts, crime and justice.

Srebrenica Genocide and Visualization of Crime

Srebrenica is small and historical old town in Eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the war, the Muslim population from surrounding areas Zvornik, Žepa and Bratunac came to Srebrenica. The population has increased by 50 000. In 1993, it was declared as Safe Zone by the United Nations. However, Serbian Army with an army of rump Yugoslavia was shelled Srebrenica every day killing innocent population and Podrinje was their strategic interest. Serbian Army launched a major military offensive and entered the protected zone of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995. Executions of men, newborns, the rape of women and girls began immediately after the arrival of Serbian soldiers. As a result in Srebrenica massacre more than 8,000 Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) were killed. In addition to the killings, more than 20,000 civilians were expelled from the area—a process known as ethnic cleansing. The Genocide in Srebrenica, which was the worst episode of mass murder within Europe since World War II, was a systematic and organized extermination of the Bosniak people (Čekić, 2012).

Those who survived have been dealing with postwar developments, excavation of mass graves, never ending court proceedings, court decisions, various authorized and unauthorized declarations and denial and minimization of crime. Therefore, agony in arriving at truth and justice in the case of Srebrenica opened many questions about basic human rights and social values. Does a crime, which occurred against Bosniaks in Srebrenica, belong to the collective memory of the community? Whose obligation is to remember the crime and whether the crime occurred in Srebrenica? Who needs to remember the crime and why? Does the crime deserve punishment? Where is the truth? Why individual trauma becomes collective suffering? How to develop critical thinking? I still remember late professor Nijaz Durakovic who stated: "If in one day it happened that 10 000 birds were killed, the world would unanimously declare an environmental catastrophe. But, when 10 000 people were killed in one day there is a problem to proclaim this cruel act unanimously a crime."

In a disoriented community fighting for the truth becomes imperative. Artists, as the most sensitive part of the community, first started to build the image and model of this historical memory of terror and collective tragedy. Content of their art is the same: the Srebrenica genocide. The message is the same; the crime must not be forgotten and must be punished. The only difference among the artists is in the principles of visual perception and artistic expression. Thus, traditionalists, modernists or post-modernists, conceptualists, iconography, amateurs and many others had the same task. Art historians, for the chronology of the history of art often resort to these and similar divisions. In this paper the researcher doesn't make any division. Our main goal is to show the process of creating the signs and symbols of the crimes in Srebrenica in the works of artists and their participation in the reconstruction and deconstruction of collective memory. According to Durakovic (2012) individual works and their authors experience are reminders in the lyrical or reflective expression and they together enter into the sphere of memory as one of the areas of consciousness that does not deteriorate.

The most prominent artists who dealt with Srebrenica genocide in their art works include Mersad Berber Safet Zec and Nesim Tahirović. They have organized numerous exhibitions around the world on the theme of Srebrenica Genocide. Then conceptual artists like Sejla Kameric, Tariha Samaraha, Andrea Đerković, Gordana Andelic-Galic, Anur Hadžiomerspahić and Ajna Zlatar developed a joint exhibition *'8372 did not come*. This exhibition was held at the Museum of Mimar, Zagreb, Sponza Palace, Dubrovnik and Kortil Gallery in Rijeka, where it received an award for Best Cultural Event in 2007. Artists Ismar Mujezinovic, Seid Hasanefendić, Irfan Hozo, Dzeko Hodzic, gathered around the exhibition *Seven-Eleven Artists* of the world for Srebrenica and donated their works for the Museum of Srebrenica. Associations of visual artists of Bosnia and Herzegovina organized the exhibition *Once Again Never Again* in New York. Various associations and NGOs have conducted various activities in public such as the *Pillar of Shame* with 16 744 shoes or work of Aida Šehović *Why you are not there* with the 8372 cups of coffee gives a third dimension to crime. Those figures give shape to the numbers in space, materializing crime. The list of artists who have dealt with the topic of crime in Srebrenica is great.

Selected Artistic Works on Srebrenica Genocide

One of the first proponents of artistic visualization of Srebrenica Genocide was **Mersad Berber** who made a **Monograph of Srebrenica** with 600 pages and over 1000 drawings. He organized many national and international exibitions related to this theme. In order to retain originality for creating drawings and paintings in his monograph he used the original documentation of war photographs, video footage and satellite imagery. Berber stated "there is remarkable, authentic death, the destruction of a nation that was followed by cameras and the achievements of the new, very dangerous civilization of new media is that the Srebrenica tragedy can be viewed on a small chip" (Franko, 2011).

Being aware of the paradox that with the evidence of authentic death the truth can be illustrated Berber used his brilliant drafting skills and artistic experience. He shaped the tragedy of Srebrenica in the form of allegories by using two ancient heroes Daedalus and Icarus in order to send a message to the world about the Srebrenica genocide. Antiquity is the foundation of European art, and ancient heroes have often been used successfully for the illustration of the artistic expressions and for the articulation of the truth, justice and human

values. His main motto is that *from the suffering victims of the Srebrenica forgetfulness is worst* (Šarčevic, 2012).

Picture taken from
http://www.bhsavez.org/portal/images/stories/IZ_NASIH_DOMOVINA/berber2.jpg

Another prominent Bosnian painter who devoted his art to Srebrenica genocide is **Safet Zec**. He is a painter of international reputation; whose poetic realism in his paintings is replaced with traumatic realism. He also uses war photographs, authentic photos of the Srebrenica tragedy to create his art. He possesses brilliant drawing skills and creates personal impression. Those are mainly portraits of victims who are dying in pain. Sometimes their hands movements indicate pain or bodies in motion from war refuges with children in mother's lap also represent pain and suffering. His paintings are large-scale, where the author aspirins to introduce audience to the big dimension of pain and suffering. The author himself says that only because of arts language one tragedy, one historical accident can be remembered, and only through the art form can be essentially stated and expressed (Sabljaković 2011). Therefore, it is the duty of artists to speak their language. His exhibition "**The Power of Painting,"** which is dedicated to Srebrenica, suggests that art and painting, as well as literature and film, more than historical fiction, preserves and presents a dramatic historical event (Mrduljaš, 2011).

Safet Zec "The Power of Painting," Srebrenica 10 Painting taken from

http://www.safetzec.com/index.php?id=108&gal=348&quale=10

The art work of Nesim Tahirović, with the theme of Srebrenica Genocide can be reduced to mimetic art and art of signs. The artist himself admits that Picasso Guernica made influence on his inspiration, which he combined with oriental and traditional ornaments. He examines the relationship between art-war-man and comes to the conclusion that just before death art actually matures Some of his artistic works include: *Naked Violence*, *Peace in Death*, *Cannibal*, *Cry of Srebrenica*, *Srebrenica out of the Soul*, Bird *of Hope*, *Waiting for the Miracle*, "*Night in Potocari*, ***Lament of Srebrenica***, *Cosmic tragedy.* According to Bašović (2010) these works necessarily create an atmosphere of temple area full of mysticism, caring, compassion, supernatural work of the mind and soul, and concerns over the fate of the little man, and humanity as well (Bečirović, 2010, 216-329).

Nesim Tahirović, Lament over Srebrenica and Smoke 210 x 129.5 cm. 1996
Material: wood, chipboard, metal, nails, and paints.

Painting taken from
http://www.nesimtahirovic.com/works_06_Srebrenica/bs_pages/bs_srebrenica_01.html

Aida Šehovic is a young artist. She used the public space and created installation **Why are you not there?** In Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is customary to greet the family members, returning from work with a cup of hot coffee. Setting up over eight thousand cups full of hot coffee symbolically represents over eight thousand killed in Srebrenica with a painful question; why are you not there? Moving public monument, as the author herself calls it, also represents the materialization of the number and three-dimensional representation of the crime. Her installation has so far had been set in Sarajevo, Tuzla, New York, The Hague, Stockholm, Burlington and Istanbul (Sorwar 2012).

Aida Šehovic
Why are you not there? Instalation
Painting taken from
http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-V5bk-4YHVhU/T_0irlALzSI/AAAAAAAABbU/U9DfKMPQKB0/s1600/sto+te+nema.jpg
Nedzad Hrelja, Sena Kulenović and Tarik Samarah are the authors of the collective exhibition **"8372 did not come."** The idea of a joint exhibition of conceptual artists was born in 2006. The title of the exhibition symbolically represents the number of identified people killed in Srebrenica. The exhibition included the six conceptual artist from Sarajevo (Kulenović, 2008).

Gordana Andelic-Galic,Wanted, Installation
Photo taken from http://www.dubrovnik.hr/albumi/Prosinac-2006/DSC05084.jpg

Her artistic concept used the bed as an illustration because people are born and they die in bed. Her bed is designed for war criminals. Linen is inscribed with the names of victims in Srebrenica. But her bed was empty and linen, untouched. Where are the war criminals? Will they ever get justice? Who is on trial in The Hague? Empty bed and title artwork symbolically opens the question of crime and punishment (Kulenović, 2008)

Anur&Ajna: 'Srebrenica - Podrinje identification project'
Photo taken from http://www.culturenet.hr/UserDocsImages/slike/18374B.jpg

Anur Hadžiomerspahić and Ajna Zlatar used form of advertising posters for their artistic expression. They used original photographs from the mass graves. They chose the clothing of victims with visible signs of world famous designer brands such as Adidas and Nike. They raise the question of identity, how to determine it if it is reduced to the worlds global brands but also the message that crime is possible among all nations because people die in Adidas as well. At the same time these garments are used for identification of the victim. The question of identity and of identification in the context of advertising is the main message of their arts work (Lucić 2008).

Andrej Đerković „Oblivion kills“

photo taken from
http://www.radiosarajevo.ba/upload/images/Metromahala%20razno/zaborav_ubija_1.jpg

Andrej Đerković used a symbol „Oblivion kills“ on the cigarette box of Sarajevo's DRINA instead of “Smoking kills.” The work was done in collaboration with the *Sarajevo Tobacco Factory*, and was signed by the author and the *Mothers of Srebrenica and Zepa Enclaves* and numbered from 001 to 800. This work is dedicated to those who think that smoking kills more than the human mind, and to those of us who think that they do not think so. It was made in the form of poster and exhibited on the streets around the world (Radiosarajevo.ba 2011). This work was premiered in Sarajevo as part of the official celebration of the tenth

anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica, and on the same day in London, and later in Amsterdam, Zagreb, Geneva, Antwerp, Marseilles, Barcelona, Dubrovnik, Banja Luka, Mostar, Istanbul, Vukovar, Ljubljana and Split (Lucić 2008).
In 2003 Sejla Kamerić, in collaboration with photographer Tarik Samarah creates artistic piece *Bosnian Girl*, black and white poster of her character through which the inscription is posted "No teeth ...? A mustache...? Smell like shit...? Bosnian Girl ", which during the war (1994/1995) was written by an unknown Dutch soldier from UNPROFOR at a barracks in Srebrenica. Her work in the form of posters and postcards was exposed on the streets of Berlin, Graz, and Frankfurt. This piece of art in a large format is in the Museum of Modern Art in Zagreb and in the permanent exhibition. Šejla for her work received award from European Cultural Foundation that bears the name of the Dutch princes. Her work examines the identity and morality of those who were responsible for the protection of the population in the security zone of Srebrenica (Tomasovic 2010).

Tarik Samarah / "Hand in hand", the photo from the project "Srebrenica - genocide at the heart of Europe" / © Tarik Samarah
Photo taken from http://www.facebook.com/Gallery110795

Tarik Samarah's *Monograph-Srebrenica - Genocide in the Heart of Europe* in 2005 was declared the best publication in that year. Samarah, in his work used the art of photography. Artists have tied, until now, artistic photography to beauty, such as the beauty of nature, the beauty of the people, cultural goods, and beauty of the moment. But, artists are able to present human tragedy in a beautiful manner; the beauty of pain and suffering. Samarah was able to present terrible and horrific pictures of crimes gracefully and beautifully, because victims deserve to be presented in such a manner. His photographs are photographs from the field, documents from the crime scene, created during the exhumation of victims from mass graves. Each image has its own personal story. Each photo tells a story about life and fate. Part of this collection of photos is on display at the Museum of Srebrenica – in the memory of the genocide victims (Suljagić, 2005).
Moment when Ewa Klonowki, anthropologist from Iceland holds victims hand from a mass grave in Kamenica near Zvornik was painfully surreal. Or doll with the cut face, which was a mark for the mass grave, or hand with a drop of blood as needed for identification of the victim.

Samarah photographed the truth. He sets his art photography in the form of posters in the streets of major cities and most directly sends a message about the worst crime in Europe since the Second World War.(Kulenović, 2008) He seeks unity in the collective memory of

human tragedy and crime. Crime does not have compromise. Identification of crime is universal.

Unfortunately, posters, billboards with artistic photographs of victims from Srebrenica which were placed in Belgrade were subject to destruction, and in Zagreb were withdrawn from the public places. 22 June 2006 – individual exhibition "Srebrenica" (author Tarik Samarah) – Hague, the Dutch Parliament (censored, removed before the due date and damaged by the Dutch Parliament. It is killing memories, taking away the right to collective memory. This is murder of the crime. Does greater tragedy exist? Public reaction to this new crime that happened fifteen years after the first crime was divided. A small number of people condemned this act; a lot of them have endorsed this event and deemed it necessary, and one number of people kept silent. Do we now have the right to silence, and who gives us that right? If critical thinking is the solution does the critical thinking has its own identity? Artists are the conscience of mankind and their works say a thousand words, as in these examples.

Jumbo posters under slogan "To see, to Know, to Remember" – Beograd, Čačak, Niš, Novi Sad, 2005. Photo taken from http://www.facebook.com/Gallery110795

Concluding Remarks

Umberto Eco in his writings on morality talks about ... intolerance towards different and unfamiliar, arguing that intolerance is most dangerous when it is not based on any doctrine, but is a product of natural instincts (territorial) that blend into a racist doctrine. Thus, paradoxically, in a world where there should be less and less intolerance, growing obsession about it threatens it. In the modern political folklore tolerance has received close rank of sanctuary. (Eco 1998)

Artists are the heart of society. Their actions are signs by the road. Their works of art creates critical awareness. Their art is an integral part of the collective memory. Genocide in Srebrenica is denied for political reasons. Bosnian society is still destroyed. Artists fight for

truth and justice in different ways. They are fighting for the historical facts that will teach a new generation.

I will end with the prophetic words of Walter Benjamin:

Remember the picture of Paul Klee*, Angelus Novus. Angelus Novus* is the angel of history. It has a human face, but the birds' wings and claws. His face is turned toward the past. What we see as a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which continuously pile ruins on ruins and throws it in front of his lags. He would have stopped, waking the dead and repairing what is broken. But from heaven there is so strong storm that it has pitched angels' wings and they can no longer close. This storm drives him irresistibly into the future, which turns its back while a bunch of debris before him grows to the sky. What we call progress nowadays is this storm.

References

Bašović Almir. 2010. *Estetski prostor Nesima Tahirovića*. Sarajevo: Odjek.

Bečirović Fikret. 2010. Tragedija Srebrenice u djelu umjetnika [The tragedy of Srebrenica in the artistic work]. *PREGLED - Journal for Social Issues,* 48-49, 316-329.

Berber Mersad 2012. *Bosna je ostala neostvarena utopija Inervju.*Otisak, nezavisni Bh info portal

Čekić Smail. 2012. *Istina o genocidu u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu & Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava.

Diegoli Tommaso. 2007. *Collective memory and renewal of society in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Sarajevo: The Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Duraković Esad. 2012. *Jezero sjećanja ili jezero pamćenja,- Tuga i ponos, Perućac 2010*." U izdanje Univerziteta u Sarajevu (UNSA)

Foster W. Arnold and Blau R. Judith.1998. *Art and Society, Readings in the sociology of the Arts.* New York: State University of New York Press

Genon Rene. 1987. *Mračno doba.* Gradac: Alef Biblioteka časopisa Gradac

Geoffrey Robertson. 2007. *Crimes against humanity: The struggle for global justice.* New York *:* New Press, The; Third Edition edition

Halbwachs Maurice. 1992. *On collective memory*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

Janja Franko. 2011. *Od patnji ubijenih u Srebrenici gori je samo zaborav.* Nacional br.832.

Kršinić Lozica Ana. 2011. *Između memorije i zaborava: Jasenovac kao dvostruko posredovana trauma.* Zagreb: Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti 35/2011, 297-308

Kaplan, E. Ann. 2005. *Trauma culture*. London: Rutgers University Press.

Kulenović Sena. 2008. *Zaborav ubija*. Preporodov-Journal-br-97-98.4-6

Lucić Predrag. 2008. *8372 nisu došli*. Feral Tribune

Miller B.Paul. 2006. *Contested memories: The Bosnian genocide in Serb and Muslim minds. Journal of Genocide Research*, 311-324

Mesinger Bogdan. 2001. *Srebrenica u zemlju ukopana u srce ukovana, Srebrenica u djelima Nesima Tahirovića*. Tuzla

Mrduljaš Stanko. (Ed.). 2011. *Zec Safet: Moć slikarstva*. Split: Ustanova u Kulturi Galerija Kula.

Orbán Katalin. 2007. *Trauma and visuality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pierre Nora. 1989. *Between memory and history.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Radiosarajevo.ba 2011. *Andrej Đerković, zaborav ubija*

Sabljaković Dževad. 2011. *Safet Zec: Slikar poetične i traumatične Bosne.* Deutche Welle

Šarčević Abdulah. 2012. Filozofija slikarstva: Slike doba – Mersad Berber [The Philosophy of Painting: Painting the Ages – Mersad Berber]. *PREGLED – Journal for Social Issues,* 3, 1-50.

Šarčević Abdulah 2012. *Mersad Berber Slikarstvo i neodgonetljivo: konvergencija umjetnosti i filozofi je*, DIJALOG, 1-2, Časopis za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju Izdavač: Centar za filozofska istraživanja ANUBIH(CFI), 203-243

Sontag, Susan.2003. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Sorwar Alam 2012. *Intervju, Aida Šehović- 'Što te nema?*. Turkish Radio - Television Corporation Official Web Site

Suljagić Emir. 2005. *Monography "Srebrenica*" First edition - Bosnian/English language, editors: Ministry of Culture and Sport of the Federation of BiH, Synopsis, Sarajevo/Zagreb.

Tomasovic Joško. 2010. *'Bosnian Girl postala je univerzalna priča' Intervju, T portal Hr.*

Umberto Eco. 1998. *Spisi o moralu.* Beograd: Paideia

Vujevic Miroslav. 1998. *Profesija i politika u medijima*, Zagreb : Polit. misao, XXXV, (1), 169—185.

PART V

History, Culture and Politics

THE BALKANS AND THE CARIBBEAN – DISTANT OR CLOSE? : A HISTORICAL SEARCH FOR UNIQUE NATIONAL IDENTITY

Lejla BEGOVIĆ, English Teacher

MSŠ "Hasan Kikić"

Abstract
The issue of national identity in the present global society raises many questions concerning the loss and search for identity of individuals living in the contemporary cultures that are truly a mixture of historical influences, such as the cultures of the Balkans and the Caribbean. Both cultures are created as a consequence of historical turmoil and strive to create a unique identity with its specific characteristics, trying to shake off the chains of the world history. The main problem is the inability of the inhabitants living in such cultures to create a personal identity without being trapped in the present imposed national titles. The objective of this paper is to point that the mentioned problem results in the crisis of identity of an individual living in the postcolonial (the Caribbean) or post-communist (the Balkans) society, whose origin conflicts with his/her forced political denotation and position in the global scene without being the able to choose the course of his/her own destiny. The paper is partly based on a final paper of a Master of Science Thesis in Literature and History concerning Caribbean reality in the works of two prominent writers that promote Caribbean culture as a unique concept, which was a research based on several methods: text analysis method, biographical, comparative and historical method. The part of the paper dealing with the Balkans is based on historical method and personal experience of an individual and her fellow citizens that inhabit a unique culturally mixed area created of different, yet similar, nationalities and even religions. The paper should result in an initial study of comparison of the two areas that use mixture of world differences to create a unique national identity, as some historical and the aspects of living of the two geographically distant regions are, surprisingly, very much congruous.

Keywords: the Balkans, the Caribbean, National Identity, Search, Loss, Post-Cultures.

Introduction

Reading Caribbean literature in the Balkans encourages writing about the changes that transformed reality of the two regions and continued the eternal search of their constituent countries for a national identity. Caribbean literature in English language, as a part of postcolonial literature of recent date was not elaborately studied in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for the author of this paper presented a great challenge aiming to introduce a rich and diverse literature, writers and reality to the public of the country. This strive created a Master of Science Thesis in Literature and History called "Karipska zbilja u djelima George Lamminga i V. S. Naipaula" ["Caribbean reality in the works of George Lamming and V. S. Naipaul"] under her maiden name in 2010, as a crown of author's literary study at the Faculty of Philosophy of University of Sarajevo. Turbulent history of the Caribbean islands, or the West Indies, that created a unique hybrid of nations, languages and traditions presented in the novels of the two prominent writers, in time reminded the author of the similar, yet different,

position of the Balkan peoples, which shaped personal reflections and experience, mixed with detailed study into this initial paper on similarities and differences of the two regions in transition and the position of an individual in a turbulent environment.

Being "a footnote to the British Empire" (Ebert), the West Indies, in the time of colonisation, presented a great source of income, and a great plantation of sugar and cocoa inhabited by slaves, indentured servants, and wealthy plantation owners, where systematic dehumanisation of non-whites created a society divided according to physical characteristics – the skin colour. In the process of awakening of the colonising subject, or the colonised, or the Other, the influence of western culture brought education, urbanisation and improved quality of life, along with confusing freedoms, escape of educated individuals to the colonising centre, hopelessness, boredom, loss of faith, and search for national identity. Studying the history of the British Empire and the pattern of the African, American, Indian and Caribbean colonies, the author noted similarities in facing a new, democratic regime and freedom of the people of both regions, their position in history and present-day intellectual subjugation to the ideal of the West, the position of the individuals in time of transition, and the eternal search for a unique national identity of each constituent nation of the regions marked with hybridity, to the situation of the post-communist society of the Balkans. Apart from national identity, this paper analysed the position of an individual as a final victim of the world in transition, both in novels of the Caribbean and facing the reality of the Balkans.

The paper itself, apart from the introductory note and conclusive observations, is consisted of three parts: historical background, problem of national identity and position of an individual in the world of turmoil. Several methods were used in its shaping, depending on the theme used in the paper: text analysis method: related to the Caribbean literature; biographical method: concerning life of writers and author of the paper, comparative method: in comparing both novels and novels to real life situations, and, of course, historical method: in researching historical facts of the two regions. Thus combined methods, interesting topics and the lack of resources produced a paper discussing the position of the two distant regions facing a similar destiny, whose title caused great surprise in author's professional and private surrounding.

Historical Background and the Causes of the Search for Identity

The creation of post-societies is a direct consequence of the fight against the understanding of history from the perspective of an educated white man of Western European origin, who created the history of the world as we know it until the 15th century, constantly neglecting the existence of ancient cultures of a certain new and discovered area or countries that, according to this point of view, woke from the ages of oppression. Thus the written, European understood, history of the Caribbean islands began in 1492 with the famous arrival of Christopher Columbus to the home of Arawak and Carib tribes and his glorious trip to a place he thought was India. The truth is, that the arrival of the colonisers marked just another phase in the history of these turbulent islands – the period of colonisation, in which the coloniser, in his search for gold and wealth, spreading his culture, tradition and religion, exploited the islands and all the goods sent back to Europe destroying the diversified culture of the red-skinned tribes including their customs, language and national characteristics, such as the names of the tribes or even islands. On the other hand, the colonised himself voluntarily agreed to the subordination admiring the size of the ships that came from the place where the sun rises, and the whiteness of the coloniser's skin. The trick with the skin that fascinated the domicile population was, actually, used for the second time, after Africa, with an enormous success, as the colonised naive people of the tribes surrendered their own land to the divine

whites. After the colonising forces of the time: the British, the French, the Spanish and the Portuguese, realized the greatness of Columbus' discovery, started the cruel process of exploitation of the heavenly area that continued to the present-day tourist siege by the Europeans, who still enjoy their juicy fruits, chocolate and friendly hosts.

Yet, this cruel abuse, or usage of everything and everyone on the islands, created a unique mixture of cultures, nations and traditions and a specific Caribbean Creole identity of the area, which started with the enslaved Africans in the 17th century. Namely, the Caribbean islands were a notorious Middle Passage between Africa, where the slaves were chosen according to their physical measures and strength, and the plantations of North America, as the final destination of the free work force, and due to its position became the home of a certain percentage of the slaves forced to end their trip across the Atlantic ocean due to illnesses they suffered in the overcrowded ships, or continuation of their enslaved career in the European plantations of cocoa and sugar in the islands. Soon, the Africans populated the islands making the majority over the banished tribe people and several families of European plantation owners whose descendants returned to Europe to study, never to return to the area their ancestors conquered. In the 19th, century another ingredient to the mixture of people in the Caribbean was added from India, the jewel in the crown of the British Empire – the arrival of indentured servants, who presented cheap work force after the abolition of slavery in 1833. However, the workers from India preserved their tradition, culture and language as well as other subsequent nations, who created the present hybrid of the islands after the discovery of oil reserves, and development of commerce and tourism, such as: Americans, Chinese, Portuguese, Italians and many others.

Basically, the course of history of the attractive exotic islands created and unique mixture of nations, cultures, traditions and even languages, marked as hybridity, and joined under the name of the West Indies or the Caribbean culture, a concept opposite to the cultural purity of the colonial centre. The new, post-colonial society emerged after the independence of islands in the 20th century, consisting of small countries whose inhabitants strive for a better life ironically naming themselves according to the coloniser's names of the islands, such as: Trinidadians, Tobagonians, or Barbadians. Under the flag of democracy, united in the fight against the pressure and exploitation of the whites, the Caribbeans, joining all the traditions in the islands, under the motto of Creolisation, created a specific Caribbean culture. Truly the post-colonial world amazes with its fight against the hegemony that divided the world into various categories, romantically described in the following sentence: "An English tea served by a Dutchwoman at a Benedictine monastery. In Trinidad, no surprise." (Curtis, 2).

Another post-society emerges in an opposite side of the world: in the Balkans, that of the post-communist society, whose history is not related to slavery, mixture of skin colours and harsh exploitations, yet it still, like the compared Caribbean islands, presents a melting pot of cultures, customs, religions, traditions and even languages, with its inhabitants who also suffered from Western-European superior-class oppression, that unites these two regions in the fight of decolonisation of the mind. Being a unique crossroad between the East and the West, the Balkans suffered many violent changes of government in history including the extinction of the native Illyrians and occupations by the Western empires and Asian notions to seize a geographical part of Europe both imposing its culture, religion and tradition.

Cultural and traditional hybridity of the Balkans began with the separation of the Roman Empire in Latin-speaking and Greek-speaking parts, which made it a separation line between the two new traditions and a subject of conflict among similar, yet conflicted

"liturgical practices and claims of jurisdiction" (Balkans), which is still obvious in present-day Latin and Cyrillic alphabet used in this area. The turbulent history of the early ages brought many traditions to the region after Illyrians, such as Slavs, Avars, Bulgars from Central Asia and the Vlachs from Ural, each establishing Kingdoms and Principalities. As the most prominent and successful governments that controlled the area of the Balkans at the time emerged Bulgarian state, Croatian Kingdom, and Kingdom of Bosnia, Serbia and the Seaside and the Western Lands with Bosnian Ban Kotroman as the monarch. One of the strongest influences that shaped the Balkan mixture, appeared in the Balkans in Middle Ages is the Republic of Venice whose domination in the coastal area of Adriatic Sea lasted until Napoleon's conquering of Venice in 1797, and in the mainland until the arrival of the Ottomans. After a long and constantly turbulent history of this mountainous region, the culture with the strongest influence that changed lifestyles, languages and religious orientation of the people occurred in the 15th century with the conquest of the Balkans by the Ottomans. Influence of the Turks is still present due to the long lasting rule and tolerance of the Ottoman Empire for religious practices of the inhabitants at the time in comparison to the more aggressive colonisers of the world who forced their religious, linguistic and lifestyle practices to the subordinated people. The greatest consequence of this rule is the diversity of religions in the region, which was the cause of many subsequent and recent conflicts in the region. The final direct foreign influence on the culture of the region, or another ingredient to this melting pot, before its subjection to the communist regime in the 20th century and voluntary westernisation in the 21st century, also came from the north divided in two strong currents: the Austria-Hungarian tradition of modernisation and massive construction on one hand, and the Russian tradition of the return to the Slavic origins on the other. The conflict between the East and the West once more culminated in the Balkans resulting in the First Balkan War in 1912 and the initiation of the World War I in Sarajevo with the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne Franz Ferdinand in 1914 by a Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip. The capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not by accident a place where the two strong forces clashed considering its location between the two strong cultures and the ability of its people to mix and join opposite traditions creating a Balkan hybrid. Namely, unlike Croatia in the west and Serbia and in the of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which clearly defined its affiliation to the opposite forces in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, with the western neighbour strongly supporting the German influence and eastern supporting the Russian one, this bordering line of two cultures, always assimilating to any influence, often turned into a war zone and a multiethnic centre that united the passionate people of the Balkans.

The fight between the colonising Austrians and their western allies with the Serbian army in the Balkan War, bore a new unity of the people of West Balkan: The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, later to become the glorious Yugoslavia, apart from East Balkan people who mainly stayed neutral to the world wars and national conflicts in the late 20th century. The two world wars and the rise of the communist regime left immense consequences on the psychic of the people of the region with its policy of forced assimilation and silent suppression of religious practice. All the countries were ruled by communist governments under a strong Soviet influence, which promoted virtual equality of all classes in its idea, but in practice caused the government of fear over its inhabitants. However, the mixture of Balkan peoples created over several centuries, unfortunately resulted in the 1990's ethnic cleansing, massacres, aggression and merciless war that marked the end of communism and Russian influence, the beginning of westernisation, and the rise of extremist religious movements. All these raisings of different ideologies and opposite regimes positioned individuals in a place of insecurity depending on the leading forces that govern

their lives resulting in search for identity, loss of faith in basic human attributes and pursuit of happiness in vice.

Finally, the two regions, both the Caribbean and the Balkans, geographically consist of independent, free and democratic little countries strongly influenced by the leading West as the object of admiration and a brand new coloniser of the mind. The national identity becomes a standard to be reached in order to assimilate to the new brand of uniqueness in the globalised world.

Turbulent Search for a Unique National Identity

Geographically surrounding the West from both east: the Balkans and west: the Caribbean, the two regions felt strong influence from the European colonising centre which their turbulent history testifies to. The fact that indigenous people no longer inhabit the two regions shows that both the Balkans and the Caribbean are fertile land for cultural and traditional mixing that resulted in a new post culture of the 21st century, marked as hybrid culture due to the variety of their nations, and often called postcolonial, post-communist or, simply, a postmodern culture. This post culture resulted in the feeling of disorientation for individuals and nations as a whole, and a search for identity in the environment liberated from the oppression of identification with the culture of the colonizer, perfectly described by Geroge Lamming in a quote from a university lecture:

> It was not a physical cruelty. Indeed, the colonial experience of my generation was almost wholly without violence. No torture, no concentration camps, no mysterious disappearance of hostile natives, no army encamped with orders to kill. The Caribbean endured a different kind of subjugation. It was a terror of the mind; a daily exercise in self-mutilation. Black versus Black in a battle of self-improvement (Morrison).

Both regions felt a certain type of colonisation, which only differs in the method of the conquering: Caribbean islands were a true definition of a colony, as a region under an absolute control of the coloniser, such as the British crown or European colonising forces and had no personal identity whatsoever or any kind of national autonomy. On the other hand, the Balkans were the region conquered by both western and eastern colonial forces never completely subjected to the centre in terms of slavery and open exploitation, rather being a silent voluntary partner in the course of cultural subjugation to the rule of a new master. However, both regions could be marked as colonised areas in terms of Lacan's Other considering the subjected position of cultural indoctrination. The concept of the Other marked in literary theory as the colonised opposed to the superior coloniser or the First, is justified considering present-day division of the world in developed countries, countries in transition and the Third world countries. The coloniser consciously positioned himself as a superior in terms of ideology, economy and culture making the Other a colonised subject, and, paraphrasing Said, a dependant, in its very existence, on the First – the right one, the true one, the better one (Biti, 98). The established concept is not a question of choice but rather subconsciousness in which the white western male coloniser presents a standard and all the others are a deviation from the standard. So, the two regions in question are a true example of the Other subjected to the superior white educated western European male coloniser, and the only difference among the colonised is their skin colour: the dark-skinned ones from the Caribbean different for their physical characteristics, and the white-skinned ones from the Balkans different for their economic, educational and mental characteristics. The First considers both Others inferior, subjecting them to his indoctrination due to their supposed imperfections and marks them as former slaves or mentally challenged. According to this

theory of repositioning, women are also considered the Other, the inferior one, belonging to the group of fighters against the male chauvinist hegemony, thus becoming the colonized subject.

The issue of the body is thus another key term in discussing the position of the Other within the postcolonial theory, which Irigaray uses to stress that the First and the Other can never become one and that the two worlds of the coloniser and the colonised can never be joined or equal. The Other constantly compares himself to the First, the black with the white, a woman with a man, the poor with the rich, in the process of coloniser's rejection of the opposite – the colonised, proving his existence on the basis of the loss of freedom of the Other (Biti, 124). The result of this loss with the Other is the instability of the colonised who constantly seeks for confirmation from the First and relies on his strength, living in the constant search for personal identity. The very process of colonisation could, in fact, be seen as a voluntary acceptance of systematic dehumanisation and subjugation to more sophisticated cultures of the white, who neglected the diversity of the culture of the Other and its very existence. The coloniser was searching for the confirmation of his superiority pointing to the culture of the Others as his own dark side not only in terms of skin colour but also in terms of cultural backwardness of the conquered nations. Magnificent cultures of the Inca tribes and the culture of the Bogumils are presented as a negative example in comparison to the technologically and educationally superior European culture, and the brilliance of their construction structures, arts and languages was hidden under the forced influence of the First making the people of the area eternal subject of negative comparison. This cultural inferiority and superiority is still obvious in the negative examples of the position of the people from the Balkans and the Caribbean presented in the 21st century media as lower-class people in comparison to the culturally evolved inhabitants of the West and western Europe, making the existence of the Other still present in the global democratic world of the equals. The Others still compare themselves to the First striving to reach material success of the Europeans at the cost of being cheap labour workers happy to serve the rich Europeans. For example, the Black from the Caribbean, being the subject of this paper, or any other coloured people all over the world, are still observed as the scary dark side of the shiny white people, placed in special parts of cities and used if necessary for their physical superiority to clean, protect or entertain the rich whites. Similarly, the Balkan people are provided with the limited time of free entrance to the righteous Europe to watch and learn how to behave in the civilised world used as cleaners and dusters, happy to spend some time out of the ghetto of the Balkan. Basically, the white set up the standard of behaviour which was accepted by the Other, who voluntarily adopted colonisation of the mind. The value of both discourses: the First and the Other cannot be measured without mutual comparison, which, basically, means that only together these two opposites create a unique coherent image.

Concerning literary theory, which analyses the state of mind of a nation at a certain moment in history in written literary works, the very important issue is the question of language in which the Other tries to identify with the First, using the language of the coloniser in his writing to show his position and prove his success in the eloquence of the foreign language. This issue is particularly important in discussing the position of the colonised in the Caribbean literature, which shows this poly-dialectical society best described as the "Creole continuum". The following quote provides the best explanation of the linguistic culture of the region: "The theory states that the Creole complex of the region is not simply an aggregation of discrete dialect forms but an overlapping of ways of speaking between which individual speakers may move with considerable ease" (Ashcroft et al., 44).

The same phenomenon occurs with the nations of the region that are trying to balance personal customs, traditions and culture with the coloniser's, creating a unique hybrid of overlapping influences in constant search for a defined identity in which the individuals adjust to any change in lifestyle. The issue of language is somewhat different in the Balkans where each country defined its language denying the strong influence of foreign languages. Language in the Balkans determines the nationality and each country protects their dialect, thus forcing the uniqueness of a culture upon the hybridity of the region with similar languages filled with foreign words. Globalisation, westernisation and the Internet revolution change the closed approach of protecting identity through languages, allowing the individuals to confront the backwardness of former regimes that still exist in the mind of the Balkans and to learn, use and combine foreign languages, cultures and influences making a unique south-European mixture. Thus linguistic influence presents another aspect in the process of colonisation of the mind in which western-European coloniser sets the standard of English or German as a universal language and the vain colonised accepts the changes.

Another aspect of acceptance of modern, western-European lifestyle and culture is urbanisation or the rural/urban transfer in the regions of the Caribbean and the Balkans. The strong influence of culturally different nations from urban Europe, encouraged shame in minds of the people who relied on agricultural production as the base of their lifestyle and economic sustainability for living next to their plantations and farms, which resulted in the trend of moving the inhabitants from villages to towns and cities to lead urban, modern life. The works of Naipaul and Lamming show this migration trend as a negative abandonment of personal identity at the cost of adjusting to modern lifestyle of freedom for an individual. Namely, each main protagonist of their novels *The House for Mr Biswas, The Mystic Masseur* and *In the Castle of My Skin* deserted the family tradition and cultural identity of his ancestors in search for material progress and personal success adjusting to the modern lifestyle of the western coloniser. The similar case of rural/urban migration and negative view of life in the village and traditional lifestyle occurs in the Balkans after the war of 1990's when the citizens from rural areas were observed as lower in status for their traditional characteristics, such as folk language, culture and dress code. The citizens from towns were considered more emancipated and culturally elevated, even though they lived at the cost of the farmers who grow food and support the economy of a country. To reach the standard of easy living and use of standard language, the villagers moved to towns in search for a better life never being accepted by the cultural citizens, who consider them intruders. In this aspect, urbanisation is a rejection of tradition with the aim of conforming to a new modern trend, in the case of the Caribbean and the Balkans, adaptation to Europeanization and rejection of personal indigenous tradition. The best example is rejection of folk clothes, except in the festivals of traditional music, and acceptance of suited style of Europeans in every aspect of life, which influences the base of living for the individuals in the two regions. The position of an individual in the world of transfers will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The aspects of post-culture that influenced the creation of new hybrid nations stretched between modern and traditional, the First and Other, regional and individual, urban and rural, initiated the search for a unique national identity that would differ in the ocean of similar, yet different world cultures. The ambivalent nature of hybrids in both regions lies in the fact that they consist of a group of small ambitious nations that force its present national tiles in order to become a legitimate, equal nation respected in the world for its uniqueness, all of which, on the other hand, depend on and influence each other. The stressful search leads to disorientation and displacement with a constant search for a strong base to replace the colonial centre. This constant quest for identity, either national or individual, results in

helplessness, exhaustion and torment of entire nation best described in from *The Mystic Masseur* at the example of a young boy and a threatening black cloud:

> When Ganesh saw the boy next morning he felt he had never seen anyone so tormented. It was torment heightened by a deep sense of helplessness. Though the boy was thin now and his arms looked bony and brittle, it was clear that he had once been strong and healthy. His eyes were dead, lack-lustre. In them you could see not the passing shock of momentary fear, but fear as a permanent state, fear so strong that it had ceased to thrill. (117)

Negative aspects of constant comparison to the West, on one hand led to depression and escape of unstable individuals to the countries of Europe, of which the following chapter will discuss in detail, and on the other, to regionalisation as a fight for a unique hybrid culture. In both the Caribbean and the Balkans, cultural and any other discrimination led to the rejection of the dominant regime, and both, cultural and political awakening. The mission of decolonising the mind led to a complete denial of foreign influence as a defining force that shaped present image of both regions. Today we have Caribbean culture as "a mixture of African elements with Spanish, French and English colonial culture" (US Dep. of State) with English as a dominant language, on one hand, and Balkan culture freely defined as a union spot of East and West in the heart of modern civilisation, on the other, with hybridity as the motto of multiethnic and multicultural identity of the two regions. Despite many differences and imposed national titles that are supposed to describe the identity of nations, the only solution to become Equal instead of the Other is to desert coloniser's divisions and unite in national diversity. Markers such as Trinidadian, Tobagonian, Barbadian, Bosnian, Croatian, Bulgarian or Romanian are used to divide people instead of uniting them in positivity of their differences making them an eternal dependant on the European determiners and their search for a unique identity a driving force for backwardness in a modern global society.

The Position of an Individual in the World of Transitions

Concerning the position of an individual in the world of changes, the theme of search for identity strikes as prominent, and perfectly reflects the movement of both countries of the region that inhabitants experienced on their road to independence. The movement from innocence to knowledge, from self-ignorance to self-awareness and, finally, from isolation to involvement is a quest for identity, a search for the self, which they experienced in turbulent history that influenced changes. Both the Caribbean novels and Balkan experience show the dangers of this quest that often leads to loss of faith as a result of fruitless search for a new bright future. Gradual loss of faith in happiness, better future, or a new life, liberated from the chains of demagogical ruler, often resulted in creating persons without personal identity lost in vice, eternal expectations, striving to reach the adorable materialistic success of the rich Europe, or individuals resigned with the faith, and waiting for the end of their miserable lives. Lurking individuals, who suffered the horrors of war or slavery, experience inevitable change in characters unable to fight, according to Barnhisel "the forces of history, of capitalism and colonialism and labour unrest and awakening racial consciousness, ..." (Kujović, 77).

In his first published novel *In the Castle of My Skin,* George Lamming contrasts experience of the old and the young, setting an example of Old Ma and Old Pa, two old villagers who remember their ancestors' stories about the horrors of slavery that haunt them in their dreams as opposed to the disbelief of the young who were taught a different history at schools of the whites. On one hand, there is Old Pa, screaming after his nightmares about Africans being rated according to their physical capabilities like animals, and taken away

from their ancestral homes, who realises the inevitable loss of tradition of the blacks in the course of time and changes that strike the island in the time of independence from the colonial oppression. On the other hand, there are young boys, like the narrator himself, who do not believe in the truth about slavery and seek for better life in towns, other islands or the United States, ultimately deserting the tradition in search for recognition and material wealth. The contrast between the old and the young not only shows opposite perception of the new age but also the inertness of the old who sit and hope, and the self-awareness of the young who act. Similarly, the war experience in the Balkans created the gap between generations of the old who preserve tradition and religion as a proof of national identity, and the young who accept the changes of globalisation, westernisation and the Internet revolution. After the rule of communism, completely unnecessary killings and aggressions, along with religious, ethnic and all kinds of discriminations, the people of the Balkans, who nurtured their differences as a blessing of joint happiness, completely lost faith in coexistence relying on tradition and life in confined communities of the equals desperate in the new world order. However, the young ones seek for happiness in wealthy Europe or get crowded with work in securing existence for their families, accepting the world of changes and the new society of consumerism. Basically, the changes of position of a complete nation and the search for national identity placed an individual in a position to either live a restricted life longing for the times past, selfishly preserving tradition, or to adapt and accept the shifting world of changes ruled by money, prestige and wealth. A true identity and happiness, perhaps, lies in the balance of tradition and new age, which could preserve the uniqueness of not only individuals, but also nations destined to coexist in the two regions.

The position of an individual is also determined by the relation to the community, which defines an individual or causes the feeling of personal search for identity that repelled one from the closed community. Such is the case of Ganesh Ramsumair, the main protagonist of *The Mystic Masseur*, who suffered complete transformation of both personality and appearance in the course of the fulfilment of his ambition to achieve better life, as opposed to the mediocre life of Indo-Trinidadian community he belongs to, which he justifies with "a singular conspiracy of events" in his life that changed his personality (Naipaul, MM, 21). "Ganesh used ... common sense and logic wrapped in Hindu prayers and rituals to present himself as a healer of suffering souls, who can change the world and correct all the wrongs," just to increase his material wealth to abandon his tradition for success in colonial centre (Kujović, 64). The transformation changed Ganesh to Gareth, a fancy English gentleman, whose political career separated him from the backwardness of the community and the whole island, but did not change the feeling of displacement and did not end the search for identity. This change only made him Mr. Slime, Lamming's cruel black politician of the same descent like ordinary people who still fight to survive in the confusing time of independence. Such individuals seized an opportunity for personal gain and betrayed their people, tradition and ideals becoming equal with the coloniser and making the process of liberalisation of their countries just another survival of the fittest. Unlike other members of their community, these individuals completely deserted tradition of their ancestors and simply replaced the white colonisers at the top of the hierarchy thus fulfilling their ambition for material success not fighting for national interests. The fight for independence in the Caribbean in the mid 20th century generated a series of corruptible selfish politicians, which seems to be a pattern for all independent nations worldwide, including the Balkans at the end of the century where a number of smaller countries are still ruled by all the same selfish individuals since the 1990's. Deserting tradition at the cost of material success, as an ideal of democratic capitalist society, seems to be a pattern for individuals who lose faith in the transitional world. The Balkan politicians, like the Caribbean Ganesh or Mr Slime, use the power of people to improve

personal material status instead of fighting for national well being. Their disappointment in the confusing system of nations, depending on the strong influence from Europe, makes them instable individuals who perceive identification with the coloniser, or in the case of the Balkans, with cultural Europeans, a social and material success, or a chance for escape from the world of struggle for national identity. However, the search for identity of such individuals is not final, and only presents a transition to a different kind of search and deep sense of displacement. Ganesh is a perfect example of instable individuals who deserted their home in search for the light of shining cities of the colonial centre constantly questioning their choices, personality and search for superiority of the First.

Another very important aspect concerning the position of an individual in the world of transitions is the danger of abuses of freedom of the West. Namely, both the Caribbean and the Balkans were ruled by strict governments and their laws that prohibited full freedom for the Other: in the islands expressed as placing certain groups of people in closed communities with restricted freedoms and in the European south-east in the suppressed rule of complete control over masses. People of both regions felt free to live, work and travel, strictly confined in the silent prohibition of the right to express personal opinion or disturbance of national image. However, these restrictions had, surprisingly, their good sides in providing order in the hybrid countries of the two regions, keeping vice and different passions calm, and at the same time securing a careless mediocre life for their inhabitants. The changes of regimes in both regions brought negative influence of the western society, such as: consummation of alcohol, drugs, and other narcotics, along with prostitution and eccentricity, which provided shelter from the emptiness of life for instable individuals who lost strong, reliable, ruling centre. The position of an individual in the transitive society Naipaul perfectly showed in his semi-autobiographical novel *Miguel Street*, trying to explain the decline of Trinidad society in the mid 20th century. The narrator, a young boy, testifies the decadence of democratic society filled with hatred, boredom, despair, and occasional bursts of love, whose desire to succeed in school and life makes him different and a displaced individual forced to search for his identity in the colonial centre. Growing-up for the boy is adjustment to the world of alcoholics, prostitutes and eccentrics accepting negative influence of the free democratic society, whose success is measured in the number of emptied bottles of beer:

> In time I became a first-class drinker, and I began suffering from drinker's pride. Then there were the sights of the town Boyee and Errol introduced me to. One night, not long after I began working, they took me to a place near Marine Square. We climbed to the first floor and found ourselves in a small crowded room lit by green bulbs. The green light seemed as thick as jelly. There were many women all about the room, just waiting and looking. A big sign said: *Obscene Language Forbidden.* (Naipaul, MS, 173-4)

The quote perfectly describes the state of post-colonial countries and misuse of freedoms of the modern, liberal society, which forces an intelligent individual to seek for happiness away from home of notorious drunkards. His return to the hometown street after his mother's intervention for continuing education was disappointing as nothing showed his absence; the decadent society still reflected emptiness of life and vice that came with the liberation of the strict regime, and he became a lurking intellectual in an eternal search for home. Presenting each type of inhabitants of the street, Naipaul shows disorientation of Trinidadians within new cultural environment and negative consequences of the, so called, progress in former colonies, which suffered repression for too long. Each individual shows misunderstanding of the new

regime and turning to vice, misusing the liberties gained, acts against the new state showing the absurdity of their lives: "they fix cars which cannot be fixed, they advertise services they cannot provide, they assemble furniture that serves no one, spending days in meaningless verbal contests escaping from success to notoriousness using a single excuse: 'Is not my fault really. Is just Trinidad. What else anybody can do here except drink?'" (Kujović, 114)

Post-communist society of the Balkans shares similar destiny of post-colonial Caribbean society in terms of misuse of western influences and rights that provided more liberal expression of opinion and use of diverse freedoms. In the process of transformation of each little country into an independent nation, an immature society of the Balkans yielded a bunch of intellectual critics of society, who, negatively criticizing the current government, created the society of disappointed mass of ordinary people filled with bitterness and despair, unwilling to fight the destiny in search for better future. In such hopeless environment individuals often seek for happiness in vice that provides momentary happiness. The present satisfaction elevates psychologically wounded individuals above the misery of their lives in the lawless countries confused with suffocating administration and illiterate masses that conform to the backwardness of their lives. Other, however, either desert their hometowns searching for a ray of light in Europe conforming to being the second-class citizens or fight to survive in hope of creating a better future for generations to come. Basically, individuals are forced to adopt national titles imposed under the new democratic regime, which causes frustrations expressed often in the negative surrender to vice or fruitless fight for new national identity that would place them in the proper place on the global scene. This confusion of national identity leaves deep traces on the psychic of the people who suffer historical changes in several years and who are expected to acquire opposite personality to what they were taught from their birth, and still remain the Other in the shadow of the First. This is especially evident in the case of ex-Yugoslav countries whose inhabitants are expected to become Bosnians, Croatians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Slovenians, and Macedonians over night, and fight in the reach for civilisation of the Europe, who sets the standards and rules of behaviour in its numerous conditions during the process of joining the ideal of the European Union. Basically, the Balkans, like the Caribbean, are striving to identify with the strong cultural and economic centre at the cost of physical instability of the victimised individuals who seek for escape in vice or abandonment of tradition and homeland.

Conclusive Observations

Hybrid cultures of the globalised world, created in the time of great changes during the 20th century, erase boundaries of strict national, political, traditional, or any other exclusive affiliation. Such is the case with the Caribbean and the Balkan cultures in which determination of nationality separates people of the regions and does not bring unity and coexistence. Instead of numerous divisions of any kind, the solution for these diversified cultures is unification under the flag of equality of all traditions, nations and colours respecting each individual for his/her personality no matter religious, political or linguistic determination. This unification marked as Creolisation for the region of the West Indies can be a model for the people of east-south Europe that should strive to Balkanisation, or unification of their differences in a hybrid culture of this turbulent, yet exotic region. Erasing strict cultural boundaries creates a society free of the notorious separations, but it does not nullify national identity as it might be expected. Instead, it creates a society of mutual respect to differences and national pride of each constituent nation to nurture its uniqueness in the

hybrid environment. Such is the case of postcolonial and post-communist, or simply all post globalised societies, which are, to paraphrase, homogenous and fragmented, same but different (Connor, 131).

Creolisation and Balkanisation is actually a sort of growing up of the regions, or separation from the strong centre of Europe, which can be perceived as a superior mainstream for the dependant colonised subjects:

> Such is the way of colonial identities. They are always new ... in spite of its age, it seemed never to grow up. A world of children of all ages, and as children, always innocent *because* always guilty.... To become an adult, one must let some things go (Gordon, 6).

This separation in the process of growing up is an unsecure transfer into the world of adult, independent, mature world of the grownups with the freedom of making individual decisions, but also the loss of protection from the powerful centre. The colonised subject, in this case the countries of the two regions, on one hand fight for a unique national identity and independence from the strong cultural and economical centre of Europe, but on the other feel the burden of separation and the loss of reliable mother figure. The position of an individual gets additionally complex in this transferable world of changes making one choose between the two homes, which leads to displacement, loss of faith and eternal search for identity.

The paper on the search as the essence of living in the global world pointed to the position of the Other in the world of the equals, where the abolition of slavery and acceptance in the society of the culturally elevated countries did not change the perspective of division according to skin colour or social status. Setting the example of cultures of the Caribbean islands and the Balkan region, the author of the paper tried to show the inevitable conclusion of the search for a national or individual identity of magically mixed societies, in the phenomenon of hybridity that characterises these two regions rich in cultures, traditions and languages, which presents their only future in the world without boundaries.

References

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *The Emprie Writes Back.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2002. Print.

"History of the Balkans." *Wikipedia.* 5 May, 2013. Web. 5 May, 2013.

Biti, Vladimir. *Pojmovnik suvremene književne i kulturne teorije.* Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1997. Print.

Conor, Steven, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Postmodernism.*Cambridge: CUP, 2004. Print.

Curtis, Wayne. "The Magic Mix That Is Trinidad." Travel. *New York Times.* New York Times. 21 Nov. 2004. Web. 5 Apr. 2008.

Ebert, Roger. "The Mystic Masseur." Review. *RogerEbert.com.* Chicago Sun-Times. 17 May, 2002. Web. 25 Mar. 2008.

Gordon, Lewis R. "George Lamming the Existentialist." *Center for Africana Studies Working Paper Series*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U, 2008. Web. 14 Apr 2013.

Kujović, Lejla. "Karipska zbilja u djelima George Lamminga i V. S. Naipaula." MS thesis. Sarajevo: U of Sarajevo, 2010. Print.

Morrison, Alexandra. "Seen From All Sides: George Lamming's In the Castle of My Skin." Caribbean literature. Art Institute. San Francisco. Spring 1995. Lecture. Web. 10 Apr. 2008.

Napaul, Vidiadhar Surajprasad. *Miguel Street.* London: Picador, 2002. Print.

Napaul, Vidiadhar Surajprasad. *The Mystic Masseur.* London: Deutsch, 1957. Print.

United States. Dept. of State. "Trinidad and Tobago." *Diplomacy in Action.* Background Note. n. d. Web. 5 May 2013.

APOCALYPSE NOW REDUX: A POLITICAL MESSAGE ON THE VIETNAM WAR RENDERED FROM HEART OF DARKNESS

Davor NJEGIĆ, Researcher

University of Sarajevo

Abstract
In this paper, I discuss Francis Ford Coppola's film *Apocalypse Now Redux* in the light of its political message on the Vietnam War rendered from Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness.* Just as Conrad's novella is a controversial work, so is Coppola's film, where the additional 49 minutes in the *Redux* version just contribute more to its controversy and complexity, which is the reason why this particular version is chosen for this paper. *Apocalypse Now Redux* with its additional film material is seen as Coppola's final artistic statement on the Vietnam War and throughout this paper it is contrasted with Conrad's novella in order to stress the similarities and differences of these two works. In this paper, I primarily focus on the reasons why *Heart of Darkness* is the basis of Coppola's film and what did Coppola want to achieve by rendering a novella with the main action taking place in Congo to a film on the Vietnam War. The eventual goal is to establish to what degree was Coppola successful in rendering the messages from *Heart and Darkness* as to present them as his own statements on the Vietnam War. These statements become more obvious after a comparative analysis of some main characters, such as Conrad's Marlow and Coppola's Willard, or Conrad's Kurtz and Coppola's Kurtz. The French also play an important role in delivering a political message in *Apocalypse Now Redux*. Although seemingly unimportant, the role of women and blacks, both in the novella and in the film, also contributes to an ideology that is similar in these two works out of which a political statement can be derived. In this paper, all the mentioned main and marginal characters are discussed and analyzed in detail in the context of the film's overall political message.

Keywords: Apocalypse Now Redux, Heart of Darkness, Vietnam War, Imperialism, Ideology.

Introduction

It takes a lot of courage and skill to make a film based on a literary classic. This task is even harder if the classic itself is a controversial piece of writing. These facts have to be considered when discussing Francis Ford Coppola's film *Apocalypse Now*. Coppola is not faithful to Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness*, because he shifted the story from Congo of Conrad's time to Vietnam of his time. It can be said that writers of the screenplay, John Milius and Francis Ford Coppola, rewrote *Heart of Darkness* making a parallel story set in their present time exploring similar themes. As the result of this were subsequent changes in the plot and characters. The most obvious change, beside the one that the film takes place in Vietnam, is the narrator's name of *Apocalypse Now*; his name is Willard, and not Marlow. Yet, the main themes and messages of the literary work and the film remain almost the same.

Just as the novella is a controversial work, the film itself is also a controversial one, where the additional 49 minutes in *Apocalypse Now Redux* only contribute more to its controversy and complexity.

The chosen film version for this paper is *Apocalypse Now Redux*, because it contains more film material than the first version and is Coppola's final artistic statement to the Vietnam War. This paper tries to analyze the similarities and differences between *Heart and Darkness* and *Apocalypse Now Redux* in the light of the novella's messages, particularly the political ones. Why did Coppola choose *Heart and Darkness* as the basis of his film and what did he want to achieve, are two questions that are recurrent ideas throughout this paper. The eventual goal is to establish to what degree was Coppola successful in rendering the messages from *Heart and Darkness* as to present them as his own statements to the Vietnam War. These statements become more obvious after a comparative analysis of some major characters, such as Conrad's Marlow and Coppola's Willard, or Conrad's Kurtz and Coppola's Kurtz. The French also play an important role in *Apocalypse Now Redux* in delivering a political message. Although seemingly unimportant, the role of women and blacks, both in the novella, as well as in the film, can contribute to an ideology which is similar in these two works, and out of which a political statement can be derived.

Marlow and Willard

The short novel *Heart of Darkness* has an unnamed narrator through whom Marlow's point of view is delivered in a third person narration. The whole story of *Apocalypse Now Redux* is also delivered from a character parallel to Marlow who is based on him and shares many of the same characteristics with him. Coppola chose not to name him Marlow, but rather Captain Benjamin L. Willard. Since the whole story has a different setting, there is no reason not to change the main character's name. The important notion is that Willard has very similar characteristics to Marlow. Their different names are an irrelevant fact, because this is not a faithful adaptation of a literary work. However, "*Heart of Darkness* is the spine of *Apocalypse Now*" (Jacobs, 1981, p. 211) because some of the major messages are rendered from it. Some of these messages are obviously stated through the character of Marlow, and respectively Willard in the film.

Marlow is a man of ideas, as well as Willard. They are both victims of ideology, and in believing in it. Marlow does not question imperial politics, nor does Willard question his mission or USA's combat in Vietnam. As Susan Hayward (2006) pointed out, this film focuses on the effect of the war on the individual and in that light can be seen as progressive, but it does not question America's legitimacy in fighting the Vietnam War (p. 496). It is an anti-war film, but does not explain how and why did it come to the war. Captain Willard is a professional soldier, an individual on a mission, who does not question his superiors. After reading about Kurtz and meeting him, these notions alter in a way, but still he stays true to his mission. There is a rather terrifying message behind Willard's mission. It is much further developed in the character of Kurtz, but yet, it can also be found in Willard. He is there to do everything what his superiors demand, and not question them or disobey their rules. Kurtz took the situation in his hands, so he had to be removed, not because the superiors are essentially against what he does, but rather because he disobeyed them and took autonomous control.

The very beginning of the film portrays Willard's state of mind in aspect of his previous missions. The use of the 10 minutes long song *The End* by The Doors is a perfect way to begin with the film. It is psychedelic, dark and disturbing, just as Willard is portrayed. Images of the ceiling fan are connected with the helicopters and war where the viewer clearly sees the effects of the war on an individual. James Monaco (1981) states that "perhaps because of its brilliantly constructed images and sounds – *Apocalypse Now* doesn't seem to

tell us very much about Vietnam" (p. 295). Similar can be said about *Heart of Darkness*. It does not tell us much about Congo and Africa, but rather of their oppressors and colonizers. Both the Vietnamese in *Apocalypse Now Redux*, and the people of Congo in *Heart of Darkness* are portrayed as bloodthirsty savages.

This notion brings us back to the famous statement of the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe that the tale reveals Conrad as a bloody racist where all the blacks are dehumanized and degraded and seen as grotesques or as a howling mob (as cited in Watts, 2008, p. 21). The same description can be used in the case of Coppola and his treatment of the Vietnamese. Although this is debatable, there seems to be no doubt whether or not Willard and Marlow are racists. Marlow sees all blacks as animals, whereas Willard has no problem killing a wounded Vietnamese woman, instead of helping her. There is nothing above the mission objectives that is sacred for Willard. His brutality, as in the mentioned scene, becomes more and more stressed as he reads about Kurtz and his misdeeds. He is focused only on his mission to terminate Kurtz; obeys only the orders from Washington. Marlow, on the other hand, is an Englishman working for a trading company from Belgium on a mission to return Kurtz. Thus, his orders come directly from Brussels. But their missions are basically the same, to end Kurtz's autonomous reign of inhumane terror at all cost.

In *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow tells his shipmates on another journey the story of Kurtz from his point of view. *Apocalypse Now Redux* has a similar approach. Captain Willard, played by Martin Sheen, "introduces the story as something that has already happened to him, but despite this indication of historical objectivity, many of the scenes re-create his personal, nightmarish perspective on the war in Vietnam" (Corrigan, 2004, p. 44). The difference seems to be that Marlow stayed a man of ideas, whereas Willard became more of a man of action. At the beginning of the film, it is clearly stated that Captain Willard had many similar secret missions, but never to determinate an American officer. Other killings made by him are portrayed as a normal patriotic deed, but killing an American, who is in addition an officer, seems to disturb Captain Willard. In this context, the beginning of the film, with the song *The End* by The Doors where Willard breaks a glass and cuts his hand, is symbolic. The message that could be implied is that he will have blood on his hands only after killing a fellow countryman, an American officer.

Although Captain Willard becomes a changed man at the end of the film, yet he decides to complete his mission. The logic behind the killing of Kurtz is that it was better for Kurtz to be killed by someone who got to know him than by a bomb from the air strike. The filmmakers decided to film an entirely different ending than the one in *Heart of Darkness*. The feeling is as if Kurtz's spirit has possessed Willard after the ritualistic killing of Kurtz. The Vietnamese bow to him as to their new god, but he abandons them. In the Redux version, Willard does not radiophone that he has completed his mission, but rather lets the air strike take place having in mind the Kurtz's horrible thoughts:"Drop the Bomb. Exterminate them all!", rendered from the novella's "exterminate all the brutes!" (Conrad, 2008, p. 155). After this, Kurtz's "the horror, the horror" words are once more repeated with the sound of rain. A few seconds of utter silence follows before the end credits. In this manner, Captain Willard embraced Colonel Kurtz's political message to accept the primordial urge and kill, without feelings and passion, without judgment, because judgment is that what defeats them. It can be said that this "judgment is self-judgment" (Hagen, 1996, p. 67). According to Whaley (2007), Milius's (one of the scriptwriters) claim that Willard recognized Kurtz's wisdom can be seen in the light that Willard brings this wisdom back with him which will regenerate the society (p. 40). This is wisdom of political and military efficiency, but also of utter destruction of all human dignity. These are political messages render from the vicious Kurtz from *Heart of Darkness* which imply the extinction of all the indigenous people for the pursuit of personal interests.

Conrad's Kurtz vs. Coppola's Kurtz

In *Heart of Darkness*, Kurtz is the chief of the Inner Station in Congo, whereas in *Apocalypse Now Redux*, Colonel Walter E. Kurtz is a rebellious officer in the Cambodian jungle. They were both on a mission in their respective places, but chose rather to handle the matters according to their own ideas, thus disobeying the orders from above, becoming some sort of God-like figures for the indigenous people. The irony behind their characteristics is that it is acceptable to behave in such a manner if the state and people from above insist, but not as individuals. Thus they become targets for termination by those who made them. "All Europe contributed to the making of Kurtz" (Conrad, 2008, p. 154) in *Heart of Darkness*. Respectively, all of the USA contributed to making of Colonel Walter E. Kurtz. He could have also had a high position in the government, as it was planned for Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*, but they both turned to monstrous savagery and pursuit of their own interests and ideas by embracing their dark sides.

Kurtz is Marlow's "homo duplex" (Bradbury, 1994, p. 55). The same applies in *Apocalypse Now Redux*; that is, Colonel Kurtz is Captain Willard's homo duplex, his alter ego (Steward, 1981, p. 474). This notion becomes even clearer in *Apocalypse Now Redux* when Willard kills Kurtz, thus taking his position, and being recognized by the indigenous people as their new god and leader. The irony in *Apocalypse Now Redux* concerning Colonel Kurtz is that he is wanted for murder of Vietnamese intelligence operatives. The high ranked officers who brief Willard's mission at the beginning of the film state that Kurtz's methods became unhealthy after joining the US Army Special Forces. They claim that Colonel Kurtz has reached his dark side of the personality and obviously gone insane. Captain Willard has to terminate him; to kill him without prejudices, because he acts outside all boundaries of humane conduct, but Willard's mission is a secret one, and it was explained to him that officially it never existed. The full hypocrisy of the officers and officials can be noticed in this scene. Their politics have created a monster whom they despise now and are ashamed of, and their only answer to this problem is to terminate such a creation before it could destroy their reputation and careers.

The same message has *Heart of Darkness*. Europe created Kurtz, but has to remove him in order to protect its interests as a "civilized" nation. Africa/Vietnam's "savagery, darkness and primitivism" are the reasons of Kurtz's behavior. According to Edward Said (1996), "Kurtz (…) knows the dread secret and feels its shame" (p. 113). However, that does not excuse his actions, nor does Said imply that. Kurtz's ambiguous words "the horror, the horror" (Conrad, 2008, p. 178) in *Heart of Darkness* are equally ambiguous in the film. They seem to have incorporated in themselves the mentioned idea of the dread secret.

In his analysis of *Apocalypse Now*, John Hellmann (1982) made an interesting observation on the similarity of Marlow and Willard's discovery of lies stating that "just as Marlow discovers in Kurtz the essential lie of European imperialism, Willard as hard-boiled detective finds in Colonel Kurtz the essential lie of his own and his nation's Vietnam venture" (p. 437). Willard's discovery can be clearly seen in the scene when he is captured by Colonel Kurtz who reads him articles from the *Time* magazine about the war in Vietnam, how Americans stand good in it and that it will soon end in America's victory. Colonel Kurtz thus tries to explain to Captain Willard why he has become such a man and to justify his actions. On the other hand, Kurtz wants that his son receives "the right" information about his father. In *Heart of Darkness*, Kurtz is not married nor has children, but Coppola chose to change these facts for his version in order to stress Kurtz's fall even more.

Kurtz's death is not heroic, neither in the novella nor in the film. He did not have "the courage to respond to the darkness" (Cox, 1974, p. 56). His hollowness is equally successful portrayed in the film, as well as in the book. The symbolic ending of *Apocalypse Now Redux*, which was already previously discussed, is in this manner a parallel ending to *Heart of*

Darkness. C. B. Cox claims that in Heart of Darkness "Kurtz's identity reduces itself to a voice, to a display of rhetoric" (Cox, 1974, p. 56). This becomes obvious in *Apocalypse Now Redux* with Kurtz's voice ending the film. It was a good decision to end the film with the voice of the true horror behind the political message of efficiency which is so dominant in the film, and carefully rendered from *Heart of Darkness*.

Women, the French and African-Americans in *Apocalypse Now Redux*

The role of women in *Heart of Darkness* is not important for the main story, just as in the Coppola's film. However, certain messages can be drawn out from the position and the portrayal of women. Radical feminists accused Conrad for being a male chauvinist, and *Heart of Darkness* as both imperialist and sexist (as cited in Watts, 2008, p. 25). It is true that the role of women in *Heart of Darkness* is marginalized, where the women are "savages" as Kurtz's black mistress, or blind to the truth as his fiancé. Marlow' aunt is similar to Kurtz's fiancé in her naivety and blindness, because she is also a firm believer in imperialistic ideas. Women in *Apocalypse Now Redux* are even more marginalized, and in addition objectified. Such is the case with the scenes with *Playboy* bunnies who are according to Hansen (1980) "sheer projections of male fantasy" (p. 131). They seem to be heavily drugged and literary forced to prostitution; a mere fun for soldiers and officers who are willing to pay. The corruption, hypocrisy and false morality are very directly portrayed.

Another example of the object function of women in *Apocalypse Now Redux* is the scene on the French plantation. Captain Willard meets there a French woman with whom he ends in the bed. She also indulges Willard to smoke some type of drug in order to relax. We never get to know her name, but her sentences towards Willard, under the heavy influence of a drug, are well remembered. She delivers a speech about the duality of human nature, and states that Willard has two sides, two personalities, where one kills, and the other loves.

The roles of women in *Apocalypse Now Redux*, however small and unimportant they are, emphasize some important messages. The political message is indeed a sexist one. In times of war, the patriarchal society needs women as objects, not subjects. The Playboy bunnies present all the ridiculous notions of war and "fun" during war times. They are in the war zones, risking their lives for mere entertainment, for a boost of morale to the troops. But behind the scene, their manager will sell their bodies to soldiers for pretty much everything that has a value. One wrong act triggers another one, until everything eventually ends in vicious circles of evil and corruption.

"The masking narrative voice in *Heart of Darkness*" (Said, 1996, p. 106) seems to be decently unmasked in *Apocalypse Now Redux*. The explicit scenes of psychologically damaged women, as well as men (the surfer Lance Johnson as an example), are stressed, sometimes even overemphasized, thus also psychologically tormenting the viewer. It shows clearly what the war does to those who are affected by it. The inhumane conditions and moral degradations come as a result of a political message which encourages the war, and sends women as entertainment and morale boost to the troops. Their naivety is abused, in the same manner as Said (1993) mentions the naivety of the indigenous people whom the reader might accuse of producing the killings, subversions and continuous instability of the "primitive" society, exactly because of their naivety. This serves as a proof that notions of efficient politics will mishandle all naïve and innocent views, and turn them into their favor, thus completely dehumanizing them and taking their self-respect.

Watts (2008) claims that *Apocalypse Now* is a "sardonic commentary" (p. 19) on the Vietnam War of the 1970s. He draws a conclusion from the documentary *Hearts of Darkness: A Film-Maker's Apocalypse* from 1991 stating that it can be "suggested that the filmmakers embodied and extended the corruption described in the tale" (Watts, 2008, p. 19). There is no real explanation why the war had happened and why so many Americans had to

die or return wounded from it. But on the other hand, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* does not also give a crystal clear description of the real cause of Europe's greed, hypocrisy and corruption, because the story is from Marlow's point of view. Steward (1981) states that "the film's real power derives from its sustained attempt to transpose the story's incremental repetition of style, plot, and psychology into a new cinematic register and a new country" (p. 455). However, some messages remain almost the same, especially those political ones. Europe's superiority in *Heart of Darkness*, and USA's in *Apocalypse Now Redux*, are emphasized in both works. This "superiority" gives them the right to bring civilization or democracy to a "less civilized" country, or an "undemocratic" one. It "gives" them the right to exploit and colonize a country, or to actively participate in its inner affairs, on the pretence of being interested in their well being.

Such notions are not only seen in Marlow and Willard, and their superiors, but also in the French in the novella, as well as in the film, especially in the Redux version. In *Heart of Darkness*, the French are infamous for their firing at the land from water. Such an act is pointless, because neither it will destroy all the land, nor its inhabitants. It seems almost as a ridiculous try to tame a foreign land, or as Cox (1977) pointed out the idea that "the French warship 'firing into a continent' symbolizes the futility of civilized attempts to tame the wilderness" (p. 18). The French in *Heart of Darkness* are clearly frustrated, just as in *Apocalypse Now Redux*. The scene on the French plantation (only in the Redux version) is Coppola's statement for the ridiculous position of the French in the film. They claim that that plantation is their land because they fought in the Indochina War, and later in the Vietnam War. Their messages are clearly colonial, just as in the *Heart of Darkness*. Hawkins (1979) implies that Conrad indicated that "imperialism destroyed the cultural integrity not only of Africa but of Europe as well" (p. 296). When we respectively take Asia instead of Africa, the same statement becomes true for *Apocalypse Now Redux*.

The role of African-American in *Apocalypse Now Redux* is not big and so important, but it is symbolic and underlines the political message of that time. If we take in consideration Roland Barthes (1991) famous example of "a black soldier giving the French salute" (p. 115) as an example of a myth, or in other words of an ideology, a very similar parallel can be made in *Apocalypse Now Redux*. There are two African-Americans with Willard on the ship: Clean and Chief. The action of the film takes place in the end of the 60s, presumably in 1969. Only a year before, in 1968, Civil Rights Act was passed in the USA as a result of years of fighting for racial equality. Clean and Chief have the same role as Barthes's black soldier to strengthen a myth about the country and the importance of serving it. However, the country basically does not care for such people. In the case of the USA, the evidence was obvious at that time. Depriving them of their rights, but sending them to Vietnam seemed to work perfectly well for the officials.

There are not many parallels with *Heart of Darkness* regarding this matter, but as Kinder (1980) observed, "the black victim at the wheel who is killed by a spear is not a foolish tribesman but an angry black soldier who challenges Willard's authority at every turn" (p. 14). This black soldier is Chief who, in his dying moments, realizes all the nonsense of their situations, as well as Clean's and his own pointless death. He makes a last struggling effort to draw Willard also on the spear, but fails. This is a symbolic failure to stop the madness that seems to spread from Kurtz's words, which will only later possess Willard entirely. The political message that African-Americans should also fight for the America's interests is heavily underlined.

Conclusion

Apocalypse Now is a very gloomy and dark film to watch, and it simply affects the audience with its psychological issues. *Apocalypse Now Redux* goes even more in the extreme regarding this notion. The effect on the viewer can be described as a kind of psychological torture. Even its length is in favor of that idea, but on the other hand, what other approach would be realistic to portray a war and to show all of its effects. There is no doubt that Coppola skillfully managed to portray all the gruesome facts about a war in his film, starting from brutality on all sides, corruption, hypocrisy and false morale. Coppola had also a great basis in the literary classic *Heart of Darkness*. The horror of *Heart of Darkness*, the fascination of the abomination, as well as some major messages are rendered from the literary text to a film which was set in modern times, on a different continent, but with the similar ideas.

Major political messages can be seen through the main characters. Captain Willard in *Apocalypse Now Redux* is basically Marlow from *Heart of Darkness*. Colonel Kurtz is rendered from the image of Mr. Kurtz from the novella. These characters, as well as their superiors, introduce the political message behind the short novel and film. However, these points of view do not necessarily have to be the authors'. Efficiency, both in the book and film, are major political topics. Colonel Kurtz's monstrous way of comprehending the efficiency is by simply dropping the bomb (thinking probably of a nuke) and killing all the enemies, or by having a few men similar to him who will take all what is necessary to win the war crossing all lines and UN conventions. The notion of efficiency in Colonel Kurtz's character is faithfully rendered from *Heart of Darkness*. In this novella, Kurtz is a very successful ivory trader, because he is efficient. In order to be efficient, Kurtz crosses all the human ways of conduct and behavior. All Europe contributed to Kurtz's efficiency, just as all America contributed to Colonel Kurtz's.

Marlow, and respectively Captain Willard, are men of ideas who are exposed to the lies of imperialism, or the well going of the war, as in the film. They serve as political marionettes, executing blindly whatever their superiors, or bosses, demand. The political powers would not remember them if they had failed in their missions. Both Marlow and Captain Willard become hugely affected by Kurtz, but in the film, their bond seems to become almost metaphysical. By killing Colonel Kurtz, Captain Willard becomes his homo duplex. He consciously avoids reporting that he has finished his mission, thus stopping the air strike on Kurtz's base. Kurtz's thoughts become his own, where the only solution to end the war seems to be to kill all the enemies.

Captain Willard and Colonel Kurtz are the main characters in the film, but some messages are hidden in the portrayal of some other characters. The role of women in *Heart of Darkness*, show their position in Victorian times, as well as men's perception of them. Similar to that is their position in *Apocalypse Now Redux*, where women are only sex objects. The Playboy bunnies are naïve as Kurtz's fiancé in the novella. The political message behind this is a patriarchal one. It is men who should decide on issues on war, where the women should only serve as a morale boost.

The French in *Heart of Darkness*, serve as a pointless motif about the failure of imperialistic ideas. Similar notion can be found in *Apocalypse Now Redux*, where the French serve as Coppola's anti-imperialistic message. They also have another role, namely to start an open debate who started the war and why. As it remains usually unclear in such films, their debate and arguing ends with no concrete conclusion, but rather brings the idea of a pointless war to the light. Americans wanted more than just a psychological insight into the war; they wanted an explanation why did they actually fight there. *Apocalypse Now Redux* does not answer this question, nor does it question America's legitimacy in the Vietnam War. Perhaps Coppola's intentions were never to explain it, but to explore it. In this manner, *Heart of*

Darkness, as a literary basis, was a perfect choice to render a political message on the Vietnam War.

References

Barthes, R. (1991). *Mythologies*. New York: The Noonday Press.

Bradbury, M. (1994). *The Modern British Novel*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Conrad, J. (2008). *Heart of Darkness and Other Tales*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Coppola, F., Aubry. K. (Producers), & Coppola, F.F. (Director). (2001). *Apocalypse Now Redux*. [Motion picture]. USA: Zoetrope Studios.

Corrigan, T. (2004). *A Short Guide to Writing about Film*. New York: Pearson Longman.

Cox, C. B. (1977). *Conrad*. Harlow: Longman Group LTD.

Cox, C. B., (1974). *Joseph Conrad: The Modern Imagination*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons LTD.

Hagen, W. M. (1996). William M. Hagen on *Heart of Darkness* and *Apocalypse Now*. In Harold Bloom (Ed.), Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness and the Secret Sharer Bloom's Notes (pp. 66-68). Broomall, PA: Chelsea House Publishers.

Hansen, M. (1980). Traces of Transgression in Apocalypse Now, *Social Text*, *3*, pp. 123-135. http://www.jstor.org/stable/466348

Hayward, S. (2006). *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge Key Guides, Taylor & Francis Routledge.

Hawkins, H. (1979). Conrad's Critique of Imperialism in Heart of Darkness. *PMLA*, *94*(2), pp. 286-299. http://www.jstor.org/pss/461892

Hellmann, J. (1982). Vietnam and the Hollywood Genre Film - Inversions of American Mythology in the Deer Hunter and Apocalypse Now. *American Quarterly*, *34*(4), pp. 418-439. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2712690

Jacobs, Diane. (1981). Coppola Films Conrad in Vietnam. In Michael Klein & Gillian Parker (Eds.), *The English Novel and Movies* (pp. 211-217). New York: Fredrick Ungar Publishing Co.

Kinder, M. (1980). The Power of Adaptation in 'Apocalypse Now'. *Film Quarterly*, *33*(2), pp. 12-20, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1211972

Monaco, J. (1981). *How to Read a Film: The Art, Technology, Language, History, and Theory of Film and Media*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage.

Said, E. W. (1996). The Novel as Beginning Intention: *Nostromo*. In: E. Jordan (Ed.), *Joseph Conrad* (pp. 103-115). London: Macmillan Press LTS.

Steward, G. (1981). Coppola's Conrad - The Repetitions of Complicity. *Critical Inquiry*, *7*(3), pp. 455-474. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343113

Watts, C. (2008). Introduction. In J. Conrad, *Heart of Darkness and Other Tales* (pp. 11-29). New York: Oxford University Press.

Whaley, D. M. (2007). Adaptation Studies and the History of Ideas: The Case of *Apocalypse Now*. In J. M. Welsh & P. Lev (Eds.), *The Literature/Film Reader: Issues of Adaptation* (pp. 35-51). Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, In

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS ON A FORGOTTEN COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF BOSNIACS AROUND SIVAS DISTRICT IN TURKEY

Bekir Yuksel HOS, Research Assistant

Firat University

Abstract
The initiation of territorial losses in Ottoman Empire had occurred after 1699 (the end of imperial development era) and so was Bosniac population acquainted with mass immigrations from primarily Budapest. These movements followed each other due to a series of wars and war treaties. The losses of Serbia and Belgrade as well as the fall of entire Bosnia and Herzegovina in the end of 19th century caused many demographical changes too. In 1912, another tragedy, Balkan Wars was the first immigration period for Bosniacs of Sandzak area. Their destination was Anatolia. As they arrived, both Ottoman Empire and Turkish State consecutively welcomed the refugees and had them settled in different parts of the region. By the end of World War II in 1945, another wave of immigrants was headed for Turkey. Thus, the population of Bosniacs in Turkey rose up again dramatically. Today, in many places around Anatolia, some Bosniacs (Mainly from Sandzak Region) can be found even in remote villages of Middle Anatolia and continental areas of Black Sea region which is partly covered by Sivas district that is a focus area of the research. In today's Sivas, roughly 1000 Bosniacs currently live dominantly in mainly 5 villages even if a large part of the population declined due to the emigrations toward urban areas. Among these main Bosniac concentrations of Sivas are Kayadibi and Dereköy in the north. As for the rest in the South of Sivas stands Tekmen, Burhanköy and Dendil. Their residents comprise of Southern Sandzak (Bijelo Polje) and some from Kolaşin and Zabljak immigrants (geographically excluded from Sandzak region). Today Bosniacs of the area present a colorful spatial diversity and their presence must be analysed by some other interdisciplinary works too. That's why this paper aimed to record presence of the Bosniacs in the area.

Keywords: Geography, Balkan, Turkey, Sandzak, Bosniac, Sivas

Introduction

By the date of 1699 when Ottoman Empire began losing its territories, Bosniac Population has been acquainted with mass immigrations first from Budapest. Then these immigrations followed each other by series of wars and agreements. Losing of Serbia and Belgrade and losing of entire Bosnia and Herzegovina in the end of 19.th century caused many demographical changes too. In 1912, another tragedy, Balkan Wars was the first immigration period, this time for Bosniacs of Sandzak area like other Muslim nations throughout the Balkan Geography. Comers was numerous as well as casualties what they left behind and there was just one destination for them, Turkey. When they arrived, both Ottoman and later Turkish governments welcomed and settled them in fertile western regions and some in

middle Anatolia alongside some rivers and in some valley settlements. By the end of II World War in 1945 and the following 5-10 years, another wave of a conclusive immigration period headed for Turkey. Thus the number of Bosniacs in Turkey arose again. Today in many places around of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, Bosniacs (Mainly from Sandzak Region) can be found even in remote villages of Middle Anatolia and continental areas of Black Sea region where partly covered by Sivas District. This place is where this research based and focused on. Today in Sivas, there can be found

Turkish Bosniak Population and Their Origin of the Existence Bosnians and Bosniaks are Slavic speaking Muslims whose roots goes back a few thousand years in their region. By the reign of Kulin (late of 12.th century and beginning of 13.th century), Bosniaks accepts Bogomilism with their kings and so their politically official existence starts. In these era, Bosnia was completely autonomous and mostly at peace during his rule. The name of Bosnians mostly derives from the area where their cultural and politic existence were first flourished. The definition to describe Bosnians sometimes can be mentioned also with another Word "Bosniac". While first definition describes a nation of a territory, the second one describes this nation's own name not directly depending on a territory where they came from. Thus Bosniac and Bosnians are same definition of a nation and cause of that Turkish Bosnian population must be called as Bosniac. Also their back ground doesn't include just Bosnia Herzegovina as a homeland for many of them. And a vast majority of this population in Turkey, are immigrants of Sandzak area where today divided by Serbia and Montenegro.

Main Bosniac concentrations in Turkey appears in the western part of the country while a little of them scattered around the rest of Anatolia where they living in remote villages among different cultures and sometimes inside different language areas. Especially in such these areas they often called as "Muhajir" or "Majir" that same definition also being used on Albanians or for other Muslim communities and ethnicities who came from Balkan Geography along with them. There can be a few waves of immigration period can put forth to explain existence of Bosniacs around the Turkey. These are;

- After 1878 Berlin Conference,
- After 1912-1913 Balkan Wars,
- During 1924-25 Unrest of Sanjak (Sandzak) Region.
- After 1945, II World War Immigrations,
- Between 1958-1970 Immigration Period,
- Between 1992-1995 Yugoslav Wars. (Which mainly effected Bosnians)

As the previous five period has got a limited effect to move masses of Bosniac populations from Balkans, conversely the last one has a wide and chain effect which its traces still can be observed on the region with the unstable political condition what was an outcome of the war what it was brought. In some periods such as 1992-1995, even comers was consisting a significant number, they were just hosted for a while during the war period in Turkey. But before this period, all Bosniac/Bosnian immigration waves caused Bosniacs to come just towards Turkey instead of anywhere else. Only in 1992-1995 War time, Bosnians has experienced to immigrate to the rest of the world out of the Turkey. When the main and big Bosniac immigrations met with Anatolian villages in 1924-1925, Šahovići and Pavino Polje genocides, Anatolia wasn't seen such a culture and their languages as well. Because in the previous periods of immigrations, Turkish Government was favored to settle Bosniacs to the various Balkan districts instead of Anatolian districts. But after 1912-1913 the löse of Balkans, there was just a little Balkan (Trakya) district on the hands of Turkish authorities and one large destination which called "Anatolia".

According to the notes of Evliya Çelebi a prominent Turkish traveler in 17.th century, the main Muslim population of Budin (Today the central part of Budapest city) was consisting of Bosniac Muslims. As Evliya Çelebi reports, such cities as; Budin (Budapest), Siget, Şikolş, Peçuj, Stolni Biograd, Temişvar, it is reported that only Bosnian language is heard in these cities and all the autochthons of the Budin was Bosniacs, while in Kanija the vast majority was consisting of Bosniacs too. From a Croat resource which belong to the year 1625, it can be understood that there was a significant number of Bosniac families who were living in Dalmatian region in these dates (Turbedar, 2006, p. 175-210). After 1699 by Karlowitz treaty, first Bosniac immigration was followed each other southwards by centuries so the extensive area of this nation was gradually in decline. As the geography formed, many thousands of Bosniac Muslims were escaped and settled to the safe southern districts of the Ottoman Empire from the lost northern territories of empire. So the first Bosniac migration from the North to southwards started. Today the Sandzak area represents a spine strip where this population retreated for hundred years and bordered by the natural geographical elements.

The hilly and mountainous relief of Sandzak, allows perfect natural fortification and represents a well midway station on the way to Bosnia Herzegovina. With rich water resources and fertile valleys and plains which mostly lies between forestall mountain ranges provides a perfect logistic resources for every needs. forestry, minery, trade has always been inside the economical activities of the region. But the most important part of Sandzak appears with its geopolitical position which lies from the east edges of Bosnia Herzegovina on its west and the western edges of Kosovo on its east. Such a position was also preventing the Serbia to have an access to the Adriatic coasts which is a part of Mediterranean sea.

The first serious unrests and clashes shows itself as a crisis in the region on the region in 1851, Ottoman era by the interest of Montenegrins and their paramilitary and military campaigns on Muslim settlements (Golen, 2009, p. 218). During those unrests in Sandzak area, many policies has been put forth by the local and central authorities for the following half century but the main problem could never been undone. To protect Muslims against Christians has been a vital task by time. Cause Muslims was under attack of their neighbors who wants their fertile plains and was looking at them as a scapegoats or traitors converts. The phenomenon may also be analyzed from the novels and classics of İvo Andriç to see its reflection on people's culture and cultural memories.

The Bosniacs of Sivas, today are mostly the heirs of Montenegrin Bosniacs whom a sort of genocide or pogrom was sentenced against them. Bosniac Muslims in the North of the Montenegro around Bijelopolje (Pavino Polje and Šahovići). Also some other terror-like events seems in the southern part of the Serbia against Bosniacs of Prijepolje and Novi Pazar. Some places in the North of Montenegro as, Zabljak and Kolašin were excluded of Sanjak Region, the main Muslim population was already ethnically cleansed before 1920's just after Berlin Conference which was signed after Russo-Ottoman Wars in 1877-78 period. But today also a little part of Anatolian Bosniacs in Sivas and the rest of the Anatolia, are descendants of the Zabljak and Kolašin towns and their villages. Among them, emigrants of Kolašin mainly seems to have settled around of İzmir District while the emigrants of Zabljak dispersed around many Anatolian villages in different numbers as they will be mentioned as "Muhacir" like many other Bosniacs throughout villages around of Sivas district too.

Reasons of Emigration to Turkey from Homeland

In all migrations, there is a resource and a target area phenomenon is observed. When it taken under a geographic survey where resource areas of Bosniac immigration were started, it can barely seem that those areas are ethnically fringe areas between Bosniacs and Montenegrins and Serbs. During history fringe zones has never been safe enough. When mass destructions of Bosnian population analyzed, it seems those genocides also have been prepared.

Those genocides has always been occurred as a reality of the Bosniac History in their geographies where their cultural geography distinct them as an alien next to their neighbors who looks them as a scapegoat of the former Ottoman Authority. In these bitter experiences of struggle to survive, some losses are in case. Those what happened can be shown sometimes as mass destructions (Srebrenica Case) and also sometimes differently while the atrocities was just applied in local areas just cause of strategic care (Šahovici Case) to cut Bosniac population from the rest of the Bosniac concentrations or to tighten their living area with a some paramilitary activities or pogroms.

Of course this has also been a kind of preventative measure against Bosniacs, in case of any possibility of a future insurgence by them. So the Šahovici and Pavino Polje incidents takes part in the region cause of their vital position that they lies between Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosovo where has got strong percentage of Muslims. Also it can be another reason that these areas are the towns which ties Bosnia Herzegovina to the Turkey. So, to prevent a possible "Prospective Future Union" the potential must be eliminated. Cause of this strategically care, Muslims of Sandzak are has been eliminated and depopulated by almost a century of policies which was put forth for the favor of both Serbian and Montenegrin policies. When the landlocked geographical position of Serbia taken under scope, the importance of Sandzak area (Today remains in the South of Serbia and North of Montenegro) occurs as a midway towards the Adriatic sea as an access for Serbia. In these circumstances even there was or wasn't any partnership between those two countries it is almost certain to say that those countries was both benefitted from the result. Depopulated areas by Bosniacs have been given to Serbian and Montenegrin settlers who have seemed to be "loyal" by their governments.

If the area were not depopulated, it is sure those areas were deserted, looted or isolated. Anyway today in some villages, it is possible to see a remaining Bosniac population too. But their numbers what they lost is a few times bigger when it compared with the target destination in Anatolia and İstanbul where emigrants were came from the resource area approx 90 years ago. As it mentioned with such a little irony "…you can go to home again. Why? Because you're at home" (Garber, 1987, p. 159). So the new homeland must be the last and eternal one. If it is such a case, so the policies of the host country has also some benefits of it. For instance the majority of the Bosniac settlements in the research area are abandoned Rum (Anatolian Greeks) or other Christian settlements that was deserted and empty before arrivals of Bosniacs with their untouched pastures and decayed/collapsed buildings.

Today Bosniac Community in Sivas, predominantly are the emigrants of Bijelopolje (Today in Montenegro) and Prijepolje (Currently in Serbia) and a little from Kolašin. They first arrived to the İstanbul where they came by train. Then they have been sent to the Giresun and Samsun Districts (two of the northern coastal cities of Turkey) by boat which departed from İstanbul. After a three month of accommodation in Giresun and Samsun cities, Bosniacs has been transported to the Sivas by the central Government where they would be settled permanently. Almost all emigrants was came cause of 09-10 October 1924 Genocides where

many of the villages of Šahovići town fall under a mass destruction which was directly targeted on Muslims.

Bosniacs who were settled in Sivas was the former residents of Šahovići (Today Tomaševo), Pavino Polje, Kolašin, Babaići, Muslići, Lijeska, Pape, Grab, Kovren, Komaran, Zavino, Grade, Jabućno, Brodarevo town centers and villages.

As for the current and ex Bosniac settlements in Sivas are listed below:

- **Sivas City Center:**
  Altıntabak Quarter.
- **Sivas, Zara City:**
  First 10 families who were settled in Zara Town (old army barracks) left the town completely. Now there is not current Bosniac Population in the town.
- **Villages of Zara:**
  - Cencin Village. Depopulated by Bosniacs. No current Bosniac Population.
  - Müslümabat (Ala Kilise)Village: Mostly depopulated by Bosniacs. Currently 3 families living in the village.
  - Çatören (3 families living)
  - Devekse (ekinli), Tuzlagözü, Tödürge villages has also depopulated by their Bosniac residents.
- **Sivas District, Zara City, Şerefiye Borough Center:**

One last family recently left Şerefiye to emigrate İstanbul as reported by locals.

- **Villages of Şerefiye:**
  - Kayadibi: Here is the Main and most homogenous Bosniac concentration in Sivas with 33 families but the majority of the villagers, already lives in İstanbul approx 250-300 families (by estimates of the Kayadibi Village Association in İstanbul, 2013)
  - Dereköy: This village was one of the important village of Şerefiye and was an abandoned Rum (Anatolian Greeks) settlement until 1923. After this era, Salonican emigrants was partly settled here for a while and they left almost totally by the end of 1960's. Then between 1924-26 the village populated by Bosniacs of Prijepolje and Šahović. The most populated era of the village makes a peak, by the end of 1960's with 30 family (approx 150 inhabitants) just before the labor emigration to the Germany and domestic emigration to the İstanbul. Today more than 110 families are linked with this village though the total inhabitants inside village no more than 13 home and their residents (approx 45-50 inhabitants). The school and the grocery of the village is closed cause of less population but this is not a disadvantage regarding to its well located position which is less than a kilometer to the Şerefiye town center where the main provider of its needs.
  - Armutçayırı: The village was a former Bosniac settlement around Şerefiye town with first settler 10 families. The village is a currently Turkish settlement and lost its Bosniac identity with the families who left it during few decades ago. Today there is just 5 Bosniac family lives inside the village as remaining emigrant population.

  - Göktepe: Depopulated by Bosniacs. Now the Bosniacs of Göktepe lives in İzmir the remaining residents are not Bosniac.
  - Güllüali Village, Alişir village, Deredam Village, Ekinli Village, Pazarbelen Villages was Inhabited by Bosniacs in 1924-25 emigrations. After 1937 Dersim (Today's Tunceli) unrest in east Turkey, some Alevi (a branch of Shia muslims) families has settled those villages and cause of ethnic, cultural (also lingual) and regional based mismatches, the Bosniac population has completely left those villages. So far, currently there is not Bosniac Population in these settlements. (-d and -e groups). Last Bosniac was left Alişir Village in the beginning of 1970's.

- **Sivas, Gemerek Town, Villages of Gemerek:**
  - Dendil Village: The village has approx. 40-50 families and has a population less than 200 persons. Two thirds of the village are Bosniacs and continuously loses its population cause of soil fertility and fewer opportunities of job and economic activity which limited with farmery and animal husbandry. The non Bosniac population of the village comprising of Karapapak Turks (an ethnicity who emigrated formerly as Russian exiles from east of Georgia, who were basically Azeris in Sunni Muslim belief).
  - Burhan Village: The village has got a mixed population like many others. 1/3 of the population comprises of Bosniacs. The rest are Turks and others. The main Bosniac population of the village left it away for a few decades ago.
  - Tekmen Village: The village has been populated by Bosniacs of Bijelopolje Grab village and the town of Kolašin where today in Northern Montenegro.

Some members of the village currently living in İstanbul and in İzmir while others may seem in Ankara and Kayseri.

Moreover it is reported that there are also some Bosniac families was settled in Çetne and Sızır villages around of Gemerek town (http://sivasbosnaklari.com/page.html).

Bosniacs of Sivas who Emigrated towards Urban Areas and Metropolas

Today Bosniacs of Sivas seems to have a scattered spatial distribution throughout the Turkey where they mainly seem in five metropolis (excluding the Sivas District) such as, İstanbul, İzmir, Ankara, Kayseri and Adana. Somehow, Bosniacs of Gemerek's villages, mostly migrated to Ankara, Kayseri, and Adana, cause of local closeness (Gemerek is known as the closest point of Sivas to the Ankara and Kayseri) and attractive opportunities of job, instead of moving to İstanbul. So today, it is rare to find in İstanbul any Bosniacs who are from Gemerek and its vicinity.

As for mentioning a total number and to put it forth, the number of Bosniacs around of Sivas cannot be less than 1000 persons and not more than 2000. It is also impossible to talk about a certain number of Bosniacs cause of individual identification differences and lack of census records since 1965. Especially for the last generation who has started to build new cultural ties and have a new trend of intermarriages with other communities. Thus the language fluency and nativeness on it, loses its density in each decades and generations.

However, because of intermixing and cultural diffusion the Bosniacs in Sivas District, are not as a distinct ethnicity as they once were. At least new generation has less differences than their counterparts who they grew up together. Marriage with local Turkish population on the area is the crucial factor on this reality. Mutual religious affinity and mutual traditions also accelerated this process. As for the other reason, their sparsely distribution and economical based mass migrations towards city centers has divided the community and

migrants did not experienced to settle in "Ghetto kind of Bosniak areas" in Istanbul like the late comers in 1950's and 1960's (Pendik, Bayrampaşa and Esenler). Thus the community shows a rare integrity to keep their culture and language differently than other Bosniac Communities around of the Turkey while olders of Sivas Bosniacs above 30-35 ages can speak and understand easily but the younger's may often not.

Also another factor can be their location isolation that they were living in remote villages of Sivas where is very far from the main Bosniac concentrations in Turkey such as İzmir, Bursa, İstanbul/Pendik, Bayrampaşa and Esenler. Nevertheless the Bosniac population of Sivas was a unique cultural colour in their inhabited areas until late of 1980's. Till these years percentage of Bosnian speaking population was almost preserving their native languages bilingual with Turkish. After this period, by the mass migrations towards big cities and the interaction with local Turkish communities, language fluency gradually deteriorated.

As for Bosniacs from the villages of Zara town, they were mostly chose to settle in Istanbul, Bağcılar quarter where they lives as a little community among a big Turkish speaking population. But differently in Pendik, Bayrampaşa and Esenler, Bosniac population makes up mass majorities in many quarters and so their social interaction and social cohesion keeps the cultural and lingual heredity. According to the estimates of this research there are approx 420-450 Bosniac families (roughly 2300 persons) who emigrated from North of Sivas mainly from Zara Region (where also includes Şerefiye). Today, 70% of their population currently living in Bağcılar Quarter (an urban municipality inside İstanbul Metropolitan Area) As for the rest 20% appears on Pendik, Esenler, Bayrampaşa, Arnavutköy, Eyüp, and Çekmeköy settlements (urban municipalities in İstanbul Metropolitan Area). And the rest of the Bosniacs from the villages of Zara town,(less than 50 families) moved in İzmir city especially in Bornova urban municipality where they lives in Çamdibi and Altındağ quarters.

As for the Bosniacs on the southern part of the Sivas (Dendil, Burhan and Tekmen Villages) their population inside Sivas District and in different urban metropolis is up to 580-610 families according to the different interviews with villagers and local families on the area. So approx 3000 people has got strict ties with these villages. It is possible to say that, today more than 5000 people who have Bosnian descendants and accepts themselves from Sivas and Sandzak as a mutual identity same as how they accepts themselves Turk and Bosniac in same time.

Educational level of this community shows different specialties from villages to the big cities. Settlers, who kept their lifestyle in villages once they were settled, are mostly having less educational structure. But for the big cities, educational level of the Bosniacs is relatively higher than their relatives in villages around of Sivas. Anyway as the educational level increases and the language fluency deteriorates, community rapidly mixes and integrates with remaining Turkish population and gets out of their cultural ghettos. This harmonic situation accelerates Bosniacs to lose their language faster than before. Primarily such these surnames have been observed in the research area. Hasanbegoviç (the last Muslim major's family of Pavino Polje), Kayabegoviç, İmşoviç, Kriviç, Hodziç, Zekoviç, Çelebiç, Hançer and Peleš.

The Result of Immigrations

As the Bosniac population leaves their homelands in Sandzak area heading to Turkey, their former villages has been repopulated by Serbians and Montenegrins. Bosniacs who were settled in Sivas was the former residents of Šahovići (Today Tomaševo), Pavino Polje,

Kolašin, Babaići, Muslići, Lijeska, Pape, Grab, Kovren, Komaran, Zavino, Grade, Jabućno, Brodarevo, Prijepolje town centers and villages where today in the borders of Montenegro and Serbia. Today even in the statistical information over those villages shows some signs of manipulations with the figures what they reports.

For instance the village of Grab today has 305 inhabitants who are 228 Serbian and 68 Montenegrin according to the Monstat Reports. According to the census, the village has no Bosniac population but there are a few persons who don't declared their ethnicity according to the census report. Thus there is a sociological reality occurs that usually minorities doesn't want to declare themselves if they are living in harsh conditions or are they living in areas of an ex genocide area where they or their ethnic group previously underwent a genocide or a pogrom. So whoever doesn't want to declare must have been Bosniacs or Bosniac origin ones.

As for Pavino Polje where a genocide happened, today 22 Montenegrin, and 88 are Serbs currently living while 31 person seems on reports as "doesn't want to declare." For Šahovići, where today seems on the maps as Tomaševo, From 243 total population, 113 are Montenegrin, 112 are Serbs while 15 persons seems on report as "doesn't want to declare" themselves. As for Babaići Village, total populations seem as 53 whom are divided as 29 Montenegrins and 17 Serbs. But census data doesn't gives about the rest 7 persons even with a classification of "Doesn't want to declare."

Another example can be given from the Village of Muslići which has population 273 persons whom divided as 75 Montenegrin and 191 Serb. But when those figures are added each other 75+191 makes up 266. So about the remaining 7 persons, there is not any definition or classification. Lijeska village is another example of same phenomenon which has got a wrong total number of two little figures. According to the Monstat (Montenegrin Statistical Office) the total population of the village is 91 people whom divided as 16 Montenegrin and 70 Serbs. For the remaining 5 persons, there is no any information indicated. For the village of Pape, about 229 total population figures of Monstat gives an exact arithmetical adding which are 105 Montenegrin and 224 Serbians=229 as it mentioned correctly.

For another village Kovren, there is an interesting definition seems. Village's total population is indicated as 95 whom are just 16 Montenegrin and 72 Serbs. But there is another 6 persons are indicated as "Other" and when all those figures added each other, the total number is 94 instead of 95 as it declared as "total number" in the beginning. As for the definition of "Other" it is really a doubtful definition because in total census there was 26 selection of nationality for peoples to answer. Also the nation of Bosniacs was dividing in 4 ethnicity (Bosniacs, Bosnians, Bosniac Muslims, Montenegrin Muslims). So it is almost difficult to select the group of "other" instead of such a plenty of identities for persons to answer. The Village Jabučno is another sample where the total doesn't fits to Monstat as it indicated 95 total inhabitants whom are divided as 30 Montenegrins and 58 Serbs. As for the missing arithmetical part of those 7 persons, there is not any indication or answer group displayed on the table.

Result of these immigrations was has got profound effects which would last its traces for many decades in different geographies carrying the culture, language and ethnicities beyond thousands of kilometers away. As the spatial distribution of Bosniacs in Sandzak area tightened, their spatial distribution on the new country (Turkey) was presenting a large area with an extensive geography of Anatolian steps. With a different climate, different soil and rain conditions and with a different altitude and vegetation temperature period. Comers was carried their kitchen culture and their corns and some seeds along with themselves. Nevertheless some other tastes and fruits what they were used to have wasn't exist in their new and eternal destination. The fruit of Borovnica and some local herbs which

is widely known in Sandzak area wasn't exists in Sivas. Also some other tastes such a kind of grass called as "Madımak" (a kind of smartweed) a local herb of Sivas district, has been one of the new culture in the kitchen of Bosniacs of Sivas by time. In the same time, the locals of Sivas met with the kitchen culture of Bosniacs and by time, locals of Sivas had an information and awareness about Bosniacs while they wasn't knew before till that time.

References

Merkeze bağlılar : Karagöl köyü, Çetne köyü. Sızır köyü. Burhan köyü ve Tekmen köyleri ile Zera'ya bağlı Turdaga köyü, Deredam köyü, Gültepe, Dereköy, Armutçayır, Kayadibi

Gemerek'te Burhanköy, Dendil köyü, ve Tekmen köyleri

Armutçayırı, Dereköy, Kayadibi, Şerefiye, deredam, Göktepe, güllüali, alişir, 3 hane 5 hane 234789 12

Bosna Sancak Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği - 20

Anadolunun göbeği Sivas'ta Boşnak köyü

Sivas'ın Zara ilçesine bağlı Kayadibi köyüne yıllar önce göç ederek yerleşen Boşnak kökenli vatandaşlar, uzun yıllardır Boşnak kültürünü yaşatmaya devam ediyor.

UTILIZING FRAMES FOR SUSTAINING POLITICAL CONFLICT: TURKEY'S LONG CULTURE WAR AROUND THE HEADSCARF

Mehmet Salih GÜRAN, Assistant Professor

Gümüşhane University

Hüseyin ÖZARSLAN, Assistant Professor

Gümüşhane University

Abstract
Since the early beginnings of The Turkish Republic, the headscarf has been a symbol of a deep-reaching, protracted cultural-political clash between these fighting to uphold the founding ideology strictly and those trying to gain a normalization respecting the "social-cultural conditions" of the society. The aim of the study is to analyze the framing used by the media and the political actors of the respective parties at the historical-political landmarks of this "culture war", in respect to a language promoting peace or fight. The framing analysis has shown that various frames by both parties and in the media formed clusters that showed repetitive patterns aiming rallying of supporters but resulted also with inciting hostility.

Keywords: Political Conflict, Cultural Conflict, Framing Theory, Media, Media Frames.

Peace Journalism

Johann Galtung, wrote in his seminal article "The Structure of Foreign News" that the media has the tendency to polarize conflicts through language usage orientations (Galtung and Ruge 1965). He later labeled this kind of information, war journalism. To counteract this effect there should be another orientation for journalism: peace journalism. Four main features of War journalism has been outlined by Galtung as (a) an orientation towards the depiction of violence and war, (b) heavy influence of propaganda, (c) a focus more on the opinion of the elites and (d) tendency to present the conflict in means of a zero-sum game, that is, one part will win all and the other part will lose everything (Galtung 2002).

On the other hand, peace journalism is to be oriented to conflict transformation, to inform with veracity, it has to care for the opinion of the victims of the conflict, and it should understand peace as a solution of a conflict where all involved parties should feel assured in some way. Peace journalism requires that the journalist takes an interpretative approach, focusing more on the stories that highlight peace initiatives; it abstains from exaggerating ethnic and religious differences; prepares for later conflicts; tries to understand the structure of societies in conflict; and aims to promote the solution of the conflict, reconstitution and reconciliation (Galtung 1997).

Peace Journalism in Contexts of Political Conflicts with Latent "Domestic" Violence

Although peace journalism had been confined to violent international or inter-ethnic (inter-cultural) conflict in the beginnings, today numerous studies explore the utility of peace

journalism in "cold" domestic conflicts where at least one of the parties has not the institutional means to wage a "hot" war (Biazoto 2011). The aim of our study is not the debate on the contextually correct uses of the term culture "war", neither the degree and extent of a specific "cold" political conflict. Instead we point out to the alienating, polarizing, mobilizing, warring rhetoric and language use of actors and the media which itself is an active actor in the struggle. If all sides mean war, the violent language must be a manifestation of an intent which under appropriate local circumstances has no reason not to escalate into "hot" violent conflict.

Indeed, "war" frames are among the most powerful mobilizing frames, appreciated by movement elites and countermovement elites as well, for rallying supporters and or maintaining the power status quo, bullying opponents etc (Benford 1993). Thus, the use of these frames are not necessarily to be taken seriously in every context. In "democratic" nations which have learned to hold on to red lines in the society, "culture wars" have their times to come and go. But, in unstable pre-democratic social stages with a host of foreign and domestic institutional manipulators, elites of both sides may easily be seduced by their own spiral of tam tams, which can escalate the conflict into uncontrollable levels of violence. Particularly as many middle-east countries awake now from the state of synthetic and unsustainable politically static state of hibernation, the problem of "internal" political transformation is fueled by fundamental cultural differences which are experienced by their defenders as indispensable identity demarcations and are fought for accordingly.

On the other hand, this kind of struggle for political power is the means for social exclusion from social processes and interaction which is bitterly experienced by the excluded as real ethnic suppression and social-cultural termination at the end and which is no short of the implications of a "real" war. LeBaron and Pillay suggested that intercultural conflict transformation should not aim the elimination of conflict, rather to come at a symbiosis (2006: 3). "*The perception that cultural differences cause or escalate conflicts obscures the way that cultural differences can contribute to constructive relationship-building"* (2006: 92). LeBaron and Pillay observed in fundamental cultural conflicts that *'people in destructive conflict begin to dehumanize their adversaries when the conflict polarizes relationships'* (2006: 90). Journalists tend to reduce actors of conflict parties to ideology related stereotypes which are then opened to common usage as frames (Hall, 1995; Entman and Rojecki, 2000;).

The Turkish Cultural-political Dichotomy in the 20th Century

The Turkish Republic has been founded by Atatürk with a mindset of radical westernization and modernization as understood by revolutionary Young Turks of the 19. Century and was implemented as a cultural revolution against the very cultural backgrounds of the Turkish nation. The radical coercive nature of elitist revolution instigated a conservative countermovement that took it as a cultural war as it was also understood by the revolution itself but the effects of the culture revolution had made them reserved, so they more preferred to seek asylum in the body of so called centrist parties. It took almost three decades to begin with multi-party democracy that however was interrupted by regular military intervention.

In the 70'ies, political Islam made its entrance into the political system, first as a tolerated small coalition partner for both big parties, more ridiculed than feared\hated by the mainstream media. The growth of Islamist media was in parallel to political growth; first they were very few and tiny and had mostly no direct political affiliation. It was only after the 1980'ies that they added in numbers and their readership grew to mainstream status. After a decade it grew slowly but steadily into a political alternative that was not on the program. The elites understood their identity as defenders of the Republic against a reactionary counterrevolution, and the political establishment as the means to deny the backward people any social-political power. As cultural symbols have an appreciated but also hated power in

political communications, political conflicts are prone to be escalate into a polarizing cultural war. As a appearance of a religious requirement, the headscarf was seen as a challenge to the social-cultural hegemony of the state ideology and further, the progressive cultural class born with the republic hated everything religious. The historical-cultural associations of the headscarf made it a unique symbol for extensive use and abuse throughout this politics of dominance and exclusion but also for politics of rallying a resistance. This assured the headscarf first to be banned forever, and second the position of a banner for a social movement of the disinherited.

The bigger two parties for seemed sufficient sustaining the political system but Turkey as a whole system showed an example of got stuck in the take-off stage, typical of all nations in the Middle East (and still developing nations elsewhere) which resulted in a state of continuous but silent discontent in the voting masses. A rising wave of leftist youth organizations and activities easily turned into a state of daily terror which resulted in a Latin American-style military intervention in 1980. As a typical feature of recurring Turkish military coups, the military understood it's time-limited mission as a general mop-up and subsequently "removing deadlocks" from the political system via a new constitution. This included the banning of old parties and leaders to make up for a political opportunity for a new establishment. Whatever in their mind was, so began the new era of Turgut Ozal, a unifying leader for transformation and progress but decidedly not against religious symbols. Although the one-term government of Ozal is still a hot topic for debate, it showed the old elites that the people wanted alternatives, and after Ozal, the political and economic instability built up again general discontent and rose the alternative claims of the religious-right into actual candidacy for state power. Although it was a coalition with a center-right party in 1996, the "active powers" consisting of traditional military and civil elites (foremost the media, plus the President of the Republic and the President of the Constitutional Court and the Head Prosecutor included) were poised not to allow for a possibly successful term, as a result, the coalition administration was not a match for the concerted joint efforts of the other half of state power. The administration was brought down by which was called a "postmodern coup", party and its representatives were officially tried and banned, and all of this was only possible with the vigorous engagement of the Turkish media establishment in its declared mission as a countermovement. The framing strategies used in this historical milestone of political movement and countermovement were thoroughly analyzed by Uysal (2003).

The Event of The Headscarved MP

The incident which constitutes the subject for this study happened in front of this background. The following election produced a % 5 decrease in votes for the follow up party but she had produced among her representatives one who proceed to oath with her headscarf. She was prevented by a harsh protest of the seasoned and at other times as dovelike known leader of the center-left party and his fellow representatives. He called up the residing chairman who saw nothing scandalous and wanted to proceed with the oath ceremony. The majority of the National Assembly remained reluctant for anything; the headscarved MP withdrew for a better opportunity. But the media was prepared on her heels. What could be taken as a probably minor incident was turned into a media spectacle worth seeing, a head-on battle of words, where the media decidedly fought voluntarily on the foremost front as commander, foot soldier, cavalry, and heavy artillery as well.

A well prepared and coordinated media campaign raised the hell upon her, and in her personality, the party, its voters, and an ideology. The "scandal" filled the first pages with screaming headlines, big pictures, an army of columns (a popular format in the Turkish press), tons of framed news stories. The already stricken Islamist media fought back in

fervor, the storm raged for weeks in the same fashion and further dragged on for both parties calling to arms, and presenting intent, emotion and wit in their rhetoric. As a political result, the second biggest party was successfully excluded from the coalition talks, the other two parties (one centrist, one nationalist-right) were pressed into partnership with the leading center-left party without much bargaining. Further, the Chief Prosecutor began a new trial to close again the religious-right party and so on. It was made clear the press as the watchdog of the countermovement was on watch and would relentless continue to press hard on the "counterrevolution". But beyond these practical campaigning outcomes, the event constituted a rare example of continuous framing counter framing and reframing again of symbolic emotional outbursts on both sides, the glorious reviving of an ancient feud, which pressed us to look beyond framing strategies already documented well. The emotional roles media can play as a social movement organizer was for us prime interest in our framing analysis.

From the Framing of Social Movements to Peace Journalism

"To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, 52). The sociology of Erving Goffman views social movements as agents producing and maintaining social meanings for all involved and audiences (Cress and Snow, 2000). In elaborating the relevance of framing processes to movement participant mobilization, Snow and Benford (1988) stressed the importance of framing by relating a social movement's success at least to a degree to its success in the core framing activities of diagnostic framing (causal interpretation), prognostic framing (treatment recommendation) and motivational framing (moral evaluation and-or call to collective action).

Emotional Framing

Jones (2001) noted the relationship between conflict-communication-emotion as:

*"a) Communication is central to any understanding of emotion as socially constructed; b) conflict is an inherently, essentially emotional process; and c) important areas of research and theory could explore emotional communication in interpersonal and group conflict."*Goodwin et al. agree with her but add that ''some emotions are more [socially] constructed than others, involving more cognitive processes'' Goodwin et al. 2001 (as cited in Klandermans 2004). Emotions, the authors stated, are important in the growth and unfolding of social movements and political protest. Because emotions are susceptible to manipulation, activists try to achieve moral outrage and anger for targeting opponent representatives.

People are angry, develop feelings of moral indignation about some state of affairs or some government decision and they want to make that known. People who develop feelings of moral contempt about something in relation to power use, they get angry and seek opportunities to express their feelings. People participate in social movements not only to facilitate political change, but to make their lives meaningful and gain dignity through struggle and moral expression (Klandermans 2004).

Media Frames after the Turkish General Election 2 May 1999

Our framing analysis covered only four days of two newspapers which are fairly representative as champions of their cause while could be labeled as mainstream in their respective camps -though their outspoken engagement as well as their highly inflammatory language and rhetoric would ensure them both a place among radical media. The daily *Milliyet* was the most typical example for half a dozen similar established mainstream

newspapers as defender of the revolution, while the daily *Akit* was the representative of a smaller group of the religious-right camp, outshining them only with her more outspoken engagement of protest.

We differentiated the material into two groups as news stories and columns and sought in them our predetermined frames. We did not count all types of frames used in relation to the context, we rather started the study from conflict frames already found in the literature in relation to the context of social movements (Benford and Snow: 2000) and tried to build from it a more comprehensive sub-set of interrelated emotional frames suitable for the analysis of polarizing enmity and hatred language usage in a heavily emotional conflict. The analysis showed that this was a difficult task; hence symbolic cultural communication full with references to the history of the conflict was used very intensely and everywhere. On the other hand, the heavily cultural perception of frames in such texts is inherently dependent on audience frames which make strict neutrality of analysts not only impossible, but also unwanted too. Too much symbolic expressions included multiple frames which presented a big challenge to coding and required frequent discursive debates.

As an example, the category of mobilization frames (McCaffrey, and Keys 2000; Snow et. al. 1986) is not a single integrated category in the interest of our study. While mobilization frames are among the most important frames for social movements and political conflict communication, our more narrow focus was for the provoking-polarizing potential of some of the mobilizing frames. Likewise, frames of protest concerned us only as they passed to polarization and vilification and exaggeration of hostility. In other words, we tried to draw a red thin line in the middle of the war of words to gain some differentiation of the positively fighting (defense) and essentially negative (intended to sustain the crisis and hence the status of the fighter) usage of the frames which both seemed undistinguishable in the tumult.

We started with the frames laid out extensively in the literature of social movements (Snow et. al. 1986; Benford ve Snow 2000) and which Uysal (2003) explored in his study of the 1997 "postmodern coup" on the same subject, but for being able to focus on the dialectic of the emotional language of conflict, we decided to hunt for the hottest, the bluntest frames of reciprocal engagement. It was raining from both sides like artillery bombardment, but since both sides had themselves entrenched into position using heavily traditional symbolism, we had to form two different subsets for covering their arsenal of frames specific to them. However a group of frames proved to be suitable for both sides which we had to give a direction in favor or against the headscarf.

Predetermined Frames

The polarizing frame as the indispensable framing of inter-group conflicts, (McCaffrey, and Keys 2000) was naturally present everywhere, although we tried hard to count only explicit expressions, very frequently the frame seemed the natural partner of most other framings of both sides. Further, in instances without explicit expression, it was not to be overlooked as the implicit but overall dominant frame of many a news story or column. To avoid multiple framing in a single story or article, we waited until the subject or target or the frame changed. Yet, many single symbolic expressions referencing cultural, historical cues had to be accounted for an astonishing number of different frames.

The vilification frame, (McCaffrey, and Keys 2000) also a "natural" frame in every conflict coverage, was to us the most significant frame and so abundant in this case that we tried to organize it into a cluster of closely interrelated frames with meaningful nuances and valences which would us give a more comprehensive map of the emotional communication of this warfare. But the deep and wide symbolism of long-used ordinary insult phrases led to a hopeless intertwining of the frames in the group which let us achieve only limited success. At last, it is a very close-related family of frames.

The ***vilification frame*** family begins with its most senior member, the ***irtica*** frame (item *8.1* in the coding questionnaire) which comes from an era even older than the republic and is naturally, a one-way-only frame that means reactionary action but references all action linked to religious motives which makes it problematic for coders since it actually is a master frame that engulfs other more specific frames in the family. The historical overuse of this master frame seems diminished its significance hence emotional hurting valence.

The second vilification frame family member was ***enmity against national-cultural values,*** this time, a blow in the opposite direction and popularly used in defensive counter framing by the headscarf party.

The third vilification frame was designed to catch the ***hidden agenda frame*** that Uysal (2003) defined and is actually popular in conflicts in other countries where the religious-right is confronted by pro-abortion rights advocates and this like and which makes usage of ***hypocrisy, double-facedness, dishonesty, religion exploiters, hidden agenda,*** and ***takiyye*** (in shia: religious permission for exerting precaution in extreme danger situations). This aims a morality counter framing strategy aiming to sever naturally respectable religious beliefs from the opponent and so trying to prevent the formation of a monolithic camp of the religious minded population.

The fourth vilification frame is the highest valenced emotional outcry from the camp of the assaulted, shouting into the face of their persecutors *"**cruelty, tyranny, arrogance***!" in direct anger.

The fifth member in the vilification frames family is aimed explicitly at the political feature of the countermovement by collecting the alleged ultimate intent of ***wanting shari'a, occupy government agencies, threat to political regime, threat for uprising, secession, occupation, government takeover*** and the like. These and similar allegations by the press were used by the Chief Prosecutor as evidence to achieve the closure of the preceding party in 1997, and now in 1999, he had again the opportunity to count the frames.

The sixth vilification frame was originally picked up as a directional frame against the headscarf, but was found as a highly emotional valenced insult appreciated by both sides accusing the opponent with ***treason, sabotage, provocation, agent-provocateur*** and the like.

The seventh vilification frame, although similar to the preceding one, is more explicit in linking treason to *foreign powers.* This frame proved as awaited, a single-sided frame accusing the targeted person and the movement in general with links to foreign powers like Iran, Saudi Arabia, or Hamas. ***The foreign powers link frame*** might be observed in other nations and instances as referencing traditional-cultural paranoid inclinations as implicating socialists with Soviet accomplice, and as after the occupation of Iraq as it is nowadays the situation, with accomplice of the USA.

The eight frame is aimed at counter framing the framing of the religious-right by means of the above mentioned whole group of persecuting accusations ***exploitation of religious feelings, hidden agenda, etc.*** **simply** ***secularism exploiters***. The frames beyond this, are frames applicable to both sides of the conflict.

The ninth as most frames in this emotional confrontation tend to imply some form of insult, the ninth frame of the group was designed to pick up this particular emotional valence in accusations hence the ***insult frame,*** but this intent was impeded by the fact that it occurred very frequently as an independent frame not related to our other frames. The whole mediated communication between actors, audiences-media communities, was under the influence of this mutual disposition. Since the emotional outburst in the Akit gained extraordinary dimensions from some of its authors" words, but also generally this framing approach appeared as arguably the most salient framing valence abhorring any strategy. As an example, Columnist Hasan Karakaya's already not decent language diverted to cursing which we abstain from illustrating here. Anybody outside the conflict (or time-travelers like us)

would be astonished by the unrestricted anger exploding into the face of the reader and would understand that this was the last straw that broke the back of the camel. This was the helpless anger of these who felt abused and humiliated since generations and only understandable if you knew the history of disillusion. This history is needed to understand other and more actual dissident groups that are politically excluded and marginalized up to despair. *Cursing is seemingly a last way to collect oneself from traumatic communication.*

A very popular accomplice to this frame was the frame of *person blaming*, as real personalities and also parties and social movements as well, were targeted as actor and symbol, as heroes, heroines and villains. This frame also was a frequent part of other frames, since persons and personalities were involved in the communication process as symbolic faces to groups and attitudes. The *person support frame,* and as the person blaming frame, the heroization an defending of symbol actors is an important frame in rallying movement support, fostering group loyalty and identification, but not least recovering some dignity. Persons are put forward as champions to represent the group in fight, in turn, victimizations affect the whole group.

The ***call to arms frame*** (Benford, and Snow 2000) is a more dramatic derivative of ***collective action frame*** which should express a call for collective confrontation. Against our expectation for a radical media, it was relatively underrepresented against the abundance of cursing frames, which might mean that this media community was fundamentally peaceful as its political history also showed and limited her frustration only to a "war of words". *In spite of some original examples of call to arms through historical symbols, there was a clear red line and the headscarf party as the representative of Turkish Islamism appeared culturally inclined to stay in the limits of peaceful action.* The *identity frame* meant much to us since cultural confrontations as we saw the headscarf issue, have a big deal to do with identity manifestations and suppressions as well. But beyond these highly emotional conflict and warring frames, more rational argument framing have been also assessed. A *democracy frame* referred to democracy in favor or against the headscarf. A military intervention frame could be taken as a threat frame.

Fairness and justice frames are again one-way frames seen exclusively in exceptional columns of the Milliyet, calls to fairness and justice constituted a very great contrast to the war monger atmosphere prevalent in the same paper, thankfully reframed by Akit as approval and support for their rightful cause. Together with a handful of other "just" authors of other papers not studied here, these rare authors had to face up against harsh criticism of their fellow colleagues for their support of the case of democracy. Understandably, beyond these, the Akit had no sympathy, thus no *fairness and justice frame* left over for their "oppressors"

Framing Comparison of Milliyet and Akit

Framing differences between news and columns were not as much as should be expected, news coverage too was heavily framed.

Polarization: This frame consisted 4,7 % of the framing of the news stories on the Milliyet. An unnamed spokesperson of an unknown Association For Women Research was quoted saying: "*We vehemently denounce the behavior attempted in The Great National Assembly against our constitution, the principles and the revolutions of our secular republic that a miserable person, a disgrace to Republic's women who has been programmed and released by impertinent people who want to prevail their own policies.*"

As apparent, the speech includes other frames of protest, as *insult*, *criticizing person*(s), may be others if the coders correspond: vilification number 8.1 the ancient *irtica* frame, 8.3 *dishonesty-hidden agenda,* 8.5 *government takeover,* number 8.6 *provocation-sabotage.*

Together with polarization frames in the columns, it totals to 8 % which makes it the third most frequent frame of the paper. In Akit, polarization makes with 10,5 % the third place too: Example: "*Fake democrats unmasked: Know these minds*" (Akit May 4, p.4) This headline with its news story featured alongside polarization frame *person blaming, democracy frame, dishonesty, and insult frame.* Note that the news is nearly heavily framed as columns.

The Vilification Frame Family

On both papers, this frame family was the most common frame in total, while differing in the subset frames. In Akit, the frame family consisted 30,1 % of frames, with 43,9 % in the news and 56,1 % in the columns. Comparably, 43,9 % of the frames in Milliyet aimed vilification, with 55,7 % in columns and 44,3 % in the news coverage.

The subset frames were lined up as:

In Milliyet Shari'a, controlling government offices, thread to regime, uprising, secession, government takeover 23,9 %

"*The Merve Kavakci affair is the reflection of a counter-movement that is enduring since the Republic was established and gained a secular content."* (Bila, 1999, May 4), "*The irtica puppets that want today turban (headscarf), tomorrow chador and what else they will want*" (Çetiner, 1999, May 6), *"Caricature; subtitle: veiling. Content: A snake in chador with an in script on the tail:irtica"* (Selçuk, 1999, May 4)

The third most used vilification sub frame was *hypocrisy, double-facedness, dishonesty, religion exploiters, hidden agenda, and takiyye,* with 19,3 % .The entire first page in Milliyet on May 6, featured implications that Merve Kavakci was pursuing a hidden agenda and was hiding her real intents. *"The headline: Merve Kavakci of the FP called for jihad at HAMAS-related Palestinian İslamic Union meeting"* The news story continued on p.16 and concluded with a notification of the reporter in the US: "*The independent media watch institute FAIR criticized Emerson (from we have quoted the story) as a journalist more interested in Arab and Muslim hostility*" Of course this notification could not compete with the headline on the first page. Other titles continued as: *"My way is the way of jihad"* "*We have to arm us"(with the arms of our adversaries at the end of the century-as she actually said in the story)*

Treason, sabotage, provocation, agent frame was used with 18,2 % although sometimes not easy to discern from other vilification frames, the *treason* frame was coming to the front on a special *Merve in the US page* that featured stories more noting into organizational links. A story title: "*Merve's organizational links"* (May 6, 1999, p. 19). Columnist Yılmaz Çetiner "*Trying to pierce the secular Republic with a uniform that is called turban and so opening the way to chador etc. cannot be named else than treason to the country*"

In Akit 1: ***Cruelty, tyranny, arrogance frame*** featured 28,5 % of the vilification frames. The frame was intertwined understandably with person blaming frames mostly against DSP leader Ecevit and his comrades also against the President of The Republic Demirel, who bluntly positioned himself against the headscarved MP by labeling her "She is an agent-provocateur". **2.** Akit: The second common member of the vilification family was ***insult frame*** with 25,2 % in total, 20 frames in the news and 42 frames in the columns. Apparently column writers understood their function as interpretation of the feelings of their readers by venting common anger. **3.** The third most frequent vilification subset frame was, In Akit: equal in both news and columns, total 20,3 % of the frames in Akit were ***enmity against national-cultural values*** frame. Dilipak in his column: "They struggle with the faith of the society and they make 'All-Out War' headlines permanent. Against the faith, culture, history, identity of the nation" (May 6, 1999, p.11) In the news: "Demirel again failed to fill

the shoes of the late Turgut Ozal who was respectful to the beliefs of the nation" (May 3, 1999, s.1) **4.** The fourth most frequent vilification frame was ***treason, sabotage, provocation, agent frame*** with 15,9 % of all frames. (May 3, 1999, p.1) Headlines:"Ecevit is the head provocateur" **5.** The fifth most common frame was in Akit ***secularist exploitation*** with 7,3 %. "FP MP Merve Kavakci who was targeted by secularist bigots on grounds she entered the National Assembly with headscarf" (May 5, 1999, p.1)

Milliyet's fourth frame was the traditional label of ***irtica*** with 9,9 % as direct implication of words directly related to the frame like *bigots, reactionism, beard, chador, Iran.* (May 5, 1999, p. 13). A news story about the provincial organization of a political party outside the parliament rallied a protest *"Send her away to Iran",* The text continued by wondering how Merve Kavakci has chosen a reactionary lifestyle after graduating from modern schools like TED college. The **5**th frame with 8,3 % was the ***foreign powers link*** frame. "the strings are outside" (May 4, 1999, p.19). Akit used 3 frames of ***foreign Powers link frame*** (1,2 %) "These are colony agents. These are today's mandater's" (Dilipak, 1999, May 6). The ***Democracy frame*** in favor of MP Merve Kavakci and the headscarf was used by Akit with 6,5 %. "The end of the democracy tale in Turkey ended at the oath ceremony in The Great National Assembly" "Wasn't the sovereignty unconditionally to the nation?" (Eraslan, 1999, May 5). ***Call to the arms frame*****,** explicit reference to war was in Akit 2,7 % of frames. The violation of women and girls and of their veils during the French, English and Armenian occupation of Maraş after WWI, is referred to as reason to the uprising then (May 6, 1999, p.15). This is not an explicit call to arms, thus a debated frame. ***Identity frame-political symbol frame*** was consisted in Akit 3,6 % of frames. "*They say that you can't exist with your religious identity in the public sphere, in the administration area, in the scientific area*" (Dilipak, May 6, 1999). **Milliyet's *Call to arms frames*** were 6,3 %. "*It's to be or not to be for the secular Turkish Republic*" (May 4, 1999, p.17). The *Ankara Song* was sung with altered ending, outside the parliament by a group including minister wives (The song is about the Greek invasion which triggered the national movement that resulted in the establishment of the Republic). ***Person blaming frame:*** The second most frequent frame in Akit, with 18,6 %, it was also the second most common frame in Milliyet too with 21,4 %. "*Ecevit planned the occupation of the bench (to prevent the oath of the MP)*" "*What should we say to dirty handed Ecevit? Even if he would wash his hands every night like Lady Macbeth, he would not clean the blood of thousands of youths*" (Reference to Ecevit's leadership during the upheaval of the 1970'ies). (Eraslan, 1999, May 5) Akit also featured paid ads by readers denouncing Ecevit and the DSP mindset while expressing support for their MP Merve Kavakci. **Person support frame** Akit featured personal support frames (7,7 %) for the "heroine" of the incident- Merve Kavakci. The support frames included highly emotional expressions."*Merve*! You Merve! You symbol of dignity, greatness and grandeur!" (Hayırlı, 1999, May 6). "The Nation is beside her" (May 5, 1999, p.1). "*Dear Merve… We are under your command and behind you…You are dear to us, we are proud of you our beloved sister!* " (Eraslan, 1999, May 5). **Threat Frames;** Although unimportant in Akit, they were original in reflecting the circumstances the movement was feeling and their mindset: (Against Demirel the President of The Republic)"Don't forget that there is the dimension of Judgment day and that the people whose burden is on you, will complain there from you" (Kekeç, 1999, May 6). **Milliyet's *identity-political symbol frame:*** While Milliyet featured one single framing in this fashion in favor of the headscarf, frames against were 10, making 2,2 %. **Milliyet** featured 8 frames calling to ***fairness and justice***, 1 instance against it. "*Requesting that peoples' tendencies not to affect the parties and deeming this a concession to reactionism, would not only be against democracy, it also would be a prejudice that would complicate a solution!* "(Akyol, 1999, May 4,). **Person blaming frames** of the **Milliyet** were the second most used frame with 21,4 %. Blamed as the main culprit of the crisis were mostly Merve Kavakçı but

her party and her leader under political ban, Erbakan was also frequently blamed. However, two writers of the Milliyet (Taha Akyol and Şahin Alpay) accused Ecevit's party DSP. This frame is also overused by Akit too. **Person support frame** of the Milliyet was 4,4 %, supported was mostly Ecevit and his party, Merve Kavakci was supported 2 times. "*As Ecevit was saying 'here's not the place to challenge the state' and saying 'this lady has to be brought into line', he was the* ***black boy*** *of 1973*"(The writer referenced Ecevit's former leadership myth) (Pulur, 1999, May 5). **Threatening frame** in Milliyet was explicit with 1,1 %, however, implied thread is more common in such a conflict. "*They have to know that the lady with turban can not take an oath on the pulpit of the Parliament. She won't be allowed, boy. What if she is let to do? The 21. Term of The Great Turkish National Assembly would have worn out itself at the start*" (Bila, Hikmet May 4, 1999)

Conclusions and Practical Suggestions

With two consecutive terms of government and demarginalization of Islamism and its ongoing integration into mainstream politics, the incident which consists the subject of the study may be seen as a "historical" event, but not yet. Although students with headscarves have gained a long denied entrance to the university, among the women in the National Assembly, no one has headscarf yet but an era seem really concluded. As new people need new wars, much work is awaiting peace journalism. On the other side, the whole of the Middle East, not to say most of the world, is embracing an era of "conflict taming" where armed or latent historical cultural conflicts are carried into contained-domestic but open hostilities, an era still on the basis of traditional fundamental dichotomies and on the verge of chaos. As if this is not enough, the world of traditional political conflicts rapidly transforms into postmodern disarray of social discontent, leaving the answer open which unbuilt political structures are to be deconstructed in these developing societies? Peace journalism or even mere the taming of war journalism, say constructive communication is of vital importance and a hope to the whole of humanity. Jasper (1998) has defined some moral senses and expectations which can cause indignation and outrage if touched wrongly: professional ethics, religious beliefs, community allegiances, sense of security in one's physical environment, economic security, and political ideologies. (s.422 social movements).

Two basic principles can be obtained from our study which both seem mutually contradictory but actually are complementing each other. Whatever journalistic missions and visions are assumed for whatever group or individual, its human and moral consistency shall be checked by higher values and norms like commitment to understanding cultural and individual differences, a conscience and avoidance of otherization. No moral or humanitarian mission or vision can legitimize polarization and vilification. Activism is born of conflict and lives for conflict but it is also a moral behavior, it must by no means be abused to grant licenses to kill. If fighting is a must, we can do it like humans. The humanity shall be mature now, for understanding and compassion to all. Media training and education, either for professionals or for audiences or for the new brand of communicators of the social media age, must have a civic peace journalism direction or even a mainframe that is interwoven into all theoretical or practical considerations of media literacy. Fundamental principles like impartiality, balance etc. should have a direction towards peace journalism.

If someone is cursing, his-her mouth mustn't be washed out with soap at once. It probably is an indication that he-she is (or they are) isolated and alienated up to despair. Communication itself is here the main action and thus can be more traumatic than the facts. Of course, the remedy of this would be of communicative nature. Let it be. But there is the spiral of anger. Expression of anger causes satisfaction, gives dignity, motivates, empowers, ensures etc. which all shorten the interval between anger expressions and there comes the irreconcilable angry militant. The limits of this behavior are drawn by the group's practical

targets. Practical targets are not mandatory; many social movements are established and sustained for providing the social identity base and thus a self-determined public sphere to their members, marginal is going to be normal. This may set a relative limit to peace journalism.

References

Akyol, Taha (1999) "Sağduyu?" *Milliyet* May 4.

Benford, Robert D. (1993a) "You Could be The Hundredth Monkey: Collective Action Frames and Vocabularies of Motive Within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement", The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 34, No. 2

Benford, Robert D. – Snow, David A. (2000) "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment" Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 26

Biazoto, Joice (2011) "Peace journalism where there is no war. Conflict-sensitive reporting on urban violence and public security in Brazil and ist potential role in conflict transformation" *Conflict& Communication online, Vol. 10, No. 2*

Bila, Fikret (1999) "Merve Olayı Nedir?" *Milliyet* May 4.

Bila, Hikmet (1999) "Merkez Sağa Bak", *Milliyet*, May 4

Cress, Daniel M., and Snow, David A. (2000) "The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing", *The American Journal of Sociology,* Jan, Vol. 105, No. 4.

Çetiner, Yılmaz (1999) "Mesut Yılmaz'dan beklenen" *Milliyet* May 6

Dilipak, Abdurrahman (1999) "Benim "İmanıma ve Allah'ıma sadakat yeminim" ne olacak?" *Akit,* May 6.

Entman, Robert M. and Rojecki, Andrew (1993). "Freezing Out the Public: Elite and Media Framing of the U:S. Anti-Nuclear Movement" *Political Communication, Vol.10, pp. 155-173*

Entman, Robert M. (1993) "Framing: Toward Clarification of Fractured Paradigm, *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 43, No. 4, Autumn

Entman, R. M. & A. Rojecki. (2000). *The black image in the white mind*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Eraslan, Sibel (1999) "Aferin Merve" *Akit* May 5

Galtung, J., and Ruge M.H. (1965) "The Structure of Foreign News", *Journal of Peace Research 2*, No.1.

Galtung, J., (1997). *The Peace Journalism Option*. Taplow

Galtung, J. (2002). "Peace journalism- A Challenge" In *Journalism and the New World Order*, edited by K. Wilhem and H. Luostarinen, Göteborg: Nordicom,.

Hall, Stuart. (1995) "New cultures for old" in *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*, Edited by: D. Massey and P. Jess, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hayırlı, Alişan (1999) "Merve Olup Çıktık Karşınıza", *Akit*, May 6

Jasper, James M. (1998) The Emotion of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements, Sociological Forum, Vol. 13. No. 3.

Kekeç, Ahmet (1999) "Sayın Demirel, isterseniz bu sorunu çözebilirsiniz!" *Akit* May 6.

Klandermans, Bert (2004) "The Demand and Supply of Participation: Social-Psychological Correlates of Participation in Social Movements" In: *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Edited by: David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, Blackwell Publishing.

Jones, Tricia S. (2001) "Emotional Communication in Conflict" In: *The Language of Conflict and Resolution*, edited by: William F. Eadie - Paul E. Nelson, Sage Publication.

LeBaron, Michelle, and Venashri Pillay. (2006) *Conflict across Cultures: A Unique Experience of Bridging Differences*, MA: Boston: Intercultural Press, a Nicholas Brealey Publishing Company

McCaffrey, Dawn and Keys, Jennifer (2000) "Competitive Framing Processes in the Abortion: Polarization-Vilification, Frame Saving, and Frame Debunking", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No.1

Pulur, Hasan (1999) " 'Karaoğlan'ın Dönüşü…", *Milliyet*, May 5.

Selçuk, Turhan (1999) "Söz Çizginin", *Milliyet* May 4.

Snow, David A.- Rochford, E.Burke Jr.- Worden, Steven K.-Benford, Robert D. (1986) "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation" *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 51, No.4. Aug.)

Uysal, Ahmet (2003) *The Framing of Political Inclusion and Exclusion: Media, State, and Islamic Party Interactions in Turkey, 1995 to 1998*, Unprinted Phd thesis, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTION OF HUSEIN ĐOZO TO INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOG AND RECONCILIATION

Velid DRAGANOVIĆ, Senior Assistant

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
This paper analyze opinions of influential Bosnian Muslim thinker of second half of the 20th century Husein Đozo about topics such as jihad, darul harb, interreligious dialogue. Analysis starts with elaborating origins of his thought and defining conceptual framework of his thinking. Consequently, his opinion about mentioned topics are studied in detail, providing identification of key points in his views. His views are time-space related, contextually fitting in the situation and providing a solid ground for developing a modus of coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims. The influence of his views is secured through his writings, his educational career and his administrative position within the Islamic community in Yugoslavia.

Keywords: Djozo, Dialogue, Jihad, Coexistence, Reconciliation, Islam.

The relationship between religion and politics in general, and between Islam and politics in particular got tremendous interest in contemporary research, partially due to writings of Samuel P. Huntington and his thesis about "bloody borders or Islam". Such a picture of Islam as a religion of war is founded on middle age theories and conceptions. (Karlsson 2005: 163) The additional boost for increase of interest about Islam was the terroristic act of 11th September 2001. Thanks to George W. Bush´s declaration of war against terrorism and speeches about axis of evil Islamic fundamentalism overwhelmed political debates like never before. (Karlsson 2005: 7)

Recent works in Europe compare between medieval conception of Islamic *jihad* and Christian just war, pointing to similarities. (Karlsson 2005: 266) The issue of *jihad* and politics is as well actual in contemporary Europe, where Muslims are living alongside with members of others religious denominations. The notion that members of other religious groups are enemies and that mutual issues should be settled through military conflict is very far from contemporary reality. The idea of finding modus for mutual coexistence is taking firmer roots in contemporary Europe. (Kovač, 2008)

Concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina and surrounding countries Islam is a frequent topic of researches in relation to terrorism and religious dialog. For illustration, in neighboring Croatia, writing about those issues bloomed after Balkan wars of nineties. (Oluić, 2008) The chronological framework for those researches is the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-95 and its aftermath. Such chronological approach has a serious shortcoming of neglecting historical evidence of Muslims coexistence with non-Muslims in

Bosnia and Herzegovina for centuries. The last two of them provided a deep intellectual challenge for Muslims scholars. The late Ottoman times in Bosnia and Herzegovina are connected with the raise of nationalism and modernization. Berlin congress and taking over by Austria-Hungary monarchy brought the question of Muslim living under non-Muslim rule. Those questions retained their importance in the twentieth century, in which three scholarly figures deserve special attention: Džemaludin Čaušević, Mehmed Handžić and Husein Đozo. The last mentioned, born in 1912. and passed away in 1982. marked the second half of the twentieth century, living in time where all of mentioned intellectual challenges still existed, and become even deeper. Therefore, analyzing his intellectual contribution in areas like coexistence, terrorism, presence of Islam in a secular society, conflict solving from religious point of view and religious dialogue is worth of effort. This article analyzes Đozo's contribution to prevailing the theory of inevitability of conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims, which have its proponents in both sections. (Karlsson, 2005: 7)

Theoretical Framework of Đozo's Thought

Prior to analyzing particular ideas of Husein Đozo regarding the topic of this research, it deems useful to recognize origins of his thought and the broad framework of his ideas. When the influential persons who influenced Đozo's thought are concerned, Karić rightly identifies *Shaykh* Mahmoud Sheltut as the most influential thinker among those whose ideas Đozo shared. The other influential figures are Muhammad Abduhu, Rashid Rida and Mustafa al-Maragi. (Đozo, 1999: 419) The mentioned scholars Đozo himself mentioned in his article about unnecessary formalism in Islam, which leads to deformation of true principles and aims of Islamic teaching. (Đozo, 1961a: 5) Of course, the influence of Egyptian scholars is natural, while Đozo is Azhar University graduate. Another Karić's important remark about intellectual origins on Đozos thought is that the scholars who influenced Đozos views in commentary of Qur'an are the same ones who influenced his *fatwas* and articles. (Đozo, 1999: 418)

A deep insight into the works of Husein Đozo gives an impression about a critical original mind. This is the common feature of the scholars of reformist school of thought in Islam, in which Đozo belongs, which is clear from numbering his teachers and co-thinkers. This school calls for opening the door of *ijtihad* and considering time-space factor in finding Islamic answers to contemporary problems. Husein Đozo uses an original terminology to expose his views about the reform of Islamic thought regarding opening the door of *ijtihad* and considering time-space factor. He calls to the new elaboration of Islamic thought. In his view, there was only one original elaboration of Islamic thought: the one of the prophet Muhammad himself. Đozo views Islamic thought as ossificated, closed, stopped, blocked and arrested. According to Đozo, Qur´an contains universal all time principles which should be implemented according to evolutional development of society. Talking about issues like position of women and slavery and Đozo reveals his opinion that prophetic elaboration of Islamic thought is *ijtihad*, which provided a developmental ground to final just solution of that issues. (Đozo, 1973a: 201) He cannot accept the fact that those initial grounding solutions became all-time model for solution of these problems. In his view, Islam is a system which provides solutions for all issues, as an all times model, but universality exists for principles, while, on the other hand, practical solutions can and should differ when time-space factor is considered. Furthermore, when such a principle is considered to be applied to the ideas of the Prophet himself, than definitely the view of classical Islamic scholars are more likely to come under such scrutiny. The Đozo's view that Prophetic s*unnah* (practice) is *ijtihad* and not Revelation may look too brave and radical, but the issue of considering time-space factor in issuing of *fatwas* (legal decisions) is adopted at recent Conference about "The

meaning and significance of fatwa in Islam", hold in Mecca on 18-20. January 2009. In the presence of leading Islamic scholars of our time. (Preporod, 2008:6)

Initial Views of Husein Đozo Related to Conceptions of Darul Harb and Jihad

The area in which ideas of classical scholars survived for a long time is undoubtedly the issue of dividing the world into two physically divided abodes: *darul Islam* (Abode of peace) and *darul harb* (Abode of war). On the other hand, this is the issue which deserves application of time-space principle for at least two main reasons. Firstly, the definition and concepts proposed by classical scholars had no clear implications in textual sources of Islam: Qur´an and *Hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). Secondly, those concepts were heavily challenged by appearance of ideas of nationalism and modernism in the 19th century. This challenge was tackled especially by scholars who lived in the areas where Muslims were experiencing social changes, caused by spreading previously mentioned ideologies of modernism and nationalism. No doubt, Bosnia and Herzegovina was among those areas, and Bosnian scholars were among those dealing with the challenge of providing intellectual answers to upcoming issues. Husein Đozo is not the only one, he is even not the first neither the last, but his struggle with the issue has two distinguished features: he had to think and act in severe circumstances and he did it actively for a long period of time, about twenty years.

The milestones of Đozo's views about division of world into two opposed realms and issues closely related to that one like peace, war, conflict, *jihad*, coexistence and tolerance could be traced in his articles dedicated to such topics. The starting point in his dealing with such topics can be traced in a year 1961. when he translated a short essay written by Mahmoud Sheltut named Islam and peace. In the same year Đozo wrote articles Formalism and distortion of Islamic institutions, Ethics as an important element of our happiness and wellbeing, The idea of coexistence in Islam. Another year in which Đozo gave attention to mentioned topics is 1973. in which he wrote articles Islam – *Jihad* and Islam – Openness toward others. (Đozo, 1973b: 1973c)

Đozo's choice of translation of the short essay written by Mahmoud Sheltut is a sign of respect of Husein Đozo toward him and his works. The essay is conceptualized to elaborate a principle that Divine Revelation is an element of strengthening the peaceful side of human nature and that religions are obliged to cooperate toward this aim. Somehow, this idea is moving two opposed realms from the real macrocosmic world to the microcosm of a man. However, another two points are very important to note. First is that Sheltut mentioned Prophetic elaboration of Qur´anic principles, the idea which we identified to constitute the theoretical framework for Đozo's ideas. The second important point is instrumentalization of religion, due to material interests. Therefore, Sheltuts ideas call for a critical approach to evaluate actions of people claiming to belong to certain religion in the light of original teachings of that religion. Such an approach is to be found in Đozo's writings about issues of war and peace.

The ideas elaborated in Đozo's article about formalism in Islam could be considered as universal and encompassing, but actually they are closely related to the concept of *darul harb*. He calls to active rational and conscious approach to the issues of daily life, instead of fatalistic metaphysical view. According to him: "There are no holy secrets in Islam, no mysteries. Everything is clear, with précised aims and goals. Everything has its practical justification." (Đozo, 1961a: 10) According to this opinion of him, it is a duty to analyze the textual implications and search for those aims and goals. In order to escape from stereotype

of necessity of existing two realms, even if they would be sanctioned by primary Islamic sources, it is necessary to evaluate the context and objectives of such norms. The fact that Muslims in Yugoslavia were living under non-Muslim rule for considerably long time, experiencing challenges brought by coexistence with the non-Muslims, is probably one that brought Husein Đozo to the conclusion that they are the base for a new modern understanding of Islam. He then points: "Our broad Muslim masses really represent one of the most sound elements in the whole Islamic world. They realize fatal effects of misunderstandings and feel a need for a new way, new understanding and new explanation of Islamic principles." (Đozo, 1961a: 15) When Đozo considered Muslims in Yugoslavia to be the part of the Islamic world, he actually considered them to be the part of *darul Islam*. Therefore, he gives priority to the Muslim population, even minority, living in a specific geographic area, over other three essential points considered by classical scholars in defining *darul Islam*, namely the ownership of the land, the nature of the government, and the laws applied in the country. (Ramadan, 2004: 63-64)

This idea implies consequently that Đozo's view of Darul Islam shows deviation from the classical interpretation, if we assume that Đozo recognizes the concept of division into two opposing abodes. This deviation is reflected in the fact that the possibility of the coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims defines an area to be Darul Islam. A milestone for coexistence, Đozo, it seems, finds in the plane of microcosm as his role model Mahmud Šeltut. Đozo's article about ethics put the human individual in the arena trying to discuss the issue of conflict on the level of individuals. Here, Đozo introduces the term modus vivendi. According to him, modus vivendi is the key issue in all Revelations and all prophetic missions. Next to material existence and physical needs, a human being has the spiritual needs. In the spiritual realm, main aspects are sacrifice and abstinence. The achieving of this aims gives the possibility to other individual to live beside the first one. Consequently, the Revelation is helping the human to develop from a greedy animal to generous human with thoughts and emotions, who acknowledge rights of others to live and exist. And this acknowledgement is the basis for a man to be a social creature. (Đozo, 1961b: 249)

The essay about coexistence in Islam gives straightforward Đozo's expression about relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims on the level of groups or entities. A very interesting about this essay is that introductory part contains a kind of Đozo's apology that views he expresses in the essay are already realized, and that coexistence already got its affirmation. Not a wonder, regarding the context in which the essay was written. In the Cold War confrontation period, new ideas were presented through Non aligned Movement led by five prominent leaders: Tito from Yugoslavia, Naser from Egypt, Nehru from India, Nkrumah from Ghana and Sukarno from Indonesia. The First summit of Non-aligned Movement was just held in Belgrade on 1-6 September 1961. defining peaceful coexistence as one of the main principles of the movement. This fact made writing about Islamic definition of coexistence easy and difficult. Easy, because of the possibility to use contemporary progress as an argument for bringing such views closer to acceptance by readers, and difficult because of possible accusations for the lack of originality. Đozo expresses his sadness that such a great Islamic idea was neglected through centuries among Islamic scholars, who were absorbed into formalism and perpetual repetition of predecessors views.

Đozo extracts the four principles to be a core of the Islamic concept of coexistence: principle of freedom of belief and consciousness, principle of responsibility of the Prophet for delivering Revelation, principle of universality of Revelations, and principle of brotherhood

of all human beings. Those principles are directly grounded in the sacred text of the Qur´an. When it comes to the practical meaning, application and implementation of those principles Đozo differentiates three main branches of relationship between Islam, as a government or legal agent in international relations, and other agents. First is relationship with confronted – war, which is restricted to defensive war and limited with precise ethical rules, which comprises total protection of old, women, children, non-fighting peasants, injured and sick. The second branch is relationship defined by a treaty, which is characterized by abiding to duties derived from the treaty. Lastly, there is relationship with non-Muslim citizens, whose rights must be protected. The ideas exposed here do not contrast views of classical Islamic scholars, while the three described branches are fitting to the classical definitions of *darul harb, darul ahd* (Abode of treaty) and *darul islam*, and in fact *darul ahd* is just a specific sub element of *darul harb*. (Ramadan, 2004: 63-67)

The important feature of Đozo's expose of those ideas is the historical criticism. Firstly, he acknowledges the conducts of military leaders, governors or rulers in the Islamic history who transgressed exposed principles. On the other hand, he criticizes generalization from the side of European historians and orientalists, who picked those exceptions to construct the notion that Islam was spread by the sword. To support his opinions Đozo listed historical facts, and contrasted contemporary deviations from the principles of democracy and human rights, such as racist incidents in Alabama US and apartheid in South Africa. This comparison has a time distance of 14 centuries, which is a strong support for Đozo to stress the greatness of achievement of the first generation of Muslims, who succeeded to implement the principles of coexistence in the circumstances of barbaric society torn by tribal, ethnic and religious hatred, and tribal wars, which sometimes lasted for 30 years.

Consistency of Đozo's Views

Đozo's article about *jihad*, written in 1973. shows consistency with his views analyzed in preceding paragraphs. However, he is providing more definitions, more arguments and more explanations. Conceptually, he differentiates the universal, everlasting *jihad*, which he calls *jihad* in broader sense, and defines it as "putting the efforts in all activities in the struggle for survival, progress and wellbeing of individuals and society". (Đozo, 1973b: 290) Another form of *jihad* is the temporary, extraordinary jihad, which Đozo names *jihad* in narrower sense and defines it as "military fight, defense of country, freedom, belief, and other values by applying force if there is no other way to repel the enemy". (Đozo, 1973b: 294)

The other article "Islam – openness toward others" is a logical continuation of previously analyzed Đozo's writings. Besides discussing his previously mentioned opinions, especially the one of the problem of closure of Islamic thought, he reveals some new facts to highlight the proposed ideas. A very interesting among them is the discussion of the climate in which the first elaboration of Islamic thought was performed. Circumstances were full of confrontations of various intensity. Concerning the confrontation of Islam with Judaism and Christianity, or with the "people of the book", Đozo concludes that, in contrast to conflict with idolatry and conservative tribal practices, this confrontation was not sharp, and that communication was based on the principle of modus vivendi. However, he admits the fact that after the death of the Prophet, happened export of the revolution to the neighboring empires of Persia and Byzantium. Consequently, export of revolution led to military battles in which Muslim prevailed, acquiring the control of territories previously controlled by two Great Powers of that time. In such atmosphere of conflicts Islamic scholars were obliged to conceptualize the conduct of war, which they did with success setting the high ethical principles and standards.

This article lists many examples of religious tolerance from the early history of Islam. The most important is The Constitution of Madina, a written act of coexistence between Muslims and Jews. Other examples are conducts of early caliphs of Islam, who acted in the true spirit of government for people. On the other hand, Đozo underlined examples which are chronologically and geographically much closer to us. The first is the *Ahdnama* (Promise of Protection) of Sultan Fatih given to Bosnian Franciscans, a document which guaranteed the freedom of religious activities for this religious order and its adherents. The second is the hospitality of Sarajevo city toward Jews expelled from Spain after fall of the last Islamic city-state on the Iberian Peninsula. And the third example is from WW2, the time of various resolutions against prosecution of Serbs and Jews by military forces of Independent State of Croatia. Resolutions, out of which the Sarajevo resolution from 1941. Is the most famous, were brought up by Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Đozo rightly concluded that those resolutions were motivated by Islamic teaching of doing good deeds toward neighbors regardless of their religion.

Concluding this article Đozo admits the fact of existing of deviations and abuse of Islamic principles throughout history, with the statement that such things happened in other systems and historical entities. His main point is that history must be a magistra vitae in the true sense, when the lessons are studied from historical mistakes. Escaping from utopia, Đozo is fully aware that dialogue needs two sides, expressing his willingness in promoting spirit of mutual understanding and tolerance.

The Lines of Đozo's Ideological Influence

After presenting and analyzing the important ideas of Husein Đozo it seems very appropriate to explore the lines of spreading those ideas to the Yugoslavian society. The key point to consider is his administrative position within the Islamic community of Yugoslavia. This position allowed him to be in the middle of all happenings concerning the position of Islamic community in totalitarian communist society, to be aware of all difficulties and challenges, and to contribute to solving current issues. Therefore, he took part in developing mission and vision of Islamic community, in short term and midterm projects. He was at the same time teaching in *medresa* in Sarajevo and was a very prolific writer, publishing his works in the editions of Islamic community.

Đozo's written works includes about 250 articles written in the periodicals of Islamic community: Glasnik, Preporod and Takvim. He wrote his commentary of one tenth of the Qur´an. In the year 1965. he introduced a new column in Glasnik (journal published by Islamic community) named "Questions and Answers", later "Your questions and our answers". This column existed until 1977 in Glasnik, and continued to exist in Preporod, bimonthly newspaper published by Islamic Community . His most important articles were published together in the book "Islam u vremenu" (Contemporary Islam). His answers, of fatwas were as well published as collection in two volumes, edited by Aziz Hasanović. The lecture notes of his teaching Tafsir (commentary of the Qur´an) were published too.

Due to the fact that articles related to the topic of this paper are already analyzed, only his answers to the question coming from public requires to be scrutinized to complete analysis. In his *fatwas* Husein Đozo shows some inconsistency with the views we already analyzed. Some of his important point are repeated like the idea of modus Vivendi. (Đozo, 1999: 269/1) It can be seen that Đozo does not decidely refuse concept of *darul Islam* and *darul harb*, but he opens the dilemma about it. (Đozo, 1999: 147/1, 102/2) The most frequent particular issue in which Djozo still uses the concept of *darul harb* is the issue of banking interest. (Đozo, 1999: 135/2) Here, Djozo provides possibility for Muslims to obey the laws

of the country, while on the other hand the banking interest defined by country laws is prohibited by Islamic law. Clearly, it is not population in this question, but Islamic law as the criteria of decision either particular territory should be considered as *darul Islam* or *darul harb*. On the other hand, well aware of difficulty of introducing any of the principles of Islamic law into legal system of Yugoslavia, leaded by atheistic communist totalitarism, he stressed the importance of individual responsibility of practicing Islam: "It is a duty of any Muslim, regardless of living in Muslim or non-Muslim country to find a way to fulfill his/her religious duties according to universal common interests of Islam." (Đozo, 1999: 262-263/1) Therefore, according to this opinion Muslim individuals are obliged to obtain knowledge about Islam, and to take active political role in any society, to defend their human rights as adherents to Islam.

The issue of *darul harb* is closely related to the issue of hijra (migration). The common form of migration in Djozo´s time was the economic migration to western countries. It is even improper to use the term migration, whereas only men leaved the country leaving families behind and coming seasonally or occasionally. Besides, in some areas of Montenegro and Macedonia minor cases of migration to Turkey were registered. The issue was used to accuse Islamic community of supporting it. The categorical response of Husein Đozo to such accusation and denial of the possibility that leadership of Islamic community propagates *hijra* or migration, (Đozo, 1999: 295/1) reveals that Đozo is of the opinion that Muslims in Yugoslavia are not in Darul harb territory. This opinion derived from the *hijra* issue can be considered as Đozo´s dominant view in the question of *darul harb*, despite the dilemma about using it as an excuse in approving banking interest and dealing with banks.

Not neglecting influence on the common Muslim citizens, far more important is influence that Djozo exercised through teaching in *Medresah* in Sarajevo. Generations of Đozo's students are now performing important duties in Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina (and in other former Yugoslavian republics). Some of his students are eminent academic personalities. List of his students includes Mustafa Cerić, former reisu-l-ulema of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ismet Spahić, deputy of reisu-l-ulema, Mehmedalija Hadžić, advisor of reisu-l-ulema, Muharem Hasanbegović, former head of the Office of reisu-l-ulema, and almost all Muftis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of his excellent students are no more among us including professors of The Faculty of Islamic sciences in Sarajevo Ahmed Smajlović, Nijaz Šukrić and Ibrahim Džananovic. The list of active scholars who inherited Đozo's teachings includes Džemaludin Latić, Hilmo Neimarlija, Enes Karić and Fikret Karčić. When the active implementation of of Đozo's ideas is concerned, it is unavoidable to mention activities and achievements of former reisu-l-ulema Mustafa Cerić in promoting interreligious dialogue, for which he received numerous international awards.

When the Đozo´s intellectual legacy, related to issue *darul harb* and *hijra*, is concerned, the first name to credit for its advocating is Fikret Karčić, without any doubt. He was picked by Xavier Bougarel to represent a one of main streams of Islamic thinking in Bosnia and Hercegovina, the other two representatives being Enes Karić and Adnan Jahić. He cited Karčić´s view that it would be anachronically and unjustifiable on theoretical level to apply the categories of *darul Islam* and *darul harb* to contemporary international relations. The same applies to the situation of Muslims living in countries with a secular social order, who can not be considered as residents of *darul harb*. (Bougarel, 2007) The final conclusion that Bougarel excerpted from study of Karčić´s works is that "Fikret Karčić's concern to reconcile Islam with Western modernity and to encourage its individual, rather than its

collective expression, remains intact." (Bougarel, 2007: 105) This conclusion is completely in accordance with previously cited Đozo´s statement.

The issues of *hijra* and *darul harb* took an important consideration in Karčić´s research The Bosniaks and the challenges of modernity. (Karčić, 1999) Karčić analyses two important fatwas, of Bosnian mufti Teufik Azapagić and Egyptian scholar Rashid Rida. Both of them stated that Muslim inhabitants do not need to migrate from Bosnia and Hercegovina after Austro-Hungarian occupation. Using historical evidence Karčić supports this view against the view of traditionalists among Islamic scholars who advocated migration.

Contemporary Implications of Djozo´s Thought

Đozo's views and practical solutions were related primarily to the Muslims living in Yugoslavia (today separated into six states: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia). The soundness of his ideas about relationship with non-Muslims may be evaluated from the contemporary European context and perspective. The presence of Islam in Europe is related to the dilemmas which are shared with other traditional religions, rooted into ancient times and circumstances totally different from the contemporary ones. Which rules and regulations are untouchable, and which can be adapted according to time-space factor? How scientific progress could compromise with the idea that some religious truths are eternal and unchangeable? (Karlssson, 2005: 7) Recognition of this challenge comes from Tariq Ramadan:

> "Western Muslims, because they are undergoing the experience of becoming established in new societies, have no choice but to go back to the beginning and study their points of reference in order to delineate and distinguish what, in their religion, is unchangeable (*thabit*) from what is subject to change (*mutaghayyir*), and to measure, from the inside, what they have achieved and what they have lost by being in the West." (Ramadan, 2004:9)

The answer of Muslims in the West (primarily Europe) to strong existing challenge is much diversified. Tariq Ramadan tried to classify different intellectual tendencies among Muslims, which are also projected to their positions regarding the issue of division of the world into *darul islam* and *darul harb*. He found six major tendencies: Scholastic Traditionalism*; Salafi* Literalism*; Salafi* Reformism; Political Literalist *Salafism*; "Liberal" or "Rationalist" Reformism*; and Sufism.* The literal selefist are identified as the only ones to whom the concepts of *darul islam* and *darul harb* are still operational and continue to explain their relationship with the social environment. (Ramadan, 2004: 24-28)

This distribution of discourses can be used in our evaluation of Đozo's ideas bearing in mind that any diversification of ideas or any classification must leave some between space. Ramadan classified Abduhu and Rida, who from our identification of origins of Đozo's thought they can be considered as Đozo's intellectual predecessors, in the group of *salafi* reformism. This is the group which combines text and reason in deduction of Islamic answers to the question and challenges produced by changing of environment. Without going to detailed exploration of possibilities of further classification of this reformist scholars among themselves it is not far from the reality if we consider Đozo belonging to this trend.

Đozo is a scholar who realized that the modern age is diversified, complex and interactive so much that it could not be evaluated through a binary prism. The main role of his concern played a Muslim individual and Muslim community, leaving the questions of the nature of government, the laws that are in force, or ownership of the land only marginal role.

The attempt to summarize Đozo's ideas about concepts of *darul Islam* and *darul harb* and to relate it to the views of the contemporary scholars can be done by merging two tasks together by simply quoting Tariq Ramadan:

> Two things must be constantly kept in mind. First, for a Muslim, the teaching of Islam—when it is well understood and well applied—is valid in every time and place, and this is the meaning of the idea of the *alamiyyat al-islam* (the universal dimension of the teaching of Islam). Second, the concepts of *dar al-islam*, *dar al-harb*, and *dar al-ahd* were not first described in the Qur'an or in the Sunna. In fact, they constituted a human attempt, at a moment in history, to describe the world and to provide the Muslim community with a geopolitical scheme that seemed appropriate to the reality of the time. (Ramadan, 2004: 69)

A conclusion that follows the quotation is a necessity of revision of understanding of the textual sources in order to formulate suitable legal opinions. And that is exactly what Đozo was doing. The plain idea of looking for solutions suitable to environment in the true spirits of teachings of Islam he transferred to his students. The two volumes of his *fatwas* are the result of implementing this idea, and it can be concluded that Đozo has done his jihad regarding guidance of Muslims with suitable answers through the labyrinths of contemporary reality.

Conclusion

Husein Đozo is a Bosnian scholar who was the most influential figure of Bosnian Muslim Community in sixties and seventies of the previous century. His intellectual approach is the Egyptian reformist school of Muhamed Abduhu, Rashid Rida and Mahmoud Sheltut. This intellectual discourse is mirrored in his views about division of the world into *darul islam* and *darul harb*. The cornerstones of shaping his view about concepts of *darul Islam* and *darul harb* are universality of Islamic conceptions, proper understanding of such conceptions and proper time-space related application and implementation of those conceptions. Guided by those ideas Djozo questioned validity of the concept of binary division of the world, and proposed legal opinion about *hijra* contrary to such concept of division.

The influence of his intellectual legacy to overcome the concept of binary world and the inevitability of conflict is accomplished through three lines of influence. The first is intellectual activity within the leadership of the Islamic community, which was directed towards the realization of these ideas. The second is an educational activity aimed at a wider Muslim masses, and the third is the transfer of his own ideas to his students and thus creation of the basis for the continued application of these ideas. His ideas regarding the division of the world, or coexistence, but also the methodology of Islamic thoughts are still alive and needed. Proof of this is that the ideas and attitudes of Tarik Ramadan are highly regarded for its modernity and Đozo came him with similar ideas several decades before him. The recommendation is therefore primarily for Islamic community to make efforts to actively promote the ideas of Husein Đozo. One possible way is to organize an annual scientific conference dedicated to fostering the idea of coexistence where each year the theme of the conference would be related to this idea. This would be an opportunity to continue at the point where Đozo stopped. Primarily, we point to the fact that active support for coexistence came from Đozo's emphasizing the active role of Muslim individuals in finding a solution to comply with the principles of Islam. Tracing such a way Đozo used the flexibility of Islamic learning, and approved business with banks, citing that such an exception is possible in the Darul Harb. This has actually departed from its own theoretical concepts, and the reason for this is that at the time of totalitarianism in which he lived, he had no ability to influence the

changing environment by making reference to respect Islamic principles and to create a climate in which for Muslims will be easier to apply Islamic principles in their everyday life. The situation has changed since the democratization process started, so that the Muslims have the opportunity to follow Đozo's ideas regarding the development of coexistence with their non-Muslim neighbors, respecting them, and freely expressing their own needs and seeking their rights and freedom that will not jeopardize the freedoms and rights of others.

References

Bougarel, Xavier: "Bosnian Islam as 'European Islam': limits and shifts of a concept, in *Islam in Europe Diversity, Identity and Influence,* Edited by Aziz al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas, Cambridge University Press 2007, Cambridge, pp 96-124

Đozo, Husein, "Formalizam i izopačavanje islamskih institucija", Glasnik, 12 (1-3) 1961a: 9-18

Đozo Husein, "Etika kao vrlo važan elemenat opće sreće i blagostanja", Glasnik, 12 (4-6), 1961b: 246-251

Đozo Husein, "Misao koegzistencije u islamu", Glasnik, 12 (10-12), 1961c: 362-367

Đozo Husein, "Islam – Musliman", in Glasnik, 24 (7-8), 1973a: 193-202

Đozo Husein, "Islam – Dzihad" Glasnik, 24 (7-8), Sarajevo, 1973b: 289-299

Đozo Husein, "Islam – Otvorenost prema drugima", Glasnik, 24 (9-10), 1973c: 391-399

Đozo, Husein: *Fetve* (uredio Aziz Hasanović), Bemust, Sarajevo, 1999

Karčić, Fikret, *The Bosniaks and the challenges of modernity Late Ottoman and Hapsburg times*, El Kalem, Sarajevo, 1999

Karlsson Ingmar, *Vjera teror i tolerancija, Eseji o religiji i politici* (prevod sa švedskog Alija Dilberovic, izvorni naslov Tro, terror och tolerans), Hamidović, Tuzla, 2005

Kovač, Mirnes: Razodijevanje islama u Evropi,
http://www.preporod.com/index.php/intervju/1498-razodijevanje-islama-u-evropi.html, 07.07.2008.

Oluić, Steven, "Radical Islam on Europe's Frontier - Bosnia & Herzegovina", in National security and the future, 9 (1-2), 2008: 35-52

Ramadan, Tariq: *Western Muslims and the future of Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2004

Šeltut, Šejh Mahmud, "Islam i Mir", (s arapskog preveo Đozo Husein), Glasnik, 12 (1-3), 1961: 5-8

Značaj i značenje fetve u Islamu, (Preporod 3/893, y 38, 01.10.2008, p 6)

VIOLENCE AND PEACE: LEVERAGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE MECHANISMS AND INSTRUMENTS?

Maja SAHADŽIĆ, Senior Assistant
International University of Sarajevo

Abstract
Over the last century, world (legal) history testifies of horrific atrocities committed, engendering and causing mayhem to human kind in general by its catastrophic outcomes. As an after effect, there have been established international justice mechanisms and instruments with an aim to institutionally condemn and sentence acts that have been carried out, at the international level. These mechanisms and instruments are often considered as mediating institutions within clashed societies for their role is usually introduced in terms of internationally acknowledged means of reconciliation. Question that rises is how these justice mechanisms and instruments stir process of peace building and peace keeping towards reconciliation, after violence occurred in so called transitional societies. Raising this question also concerns addressing the past events which are the most vexed questions between former parties in conflict. Analysis of post-conflict period in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, East Timor, Kosovo etc. is of great importance to that effect. Therefore, this paper examines influence, efficacy as well as prospects of international justice mechanisms and instruments (military tribunals, *ad hoc* tribunals, special courts) in terms of accepting the institutionally recognized past in post-violence period within clashed societies.

Keywords: Atrocity, Tribunals, Past, Violence, Peace.

Introduction

After conflict has eventuated, few issues arises: how clashed societies correspond on past events, and (re)trace confidence and reliance in post-violence period. In the course of recent years, different international justice mechanisms and instruments have been established to interfere in judgment of acts that occurred in different regions. Namely, the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the Special Court for Sierra Leone, Extraordinary Chambers in courts of Cambodia, East Timor Special Panels for Serious Crimes, Special Tribunal for Lebanon, Kosovo Regulation 64 panels, International Criminal Court, etc. Most of them are hybrid courts and internationalized domestic courts and tribunals. These judicial bodies brought significant decisions that unraveled and explained not just application of (international) law but historical explication that led to essential development of strains in their functioning and settled grounds for apprehension of past events between sides in conflict. In institutional manner, these international justice mechanisms and instruments are often referred as to be considered as institutions that gave contribution to unfolding their direct and indirect goals which is to start process of reconciliation and truth. Therefore they have been considered to be as vibrant nucleus for reflecting on violence and peace through its decisions. But the

question is if these international justice mechanisms and instruments fulfill its purpose in initiating reconciliation process between clashed sides and transitional societies.

International Justice Mechanisms and Instruments – Revisited

Different scholars have similar opinion on mechanisms and instruments that can be used in addressing past events. They mostly agree that those include national and international level criminal prosecutions, reform of state institutions, truth commissions and victims' reparation. Commonly, (international) justice mechanisms and instruments can be classified as military tribunals; *ad hoc* tribunals; special courts created on agreement basis; the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice; national courts that carry out procedures within the scope of their national judicial system, and national courts that carry out procedures in compliance with universal jurisdiction principle (Costi, 2006, pp. 213-239; Fischer, 2007, pp. 22–33). For the purpose of this paper, only first three will be discussed.

The Nuremberg International Military Tribunal was established by the 1945 Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis (so called London Agreement) between four Allied powers (the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) whose integral part was Charter of the International Military Tribunal. Military Tribunal was a set of different tribunals that were operating in different locations while Nuremberg Trials were a number of different trials held in the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, Germany. The first trial was the Trial of the major war criminals that started on 20 November 1945. This was also one of the earliest war crimes trials. The other war crimes trials referred to low-level officers and officials that were tried by different military courts in the United States of America, British, Soviet, and French occupation zones. According to the Article 6 of the Charter held jurisdiction over crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Shaw (2008) for instance suggests that the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal "affirmed in ringing and lasting terms that 'international law imposes duties and liabilities upon individuals as well as upon states' as 'crimes against international law are committed by men, not by abstract entities, and only punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced.'" *The International Military Tribunal for the Far East* was established by the 1946 Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in relation to Japanese war crimes. There was no significant distinction between those two tribunals. Article 5 of the Charter makes the same notion in terms of jurisdiction as the Nuremberg Charter: crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Aust (2005) notes that the most important issues Tribunal was dealing with were "that persons are individually responsible for international crimes; aggressive war is a crime against peace; a head of state and other senior officials can be personally responsible for crimes even if they did not actually carry them out; and the plea of superior orders is not a defense. These principles are now part of customary international law even though their precise scope is still not clear" (Ball, 1999; and Bantekas, & Nash, 2003).

The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was established by the Security Council Resolution 808 (1993) and 827 (1993) under the Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. According to Articles 1–5 of the 1993 Statute of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991, this Tribunal holds jurisdiction over persons accused of serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia beginning with 1991, namely grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of laws or customs of war, genocide and crimes against humanity. *The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda* (ICTR) was established by the Security Council Resolution 955 (1994) with similar aims as

ICTY. Articles 1–4 of the 1994 Statute of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighboring States between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994 define that this Court hold jurisdiction over persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for such violations committed in the territory of neighbouring States, between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994, namely genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of Article 3 Common to the Geneva Convention and of Additional Protocol II.

The Special Court for Sierra Leone was established by the 2002 Agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Sierra Leone on the Establishment of the Special Court of Sierra Leone pursuant to the Security Council Resolution 1315 (2000). Although established by the agreement with the United Nations it does not constitute United Nations body (Shaw, 2008,; Tolbert, & Solomon, 2006; and Schabas, 2006). Articles 1– 5 of the 2002 Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone defines that this Court holds competence over persons who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international humanitarian law and Sierra Leonean law committed in the territory of Sierra Leona since 30 November 1996, namely crimes against humanity, violations of Article 3 common to 1949 Geneva Conventions and of 1977 Additional Protocol II, other serious violations of international humanitarian law and crimes under Sierra Leonean law. Noteworthy specialty of this Court is its notion on personal jurisdiction over persons over 15 years of age defined in Article 7 of the Statute. *The Extraordinary Chambers in the courts of Cambodia* was established by the 2003 Agreement between the United Nations and the Royal Government of Cambodia concerning the prosecution under Cambodian law of crimes committed during the period of Democratic Kampuchea (Williams, 2005, pp. 447–462). Nevertheless, Agreement represents only contribution for the Court's functioning for it has been established by the 2004 Law on the Establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Comabodia for the Prosecution of Crimes Committed during the period of Democratic Kampuchea which is domestic law. According to Articles 2–7 of the Law, this Court holds competence over persons, senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those the most responsible for the crimes and serious violations of Cambodian laws related to crimes, international humanitarian law and custom, and international conventions recognized by Cambodia, committed between 17 April 1975 and 6 January 1979, namely: homicide, torture, religious persecutions, crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, grave breaches of 1949 Geneva Conventions, destruction of cultural property during armed conflict, crimes against internationally protected persons. *The East Timor Special Panels for Serious Crimes* (SPSC) was established on a basis of the Security Council Resolution 1272 (1999) under Chapter VII of the United Nations Chapter when the United Nations Security Council established the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) after enduring occupation of the East Timor by Indonesia. Therefore, UNTAET established special panels to trial for serious crimes in the District Court of Dili and the Court of Appeal pursuant to UNTAET Regulation No. 2000/11 on the Organization of Courts in East Timor and Regulation No. 2000/15 on the Establishment of Panels with Exclusive Jurisdiction over serious Criminal Offences. According to the Article 1.3 of the Regulation No. 2000/11 this Court had competence over following serious offences: genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, murder, sexual offences and torture. In 2005, after most of the United Nations infrastructure has been revoked, the Special Panels completed its work more than five years after establishment. *The Special Tribunal for Lebanon* has been established by the Security Council Resolution 1757 (2007), acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations

Charter, where annexed to the Resolution the 2007 Statute of Special Tribunal for Lebanon was included. The Council established the Special Tribunal for Lebanon on a basis of 2006 Agreement between the United Nations and the Lebanese Republic on the establishment of a Special Tribunal for Lebanon based on the Security Council Resolution 1664 (2006). According to Articles 1 and 2 of the Statute this Court holds competences over persons responsible for the attack of 14 February 2005 when former Lebanon's Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri was assassinated, but also over persons responsible for offences that took place between 1 October 2004 and 12 December 2005 in Lebanon, namely acts of terrorism, crimes and offences against life and personal integrity, illicit associations and failure to report crimes and offences related to provision of the Lebanese Criminal Code and 1958 Lebanese Law, section on "Increasing the penalties for sedition, civil war and interfaith struggle". *Kosovo Regulation 64 panels* is related to creation of panels and appointment of international judges and prosecutors who would work with domestic judiciary (known as Regulation 64 panels) by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) for the purpose of reestablishing the rule of law in Kosovo through. This was done on a basis of Regulation No. 2000/6 on the Appointment and Removal from Office of International Judges and International Prosecutors, Regulation No. 2000/34 on Amending UNMIK Regulation No. 2000/6 on the Appointment and Removal from Office of International Judges and International Prosecutors and Regulation No. 2000/64 on Assignment of International Judges/Prosecutors and/or Change of Venue. It holds competences over persons, low profile offenders, responsible for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity committed at the territory of former Yugoslavia from 1991. In 2008 this program was transferred to the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX).

Finally, in 1998, The Diplomatic Conference of the United Nations adopted the 1998 Statute of the International Criminal Court that entered into force in 2002. This presented the first step towards permanent international tribunal after processes in Nuremberg and Tokyo, which holds competences over the most serious international crimes.

Why National Justice Mechanism do not Hold Leverage on Post-Violence Trial?

Franović (2008) notes that "[m]any would argue that it would be much better if those indicted were put on domestic trial, with local prosecutors and judges, here in the region [the author is referring to the former Yugoslavia region]. But from the few cases processed by local courts, and from the great political pressure under which the courts work, one can get the impression that they will never be able to prosecute anyone who held a high position in the atrocity hierarchy, but only the small pawns". It is comprehensible why certain authors do support following opinion:

> The immediate goals of the tribunals were to maintain peace and provide justice to victims. If these are goals of international justice, then they should be the basis upon which we judge the relative success and failure of these tribunals. The difficulty of judging the success of these tribunals involves the counterfactual example of what would be the current peace-building and justice efforts in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda without the creation of the tribunals. In other words, while the tribunals have not completely fulfilled their mandates, the ICTY and the ICTR have provided more security and justice than the national courts could or have provided (Barria & Roper, 2005).

It turns out to be that national justice mechanisms and instruments differ from international ones in terms that they the most probably, contrary to judicial principles, have political connotations based on prejudices between parties in procedure. Also, they often lack necessary infrastructure, effective justice system, personnel as integral part of administering justice in post-violence period. Therefore, it would the most likely be challenging, but also

questionable, to enforce trials in post-violence period in domestic justice system, rather than international. In such a way, for domestic level, to be in capacity to administer justice in post-violent period, it needs to „emphasize the domestic/national capacity building, establish criteria to evaluate the existing judicial system, survey and analyze the level of understanding of the judicial system among the population, create a basis for protecting the interests of all parties involved in past conflicts, and the (greater) involvement of domestic courts in past atrocities trial“ (Sahadžić, 2012).

Perspective on the Role of International Justice Mechanisms and Instruments in Addressing Post-Violence Period

Observing the list of abovementioned international justice mechanisms and instruments it seems obvious that there are many societies in post-violence period. These societies contain different subjects that are whatsoever related to international justice mechanisms and instruments functioning. Also, these mechanisms and instruments differ between each other and therefore address conflict in respective society through different procedures and with various methods. Even though it is popular sentiment that referencing the conflict period has to be condemnation and punishment of perpetrators of atrocities and ensuring justice to victims the matter of concern is not so simple (Tolbert, & Solomon, 2006, pp. 29–62).

Endeavors that have been performed so far by and through international justice mechanisms and instruments indicate several queries. International justice mechanisms and instruments that were established after the World War II were considered as, precisely, bodies that would, through fair trials, condemn and punish perpetrators and bring justice to victims thus addressing past violations and restoring peace. Present day, they seem to be considered more like bodies that established victor's justice. In terms of *ad hoc* tribunals established for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, so far they seem to be sluggish and costly. At the same time, stalling the processes in administering justice in their work, anyhow creates ambience in which peace-building and peacekeeping process in post-violence period is not satisfactory supported by these bodies. Likewise, there is almost no, if any, articulation on how these mechanisms and instruments assist striving with post-conflict consequences of any kind, even though establishment of ICTY and ICTR was to support peace between former sides in conflict. In terms of so called mixed or hybrid courts that were established, for instance, in Sierra Leone, East Timor, etc. it is conceivable that by their nature, application of laws produces varied issues, but still they appear to be less costly and faster. Moreover, they seem to generate outright leverage on bringing justice in post-conflict societies and addressing and confronting the past events between former sides in conflict. This could be the rationale why those mixed or hybrid courts are preferred in addressing violence and building peace in terms of justice mechanisms and instruments. For instance, Costi (2006) indicates that „[s]ome of the potential advantages of hybrid courts include the ability to foster broader public acceptance, build local capacity and disseminate international human rights norms. Collaboration with national and international legal personnel helps bring international law and norms to bear in ways that can be internalized and institutionalized. More generally, hybrid tribunals may go a long way to eliminate definitely the perception that transitional justice mechanisms reflect victors' justice. Any temptation to standardize hybrid tribunals should be resisted. Their design must reflect the unique circumstances in which they have to operate, the important challenges they face, and the distinctive aims they pursue. The hybrid model is, at least for the foreseeable future, a panacea in addressing international crimes in post-conflict situations." The question is whether the ICC may stand for efficacious body in future human rights violations prosecutions. In these terms, Tolbert (2006) justifiably concludes that "[d]espite their achievements, it is unlikely that there will be new *ad hoc* tribunals in the near future. Instead,

the ICC and hybrid courts will likely come to play the central role in international judicial mechanisms. Because of its limited resources, the ICC will only be able to try the most serious crimes and the leaders of the highest level. Thus, other mechanisms, particularly hybrid courts of various types, will need to be established."

When International Justice Mechanisms and Instruments Influence Peace-Building in Post-Violence Society?

Building the peace after violence occured, in actual perception, is usually related to international justice mechanisms and instruments. Therefore transitional and restorative justice are some of the most significant components of contemporary public international law and therefore intrinsically component in post-violent societies. But, supervening to this, the question is does international justice mechanisms and instruments hold leverage in building peace after violent conflict.

Functioning of international justice mechanisms and instruments must influence not only condemnation and punishment of perpetrators of atrocities and ensuring justice to victims, but also create influence upon generating judicially confirmed evidence of the truth about past violent events that is embraced by all sides in previous violence. Accordingly, this should create and hand down historical legacy of past events through institutional record keeping. May (2010) accurately refers towards conclusion that "[a]lthough reconciliation is also clearly about attitudes, knowledge and understanding are more important yet".

The matter of concern is whether this contributes to powering up sustainable peace and reintegration contrary to malice and intolerance produced by past (violent) events. It seems that Soloway (2002) correctly notes that „tribunals lack the ability to promote national reconciliation because they are not designed to address victims or communities but rather focus on a few high ranking officials from previous political regimes". Rationally, some authors do conclude that "[w]hether these tribunals could ever become instruments of peace and security is highly debatable. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine circumstances in which national reconciliation could be created by an international institution. Any institution, no matter how well designed, would have difficulty in providing peace and security as well as reconciliation in these cases" (Barria & Roper, 2005). But, the answer is manifolded. International justice mechanisms and instruments do not deduce and establish opinion on momentary situation in post-violence societies as they deduce and establish facts of past events. Therefore certain authors do conclude following:

> In the end we can see that in the first place there is no direct and clear relationship between crimes trials in international tribunals and reconciliation. It is a personal step between individuals who belong to different ethnic and religious communities. Secondly, the understanding of justice for those who survived or have witnessed war crimes cannot be equaled to procedures and trials that are being held at international tribunals. For every individual in particular, this notion is specific and, at the same time ambiguous. Thirdly, there is no clear relationship between being exposed to traumatic events and the need to try suspects of war crimes. In regards to the readiness for reconciliation, the need for justice is related to numerous intervening factors which moderate their relations to trauma. Fourthly, the reconstruction of a post-war society is a complex and slow process that takes place on many levels: between individuals, on a community level, and at the national and state level (Stover & Weinstein, 2005).

Event though relationship between trials and reconciliation is not direct and clear, the truth has to be determined and mutual agreement of truth has to be inspired for post-violence societies to be able to overcome past issues. But, this is possible only through validation of

international justice mechanisms and instruments that would have respect from and for all parties involved in former conflict. Therefore it is important to accentuate that "[t]he main goal of truth and reconciliation process is not to establish the 'truth' of each of once belligerent sides, but to truth to be accepted and acknowledged in all communities and by all clashed sides" (Kesić, 2002). In addition, this has to be supported by readiness of the post-violence society to involve in truth identification process. Only if we identify and recognize these mechanisms and instruments as form featured to present means of peace establishment after conflict, resilient to manipulation, they would have leverage to constitute peace-building factor in post-violence societies. Therefore, the following paragraph appropriately corresponds to the issues identified above:

> If we look back in the history, especially after the Second World War, we can see that Nuremberg International Military Tribunal and International Military Tribunal for the Far East performed a great role when it comes to the individualization of guilt. Judicial proceedings indicated and pointed that individuals are those who are responsible for their behavior. This is why we cannot forget their impact on history, on addressing the past, on dealing with the past, on confronting the past, and ultimately, the way of creating the past. It is reasonable to ask ourselves what would happen if the tribunals in Nuremberg, Tokyo, The Hague, Arusha, etc., were not established. Could we have true cognition about the Holocaust or the genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda? For example, since they began operating, the ICTY and the ICTR are involved in efforts to factually establish the sequence of events prior to and during the atrocities that were committed. So, the tribunals' task is not only to impose punishment, but also to identify and assess the truth as a postulate for constructing an objective narrative of the past (Sahadžić, 2012).

May (2010) is correct when states that „[r]econciliation is not always consonant with criminal trials, but there is good reason to think that some criminal trials for genocide will indeed promote rather than hinder reconciliation. (...) It should be admitted, though, that trials by themselves are not likely to achieve full reconciliation". Even though eventual influence of international justice mechanisms and instruments is valuable and praiseworthy effort related to peace-building, clashed societies also have to deal with violence consequences through resolving suspicion and mistrust issues. Probably the most easiest way is through stressing out significance of economical and social necessities and requirements in terms of employment, education, etc. In the end, leverage of international justice mechanisms and instruments remains major demand but is staggering. They cannot solve all post-violence consequences alone. Decisions they render are relevant, but clashed societies have to confront and deal with past events. This can be continuous, lasting and excruciating process.

Conclusion

Addressing the past issues in post-violence period may be considerably scarce if there is lack of credence between clashed societies. International justice mechanisms and instruments can play an important role in promoting and supporting process of reconciliation via addressing past violence. Trials for the prosecution of persons indicted for their involvement in past violence seems necessary to unblock restraints between clashed societies. Even though international justice mechanisms and instruments, same as national justice mechanisms and instruments, are sometimes considered, both by victims and perpetrators, as unreliable and insecure in terms of fair trails due to alleged (political) influences and therefore ineffective. To play relevant role in process of reconciliation, international justice mechanisms and

instrument have to show that that their legitimacy is exculpatory and that they possess consistency without any trade-offs. In such a way, international justice mechanisms and instruments provide and safeguard decisions that are sensitive towards all sides and acceptable for the most part of clashed societies. But to generate and materialize more efficient impact in clashed societies, it seems that international elements related to international justice mechanisms and instruments processes need to be incorporated in domestic justice mechanisms and instruments processes. Prime examples for this are mixed or hybrid courts. To be able to acquire and withhold leverage, international justice mechanisms and instruments need to be used as accelerators in reconciliation process within clashed societies and facilitate peace building and peace-keeping in post-violence period.

References

Agreement between the UN and the Royal Government of Cambodia concerning the Prosecution under Cambodian Law of Crimes Committed during the Period of Democratic Kampuchea, United Nations. (2003);

Agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Sierra Leone on the Establishment of the Special Court of Sierra Leone, United Nations. (2002);

Agreement between the United Nations and the Lebanese Republic on the establishment of a Special Tribunal for Lebanon, United Nations. (2006);

Agreement for the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis ("London Agreement"), United Nations. (1945);ž

Aust, A. (2005). Handbook of International Law. London: Cambridge University Press;

Ball, H. (1999). Prosecuting War Crimes and Genocide: The Twentieth-Century Experience, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas;

Bantekas, I., & Nash, S. (2003). International Criminal Law. London, Sidney, Portland: Cavendish Publishing;

Barria, L.A., & Roper, S.D. (2005). How effective are International Criminal Tribunals? An Analysis of the ICTY and the ICTR. The International Journal of Human Rights, 9, 349–368;

Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, United Nations. (1946);

Costi, A. (2006). Hybrid Tribunals as a Viable Transitional Justice Mechanism to Combat Impunity in Post-Conflict Situations, New Zealand Universities Law Review, 22, 213–239;

Drumble, M.A. (2007). Atrocity, Punishment and International Law. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press;

Fischer, M. (2007). Dealing with the Past in Bosnia: Obstacles and Challenges for Reconciliation in the Region of former Yugoslavia. In Sisson, J. (Ed.), Dealing with the Past in Post-Conflict Societies: Ten Years after the Peace Accords in Guatemala and Bosnia-Herzegovina (pp. 22–33). Bern: Swisspeace Annual Conference;

Franović, I. (2008). Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism, The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. Berlin: Bergdorf Occasional Paper 29;

Kesić, V. (2002). Istina i pomirenje – Da, molim! Ne, hvala! Temida, 5, 19–21;

Law on the Establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Comabodia for the Prosecution of Crimes Committed during the period of Democratic Kampuchea, with inclusion of amendments promulgated on 27 October 2004, United Nations. (2004);

May, L. (2010). Genocide, Normative Account. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press;

Moriss, V. & Scharf, M. P. (1995). An Insider's Guide to the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia, New York: Transnational Publishers;

Regulation No. 2000/11 on the Organization of Courts in East Timor, United Nations. (2000);

Regulation No. 2000/15 on the Establishment of Panels with Exclusive Jurisdiction over serious Criminal Offences, United Nations. (2000);
Regulation No. 2000/34 on Amending UNMIK Regulation No. 2000/6 on the Appointment and Removal from Office of International Judges and International Prosecutors and Regulation No. 2000/64 on Assignment of International Judges/Prosecutors and/or Change of Venue, United Nations. (2000);
Regulation No. 2000/6 on the Appointment and Removal from Office of International Judges and International Prosecutors, United Nations. (2000);
Sahadžić, M. (2012). International legal and institutional mechanisms and instruments that influence the creation of the past. In Pauković, D. & Raos, V. (Eds.), Confronting the Past: European Experiences (pp. 27–65). Zagreb: Political Science Research Centre Zagreb;
Schabas, W. (2006). The UN International Criminal Tribunals: The Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press;
Schabas, W.S. (2000). Genocide in International Law. New York: Cambridge University Press;
Shaw, M.N. (2008). International Law. New York: Cambridge University Press;
Soloway, M. (2002). Cambodia's Response to the Khmer Rouge: War Crimes Tribunal vs. Truth Commission, Appeal, 8, 32–45;
Statute of Special Tribunal for Lebanon, United Nations. (2007);
Statute of the International Criminal Court, United Nations. (1998);
Statute of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991, United Nations. (1993);
Statute of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighboring States between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994, United Nations (1994);
Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, United Nations. (2002);
Stover, E., & Weinstein H.M. (2005). Moj sused, moj neprijatelj: pravda i zajednica u vremenu nakon masovnog zločina. Psihologija, 38, 55–76;
Tolbert, D. & Solomon, A. (2006). United Nations Reform and Supporting the Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Societies. Harvard Human Rights Journal, 19, 29–62;
Williams, S. (2005). Genocide: The Cambodian Experience, International Criminal Law Review, 5, 447–462;
Zupan, N. (2004). Facing the Past and Transitional Justice in Countries of Former Yugoslavia. Retreived December 15, 2012, from http://www.berghof-center.org/ uploads/download/dayton_zupan_rec.pdf.

HYBRID EDUCATION & LEADERSHIP: ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP AND ENTREPRENEURIAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE MADRASSAS OF PAKISTAN

Noor MOBEEN, Research Scholar
Texas A&M University

Abstract
The Muslim community in Pakistan is a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and multi-cultural community. There is an estimated amount of 45,000 Madrassas (religious educational institutions) in Pakistan which is ethnically and racially diverse and has students coming from different educational and socio-economic backgrounds in order to learn and practice religious and non-religious teachings. There are many unknowns about the behavior and the organizational structure of Madrassa (Islamic religious seminaries) students, how Madrassas shape their behavior toward students, and how other groups in their communities interact with the students and administrative staff. The approach of this research will challenge those who have lost hope of a positive change in the Madrassa system in Pakistan through the development of a Hybrid Educational and Leadership program that will have outcome leading to a greater country from the grass-root level of the less fortunate youth of the Madrassas. The Hybrid Educational and Leadership program is an innovative concept derived from "The Noor's Triangle" that deviates from the traditional method of teaching by using creativity, recreational and agriculture extension curriculum that will allow students to implement other forms of education. Adolescents in the Madrassas will be encouraged to use different applications that will enhance their religious education into practical implementation for the good of all citizens and will help the country in overcoming psychological needs and fulfilling social needs. The social needs will be developed through building blocks of individual self-esteem towards the final vision of self-actualization to identify the need for such programs. The current research posits solutions to improve and enhance the current educational and leadership aspects of the Madrassas in Pakistan through the implementation of a Hybrid Education and Leadership program.

Keywords: Cultural Diversity, Leadership, Education, Communication and Religion

Introduction

With a population of 184 million and a GDP per capita of $2,400 (The World Factbook,2010), Pakistan is a populous and rapidly growing middle income country. Since its creation, it has been in search of a national identity. The various identities coming from religious, regional, and national belonging were articulated about a decade ago by nationalist Wali Khan when he declared himself to have been a Pashtun for 4,000 years, a Muslim for 1,400 years, and a Pakistani for 40 years (Talbot, 2009). Today's Pakistan is still segmented along various lines. In recent years, and in particular after September 11th, claims made by U.S. policy makers and the popular press suggest that Islamic religious schools—Madrassas—in Pakistan are responsible for nurturing militancy and violence. There is considerable controversy about the link between Madrassas and militancy (Billquist&

Colbert, 2006; Fair,2008), such as a study that found that some Madrassas are linked to violence (Winthrop & Graff, 2010).Although Asal, Fair, and Shellman (2008) conducted surveys of Pakistani families who had lost a son to combativeness in Kashmir and Afghanistan and concluded that there is no evidence that Madrassas are a main factor in recruitment for militant activity, other researchers would suggest otherwise. Some researchers have found that Madrassas have been labeled as "weapons of mass destruction" or "factories for global *jihad*", and have been perceived as a threat for the West and for individual countries hosting them (Ali, 2009; Rashid, 2000; Stern, 2000; Malik, 2008;Rahman, 2008;). The Western nations have been encouraging Madrassa reform in the Muslim world, especially in Pakistan where Madrassas are thought to be linked to the Taliban (Fair, 2008). Madrassas are widespread around the world and educate an estimated 6 million Muslims (Haqqani, 2004), with nearly 2 million students attending Madrassas in Pakistan alone (Candland, 2008). Many Madrassa graduates go on to play an important religious and political leadership role in their communities (Malik, 2008) and are therefore important social and economic actors. Despite their alleged influence both nationally and internationally, there is little knowledge on the behavior of Madrassa students and how other groups in their communities interact with them.

One relevant question is whether Madrassas teach ideological extremism. Madrassas admit students of all ages, with all ages being taught how to read and memorize the Quran (the Islamic religious book).The Madrassa curriculum, at advanced stages, focuses on the *Dars-e-Nizami*, which is taught for 8 years following the completion of elementary school and covers religious sciences(e.g., jurisprudence, the Qur'an and its commentaries) and rational sciences such as Arabic grammar and literature, logic, and rhetoric (Rahman, 2008).The majority of Madrassas do not impart any secular or vocational training and it has been argued that they deliberately educate their students in narrow worldviews and rejection of Western ideas, and do not train them sufficiently for the real world (Ali, 2009). For example, besides learning the Quran and the *Hadiths* (traditions and customs of the Prophet Muhammad – Peace Be Upon Him), most students do not learn about sports, drawing, construction, agriculture, or any other secular activity.

Another important factor in understanding the extent of Madrassas' influence in Pakistanis the number of students that study in these education facilities. The number of Madrassas has undeniably increased, especially in the 1980's during the Soviet war in Afghanistan, when Madrassas were established in Afghan refugee camps to train fighters for the resistance movement (Winthrop and Graff,2010). However, there is disagreement over the exact number of students that Madrassas hold. Some estimates of enrollment in Madrassas vary from less than 1% to 33% (Andrabi et al., 2006) of all enrolled students. One reason why inaccurate measure of Madrassa enrollment remains challenging is only 1%-7% of Madrassas are registered (Fair, 2008).Regardless of the source that one chooses to favor with regard to Madrassa enrollment, the overall picture indicates that a large proportion of Pakistani youth study in Madrassas.

Inside Madrassas

A key feature of Madrassas is that they generally tend to be free. In a country with a dilapidated public educational system (Winthrop & Graff, 2010), Madrassas may offer a viable alternative for families unable to afford more expensive private schools (Singer, 2001).It is therefore believed that it is the poorest families that send their children to Madrassas (Rahman, 2004). Related to the potential link between Madrassas and militancy, the existing literature does not substantiate a causal link between low educational attainment/poverty and terrorism (Abadie, 2006; Berrebi, 2007; Krueger, 2007; Krueger &

Maleckova, 2003). Therefore, it cannot be stated that studying in Madrassas causes a person to become a terrorist, nor that there is a high chance that terrorists have studied in Madrassas.

The quality of teaching within madrassas has been brought into question, with some studies showing that teaching is held back by the approach of Imams (Islamic leaders within mosques) who have been trained abroad. But other studies have shown the potential benefits that supplementary schools can have on a child's learning and development (Maylor et al., 2010). An urgent issue identified by previous media coverage and research highlights cases of child abuse within madrassas. It has been argued that Muslim communities are fearful of bringing these issues to light and that regulations do not fully protect children in supplementary schools (Singleton, 2010).

Madrassas can be seen as a potentially positive feature of Pakistani society. They can offer a vehicle through which stronger community relationships can be developed, but this depends on a number of factors. Madrassas can reinforce the cultural, linguistic and religious identities of pupils. This is supported by the content of teaching for many madrassas, which includes values and culture of Islam as well as the aspects that are not allowed within the religion. Qualitative research (Maylor et al., 2010) suggests that madrassas providing children with a deeper understanding of Islam are likely to strengthen children's religious identities. In many cases, this deeper knowledge and understanding can also give children confidence in explaining their religious practices and beliefs to non-Muslims.

Madrassas may have the potential to create or increase division between a child's religious and cultural identity. Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) found that a majority of madrassas did not teach their students by traditional methods, but also used some educational approaches employed in mainstream schools, such as classes being grouped according to ability, giving homework to children, and delivering examinations based on progress. Some Madrassas have even begun to involve parents and communicate with them about their children's development (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003). Parental involvement in the education of children has been seen as a critical factor in their progress and has been shown to be a positive influence of supplementary school education (Cousins, 2006; Tomlinson, 1984).

The majority of Muslim children in the world attend non-Muslim schools where they are exposed to secular ideas and ways of teaching, and where critical thinking is highly valued. Yet these are methods that may be criticized strongly in mosque schools and madrassas, which tend to instruct Muslim children on how to read, but not necessarily understand, the Quran by means of rote learning and lack of discussion and debate. Similar issues may arise in relation to the use of language in madrassas. A consultation with imams and Muslim professionals coordinated by the Bradford Council for Mosques in 2009 highlighted the fact that, in some mosques (and presumably the madrassas attached to them) the use of English was seen as inferior, and that some young people felt "belittled" for their reliance on English in this setting (Ahmed & Reid, 2009).

Negative Aspects of Madrassas

Students in Madrassas are not receiving a global education, because they are mostly being educated on topics about religion, including religious history, religious practices, the ability to read the religious text, and religious grammar. Even if Madrassas were global religious educational facilities, students would be learning about different religious around the world and about the similarities and differences with Islam; but instead, the schools only teach about Islam. The concept of successes is defined is Madrassas by the love of religion, respecting of parents and family members, and proper pronunciation of the Arabic language.

Rather than viewing teachers or current living humans as role models, students are taught that their role models should be the Prophets of Allah (God). It is good to teach students that the Prophets should be the main individuals that should be looked upon and seen as heroes, but there are other people in recent history that can also be used as examples. The reason why this may be a hindrance in education is that the society that the students are currently living in will be different from the one that the Prophets experienced. If students decide to visit or live in a metropolitan city like Beijing or Karachi, they may experience a culture shock because the society will not be like how they imagined. By informing students of more current role models and how they deal with situations in the current decade or century, students will be better able to use this information if they decide to travel overseas.

Another aspect of the Madrassa leadership concerns its lifestyle, in terms of being religiously conservative toward daily aspects of life. Most, if not all, Madrassa's function using an Islamic conservative lifestyle. However, students should not be diverted from the original foundations of Islam just to accommodate the day to day liberal and moderate lifestyles, especially in terms of religion. The education system may teach students that there is no such position as being "moderate", since Islam can only be practiced in the context of a conservative guideline that is described by the Quran and the Sunnah. Ahmad and Reid (2009) argue that the Pakistani leaderships are conservative institutions as their primary motive is to preserve the integrity of tradition. Hence, part of the answer lies in establishing whether critics are against traditionalism or whether the problems of the Madrassa system are wished to be removed. For the students, being a "moderate Muslim" may mean that one can decide when to follow the Quran and the Sunnah and when to deviate, and "liberal" may mean that people can change the Islamic atmosphere based on their western views. Being taught about the positives of the conservative historical leaders of Islam such as Umar ibn Khattab can further educate Madrassa students on how to handle certain people that they may encounter in the future.

The leadership of Madrassas is defined as educating every Muslim student toward learning the Quran and Sunnah. The learning of any non-Islamic education that has a direct cure or practical implementation towards society is accepted by the leadership as a necessary part of the primary education curriculum of Madrassas; however any non-Islamic information that does not benefit the Muslim Umma (community) is not accepted. Many see Islam as a cause for hatred due to the Madrassa systems, but in reality they are following the true lifestyle that has been in the Noble Quran as follows:

> And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided. And remember the favor of Allah upon you - when you were enemies and He brought your hearts together and you became, by His favor, brothers. And you were on the edge of a pit of the Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus does Allah make clear to you His verses that you may be guided. (Al Imran, 3:103)

The Pakistan Education Statistics handbook shows that only 40% of the 70 million children between the ages of 5 and 19 are enrolled in school. The concept of "higher education" for the leadership in Madrassa's is not about adapting a concept that is different from the one that students may have learned, but it is about educating children with the basic fundamentals so that they can at least increase their literacy rate.

Hybrid Educational and Leadership Program

According to the information presented above, it is clear to see that Madrassas have been labeled as a "negative institution for manufacturing terrorists", however the reality is that these schools are a means for impoverished youth to learn about the teaching of Islam and the Quran, as well as to be provided with food and shelter. The negative aspect of Madrassas is that students are only being educated about religion, specifically Islam, and are not taught about other subjects. After completing their education from these Madrassa's and moving to another part of the world, these former Madrassa students might find it difficult to adjust to their new lives. If they move away from Pakistan, they might not know the language of the new city that they are in, and even if they stay in Pakistan, they will not have learned the skills that they need to be sociable with newcomers. Further, if some of these students move to the west, they will be shocked at the way that Muslims carry themselves, since many of these Muslims might be "moderate" or "liberal" rather than "conservative". These former students may then try to guide their fellow Muslims on the straight path but might be labeled an "extremist", and not be able to fit-in to any society. A new method must be incorporated into Madrassa's that will not only enable students to understand other cultures, but will also provide them with necessary skills that they will be able to use throughout their lives.

The Hybrid Educational and Leadership (HE & L) program is an innovative concept derived from "Noor's Triangle" that deviates from the traditional method of teaching. "Noor's Triangle" is an educational philosophy that incorporates education, farming, and physical education. The HE & L program will uses a curriculum based on creativity, recreation, and agriculture extension that will allow students to implement other forms of education rather than religion. Adolescents in the Madrassas will be encouraged to use different applications that will enhance their religious education into practical implementation for the good of all citizens and that will help the county in overcoming physiological needs and fulfilling social needs. The social needs will be developed through building blocks of individual self-esteem towards the final vision of self-actualization to identify the need for such programs. The current research posits solutions to improve and enhance the current educational and leadership aspects of the Madrassas in Pakistan through the implementation of a Hybrid Education and Leadership (HE & L) program.

The HE & L program will consist of different classes that students can take in order to provide them with Islamic leadership knowledge. Rather than mere memorization and repetition of the Quran, students will be engineered to think creatively by being asked to analyze some parts of the religious text and make arguments for why Islam forbids some behavior and encourages other. This will allow Madrassa students to not just blindly obey the religion of Islam, but to fully understand why it is that Muslims are required to perform some actions and the consequences of performing incorrect actions. The HE & L program will also consist of a class on agriculture extension, so that students will learn how to plant, fertilize, and maintain important agricultural products like: corn, potato, and rice. After acquiring this knowledge, students of Madrassa schools can go back to their homes in Pakistan and be able to feed their families. The last part of the program will consist of a physical education component where students are taught about the importance of maintaining healthy bodies and are also taught to play sports. People from the entire world, even from remote areas, have a sport that they enjoy playing to pass time and to also stay healthy. By introducing to the Madrassa students sports such as soccer, cricket, badminton, rugby, basketball, they will build strong bodies as well be able to understand different cultures.

Hypothesized Effects of Hybrid Educational and Leadership Program

It is assumed that children and adolescents in Madrassas who are offered an alternative option to explore different fields of education will be willing to take this option as a way to learn

more about the world. Since the majority of students depend on their parents or guardian to make decisions for them, because the parents are in charge of the finances, then it is also assumed that if financial aid is providing for the students, then they will be willing to do whatever they can in pursuit of happiness without moral and ethical limits.

It does not seem like it would be difficult to find educators to teach classes from the new curriculum because there are multiple parties who would be interested in taking the offer. First, there are hundreds of Muslim Students' Associations (MSA's) around the Western countries that consist of students majoring in fields from engineering, to agriculture, biology, finance, and psychology. A summer trip to teach students in Madrassa's will be an eye-opening and rewarding experience for these university students that are trying to spread Islamic knowledge throughout their school. Second, the Tablighi Jamaat is a religious movement hosted by a group of Muslims who invite others to the path of Islam, around the world take several trips to different countries every year to remind fellow Muslims about the importance of the message of Allah. If this group is notified about this opportunity, there is a high chance that they will want to volunteer their time in the Madrassa's to help out students. Volunteers of the Tablighi Jamat consist of converted Muslims, Muslims who own business, doctors, and university professors, so there are different fields that they can volunteer to teach. Other volunteers who might not be able to offer their experience or education can still teach English to the students of the Madrassa's. By introducing a language like English to Madrassa's, students will be able to understand a very important language that is taking over the majority of the world. If students move away from Pakistan after graduating from the Madrassa, they will be better able to communicate with other people.

An aspect of the hybrid education reform concerns labels applied to the Madrassa students such as "terrorists", "extremists", and "radicals". The goal of the proposal is not to integrate Madrassas education into the mainstream education system by using the hybrid education approach, but to rather improve the leadership and administration of the organizations in Pakistan in order to be prepared with dealing with globalization. It is believed that adapting the hybrid education program will create future leaders of tomorrow which will not only provide the knowledge and practices of Islam, but they will also be able to understand the non-Muslim world and their problems. It will also help the Muslim youth of the west to clear their mindset by using the skills that they will have acquired. Also the HE&L Model will revive the Islamic leadership which is crucial to the survival of the Madrassas and Islam. In most circumstances in life, Muslims are urged to appoint a leader and follow him. The Prophet Muhammed (saw)said, "When three are on a journey, they should appoint one of them as their commander." (Khudri 2:721). HE&L will also help solve critical problems for the survival of Islamic leadership and emphasize on the locus of leadership; matching the characteristics of the leader, the follower, and the situation. Secondly, will help to one of the most important roles of leaders, but one that is often neglected in any Islamic organizations often forget that the success of their organizations depends partly on how they recruit, train, and motivate volunteers. This Hybrid Education and Leadership project will help the coaching and delegation within the context of Quran and the traditions of Prophet Muhammed (saw).

References

Abadie, A. (2006). Poverty, political freedom, and the roots of terrorism. *American Economic Review, 96,* 50-56.

Abrams, F. (2011). Child abuse claims at UK Madrassas "tip of iceberg". *BBC News.* Retrieved

October 18, 2011, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-15256764.

Ahmed, I., & Reid, H. (2009).*A Call for Engagement: Report of the Masajid Engagement Project*, Bradford: Bradford Council for Mosques.

Ali, S. (2009). *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

Ali, S. (2009). *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

Andrabi, T., Das, J., Khwaja, A., &Zajonc, T. (2006). Religious school enrollment in Pakistan: A look at the data. *Comparative Education Review*, *50*, 446-477.

Asal, V., Fair, C., & Shellman, S. (2008). Consenting to a child's jihad. *Studies in Terrorism and Conflict*, *20,* 1001-1022.

Berrebi, C. (2007). Evidence about the link between education, poverty and terrorism among Palestinians. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, *13,* 1-36.

Billquist, D., & Colbert, J. (2006).*Pakistan, Madrassas, and Militancy*. Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School.

Candland C. (2008). "Pakistan's recent experience in reforming Islamic education" in J. Malik (ed), Madrassas in *South Asia: Teaching terror?* Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series, London and New York.

Cherti, M., Glennie, A., & Bradley, L. (2011)."Madrassas" in the British media. *Institute for Public Policy Research.* Retrieved May 8, 2011, from http://www.ippr.org/publications/55/1827/madrassas-in-the-british-media

Department for Children, Schools and Families [DCSF] (2007).*Faith in the System*, London.

Desforges, C., & Abouchaar, A. (2003) The Impact of Parental Involvement, Parental Support and Family Education on Pupil Achievement and Adjustment: A Literature Review. *Department for Education,* London.

Fair, C. (2006).*Islamic Education in Pakistan*.United States Institute of Peace.

Fair, C. (2008).*The Madrassah Challenge—Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan*. United States Institute of Peace.

Hayer, S. (2009). Call for more checks on madrassas. *BBC News.* Retrieved October 14, 2009, fromhttp://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/8305318.stm

Husain, H. (2004). Madrassas: Knowledge or the "shade of swords". *The Daily Star.*Retrieved on April 21, 2004 from http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1509.

International Crisis Group. (2002). Pakistan: Madrassahs, extremism and the military. *ICG Asia Report,* 36. Islamabad/Brussels

Jamal, H. (2009).Estimation of multidimensional poverty in Pakistan. *Social Policy and Development Centre*, Working Paper.

Khudri in Abu Daud, Abu Said al, 2:721Reported by Khudri, chapter 933, hadith 2606.

Krueger, A., & Maleckova, J. (2003). Education, poverty, and terrorism: Is there a causal connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *17,* 119-144.

Malik, J. (2008). "Introduction" in J. Malik (ed), *Madrassas in South Asia: Teaching terror?* Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series, London and New York.

Marazza, L. (2003). *The 5 Essentials of Organizational Excellence*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, Inc.

Maylor, U. et al. (2010). Impact of supplementary schools on pupils' attainment: An

investigation into what factors contribute to educational improvements. *Research Report*
DCSF-RR210. London: London Metropolitan University.
Ouseley, H. (2001). *Community pride not prejudice: Making diversity work in Bradford*. Bradford, CT: Bradford Vision.
Usmani, Mufti Muhammad Taqi (2006), *Al Imran, 3:10.*The Noble Qur'an, Karachi, Maktaba Maariful Quran
Rahman, T. (2004). The Madrassa and the State of Pakistan: Religion, Poverty and the Potential for Violence in Pakistan. *Himal South Asian.* Retrieved May 17, 2011, from http://www.himalmag.com/component/content/article/1712-the-madrassa-and-the-state-of-pakistan.html.
Rahman, T. (2008). "Madrasas: The potential for violence in Pakistan?" in J. Malik (ed), *Madrassas in SouthAsia. Teaching terror?* Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series, London and New York.
Rashid, A. (2000). *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia.* New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.
Sergiovanni, J. (1992). *Moral Leadership Getting to the heart of School Improvement*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
Singer, P. (2001). Pakistan's Madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education not Jihad. *Brookings Institution Analysis,* Washington, DC.
Singleton, R. (2010). Physical punishment: Improving consistency and protection. *Department for Education*, London.
Sirotnik, K., A. (Ed.). (2004). *Holding Accountability Accountable*. New York, NY: Teachers Colleges Press.
Stern, J. (2000). Pakistan's jihad culture. *Foreign Affairs, 79,* 115-126.
Talbot, I. (2009). *Pakistan: A modern History*. London, England: Hust & Company.
The World Factbook.(2010).Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 2010. *https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html*
Winthrop, R., & Graff, C. (2010). Beyond Madrasas: Assessing the links between education and militancy in Pakistan. *Center for Universal Education at Brookings*, Working Paper 2.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT USING BALANCE SCORECARD MODEL 2

CHARACTERISTICS AND ROLE OF AESTHETICALLY UPBRINGING YOUTH THROUGH INSTITUTIONALIZED MUSICAL PRACTICE IN CANTON SARAJEVO 9

LEADERSHIP OF A TEACHER AS A PRECONDITION FOR PEDAGOGICAL PROFESSIONALISM 19

A RESEARCH ON THE CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE FOREIGNERS LEARNING TURKISH ABOUT DAILY LIFE 27

SCIENCE TEACHING IN INDIA: EXPERIMENTS IN MULTICULTURALISM 36

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHING STYLES AND STUDENT'S MOTIVATION IN ESL 45

ASSESSMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION: FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT AND ITS EFFECT ON STUDENTS' SUCCESS AND MOTIVATION 53

EFFECTIVE AND POPULAR COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS: A PREFERRED MOLD 62

AN ECOCRITICAL APPROACH TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING 70

„TWO SCHOOLS UNDER ONE ROOF" AS A FACTOR OF DETERMINING THE ATTITUDES AND INTERRELIGIOUS TOLERANCE 89

STEREOTYPING AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC WRITING STYLE 97

ALIENNESS AND OTHERNESS: PHENOMENOLOGY OF IDENTITY AND INTERCULTURAL STUDIES IN IVO ANDRIĆ'S AND ORHAN PAMUK'S NOVELS 105

FATHERS' PARTICIPATION IN CHILDREN REARING IN BIH 118

THE ROLE OF HISTORY EDUCATION IN VIOLENT CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY FROM LEBANON 131

THE ROLE OF MEMORIALS IN THE POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY: ACTIVE MEMORY AND (IM)POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION 152

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE COLOR PURPLE BY ALICE WALKER AND ZEHIR ZIKKIM HIKAYELER (VENEMOUS STORIES) BY AYLA KUTLU 166

THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY IN THE PASSING FROM MODERNITY TO POST-MODERNITY: "MY GRANDFATHER'S PEOPLE" MOVIE 173

BEYOND MULTICULTURALISM IN EUROPE - RETHINKING EQUALITY IN THE AGE OF INEQUALITIES 189

BRIDGES OF HEART: TOWN TWINNING PROTOCOLS BETWEEN TURKEY AND BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA 197

AN EXPERIENCE IN GETTING THROUGH CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN AN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN STUDIO: EXTRACTED FROM CULTURE AND REFLECTED TO SPACE IN ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION 204

THE ROLE OF COMPUTER-MEDIATED TECHNOLOGIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE CULTURAL SELF: EMBODIMENT, IDENTITY, COMMUNITY 215

CONTOURS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE MODERN SOCIETY (THE CASE OF LITHUANIA) 225

WOMEN'S IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN DRAMA: A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THREE MINOR PROTAGONISTS IN VIJAY TENDULKAR 242

FEMININITY CULTURAL DIMENSION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 258

THE BALKANS PERCEPTIONS: HISTORICAL AND GEOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS 266

CONCEPT OF IDENTITY AND SENSE OF BELONGING IN CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WHITE AND ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS FEATURED IN THE SECRET RIVER BY KATE GRENVILLE AND LISTENING TO COUNTRY BY ROS MORIARTY 274

BOSNIA'S KIN IN TURKEY AND THE CULTURAL IMPORTANCE OF THE AFFINAL RELATION "PRIJATELJI" 310

THE HERO'S JOURNEY AS A METAPHOR OF THE MODERN MAN'S QUEST FOR SELF-REALIZATION 317

THE CRISIS OF THE FUTURE: THE PAST OVERSHADOWING THE PRESENT 338

TELEVISION SERIES IN REPRODUCTION OF THE REALITY 366

THE RHYTHM IN THE DOCUMENTARY FILM IN TURKEY 374

REFLECTIONS OF THE EVER-CHANGING VISUAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES ON THE ADVERTISEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS: THE CASE OF RESIDENCE ADVERTİSEMENTS 381

SREBRENICA GENOCIDE IN THE WORKS OF ARTISTS 398

APOCALYPSE NOW REDUX: A POLITICAL MESSAGE ON THE VIETNAM WAR RENDERED FROM HEART OF DARKNESS 424

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS ON A FORGOTTEN COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF BOSNIACS AROUND SIVAS DISTRICT IN TURKEY 432

UTILIZING FRAMES FOR SUSTAINING POLITICAL CONFLICT: TURKEY'S LONG CULTURE WAR AROUND THE HEADSCARF 441

INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTION OF HUSEIN ĐOZO TO INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOG AND RECONCILIATION 453

HYBRID EDUCATION & LEADERSHIP: ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP AND ENTREPRENEURIAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE MADRASSAS OF PAKISTAN 472

iceci 2013

The International Conference on
Education, Culture and Identity

Book of Proceedings

Edited by
Muhidin Mulalić
Abdul Serdar Öztürk
Tuba Boz

www.ius.edu.ba/iceci
iceci@ius.edu.ba

ISBN 978-9958-896-16-3