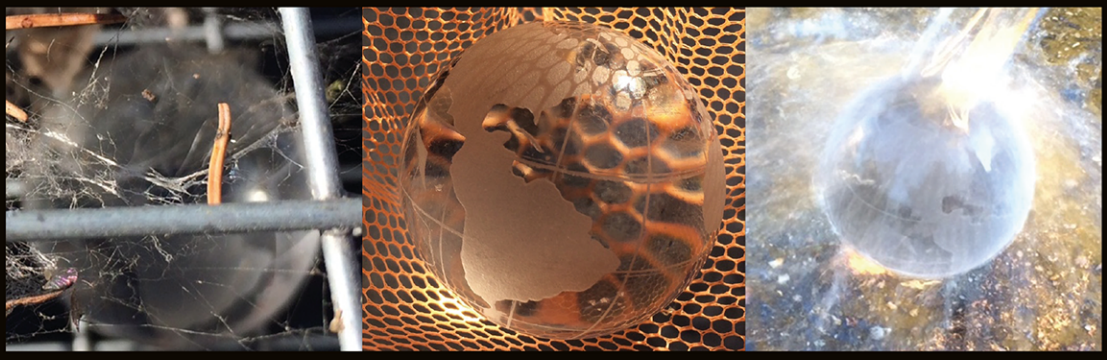
Symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts

A post-colonial critique

Edited by
Anna Odrowąż-Coates
& Sribas Goswami



"…suspended in webs of significance…"

WYDAWNICTWO AKADEMII PEDAGOGIKI SPECJALNEJ

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Foreword by the Editors

This edited volume about the educational, social and political issues of the globalized world, is a collection of chapters by experienced academics from many different countries that are directly or indirectly entangled in the post-colonial social and economic milieu. The chapters come from Algeria, Ecuador, India, Italy, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, the UK and the USA. The book offers original ways of understating the social and educational contexts of globalized societies, through the critical lens of a post-colonial framing. In the title, the word 'contexts' refers to the inescapable social and educational environments that one is immersed in during their upbringing and throughout adult life. In some of the chapters we find discussions on the sociological aspects of the environment in which the education is constructed and delivered, in others we find the interconnectivity between the sociological aspects of life and the systems of education. The issues of social inclusion and exclusion are ever-present in each of the chapters and power relations are carefully examined, questioning the ideological and economic underpinning of education and the world's social stratification. Due to the cross-continental nature of the book, the principle of *world 'englishes'* is willingly adopted, entrusting that the chapters will gain a global readership.

The editors endeavour to allow contributors free expression of their personal beliefs, to create openness and space for passionate and sometimes 'non-standard' approaches, in order to avoid the routine of false objectivity. This is coherent with the nature of this book, which aims to reach out for innovative ways of understanding and describing the socio-educational matrixes we all function in.

The book is divided thematically into four parts:

Part I – EDUCATION AND FORMS OF 'POST' COLONIZATION – It starts with a chapter on globalization as a form of colonization, followed by trauma narratives from American schools, the creation of indigenous subjects through education in Ecuador and a recommendation against neoliberal policy in the Italian education system. This section ends with a thought provoking theoretical piece on education in times of uncertainty and the uncertainty in education.

Part II – SOCIAL ASPECTS OF POST-COLONIAL POWER STRUGGLE – This part starts with a chapter on violence against women in India, followed by narratives of the third gender in Kolkata embedded in a post-colonial discourse. Calabar's lesbians' secret language at schools, completes the gender agenda in this section. The last two chapters in this part, dedicated to: paradoxes of childhood amongst the Ba'aka tribe in central Africa and to an empirical study of the Kashubian and German minority language rights in Poland, form an important contribution.

Part III – CRITICAL REFLEXION ON CRITICAL THOUGHT – THINKING 'OUTSIDE THE BOX' – First there is a novel conceptualization of Janusz Korczak's pedagogy in a post-colonial context and this part goes on to an extensive review of colonial and post-colonial literature through the critical lens of a contemporary, Algerian scholar.

Part IV – SUBLIMINAL STRUGGLE: ART, ARCHITECTURE AND MEDICINE, contains a chapter about Neo-gothic architecture in Indonesia as a form of cultural oppression of the Indigenous people by the Dutch settlers of faith, followed by the last chapter dedicated to India's alternative medicine, somewhat critical of the dominance of western medicine and western driven medical industry.

We trust that this volume will make an impact on expanding the boundaries of academic writing, to honour the diversity of the contributors and the multiplicity of their viewpoints, with an overarching motto to think outside of our own self-perpetuated socio-cultural casing, box or frame.

Anna Odrowąż-Coates &
Sribas Goswami

Preface

Lilia D. Monzó
Chapman University, USA

The greatest myth of our time is the notion that we inhabit a postcolonial world – that when the Global South rose up against the horrors inflicted upon them by the Colonial powers and victoriously proclaimed their independence, the economic, social, and political assault on the so called developing world and its peoples ceased. In fact, what is clearly laid out here, in this extraordinary volume that honors the magnificent diversity of thought and being, that is reflected in the non-Western world, is the multiple ways in which colonial relations have and continue to persist and to endanger the lives of indigenous peoples and people of color across the globe. The symbolic violence that this volume emphasizes has assaulted the ontological and epistemological richness of non Western peoples for hundreds of years resulting in cultural and linguistic erasures and a reprehensible 'spirit murder'. We must not forget, though, that this symbolic violence is fruit to the multiple genocides that took the lives of millions of people across the Global South in the indefensible quest to claim indigenous lands and its riches and to conquer and enslave its peoples all for the purpose of capital accumulation.

Decolonial theorists, including Enrique Dussel, Anibal Quijano, and Ramon Grosfoguel, have been instrumental to my understanding of the processes by which the West was able to become and remain the dominant force throughout the globe for so long. They trace historically the rise of Western knowledge as "truth" to the four major genocides of the 16th centuries forged "1) against Muslims and Jews in the conquest of Al-Andalus in the name of 'purity of blood'; 2) against indigenous peoples first in the Americas and then in Asia; 3) against African people with the captive trade and their enslavement in the Americas; 4) against women who practiced and transmitted Indo-European knowledge in Europe burned alive accused of witches" (Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 77). Decolonial scholars maintain that the *ego cogito* (I think therefore, I am) that characterized Descartes' modernity replaced the dominant Christian perspective with a secular – but still God-like – perspective which established the superiority of mind over body and an objective and universal rationality to the White man (Mignolo, 2009). This *ego cogito* rose out of the conditions of possibility established by the *ego conquiro* (I conquer, therefore I am) which was facilitated by the *ego exterminus* (I exterminate you, therefore I am). Violence is, thus, foundational to the dominance of Western knowledge and organizational structures throughout the world and to the exclusion, dismissal, and erasure of non-Western ways of knowing (Grosfoguel, 2013).

It is crucial that we recognize this atrocious past that may result in our demise as a species and in the ruins of the very Earth that gives us life. Surely we can recognize that the Western, modern, and capitalist domination that has characterized our world for the last 500 years, has led us onto an apocalyptic path and that our salvation may lay at the wisdom and courage of the colonized 'Other' whose ways of knowing and being have been for too long silenced or relegated to "mystical, irrational, delusions."

This collection of essays, both theoretical and empirical, point to the very real necessity to humbly ask non-Western peoples, to share their wisdom with the rest of the world and for the West to begin to recognize that it is high time we begin looking elsewhere for answers to our most pressing and persistent problems. Indeed, we have some examples to learn from, as indigenous groups are rising up to challenge the existing focus on capitalist development with its unending drive to economic growth that is depleting our natural resources, forging endless wars, and catastrophically creating a moral vacuum among our species. Numerous indigenous groups are introducing new ways of organizing their communities around more humanistic ideals – the interdependence of life forces, a reverence toward Mother Earth, and development for sustainability. One example is Buen Vivir, which now has gained some legitimacy through inclusion in the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia. Buen Vivir is the Spanish concept used to convey Sumak Kawsay, a Quechua expression, translated to English as "the good life." This is not the western notion of "the good life," signaling affluence. Sumak Kawsay rejects development as continual growth, striving instead for equality, equilibrium of resources, and respect for nature and aims to structure life and the political and economic spheres through a participatory democracy. This approach rejects the superiorization of particular peoples or knowledge's and instead seeks to recognize the subaltern, in particular the indigenous voices from which the concept stems, but also other traditionally marginalized voices of society, the mestizo population, and even the western canons (Fatheuer, 2011).

While the inclusion of this philosophy in the constitution has not resulted in its full implementation, particularly as these countries remain embroiled within a global capitalist structure, it does provide an example of the possibilities and in this way engages the hope and vision that we so desperately need to continue to do the work necessary to create a more humane world.

As a Marxist humanist, I believe fully that the evidence of violence – physical, economic, psychological and, of course, symbolic – that you will find in the following essays, are functions of a capitalist system that distorts our humanity and that a socialist alternative, rooted in Marxist humanist principles of equality, freedom, interdependence, and creative labor beyond necessity, will support the conditions from which our true humanity can develop.

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Part I

EDUCATION AND THE FORMS OF 'POST' COLONIZATION

Revisiting power and supremacy in the post-colonial world. Globalization as a refined phase of colonization

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Abstract

The author engages critical post-colonial discourse to discuss how the world has remained colonized by the global self-proclaimed centre and how the colonized "peripheries" struggle to deconstruct and overcome historically bestowed and economically enforced, global power hierarchies. Moreover, these complex and unequal relations are re-enforced in acts of intellectual efforts, possibly unconsciously entangled and pre-determined by the socio-cultural matrix of the writers. The chapter contains an analysis of post-colonial theories, confronted with critical pedagogies that are affected by the endo-exo symbolic exchanges, their power driven genesis and bespoke limitations. Amongst the main theoretical contributions used in this chapter, one may find works by: A. Appadurari, H.K. Bhabha J. Derrida, P. Dhillon, F. Fanon, M. Foucault, P. Freire, L. Gandhi, H. Giroux, D. Kellner, A. Loomba, A. Nandy, G. Prakash, E.W. Said, G.C. Spivak and others.

Introduction

This chapter was developed as a result of an extensive desk analysis of post-colonial discourse and their tight links with the critical theories, dominant in western liberal and neo-liberal ideologies. Although it does not aspire to be treated as nomothetic, it contains some patterns of thought that may be shared amongst a number of academics and may be holistically categorized under the label of the political sociology of education. Many writers have attempted to analyze today's world through the lens of the post-colonial discourses. They have written about post-colonialism as a tool to overcome and condemn the colonialization, that took place in the past (c.f. Hochschild, 2005)[1]. This past is not at all distant to modernity, since up to the first quarter of the twentieth century, 85% of all the land around the globe was under formal colonial governance (c.f. Fieldhouse, 1989) and the last countries formally abolished slavery in the nineteen sixties (c.f. Odrowaz-Coates, 2013, p. 212). The inclination of the analysis derives from Werner Sombart's idea of "Weltanschauung" (1939), which resembles the totality of any human understanding of everyday life practices and the world's order, through the lens of historical and ideological

rationality, anchored in certain place at a certain time. The limitations of "Weltanschauung" in terms of socially constructed consciousness, symbolize the main argument of this chapter. Ideology alienates certain groups, enables reproduction of the social order and what's more, is mostly organized by a particular hegemonic part of society – the intellectual elites (c.f. Gramsci, 1971; Torres, 1995).

The above listed forms of deconstructions and reconstructions of the 'post-colonial' social realm may create a dangerous trap, bringing the ideology of the colonial into the new world's order and by doing so, legitimizing and unconsciously supporting the extending of colonial forms of oppression into our modern doxa as given, as obvious and as persistently anchored in people's minds, so as not to be noticed nor questioned. In the author's opinion, post-colonial studies spring back from superficial 'permission' within western universities, to focus on the 'negative' past and perhaps to obscure the evils of the present. Moreover, papers that don't derive from the west are often marginalized by being instantly deemed comparative or critical towards already existing western thought (c.f. Hulme, 1994). The post colonial studies are admirable for their critical approach and their extensive cultural criticism of social and economic forms of oppression, yet they can not escape the semiotic entrapment within stigmatizing and victimizing language that labels this scientific writing with a colonial notion. Entangled within this overwhelming language dependency, the author will argue that colonization is far from over, that it has just changed the dimensions and the social masks it's been using to maintain the global power relations that were initiated by the transatlantic slave trade and the subjugation of new lands and their peoples. It does not refer to simply following the Derridian language deconstruction nor the famous Foucauldian language and power model, which can be viewed as reactive, as they were developed in opposition to existing power mechanisms. The so-called post-colonial, is deemed to be reactive as a strong reaction to the colonial past. Nevertheless, the pre-fix 'post' may delude society that the colonial order is over and that we enter a new era of greater social justice. However, this is just a delusion, which will be argued with, in the following sections of this chapter.

The echoes of the colonial expansion

The western colonialization of the XVI–XVIII centuries went hand in hand with the enslavement of people. Humanity has known slavery since ancient times, with invaders killing or enslaving defeated peoples all over our planet. People unable to feed themselves or unable to pay their debts would sell themselves as slaves and the serfdom of peasants was also a form of enslavement. Western populations, reading about 'post' colonization or 'de'-colonization are led to believe that slavery is over. However, this is just a myth. In its mildest form, the majority of working humans may be considered 'enslaved' by seductive methods of marketing, which create a desire for goods and the temptation to elevate or confirm our social status by appropriate possessions or Veblenian conspicuous consumption. We suffer 'enslavement' by the multiple addictions that we willingly bring on ourselves; we become addicted to a certain style of life and certain products that we cannot imagine living without. Our mind is focused on this everyday life consumerism (Bauman, 2007), desensitizing us and taking our eyes away from the silent majority of the world's population who suffer much harsher forms

of enslavement. Human trafficking by international gangs is a profitable business for criminals, yet not only for illicit individuals, as there is often a corporation benefiting from cheap labour, by turning a blind eye and denying responsibility for people forced to work against their will, for nothing or for a ration of food (Bales, 2009). These practices are more common that we may expect. "Human trafficking is now the third-biggest activity of organized crime in Europe, surpassed only by the trafficking of drugs and arms." (Igor Davor Gaon, Nancy Forbord, For Sale: *Women and Children – Trafficking and Forced Prostitution in Southeast Europe*, Trafford Publishing, Victoria (CA), 2009).

Some organizations, amongst them the UK based non-profit organization "Unseen", suggest that the victims of forced labour globally total approximately 21 million (http://www.unseenuk.org/about/the-problem/facts-and-figures). Modern slavery is addressed by multiple international acts, such as: SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, July 19, 2011), the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (United Nations, January 1, 1949), the CATW Statement to the Third session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Convention (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, October 18, 2006), The UN protocol to prevent, suppress and punish the trafficking of persons, ILO Convention 182 on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour, ILO Convention 29 on forced labour, ILO Convention 105 on the abolition of forced labour, Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography and the Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child in Armed Conflict. The need for such legal acts confirms that the problem exists and is worse in countries that do not ratify these acts or acknowledge them only on paper, without a practical cause of action[2].Modern slavery can be divided into the most common forms of slavery: domestic slavery (Skinner, 2008; Hepburn & Simon, 2013), forced labour (Hunter, 2007), child slavery (Beah, 2007; Honwana, 2006; Derby, 2009), forced marriage, which is often also a child marriage (UNICEF, 2013), sexual exploitation (Higgis & Brady, 2005) and slavery at sea (Shelley, 2010). UNICEF estimates that about 1.2 million children are trafficked every year. The U.S. Government (2006) claims that at least 800.000 people are trafficked across national borders, which does not include the millions trafficked within their own countries (The 2007 trafficking in persons report http://www.state.gov/j/tip/). Approximately 80% of transnational victims are women and girls and up to 50% are minors. It is sad to say that the beneficiaries of modern slavery may not even be aware that the sugar they eat, the coco, coffee or tea they drink may be a product of slave labour. It is also noticeable that often people are trafficked into western countries and western customers are the largest group of clients within the sex tourism industry, strongly reliant on forced prostitution and child's prostitution (Belser, 2005).

Moreover, a direct colonial supremacy is not a condition sine qua non for the continuation of imperialism, because the initial economic and social dependencies remain in place in the conditions of the neoliberal, free market economy, maintaining cheap or enslaved labour and the outlets for consumer demand in the previously exploited areas. Furthermore, if we consider that the descendants of slaves and feudal subjects spread out through the modern world, then their heritage makes the whole earth truly post-colonial, in another dimension. This new dimension provides balance to the concepts of Hulme

(1995) and Vaughan (1993), who criticized those who try to universalize the term 'post-colonial', whilst ignoring country specific circumstances or the western bias of viewing developing countries solely through their relation to colonialism. Cesaire (1972) perceives colonization as subjugation of both the colonizer and the colonized, whilst Ashis Nandy (1983) claims that being colonized is like being reduced to a position of a defenceless, inert child, governed by authoritarian parent (the colonizer). Moreover, Nandy labels colonisation with two major categories: the militarized and violent claim of a territory or the more peaceful civilizing claim of cultures, thoughts and consciousness. The second category is deemed far more dangerous by Nandy, as it quietly overturns cultural priorities and changes the notion of modern West from geographical and historical category into a psychological one. Correspondingly, according to Fanon (1967), colonization of the people, leads to colonization of the minds for both the colonizers and the colonized, changing their identity, their culture and even their nature. Fanon (1963) emphasizes the ethnic divisions between the colonizers and the colonized. Antonio Gramsci (1971) perceives it as a form of schizophrenic duality, where the ideologies of the invaders and the oppressed create a twofold consciousness of people affected by the colonization process. Moreover, Frantz Fanon (1963) claimed that Europe was made of "Third World" treasures and man power, overturn the 'colonial' power and give the colonies new forms of dominance over the western exploitation. Bipin Chandra Pal (1958) and Edward Said (1994) thought that knowledge of the 'Non-Western' can not be objective or innocent, because it is produced by people entangled in post-colonial relations and the historical rooting they can not escape. This personal shaping of one's mind comes with a bias impossible to overcome for purity of knowledge. Even the "subaltern studies" by Guatri Spivak (1988) or Ranajit Guha (1982) – developed to promote the empowering approach within the post colonial discourses – questioned an ability of subaltern studies to reflect the consciousness of the disadvantaged people or even their own capability to adequately assess their personal situation. Walter Rodney (1973), views capitalism as a system, which encourages the development of underdevelopment in already disadvantaged parts of the world. Aijaz Ahmad (1995) writes about a capitalist modernity that takes a colonial form in certain spaces and time frames. Such practice can be found in the exploitation of less wealthy parts of the globe, through a less direct form of so called: 'brain drain', which affects poorer countries and reinforces their less technologically advanced position in the global economy. The global 'brain drain' phenomenon creates migration waves of skilled professionals leaving less developed countries to travel to the highest bidder. Solutions to suppress this form of exploitation of less developed countries lie within corporative agency and power but they would compromise the pure economic benefits to the stakeholders so they are not discussed.

Michele Foucault (1980, p. 54) compares European systems of knowledge and rationality to the political and economical supremacy of colonialism. Jacques Derrida (1974) follows by pointing out the contamination of European rationality with racism and imperialism. Conversely, both Foucault (1970) and Derrida (1974) reinforce the division between western rationality and the 'otherness' by articulating, highlighting and 'justifying' the difference between the western and 'the rest'. Western humanists (c.f. Lyotard, 1992) suggest that to overcome the 'otherness' the 'others' must force their particular cultural identities towards universal neoliberal citizenship, which would be a one way transgression, affirming ideological supremacy of the West. In accordance with the latter, Dipesh

Chakrabarty (1992) perceives European imperialism and nationalism as not only ongoing, but also as effective tools to promulgate ostensible universality of western ideologies that ignore or marginalize the non-western majority of the global population. Spivak rejects this hegemonic universality, followed by a vast critique by Immanuel Wallerstein (2006), who has linked it with the intellectual discourse, present in the rhetoric of power used by the ideologically dominant intellectuals.

Postcolonial still 'colonial'

What is the essence of the terms: 'post-colonial' or 'de-colonial'? Are they just unsubstantiated words of little or no embodiment? Every theory has it's supporters and opponents, and whilst the supporters will clearly disseminate the theory and it's meaning, the opposition will reinforce the physical existence of such theory and it's wider propagation. Couldn't it be, that the post-colonial is indeed truly colonial, ontologically re-affirming the use of such terminology? Looking through the lens of historical anthropology, one may argue that the more technologically advanced a civilization is, the more efficient it becomes in it's production of wealth and capability to subjugate and conquer other less technologically advanced societies. This way of thinking is closely connected to Marxist materialistic approaches, amplified in theoretical grounding for critical education by Giroux, McLaren or Apple. The history of humanity shows that people seek power and tend to capitalize it and extend their power over more and more territory, more and more subjects if they are able to. The greed for power is an anthropologically proven human desire that can not be fully satisfied, leading to seeking new forms and new ways of expressing and executing this power, from primitive rules of violence, through indirect violence to a symbolic one that functions under the surface of consciousness. In academic circles we often hear about being colonized, agreeing to play a passive role of victimized subjects, who are allowed to critically assess their own position but have no power to overcome or to defeat the colonization effects. Multiple emancipatory critical theorists claim that awareness is the key ingredient of emancipation, therefore initiating the de-colonization processes (Said, 1978; Ghandi, 1998; Loomba, 1998). However, are we capable of a such level of awareness if we are entrenched within the inescapable imprint of governmentality? "Freedom is the ontological condition of ethics…" writes Foucault (1997a, p. 284), questioned by Zamora (2014) for furthering the ideology of neoliberalism. According to Francis Fukuyama, the power of a liberal government is limited by the freedom of the individuals it serves (c.f. Rose, 1999, pp. 63–38). This freedom is installed in the individual's mind by the neoliberal execution of Foucauldian governmentality, through the eighteenth century apparatus of biopolitics (2007). Foucault examines liberalism as praxis and as a critique of government; a government, that needs biopolitical power (1997) to control social and organic processes in the population using techniques of governance transferred from the ideological exterior to individual's interior, with a number of punitive measures and self-controlling mechanisms, embedded in status driven consumers.

As in Foucault's writings, when analyzing the above, there are many contradictions and self-conflicting statements. Hartsock (1990) shows that if the power described in Foucault's writings is present everywhere, not only at the top but distributed at all levels, then it is weakened and in result nowhere specific. Foucault, for instance, writes about

governmentality and how it uses education as a tool of installing governmentality into a personal set of beliefs, goals and aspirations (c.f. Lemke, 2002). His writings form a claim similar to Louise Althusser's ideas of "interpellation" (1976), that governmentality is ultimately inescapable in any formal or informal education. Meanwhile, Foucault develops the concept of an active agent (1994) who is a self-driven, self-governed, sovereign body, someone who becomes in opposition to mainstream educational objectives focused on personal freedom and self-fulfilment. However, this free active agent is emancipated only through a master, who holds temporary mastery over him. "The problem of mastership is how to free the young man from his ignorance…" writes Foucault (2001, p. 128). He is convinced that by resembling traditional socialization models, the master should set a good example and pass on the "know-how", simultaneously engaging Socratic reasoning to reveal social power (governmentality?) within the educational process. However, how is it possible to be free when having a master? Perhaps a master holds the means to gain freedom, being an enabler, a form of bridging capital between knowledge and power. Conversely, shouldn't a master be a tool of imposing governmentality into internalized doxa and unconscious level of beliefs and habits? Could it be that this is the true ingenious achievement of neoliberalism, to develop and reproduce a self-perpetuating wheel of governmentality, through education, to forcibly equip an individual with a culturally (and economically) desired set of norms, goals and aspirations; a set that would succeed in obscuring the ongoing 'colonization' of our globalized minds? For Foucault, critical agency leads to liberation and "de-subjugation", whilst this liberation retains its own risks of new forms of subjugation, therefore the process of questioning and critiquing must become an ongoing practice (c.f. Foucault, 1990, 2007; Leask, 2012). Foucault overturns the idea of knowledge as power, looking for power reflected in self-disciplining measures and it's inscriptions in reasoning about the world's order, leading to personal construction of borders, opportunities and accompanying individual discourses.

According to Vaughan (1991), in his analysis of governmentality, power or biopolitics, Foucault does not recognize the differences between western and 'colonial' states (based on a more directly repressive model of governance without the right to individuality and empowerment), displaying obvious ethnocentric bias, which leads to generalizations based on western paradigms. Gayatri C. Spivak (1988) points out the failures of French theorists such as Foucault or Deleuze to address the epistemic violence of western imperialism, whilst finds Derridian deconstruction more appealing with criticism of the European tendency to marginalize the "other", even when 'representing' the oppressed, without consideration for the monetary and educational privileges this entails (p. 289–293). As Said points out, in the history of humans there is not only an ongoing struggle to control territories but also a struggle to agree on historical and social meanings (1995, p. 331). Homi Bhabha (1983) depicts the dependency of both the colonized and the colonizers in forming their own flexible and fluent identities, based on cultural differences and oppositions. Frantz Fanon notes that the echo of colonialism is surreptitiously required to shape the cultural identity of global citizens. Liberal philosophical thought of the West forms an interdependent relationship with oppositional post-colonial reflection (c.f. Dhillon, 2006) They co-exist in relation to one another.

Controversially, Hardt and Negri (2005) studied global networks of mobile power, human, social and economic capital mobility and consumer mobility, arguing that the nature

of colonial repressions changes thanks to globalization and the rise of mobility of resources, abolishing earlier inequalities and power hierarchies and replacing them with more diverse and more democratic structures. Meanwhile, Maria Lugones (2011) puts modernity on par with coloniality, built on specific perceptions of race, gender and sexuality, established by the colonizers, through an invented logic of colonial difference. Conversely, Arjuna Appaduiraia (1996) applauds global opportunities for new, modern ways of consumption and the growth of information technology. Walter Mignolo finds a self-conflicting way to resist this falsely constructed image of the "colonized" by noticing the difference and resisting "the epistemiological habit of erasing it" (2010, p. 753). Furthermore, Mignolo offers two key concepts of overcoming modernity perceived as enduringly colonial:

– "border thinking" (2000), that highlights the limitations of western philosophy to resolve colonial difference, that at the same time obstructs local histories instead of drawing from them in the understanding;
– "de-linking" (2007, 2011), that inspires a de-colonial epistemic shift towards interpreting the histories of non-western entities from pre-colonial perspectives, rethinking liberating principles of modernity in the lens of colonial studies.

These two principles lead to the development of "pluriversality" project, which attempts to decentralize connections between local histories, de-westernizing and de-colonizing the life of people, breaking from the reproduction of the colonially tainted past (c.f. Mignolo, 2011). The question of how to do it remains the same, as the western-centric conceptuality dominates so called "global education". Gurminder K. Bhambra writes that western arguments, representing social science's call for cosmopolitan globalization (e.g. Beck's and Wallerstein's), emerge from a Eurocentric perspective, which places Europe at the heart of modernization (both convergent and divergent), where in the minds of many western writers global players are not 'ethnic minority' and 'ethnic minority' are not a 'global player' (Bhambra, 2014, pp. 76–77). This process of western-centric contextualization has an impact on both, reinforcing the existing divisions and reproducing the inadequate labels. Edward Said (1983) is convinced that true knowledge lies within questioning and opposing the uneven spread of justice and the uneven division of power around the world. He even claims that such an approach to knowledge is a human and intellectual obligation. This leads us back to sociolinguistic theories based on Foucauldian understanding of discourse as connected with gaining power and control over meaning and interpretation. Said's concept of 'orientalism' as an execution of sociolinguistic power, is further studied and developed by Homi Bhabha (1983) who perceives that the power of the stereotyping of "Orient" leads not only to discriminatory practices towards it from citizens of the West, but also affirms the strategies of oriental difference by the occidental anti-western opposition, reinforcing the divisions and binary preconceptions (c.f. Said, 1995a). Paradoxically, feminist theorists, often accused of a biased civilizing mission to 'save' the women in developing countries and of imperialistic, classist grounding, reject the binary oppositions, which in their view reflect patriarchal and ultimately colonial power structures (Gandhi, 1998): post-colonialism and feminism. At the same time two opposite tendencies clash with each other beyond a joint solution: a feminist emancipation and a cultural emancipation. The answer perhaps lies within constant questioning of any social structure or power relations brought to the table by the 'norm critical pedagogy' derived from Scandinavian

queer studies (Odrowaz-Coates, 2015). The critical approach of post-colonial writers such as Fanon, Spivak, Bhambra, Mignolo, Loomba, Nandy, Gandhi, Chakrabarty, Dhillon and others may not be radical enough whilst controversially too revolutionary at the same time. Norm critical pedagogy looks for deeply rooted mechanisms of creating, maintaining and reproducing social inequalities and categories of otherness. This leads to the revealing and understanding of how certain norms legitimized in societies give or take resources based on power from individuals and groups. The awareness of who the beneficiary of rules and norms is, plays a key role in liberation from overarching societal oppression in the norm critical paradigm. Therefore norm critical pedagogy may become a valuable contribution towards the de-colonization processes.

Conclusions

Post-colonial thought focuses on nonviolent forms of intellectual resistance, whilst it opposes and questions hidden structures of symbolic violence built on colonial historicity. The use of the historical approach, combined with comparative cultural anthropology (Wulf, 2009), based on the phenomenological underpinning, directs us towards the idea that post-colonial studies may be suffering from a fundamental attribution error (Jones & Harris, 1967; Ross, 1977), giving too much agency to individuals, whilst under appreciating the diachronic perspective of the externally bestowed situational and cultural factors, entrenched within the western-born 'governmentality'. Consistent with G. Spivak (1988), one may conclude that all existing discourses are indeed to some extent colonial. Therefore avoiding or deconstructing a colonial framing is incredibly difficult. One may even question to what extent post colonial studies are indeed already a form of de-colonization or a manifesto of freedom? Perhaps they are more of a recollection of anti-colonial performative arguments that give hope for social change through critical pedagogy and representation.

Notes

[1] It must be noted, that although non-western entities such as imperial Mongolia, imperial Japan, China and imperial Russia had been the colonizers (earlier on the Spartans, ancient Greeks, Romans, Vikings, Turks, Moors might be seen as colonizers), the most common interpretation of the word 'colonization' refers to the XVII–XVIII century colonies of the western economic powers. Therefore, de-colonization or post-colonialism denote opposition towards western domination, western ideologies and the implications of oppressive role of the West over the colonized subjects.

[2] The list of countries who ratified the acts may be found in this report: Trafficking in persons report 2007 at: http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2007/, pp. 224–227.

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A critical perspective on the use of the trauma narrative in American schools

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Abstract

This chapter aims to caution educators to critically examine and identify discursive gaps in the national, school practitioner dialogue on the relationship between trauma and school discipline in the United States. Over 74% of American schools experience at least one violent criminal act each year and an estimated 8% of all teachers experience some form of threatening behavior from their students (Robers et. al., 2012). Those of us who work closely with schools on this issue can attest that schools in high violence communities can experience teacher threats, harassment, and violence at rates four times the national percentage. Also, while homicides in schools are not a prominent issue, studies suggest that an average of 20% of students surveyed report a gang presence on their campus. The author suggests these realities of institutional toxicity are largely ignored in both conservative and leftist discourses of school discipline practice as youth and communities are pathologized as inherently deficient and in need of reform. This chapter suggests there are clear gaps in the trauma discourse that are embedded in three underlying assumptions. These assumptions represent and construct a dynamic of pathologization within the current U.S. narrative of trauma in education. They are as follows: (1) A Monolithic Manifestation of Trauma; (2) Schools as the Safe Places in the community; and (3) Communities as powerless spaces of victimization.

Introduction

As a consultant to many educational institutions in the United States, I have had numerous opportunities to sit with teachers and administrators in staff meetings as they have struggled to figure out key questions concerning students that have low-income backgrounds: "why do our students seem so out of control?" or "how do we address the discipline issues of our school?". Invariably, especially if the school has low income students or students of color, the conversation has included some reference to student poverty and trauma. This paper aims to advance three points of caution for educators who invest

in a trauma narrative to explain why students – particularly those from historically marginalized communities – struggle to exhibit behaviors that comply with social norms or passively acquiesce to broader school expectations.

Research confirms that violence, parental abuse, and neglect are not exclusive to low-income communities or communities of color. In the United States, according to the The National Child Traumatic Stress Network, 25% of all children in the U.S. will experience at least one traumatic event before they reach the age of 16 (2008). In the United States, as many as 70% of adults (approximately 223.4 million) in the U.S. have experienced some type of traumatic event at least once in their lives according to the organization PTSD United (2013).

Problematizing the 'trauma lens'

The use of trauma as a way of framing the challenges that students experience in school did not come out of nowhere. What Cole et al., (2013) have referred to as the "Trauma Lens" emerged from a growing recognition of how researchers suggest emotional, neurological, and behavioral responses to traumatic events impact student engagement and conduct in school. The authors go on to explain:

> These studies from public health experts, neurobiologists, and psychologists can lead to greater empathy and a shift in perception about what may underlie the challenges certain students face at school. This knowledge provides a new lens – what we call the Trauma Lens – through which students and their learning, behavior, and relationships can be seen and understood (Cole et al., 2013, p. 7).

While the trauma lens evokes a consideration of the long history of racism and implicit bias in the United States, it fails to inspire a reflection upon the ways in which well-meaning educators can perpetuate stereotypes of pathology and inferiority as they seek to diagnose populations that struggle to demonstrate high levels of institutional success. This is not to say that the adoption of such a lens indicates any malicious intent. In fact, theorists have noted that the short sightedness of white liberal frameworks – absent of deep reflexivity – can lead to outcomes that constitute "democratic racism" – an unintentional manifestation of racial bias in the face of an effort to produce the exact opposite. Henry and Tator write, "In conflict with these liberal values, a second set of attitudes and behaviours includes negative feelings about people of color that carry the potential for discrimination (1994, p. 1)." I argue, that if allowed to go unexamined, the Trauma Lens can serve as a vessel through which attitudes and behaviors regarding historically marginalized groups can be cloaked in a loosely articulated framework of "concern" for the traumatized.

Pathologization

Pathologization is to regard or treat someone as psychologically unusual or unhealthy. As educators work in haste to implement trauma-safe practices and create trauma-aware environments, they often overlook the realities that large percentages of Americans have experienced trauma – not just the students. Furthermore, trauma is a phenomenon that exists across all social locations and can vary in its manifestation by the individual affected (Arvidson et al., 2011; Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2007; Osofsky, 2004, 1995). To focus a trauma discourse on particular families and children based on income or difficulty in school ignores the realities and literature on trauma and its impact on daily life. Such a focus also constitutes a pathologization of the community that may center as the root concern for a community of educators. On the political left and right alike, focus on communities of color and the struggles that they face has traditionally been damage-centered as educators fell into a legacy of representing historically targeted neighborhoods and tribes as damaged and broken in some way (Tuck, 2009; Valencia, 2010). These deficit-oriented depictions have emerged with reports on trauma in educational contexts, especially in high poverty and low-income communities of color (Shields, Bishop & Mazawi, 2005). Furthermore, the Trauma Lens and the resulting discourse has largely excluded the challenges presented by an ever present dynamic of cultural incongruence between public school teachers and students that has proved problematic in America's highly racialized cultural climate (Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Goldenberg, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Landsman & Lewis, 2006).

In this chapter, I present three key points of critique around the popular inclusion of trauma into the current national discourse on educational equity and school discipline. I argue that there are clear gaps in this discourse embedded in three underlying assumptions. These assumptions represent and construct a dynamic of pathologization within the current U.S. narrative of trauma in education. They are as follows: (1) A Monolithic Manifestation of Trauma; (2) Schools as the Safe Places in the community; and (3) Communities as powerless spaces of victimization.

A monolithic manifestation of trauma

According to the literature, each individual experiences trauma and thus manifests responses and coping mechanisms in different ways. A broad lack of nuanced understanding regarding community trauma, acute trauma, vicarious trauma, complex trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), persistent stress disorder, and other classifications of trauma leave educators in a position in which they blindly ascribe psychological dysfunction to entire populations without any significant steps to analyze actual circumstances. In essence, there exists a confusion among educators between the various types of trauma and the individualized ways that one might experience trauma that transfers into an uninformed, projected notion of "mass trauma" onto a community (Marlowe, 2009; Pupavac, 2002).

In addition to the glossing over of the individually nuanced ways in which different types of trauma may impact different people, there is a broad reach as to the impact such experiences will manifest in a school context. Researchers discuss at length the various

ways in which students at different levels in their development "*can*" be distracted from school activities or hindered in their capacity to concentrate or participate in routine student responsibilities due to their trauma (Mann, Kristjansson, Sigfusdottir & Smith, 2014; National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2010; Schwerdtfeger, Gallus, Shreffler, Merten & Cox Jr., 2015). Research has also shown that many students who experience traumatic incidents demonstrate high levels of resiliency and the development of coping mechanisms that lead to them to access resources and support (DuMont, Widom & Czaja, 2007; Jaffee, Caspi, Moffitt, Polo-Tomas & Taylor, 2007).

The trauma discourse also contends that, students may have issues with trusting others after experiencing trauma but one should question who specifically they have mistrust–all adults, teachers, gang leaders, friends, or otherwise? I have seen children who have refused to trust a teacher but instead place a very high level of confidence and faith in a sibling, relative, or family friend. All relationships require a period of trust building and I wonder if some teachers use the discourse of trauma to explain what might, in many cases, be a slower process of trust development that is more a reflection of their relational distance than a result of a psychological disorder. It is also important to note that younger children and the effects of trauma maybe easier to discern than older students as they develop various coping mechanisms and relational strategies to function during adolescence (Rolnick, 2010). Certain manifestations of trauma may not develop until later on in a person's development and students with histories of compliant and accommodating behavior may encounter disciplinary problems later on (Petersen, Joseph & Feit, 2014).

I have also witnessed classroom and school settings in which the narrative regarding students was one of trauma and victimization when explaining low attention spans, constant physical movement, yelling out of turn, and other "disruptive" behaviors. In many of these spaces, I have also noted a lack of clarity and consistency on the part of educators to build mutual understanding of boundaries or guidelines while often providing lackluster instructional presence or material for the class. Hence, the "diagnosis" of trauma replaced a more student-centered relational approach to understanding student behavior.

I recall visiting an elementary school in the San Francisco Bay Area of California and sitting with the principal late in my visit. Before I even asked a question she was preemptively explaining how traumatized the kids were and how poor performing the school was before she had arrived. Before I sat with her, I had toured the school and got a glimpse of what my tour-guide explained was a normal day. During my time there, I witnessed a student no older than 4th grade throwing a tantrum in the hallway. It was during classes and the rest of the school was in their rooms. In the long corridor you could hear the child's screams of frustration and sadness as he screamed for access to a classroom from which he was removed. Falling on the floor in this old school building with vaulted hallway ceilings of 14 feet or more was a little blonde-haired, raging, crying child. His crying could be heard from the floor below setting a scene that would eerily mimic a psychiatric ward from a century ago. He was banging on a classroom door – his classroom, and drawing on it furiously with a crayon so that the scribbles could be seen from 20 feet away. One staff person, a large Black man was sitting in a chair no more than 10 feet from him trying to talk him down. He asked the child to come with him so that he could go to the office but the child crying screamed, "I don't want to go with you!!!". This went on for at least 20 minutes.

At one point, the principal was visiting classrooms and went into one where a boy was locked out (passing the crying child on the way in). As she came out a few minutes later, she asked the child what was wrong. After a short reply, she told the child that he would have to go to her office. He continued to cry and scream, and she walked away to another class. I asked my tour guide, a veteran teacher there, about what the policy was for locking children out of class. She said "there isn't one" – different teachers do what they choose." She then informed me that this student had a history of hitting other students and has a special needs classification which makes certain teachers feel uncomfortable with him in the room. I asked her about the training they had received in classroom management, conflict resolution, child development, staff communication and safety procedures. Her answer: "None".

Again, when I sat down later with the principal, she told me about how her student population was a struggling population with low performance and behavioral problems. I'd be hard pressed to attribute that to trauma based on what I saw on a normal day at that school. Which leads me to my next point…

Schools as 'safe places' in the community

The ongoing discourse about individual and community trauma removes the possible investigation of school as a traumatizing institution that employs educators who are unable to protect or develop healthy human beings. In her work on survival-centered appraisal of trauma, Gilfus writes "A trauma reference can draw attention away from the real source of the problem – the individual and collective perpetrators of the violence (1999)." Even in cases where educators express a commitment to providing a safe environment for students, the notion of the school itself as the PRIMARY space of victimization often goes unacknowledged.

Research shows that schools can be unsafe spaces. In the "Indicators of School Crime and Safety" report (2012), Robers et al., stated "students ages 12–18 were victims of about 1,364,900 nonfatal victimizations at school, including 615,600 thefts and 749,200 violent victimizations, 89,000 of which were serious violent victimizations" (p. iv). Not all of these "victimizations" are necessarily crimes that would be reported to local law enforcement but are important as they suggest the enactment of a behavior or action that situates a student or staff person as a victim of emotional, psychological, or physical harm. The same national report completed in 2010 discussed the prevalence of student crime reporting that in the 2009–10 school year an estimated 1.9 million crimes had been reported by public schools in the U.S. with 85% of public schools reporting at least one crime, on or off campus, serious enough to report to the police. Additionally, the same study revealed that 60% of public schools reported on – campus crime incidents to the police, "amounting to 689,000 crimes – or 15 crimes per 1,000 public school students enrolled" in the United States (p. v., 2012).

Over 74% of American schools experience at least one violent criminal act each year and an estimated 8% of all teachers experience some form of threatening behavior from their students (Robers et al., 2012). Those of us who work closely with schools on this issue can attest that schools in high violence communities that have not experienced success in

these issues could experience teacher threats, harassment, and violence at rates four times greater than the national percentage. Also, while homicides in schools are not a prominent issue, studies suggest that an average of 20% of students surveyed report a gang presence on their campus.

This is not to mention the persistent school experience of bullying, of which nearly a third of students ages 12–18 experience each year (Robers et al., 2012). So much had been made of the pervasive impact of bullying on the lives of youth that between 1999 and 2010 alone over 120 bills were enacted by legislators to nationally address the issue in schools (Stuart-Cassell et al., 2011). Moreover, there's also the ongoing issue of sexual harassment in schools that occurs both on campus and online. Nearly half of American students report seeing or experiencing some form of sexual harassment in schools and research has shown that such incidents often go severely underreported (Hill & Kearl, 2011; Mumford et al., 2013). This underreporting includes a disproportionately high level of harassment and assault experienced by sexual minority students as two-thirds experience such incidents at school (Bishop & Casida, 2011). Research also shows such occurrences can lead to students losing sleep, talking less in class, having difficulty paying attention, and avoiding school altogether (Hill & Kearl, 2011; Lichty, et. al., 2008). Also, girls report being impacted by harassment more than boys and students' attitudes towards these incidents tends to be nonchalant (Hill & Kearl, 2011).

What is also disturbing is the institutional inconsistency in terms of resources and time allotted in school districts and pre-service training programs to provide a system of preparation and support structures to sufficiently address violence, bullying, and harassment in schools (Charmaraman, et. al., 2012). This inconsistency highlights a juxtaposition of contrasting realities in school as a collection of professionals, preoccupied with addressing student trauma while simultaneously creating and/or allowing it.

The aforementioned issue of branding an entire community as traumatized illuminates yet another gap that appears to be obvious to many of us that matriculated through America's public school system; that schools are in fact more violent than many communities. Specifically, students in the United States have a higher rate of victimization in schools than they do outside of schools. According to researchers, students' records demonstrated nationally a rate of 52 victimizations per 1,000 students at school, and 38 victimizations per 1,000 students occurring away from school (Robers et al., 2013). As educators work to identify trauma that has occurred in impoverished "troubled" communities, they simultaneously neglect to identify the critical role that schools have played in traumatizing the communities.

The community only as 'abuser'

The Family Stress model (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982) ABC-X represents the way in which families adapt to crisis as a mechanism of survival. The presence of a stressor event leads to a response that is based on how the stressor is perceived by those it impacts and the resources that are available to the family to help them deal with the event. Depending on the capacity of the family it is influenced by the components of perception and resources, the stressor can either be handled well or may develop into a crisis. To summarize, as the

situation develops into a crisis, the way in which resources and perceptions are employed to cope with the issue can lead to one of two forms of adaptation – *maladaptation* or *bonadaptation*. Whereas maladaptation does not lead to a long term resolution or result in the effective handling of the crisis, bonadaptation results from a beneficial combination of perception and resources in a reflective and analytical framing of the situation to produce a successful solution to the issue.

Such a process is not unique to a particular race or class but rather the analysis of how families address stressors. A discourse of student and family trauma that ignores their own current and historical ability to adapt and develop resiliency is one that pathologizes particular communities as unusually helpless and vulnerable (DuMont, Widom & Czaja, 2007; Jaffee, Caspi, Moffitt, Polo-Tomas & Taylor, 2007). The discourse inevitably leads to a construction of a "diminished subject" that becomes embedded in policy development that leads to poorly implemented educational initiatives aimed at "saving"' communities rather than building alliances. As stated by bell hooks:

> "Rather, here I am concerned with research that happens much more surreptitiously, research that invites oppressed peoples to speak but to «only speak from that space in the margin that is a sign of deprivation, a wound, an unfulfilled longing. Only speak your pain» (Hooks, 1990, p. 152)."

Researchers have examined a parallel dynamic in two relational spaces. In the examination of the labeling of refugee communities, researchers have noted a pathologization of communities as traumatized and uniquely deficient in ways that other communities are not assumed to be traumatized or otherwise (Marlowe, 2010; Pupavac, 2002). Other researchers have focused their attention on what they label as the "emotionalizing" of schooling (Ecclestone, 2011; Ecclestone & Hayes, 2009) and the associated political and programmatic dynamics that inspire changes in educational policy and practice as a result (Ecclestone, 2004; Shields, 2010). Among other things, such policies and practices lead to the development of school-based agendas that seek to insert psychotherapeutic constructs and practices into educational spaces as interventions to poor student behavior and performance.

One problem inherent in these efforts is what Vanessa Pupavac calls the "interruptive capacity of the psychosocial intervention" which argues that there is an assumption that there are no coping mechanisms of useful beneficial qualities or skillsets in the community to challenge the proliferation of the damaging effects of trauma (Pupavac, 2002). This assumption opens the door for the proliferation of non-government agencies and state institutions to enter communities as both the framers and problem-solvers of what is assumed to be a collective psychosis. This shaping of the narrative regarding working-class experiences with trauma and oppression speaks to the inherent classism in the current educational discourse. What is mostly a discussion about misbehavior, and the perceived threatening disposition of low-income students of color has been cloaked in a discussion feigning concern for the emotional, psychological, and physical well-being of students. The emphasis on urban schools and schools with high populations of students of color is an indicator of the inherent bias within the discourses of educational policy and practice. Researchers have noted the presence of depression and anxiety in upper and middle-class students in the united states (Koplewicz, Gurian & Williams, 2009; Luthar & Barkin,

2012). In fact, students from higher income families tend to exhibit higher levels of alcohol and hard drug use than "inner-city" youth (Trim & Chassin, 2015). Studies have also revealed that suburban girls suffer from "clinically significant levels of depression" at a rate three times higher than normative samples (Luthar & Latendresse, 2005).

In educator circles, socio-economic class can often be discussed as the "source" or "cause" of the stressors and the assumption of trauma. In the education of the working-class, the discussion leans heavily on presumptions about neighborhood violence and what students go through on a daily basis as a result. In this way, the family, community, and – in more leftist circles – systematic oppression can serve as the focal points for change – and thus intervention. However, if our primary, authentic concern is the well-being of students, we also have to acknowledge the aforementioned realities of the high levels of anxiety, depression and substance abuse in more privileged families. In these discussions, the potential sources may not include systematic oppression or neighborhood violence in the way these terms are typically operationalized, but other formations of these concepts and additional sources of potential causality emerge.

Furthermore, avoiding the reality of the role that schools, upper-class parents, and universities play in the harming of youth calls into question the use of high stakes assessments, Advanced Placement workloads, and other core components of our competitive K–12 culture that are suspiciously absent from the discourse of trauma and student well-being.

Researchers have noted that adolescent stress and anxiety that may lead to self-medication through substance abuse comes from parental and academic pressure (Leonard, et. al., 2015; Luthar, Barkin & Crossman, 2013; Olivas & Li, 2006). Such research sheds light on the power of chronic stress and broadens the framework of what can often be very narrow discussions of student trauma. For example, studies have suggested that the pursuits of academic excellence and the stress associated with college admissions can drive families and students to elevated levels of pressure with which students find difficult to cope with (DeBerard, Spielmans & Julka, 2004; Read et al., 2012; Saklofske, et. al., 2012).

Such realities – when discussed openly – could likely lead to indictments of upper-class parents, educators at high-performing K–12 institutions, and prestigious universities as problematic players in the trauma discourse. Acknowledgement of the role these entities play in student well-being, potentially constructs the very institutions implementing policies to address student trauma as critical causes and perpetuators of the very issues they proclaim to target.

Socialized defensive behaviors historically serve as markers of pride and authenticity among working-class populations as people practice hypervigilance around issues of respect, focusing on body language, movement, personal space, and verbal interactions (Norwood, 2002; Roediger, 1999; Wise, 2010). While for many that are not aware of these common human markers of inclusion, loud talk and short tempers, may be signs of poor self-control; given the realities of what happens in schools and the obvious lack of preparation or awareness within the educator population, I see these traits as potential enactments of necessary traits for self-defense that one might learn as a response to the realities being unprotected in American schools.

What does this mean for policy and practice?

Educators, communities, and politicians have tried to address issues of school climate and safety by implementing school policies that either enact *zero tolerance* measures for student transgressions or by softening existing boundaries to reduce suspensions in deference to supposedly victimized communities. What neither of these approaches do is address the core inadequacies that exist within schooling regarding the empowerment and liberation of working-class communities and communities of color. To clarify, the establishment of rigid boundaries without clear communication cultural congruence and agreement by community members should undergo the same suspicion as the relaxing of boundaries. One might find that when looking through a lens of clear communication cultural congruence and community agreement that the relaxing of behavioral boundaries encodes for temporary exclusion share a similar ideological ambiguity with the measures propose by the more conservative and punitive politic.

If it is accurate that students are bringing in destructive behaviors that manifest parasitic ideologies and patterns of interaction, the question for schools is how do they structure their educational content and behavioral codes to set standards that are more reflective of the community's ethics and needs. Without the effort to establish such standards or even the effort to inquire on which such standards would be, decades of ineffective action in this area could create an environment in which adults, either through fear or low expectations, sanction such destructive ideology and behaviors among students through either improper action or no action at all.

I recall during my time as a school principal, I observed students using language and enacting behavior against each other and adults that I knew was not acceptable either in their home or on the very city streets that they would hang out in. For those who are not familiar with American cities, it is important to understand that if you are a resident of an urban municipality with a history of political social and economic targeting of various working-class communities, you have had the experience of walking through neighborhoods and streets with fairly clear spoken and unspoken "rules". These rules may involve issues of where one can and cannot walk, how one must dress, what one might do when greeting particular individuals of particular status in the community, etc. When one comes into a school environment where such boundaries do not exist or the ways in which consequences for transgressions are given out is experienced as inconsistent and unreasonable, the boundaries of the school building become less clear, less safe, and thus less respected.

In conclusion

Trauma is an ever-present phenomenon in a violent social world. It can impact how we think, learn, live, and move in our world. It is important for educators that are committed to humanization and the development of more critical approaches to schooling proceed with caution when crafting and utilizing a trauma lens in their work. The experience of social, economic, physical, and psycho-emotional targeting should not leave one open to pathologization for the sake of alliance with those of more privileged status. As we authentically seek to establish a higher sense of collective awareness of how trauma can negatively

impact the daily enactment of our lives, we must also remember the ways in which individuals and communities can sustain habits and attitudes of resilience and resistance. Resiliency is not just a term to describe the enduring of difficult circumstances or suffering, but rather a community's capacity to excel and humanize itself in the face of systemic and interrelational manifestations of oppression. As critical educators seek to work *with* students and their families as opposed to *on* them, historically marginalized populations must be understood as collectives of a diverse array of human beings that engage with, and are set upon by a variety of institutions in a myriad of ways. Such communities have developed their own forms of coping with and resisting the negative impacts of such entities – some of which can appear foreign to educators unfamiliar with their struggles. Before we categorize student behavior as a result of a psychological issue, we must first reflect on the realities of our educational institutions and the ways in which we as educators work in spaces that can often operate in opposition to the communities we serve. I suggest this, not so that we can be more "sensitive", but so we might truly see our students and families as we might see ourselves – as capable, as strong, as human.

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Indigenous education and the creation of an indigenous subject in Ecuador

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Abstract

Education has been a key issue for indigenous peoples in the Americas since the colonization. For the first centuries, education for indigenous peoples was reduced to religious education; since the independence of most countries in the Americas, it was considered as optional albeit desirable by most governments. In Ecuador, the first serious attempts to create an indigenous education system were led by the indigenous movement since the 1930s. This bottom-up initiative had some interesting effects: the indigenous movement and its organizations were discursively and organizationally linked to education, generally in coalition with external agents such as the Church or political parties. This led to the creation of free spaces where the movement could survive waves of repression or crisis. And, more importantly, the education for many indigenous persons was for a long time in the hand of a political actor that represents them. This paper wants to explore the effects of self-organization in education on the constitution of the indigenous subject, both considering the perception of indigenous peoples by society and the construction of an indigenous identity strategically linked to the indigenous movement.

Introduction

It is a commonplace that the education system is one of the major cornerstones of the creation of the modern nation state. It allows not only an access for almost all citizens to knowledge deemed important or necessary in the continuously redefining visions of what the nation and its members should be like. More than that, formal education must be understood as subjectivation on political and other levels. That is, formal education is the creation of subjects within a given nation state or political community. Our way through school makes us citizens of our nation state.

This commonplace becomes problematic if subjugated or colonized groups come into focus. As formal education is always education into a certain culture and society, the invisibilization of the own culture and society has to be considered epistemic violence (in a broader sense than Spivak, 1994) – the ways of knowing of subjugated groups are

systematically attacked and destroyed. The other is turned increasingly into just another part of the majoritarian society. Eurocentrism as perspective of "the educated under the hegemony of the dominats of global capitalism" (Quijano, 2000, p. 343) would be one major epistemic structure emerging out of this kind of education. Of course, the subjugated group in question can defend itself. It can try and build up an own, autonomous structure of education that offers a different view on culture and society and allows that group to maintain its basic structures.

This is what happened with the indigenous movement in Ecuador. While the population represented in it could be described as colonized, subjugated or excluded, the movement itself did work with this systematic exclusion and offered, during almost a century now, mechanisms of inclusion, amongst them, self-run schools. This article discusses the efforts of the indigenous movement in Ecuador to build up an autonomous educational system as means of the alternative and rebellious subjectivation of the indigenous peoples and as central piece of the indigenous organizations.

The ideas presented here are based on an exhaustive work with the different texts on and by the indigenous movement in Ecuador. They will be read from certain post – and decolonial authors in order to understand how the indigenous created themselves through organization and education.

First, the condition of exclusion and its implications will be discussed. This was the situation of indigenous peoples until the 20th century. The third chapter will discuss the building of self-run educational structures with the help of socialist and communist actors between the 1930s and the 1960s. The following part is dedicated to a presentation of the Church-supported education programs of the 1960s to 1980s. A final chapter offers insights into the institutionalization and officialization of indigenous education between 1988 and 2009. Every part will discuss shortly how the educational effort in question does affect the subjectivation or identitarian construction of indigenous people.

Exclusion from formal education

During centuries, the indigenous peoples of the Americas were excluded from any education that goes beyond religious instruction (Martínez Novo, 2009, p. 3–4). They were reduced to souls to be safed, but not considered part of the same society. In this sense, they did not even enter the category of subjugated peoples – there is nothing to exploit there, "nor are there, at the higher levels of society, actors or dominant groups that use their power to suppress these people. (There are of course individuals, families or groups which, like everyone else, use their networks to their own advantage.)" (Luhmann, 1997, p. 70). Indigenous peoples are simply left aside. And, as they are effectively without any access to literacy, political power, money, and so on, they do not have a space from where they could speak (Spivak, 1994, p. 103) nor an identity that enables them to it. They are, in other terms, "(excluded) bodies and [not] (included) persons" (Luhmann, 1997, p. 74). So, this exclusion must be overcome to be able to criticize any kind of inequality. Inequality would be the second step, once you are included you can be subjugated. It does only happen within modern function systems that "presuppose the inclusion of every human being, but, in fact, they exclude persons that do not meet their requirements" (Luhmann,

1997, p. 70) Inequality would be one way to describe what happens inside of those function systems – people may have access to education, but do they have basic writing skills or a PhD in ancient greek literature?

In this sense, the first steps in the creation of an education system for and by the indigenous peoples were directed towards the creation of possibilities of participation. In other words, it was about turning the objectivation of indigenous peoples as passive destinations of politics into a subjectivation into actors in their own sense. The first schools, build in the 1940s in Cayambe, near Quito, in the context of the creation of the first national indigenous organization FEI, made this idea explicit. For them, it "would be harder for landlords to abuse and exploit an educated work force which could independently verify the records which the landlords kept on their debts" (Becker, 1997, p. 296). As the indigenous people are enabled to negotiate their work conditions and control at least partly the system that controls them, they become active subjects that can react to mechanisms of domination – possibly, in contexts that are not only local. If this attempt does succeed, the chain of exclusions where "[o]ne exclusion serves as an excuse for other exclusions" (Luhmann, 1997, p. 70) could be broken and the memory or culture of society could be rewritten. This "memory means forgetting and highly selective remembering, it means constructing identities for re-impregnating recurring events" (Luhmann, 1997, p. 71). Radical exclusion does not allow for an identity to be constructed. You may exist as a person, with attributions of individuality for your family and friends – but not as an economic or political actor. For the society as such, you are just noise or a certain, unspecific danger. Just this negative identity of exclusion is challenged and changed at the moment when a self-inclusion through self-run education starts to work.

Inclusion into education and other spheres of society leads to the building up of identity. Of course, this identity is a positive one, heavily influenced by the same actors that made it possible and therefore embedded into a structure of domination. If you define the conditions of inclusion of people into society, you can – at least in part – define their role in this same society. This is the way the modern nation-state became so influential, he even gets confused with society itself. This very state and nation-based subjectivation serves to create subjects to power. "This S/subject, curiously sewn together into a transparency by denegations, belongs to the exploiter's side of the international division of labor" (Spivak, 1994, p. 75). Not only that, but also to concrete and local collective actors and power structures – that can, at least at a certain moment, have emancipatory potential against capitalism.

The indigenous subject and autonomous education structures

One such collective actor would be the first organizations of the indigenous movement in Ecuador. The first national organization, the already mentioned FEI, is product of a process that started in the mid-1920s and led to the creation of a series of communist peasant unions in the central highlands of Ecuador. While FEI's main objective was to fight against the poor work conditions on the haciendas, where the indigenous people lived in a semi-feudal system, it quickly identified "the educational space as

a fundamental one within all of their demands" (Moya, 1987, pp. 391–392). The central person here was Dolores Cacuango, leading member of FEI and main force behind the self-organized schools. "The goal was to have Indigenous teachers teaching children in their own native Quichua language" (Becker, 1997, p. 296). Most of those teachers had strong ties to FEI and the Communist Party. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the "educative action was oriented by the philosophical frame of the Communist Party" (Lazos & Lenz, 2004, p. 6). However, FEI and the schools went beyond a purely class-based platform. "They started to revaluate the Kichwa-Language – but as a form of transition to obtain access to the white-mestizo culture – and the values of the indigenous cultures, such as the communitarian spirit" (Lazos/Lenz, 2004, p. 6). While FEI articulated mainly economic and political demands, it always gave them an "ethnic focus" (Becker, 2007, p. 141) and did not necessarily subordinate the ethnic aspect to the class-based one. In short, FEI and its always community-based education could create a new form of subjectivity for indigenous people. They were not longer child-like, necessitated and helpless recipents of action from father-figures within Church or State, but became actors on their own behalf. Subjectivation and identity-construction at that time was a double one: on the one hand, the community schools allowed indigenous people to understand themselves as peasants and therefore as members of a revolutionary working class, on the other hand, they could construct an identity of oppressed nationalities as an earlier organization put it (Conferencia de Cabecillas Indígenas, 1935). Thanks to FEI, victimized objects of external action became subjects of their own destiny – and this subjectivation created the bases of one of the oldest and biggest social movements worldwide. While FEI itself lost its hegemony during the 1960s, the organizations within the different communities never disappeared but rather changed to another national organizations. Of course, the fact that the educational programms "contributed to the surge and strengthening of indigenous organizations, as several of the first indigenous leaders had passed through them" (Lazos/Lenz, 2004, p. 6) played its part.

It may seem surprising that people that are relegated to the lowest scale of a coloniality of power, racialized, exploited, silenced by Eurocentrism, marginalized by the State (Quijano, 2006, pp. 14–16), could organize so successfully. However, just that exclusion could have prepared the field for solidarity understood as something that "consolidates itself within society against others. Solidarity, accepting its own genetic conditions, does not and cannot want truce" (Luhmann, 1997, p. 72). This means that the subjectivation created by the nation state did never reach far enough to integrate indigenous Ecuadorians as Ecuadorians, on a political level. It was the condition "not of exploitation or suppression but of global neglect [that] stimulate[d] the search for personal and social, ethnic or religious identities" (Luhmann, 1997, p. 73). The fact that the indigenous people could not become subjects in a political sense led to a largely self-directed subjectivation. The Communist and the Socialist Parties did support this counter-subjectivation – therefore the great loyalty of the indigenous communities in these regions to those parties – but could not exploit it for themselves. This would be an explanation of why the decadence of both parties in the 1980s happened almost at the same time as the indigenous movement reached its moment of greatest strength.

The Church as actor of education

The next moment of a subjectivation through education is the engagement of the Catholic Church especially since the 1960s with the indigenous peoples. Members of the Church actively helped the creation of some of the most important organizations until today and opened their education programms for more identitarian and cultural contents than it used to happen in the education of FEI and the State itself. While there seems to be an anti-communist impetus in the first years, the Church-supported communities increasingly understood themselves as socialist – just as many involved actors of the Church would do, mostly persons associated with Theology of Liberation and the Order of the Salesians.

It started with a series of education programs via radio. Both Catholic groups engaged in building up an alternative educational system. The Salesians worked especially in the Ecuadorian Amazon, where they supported the organization of the Shuar nationality in the 1960s into the FICSH. In 1972 started the Shuar System of Bicultural Radiphonic Education, SERBISH, a program of bilingual alphabetization in Shuar and Spanish. "Its objective was to recover the indigenous traditons and strengthen the self-esteem of the Shuar" (Lazos/Lenz, 2004, pp. 7–8). It was run completely by Shuar personal and was based on a system of local helpers in the communities that would mediate between the instructions of the radio and the actual class-room-practices (Salazar, 1981, p. 69). This model of education was centered on primary education and alphabetization (Moya, 1987, p. 394). In the 1980s, it started to form part of the national indigenous education system without losing its autonomy (Lazos/Lenz, 2004, p. 7). SERBISH was organically integrated into the political organization of the Shuar. The main objectives of FICSH were clearly visible in the contents of the education. It was about "the recognition of the shuar culture as a constitutive system of the Ecuadorian society and the achievement of economic self-sufficiency as basis of a development free of pressures and influences of the exterior" (Salazar, 1981, p. 76). With the help of the Salesians, the Shuar nationality – until the beginning of the 20th century without contact with Western civilization – could construct an identity that is headed towards a compromise between their culture and the non-indigenous cultures: they maintain what they consider important and adapt what can help them, the indigenous subjectivity always being the basis for any decision. In this way, a heavily excluded group of people was able to include itself as other without losing its otherness. While the constitution of the colonial subject as Other in certain power structures (Quijano, 2006, p. 14) remains a problem – a problem addressed by concepts such as nationality that will be discussed later on, at least the "asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Suject-ivity" (Spivak, 1994, p. 76) as product of epistemic violence is addressed.

In the highlands, a similar experience happened with the ERPE started by the bishop of Riobamba, Leonidas Proaño, important representative of the Theology of Liberation in Ecuador, in the 1960s. His main objective was to "conscientize the indigenous peasants of their condition of extreme exploitation, discrimination, marginalization and oppression in the sense of the Pedagogy of Liberation of Paulo Freire […] via the alphabetization of kichwa-speaking adults in Kichwa language" (Lazos/Lenz, 2004, p. 7). ERPE made use of both Spanish and Kichwa and tried to strenghen "the productive and cultural knowledges

and experiences that the indigenous peasant had acquired during his life" (Krainer, 1996, p. 43). Especially the alphabetization in Kichwa was aimed at "increasing the conscience of the value of the language and the own culture, which led to the robustening of the autoctonous organizations" (Krainer, 1996, p. 43). So, in this case, the class-based identity of highland-Kichwa shifted to a more ethnic-based one. This is, however, not a disruption, but a change of focus: from peasants that also were indigenous, those peoples' identity shifted towards indigenous persons that also were peasants (Quijano, 2006, p. 31). And with this shift, new demands entered the discourse of the indigenous movement.

During the 1970s, the indigenous organizations put more and more emphasis on the notion of oppressed nationality and the demand for a plurinational state that recognized "the historial-social, linguistical and cultural differences and prefigures notions relative to the self-management of the peoples" (Moya, 1987, p. 389). The central piece of this new discourse is the demand of territorial autonomy for the indigenous communities (Quijano, 2006, p. 33). Indigenous peoples started to understand themselves via their organizations as oppressed nationalities in their traditional territories. They main demand was to defend those territories or get them back, always in a framework of autonomy that would allow them to live according to their culture. Their project was the plurinational state that should modify the institutional structure of the State, "so that it could represent effectively more than one nation" (Quijano, 2006, p. 37). This plurinational state would focus on the "communal authority, or, better, the community as structure of authority able to be democratically controlled" (ibidem, p. 38) as counter-proposition against the Western-type nation states.

Autonomy within the state

In the 1980s started the success of the indigenous movement on a national level. It was not only able to articulate its demands around a coherent and well-developed discourse and to build a hegemonical national organization, but could also officially institutionalize the educational systems it had created since the 1940s. This moment of high impact was not only due to the organizational efforts and mobilizations, but also to the cooperation with the state in the attempt to reduce illiteracy in the country. The return to democracy in 1979 brought the government Roldós/Hurtado to power that had the plan to further education all over Ecuador. The National Literacy Program was constituted of one section for Spanish and one for Kichwa. In the latter section, the State collaborated directly with the indigenous organizations, especially a precursor of CONAIE (Moya, 1987, p. 395). This tight cooperation where local, regional and national indigenous organizations led the education of educators, the preparation of teaching material and the creation of a system of supervision, especially between 1980 and 1984 (Lazo/Lenz, 2004, p. 10), meant a further strengthening of those organizations. In this sense, they demanded a greater control over the educational programs and wanted to expand them beyond mere literacy, including "other problems and necessities, such as a permantant education on the problems of the land" (Moya, 1987, pp. 396–397). The discussion over a unified alphabet, especially around a Seminar in 1980, led to a consciousness ot "the strategic role of language and the own cultures in education" (Moya, 1987, p. 398). In this discussion, the shared characteristics of

the different Kichwa dialects and their relation to the development and the history of the different peoples were understood as elements of a shared identity as Kichwa nationality (Moya, 1987, p. 398). At the same time, they critizised the `culturalist´ view on indigenous peoples present in the teaching material that completely ignored class-based social contradictions and only focussed on ethnic conflicts. This critique was articulated with the renewed discourse that understands the indigenous as both oppressed nationalities and exploited class (Moya, 1987, p. 399). The indigenous organizations pushed within education for a conscientization that mobilizes the masses and "unmasks the current State as it is and its projections into the future" (ECUARUNARI, 1989, p. 87). For ECUARUNARI, filial of CONAIE, the central objective should be to go beyond the ethnic aspect and to understand the class struggle as "central axis of the political struggle" (ECUARUNARI, 1989, p. 88).

In 1986 started a collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the German development agency GTZ concerning a project of Intercultural Bilingual Education in schools. The system would initially work for 6 years and included the local and regional indigenous organizations (Krainer, 1996, p. 46). This effort led to the creation of the National Direction of Bilingual Intercultural Education (DINEIB) as independend department within the Ministry of Education in 1988 (Lazo/Lenz, 2004, p. 11). DINEIB managed the experiences of intercultural bilingual education already presented here, like ERPE and SERBISH, and all schools where more then 80% of the students were indigenous. It was under control of the CONAIE and, later, also of the other national indigenous organizations (Martínez Novo, 2009a, p. 179). Those organizations could define autonomously the teaching material, the curriculum and the contratation of administrative and teaching staff, the State controlled only the budget (Martínez Novo, 2009a, p. 174).

The education under DINEIB suffered from the beginning from the lack of ressources assigned by the state. This was due in part to the neoliberal politics in place at that time and led to salaries for teachers as low as $80 per month in 2005 (Martínez Novo, 2009a, pp. 180–181). This could be the reason why intercultural bilingual education still is perceived as a second-class-education, even by indigenous leadership (Martínez Novo, 2009a, pp. 181–182). Effectivly, several subjects, especially English and Computation could not reach the level of regular schools (Martínez Novo, 2009a, p. 183). Even the teaching in Kichwa did not go well, less than half of all teachers knew an indigenous language (Montaluisa, 2003, p. 90). This could explain why the enrolement did not develop well. In the province of Imbabura, the numbers went down from 11.500 students in 1989 to 10.795 in 2006 (Martínez Novo, 2009a, p. 183).

The autonomy of DINEIB was reduced during the government Gutiérrez (2003–2005) and ended in 2009, during the government Correa (Martínez Novo, 2009a, pp. 179–180). Now, intercultural bilingual education is just another part of state-run education, heavily centralized, working with artificially created `standard´ languages that sometimes not even the indigenous people understand and with a curriculum that excludes largely indigenous counter-history. The demand of "preservation of cultural distinctiveness" (Martínez Novo, 2009, p. 1) that was achieved during a certain time through education seems lost.

Those last 20 years represent first a further development and expansion on a national level of both the articulation between indigenous organizations and indigenous educational system and indigenous education and identity building. Now, all over the country

indigenous persons have the opportunity to learn in schools that use indigenous languages for teaching and work with text books that offer a critical view on how Ecuadorian society is build – at least potentially. The subjectivation as part of indigenous nationalities and workers could spread systematically. Now, it becomes hard to speak of a lack of consciousness – if you are indigenous, you have a position to the contents discussed until this point. Maybe this is the space that allows the subaltern subject to speak (Spivak, 1994, p. 103). The indigenous finally are not just some excluded group we know nothing about, but actors in politics and education (and other fields, of course) that have their own text ibidem, p. 84), articulated to global discourses such as anti-imperialism or national self-determination – the indigenous, with their organizations and their education system, actually can speak.

The end of the autonomy of the indigenous system of education appears in this light as an attack not only on schools with problems of quality or the indigenous movement as political actor. The government tries to build up structures of a classical subjectivation in and through the nation state. The indigenous should be – for the government – not an indigenous against the state but an indigenous through the state. The shift from the phrase `our indians´ to `the indigenous´ marks this difference. Maybe, we are at the moment of a return to old patriarchal relations towards the other as embraced but voiceless object of state action.

Conclusion

The history of the self-run system of indigenous education in Ecuador is the history of the creation of a political actor by itself. Voiceless indigenous persons could gain a voice and clear demands, the subaltern can speak in its own (political) language, developed during decades and based on this educational structure. This is how the indigenous movement can be considered "the most defined sign that the coloniality of power is in its biggest crisis since its constitution 500 years ago" (Quijano, 2006, p. 25). The indigenous movement is not something just added to an already existing community. The structure of this movement is embedded into the social structure of the indigenous nationalities to a degree where it is hard to tell one from the other. Education was the center piece of this embeddedness. The fight of indigenous people to be included in modern society is what pushed the indigenous movement – it was and still is a vehicle of political, economic, legal, etc., forms of communication not available to indigenous persons before that movement existed. The indigenous came into being through their political organization and not only through their position as excluded. The indigenous movement was and is a way to break with Eurocentrism "as a new mode of production and control of subjectivity" (Quijano, 2006, pp. 14–16), based on those structures of first exclusion and – when included – inequality. It could break, at least in part and for a certain time, the principle of representation so that "the oppressed can know and speak for themselves" (Spivak, 1994, p. 74). This counter-subjectivation through self-organization implies a critique of the colonial and excluding nation state (Quijano, 2006, p. 19).

But the indigenous movement in Ecuador with its de-centered structure goes beyond a questioning of modes of knowing as such. Its struggle is part of "the defence of particular,

place-based historical conceptions of the world and practices of world-making" (Escobar, 2004, pp. 222–223). This politics of place goes against the logic of the State and Western politics, but also against the ways of knowing in academia. We have to redefine what universalism can be in a local world and this redefinition can only happen in dialogue with a subaltern that is able to speak with its own language, text or discourse. The indigenous movement in general and its education system in concrete were and are ways to exit colonial modernity – but not through isolation and self-exclusion but through participation in the most diverse spheres of society. "Politics of place is an apt imaginary for thinking about the 'problem-space' defined by imperial globality and global coloniality" (ibidem, p. 225). So, the problem for science still is "to think theory through the political praxis of subaltern groups" (ibidem, pp. 217–218).

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At the service of a mythologized labour market: Neoliberal policies in the Italian educational system

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Abstract

A recent wave of reforms aiming at transforming Italian educational systems has definitively altered the mission and the scope of teaching and learning activities in state schools, envisaging a new landscape where skills demanded by firms, labor market prophecies and volatile economic needs are becoming hegemonic. Transformations include a long list of multifaceted innovations. Previously experimentations (VSQ, VALeS) inserted non-educational consultants in the processes of policy design and knowledge production. Than many efforts to push up standardized test scores and identification of failing schools succeeded in creating a structured and institutionalized National Evaluation System of School; self-assessment and external evaluation reports – once left to the free choice and availability of singles schools – have now become mandatory for primary and secondary schools; an improvement culture conceived as the results of a top-down inflicted evaluation fosters the idea of school focused on learning results and on new public management governmentalities. In the meantime a radical redefinition of contents and competences in the teaching curricula of the secondary schools has been introduced in order to meet the local labour markets requirements; a mega-project called 'alternanza scuola-lavoro' (school & work interchange) stimulating work-based learning extends the hours spent in workplaces and is compulsory for all upper secondary students. An ongoing standardization is changing the ecology of educational practice in Italy: years after the policy of school autonomy, a governance of standards, data and performance is emerging and a subtle rhetoric sponsoring the need of bridging the gap between school system and labour market is pushing the neoliberal discipline at the core of the educational mission. The chapter show how this is part of a deep change in the episteme of education and the ways in which its subjects are governed.

Neoliberalism in education

Ball defines neoliberal discourses as a set of «regulated practice that accounts for statements [and] produce frameworks of sense and obviousness with which policy is thought,

talked and written about» (Ball, 2007, p. 44). They embrace the array of ideas, concepts and causal theories that give meaning to and reproduce ways of understanding and practising the world. But neoliberalism in education is not just a series of discourses. It is a concatenation of practices of transformations affecting reality where new actors, technicalities, social interactions and institutions are generated. In education, therefore, the neoliberal shift promotes new competitive conditions among schools and introduces new accountability processes. Professionals (schools principals and teachers) are required to be 'entrepreneurial' and pursue a form of economic or utilitarian rationality. But this credo does not automatically alter the structure of the educational system, because transformations are produced thought reforms, projects, experiments, processes of change management which *i*) may encounter the resistance of the various actors or produce outcomes which are different from those expected; *ii*) may not explicitly point out the nature of the goals of the neoliberal shift, but stress out the objectives related to the efficiency, effectiveness, quality, and accountability of the system upon which they operate. For instance, impinging upon the concept of 'path-dependency' of historical, political and cultural settlements, and resources accumulation, one can point out how the paradigm of school effectiveness[1] (which is now so incisive in providing a theoretical framework for international comparisons of results and in fostering a knowledge-regime for national education systems) encountered a tenacious resilience in France or UK before collecting supposed evidence beyond its laboratories to validate its 'scientific' claims. It also had to relativize the criticism it faced during decades through alliances with the political field and the extension of its networks beyond its own community. School effectiveness supporters, human capital theoreticians and apologists of the evidence-based methodology [2] have been devising governance instruments at a European level for long and only recently designed measurement tools to assess the effectiveness of educational research at international level.

Furthermore, recognizing the institutional policy apparatuses through which neoliberalism is advanced is quite different from suggesting that social disciplining or the 'production of the neoliberal self' is ever completely secured. The ways that the entrenchment of neoliberal reform policies is playing out varies considerably as a result of individual geographies of urban, regional, and national development, historical formations of liberalism, and class relations, among other variables (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Both policy and discourse, neoliberalism often coexists with other accumulation regimes in contradictory ways and its extension is frequently contested by multiple actors. As a result, its entrenchment is always geographically and politically uneven and incomplete. Therefore, usually a neoliberal project of transformation remains highly contested, hybrid and contextual, often cohabiting and/or overlapping with other regimes. However, since it is typical of the general features of neoliberalism, the 'project' moves through different waves and involves a specific assemblage of technologies and strategies associated with each step and it may take new disruptive energy just from the (own) failures that eventually put an end to previous step. That is just the case of the neoliberal shifts occurring in the Italian educational system which has to be considered still as a 'late comer' (Donina et al., 2015) in the introduction new public management reforms.

As Ball (2007) and Jessop (2002) suggests, a reform trajectory should be examined as a set of trends which involve searches, discoveries, borrowing, and struggles to mobilize support behind alternative accumulation strategies which are critically mediated through

new discourses and which are also specific and 'path dependent' with particular cultural, political and accumulation histories. That means first of all that there is not as a single, conscious, explicit neoliberalist project at work in the educational field. In Italy, as it is the case, not only neoliberal, but also welfarist and democratic discourses have been influencing educational policies in the political arena, even if those latter have been now corroded in their historical structure. The practices of radical changes, throughout which reforms come to reality, do not oppose one discourse to the others. There is no overt struggle between different understandings of school governance and mission, since reforms are never presented as officially being overtly inspired by neoliberal principles and targets. Indeed the strength of neoliberalism in education relies unfortunately just on a soft regime of governance, that is an ensembles of practices for the production of truth and knowledge (episteme), the enactment of technologies and techniques to govern the conduct (techne), and the formation of new subjectivities (ethos). Through the deployment of an expertise, the ambition of any form of government is to reduce the complexity in order to constitute a unified political order. Historically, this reduction is characteristic of the great confinement Foucault (1975) describes in his analysis of disciplines.

Big data, evaluation and the shift toward schools rankings

Since the computer revolution of the Eighties, the use of increasing refined and powerful systems of dataset, algorithms and calculations have been extended well beyond their original intent of increasing the efficiency of storing and managing information bringing to light the capacity of refining comparisons and rankings applicable to any type of social system encouraged to produce data on itself. More than mere tools, algorithms are also stabilizers of trust, practical and symbolic assurances that their evaluations are fair and accurate, and free from subjectivity, error, or attempted influence. Social science has turned eagerly toward computational techniques, or the study of human sociality through 'big data', in the hopes of enjoying the kind of insights that the biological sciences have achieved, by algorithmically looking for needles in the digital haystacks of all this data (Gillespie, 2014). Data collected on schools allow the heuristic introduction of comparability, confrontation, hierarchization and then competition. By collating information from several sources of testes scores, administrative accountings, geodemographic datasets, central authorities can easily figure out the educational field as a 'quasi-market' context.

Building up the «European space of education» (Lawn & Grek, 2012) – a geographical and socio-political arena where old and new institutional agents play a role at transnational national and local levels – means that from one hand, each context grows to be very aligned with the general trends but, on the other, unavoidable national, regional and historical specificities stand for differentiation. This latter feature – a Common European Education Area – is a key element allowing competitiveness among qualitative characteristics which standardized tests and indicators make comparable. But without data – i.e. without the information that summarize the complex reality of each single school – market cannot exist even as a metaphor of reality. For without numbers it is not possible to foresee the arena of confrontation and comparison. The collection of data is then a process that enriches continuously the possibility to operate a market simulation in which the various entities that populate the

market exist even before that the market is concretely created. As in the mode of financial market data are collected, used to classify and to rate products which inevitably are divided between winner and losers in attracting investment flows, so the space of education is tested and retested sorting out excellent scoring schools and failure schools, the former to be rewarded, the latter to be punished by virtue or wickedness of their performances which are determinant for obtaining funds from central authorities.

Benchmarking is frequently used in neoliberal discourse and practice as a method of establishing standards of accountability in a constantly evolving competitive context (Ozga et al., 2011). A 'benchmark' is a contemporary term for 'standard' and 'benchmarking' is a process of making relative comparisons. Benchmarking performance allows systems to be steered in new ways; performance standards are embedded in systems; they are constantly revised; they allow interoperability; and they rely on shifting indicators. Inspection of sites or personnel or institutions has been replaced by statistical and quantitative forms of audit. Education has turned into a field of audit, judgement and action, in which the quality and effectiveness of education and its ability to be benchmarked against world global or European standards has become the goal (Lawn, 2011). It can be argued that standards have not the fixedness of past times, and are rather fluid, relative and performance based. They fit closely with the EU policy of soft governance: a lightly regulated, persuasive and self-managing form of governing in which policy is depoliticized. Soft governance relies on negotiation, persuasion and voluntary agreed performance. Power tends increasingly to be exercised through policies that claim to be 'obvious', 'natural', 'evidence-based', instead of being grounded on ideological and political options (Nóvoa, 2002a).

The outstanding element in the transformation processes of neoliberal paradigm is that – contrary to what simplistic critics usually emphasized – do not proceed from a hegemonic power-platform imposing top-bottom market-oriented rules and policies on citizens. Rather they are implemented and disseminated through an heterogeneous circulation of best practices, ranked and selected in a bottom-up fashion. On the basis of data standardization, the benchmarking approach makes comparisons to isolate successful cases. For each set of successful results it is summarily identified a corresponding set of educational policies that would stand behind him. This set is typed and modelled in order to become a *référentiel* (Foucault, 1969) to be imitated (or developed in a contextualized mode) without allowing for specific local factors from which that set has sprung, in complete blindness of the modes it contributed to the achievement of those results and, most importantly, regardless of how those results really depended from the policies (Nordin & Sundberg, 2014). The fact that the transferability does not guarantee at all improvement in results does not prevent, rather amplifies, the use of successive waves of transformation.

It is this path that the European Commission has chosen to follow. Through ranking exercises such as the *Education at a Glance* annual reports, the *International Adult Literacy Survey* (IALS), its *Indicators in Education* project, including the *World Education Indicators* developed in conjunction with UNESCO and the World Bank, through PISA and through national and thematic policy reviews, OECD educational agenda has become significant in framing policy options not only at the national but also in the constitution of a global policy space in education (Lingard et al., 2005). OECD's policy recommendations are accepted as valid by politicians and scholars alike. As Antonio Nóvoa argued, «comparing must not be seen as a method, but as a policy […] the expert discourse builds its

proposals through comparative strategies that tend to impose 'naturally' similar answers in the different national settings» (Nóvoa, 2002b, p. 144).

PISA (*Programme for International Student Assessment*) – the major governing resource for European education – was initially organized with the aim to producing standardized data, suitable to compare national policies in education. From the second edition in 2003 focused on skills on mathematics, PISA emphasis has been covering lifelong learning culture being indicative of the concern to embed responsibility for continuous self-improvement and up skilling in the individual learners from a relatively early stage in their development. Most significantly, a key feature of PISA is: «its policy orientation, with design and reporting methods determined by the need of governments to draw policy lessons» (OECD, 2003, p. 3).

Thus 'local' policy actors are using PISA as a form of domestic policy legitimation, or as a means of defusing discussion by presenting policy as based on robust evidence. The local policy actor also signals, to an international audience, through PISA, the adherence of their nation to reform agendas (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, p. 76), and thus joins the club of competitive nations. Moreover, the construction of PISA, together with other large-scale assessments and with its promotion of orientations to applied and lifelong learning has powerful effects on curricula and pedagogy in participating nations, and promotes the responsible individual and self-regulated subject [3]. As Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1990) argued, the formal criteria and techniques employed in test procedures to produce assessments tend to forget that different judges can agree simply because their judgements are based on the same implicit criteria. Furthermore the social functions of the procedures used are not questioned. The two sociologists considered that, because of the different historical and social trajectories of individuals at school and also of the different practices proper to each country and classroom, it could hardly be expected that the rationality of different systems of education is comparable. In addition, given the kinds of indicators chosen, it seemed evident that there was an implicit definition of how productive a school system should be. In referring to a formal and external rationality, these indicators reduce the education system to just one of its functions: the technocratic measurement of school return. The focus on 'real-life' circumstances and on students' capacity to enter the labour market with core skills, such as literacy and numeracy, has taken PISA's focus of interest away from less explicit educational aims that resist measurement (e.g. democratic participation, artistic talents, understanding of politics, history etc), towards a more pragmatic view of education's worth: those of the economy and the labour market.

The Italian porosity to neoliberal education

In 1997 Italy had the first reform-steps oriented to a neoliberal restructuration of the educational system. It was included in a wider process of reorganization that involved the whole Italian public administration during the 1990s. Partially following the neoliberal recipe, the restructuring of the education system was carried out on the basis of a peculiar mix of relative site-based management, devolution and localism. The reformers' aim was to overcome the welfarist configuration, judged as ineffective and overburdening. In a specific review on Italy, OECD strongly recommended the creation and consolidation of

a National Evaluation System of schools along with the re-enactment of a modern inspection service, for a closer monitoring of the functioning and results of the schools, especially in the form of auditing and supervision (OECD, 1997, pp. 87–88). The subsequent Law 59 of 1997 left a deep mark on the educational system. Nonetheless, the establishing of a National Evaluation System started only in the 2000s with the creation of the *National Institute for the Educational Evaluation of Instruction and Training* (INVALSI, an in-house agency of the Ministry of Education that has been until recently controlled by the Bank of Italy) and the introduction of standardised national tests to measure literacy and numeracy. The setting up of tests has been followed by diverse pilot experiments – VSQ (*Evaluation to Develop School Quality*) and VALES (*Evaluation and School Development*) – the last two of them aiming at bringing models of school evaluation and calculative technologies borrowed by the school improvement approach into the Italian school system.

The INVALSI test results on literacy and numeracy made available a «reliable and objective» measure of schools' effectiveness and became the main indicator to evaluate the outcome dimension (60% of the weight in the final evaluation index). The technology of added value (whose algorithmic formula has never been made public) provided a symbolically powerful tool to legitimise the evaluation model as fair and attentive to contexts' peculiarities. Economic and managerial expertise played out as the new authoritative voices about «what is known and what is worthknowing» as well as the preferred «ways of knowing and approved knowers» (Gunter et al., 2014, p. 3).

Specific projects managed and controlled by MIUR (the Italian Minister of Education, University and Research) proceeding the deployment both of the current system of school evaluation – VM: *Evaluation and Improvement* (Valutazione e Miglioramento) and VSQ: *Evaluation for the Improvement of Quality in Schools* (Valutazione per lo Sviluppo della Qualità delle Scuole) – are now the core scheme for evaluating school principals and teachers.

The three-year-long pilot policy VSQ was launched in 2010. 77 voluntary schools experimented a model for school evaluation whose main traits were: *i*) school external evaluation based on test results, the estimate of the school added value (through the use of statistical regressions) and inspection; *iii*) the use of evaluation results to identify outstanding and failing schools; and *iii*) the provision of financial rewards for outstanding schools and the imposition of an *Improvement Plan* (PDM, *Piano di Miglioramento*) to the failing ones. VSQ was intended to be the 'test bed' for the introduction of the forthcoming school evaluation system at the national level. A leading role within the Scientific Committee was from a private 'philanthropic' actor, the Agnelli Foundation [4] with the contributions of economists, management experts, engineers and statisticians coming from both private organizations and state universities.

The innovations promoted by the VSQ pilot policy on a small scale have been reproduced on a wider scale by its evolution VALES. VALES was again a three year pilot policy, funded with European Social Fund (ESF), which started in 2012 and merged some features of VSQ with another INVALSI project named System and School Evaluation (VALSIS – which aimed at designing an effective school evaluation model taking inspiration from other European experiences). Methodologies were pushed towards a neo-positivist evaluation epistemology (measurability, objectivity, focus on performance and reductionism) and toward a neo-managerialist understanding of the school as an organisation to

be governed according to the mantra of performance management, Whereas education as 'product' is mainly operationalised using test results, these methodologies of governmentality reaffirmed the neo-managerialist idea that a high-stake mechanism of reward/sanction is the best incentive to improvement.

The whole system has been now structured according the far mentioned elements and the evaluation is now a mandatory task to be accomplished every year to forward including the drawn of the *Improvement Plan* for every schools: they must conduct a self-assessment activity including a context and inputs analysis; a set of sub-indicators (49 statistical indicators fixed at central level by MIUR, the Ministry of Education, University and Research); a set of levels on a scale from 1 to 4 for each sub-indicator with a related standard evaluation; learning outcomes and internal operating processes (i.e.: dropout rates, PISA outcomes, outcomes from the national standardized tests on literacy, teaching staff, curriculum planning, leadership and decision making). Data on student's entry in the labour markets and teachers' and parents' ratings on school climate are included among indicators; instead competences of active citizenship, democratic participation, civicness or environmental sensitivity are kept out of the assessment. Each school has to identify all types of weaknesses and select a number of improvement targets related to the outcomes of the self-assessment.

In the second stage of the process, there is the external assessment: external evaluators visit and inspect schools, filling six standard grids, collecting and reporting information from documents and administered questionnaires. Evaluators will then 'point out' achievable adjustments and integrations within a predefined range of possibilities. External evaluation team possibly amends the self-assessment. It is a sort of external and covert pressure conceived to push schools toward a serious incorporation of the competitive mood.

Further spaces of consultancy open up at stage three, where the *Improvement Plan*, once revised by the external evaluators, has to be implemented, outlining in how it will pursue the goals it has set itself, but making wide use of the consultants support provided by INDIRE. Here the school community has to interact with a heterogeneous array of external professionals (belonging to the academic, private consultancy and professional fields), which accompany the school for the enactment of the *Improvement Plan*. They have to conform themselves to managerial metrics of objective and recordable performances and reduce their assessing abilities to one-dimensional representation of the school, the complexity of which is crushed under the weight of a monolithic figure as a mere organisation.

If a school still manifests weakness and relentless gaps in comparison with other school, the school principal is considered responsible for the success of the *Improvement Plan* and, if this fails, he or she will suffer negative consequences in terms of remuneration and career. This kind of condition has created a new type of school principal with management responsibilities, upgrading his/her status from the level of a professional primus inter pares to that of a 'public company manager'. For schools that are truly effective, the strategy is to maintain their performance and mobilize 'good practices' in order to diffuse and transfer them from one place to another. Even if typical for any specific single school, these strategies usually share common features: they are based on prescriptive pedagogical models aimed at improving the efficiency and performance of teachers within the classroom. Improving the effectiveness of schools generally means that external expertise will sustain and impose more or less intensive training courses for teachers.

The so-called 'Tests INVALSI' on literacy and numeracy are administered to pupils with a typical instrumentation from IEA large-scale surveys and, to a greater extent, from OECD standard tests. Those tests are based on a set of cognitive questions and on a student questionnaire reporting relevant information on family background, educational track, his/her attitudes toward school and expectations for the studies continuation. From 2008 to now, the INVALSI assessment, mandatory for pupils at the second and fifth year of primary schools, has been progressively extended to lower secondary schools and upper secondary school. INVALSI assessment exerts a double pressure: on both the students and the evaluators. The reference to the score, in fact, defines the 'objective' performances that students have to gain: students – and schools – are, in fact, accountable for their results. It seems that the policy of evaluation is guided by the idea of quality. But when it comes to results, the research for quality is routinely translated in terms of effectiveness and performance measured by standardized scores. INVALSI tests celebrate competitiveness, by targeting the teaching and learning dynamic and nurturing a specialized literature, as well as the orientation of teachers and schools principals.

In 2015 after many disputes and oppositions from school teachers, the so called *Legge della Buona Scuola* was introduced (Law on *Good School* – never in the past a legal act from a centre-left government has been so blatantly populist and propagandistic). The law has largely reduced schools autonomy; definitively imposed external consultancy charged to control improvement schemes and radicalized the managerial and entrepreneurial power of schools principals who are now the sole responsible actors to articulate the set of courses and learning activities. The main traits of the 'new principal' is redefined on the basis of the managerialist recipe: emphasis on accountability for the results obtained; effectiveness in the management of resources (whether financial or human); entrepreneurship and marketing. Professional and democratic issues were simply elicited in a clear move which empties school's collective bodies of important decision-making powers. The local evaluation of teacher's performances is passed in the hands of school principal, now called into question as a 'prime mover' of the organization in a unilateral logic that blurs the enlarged composition of the governing bodies that until recently substantiated the schools inner democratic mobilization. Principals can award with cash benefits teachers considered the keenest ones in their job. They can even hire new teachers from local registers, ripping them off from other schools. They have to transform themselves in a kind of 'guardians' of administrative or entrepreneurial goals and in a sort of managers of priorities, 'pushing', 'dragging', 'driving' the school community toward the reason for which it should currently exists, that is the stress for performance, improvement of indicators, adherence to the rhetoric of numbers and labour market. Indeed, it is not only a shift weakening democracy and collective decision-making; it is also a change in the burdens and duties posed on the capacity of just a single leader to manage the whole school system and make it competitive.

In order to maintain a sufficient number of pupils, the principal has to make the school attractive for students, but mainly for their parents. The loss of students leads to fewer teachers and the risk of losing the autonomous status. To avoid these risks, principals should seek to enrich the educational provision of the school, by getting additional funding for extra-curricular activities. As a consequence, he/she should dedicate a considerable amount of time to promoting external relations with local governments and other public and private organizations. In such context, the development of entrepreneurial skills

becomes a necessity, while competition and customer-oriented ethos turn out to be new hidden values. At the same time teachers face contrasting pressures and are required to choose between collaboration and/or competition.

The mythologized labour market

The gradual shift to a regulated or steered space of learning via benchmarks and standards is part of a broad response to the need for new governing strategies and the arrival of a market of mobile private and public agents, working across borders, between institutions and with multiple purposes, in the new field of education/learning (Lawn, 2011). The most frequent references in contemporary education-related documents and programs are to global competitiveness, a shifting labour market, and the necessity to adapt constantly to a changing knowledge-based economy. This current rhetoric is accompanied by multiple EU treaties which promote the standardization, homogenization, and international certification of educational skills, allowing and encouraging a greater mobility across international borders (Bagnall, 2000; Matheson & Matheson, 1996).

Survey, standardization, categorization seem as if they 'only' construct data, or identify good practices, or compare best methods, whereas, in truth, these data, practices and methods are in themselves powerful political tools. In this sense, the process of 'learning from one another' is a way of thinking and acting which establishes an educational policy without specifically formulating it. That is why the expression 'governing without governing' has been used to describe the process of elaborating policies through 'statistics' while constantly giving the impression that no policy is being implemented (Nóvoa, 2010b). In an educational system already structured by huge regional inequalities, deep gaps in educational outcomes among socio-economic classes and a differentiated rank of prestige among types of upper secondary schools (with lyceums at the top and professional institutes at the bottom) the advent of evaluation through assessment is accompanied by the erosion if not the removal of the debate on the purpose and mission of an educational system which should be the necessary premises for any kind of policies at the national level, with the effect of depoliticising the debate and technicizing the governance (Ball, 2003; Ball et al., 2012).

In 2003, the Law 53 of March 28 introduced in the Italian upper secondary schools a teaching option entailing the use of a new didactical resource named *Alternanza Scuola-Lavoro* (literally, 'alternating school and work') as a learning environment. Twelve years later, with the far mentioned 'Good School' reform (Law, 107 of July 13, 2015), the ex-special programme *Alternanza Scuola-Lavoro* has been organically integrated in the courses scheme of all upper secondary school as core element of the educational track. From a teaching methodology which charged schools to turn on in response to optional and individual applications by students, now *Alternanza Scuola-Lavoro* is structural and mandatory in the curriculum «in order to increase job opportunities and the ability of students 'orientation'».

The programme was initially implemented in technical and vocational schools (*Istituti Tecnici* e *Istituti professionali*) for a duration at least for 400 hours per student, while in 2016 was extended also to high schools (*Licei*), for a duration of at least 200 hours.

In both cases, students cover the total of hours within the last three years of studies for what is now a structural and universal pivot of secondary schools curricula. With the extension of compulsory activities organized in workplaces or in a simulated working context, *Alternanza Scuola-Lavoro* is now a unique case in Europe: even in Germany, with the dual system, school-work experiences are limited to technical and vocational schools. In order to guarantee such an extensive experience in workplaces to all the pupils from upper secondary tracks, Italian schools have to seek for opportunities arising from local territories; have to persuade companies and firms to host students, locate and nominate tutors from the business, have to match training needs of the school and basic skills requirements from companies. In 2016 – the first year of mandatory application – difficulties arose and MIUR was obliged to produce a deregulation in procedures by the easing of controls on the quality of companies and fiercer competition between schools. Schools started to implementing marketing strategies targeted on companies regarded as the most prestigious, promoting an individual antagonism among pupils. The fabrication of an arena of 'quasi-market' where schools promote their ability to pact the best companies in the area, lead parents to penalizing choices for under-performing schools, with the consequent phenomena of ghettoisation and segregation on the basis of cultural backgrounds and economic conditions.

Apart from several problems concerning the organization and the efficacy of a shift toward an educational mission substituted by the market credo [5], the technocratic and pseudo-rationalistic justification for the introduction of the mandatory programme *Alternanza Scuola-Lavoro* refers to the attempt to fill the gap between students' skills and companies requirements so that young unemployment may be reduced. Students are thus encouraged to acquire skills that might make them more 'marketable' in a market that is anyway unable to reach the unfettered self-regulated equilibrium that neoliberal ideology pretend to reach and is anyway functioning in a very different way from what the metaphor of labour market uses to tell. As a matter of facts, labour market is one of the leading cases in which the metaphor of the marketplace is far removed from reality. The deeply rooted idea according to which labour market works like a marketplace should be replaced with the fact that «in most real labour markets, social networks play a key role. Prospective employers and employees prefer to learn about one another from personal sources whose information they trust […] Because all social interaction unavoidably transmits information, details about employers, employees and jobs flow continuously through social networks that people maintain in large part for non-economic reasons» (Granovetter, 2005, p. 36). But networks act also as gatekeepers. Accessing the network – in effect decentering oneself – is the way in which individuals are either empowered or disenfranchised.

The obligation to spend many hours in a workplaces environment as part of the structured and universal curriculum of upper secondary students has been saluted by public opinion as a necessity for constant personal mobilization or updating with reference to a new educational mission in which learning is inevitably linked with the employment requirements of a rapidly changing labour market. The employment that is envisioned is flexible, and the jobbers who provide the workforce must be 'adaptable' and 'entrepreneurial' if they expect to be 'employable' (employability, entrepreneurship, adaptability are the keywords of the European Employment Strategy born at the end of the Nineties and still alive). With the rhetoric of learning on the job, competition, and technical skills coming

from the entrepreneurial culture there is a strong message of the necessity for constant personal mobilization and activating behaviour on the part of students while at the same time the emphasis on structural and institutional constraints to these goals is generally downplayed. This culture either ignores or cancels out social inequalities in the existing social order by overriding the democratic impulses and practices of civil society through an emphasis on the unbridled workings of market relations (Giroux, 2008). It astonishes the fact that none underlines the structural basis of youth unemployment as if the latter just derives from a wide mismatch in the labour market. Job vacancies and job researches do not operated according the laws of the market: they are rather populated by social networks, families and informal arrangements. In such a landscape candidates' expectations collide with those of employers and must be channelled according to scarce options, defined and controlled by the companies. That is the reason why upper class families and high social capital networkings can directly and indirectly influence the occupational destiny of students and acolytes, regardless of their educational attainments. Even if all the mismatching problems between skills required by companies and those trained by schools had eliminated, the massive problem of youth unemployment would be still blatantly unsolved. In fact youth unemployment is a phenomenon structurally embedded in the nature of capitalism in Italy. Even more than mismatching (the neoliberal illusion of free markets adjustments), one should then query about the youth unemployment, precarity and loss determined by neoliberalism itself.

A misleading representation of market forces has been radically altering the aims we pursue in both representing and evaluating school functions and students behaviour. Example of this increasing willingness on the part of legislators, government representatives and business leaders is chase to the unpredictable demands of the labour market and their disaffection because «a large majority of young new hires lack adequate problem-solving skills and workplace experience!». And this type of claiming is never debated together with the focus on policies that Italian firms implemented in the last decades, resulting in downsizing, deindustrialization and the trend toward lower paid, temporary, benefit-free, blue and white collar jobs and fewer decent permanent jobs. Rather, the onus of responsibility is placed on the educated unemployed or underemployed young population to recognize that their educational attainments completely mismatch to skills required in the workplace. None cites that financial principles of efficiency, accountability and profit maximization have not created new jobs but in most cases have eliminated them. Absent from the debate is any analyses of how culture at large works in shaping knowledge in the interest of public morality, how the teaching of broader social values provides safeguards against turning citizens skills into training skills for the workplace, or how schooling can help students reconcile the seemingly opposing needs of freedom and solidarity in order to forge a new conception of civic courage and democratic public life. Knowledge as capital in the labour market and in the corporate organization is privileged as a form of investment in the economy just when at the moment Italian labour market and firms offer fewer and less qualified jobs. It is paradoxical that knowledge appears to have little value when linked to the power of self-definition, social responsibility, or the capacities of individuals to expand the scope of freedom, justice and the operations of democracy. Therefore schools are being partially replaced by learning-on-the-job procedures and companies are recruiting more and more on non meritocratic schemes.

The educational reform based on *Alternanza Scuola-Lavoro* paves the way to an anticipation of the fear of being unemployed for young students. Public opinion often associates unemployment with a lack of moral character, work ethic and general competence. Consistent with those stereotypes, public opinion embodies the idea that the unemployed must be regarded as lazy, undisciplined, lacking motivation and personally responsible for their unemployment which are the very characteristics that the current common sense associates with the youth in Italy.

Colonizing the mission of education

From primary up to upper secondary and vocational training schools, reforms are altering curricula, organizational and management, contents of disciplines, and the very spirit of the educational mission. With the curriculum obligation for *Altenanza Scuola-Lavoro*, the emphasis on the educational mission of upper secondary school is on technical programs and preparation for jobs which are nonetheless exceptional for the very few and not available forl all. While curricula are slowly, but stubbornly approached to a trivial reading of the labour market requirements, school leadership is being transformed to shape highest reaches of corporate culture. Evaluation and assessment become the main tools of regulation and self-regulation, by producing a shift towards the «state as a controller»; at same time, this transformation takes place within a 'quasi-market' system, in which the weight of the market is prevalent. Because of this 'quasi-market', reinforced by the excessive weight of evaluation rankings, the social fairness of the education system is threatened by the strengthening of exclusion and/or social segregation.

A real colonization of the mission of the education is in progress in Italy. The first point to highlight is the organizational model of school coming into play: the model clearly refers to the dimension of company's management, which input-output flows are evidently recognizable in the set of tools and dynamics of evaluation, self-assessment and improvement now concerning learning environments which are conceived as a naturalized, non-specific and non-historical, context, so that schools can serve as a space for the simulation of a 'quasi-market' structuring.

Secondly, the oversimplification of the organizational and social reality of the school has its counterpart in the bulimia of statistical manipulation. Thus, not only the educational outcome is reduced to a proxy, that of standardized tests, which is paradigmatic of the constitution, as an indicator, of competitiveness; but with self-assessment there is the pretence to represent what really matters in school thanks to a proliferation of inputs linked to the discipline of management model. Self-assessment stands out, at the same time, as an incorporate dispositive of auto-discipline (Foucault, 1991) This extensive logic binds to the 'manageability' statistic that is now made possible thanks to the enormous computing power of big data, according to a full recognition of the legitimacy of the government by numbers (Miller, 2001). Standardizing processes are closely related to a soft governance approach: that is, governing uses a persuasive and attracting power which draws actors in, across a range of levels, places and spaces, to community engagement at micro and meso scales. In this sense, the issue and the discourse on what is educationally desirable, the increasingly open debate about what should be considered as a «good education in a democratic society» (Biesta, 2008), are

replaced by what is measurable: which becomes, through a replacement of means-purposes, the value criterion to judge the purposes of education.

Thirdly, the use of evaluation based on testing is accompanied by the weakening, if not the removal, of the social and collective mission of school – which should be to nurture and enhance capabilities in understanding and questioning the surrounding reality – with the effect of de-politicising and 'technologizing' the *governance* of schools. There is hence a clear evidence that the evaluation processes – which should be an attempt to re-enact all the dynamics, contents and situations in the classroom – follows out from technicalities of reductionism and over-simplification of complexities (Ball, 2006; Moos, 2006; Louis & Velzen, 2012; Grimaldi & Serpieri, 2013). The result is that the ultimate objective of the evaluation is, in fact, to rank schools and teachers. Students basic skills, measured through international investigations and their national counterparts, are mostly centred on 'reading', 'math' and 'science' while there is no interest at all in assessing how the cognitive and the extra-cognitive teaching and learning process are developed at classroom level. The strong focus to standards, data and performance puts aside the non-performance oriented knowledge colonizing the ecology of educational practice (Landri, 2014).

The fourth issue is that crucial as technical and scientific skills might be – measured through international surveys and their national counterparts and mostly centred solely on reading, mathematics and science – there is much more on both the cognitive and of the extra-cognitive terrain which usually remains outside the assessment and instead should deserves to be appreciated as a essential object of learning. Not to mention that the exaggerated focus on reading, mathematics and hard sciences pushes not-performance oriented disciplines and competences to the margins, regarding them of secondary relevance.

A fifth issue concerns the composite effect of schools' site-based management, devolution, localism, dezoning policies and those for the allocation of extra funds. A marketized environment is under construction, where schools compete for funds and students. Schools and principals are both influenced by competitive pressures. Unlike many other educational systems where site-based management has been introduced, it is a political-institutional entrepreneurship that is mainly required of Italian principals in order to gain extra funds, increase their educational provision and attract students. The education system coming to light continues to host significant inequalities, where differentiation between schools derives at least partially from principals (and their staff) relational and cultural resources as well as from their entrepreneurial capacity, which very often reinforce structural inequalities.

Finally, the most undermining issue is the boosting effect of hyper-competition among teachers, among classes, among students, among schools; a curvature in the ethos of teaching and learning directed to an exaggerated individualism, the source of insecurity or even of neurosis for success for many students.

Neoliberalism is more than an economic policy: especially in education the rise of surveillance through the progressive formation of an 'audit culture' tightens control of monitoring teachers, students and administrative staff, as all conduct is translated to and viewed through economic calculus that determines accountability.

Neoliberalism is more than an ideology and a policy of the status-quo; it is rather an ideology and a policy of radical transformations driving to the marketization and commodification of different realms of social life. Nonetheless, it must be pointed out, as Foucault (2001) writes, that in education it is not possible to reduce the neo-liberal

model to the market nor, by extension, to a mere commodification of education, or even to a internationalization or globalization of educational activities, although this movement has a role too. It seems rather necessary to consider neoliberalism in education more as a principle and a method of rationalizing the exercise of government than as an ideology. Neoliberalism in education has the face of the soft governance, the use of persuasive power (Lawn, 2006), and an instrumentalization of new forms of non-state power to govern «at a distance» (Miller & Rose, 2008). Soft power embraces a whole set of social, cultural and political possibilities, from the attraction of cultural goods or social policies, to opportunities for engagement or alliance. Its virtue is that power is not wielded; if anything, it aims to attract, and uses 'incentive acts'. Therefore neoliberalism may employ soft cultural rhetoric alongside hard economic policies, whereby 'inclusion', 'school autonomy', 'decentralization' are understood as another means of enhancing competitiveness, 'commonsense market rationality' and a 'quasi-market environment'.

Symbolic violence does not require physical coercion, though mechanisms of physical violence may interlock with its deployment. Symbolic violence depends on the power to construct a system of meanings that human bodies act out in the context of everyday activities – what Bourdieu refers to as their habitus. Because such meanings facilitate social action and are the basis for experiencing the world and relationships with other people, they are empowering. The ability to shape the social environment creates conditions under which students conform to a hierarchy of predefined positions within the social order through a seemingly natural process of habituation (Bourdieu, 2002). The coercion involved in the deployment of symbolic violence thus remains in the background, since the idea that a workplace environment must be the natural context for socializing to adult life has fully widespread among contemporary commonsensical beliefs. For this reason, many people, among teachers, parents, observers, experts in subordinate positions internalize and tacitly consent to the domination of such logic.

Yet, human desires are often presumed to be irrational (inappropriate to the economic rules) and an impediment to the smooth operation of social institutions, including the market. Education based on universalism and welfarism, would destabilize the cost of teaching and an equal access to a cooperative education emancipated by the supposed needs of the labour market is sidetracked because such a policy allegedly threatens the well-being of the economy. All the concurring neoliberal reforms have, to a very large extent, lowered the quality of education and undermined and colonized the original mission of state education which was to foster civic values and democratic knowledge (Freire, 2004). Education cannot simply be a prelude to a career of precarious (un)employment.

Notes

[1] The scientific project behind the school effectiveness paradigm was designed by experts and scientists who intended to provide a new representation of education as well as modern governance and management tools for educational systems (Normand, 2008).

[2] In 2001 a group of experts and researchers close to the New Right established the Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy to help implement effectiveness assessment programmes. In 2004 these experts took an active part in the creation of a first workshop on evidence-based policy research, with the financial support of the OECD's Centre for Educational Research and Innovation and the US Educational Sciences Institute.

The implementation of the new national system of school evaluation at first neglected the pre-primary schools – that are part of comprehensive schools – in indicators map, school questionnaires and (guide to) self-assessment report. But now a guide to self-assessment report for pre-primary schools following the model of the one used for the first and second cycle of education has been developed.

[3] Together with PIAAC – the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies collecting information on students and adults' skills in association with information on families, schools and social backgrounds – PISA tests are scheduled by OECD, while TIMSS (Trends in Mathematics and Science Study), PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) and ICCS (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, focused on civic knowledge) are administered by IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement). For the realization of all these large scale survey assessments a specific infrastructure have been set up (LSA, Large Scale Assessment) (Korsnakova, 2013).

[4] The Agnelli family is an Italian multi-industry business dynasty founded by Giovanni Agnelli, one of the original founders in Piedmont (in 1899) of what became the FIAT motor company and one of the contemporary leading economical and financial conglomerate in Italy.

[5] The number of days to be spent in workplaces contexts in order to meet the needs of the new compulsory programme is such high that, even in the most optimistic figure of involving all Italian companies – about 4.4 millions – each one should host a student for 3 weeks (one week per school year). Weeks would drop to just over 2 if it were possible also to include small-crafts shops – about 1.3 millions – and other workplaces (local authorities, public departments, museums, libraries, etc.). Students from technical and vocational schools should attend 10 weeks in workplaces, while students from high schools 5. Another problem is the size of Italian companies: the ones able to accommodate more students simultaneously would be just the 5% of the total. The remaining 95% are microenterprises which would have difficulty in accommodating even one single student.

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Education in times of uncertainty. Uncertainty in education. A critical approach

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Abstract

The essential aspects of today's reality are determined by the dominant variant of socio-economic system, which is built around the concept of development (whether in terms of narrower – growth). The result of the dominance of neo-liberal vision of the economy become socio-economic inequalities, precarious conditions of employment, encompassing the uncertainty of human existence, as well as the real limitations of civil rights of particular social categories (denizens) and the devastation of the environment. In the face of these phenomena it seems reasonable to pose questions about the limits of the concept of economic development from the perspective of the social consequences, or more broadly – about the direction we are heading, or in other words – "progress" of civilization. These issues will be analyzed in the context of education, ie. at every level of the education process. Particular attention will be placed on changes in education since the late 80s of the last century.

Introduction

Since the 1980s, we have been observing a substantial transformation in the way public life is organised (cf. Bloom, 1987), which is a result of a persistent spreading of neoliberal economic politics. This transformation began with conceptualisation and acknowledgement of the theoretical economic concepts of the so-called Chicago school, as well as with the crisis of the Keynesian welfare state, which, after the end of World War II, granted a "golden age" of development to the Western economies that lasted three decades. Although neoliberalism is usually analysed from the economic perspective, it is important to bear in mind that under its influence essentially all the aspects of human life – most significantly of all the social relations – have undergone a transformation (cf. della Porta, 2015). According to Simone Clarke, "neoliberalism owes its strength to its ideological appeal, but neoliberalism is not merely an ideology, it purports to rest on the scientific foundations of modern liberal economics. Modern neoliberal economics is no less dogmatic than its nineteenth-century predecessor in resting on a set of simplistic assertions about the character of the market and the behaviour of market actors" (2005, p. 58).

Apart from the progressing privatisation of the public sector, increased flexibility of job markets, lowering of taxes on income from capital, or the overall flattening of tax progression, together with the limitation and/or re-formulation of social politics spending, a major consequence of the proliferation of the neoliberal project we should focus on is an overwhelming lack of the feeling of security. As a result of this lack of security on the individual or collective level of existence, people have started to experience uncertainty (cf. Stockhammer, 2007, pp. 31–49). John Kenneth Galbraith has long been proclaiming "the age of uncertainty" (1977), and Ulrich Beck's well-known 1986 book "Risikogesellschaft: Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne" (Eng. trans. 1992) pointed out the risks that follow the development of an industrial society. This article aims to address the problem of uncertainty from the perspective of the education system. As part of the welfare state and together with all the other spheres of social life, the education system undergoes significant transformations. Although the economic aspects have dominated the discussion about the changes in the social-economic system, it is important to remember that the level and quality of education influence not only the economy (with the highly visible manifestations of innovation), but also the political institutions (quality of social life) and cultural practices (with the ability to critically approach the world around us).

Times of permanent uncertainty and social development

One of the more fascinating aspects of the analysis of capitalism – or modernity – can be described as a social development paradox. Now, changes introduced into the economic system, preceded by theoretical reflection and academic debate, are supposed to serve the improvement of the initial conditions by means of implementing new models or approaches. If, perhaps overly naively, we assume that economic solutions are means to particular and positively valued goals (progress) – like, for example, those pertaining to material prosperity and social security – then we have a not-so-small problem with neoliberal economic politics. In one of his works, Amartya Sen proposed the following perspective on development, which is a notion axiologically neutral, as compared to progress:

"Development can be seen […] as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy. Focusing on human freedoms contrasts with narrower views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product, or with the rise in personal incomes, or with social modernization" (2000, p. 3). And what is very important he added that: "Growth of GNP or of individual incomes can, of course, be very important as *means* to expanding the freedom enjoyed by the members of the society. But freedoms depend also on other determinants, such as social and economic arrangements (for example, facilities for education and health care) as well as political and civil rights (for example, the liberty to participate in public discussion and scrutiny)" (ibidem).

With social development, and not progress, in mind (cf. Sztompka, 1994), one should treat seriously the subject of "economic colonization of the discourse concerning social issues" (Baranowski, 2013, p. 138), taking into account the critical approach to mainstream economics (Rist, 2011) and its social consequences. Doing that, we need to realise that "social uncertainty is ubiquitous in human society. Whenever we interact with others we face the problem of social uncertainty. We engage in social interactions with others to improve

our own welfare, material or psychological; however, in interacting with others we make ourselves vulnerable" (Yamagishi, Cook, Watabe, 1998, p. 170).

When considering the influence market mechanisms have on the positive aspects of social development – e.g. through freedom of economic activity, or verification of social usefulness of production, together with the mechanism adapting production to needs and technological and organisational usefulness – we should not forget about the negative aspects. Primarily, about the idealised concept of perfect competition, which does not exist in empirical reality – the consequence of which are attempts at monopolising the market. But also about the so-called public goods, or negative external effects, or, even more broadly speaking – phenomena destabilising the economy as a result of the liberalisation of the law. The consequence of marketization of many spheres of human activity, which is of particular interest to this analysis, is the lack of the feeling of security and social uncertainty accompanying it. These two phenomena pierce deeply into the modern societies, becoming a permanent biographical characteristic of particular social categories. In reality, the "winners", that is those who are secured against these phenomena, constitute a small minority. There is little hope these tendencies will change, what is more likely is their intensification.

Economic and educational inequalities

Market economy produces economic inequalities, in income as well as net property (Piketty, 2014), which have a much broader social repercussions. This is linked directly to the shape of the current economic system, which for a long time has been promising that stable economic growth will result in prosperity for all, i.e. that all people will be the beneficiaries of the market system. Joseph E. Stiglitz, taking for his subject the United States of America, negatively assessed the social-economic consequences of the market system, stating that:

"For years there was a deal between the top and the rest of our society that went something like this: we will provide you jobs and prosperity, and you will let us walk away with the bonuses. You all get a share, even if we get a bigger share. But now that tacit agreement between the rich and the rest, which was always fragile, has come apart. Those in the 1 percent are walking off with the riches, but in doing so they have provided nothing but anxiety and insecurity to the 99 percent. The majority of Americans have simply not been benefiting from the country's growth" (Stiglitz, 2012, p. XLVI–XLVII).

However, deep and broadening economic inequalities, which are not accepted by most members of the societies, do not automatically result in reverse tendencies that would be aimed at changing the given status quo. Education seems to be an excellent example of this, because an individual's ability to take advantage of the opportunities provided by achievement-oriented societies (as opposed to societies where status is assigned) is largely dependent on the quality of their education. And the quality of education is largely dependent on the material situation, which has a decisive influence on both the starting position of an individual (material prosperity together with mental wellbeing, understood as the subjective feeling of overall satisfaction with life) and their real chances of receiving education from best schools or higher education institutions. In this sense popular myths,

like "from rags to riches", are in reality infeasible, because the chances of acquiring a valuable degree from a reputable university or polytechnic are beyond the reach of most lower-situated income-professional categories (to avoid using the less and less popular terms like class or social strata). Because in many countries a strong correlation between education and income still exists, aspiring to "riches" by people without a real chance of acquiring decent education is rather like playing the lottery. Despite the observed general decline in pay and certain social benefits in the USA, people with higher education are better secured from uncertainty on the job market. It needs to be admitted, however, that the current changes are alarming, which is why Guy Standing stated – regarding the USA – that "schooling was no protection" and added:

"Between 2000 and 2012, real wages fell by 12,7 per cent for US high-school graduates, accentuating the long-term decline. They also lost enterprise benefits. The proportion of high-school graduates with health care insurance fell from 23.5 per cent to 7.1 per cent; for college graduates it fell from 60.1 per cent to 31.1 per cent. Pension coverage dropped from 9.7 per cent to 5.9 per cent and from 41.5 per cent to 27.2 per cent respectively" (Standing, 2014, p. 145).

The uncertainty of employment and social security is spreading also onto people with higher education, which requires a re-thinking of the question of taking up the commitment of financing higher education in the context of the decreased stability of employment and increasingly relevant role of education itself.

Precariat and precarised education

In his previous book (2011), Guy Standing used the term uncertainty in the context of the flexibility of the job market, which is the key element of precarity, and "which came to mean an agenda for transferring risks and insecurity onto workers and their families" (2001, p. 1). Among the main indicators of precarity, Standing included: "precariousness of residency, of labour and work and social protection" (ibidem, p. 3).

To fully understand the phenomenon of precarity, the category of uncertainty should be looked at together with multi-dimensionally understood flexibility – in order to fully appreciate the seriousness of the situation and the variety of practices of people living in precarious forms of employment. Standing talks about: wage, employment, job, and skill flexibilities (Standing, 2011, p. 6). Although the British economist mentions the changes in the education system in the aforementioned texts, particularly in regard to its commodification (see: Tittenbrun, 2014, pp. 167–173), it plays only a secondary role to the transformations in the sphere of work, and their social consequences. It is so because "economies generate new types of job all the time, but we know the direction they are taking. For instance, over the next decade, fewer than half of all new jobs in the United States will be for people with degrees or the equivalent (Florida, 2010)" (Standing, 2011, p. 68).

In regard to higher education, the problem isn't just in the uncertainty of acquiring (well paid) employment after getting a university degree. The education system itself becomes uncertain, as on the one hand it becomes pseudo-education, which reflects the momentary needs of the market for the so-called specialists in certain disciplines, and, on the other hand, on the free market it itself becomes a commodity, like everything else. This is

why "commodifying higher education legitimises irrationality. Any course is acceptable if there is a demand for it, if it can be sold to consumers willing to pay the price. Anybody can take a pseudo-course giving a credentialist degree »because you're worth it«, which means because you or your parents can pay and because we are here to give you what you want, not what we believe to be scientific or valid based on generations of knowledge" (Standing, 2011, p. 70).

A whole separate issue is the working conditions on all levels of the education system, where flexible forms of employment have been promptly implemented, which happened simultaneously with rapid changes in curricula and expectations towards students. It shouldn't then come as a surprise that already primary schools started to "produce" entrepreneurs and consumers in a semblance of the overwhelming market entities. As has been summarised by Standing (2011, p. 69): "Instead of learning about culture and history, children must be taught how to be efficient consumers and jobholders", indeed a true transformation from a society of producers to a society of consumers, to use Zygmunt Bauman's (2007) words.

Education of uncertainty and uncertainty in education have much broader social and cultural implications than the education system itself, which indeed is a very important institution that uses symbolic violence to determine and actively influence the system of social dependencies. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1990, pp. 7–8) claim that:

"The symbolic strength of a pedagogic agency is defined by its weight in the structure of the power relations and symbolic relations (the latter always expressing the former) between the agencies exerting an action of symbolic violence. This structure in turn expresses the power relations between the groups or classes making up the social formation in question. It is through the mediation of this effect of domination by the dominant PA [pedagogic action – *M.B.*] that the different PAs carried on within the different groups or classes objectively and indirectly collaborate in the dominance of the dominant classes (e.g. the inculcation by the dominated PAs of knowledges or styles whose value on the economic or symbolic market is defined by the dominant PA)".

Not to mention ontological status of the "symbolic market", the dominant PA reinforces the relations of social-economic dependencies in a given society on an axionormative level with the use of symbolic violence. Violence that is not associated with the ruling order or modes of influencing the behaviours of others. It is invisible, and, what is even more important in the context of education, instead of eliminating social divides in order to open paths of development for marginalised categories, it reinforces them, making the existence of underprivileged groups even more uncertain. From the point of view of the French scholars, the education system is not as emancipatory as it is commonly believed, but in reality it acts on a given social order as a conservative agent.

To the same effect, though much earlier, Thorstein Veblen used to interpret the role of higher education in one of his most popular books. The last chapter of *The Theory of the Leisure Class* was dedicated to the problem of education and titled: "The Higher Learning As An Expression of the Pecuniary Culture" (2007, pp. 236–259). Even the examples he uses wonderfully correspond with symbolic violence, a notion Veblen did not use.

Production of knowledge in an uncertain market economy

It is difficult to disagree with Frédéric Lordon's assessment of the situation, in which he points out that „For technical know-how is nowadays secondary, or almost. On the one hand it is assumed that, having acquired generic learning capacities in the course of their school years and univesrity education, the newly recruited can be trained in the specific skills they will need by the company itself. On the other hand, what use are these technical skills unless activated by an animating desire? Yet the latter depends on an individual who remains an enigma" (2014, p. 50). However, formal education is still highly valued on the job market, for example through the requirement of a higher education diploma in order to work in a certain profession. This does not exclusively refer to certified occupations, which are formally regulated. Data from OECD confirms that people with higher education diplomas are characterised by a very high or high employment index (see Fig. 1), although important differences can be observed between individual countries. There

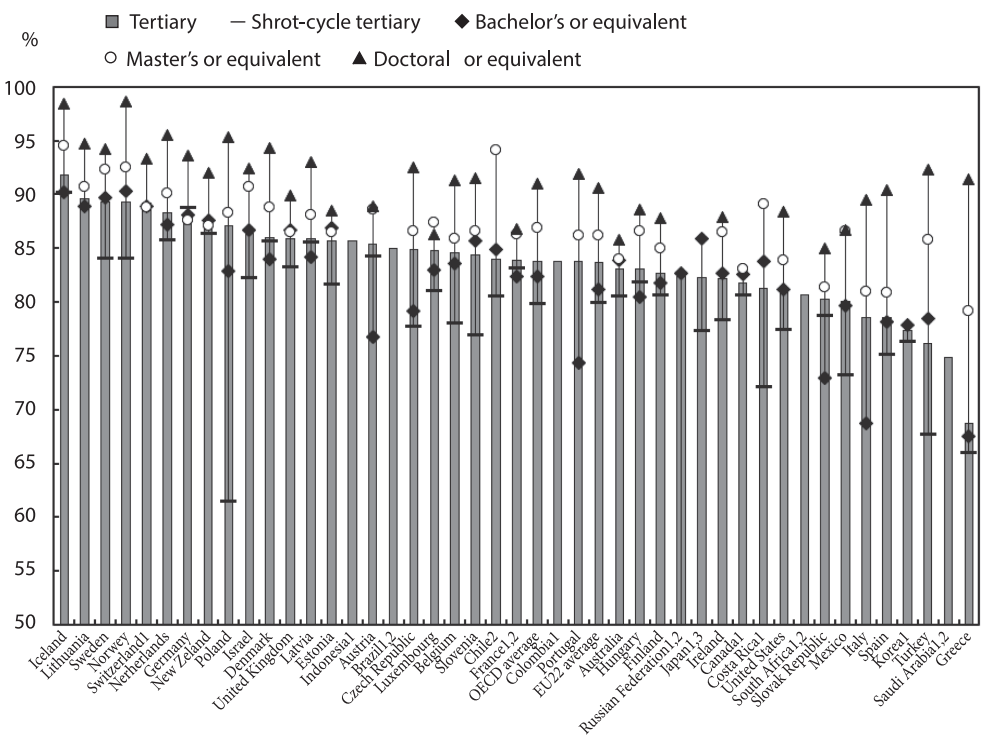

Figure 1. Employment rates of tertiary-educated adults, by levels of tertiary education (2015)
25–64 year-olds.

1. Some levels of education are included in others. Refer to the source table for more details.
2. Year of reference differs from 2015. Refer to the source table for more details.
2. Data for tertiary education include upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary programmes (less than 5% of the adults are under this group).

Source: OECD (2016, p. 94). Tables A5.1 and A5.3.

is also a significant dependence between the type of a diploma (e.g. Doctoral, Master's, Bachelor's or equivalent etc.) and the employment index. The higher the level of education acquired, the larger the chance for employment.

However, according to some researchers, particularly those studying the commons, "the university system uses the commons paradigm to help many different people work together to generate new knowledge" (Bollier, 2014, p. 99). More can be said, "hoarding knowledge as a privately owned good is not only hostile to the community, it defeats the value-proposition of scholarship. The goal of scholarship is not to maximize profits but to advance the search for truth and root out error" (ibidem, p. 100).

These ideas sound very nice, although in the market reality we are faced with a situation in which "the privatization and commodification of academic knowledge and scholarly relationships are now well advanced" (ibidem, p. 101). This, in turn, is related to another dimension of uncertainty, namely the appropriation of the effects of the work of academics by market entities, which effects indeed pertain to very socially important areas. David Bollier uses very suggestive examples to describe the far-reaching consequences of scientific knowledge commodification practices:

"Harvard University now owns patents for the so-called oncomouse used for laboratory research for cancer studies. It also owns patents on 23 synthetic nano-scale substitutes for elements of the periodic table. Patents on treatments for the AIDS virus mean that public funds are often used for developing medicines that later become privately owned and expensive to buy. Big Pharma thrives; indigent AIDS patients are more likely to die" (ibidem, p. 101).

Apart from the obvious benefits, like financing laboratories and commercialisation of academic research, partnerships between universities and business have a lot of drawbacks. Private enterprises appropriate the results of academic collaboration in such a way that the social benefit of that collaboration becomes questionable. Let us take a look the following fragment illustrating the real-life practices:

"Even though taxpayers finance the most important drug breakthroughs, the patterns are often owned by corporations and universities and the drugs are sold at high prices. US taxpayers have financed research that produced treatments for genetic disorders, depression and diabetes, and have invested in the research for Vasotec and Capoten for hypertension; the antiviral drug Zovirax; Prozac and Zantac for depression; Taxol for cancer; and Xalatan for glaucoma. But the patents for these drugs belong to corporations and their shareholders, not us" (ibidem, p. 102).

Not only do private corporations gain measurable profits from collaboration with public universities, they also regulate, via a system of scholarships and research grants, the shape and directions of the research. It probably does not need to be added, that those solutions are preferred, which provide a larger revenue for the private investors. Even the representatives of humanities and social sciences act "on commission" of private companies, designing solutions that can be conveniently put to work as corporate practices. In this sense, scientists and their uncertain career paths are increasingly resemblant to the situation of wage labourers in the employer's job market. In essence, academic workers are hired workforce and always have been, although when deprived of the ethos of university work – the independence of their research and stability of employment (which often compensated for the low income), they are exposed to increasingly high degrees of uncertainty.

The question that suggests itself under the influence of these arguments is whether there is a possibility, particularly in the context of higher education, to turn back from the progressing privatisation and commodification of academic knowledge. The table below illustrates the basic differences between the for-profit and the commons paradigms.

Tab. 1. Knowledge Production

The For-Profit Paradigm	The Commons Paradigm
Corporate ideology and values integrated into education and knowledge production.	Peer-to-peer, networking and collaborative allows diversity of viewpoints.
Knowledge regarded as scarce asset to be bought and sold.	Knowledge regarded as plentiful resource for the common good of society.
Proprietary technologies.	Free and open source technologies.
Highly specialized knowledge and expertise are privileged.	Knowledge is subject to social and democratic control.

Source: Bollier, 2014, p. 236.

Besides the already mentioned appropriation of public academic institutions by the private sector, opposite tendencies have also been observed, which defy the ideology of profit at any cost. "Commercial" academic journals, where the price of a single article is comparable to the price of a book, compete – though this word is inappropriate and brings to mind the neoclassical approach to economics – with Open Access journals, available for free to anyone interested. We observe a similar thing happening with operating systems and computer programs, where corporate giants are faced by free and open software, which does not exclude anyone from the possibility of participating in the goods developed by legions of nameless commoners.

Summary

Not many people are aware that according to article 26 point 1. "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" from 1948, "everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit". We live in a world (and, what is worse, we have become accustomed to it) where, to a growing extent, everything has to be paid for and human existence is burdened with overwhelming uncertainty (cf. Therborn, 2013). The transformation happens not only in the local job markets or perspectives of material existence, but also social relations (cf. Tittenbrun, 2013), already being shaped on the level of elementary education. From the youngest age, education can either initiate and reinforce "entrepreneurial" attitudes, teach competing for resources and shape "winner" mentalities, or show the benefits coming from cooperation, sharing, and fairness. Interestingly, the first education scenario, while imprinting the uncertainty into the biography of the youngest students, socialises them for later life, which seems to lack alternatives, but is at the same time burdened with

uncertainty (this is why the notion of symbolic violence, introduced in the previous part, is useful). Guy Standing (2011, p. 68) has very poignantly characterised this ongoing transformation, which fits into the following scheme:

"The neo-liberal state has been transforming school systems to make them a consistent part of the market society, pushing education in the direction of »human capital« formation and job preparation. It has been one of the ugliest aspects of globalisation".

The second scenario can be regarded as the option for those who "lose before the start", avoiding rivalry, but nonetheless it weakens the negative consequences of social uncertainty. Advocates of cooperation and broad access to science and culture support the ideas of balanced economy and welfare state institutions, so criticised by the neoliberals. As Feduzi & Runde (2011, p. 614) point out, "an important argument in favour of the welfare state, apart from relieving poverty and redistributing income and wealth, was that it provides social insurance against fundamental life uncertainties and offers a mechanism for redistributing income over the life cycle".

The welfare state was thought as an element protecting the society against uncertainty and potential dangers related to loss of employment or illness, among other things. Education offered by public schools was intended to minimise the uncertainty of individuals entering the job market at the time when industrial capitalism was blooming and when the expectations towards the workforce were changing. This was also the time when institutions were becoming more common – mostly in developed countries – democratic, transforming the decision-making mechanisms. An important role in these institutions was played by education. Observing the transformations of today's welfare states, together with the changes in education systems (see Levidow, 2005) that accompany them and which expose more and more people to uncertainty, it is worthwhile to take up the critical analysis of the processes taking place. It is the more important because "giving education up", that is, letting it be transformed in a semblance of a free-market entrepreneurship, will significantly hinder any critique of neoliberal practices, which are spreading at an overwhelming rate and eradicating any alternative approaches.

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Part II

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF POST--COLONIAL POWER STRUGGLE

Violence against women in Indian perspective: A sociological study

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Abstract

The present study attempts to critically examine the symbols of violence directed against women in Indian society. It focuses on the challenges of gender-based violence which exceeds mental torture and takes the shape of subtle, convert and legitimized forms of violence. The basis of this analysis is the idea of violence as a complex phenomenon which takes a range of colours depending upon the situation in which it takes place. Violence is, in fact, inevitably linked to every aspects of human being's survival. Various theorists have focused on the subtleties and complexities of violence. Their theoretical observations reveal violence to be constructive, creative, revolutionary, destructive, curative, liberating, subtle, conspicuous, camouflaged and/or convoluted. But they have failed to take into account the role played by every person's religion, gender, race and class in her or his experience of violence. In fact, Western thinkers have been largely unimpressive in the articulation of violence that targets women belonging to the Third World. In connecting the various forms of subjugation and violence, the paper points out the tension between progress and resistance. De jure institutional changes pursued by the government, population and a political group are consistently resisted by social actors blinded by de facto cultural and historical pressure. These actors are equipped by normalized perpetuations of violence that withstand progress: India's gendered model of nationalism, patriarchy, female foeticide, dowry, and conditions of poverty. With the origins of violence against women traced throughout history, this paper works to identify the diverse set of factors that perpetuate, and often represent the root of the problem.

Introduction

In India, violence against women and girls is common and has serious social consequences. In India, a patriarchal society, symbolic violence against women and girls is often considered to be acceptable behaviour. Young women and girls are the most common victims of acid attacks, and are a high-risk group for experiencing violent death. In India, where adolescents between the ages of ten to nineteen compose one-fourth of

the total population, and physical punishment of adolescents is common and acceptable, factors such as low educational levels and physical violence increase the vulnerability of adolescent girls. Despite the magnitude of the problem of violence against adolescent girls in India, there is a scarcity of resources available to address this important public health issues. Thus, it is important to identify geographical variation in this violence and the community level features that place adolescent girls at increased risk. Once high-risk communities and community characteristics are identified, interventions can be targeted specifically to focus on areas with the greatest need.

The present study focuses on the problematic of violence as it impacts Indian women. It undertakes a study of the complexities of Indian women's experience of violence. Indian society provides ample testimony to this experience. The present study examines the representation of violence in selected Indian texts. The study is carried out, in part, by relating the theories of violence with feminist theory. This theorization of violence is also brought to bear on the violence against women in particular representations in the selected texts in order to pinpoint and articulate various subtle and overt instances of violence. However, no one has attempted a detailed analysis of violence against women as depicted in Indian narratives.

The works of scholars written on violence, in particular Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Walter Benjamin, Jean-Paul Sartre, Raymond Aron, Albert Camus, Frantz Fanon, Louis Althusser, Hannah Arendt, Rene Girard, Michel Foucault, Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, Jean-Luc Nancy, Giorgio Agamben, and Pirrre Bourdieu. These masterminds have revealed insight into savagery that chips away at social, political, monetary, religious, creative and existential levels. They had given careful consideration to its differing frames that are unnoticeable, unpretentious, mind boggling, ruinous, progressive, innovative and significantly less discernable to the eye than any demonstrations of typical viciousness. For example, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi expresses that a comprehension of peacefulness can be accomplished through learning about viciousness. In his perspective, viciousness is the result of figment and it is without truth. The essence of his hypothesis is that law is never ready to strip itself of its unique, establishing brutality. Savagery dehumanizes a person. In his examination of the status of law as of late, Walter Benjamin communicates viciousness as the establishment of every lawful foundation. An investigation of Jean Paul Sartre's thought demonstrates that he accepts to be a power of decimation of mankind and also of human groups. He tests into the vicious way of an individual's close to home/existential reality and additionally interpersonal/social connections. He considers viciousness to be a legitimate intends to pick up autonomy for countries in specific circumstances, similar to Algeria, that have been casualties of provincial plunders for quite a long time. Raymond Aron, be that as it may, rebukes what he considers to be Sartre's obtrusive glorification of viciousness. He impugns the acculturating, cathartic, and gallant quality that Sartre connects to the locals' demonstrations of savagery. Albert Camus likewise accentuates the negative parts of any sort of transformation. He examinations the way cutting edge types of insubordination which being as a challenge human enduring inevitably wind up double-crossing their inceptions and defending the affliction and dehumanization of humankind (Malamuth, 1995). In his writing on decolonization, Frantz Fanon lays accentuation on viciousness as the way to reestablish opportunity and majority rule

government in colonized nations. For him, this from of savagery is contributed with positive and developmental component as it strengths each person to react forcefully to the brutality of colonizer. Hannah Arendt basically researches savagery that shows up in the political area. She likewise tests into the condition that force has with brutality, which she accepts is highlighted just in a legislature that chips away at the standard of savage control. Louis Althusser's examination of belief system uncovers the way in which different social establishments exercise developmental brutality on the clueless person. Philosophy, he contends, assumes a noteworthy part in supporting the entrepreneur relations of misuse. He reveals insight into the misrecognizing parts of philosophy which makes an individual submit unreservedly to her or his subjection. In Rene Girard's perspective, viciousness frames the premise of all society. He contends that "mimetism" is the reason for correspondence and dreariness of brutality that wins in a group. Mimesis is the inclination to unknowingly emulate the wishes of another. As it were, the subject dependably seeks an item which is coveted by his viral; along these lines offering ascend to struggle.

Michel Foucault highlights the power driven operations that are completed in the public eye keeping in mind the end goal to "train" the people. Here jail is Foucault's worldview for the contemporary disciplinary society detained by the standards of different establishments that it has itself made. Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt concentrate on the rough operations of bio-force which plan to control the populace as well as produce and duplicate all parts of social life. Giorgio Agamben uncovers the crucial "fiction" that underlies the connection between the decision government and the legitimate request and the present lawful request is more required in ensuring that the oppressive instrument of force set up in the public eye works easily than executing equity. Moreover, the brutality radiating from these pseudo-legitimate foundations is considerable in increasing the asymmetry of force. Slavoj Zizek expounds on the unmistakable types of savagery show in dialect, and natural in the monetary and political request which depends on inconspicuous methodology towards controlling the nationals.

However, the aforementioned thinkers have ignored the fact that every act of violence is determined by various aspects such as race, culture and class. Moreover, they do not explain the complexities that gender introduces into an individual's experience of violence. Violence, to all intents and purposes, is viewed by these theorists as belonging to the male domain. They analyse violence from a perspective that sees man as both the perpetrator and the victim of violence, and so they overlook the implications of violence for women. Or these thinkers neutralize a person's gender and conveniently overlook the fact that violence takes a different shape in its intersection with different sexual categories. Against the absence of a concrete analysis of gender-based violence, feminism affords a cultivated sensibility towards the victimization of women. Feminism is an amalgamation of the socio-political movements that campaign on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, equal pay, sexual harassment, gender-based discrimination, and sexual violence. In addition, it is a critical discourse that explores and critiques the concepts of objectification, stereotyping, and dehumanization of women.

Objectives of the study

In the present paper, an attempt has been made to study the various aspects of symbols of violence against Indian women. Specifically, the objectives of the present paper are following:

1. To examine the theoretical framework of symbolic violence in Indology.
2. To investigate the determinants of social view about the different from of violence in Indian society.
3. To analyze how the violence against women impacts the lives of women victims, their families and society.
4. To identify educational and social strategies to address the issue.
5. To collect, share and develop innovative responses and best practices for elimination and prevention of violence against women.
6. To give recommendations and concrete proposals for action for elimination and prevention of violence against women.

Research rationale and Methodology

Considering the lack of documentation and understanding around the effectiveness of community-led responses to domestic violence, I decided to work with an NGO implementing project on domestic violence in West Bengal, India. I focused my research on capturing the current functioning of the program with an eye to identifying potential strategies for determining the impact in the future. The method of using a theory of change approach, creating an outcome map, serves to articulate the program's implied theory, which can serve as a theoretical baseline to compare with my empirical observations. This study is conducted as a qualitative desk study, where I have used the methods of text interpretation and text analysis. This implies that the material collected for the research requires interpretation to establish the meaning of the collection throughout the process, in that sense it is heuristic. The material is based on secondary sources from mostly books and academic articles. The choice of having a qualitative approach is based on that it is more suitable when wanting to look deeper into a problem and finding the underlying meaning and understanding of a 'phenomenon' in this case to symbolic violence India.

A theoretical framework

This paper also focuses on the theoretical framework of feminism, and gives an overview of the feminists' empirical investigations about the various ways in which violence targets women. This chapter is sub-divided into two parts – Western feminists' theory, and Third-World/postcolonial feminism. The theoretical framework of Western feminism is based on the notion of a universalized system of patriarchy, a society-wide structure of power-based relationship in which men exercises domination over women (Murthy, 2004). Here men accused to be the prime culprits who instigate the suffering perpetuated

on women. In this section, various strands of western feminism are explored, particularly, the manner in which they approach the problems that target women and the subsequent strengths and limitations of their analyses. Western feminist theorists have thrown light on the subjection of women at the social, political, economic, intellectual and existential levels. They also have focused on the subtle, diverse and ubiquitous form of symbolic violence which manifests in women's exclusion from the symbolic order manifest in language. But they have wrongly assumed that violence against women is purely gender-specific or the patriarchal. The fact is, however, that patriarchy never takes place in a vacuum; it always intersects with other factors such as race, class, caste and religion, and generates multi-dimensional violence. The dominant Western feminist theory, in fact does not consider that women belonging to nations with a colonial history may carry other accounts of violence. The Third-World feminism is, to some extent, a response to Western feminism's Eurocentric attitude towards women from Third World countries. It is founded on trust in collective struggles for different identities. Postcolonial feminism dwells on issues like slavery, oppression, resistance, representation, race, caste, gender, etc. Moreover, Indian feminists seeks 'indigenous' roots of a women's history for it is shaped by colonialism as well as the various firmly established indigenous cultural traditions. They focus on Indian women's position as a victim of *dalit* (untouchable class) oppression, of feminization and radicalization of Hindu culture, of the current wave of globalization. Nevertheless, Indian feminists are yet to comprehensively explore and properly articulate the experience of violence fraught with complexities associated with Indian women's specific experiences of class, caste and religion.

However, the aforementioned complexities become visible through an analysis of literary representations. Academicians like Roland Barthes, Christopher Prendergast and Edward Said, view representation as a form of social practice that is produced within history and material life. Every representation is, in their view, ideology-driven and it must never be construed as something separable from practical life. Moreover, there is an undeniable power-invested link between literary representations and culture. Literature is never a simplistic reflection of the world. J. Derrida views writings as a historical institution both "brought into being and governed" by laws ("Before the Law"). However, the texts that come under the literary aegis possess the specific quality of being able to stage, confront and suspend all the presuppositions upon which any kind of social institution rests. J Derrida also points out that the uniqueness of a literary work lies in its ability to be put into question as "stable properties and concepts". Hence, select literary transcripts by nine Indian authors have been brought under scrutiny to map the multiple forms of violence against women. It is an attempt to also address those forms of violence that have remained unaccounted for by feminist theory.

The selected Indian literature includes the novel Godan by Premchand (1936), English translation of the short stories penned by Saadat Hasan Manto namely "Colder than Ice" (1950), "The Price of Freedom" (1953), "The Woman in the Red Raincoat" (1950), the novel And Such is Her Fate by Dilip Kaur Tiwana (1969), English translation of short stories of Mahasweta Devi namely "Breast-Giver" (1977), "Behind the Bodice" (1997), "Draupadi" (1981), "The Fairy Tale of Mohanpur" (2002), "Kunti and the Nishadin" (2005), "Five women" (2005), "Souvali" (2005), the novel What the body Remembers by Shauna Singh Baldwin (2001), Indira Goswami's The Moth-Eaten Howdah of the Tusker (2004).

The present study also critically examines the aforementioned Indian literature to systematically elucidate the manner in which patriarchy intersects with caste, class and religion and produces many-hued violence that targets Indian women. It is within these Indian literary representations, in fact, that violence inflicted on women becomes visible in all its complexity, subtlety and diversity. Hence the study carries out a comprehensive analysis of the multi-dimensional violence inflicted upon women as represented in Indian fiction. An attempt has made to avoid unnecessary imposition of any particular theoretical framework on a text. As a result, certain diversity marks the interpretative response to specific texts. For instance, the thesis includes the analysis of Mahasweta Devi's short story "Breast Giver" in the light of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's concept of the "capitalistic axiomatic" (Swain, 2002). It is the most formidable apparatus of domination which directs the flow of meaning to fixed points and constant relations (Fagot, 1998). Capitalistic axioms are, in fact, crucial to the functioning of patriarchy. A close study of "Breast-Giver" reveals that the patriarchal axioms appear in the form of religious allusions like "Lionstead" which is a reference to Durga, the mythological character of Jashoda, also known as the divine mother whose heart brims with forgivness and selfless love, or the "Mother Cow" revered in Hindu culture. In this narrative, these axioms establish the relation and connection between Jashoda and her victimization. Her breasts receive inscriptions of violence as she is exploited, revered and rejected with reference to them.

Indira Goswami's delineation of the victimization of women belonging to the orthodox Brahmin community of Assam reveals the violence of ethic-based religion. Here ethics help in the formation of the artificial link between religion and morality. Moreover, patriarchy manifest through religion signifies a state of lawlessness – a state of exception. The widows of Kamrup are stripped off their identity, their entire existence as per the religious norms. Here ethic-based religion is transformed into the force of law, an important concept of Derrida's framework on violence, which no entity or foundation can "contradict" or "invalidate" (Duvvury, 2003).

Dalip Kaur Tiwana's narration of the suffering of Bhano shows her to be the quintessential other looking for validation and a sense of belonging in people's lives. She yearns to belong to another human being or to someplace within the world. For instance, Bhano choose the path of suicide to finally unite and belong to the soul of her dead husband, Sarban. Moreover, in an attempt to gain acceptance among her community, Bhano tolerates her second husband's abusive behaviour as well as the disdain of people. In the light of Martin Heidegger's views on belonging, Bhano's need to "belong" is highlighted as an act of inauthencity. Bhano chooses conformity as a substitute for her constant yet futile attempts at "belonging" in the world. Mechanization and constant activity becomes the antidote to her over-whelming guilt at failing short of the community including her husband Narnia's ideal for femininity. Bhano thus represents the passive yet self-destructive victim of violence trying to "alleviate her suffering existence" through the "hypnotic collective deadening for her sensibilities, of the ability to experience pain" (On the Genealogy of Morals, 112).

Analyses of select Indian literary texts thus reveal patriarchy to be a complex agency of violence. Patriarchal or gender-based violence is the most lethal for it is legitimized, accepted, and enforced repeatedly. It can be overt, subtle, physical, psychological, biological or existential. Patriarchy can be construed as an imaginary bond that exists between law

and anomie. Patriarchal power is a negative and repressive force that requires the presence of a human body to manifest itself. It operates through violent methods of control, discipline and punishment and, further, culminates in multifarious forms of violence. Control is, in fact, the fulcrum of violence. The patriarchal system of control functions primarily through ideology. There is, indeed, an undeniable relationship between ideology and patriarchy. The present research sheds light on the role played by ideology in inflicting violence on women. It manifest through social institutions based on different axes of power such as race, caste, class, ethnicity, and religion. The study shows how the dynamics of caste and class transform woman into both the victim and the perpetrator of violence.

The present research also scrutinizes the relevant works by various theorists who explicate violence that works at the social, political, economic, religious, artistic and existential levels. But they do not take into account the violence that specifically targets woman. Violence has been an issue in feminist campaigns and struggles. Feminist theory also elaborates on women being the target of violence at the symbolic level (Mitra, 1999). Nevertheless, a comprehensive and theoretical elaboration of violence with reference to women has yet to be undertaken. Moreover, theorists have failed to grasp the significance of Indian women's experience of victimization in understanding violence. The diverse forms of violence undergo by Indian women, in fact, provide new insight to feminist theory. Indian fiction successfully captures and represents the complexities underlying women's experiences of multidimensional violence with reference to her race, ethnicity and class. It accentuates the fact that Indian women have to suffer diverse forms of violence. Hence the study focuses on a comprehensive and meticulous analysis of the representations of violence inflicted on women in a selection of Indian literary texts. For this purpose, the theories of violence have been aligned with feminist theory and brought to bear upon the literary representation of violence to pinpoint and analyse various subtle and overt instances of violence. These analyses demonstrate that patriarchal violence is complicated by various other axes of power (Straus, 1980). The present research is, in fact, an attempt to map a concrete feminist theory that articulates those instances of violence that have been previously ignored or underplayed.

Violence against women is an international phenomenon. In India, rape, sexual assault, physical and virtual abuse become especially pervasive given their strongly roots in India's history and societal norms. The issue of violence against woman grows increasingly urgent, statistics illustrating that violence against women is on the rise. Between the years of 2001 and 2011, the number of crimes against women has risen an alarming 59% the number one crime being rape (John, 2013). Though critics question whether figures reflect an upsurge in crime or an upsurge in crime reporting, evidence of institutional and cultural gender injustice remains unarguable. This paper begins its examination of violence against women in India by first studying the origins of such through the theoretical framework of hierarchy, India's national history, and cultural perpetuation. The paper then shifts its focus to the incident, aftermath and implications of the most reported rape case in India's history: the December 2012 gang rape case in Delhi, India. A watershed moment for questioning the border implications of violence, the Delhi rape continues to influence the lens through which rape is seen in India. The subsequent sections highlight the comprehensive Verma report and government perspectives that followed the incident. The paper integrates analyses of violence against women through considerations of history,

culture, case study, and reform. Underlying this work, this paper explores tensions between progress and cultural and historical influence, short-sighted institutional changes, and normalized gender and class divides. In connecting these tensions to modern data and experiences, I purposefully attempt to provide a degree of reasoning for the otherwise unreasonable.

In the Indian cultural scenario, violence of this kind is often justified as a man's right to chastise his wife and children. Such violence is not often reported because of this strong cultural bias. Women prefer to suffer silently, and may even believe that men are justified in beating them. Or, a woman may feel that she has no other alternative for improving her situation and therefore she may suffer in silence in order to protect her marriage and her children. Therefore, the actual percentage of women who experience family violence may be higher than reported. Such violence causes serious physical and emotional stress on women. Severe social discrimination based on gender is also reflected in other harmful practices and customs such as female foeticides, female infanticides, child marriages, high rates of maternal mortality and morbidity, denial of health care to women and girl children, denial of adequate nutrition to women and girl children, denial of education to the girl child, denial of reproductive rights to women and girl children, and lack of protection to women and girl children against HIV/AIDS. Domestic violence is reflected in the so-called "honour killings" of girls who choose their own marriage partners. It is reflected in the practice of a bride's parents paying a heavy dowry to the groom's family, in dowry-related crimes against women, and in dowry deaths. Violence against women resulting from demand for dowry is well documented. Trafficking of young women and girls, ill-treatment of widows who may be driven out of their homes or sent off to religious places of worships such as Brindavan or Banaras, are other horrendous forms of family violence. Violence against the children can take the serious form of sexual abuse within the family, whether by a stepfather or a relative or sometimes a neighbour, and may end up in trafficking of girl children. Children can be trafficked either for labour exploitation or for sexual exploitation. Children can be sent to tourist resorts to cater to sex tourism. Using children for begging, for organ transplant, for camel jockeying are other aspects of trafficking reflected in the definition of trafficking under the UN Protocol on Trafficking, which supplements the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crimes. Violence against the elderly in the family is another serious denial of their human rights. The existence of such violence was not acknowledged for a long time and was considered alien to our culture. However, a recent survey carried out by He1page India has pointed out that the elderly in our country have been increasingly marginalized and emotionally isolated from the mainstream society. The population of older persons is estimated at present at 75 million and it is expected to go up to 177 million by the end of 2025. About 80 per cent of the elderly live in rural areas where there is very little health care available to them. Our primary health centres are in poor shape and very little geriatric care is available. The same is true even in the cities where also the medical profession is not yet trained or ready to provide such care with any sensitivity. As a result, medical needs of the elderly are not looked after. The extended family system, which earlier served the elderly and provided protection to them, is fast disintegrating. The smaller or nuclear family seems unwilling to spend the time, effort or money in looking after the elderly family members. Quite often, when in a nuclear family, both men and women are employed outside the home; there is nobody to take care of

elders. The lack of concern for the elderly can, and at times, does degenerate into violence against them. There have been newspaper reports of elderly parents committing suicide because their children are subjecting them to harassment for various reasons. Cases of the elderly leaving their homes and disappearing are also frequent. The National Human Rights Commission received complaints from the elderly who had been thrown out of their own homes by their children. The disabled also face violence at the hands of their family members. Reports from various mental homes or protective homes for the mentally challenged show that a large number of mentally challenged persons are abandoned in such homes by their family members who often give false names and addresses. At times, such disabled persons are left at the doorsteps of the mental homes by their family members, who disappear without leaving a trace. In the National Human Rights Commission we had the case of a wife of a professor who had been treated effectively at a mental home and was in a position to be managed by her family in her own house. She was looking forward to reunite with her family. But, the family declined to take her back. She has now lapsed into a state of deep depression. In another case, where an extremely wealthy family had abandoned a mentally challenged person in a mental home, that person, after medical treatment was sufficiently self-reliant to live an independent life in a small cottage provided to him. But, his family declined to take him back. Village children who are mentally challenged are recruited by agents to work in factories in urban areas promising parents that the child will be looked after and will send a regular wage home. These children, who are incapable of conveying their hardships to anybody, are then used as slave labour, made to work long hours and are ill-fed and ill-housed. Thus family violence can take varied forms. We have recently enacted a law which has just come into operation, for protection of women against domestic violence. The Act requires appointment of protection officers who will handle complaints of violence within the family. The effectiveness of the law will depend to a large extent on the training and sensitization of these protection officers and in creating institutional framework for the protection of victims. Laws for prevention of or protection against any form of family violence require the support of programmes for sensitization of the society against prevailing domestic violence, for providing options to those who are subjected to family violence which are viable and usable, and programmes and policies which can be implemented not just by the government but also by NGOs and by the civil society. It is important that we highlight the obligation of the state in this area. There is a growing acceptance that a state which is negligent in preventing gross violations of human rights of its citizens can be held accountable under international human rights law, e.g., under the Statute of Rome, a state is accountable for gross violation of human rights committed even by private parties. In the famous decision in Velasquez Rodriquez case, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights held the state to a due diligence standard to prosecute private individuals who violate human rights, and it held that the state would be held responsible for such major crimes. States are now required to give up the traditional attitude with regard to the privacy of home and are required to intervene effectively to prevent serious domestic violence. It is in this context that the new legislation against domestic violence has, to be welcomed. The state must sensitize its law enforcement machinery; it should train its police, its investigators, its judicial officers and medical experts in issues relating to such violence. The state must set up support services for victims. It should collect data and research the problem of family

violence. It is required to engage in educational programmes to raise awareness and prevent harmful practices. These are new ideas in human rights jurisprudence. In a sense, these are an expansion of the state's responsibility for promotion and protection of human rights, making the state liable for actions of even private individuals in areas where state assistance can lead to prevention and prosecution of gross crimes, or can bring about an effective stop to harmful attitudes and practices. The prevention of pre-natal sex determination tests through enactment of law is another recent example where the state has formulated a law to counter violence against women. However, the responsibility of the state does not cease on the enactment of laws. What is important is creating an infrastructure within the state – whether private or public – which will ensure effective implementation of laws. Judiciary also plays an important role in protecting human rights of the vulnerable, the underprivileged or the discriminated. The judiciary has evolved mechanisms of public interest litigation, which can be brought on behalf of such vulnerable people before the court for the purpose of enforcement of their rights. We have developed a very extensive jurisdiction under public interest litigation for protection of human rights. The Supreme Court of India has interpreted the constitutional provisions on fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy to compel the state to respect human rights. The court has given directions to the state and its administrators for the implementation of these rights. It has appointed monitoring and expert committees, or has taken the help of the National Human Rights Commission to make these rights a reality. I will not go into the large number of cases which have been decided by the Supreme Court dealing with the right to a life with dignity in its various aspects. Creating a socio-economic and political order that respects human rights is today the goal of development. Realizing that family violence is a major denial of human rights is the first step towards its prevention.

Violence against women: Then and now

The emergence of a patriarchal hierarchy can be traced throughout the foundations of India's history, from the Pre Vedic Period to India post-Independence. In doing so, the deeply ingrained quality of subjugation becomes apparent. The beginning of civilization saw no legitimate gender hierarchy, nor violence against women. Within the Vedic Period (1500–800 BCE), however, society became increasingly structured. Despite women being honored as sacred within the Hindu culture, this time period also saw the establishment of the institution of marriage. This developed the obligation of women to remain in the household, and to birth a son. Following the Vedic Period, from around 500 BCE to 1850 CE, this dichotomous role for women was further cemented. Women came to regarded as both an object to control and one of worship. Required to serve as both a submissive wife and beacon of chastity, women soon became defined by the standards set by their husbands and families. This paradoxical role pushed upon women can be related back to Dumont's theory of hierarchy and the opposition of purity versus pollution. Furthermore, women also saw the separation of the two. On one hand they were revered as goddesses, while on the other, their presence and participation was forbidden in religious practices. The Post-Vedic Period also saw the arrival of sati: a Hindu funeral ritual in which a widow commits suicide by way of lightning herself on fire. The immolation traditionally served

as evidence of the widow's devotion to her deceased husband. Child marriages began after, during the Muslim Period (Bharadwaj, 2015).

Subsequently, within the British Period (1858–1947), the influence of Victorian values took hold. A clear example can be seen in the changing perspective on sex. Though India developed Kama Sutra, a literature on sex, and has ancient texts that speak of sex freely, foreign presence saw to stigmatization of sexual liberalism. Since this time, Indian culture has been marked by conservatism, and proceeds to consider sex a taboo. Indirectly, this perception offers cause for violence against women (Sharma, 2014). Also during this time, women strongly became considered representatives of Indian culture and spiritually and consequently were often kept at home in order to protect and preserve these entities from foreign influence. I interpret this purposeful protection as the emergence of Indian nationalism. As British colonizers attempts to assert their control over the population, they sought to reform Indian traditionalism, being strongly critical of women's lack of autonomy and role in the family. In response, India gained a particularly gendered model of nationalism in order to protect what they believe to be essential part of their cultural identity (Chatterjee, 1993). This distinct tension between colonial forces and historical norms in effect created a new kind of patriarchy, different form that experienced before and during colonial times. The post-colonial patriarchy still present today exemplifies the theme of tension between those attempting to address the hierarchal status quo through reforming the roles of women, and those who call upon cultural and historical tradition in order to resist change.

Towards the end of British rule, women increasingly found their marginalization and inequality to be unacceptable, and so began to fight for position in mainstream society. Upon India's independence in 1947, many women participated in a large push-back against the patriarchy, viewing the emancipation as an opportunity to pursue progress (Bharadwaj, 2015). By bringing cultural analysis beyond merely declaring a lack of gender equality, we are able to further understand India's own tolerance of inequality. The work of Geert Hosfstede, the founder of comparative intercultural research, allows us to do just that (Sharma, 2014). Hosfstede has established a parameter known as "power distance", defined as "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept the power is distributed unequally" (Malamuth, 1995). The dimension is notable because it attempts to explain Indian culture and inequality not through third-party perspectives, but through the attitude and opinions of existing members. India received the high score of 77 on power dimension, which illustrates an acceptance, or perhaps dependency on hierarchy. The dimensional analysis reveals that the country's societal structure is top-down and that those who are lesser in the hierarchy, such as women, are expected of their unequal rights ("What About India"). India also scores highly on Hosfstede's dimensional analysis of masculinity, signifying a highly patriarchal cultural. This score highlights a lack of equality between sexes, as seen through their role in society (Sharma, 2014). Hosfstede's work in cultural analysis in relation to India beings a conservation on the ways in which the nation's culture and society serves to propagate violence against women.

Crime against women in India touched a new high in 2013 with 1, 32,720 cases registered. The dowry deaths alone totalled at 6,285 with 2,532 other cases registered under the Dowry Prohibition Act. There were 40,287 cases of cruelty by husband or relative against the married women. In a recent study conducted by Centre for Social Research, it has been

found that nearly 5 crore married women in India suffer from domestic violence. Just one out of 1,000 cases of domestic violence case gets reported. And, out the 100 cases that are investigated under 498A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), the accused gets conviction only in two cases. The reported cases of domestic violence in India represent only the tip of the iceberg, which means vast majority being socially institutionally invisible. As the 'iceberg' image suggests, recorded or official cases represent only a minimal portion of the problem of family violence in society. The majority of cases of violence fall "below the water line", invisible both socially and institutionally. In India, this iceberg theory has been reiterated by several studies, research papers and experience of NGOs working for the victims of domestic violence. For example, according to NFHS-2 Study, which was conducted in 2009–10, where 90,000 married women in the age group of 15–49 years were interviewed, 18.9 per cent, i.e., 17,102 experienced domestic violence from their spouse. In the same study, it was reported that more than one in five women report having experienced at least some form of violence at some time or other in their married life. In India safe 2010 multi-site study of nearly 10,000 house-holds, 40 per cent of the women reported experiencing at least one form of physical abuse and 26 per cent reported severe physical abuse, including being hit, kicked, or beaten. UNFPA also reports that 40 per cent of the women in India suffer domestic violence and abuse from their male partner. Those that come forward often do so only after abuse have escalated to a point of severe, life-threatening violence. Records from the Special Cell for Women and Children in Mumbai, established by the Police Commission, to provide a range of support services to women and their families, revealed that 43 per cent of women endured domestic violence for 3–17 years before complaining to police (Dave and Solanki, 2000). According to the 2011 census data, a total of 2,367,72,617 women are married and according to NFHS-2 data, if one out of five women suffers domestic violence, then we can infer that at least 4,73,54,523 must be suffering some form of domestic violence. Also, NCRB 2013 data shows that approximately 50,000 cases of domestic violence were reported in India in year 2015.

The Structure of Hierarchy and violence

Before studying the relationship between India's hierarchal culture and violence against women, it is necessary to investigate, from a higher level, the very notion of hierarchy. The paper seeks to study the theoretical framework of hierarchy through sociologist Fernand Dumont. The foundation of Dumont's work on the caste system defines hierarchy as the religiously-inspired idea of the superiority of the pure over the impure. Within his theories of "homo hierarchicus", Dumont rejects Western interpretation of the caste system as a mere form of social stratification, additionally refuting the belief that caste is the antithesis of equality. Dumont instead argues that Indian society must be understood, and separation, between the pure and the impure. This opposition is deeply engrained in Hinduism, with the idea of purity and pollution. Dumont furthers his argument by maintaining that caste system is not only a rational, comprehensible structure, but that its underlying hierarchy is a "universal necessity" (Khare, 2006). Dumont posits that even if it is not recognized directly or formally by society, it will arise nonetheless in an ideologically similar construct, such as racism or the patriarchy.

Extending the argument to the twenty-first century, Dumont's very idea of hierarchy can be found in the social fabric of Indian society today through the patriarchy. Dumont self-proclaims that his work foremost creates a model for the traditional caste system in its ideal, unaltered state, and subsequently, uses deductive reasoning to fit real-world circumstances. This being so, Dumont's view of the caste system in its traditional forms cannot be directly applied to violence (Khare, 2006). The distinction of the "untouchable" caste has been removed from the Indian constitution. However, the connotations behind subjugation of the impure, in relation the pure, are still prominent in today's society. Dumont explains hierarchy as a fundamental social entity, classifying individuals and groups in accordance with their "degree of dignity" (Khare, 2006). This framework of ranking then engages with divisions of social power, economic stance, and the mutual relationship between the different ranks. The gradation of status defined in Dumont's work underlies India's current gender hierarchy in its Hindu majority. The distinct rigidity of modern patriarchy "assigns females to a position distinctly subordinate to males: constrained, dependent, exploited oppressed, physically and psychically endangered" (Miller, 1993). The idea of purity in relation to gender has been normalized in the Indian populace, and the marginalized societal roles of women follow suit.

Though I acknowledge that Dumont's work monumental in the international discussion of caste, I also believe it to be problematic. The system of hierarchy in India is far more complex, and changing than Dumont had envisioned. The framework of caste emerged at the end of the 1700's as a multifaceted social phenomenon that took different forms in various regions. Over time it has transformed in accordance with extrinsic factors. In particular, it grew to become a unitary, structure social order due to British colonization. Colonizers controlled the colonized by re-administering the caste structure in a way that would undermine India's indigenous rulers and traditional power system. In other words, the British utilized the social system to rationalize institutional inequalities. Dumont fails to recognize the discrepancy between pre-colonial and post-colonial caste systems. By explaining caste solely as the single, homogeneous entity that it became after colonization, he excludes minority groups and marginalized communities once considered an intrinsic part of the social system: *Muslims, Dalits*, and members of scheduled tribes (Roberts, 2008). The modern form of hierarchy that perpetuates violence against women must be understood not only as a historically normalized status quo, but as a by-product of colonial influence.

Patriarchy

Often the most commonly referenced cause of violence against women, the patriarchy defined as a social system in which men are placed above women. This being so, group mentality and social practices follow suit, often resulting in the oppression and exploitation of women (Sharma, 2014). As outlined in the section on the origins of violence against women, India maintains a strong cultural expectation of women to be chaste and obedient. The normalization of this expectation manifests into women's acceptance of their prescribed gender roles. This is not to say that women approve of nor appreciate their subjugation, but rather they are socialized to tolerate and even rationalize it. The third

National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3, 2005–2006), assessed this concept by asking female respondents whether a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife in different situations. The most accepted reasoning held that 41% of women agreed that a beating was justified if the wife 'shows disrespect for her in-laws'. Secondly, 35% of women agreed with the reasoning of having neglected the house and/or failing to cook properly. Over half of all women surveyed justified domestic abuse for at least one of the reason (NFHS-3, 2005–2006). These numbers directly evidence the power distance parameter defined in Hosfstede's analysis, as they are indicative of an establishment gender hierarchy.

A particularly powerful societal implication of the patriarchy regards the ways in which the government and the public address the safety of women, and its strategies of reform. In the aftermath of the 2012 Delhi rape, Kavita Krishnan, secretary of the All India Progressive Women's Association, gave a speech entitled "Freedom Without Fear…". The speech was largely publicized for its unique focus on the government's misguided attempts to blame victims for the nation's high rates of rape. It directly attacks chief Minister of Delhi Sheila Dikshit and police commissioner Neeraj Kumar for their failure to adequately protect women. Further, Krishnan reference their public statements in which they reason that rape incidents are largely because of women dressing certain ways or choosing to be out late at night without escorts. She argues that women need not justify being out late, but rather "women have a right to freedom without fear", and that is what requires protection and request (Krishnan, 2012).

The speech points to the convoluted terminology used in legislation and media when describing safety and protection of women. The law effectually perpetuates gender hierarchy by solely focusing on the sexual wrongs of men, in order to protect the otherwise "good" and "chaste" Indian women (Dutta, 2015). Rather than referring to practices to protect women's independence and livelihood, safety is most often referenced in relation to women taking measures to protect themselves through remaining inside the house, dressing conservatively and travelling with male escorts. In other words, the campaign about violence against women is dominated by a patriarchal understanding of safety and violence. In the conclusions of her speech, Krishnan again urges the government and the Indian public to defend women's right to freedom without fear. The public outcry that day called for the resignation of Sheila Dikshit, and was received with water cannons from the Delhi police force. The speech created a chant for freedom that continued on in future protests, and is representative of the women's movement's call for counter culture against violence. Krishnan evidences how the patriarchy indirectly blames women for the violation of women's safety (Krishnan, 2012). Despite its strength, the majority of the speech illuminates overall themes and past failures of the Indian government and culture. By not going beyond such, I posit that Krishnan perhaps misses an opportunity to suggest pragmatic solutions for future implementation of the protest's ideas.

As a consequence of the patriarchy, men are considered of higher value than women. This established the cultural view that sons are preferable to daughters. The inequality faced by women and girls even results in their denied rights to being born. In 1996, the World Health Assembly addressed female foeticide as an "extreme manifestation of violence against women" (Sarna, 2003). Declining sex ratios indicate that female foeticide and infanticide are on the rise. Statistics from the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) as well as the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) illustrate the

discrimination experience by modern Indian women through the popularity of sex selective abortions. The 2015 birth rate in India is 1.12 boys of every 1 girl, which largely deviates from the standard biological rate of 1.04 boys to every 1.06 girls (Chartoff, 2015). The development of sex determination tests has enabled the remarkably high rates of sex selective abortions. Surveys conducted in the late 1980's report that nearly one hundred percent of abortions at clinics and women's centers in Mumbai were of girl fetuses (Sharma, 2014).

In an attempt to provide reasoning for the origins and persistence of female foeticide, one article points blame to the popular cultural understanding that men, and men only, must function as financial providers for the family. Following suit, a prospective son would be able to contribute to a family's income, while birthing a daughter would result in heightened financial burden. This belief promotes societal pressure on women to bear son (Chartoff, 2015). Though efforts have been made to prevent this disastrous patriarchal phenomenon, female foeticide remains a pressuring issue. Legislation such as the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act of 1994 have failed to be effective, as seen in the rising of female foeticide particularly in rural and Northern regions (Sharma, 2014). Currently, the Indian government financially incentivizes giving in a government hospital. They offer a higher sum when the child is female in an attempt to push against cultural devaluing of women.

Dowry: a symbol of injustice

The system of dowry perpetuates of oppression and violence against women. A traditional social practice, dowry is the ritual of a bride's family giving cash and/or goods to the family of the groom, as an accompaniment to their giving away the bride. Originating in wealthier, upper-caste families and dowry spread to become a significant cultural phenomenon for people of all castes and class. Though it was prohibited by India's Dowry Prohibition Act in 1961, dowry maintains a significant presence in Indian culture (Sharma, 2014). Dowry furthers the discrimination behind female foeticide, as parents will increasingly equate birthing girl child with financial loss.

While having a son would result in the family cash and/or goods from dowry, having a daughter would mean having to make that payment. Thus, families pursue sex-selective abortions to eliminate the financial burden (Sarna, 2003). The implication of dowry becomes increasingly potent when the dowry given is considered unsatisfactory or demands are unfulfilled. In the year 2011 alone, the National Crime Records Bureau of India recorded 8,618 female deaths related to dowry conflict. Numbers of dowry casualties are even higher as perceived by other organizations: the Asian Women's Human Rights Council estimates a horrifying 25,000 women between the ages of 15 and 24 are killed or harmed by dowry disputes.

The prevalence of dowry violence persists in modern India for number of reasons. Perhaps foremost, dowry continues to be deeply-rooted religious practice. Indian culture believes marriage to be a social necessity. An otherwise unmarried daughter is a social and financial burden on the family. Furthermore, Hindu traditionalism dictates that success and happiness of marriage heavily relies on the practice of dowry. The combination of these two social nuances enables the normalization and popularity of dowry to continue.

Due to the fact that divorce has a social stigma in Indian society, wives are more likely to remain in their marriage, and tolerate abuse. Through feminist movements recognize its atrocious effects on women, public action against dowry is inconsistent, and remains amongst higher class status through wealth. In a hierarchal society such as India's the pursuit of a higher social status or economic class is prevalent, creating as environment conducive to dowry. Rising westernization and consumerism in modern India worsens this environment through its creation of dowry "inflation". The heightened materialism of families looking for immediate wealth and status serves to augment dowry demands, making them increasingly difficult to appease (Banerjee, 2014). Unsatisfied dowry demands continue to fuel the harassment, abuse and often lethal violence against women.

Poverty and violence

It is significant to make note that gender hierarchy is intensely linked with hierarchies of economic class and culture. The suppression of women is through enhanced by conditions of being low caste or class, and associated living conditions, including but not limited to poor education, a lack of access to health, and inhibited social mobility (Miller, 1993). In 98% of rape cases in 2015, the offenders were known to the victim. This being so, the cost to the victim of reporting a rape is extremely high due to their lack of economic independence, and fear of becoming socially ostracized from their family or society (John, 2013).

In an attempt to contextualize violence against women economically, media has blamed the cultural understanding that men, and men only, must function as financial provides for the family. Women do not have economic independence, nor do they have the freedom to pursue employment in many situations. They are thus disempowered and dependent on their families, or husbands in marriage. Consequently, parents increasingly prefer sons over daughters. Further, men who are unable to provide for their family are more likely to relive stress through domestic violence. In survey by UNFPA and ICRW, 40% of men who reported facing economic pressure admitted to perpetuating violence, contrasting the 27% of men who had not faced this pressure (Chartoff, 2015). This trend tells volumes on the inversely connected relationship between age and wealth, as lower class men are more likely to feel financial burden, and thus more likely to become violent against their female family members.

The influence of poverty on the lives of citizens extends to lack of education. According to the Latest National Family Health Survey, a significant proportion of the Indian population is reported to have little to no form of education. Data illustrates that a lack of education is much more prevalent in females than males, as 41.5% of women of all ages reported having received no education, while the same parameter reported for men was 21.9%. Stark disparities between education levels can be seen across varying income levels and states (NFHS-3, 2005–2006). Studies identify one of the "roots" of the issues of violence against women to be education, or lack thereof. Lower education and literacy rates for women lead to a reluctant to seek help, decreased awareness of their rights and laws, and a dependency on male family members. Particularly relating to sexual violence, the Indian education system still does not contain any sex education programming. The World Health Organisation claims that sex education promoting safer sex reduces sexual

activity early-on in life (Sharma, 2015). India's avoidance of institutional sex education due to conservatism and political alliances leads to sexual curiosity and lack of knowledge (Sharma, 2015). I argue that these two qualities represent sub-factors in the persistence of violence against women. Lack of knowledge of women's rights and what defines consensual, safe sex inadvertently allows men to carry on ignorant of the wrongness of violence against women.

The effect of an education results in a more equalized preference between sons and daughters. Statistics shows that 46% of men with no education reported having a high preference for sons. The percentage of those who expressed this preference decreased by 8% for those who received secondary education, and 19% for those who had received some form of higher education (Chartoff, 2015). A lack of education additionally contributes to women's acceptance of inequality and gender hierarchies. In reference to the aforementioned NFHS-3 survey on justification of beating, rates of justification for beating is strongly inversely proportional with education and wealth. Almost female and male respondents alike, education level was a directing force in the question of justifying violence. 62% of men with no education justifying one or more reasons for abuse, compared to 34% of men with 12 or more years of education (NFHS-3, 2005–2006).

Structural violence in Indian society

On a broad scale, India maintains high rates of violence against women, gender hierarchies and marginalization of women. The examination of these rates leads to consideration of the cultural and socioeconomic circumstances as causative factors. However, before making this claim, it is necessary to question the feasibility and ethics of this examination. It is right, if at all possible, to blame Indian society and culture for presence of violence against women? Can we pragmatically speak of Indian culture as one entity? Is gender hierarchy an essential component of India, or can we remove violence while maintaining Indian uniqueness? In order to strengthen my argument, I will pursue these questions and their associated opposing claims.

In speaking of modern and traditional Indian culture, one must take into account the gigantic size and diversity of the Indian country. It is near impossible to explain an exclusively "Indian culture" due to the terrestrial difference in religion, cultural nuances, language, socioeconomic level, etc. even minor generalizations in a population of India's size disregard the diversity of millions of Indian citizens. Some advocates that many of the current issues surrounding violence against women are not uniquely Indian, but rather are characteristics of patriarchal societies internationally. More precisely, "regressive social codes that disproportionately penalize women are not unique to India, and have been a social barrier in all countries when it came to extending political, legal, and economic rights to women" (John, 2013). Statistical data across the globe follow suit, presenting gender gaps in the literacy rate, an enormously low sex ratio, and high instances of domestic exploitation. However, by making this claim, this argument unintentionally offers explanations for Indian violence, nearly normalizing the current crisis by relating it to several other recognized countries. In this way, the claims fail to hold Indians and Indian cultural practices accountable (John, 2013).

An evidence-based investigation of women in India requires addressing the ways in which this paper is intricately influenced by its sources, perspective and standards of ethics. To do so brings into argument theories of cultural relativity. Cultural relativism refers to the anthropological concept that an individual or group's beliefs or actions ought to be evaluated in relation to their own culture. This principle takes hold in consideration of western ethnocentrism and maintaining respect for vast diversity of non-traditional cultures. In relation to human rights, we begin to probe into moral relativism and concern of human rights, and what is right or wrong. Claim can be made that certain Indian cultural nuances that result in the subjugation of women are not universally unjust, but rather, are only unjust as seen from a Western perspectives. Following this claim, though violence against women may be considered unacceptable, India's patriarchy and gendered hierarchy represent inherent aspects of the nation's uniqueness, and should be representing as such. However, this argument is fundamentally problematic in its justification of discrimination and social exploitation. A prominent anthropologist Julian Steward argues against moral relativism on the grounds that "either we tolerate everything and keep hands off, or we fight intolerance and conquest – political and economic as well as military – in all their forms." Moreover, to defend unjust practices on the grounds of protecting cultural uniqueness would be to suppress intolerance (Steward, 1948). It is evident from the past studies that one out of every Indian women has reportedly experienced beating or physical mistreatment since they have turned 15 years. There is substantial state wise variation in the proportion of women who have been beaten or symbolically mistreated. Two-fifth of ever-married women in *Tamil Nadu* and at least one-quarter of ever-married women in *Meghalaya*, *Orissa*, *Arunachal Pradesh* and *Bihar* have a possible better position women cherished. About one-fifth of ever-married women in India mentally mistreated by their husbands and there are interstate variations too in the same. More than one-third of women in Tamil Nadu have reported their husbands as the perpetrator. Again, the more than 20 percent of the women in the state like *Bihar*, *Orissa*, *Andhra Pradesh* and *Uttar Pradesh* have reportedly been assaulted by their husbands as against of Meghalaya where a majority (29 percent) blame other persons for the mistreatment. Abusing by persons other than the husbands or in-laws constitutes a substantial proportion in most of the northeastern states as well as in *Delhi*, *Jammu* and *Kashmir* and *Punjab*. The percentages of women beaten in the 12 months preceding the survey varies from less than 5 percent in Himachal Pradesh and Kerala to more than 15 percent in *Bihar*, *Arunachal Pradesh*, *Tamil Nadu* and *Nagaland*.

Conclusion

The traditional norms of Indian society condone violence and promote the patriarchal prerogatives. These factors are engraved in not only individual socialization but they also silently enter into our secular institutions in various ways. Legal machinery of the state can be just one example. The context of globalization and the gendered dimension of the issue have raised new questions. At the global level, one finds other dimensions, such as race, immigrant status etc., added to this issue. Victims of family violence are found at different levels and hierarchies of age, gender, roles and relationships as well as in different

situational contexts. Another area that needs to be examined is the construction of myths and ideas around the family roles, gender hierarchies and their relation with the outside world and how manipulation of rights takes place through them. Certain forms of violence, such as female infanticide, violence related to fertility, torture, abuse and rape, are targeted against a particular gender. Some studies have also thrown light on how even the construction of the male is surrounded by myths that are propagated by different agencies. The issue of male sexuality, violence and human rights also needs to be addressed in the changing situation. The very discussion of informed choice is still threatening to the society, particularly when we talk in terms of gender and sexuality. The violence promoted through various agents and their connections with the larger global processes also needs to be considered. In spite of the talk about educating our children about issues such as sexuality and violence, there is hardly any proper implementation of existing policies about generating awareness. Increasingly, young girls are being reported as being victims of sex-related crimes. Unfortunately, the basic shelter of family may not be a safe haven for all the girl children. Though the problem of battered women is acknowledged now, we do not want to talk about the intra-familial violence, particularly towards children. Cases of abuse against elderly and special groups are also coming up in India. This situation needs to be reviewed and the existing ways to counter the problem need to be discussed. Discussion of research that throws light on such issues becomes useful to understand the nuances of the problem. While we need to strengthen the situation with legal reform, it has been increasingly realized that looking at the issue of family violence from human rights framework will help to understand the problem in a larger context. When we think of violence and abuse that takes place within the family, it includes varied forms, such as, domestic violence or violence by intimate partner, honour killings, dowry deaths and torture, rape and sexual assaults, child sexual abuse, sexual harassment, to name just a few. The statistics of such crimes all over the world is overwhelming, notwithstanding the fact that it may be the tip of the iceberg. In most cases, it is gender-related. If the problem is of pervasive nature, it is imperative that the inter-national community should take note of it for intervention. Though late, the United Nations has recognized the importance of rights of humans, and particularly girls, who are adversely affected in the private area of family. The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. It was declared as the common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, stating that the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. Traditionally, the human rights discourse tended to revolve around the issues related to public life. Political and civil rights and the role of state dominated the human rights discourse. The 'third world' countries focused on the social and economic rights and the role of the state. The debate and movement around human rights did not give much deserved attention to the issue of gender equality, which is one of the important issues in this context. However, the studies on the status of women all over the world brought out the slow progress in achieving gender equality.

Gender inequality in India leads to various forms of violence against women, including brutal acts. However, the brutality that occurs daily within the walls of women's own homes, in the form of domestic violence, persists and perplexes the international community. In order to address family violence in the long term, intervention strategies must support women's

immediate needs for safety and self-sufficiency as well as address the structural barriers that prevent women from accessing justice. Women in India, as throughout South Africa and other developing countries, face cultural and structural barriers to the formal, state justice system and the informal or traditional justice systems. Therefore, alternative inform justice responses that mediate conflict in a way that is culturally relevant while strengthening women's rights fill a critical gap in women's resources. By challenging community norms, alternative informal justice strategies have an important preventative and awareness – building aspect that contributes to the ultimate goal of ensuring that all women, worldwide, have access to justice that supports there to be free from violence.

Reviewing the relationship between gender constructions, habitus and the body hexes of men and women exposes the social stratifications of patriarchies. We think it is appropriate here to re-insert the concept of patriarchy into the current debates. This means conceptualizing it through historically situated relational and symbolic aspects, referring to hegemonic forms of masculinity, considered not according to universalist and extra-historical abstractions, but as they are presented in social dynamics. Patriarchy is a useful descriptor of the field of masculine domination, stylized round the continuities and discontinuities of monologic men women dualism.

The experience of violence undermines the empowerment women and certainly is a barrier to the socio-economic and demographic development of the country. In view of the prevalence of the problem, it is suggested to have programmes that take into account involvement of the community and especially the males for effective as well as fruitful amelioration of the issues. It can again be suggested that education of the girls should be encouraged, which will undoubtedly work as deterrent to domestic violence. Again, though the present findings are silent about the legal side of the issue, stringent laws against the perpetrators of the violence, laws giving more rights to the women will always be beneficial to curb the issue. As it is found to be deep rooted in the socio cultural practices and both the perpetrators as well as victims takes it granted, there is need of major transformation in the socio cultural milieu. In order to address the problem, social norms and values towards gender roles should be transformed to facilitate the implementation of appropriate and meaningful responses to symbolic violence and ultimately to prevent it from happening altogether.

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Governmentality and creation of the sexual subaltern: Exploring "queer" narratives from Kolkata

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to engage in the discourse on sexual identity, marginalization, and the nature of relationship between the dissenting subject and the post-colonial state, as understood through the perspective of the "sexual subaltern". It is an argument developed upon the philosophical premise of Foucault's work, which has always been in tacit disenchantment of the Marxian preoccupation with productivity. The concept of governmentality and of the subjective consciousness, in combination provides the opportunity to study the constituency of contemporary neoliberal practices, such as the sexual practices of the non-normative categories as we understand them; thereby creating categories within the subaltern understanding as well. Operating with the metonymic understanding of the gender and sexuality based marginality as the sexual subaltern, this paper aims to renegotiate the Foucauldian perspective of the relationship between the state and the subject, through studying the historical deviance of individuality manifest in the sexual subaltern, through narratives collected from the field.

Introduction

The relationship between the subject and the state is historically embedded in the politics of identity: whereby the state provides diktats of prescribed and accepted norms of expression and systems of identity, and the subject conforms. However, that may not always follow through, especially in the case of alternative identities, like that of gender and sexual minorities. This paper attempts to negotiate the discourse on the relationship that exists between the Indian state and the queer subject. It begins with the concept of Foucault's governmentality, as it develops on Foucault's own discussion on History of Sexuality, and delves further into the conceptualization of the "self" and how it threatens the political preference of homogenous citizenship. The primacy of the self overtakes the importance of the social whole, as queer identity breaks away from the tendency of a (Nietzsche-ian) "herd mentality" and instead propagates self-realization. In India, the expression of a forbidden/unaccepted gender-sexuality identity is deeply associated with

perversion, criminality and is relegated to the social fringes, away from mainstream culture, and usually ignored or overlooked as aberrations that do not affect the *majority*. Thus, this particular form of minority segregation actively operates to de-sanctify the queer agency, and thereby keep the "sexual subaltern" from assimilating with the larger social whole. The main focus of this paper is to highlight the everyday manifestation of this segregation and its roots in governmentality.

Governmentality and Gender-Sexuality

Foucault used the term *governmentality* to capitulate the historicity of the set of guidelines societies follow so as to be recognized as citizens (Lect. April 5, 1978/1982b, p. 43); not the enforcement of power but the recognition of the existence of rules of citizenship. Foucault defines the agency of citizenship to be rooted in the conceptualization of governmentality. This semantic link between the powers of governance and the modes of thought indicates that to understand the systems of power it is necessary to engage with the political rationality that defines it. "Foucault uses the notion of government in a comprehensive sense geared strongly to the older meaning of the term and adumbrating the close link between forms of power and processes of subjectification. While the word government today possesses solely a political meaning, Foucault is able to show that up until well into the 18th century the problem of government was placed in a more general context. Government was a term discussed not only in political tracts, but also in philosophical, religious, medical and pedagogic texts. In addition to the management by the state or the administration, "government" also signified problems of self-control, guidance for the family and for children, management of the household, directing the soul, etc. For this reason, Foucault defines government as conduct, or, more precisely, as "the conduct of conduct" and thus as a term which ranges from "governing the self" to "governing others". All in all, in his reading of governmentality Foucault endeavors to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other's emergence" (Lemke, 2001).

According to Foucault, the management of subjectification leads to the formation of the 'other', as an alternative category, which is then controlled through the repressive measures thereby locating it outside of a presumed mainstream; for example, the intended concept of the *sexual subaltern*. The repressed individuality then demands expression through outward expulsion. He uses this analogy to understand non-normative sexuality in context with its manifest and practiced behaviors. When Foucault talks about 'repression', it is both embedded in its conceptual source as well as removed in its scope in Freud's (1949, 2011) understanding of it (Foucault, 1979, 1982). For Foucault, the individual, however, does not identify an external repressive system or structure, and instead constructs a self that is predisposed to normative subjugation, that eventually becomes the subject, or citizen.

On the subject, Judith Butler writes, "The self-justification of a repressive or subordinating law almost always grounds itself in a story about what it was like before the advent of the law, and how it came about that the law emerged in its present and necessary form" (1990, p. 48). Although she is locating the trajectory of the patriarchal system, that engaged a strategic tactic within a narrative which by following a unilinear "authoritative account of

an irrecoverable past" makes the law itself a "historical inevitability" (ibidem), it is a contextual paradigmatic correlation, in the normative subjugation that one finds oneself inevitably structured into, through processes of socialization and systems of agency. This is also where the subject emerges as the new proponent of identity based on the categories created out of commonalities, differences and deviance. The *sexual subaltern* is therefore the subject who has been removed from the systems of social mobility on the basis of sexual and gender exclusion. To understand the structure of this exclusion, it is necessary to engage with the existing heteronormative ideals. What does the heteronormative comprise? At first, it would seem that heteronormativity predisposes an ideal type, but on further engagement it would emerge as more of an abstracted category with mandated guidelines, created by isolating a statistical majority and reaffirming it as the prototypical institution.

Heteronormativity and the Queer Subject

Eldis, a popular academic gender and sexuality forum on the Internet defines heteronormativity as: "Heteronormativity is considered a very abstract concept by some but it has serious implications for international development. The term heteronormativity grew out of Queer Theory and is the assumption that heterosexuality is the norm and any other form of sexual desire, expression or relationship, is 'abnormal' or 'wrong'. It is underpinned by the assumption that there are only two sexes, men and women, which exist in a binary. Heteronormativity structures institutions like marriage, and this produces a set of ideas and ideals about how sexuality should be organized. Analysing heteronormativity enables us to see how particular understandings of sexuality and gender get to be embedded in and woven through the very fabric of our institutions and everyday lives in ways that are powerful, discriminatory and exclusionary".

Therefore, in a conceptual construct, it becomes important to categorize the non-normative to create a logical sense of their deviations from the rigidly conjectural gender imperative agency. "Foucault's genealogical critique has provided a way to criticize those Lacanian and neo-Lacanian theories that cast culturally marginal forms of sexuality as culturally unintelligible", writes Judith Butler (1990, p. 127). These unintelligible cultural marginalities emerge as important categories in the recognition of the subject in a nation state. Therefore the categories created outside of the heteronomative understanding have both gender and sexuality paradigms. But the subjectification of the subaltern category only becomes clearer as we engage further with prejudices and notions of the 'normative'; which itself is questioned repeatedly in *History of Sexuality* by Foucault.

The sexual subaltern is identified by its associated category based on deviance of gender and sexuality, therefore comprising of the transgender and intersex identities, as well as the homosexual and bisexual identities, and in Foucault's terms the 'perversions': "Homosexuality appeared as one of the forms of sexuality when it was transposed from the practice of sodomy onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphrodism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species. So too were all those minor perverts whom nineteenth century psychiatrists entomologized by giving them strange baptismal names: there were Krafft-Ebing's zoophiles and zooerasts, Rohleder's auto-monosexualists; and later, mixoscophiles, gynecomasts, presbyophiles,

sexoesthetic inverts, and dyspareunist women. These fine names for heresies referred to a nature that was overlooked by law, but not so neglectful of itself that it did not go producing more species, even where there was no order to fit them into" (1979, p. 45).

Heteronormativity, in other words, fails to perceive beyond its structure of sexual exchange between heterosexual monogamous subjects who perform the 'act of sex' for the purpose of procreation; and even if the clause of desire or pleasure factor in this evaluation, it exists in its most essentialist patriarchal cultural manifest nature that is possible within its scope. The space for sexuality to exist as an independent concept was replaced with notions of associations and agencies pertaining to gender.

The construct of gender is the regulatory tool for governmentalizing sexuality: the heteronormative standards are set upon structures that symbolize a more biological aspect of existence than philosophical. The heteronormative is the state recognized category of ideal type, in its Weberian understanding. There is obviously a sense of majority concomitant to its organization, and therefore the creation of the "other" is based on deviance principles. And often it is seen that the degree of deviation determines the level of disassociation experienced by the subject with their standardized roles.

The gender narrative is embedded in the systems of identity association; correspondingly the categories out of the deviance from the heteronormative model is also based upon constructs of gender, by which sexuality associates itself in context. Therefore the categories associate with distinct paradigms of identity and preferential locations. The *cisgender* – those who identify with their genders associated by birth; the *transgender* or *transsexual* – those who experience inverse gender associations; and the *intersex* or *agender*– those who are biologically or psychologically neither male nor female. Now, to associate the sexualities one would have to locate the preference on a practice-based scale, therefore creating categories on the degree of rigidity or fluidity of the concept as performed.

The rigidity or fluidity of a particular sexuality is based upon its preference of association. For a heterosexual, the preference is strictly limited to the opposite gender in sexual contexts. For the homosexual, the scenario is the same; but rigidity is expressed through the preference of same gender. As is the case with all asexuals, irrelevant of their gender identities; and as unlike celibates, who exercise voluntarily enforced asexuality, individuals who consider themselves asexual experience no desire for sexual intimacy or exchange, so there is a certain degree of rigidity to this category. The transgender identity, both heterosexual and homosexual, experience some amount of fluidity in their sexuality due to the ambiguous nature of their gender affiliation; while some transgenders feel the urge to reconstitute their assigned-gender to become their true-gender, others experience a more transcendental gender identity. The bisexuals comprise of the fluid understanding, due to the very nature of being sexually oblivious to gender by being equally predisposed to both. And the intersex, or agender, is a voluntary genderqueer category created on the practical premise of fluidity being the nature of its own identity.

However, out of this entire range of sexual categories, only cisgender heterosexuality qualifies as the heteronormative model, leaving all the other categories to be virtually catalogued under the subaltern understanding, in a rather reductive metanarrative of 'perversion'. Also, not withstanding the further variations into the specific and individualistic deviations, such as bestiality and paedophilia, which have been historically condemned and proscribed in modernity.

However, these still remain important markers to distinguish popular mainstream from the marginal. In his pursuit of understanding the relationship between these two categories, Foucault studied madness as a perversion of the subjective experience, and he presents the hypothesis: the universality of our knowledge has been acquired at the cost of exclusions, bans, denials and rejections – at the price of a kind of cruelty with regards to reality. This exclusion is manifest at its experiential level, whereby those who fall under this category of subalternism, face various forms of suppression and exploitation based primarily on parochial value-systems and cultural modes of conduct.

The sexual marginalization occurs on a mathematical system of exclusion based on superficial attributes as well as through personal knowledge. This technique associates stereotypes, myths and prejudices, creating false knowledge to recourse to a partisan view of gender and sexuality, and therefore the categories or permitted relationships of exchange stand separated from those that are prohibited. This prohibited category then stands as the *sexual subaltern*, as opposed to the mandated hetero-patriarchal alternative. Butler writes on Wittig's position on this analysis: "…the category of sex is neither invariant nor natural, but is a specifically political use of category of nature that serves the purposes of reproductive sexuality, […] there is no reason to divide up human bodies into male and female sexes except that such a division suits the economic needs of heterosexuality and lends a naturalistic gloss to the institution of heterosexuality" (1990, p. 153).

However, the premise that puts this subaltern category in the 'abnormal' or 'wrong' is based upon presupposed notions of the heteronormative ideal. In a pedagogical implication, this would suggest that the process of subjectification itself inculcates a set of guidelines that define sexual conduct, with the notion of correct and incorrect sexuality. Nivedita Menon views the possibility that the rules of sexual conduct are arbitrarily composed: "…if 'normal' behavior were so natural, it would not require such a vast network of controls to keep it in place. Take some random example, such as – gendered dress codes: imagine a bearded man in a skirt in a public place; why would this shake the very foundations of 'normal' society? Unless 'he' is recognizably a *hijra*, and that puts him on the margins of normal society in a different way" (2005, p. 37). Perhaps this 'natural' behavior expected of the subjects by its 'normal' society overlooks the scope of an individual identity to stand in isolation from a normative majority. The reason why a man and woman cannot have interchangeable associations is located upon the understanding of the structure of governance, and by extension – the state.

According to Spivak, this idea of subject formation, within the agency of governmentality, comes from the conditions of possibility for metonymizing oneself, as a part of a whole, so that one may create the idea of state to relate to the feeling of belonging, which is what citizenship entails, to an extent. She argues, "The citizen being obligated to the state is a hopelessly idealistic stand […] especially in this current era of globalization, where the state is being increasingly reconfigured, not as the agent of redistribution, but as the agent of repression" (Spivak, 2000, p. 67). For Spivak, *subalternism* has always been in binary opposition to the nation state as it is now to the international civil society. Contextually therefore, the governed subject that desires to be free of the obligation to be a subject thus becomes the subaltern category.

Creation of the Sexual Subaltern as a Category

To establish the sexual subaltern as a category, it is necessary to locate it spatially, both in its historical as well as contextual parameters. Foucault was predisposed to a *nominalistic* approach – "that is, he was interested in observing how subjects and objects come into being in the context of specific discursive formations" (Murdoch, 2006, p. 30). Despite having engaged with the individual subjectivity, Foucault chose to decentralize the human subject from his own history, thereby locating the spaces of this dispersion. This affective dispersive space would "account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects, etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history" (Foucault, 1980, p. 22).

Delegating this Foucauldian 'actuality' of the state of being, as understood in its spatial context, is where social histories become pertinent. I studied individuals who have conscious identities of deviant sexualities, and provided narratives of experiential sexualities that are marginalized by the larger society. To begin with, I had to locate the non-normative based on its deviance from the heteronormative ideal. Once the gender and sexuality attributes percolate into the conceptualization of this category, the discursive regimes contribute to its formation. I derived my initial argument from Queer Theory, following the postmodern engagement with purpose over essence. But as the field-work progressed, a political category arose, which emerged due to the contextual interaction of individual and knowledge. For Foucault, these are to be considered as 'breakpoints' in the development of discourses; for him these shifts in discourses produce "new kinds of knowledge, along with new objects to know and new modalities of power" (1980, p. 22). But to create new knowledge, it was my prerogative to locate this category not only historically, but also contextually in a social setting along with all its manifest repercussions. "While we consider continuities in the means by which both individualized subjects and whole populations are 'known', we also encounter some discontinuities, most notably in the attention Foucault gives to the particularities of discrete spatial zones as his theoretical gaze shifts from the institutional to the societal realm" (Murdoch, 2006, p. 31). This paradigm shift from the institutional to the societal, in Foucault's body of work, creates the universe to allocate actuality to a theoretical position.

When Foucault studied 'madness', his work had an archeological approach: where he studies the institution that metonymizes a category based on its location in subjective experience. Comparatively, his study of sexuality is a genealogical engagement, where he is more involved with the practical consequences of the discursive frameworks emerging from his previous study of power and control. But the commonality of both approaches lies in his recognition of the power and power-relations within the structure itself, based on the meanings and symbols of practice. It is this post-structuralist position that enables the creation of a category, which may be studied through its manifest attributes. Therefore, the relationship between the subject and the state, and the management of the power relation, which governs the whole subjective experience, can be studied based on the allocation of this materiality in the field.

The sexual subaltern is thus a political category, with its own set of representative indicators, as well as an existing historical pattern, which makes it possible to map its spatial trajectory. Although following the metatheoretical tradition of European thought and creating a genealogy of non-normative sexuality is not my aim here, but trying to establish a correlation of the post-structuralist subjective experience with the governmentality of a parochial nation-state, is. Doing social research in this country is a herculean task, taking into account all the cultural tropes one has to operate within. When I entered the field, I began to differentiate the geographical space occupied by this category into an emerging binary structure – permitted space and prohibited space – in the fairly modernized urban space of a city. The imagination of this category in its spatial context has a similar location to that of a Marxian category, that is, this category is marginal in its social capacities. In Spivak's writing, she repeatedly associates her understanding of the marginalized as a "group" of population that has been denied access to social incentives. Thus, this congregative nature of the marginal operates with the predisposition toward forming a higher category, but a category nonetheless. The desire to both homogenize with the larger social fabric, while retaining the metonymic character of the category, creates a state of confusion for whoever attempting to locate the category in a specific context. However, it is perhaps unwise to try to pin this category at one location yet, because there are manifold structural implications that require spatial contextualisation.

To begin with, this category is value-loaded with cultural pedagogy: that is, in its location 'gender' becomes an indisputable attribute, as sexuality is hardly understood outside the context of gender. In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler argues, "Are there humans who are not, as it were, always gendered? The mark of gender appears to "qualify" bodies as human bodies; […] those bodily figures who do not fit into either gender fall outside the human, indeed, constitute the domain of the dehumanized and the abject against which the human itself is constituted. If gender is always there, delimiting in advance what qualifies as the human, how can we speak of a human who becomes its gender, as if gender were a postscript or cultural afterthought?" (1990, p. 151). Now, this comment was in reference to Beauvoir's proposition that gender is not something one is born into, but "becomes", signifying the materialism of identity creation, or in other words – becoming a citizen, as the individual only exists in context to their location in the subjective experience.

Lets take an example: this following narrative was collected based on my interview with a *pansexual* – an individual who is not bound by gender or sexuality preferences, and experiences sexuality based primarily on a pleasure principle, thereby eliminating the prejudice of subjective conformation.

Tell me how you experience your gendered sexuality.

I have always been meted out preferential treatment because of my gender. I have adored that at times, and also detested it at other times. I also enjoy chivalry to a certain degree. And I like that being a woman has its advantages. For example, beauty is a feminine domain, but power is masculine. Compassion is a woman's prerogative, and ambition a man's. I don't understand why these attributes cannot

overlap in an individual, it is as if you are one kind you cannot be the other. I reject the premise of this understanding. I want to be both, together and apart.

I was born a woman, but I do not identify myself as only a woman. I have experienced both heterosexual and homosexual intimacy, but I do not consider myself a bisexual, or any other variety thereof. But what bothers me is that I must be a woman at all times because my body has a 'sex' and it is of a woman. But to be frank, I don't always feel only like a woman. Sometimes I feel I am a man. Some days I love to drape a saree over my feminine body, and on other days I daydream about having male genitals and a beard I could run my fingers through. There are times when I feel that my "penis-envy" controls much of the masculine energy I feel within myself, and although I cannot change my assigned gender, I feel I can transcend the material body and experience the spiritual body as and when I adhere to one gender in specific.

There was a man I knew, when I was younger. I met him at a conference, and I found myself immediately attracted to his conventional good looks and brooding nature. And I approached him myself, as I often do when I find myself hopelessly attracted to people, and we wound up talking quite a lot. The attraction was mutual and we ended up being intimate soon after. It was during this intimate moment when I realized that this seemingly simple sexual exchange had much deeper moorings in identity perceptions and experience. He was what you would call a 'sissy' in bed. He just lay there and wanted me to do all the work. But his demeanor was extremely feminine. I felt like a man, demanding my sexual gratification out of an inexperienced and innocent woman. I was surprised because in my experience, when I'm with a man I'm the one who's expected to be sexually reticent, that is how most heterosexual exchanges occur in a rigid heteropatriarchal setting. But as I carried on our liaison, in a strictly sexual sense, I realized how different he was from other men. He was heterosexual and definitely not what we know as an effeminate man, but sexually he fell perfectly in tune with his acquired feminine sexuality. I won't be as arrogant to suggest that he understood or even consciously experienced any form of feminine sexuality, but the expressions of his basic sexual nature belied his heteronormative location. I don't know how to explain it, but he was the woman in bed and he treated me like his man every time we had sex. And I must confess, I enjoyed this role reversal thoroughly. It provided me with the opportunity to project my own masculine sexuality through with a man who projected his own femininity.

In this particular narrative, I found traces of transcendental sexuality as experienced by fluid identities: for example, if the man in this context assumed a feminine self when he was with a woman, does that make that sexual exchange homosexual? Or, if during this exchange the woman assumed her own masculinity, would that further complicate into a transsexual heterosexual dynamic? Or is it just some degree of permitted deviance within the heteronormative structure? Perhaps it is just contextual transsexualism, where genders assume operative sexual roles so as to be able to express their true sexualities. The nature of sexual exchange does not determine the nature of their gender identities, but

it does allocate a material space where the normative is no longer the ideal. This space is where the subaltern sexuality progressively develops as a category.

That sexuality as a concept is embedded in gender is a formative premise of its genealogical construct; but is the manifest nature of sexuality incumbent on its affiliation to the gender binary? On that very note, Butler argues: "…if sex and gender are radically distinct, then it does not follow that to be a given sex is to become a given gender; in other words, "woman" need not be the cultural construction of the female body, and "man" need not interpret male bodies. This radical formulation of the sex/gender distinction suggests that sexed bodies can be the occasion for a number of different genders, and further, that gender itself need not be restricted to the usual two. If sex does not limit gender, then perhaps there are genders, ways of culturally interpreting the sexed body, that are in no way restricted by the apparent duality of sex" (1990, p. 152).

Let us take into consideration another non-normative sexuality narrative, to focus on the dualities of gendered sexuality, based on the subjective experience of an *asexual* individual. In this particular case, the subject experiences asexuality, but a strong identity affiliation to gender. He is undergoing the final stages of his female-to-male gender reconstitution process, and technically he would be categorized under a transgender person who identifies with the male gender. As an asexual subject, he provides a unique insight into the lack of desire as a sexual preference.

How does your transgender experience coincide with your sexual preference?

My fight has always been two-fold: one, having been assigned the wrong gender at birth, and second, having been never attracted to another human being sexually. I spent most of my childhood being confused about who I was and who I wanted to be. My soul did not agree with the roles that were being unloaded on me as a girl as I grew up. It was only after I began the process of GRS that it slowly started happening, I wasn't feeling constantly angry at my existence and myself anymore.

But also, I have never desired sexual intimacy or arousal from a romantic companion, that is not to say that I have not felt romantically attracted to anyone, just never in a sexual way. But growing up as a girl it was very difficult to remain in an asexual environment when everyone around me seemed to be very focused on their own sexual attributes, as well as this strange feeling that sexuality is such a big part of our lives and I'm not included in it.

One thing I can tell you as having resided in both bodies, as a woman (at least on the outside) I have had to both encounter and negotiate my physical space a lot more than when as a man. In its feminine form, my body has endured the usual routine of push and shove, in public transport as well as in my life.

Our family values are parochial and regressive: because I was born a girl, by the time I was seventeen, my father would already be responding to his peers enquiring about his marriageable daughter at home. Now, consider this – I was an asexual man trapped inside the body of a woman, who was about to be considered for

> a marriage with another man! I was terrified how my life was so quickly turning into my worst nightmare. It was then that I came out to my parents, both as transgender and as an asexual.

The choice of an individual to practice a preferred sexuality is not a private decision, in the subjective experience of the individual who is simply a structural component in a social reality. The subjective consciousness is embedded in systems of meanings and symbols which control the emotional quotient of the human element, thereby negotiating the degree of expression within the permitted and prohibited classifications of sexuality.

This particular individual, with no sexual experience or even the desire to pursue a physically intimate gratification process, he stands as a rigid reminder of how metanarratives tend to overemphasize on the majoritarian attributes while entirely rejecting any or all exceptions. However, this case cannot be considered an exception as existing discourses have very limited engagement with 'asexuality'.

Studying sexualities, one may begin to ponder at the attributive aspects of sexuality as a concept: first, there's the perception of the *act of sex*, whether implied in its cultural totality or its biological implications, the social constructs – both material and immaterial – form systems of agencies that control modes of conduct in everyday life otherwise unrelated to subjective sexuality. Second, maybe considered the *performance of sexuality*: in which the pedagogy of gender creates roles assigned to individuals to perform in their everyday life, of which the practice of one's own sexuality accredits specified goal-oriented exchange between individuals based on the regulations of the state. And lastly, *gendered sexuality*, which is more a methodical approach to study the category of a sexual-gender, as opposed to just gender or sexuality as an isolated concept. Therefore, following this logic, the exposition of conceptual sexuality is deeply embedded in the problematic of the dynamics of political society, and the question of sexuality is by all means a political one: where the relationship between the state and the subject must be interrogated.

State, Power and the Sexual Subject

The relationship between the state and subject is that of power: of one over the other, in terms of position in an imbalanced power structure. For Marx, this was the 'relations of production'; for Weber it was *rationality*, and for Foucault (1991a, 1991b) it was *governmentality*: but in a teleological impasse, we are all attempting to establish or analyze existing structures of power and power relations in society, to further study it. Thus, this is an attempt to locate the structures that promulgate power relations in context to sexuality or sexual deviations, and so far we have meandered through the theoretical premise, which operate within the paradigms of concept formation, however, it becomes of primary importance that the actualities of these assumptions be tested.

During fieldwork, I recorded a few observations about the general conceptions of personhood as I encountered them: a very curious element about cross-dressing transgender men was their mandatorily loud makeup, at all times while in character. In the following narrative, my aim was to discover the causality of the experience of feminine selfhood as the desired goal. It seems necessary that an introduction is made of the above observation:

in the duration of my fieldwork, I managed to create avenues of dialogue with various people, some of whom were quite openly flamboyant about their gender and sexual deviance from the normative, as well as those who hide their true natures to accommodate the normative.

One such flamboyant personality agreed to be interviewed for this work. During our interview sessions, I witnessed his meticulous, and almost ritualistic, makeup routine, as he had obliged me to observe his beautification regime. As an aspiring makeup artist, he was adept and skillful: he did his face, eyes, cheek, lips and finally the hair, which he then rolled into an elegant bun. When he went out as a woman, he looked very much the part: dressed mostly in *salwar-kameez* or saree, he would resemble a feminine form in all its romantic affiliations. But his effort always looks forced, where his makeup would melt around his cheek where one could just see the roughness of a chin shaved daily, or the bright nail varnish would seem out of place on his seemingly masculine hands. To him, of course, these are superficialities that one has to overcome so as to transcend the binaries of limitation. So I asked him about his beauty routine, and its implied importance.

Why is it so important to look like a woman on the outside?

You know, I could ask you the same question, but for you the answer would be quite different. For you, looking like a woman on the outside does not need an effort, it comes *naturally* to you. But for someone as unfortunate as I am, who I am and who I want to be are different people. I want to look like a woman on the outside because I am a woman on the inside, but unlike cisgender women I have no control over the vessel my soul has been put in, and so I desire greatly to be a woman on all planes, and not just in an unknown and unseen depth of my own being.

Is that why you use loud makeup, to hide the fake exterior?

Please understand my dilemma: I am putting a mask on a mask to become real. It is not my aim to look trashy or over-the-top, but you see, the desire to emulate my inner reality is so strong that I want to cover up the tragic irony with whatever material provided by the economy I live in, to do so. If I had more money, I would change my biological gender too, but such is not the will of the gods for some of us. I am a woman, I always was, but this masculine form I have been given denies me all my rights to be happy or at peace. I'm a failure both as a man and a woman, but at least as a woman I can accept my fate like all women submit to theirs at some point in life. So there I feel closer to my true gender, unity in suffering.

Do you feel closer to your true gender because of it, or perhaps, the other way around?

Let me be very honest. When I get jeers and catcalls from the general public, on the streets, they are mostly men, but then there are also women who abhor my choice to exhibit my *trans* nature. I see the look of disgust, curiosity, fear and loathsomeness, equally in both genders, when they see me being myself – a transgender. I had

> made peace with the fact that there is a discrepancy in my thoughts and my being, and since there is no option of *becoming* anything else but how I am, I embraced my nature. I'm an amalgamation of both genders: one in body and the other in soul. Thus, you see, I'm not a woman, neither am I a man. So I make everyone uncomfortable, with or without a little makeup on my face. Being who I am, does not make me closer to anyone, in fact quite the opposite. Blessed as I am with a family that did not turn me out, as I became more and more of myself, I have not had the pleasure of finding a soul-mate who actually empathizes on a similar level. And I fear I will never find love, in this life.

The idea of 'selfhood' that can be drawn from this excerpt is based entirely on one particular factor of an individual's identity: gender. The paradigms of experience and expression within the complexity of gender-identity, goes through a tunnel of reparative deductions: whereby the undesired sections of consciousness are regulated through morals and ethics, institutionalized in an effort to fetishize a binary system of repression. What the respondent is narrating: is the experience of *exclusion* in a highly culturally embedded manifest form. The need in him to emulate a gender he so deeply desires to experience drives him to excesses he then rationalizes through deep-seated insecurities. And there are many like him, walking the streets of Kolkata: draped in feminine shapes, glistening lip and nail varnishes, knocking on car-windows – begging; but all wearing the same cynical expression that comes from a lifetime of stigma and disassociation. Their overtness is a reminder to society, of the nature of exclusion they face as a separated category. The agency behind the act of putting a "mask on a mask to become real" is in essence a reflection of the subjective consciousness of its different selves.

In the introduction to Seeing Like a Feminist, Nivedita Menon begins with: "Have you heard of 'nude make-up'? This is what it is: 'Nude make-up looks are all about your skin looking fresh and dewy, without looking like you're even wearing any make-up […] The whole point of nude make-up, clearly, is to spend hours painting your face in order to make it look like you had not touched it at all. The maintaining of social order is rather like that. It requires the faithful performance of prescribed rituals over and over again throughout one's lifetime. Complex networks of cultural reproduction are dedicated to this sole purpose. But the ultimate goal of all this unceasing activity is to produce the effect of untouched naturalness" (2011, p. VII). I am reminded of this specific approach because it provides simple tools for quantifying what is seemingly an immeasurable social reality: through observation and analysis of practices and behaviours. According to this perspective, the *naturalness* of an *unnatural* act therefore consists of multiple affiliations to value-systems and roles; thereby presenting the duplicity of the 'self', based on its nature of relationship with the focus of power.

The relationship between the state and the subject is structurally different from the relationship between the state and its citizens. The government is a body of power: whose authority is exercised through the regulation and management of the citizens (Rose, 1992, 1996). Drawing on the Hegelian notion of the self, individuality is antithetical to community, and in turn, society. The experience of the self therefore is reduced to a teleological fallacy; wherein the responsibilities of citizenship become conflicted to those of the self. The subject, however, is a separate entity: subjective consciousness threatens the

foundations of the homogenous nature of the social structure. Therefore the 'sexual subject' is further derived in a more exclusive category formation. In the social context, the exclusionary action takes place on a spatial, conceptual and experiential level, where the everyday-life provides narratives of this lacuna of experience.

Kolkata, the city where the field of this exercise is based, is archaeologically loaded with historical narratives of community formation. Kolkata of today is a reflection of the gradual process of urbanity – a continuous method of dynamic urban transformation – to accommodate, as Bengal's history suggests, independent India's surging citizens. The concept of citizenship acquires agency from the sentiment of belonging – the relationship here postulates the power structure, introducing thus the nature of state as a regulatory body operating through civil society. Manas Ray wrote on the experience of being a refugee in the urban space of Kolkata, in post-partition India, "People came from different districts of what was East Bengal through different networks. […] But the networks were important determinants, the result being that right from the beginning there was a parity of background among the inhabitants. […] In retrospect, it seems how little I knew of that world, how subtle and comprehensive was the process of normalization of divides. If Calcutta invested us with its terrors, we did the same to the people we thought were peripheral, terrors we were so familiar with. […] The internal boundaries settled, we felt comfortable with our habitat." (Ray, 2001, p. 123). This imagination of a community is perhaps partial to the narrative of disassociation, as a refugee-account, but it also initiates a discourse on the realm of individualistic experience and of subjective consciousness as it evolves with habituation. Arguably, Ray was presenting an ethnomethodological objectivity, which would then facilitate a subjective reading of a spatial reality that is otherwise inaccessible, because it only exists in narrative histories. But the experience of community, on the level of its everydayness, would locate the 'exclusion' in its essence, and not just in its historical context. The subaltern identity therefore is pushed forward in its context, through habituation. The location of the sexual subaltern operates within a framework of multiplicity of individual expression: the accepted self and the prohibited self. The relationship of the subject with the state thus could exist upon the self that is *desired into expression*.

Here, I would put forward the argument that: the social self is *built* and categorically composed to, either exist in an ideal structure of what citizenship entails, or deviate from the mainstream and become a separated category of non-normative. Partha Chatterjee commented on this idea of a 'self' made in the nature of a system of ideals: "Civil society, for instance, will appear as the closed association of modern elite groups, sequestered from the wider popular life of the communities, walled up within enclaves of civic freedom and rational law. Citizenship will take on two different shapes – the formal and the real" (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 4). Following Chatterjee's analysis, we can reflect on the narrative where a crossdresser rationalizes his transgender identity through deliberating on the multiplicity of subjective 'selves' he has to operate with so as to negotiate a space for himself within the structures of civil society; here, the 'formal citizen' is the political subject, but the 'real citizen' remains a metaphor for the individualism which the subject desires to attain in its actuality.

At the end of deliberations, the exposition of the central theme of this exercise avoids disambiguation, by primarily engaging with an ontological discourse; which when deconstructed to its most elementary social realities, presents a field structured around roles

and institutions of power. As researchers, we can only observe these 'practices of everyday life' to ascertain agency and functionality. And hence the metaphysical paradigms operate *sui generis*, within the dynamics of the relationship between the individual and the state. Power, of course, determines the nature of this relationship, and therefore the structures that are built around it, and the roles emerge thereafter. This pattern of agency formation validates individual and social locations, a sense of belonging – citizenship, in other words. To summarize, this paper is an attempt to engage with the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and thereby analyze the politics of power over the sexual subject, thereby locating 'sexual subaltern' as a renegotiated category. What derives from the narratives, used in this paper, with a sense of historical consensus is that – the state mechanism operates in the capacity of a repressive and regulatory body in context to the sexual subject. The 'management' that materializes out of this power relation does not in reality regulate 'sexuality' per se, but the 'sexual desire' of the individual that is normalized in accordance with the set model of heteropatriarchy.

The state is thus gradually becoming more involved in the sexuality of its citizens. In the three decades of the Left Front government in Bengal, it may be argued that the discourse on sexuality was standardized to minimal consequence. But trends have been evolving, and the involvement has been on a steady rise: from AIDS and HIV awareness programs, workshops on sex-education, to promotion of contraception and safe-sex, the state has exercised governance policy making to include the 'normative sexuality', but it remains prejudiced in its approach of the marginalities and deviants. The management or governance extends only in its access to regulate sexual desire: perhaps because, as it emerges from the narratives, sexuality was, and remains, a conceptual experience that is culturally bound in its agency with its *present*.

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Calabar lesbian cryptic languages

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Abstract

Africa does not guarantee the freedom of transgender people, still, this practice is spreading across regions, traditional cults and cultures within the continent (Kwame & Aderinto, 2009, p. 125). This sexual revolution is acknowledged as clandestine. It is also viewed more than ever in Nigeria and some sub-Saharan African countries as being against African humanness, (Onuah, 2014). In this paper, we focus on the use of this sociolect among lesbians in Calabar which was conceived out of the societal strict pressure–seeking conformity to the cultural and traditional norms through symbolic violence, expelling lesbians from school. To this effect, twenty female students who attended female single public schools were interviewed. This is in order to find out the prevalence of the language's use, how messages are encoded using this language form, as well as how the language can easily be decoded. The sociolect is also interpreted to English using the codes invented and utilized by this lesbian community, with the help of the informants, and the support of semiotic and linguistic cryptanalysis.

Introduction

The use of cryptic language by humans is not new. It had been practiced in Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, Greece, The Roman Empire, Persia, Russia, and Britain (Gem, 2006 (2014), pp. 17–18, Gardner, 1972, p. 46). These sources also record that this form of language was used in World War I and II. Herodotus (484–420, BC), the Greek historian has reported that the cryptic language had been in use before the birth of Jesus Christ. It was being affirmed that "in a complicated plot", by the Greeks against the Persians, Histiaeus earned a place in the pantheon of secret messages, wishing to prompt a rebellion against Darius, but stranded in court in his role as ambassador…" (Gem, 2006, p. 17; Rousselet, 2006, p. 12).

The fear of attacks and dreadful feeling of being punished by the state and the conservatives who inherit and enforce lay down norms and customs threaten the activities of lesbians. Parents and teachers who are important agents of behaviour building in a child's

formative years aid to nip lesbian behaviours in the bud by disapproving of them, expelling any student cut in the lesbian activities. These realities compelled lesbians in the single public secondary or high schools to create their own cryptic languages (secret codes) and use them as they go about their daily socio-educational activities. They live within the same society as others but operate outside the scope of the established social norms and culture that sustain symbolic violence against them; constraining them to create a cult group with a particularity in linguistic identity.

This is in order to shield their lesbian sexual orientations. Crypto-linguistic subtleties have been used in technical security intelligence and computational linguistics for the purpose of national security espionage and diplomatic confidentiality (Mattingly, 2012). However, this research focuses on steganography linguistics which is grafted into sociolinguistics in the Calabar lesbian context.

In the course of this work, we initially embarked on looking at the reasons for the use of these codes, the effect of such usage on users and non-users alike, the form and structure of the language as well as the freedom it enables the lesbians in the University of Calabar setting to have. However, upon interviewing our subjects, the compass shifted to the cryptographic linguistic system which galvanizes this sociolect (spoken codes) and became the fascinating aspect of this work.

Definition of terms

Lesbian cryptic language: it is a lingua incognita invented to make the public unaware of the practices of the lesbian social community. It is a sociolect which has cryptographic structures and values as well as special spoken codes to aid esoteric communication.

Semiotic and linguistic cryptanalysis: it is a framework developed in this work to explain how to decode assigned secret semantics to the already general accepted meaning of the normal graphemes, numeric symbols (codes) or the combination of both.

Cipher: it is art of writing alphanumeric symbols to conceal meaning from the general public.

Ciphertext: it is the presentation of the cryptic language in its ciphered form.

Plaintext: it is normal alphabet of a standard language.

Calabar: it is the Capital city of cross River State, South-South, Nigeria. It is so believed to be the tourism and cultural Capital of Nigeria where it plays host to the popular yearly Carnival referred to as Africa's largest street party.

Literature Review

There are many cryptic languages around the globe such as Opish, Tut Latin and Pig Latin in English, Zaurance in Hausa etc. To decipher Opish, one has to add the two glyphs combination 'op' after each consonant. For example 'Cook' transforms into 'Copookop' and 'coke' is 'copokope'. (Gem, 2006 (2014), p. 21) whereas the Pig Latin is considered as the simplest and popular with children then, one needs to follow the three basic guidelines:

[Sic]

- Words that start with vowels have 'ay' added to the end, so 'actually' becomes 'actuallyay'.
- For words starting with a consonant, that letter is moved to the back, and then 'ay' is added at the end, so 'can' becomes 'ancay'.
- If two consonants are at the start, they are moved to the end, adding 'ay', so 'speak' becomes 'eakspay'.
  [Sic] (id.)

As for Calabar lesbian spoken codes, it is simple to decipher too similarly to those ones above but the added glyph is a long vowel '[ɑː]' with Arabic numerals not a combination of vowel and consonant ('op' and 'ay'). The cryptic language – Spoken codes' usage in Calabar city has taken different pattern from those ones around the world. It centres on the transformation of the English plain alphabet whereas Pig Latin, Tut Latin, Opish, Cockney Rhyming slang and Zaurance lay emphasis on the word-metamorphosis. Zaurance in Hausa adds a combination of a vowel and a consonant for example 'da', 'ki' or 'ni' to a syllabic sound to dissimulate meanings from the third parties especially parents and friends cf. Calabar lesbian cryptic spoken codes language, if one wants to get Calabar lesbian ciphertext, one needs to add the vowel 'a' to the end of the consonant phonemes whereas the five vowels for instance in English are represented by the serial numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5). To this respect Peterson has to emphasis on the writing system formation. He opined that

> "Before you sit down to create glyphs, several questions have to be answered first – specifically, who are the speakers of the language who need a writing system? Where do they live? What plants and animals are around them? What resources are available to them? These are the same kinds of questions a language creator has to answer, but in drafting a writing system, they take on a different significance" (2015, p. 172).

Therefore, the Calabar lesbians have checked all these criteria and invented their spoken and writing systems which are formed from the Standard English orthography.

Methodology and theoretical framework

The data of this research was fetched through passive participation and observation as well as unstructured interviews. We, therefore, develop a framework called semiotic and linguistic cryptanalysis to explain the cryptic language version of the lesbians in Calabar, Nigeria.

This research report is in two phases. Phase one deals with the presentation and analysis of data on lesbian community and her cryptic language. The second part is where the semiotic and linguistic cryptanalysis is emphasised. This later part will help us understand the conceptual semantics (Jackendoff, 1990, p. 38) of these lesbian codes.

Significance of the study

This research is of help especially to parents, teachers, lecturers, matrons, guardians and care givers who may wish to protect their wards from strange sexual orientations such as same sex relationships, as far as the Nigerian community is concerned.

Table I

S/n	Single School attended	Age	Public school type	Moral Perception	Freedom for LB	Sociolect	Violence in school
1	Annunciation Girls' Juniorate, Ogoja, Cross River State	16–18	Roman Catholic School	Demonic and spiritual act	No	No idea	No idea
2	Assumption Girls' Juniorate, Ndo-Ebom Akwa Ibom State	20–19	Roman Catholic School	Taboo, and demonic	No	Yes	Seniors forcing juniors
3	Holy Child Secondary school, Mount Camel Ogoja	11–18	Roman Catholic School	Demonic initiation & luck destroyer	No,	No idea	Seniors Enticing juniors
4	Federal Government Girls' College, Calabar	10–16	FGGC	Abomination	No	No idea	No idea
5	Immaculate Conception Secondary School. Itak-Ikono, Uyo.	10–18	Roman Catholic School	Disgusting	No	Yes	Seniors forcing juniors
6	Infant Jesus Model Secondary School, Oron-Ake.	10–18	Roman Catholic School	Disgust, Taboo	No	Yes	Seniors forcing juniors
7	Edgerely Memorial Girls Secondary School, Calabar.	9–22	Protestant School	Taboo	No	Yes	Seniors cajoling juniors into it.
8	Federal Girls Government College, Calabar.	15–20	FGGC	Unnatural	Yes	Yes	School mother and daughter
9	Federal Girls Government College, Kano	8–20	FGGC	Taboo	No	Yes	Fanaticism of parents and teacher
10	Holy Child Secondary School, Hills Marian, Calabar.	17–18	Roman Catholic School	Taboo, demonic	No	Yes	Seniors forcing juniors
11	Holy Child Secondary School, Marian Hills, Calabar.	9–15	Roman Catholic School	Taboo, pervasion	No	Yes	Seniors punishing the juniors

Table I

S/n	Single School attended	Age	Public school type	Moral Perception	Freedom for LB	Sociolect	Violence in school
12	Federal Girls Government College, Calabar.	18–20	FGGC	Evil	No	Yes	Seniors enticing the juniors
13	Holy Child Mount Camel, Ogoja.	16–40	Roman Catholic School	Taboo	No	Yes	Senior ladies Seducing juniors
14	Holy Child Secondary School, Marian Hills, Calabar	9–15	Roman Catholic School	Perversion	No	Yes	Senior punishing junior
15	Federal Girls Government College, Calabar.	14–18	FGGC	Taboo	No	Yes	Enticing
16	Annunciation Girls' Juniorate	13–19	Roman Catholic School	Immoral act	No	Yes	Seniors forcing juniors
17	Federal Girls' Government College, Calabar.	10–21	FGGC	Dirty, irreligious	No	Yes	Seniors versus juniors
18	Edgerely Memorial Girls' Secondary School, Calabar	9–18	Protestant School	Evil	No	Yes	Seniors versus seniors
19	Holy Rosary Secondary School, Abia	15–18	Roman Catholic	Disgust, occult initiation	No	Yes	School mothers molesting school daughters
20	Federal Girls Government College, Calabar.	10–16	FGGC	Irreligious, barbaric, taboo	No	Yes	No idea.

Background information on Calabar lesbians

These data below present the background of the respondents before coming to the University of Calabar to further their studies. We can see from this **Table I** that there are categorically three single public schools here: Roman Catholic Schools, Federal Government Girls Colleges and Protestant schools. It is only number eight person who attended Federal Government Girls' College, Calabar that canvassed freedom for the lesbian although even she and the rest of the nineteen respondents affirmed that the lesbian arts as unnatural and taboo against the cultural ethics and values of the African womanhood. Among the twenty respondents only two reported not having the idea of violence committed by the lesbian's community against the fresh students in the boarding house whom they did victimise to join them in the lesbianism. Only three of the twenty are reported not aware of the lesbian sociolect what we tagged as Calabar lesbian cryptic languages.

Data Analysis of the Calabar Lesbian Community

Table II: Distribution of the increase in the practice of lesbianism in Single Public schools

s/n	Single Public Schools	Age	Students/20
1	Protestant Schools (PS)	9–22	2
2	Federal Government Girls College (FGGC)	8–21	7
3	Roman Catholic Schools (RCS)	9–40	11

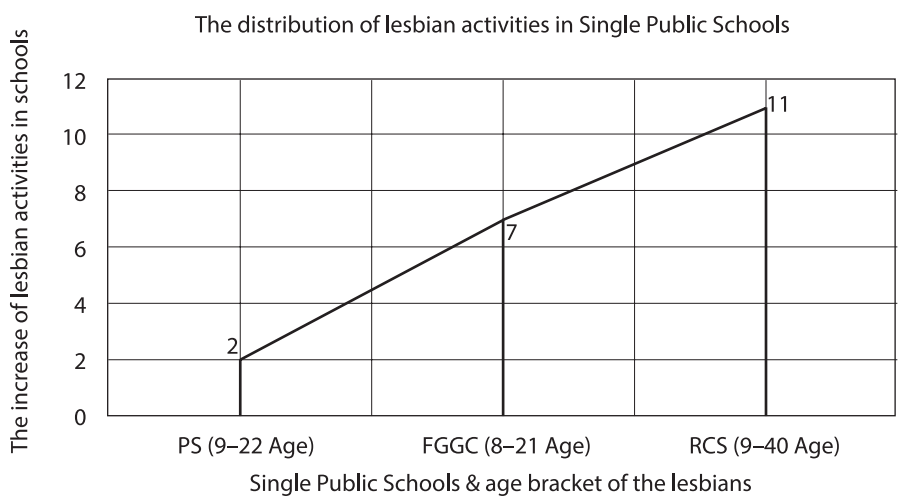

Figure 1: Lesbian activities are observed to be on increase in Calabar City and its environs particularly in the Roman Catholic Girls' public schools. Eleven out of every twenty female students which are in the University of Calabar may have participated in the act or seen other mates making love in the hostel. This is compared to those of the Federal Government Girls Colleges within the South-South region where for every twenty female students admitted into the University of Calabar, seven are lesbians. Whereas, in the Protestant Schools, two out of every twenty students are either lesbians, might have participated in it or are witness to this fact.

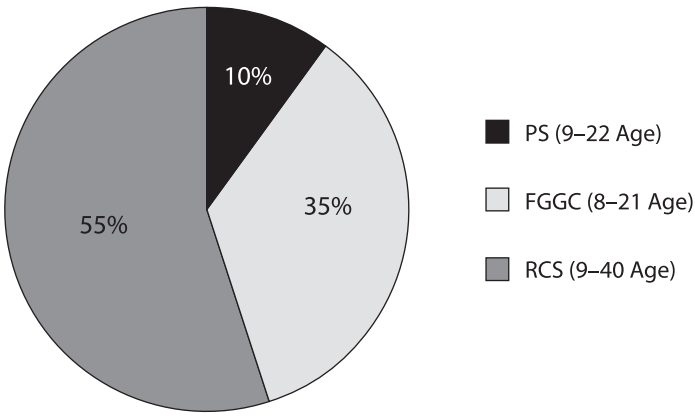

Figure 2: The proportion of the growth of the lesbian act in the City of Calabar and her environs are viz: Roman Catholic Schools have the highest percentage with 55%. Federal Government Girls College with 35% whereas the Protestant schools have only 10%. It means, the religious institution contributes 90% of the lesbian activities in Calabar and her regions in the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria than any other social institutions. Lesbianism is fast growing due to the material benefit attached to this sexual orientation in the Calabar city. Adeniran (2012) confirms the report of a lesbian called Ufot, who said that "her lesbian partner bought a Nokia X3 phone for her, and often gave her money. She recounted that each time she made a move to return to school, her lesbian partner would weep and discourage her." It is believed that even men in Calabar prefer to relate sexually with lesbians compared to ladies with regular sexual orientations." Cash and kinds encourage the increase of lesbian activities in Calabar.

Intimidation and victimization of non-members by participants in Lesbian activities

We have dealt with the violence orchestrated by the students who are lesbians against non-lesbians in public schools, in the analysis and the presentation of data above. The analysis also looks at how the lesbian population instigate fear in newly admitted students in order to recruit them into the act. We report also the rash judgment of the school authority in the name of salvaging the situation and saving the new students for example expelling lesbians from schools is not an option for the authorities. It is a denial of their right to education. Instead, psychotherapy, proper guidance and counselling could be of enormous help to change their perception towards the practice, which will encourage their putting an end to it.

It is popularly believed that single female public schools are the standard trustworthy conservative institutions set in other to raise students to attain academic and moral excellence. It is for this reason that very religious fanatical parents send their children into such citadels.

However, our findings stand contrary to this traditional belief or rather this fact because socio-cultural decadence, violence against the female child among other things are also very prevalent in Single public schools where Senior students and self-declared school mothers force, entice and cajole the juniors in the hostels to practice lesbianism, abortion and prostitution.

Acts of discipline on those who practice lesbianism in Secondary Schools

We note that in 2012, thirty six senior secondary school III (SSS III) students in Annunciation Girls' Juniorate, Ogoja, were expelled from school by Rev. Sister Theresa, the principal, for engaging in lesbianism. Out of thirty-six accused, six of them were vindicated but they still served the same punishment said our informants.

Our respondents were not bold enough to say that they are still lesbians. Two of the twenty respondents told us that they practiced it in the single high school but they are no longer involved in the lesbian activities because they realised it is evil and caused some health issues such as the cancer of the clitoris, vagina wall scrubbing, hormonal imbalance, barrenness etc. One said since she was prayed over by her Pastor, the spirit of lesbianism left her, she did not have any urge for that sexual orientation. That is how she got herself out of it. Lesbians preferred not to be known by the general public in Nigerian society. They claimed to abhor same sex relationship

Most of the female hostels in public high schools and universities within the geopolitical zone are informally endemic centres for breeding lesbians. Lesbian activities transcend single secondary or high schools mixed sex higher institutions when participants graduate from the earlier to the later. The widespread practice of lesbianism is perceived to be disgusting, taboo, a pact with the devil and a dirty lifestyle (see **Table I** above). However, they continue to involve themselves in it without the knowledge of their parents and teachers. Lesbian partners in the Immaculate Conception Secondary School, Itak-Ikono, Uyo, Akwa Ibom State celebrate marriages openly, among their student counterparts in the hostels says our informant.

In brief, we observed that the unique unifying factor among all the practicing lesbians and ex-lesbians of higher class in the schools is the cryptic language and the adornment language. Even though, most of African nations still perceive this sex revolution as an aberration to humanity due to her conservative inclination, Europe and America are at the stage of undergoing linguistic mutation of neutralising the gender status itself completely under aegis of the post-human concept of the post-colonial era. This gender neutrality reflects in their languages now namely Swedish and Finish languages adopted "hen"and "hän" as neutral pronoun respectively whereas English approved "ze" to replace "he" and "she" (Odrowąż-Coates, 2015, pp. 113–133, PNW Staff, 2016).

Semiotic and linguistic cryptanalysis

Cryptic language is conceived to protect lesbians' interests and aid esoteric communication among members in Calabar and its environs. It denotes emotional and sexual liberation, as well as anthropological security. Conventional codes are encrypted to give the lesbians freedom of expression within the Nigerian setting due to the societal persecution and socio-educational violence against the Lesbians, Gay and Transgender people generally… This language is different from lavender linguistics of the homosexuals developed by William Leap: a linguistic study of how LGBT use vocabularies, and pronouncing

them… (Kulick, 2000). Calabar lesbian cryptic languages are forms of cryptography. Youths involved in this act, do rap lyrics, speak in codes and write secret ciphers in other to communicate among themselves. We discovered that the ciphers can be spoken, written and encrypted or enciphered using any language of the world. Calabar lesbian languages' forms differ from Gary Goldschneider's secret language which reads people's personalities, relationships and destinies through these persons' dates of birth. The cryptic languages discovered in this research are distinct and depend on already existing languages for their materials (vowel combinations). The lesbian cryptic languages are of three forms namely: the secret numeric language, the spoken codes cryptic language and the adornment language (a form of non-verbal communication).

I. The secret numeric language

This involves the use of symbolic Arabic numerical figures to express hidden meaning among dating and married lesbian lovers. Onwuzurike who does not seem to be familiar with the lesbian cryptic language rather called it, "love codes". In a personal interview with Onwuzurike, she asserted that

> "It is just to have a different and unique language from the normal stuff. Just two of us can understand the love codes. It is an imaginary language. I use codes to show how much I love my guy. I was in love with someone and I wanted things to be different and unique. Then, the love codes just came to my mind as an inspiration. I never knew others know about it, initially. Love codes became our language."(2016)

This lady is not the first person to invent love codes in order to keep her love affairs secret. It had been practiced in England since the nineteenth century. Albeit, it was tagged "playfair cipher or Baron playfair": According to Gem (2006 (2014), p. 55) "in Victorian times, when courtship was regulated by social etiquette, lovers would communicate through coded messages in newspaper personal columns, especially the Times." Therefore, love between opposite sex as well as the same sex is always enigmatic.

Semantic cryptanalysis

In order to decipher the meaning of the symbolic numeric form of this lesbian language, one needs a profound sense of imagination. However, to get its meaning is not as sophisticated as it requires systematic arithmetic modulation knowledge, statistics and theories which are needed in computational linguistics. In Hebrew, there is a similar interpretive method called gematria. Lizorkin-Eyzeneberg (2016) says that

> "Gematria is well-known as a Jewish interpretive method that assigns numerical values of Hebrew letters to words, phrases and/or sentences. Then, by adding them together, seeks to determine their deeper meaning. Sometimes that connection is farfetched, but sometimes it is quite clear."

The scholar went ahead to give the example of the Roman Emperor, Nero Ceaser whose name in Hebrew stands for the numeric value, 666, whereas Calabar lesbian secret

numeric language differs from the gematria in setting serial figures for glyphs that built up a word.

This particular secret numeric writing is read horizontally in one, two, three, four and six digits as it is illustrated in the **Table III** below:

Table III. Calabar Lesbians Secret Numeric language

Cipher	Connotation
1	I
69	Sex
143	I love you
145	I love pussy/penis/butts/boobs/boots.
146	I love penfig.
147	I love someone.
1434	I love you more.
1437	I love you scatter.
14697	I love sex scatter.
142469	I love to have sex.

As shown in the Table III above, the numbers used for composing this secret language stand for letters. For instance,

1 stands for the one letter word "I".

2 stands for the two letter word "to".

3 stands for the three-letter words "you".

4 stands for the four-letter words "have/love/like".

5 stands for the five-letter word "Penis/pussy/butts/boobs/boots/titis".

6 stands for the six-letter words "penfig i.e. penis and finger which are clipped and blended to form the secret word.

7 stands for the seven-letter words: "perfect/scatter/someone". It should be noted that penfig is a lesbian act of fingering a female-lesbian or the use of the finger instead of the penis.

69: It is being believed that 6 and 9 are opposite to each other. Therefore, it is interpreted by the lesbians as sexual intercourse. 6 stands for lesbian and 9 stands for tomboy (male-lesbian).

In Calabar lesbian language, "Scatter" denotes a high degree of passion, which can be equated to "being crazy over someone" as a popular romantic expression, "I can do anything for you or I love you with my whole being". Scatter is a seven letter-word. In a new lesbian linguistic style, the word "scatter" is shorten to "scara". Seven is a number that stands for wholeness, perfection and completion etc. According to Nozedar,

> "Seven gives a pivotal point to the indecision of the number 6, rendering it satisfyingly complete and whole. Very early on, it seems, this number was given special status as a number of completeness and perfection. For the Ancient Egyptians, 7 was the number of eternal life." (2009, p. 338)

However, the Calabar lesbians consider seven to be a symbol which connotes unquantifiable love for one another within their circle. "Someone" can be what they call a bed-warmer (a female lesbian who is invited to keep company with a tomboy) who may later turn to become an unfaithful partner in lesbian world.

II. The Spoken Cryptic Language

In this language pattern, the cipher is alphanumeric in nature. The vowels are turned into numeric values whereas English consonant glyphs are suffixed with the long vowel "a" to creatively interfere with general speakers' linguistic knowledge of the English language. This renders it comprehensible only for lesbian speakers. These spoken codes are used among the youths in single high schools and the University's female hostels. It is important to note that female Nigerian students are not the first to invent this type of sociolect. Such secret spoken codes are used around the globe. Examples include Pig and Tut Latin, Opish i.e. Turkey Irish, Cockney Rhyming slang, leet (Gem, 2006 (2014), pp. 20–21) as well as Zaurance in Hausa.

Calabar lesbian cipher alphabet and its transcription

Plaintext(English alphabet): A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S TU V W X Y Z

Table IV: Ciphertext:

1 [wʌn]	**2 [tuː]**	**3 θɹiː]**	**Ma [mɑː]**	**Qa [kɑː]**	**5 [faiv]**	**Ya [jɑː]**
Ba [bɑː]	Fa [fɑː]	Ja [ʤɑː]	Na [nɑː]	Ra [ɹɑː]	Va [vɑː]	Za [zɑː]
Ca [kɑː]	Ga [gɑː]	Ka [kɑː]	4 [fɔː]	Sa [sɑː]	Wa [wɒ]	
Da [dɑː]	Ha [hɑː]	La [lɑː]	Pa [pɑː]	Ta [tɑː]	Xa [zæ]	

Lesbian cryptic language vowels: A = 1, E = 2, I = 3, O = 4, U = 5.

Lesbian cryptic language consonant (combinations of vowels and consonants which stand for their consonants) ba, ca, da, fa, ga, ha, ja, ka, la, ma, na, pa, qa ra sa, ta va wa, ya za.

One can use this cryptic language enciphered in English pattern method to encode in any language in the universe. Taking French as an example, it is made up of six vowels and twenty consonants out of the 26 alphabetic letters, (Riegel, M. et al., 81, 114–123). The six vowels are represented by numbers serially as thus: A = 1, E = 2, I = 3, O = 4, U = 5 and Y = 6. Therefore, the vowel glyph 'a' would be suffixed to the consonant phonemes in other to get the ciphertext of the cryptic language using French linguistic symbols. The only variance in applying the lesbian cryptic language in every standardized languages is the oral pronunciation of the cryptic language – spoken codes.

The Prototype of the Calabar lesbian Cryptic Language (Spoken Codes and Secret Writing)

Calabar lesbian cryptic language is a distinct language because its linguistic characteristics (morphology, phonology, syntax, and semantics) can be built after the pattern of existing languages. It is both written and spoken language. For instance, a lesbian's letter to her lover is written thus:

Ba1baya ga3rala, 3 la4va2 5. 5 1ra2 sa4 ba215ta3fa5la. 3 na22da 5 3na maya la3fa2. Wa3lala 5 la4va2 ta4 ba2 maya fara32nada? 3 para4ma3sa2 ta4 la4va2 5 1nada 5 1la4na2. Ra2palaya !

Letter written by Dopy

English Translation

Baby girl, I love you. You are so beautiful. I need you in my life. Will you love to be my friend? I promise to love you and you alone. Reply!

Table V: Syllabic Count for cryptanalysis.

S/n	Words	Syllabi
1	Ba1baya [bɑː/wʌn/bɑː/jɑː]	4
2	Ga3rala [gɑː/θɹiː/ɹɑː/lɑː]	4
3	3 [θɹiː]	1
4	La4va2 [lɑː/fɔː/vɑː/tuː]	4
5	5 [faiv].	2
6	1ra2 [wʌn/ɹɑː/tuː]	3
7	Sa4 [sɑːfɔː]	2
8	Ba215ta3fa5la [bɑ/tuː/wʌn/fa/iv/ tɑː/fɑː/fa/iv/lɑː]	10
9	Na22da [nɑː/tuː/tuː/dɑː]	4
10	3na [θɹiː/nɑː]	2
11	Maya [mɑː/jɑː]	2
12	La3fa2 [lɑː/θɹiː/fɑː/tuː]	4
13	Ta4[tɑː/fɔː]	2
14	Ba2 [bɑː/tuː]	2
15	Fara32nada [fɑː/ɹɑː/θɹiː/tuː/nɑː/dɑː]	6
16	para4ma3sa2 [pɑː/ɹɑː/fɔː/mɑː/θɹiː/sɑː]	6
17	1nada [wʌn/nɑː/dɑː]	3
18	1la4na2 [wʌn/lɑː/fɔː/nɑː/fa/iv]	6
19	Ra2palaya [ɹɑː/tuː/pɑː/lɑː/jɑː]	5

Transcription

[bɑːwʌnbɑːjɑː] [gɑːθɹiːɹɑːlɑː] [θɹiː] [lɑːfɔːvɑːtuː] [faiv]. [faiv] [wʌnɹɑːtuː] [sɑːfɔː] [bɑːtuːwʌnfaivtɑːfɑːfaivlɑː]. [θɹiː] [nɑːtuːtuːdɑː] [faiv] [θɹiːnɑː] [mɑːjɑː] [lɑːθɹiːfɑːtuː]. [wɒθɹiːlɑːlɑː] [faiv] [lɑːfɔːvɑːtuː] [tɑːfɔː] [bɑːtuː] [mɑːjɑː] [fɑːɹɑːθɹiːtuːnɑːdɑː]? [θɹiː] [pɑːɹɑːfɔːmɑːθɹiːsɑː] [tɑːfɔː] [lɑːfɔːvɑːtuː] [faiv] [wʌnnɑːdɑː] [faiv] [wʌnlɑːfɔːnɑːfaiv]. [ɹɑːtuːpɑːlɑːjɑː].

Analysis of the Spoken Codes of Calabar lesbian cryptic language.

In the Spoken Calabar lesbian cryptic language, the commonest sound is the long single vowel [ɑː]. It is added to every consonant before any vowel sound that is represented by the first five Arabic numerals. The pronunciation is read in syllabic stress speedily so that the non-members will not fathom the conversations or dialogue at hand. (See the syllabic pronunciation of the transcribed letter written by Dopy, one of the informants.)

Vowel combinations

There are only three words that have combined vowels. Two of them have diphthongs and one of them has a triphthong. For example, the triphthong, Ba215tafa5la [bɑːtuːwʌnfaivtɑːfɑːfaivlɑː] means beautiful in English. The The triphthong 'eau' is found in the word beautiful. In cryptic language it is represented by 215. Na22da [nɑːtuːtuːdɑː] means need in proper English. The diphthong is 'ee' represented by 22. The diphthong, Fara32nada [fɑːɹɑːθɹiːtuːnɑːdɑː] means friend in English. The diphthong 'ie' is represented by 32.

III. The Adornment language

Apart from the cryptic language that Calabar lesbians have developed as a communication art, they also invented a form of non-verbal communication which we tag lesbian adornment language. Adornment language is the symbolic language of wearing objects to depict hidden meaning, such as

1. The wearing of anklets on the left or the right ankle.
2. The wearing of a silver ring on the right thumb
3. The wearing of a nose ring.

Lesbians read significant meaning to these adornments as means of identity. Most non-lesbians in the city of Calabar see these adornments to be making ordinary fashion statements. An anklet worn on the left ankle is a symbolic declaration of membership of the lesbian community while adorning an anklet worn on the right ankle means normal fashion in general sense but for lesbian it means married lesbian, not opened for any relationship. Also, wearing a silver ring on the right thumb is symbolic virility of the tomboy. Putting on a nose ring by women in the northern and some parts of western Nigeria is considered normal. However, in South-South Nigeria, especially in Calabar, it is a symbol recently adopted by lesbians who are hoping to be spotted and by tomboys for engagement in intimate relationships.

The quest for freedom of expression is inborn in all human beings, (Joseph, 2016, p. 20). Human being by nature is rebellious. Therefore, marginalization engenders motivation for creating means and avenues for expression. Lesbians in Calabar have not only invented

something new but also unique. Angela Davis, an American musician, and Bob Marley, the Jamaican musician are known by their hair cut, with which their revolutionary ideology for freedom were propagated, said Tilles and Grund (2013, p. 75) Their collective resolution is to exist behind the eyes of the public and forge a means of communication in order to survive even in a hostile environment.

Conclusion

Cryptic language is usually invented to seclude the communication of members of a group from the general public. Calabar lesbians have been fascinating in this imaginative invention to give particularity to the sexual orientation and also protect themselves from attacks from the wider community where they operate… In this research, we established the existence of the lesbian cryptic languages and identified their phonological and graphic structures. We have also interpreted a script written with these linguistic symbols. The nonverbal communication cues used by the community under study has also been identified. Since same sex relations are still taboo in the Nigerian society as a whole, and Calabar society in particular, children and students of primary, secondary and tertiary levels can be educated on how to identify members of the lesbian community in order to stay away from them. The tide in the skyrocketing increase in the practices of this unacceptable socio-cultural group can also be stemmed through knowledge of these unique lesbian languages. This is because their being secret codes engenders widespread practice of their activities. Calabar is culturally an African window to the global community. This is because of her tourism inclinations. The viral spread of Lesbian acts poses grave concerns for the conservatives in Nigerian society and even around the world. PNW Staff (2016) says that "in government offices, universities, elementary schools, workplaces and even in the military, the transgender movement is invading both our culture and language like a deadly virus." The cryptic language of the lesbians namely: spoken codes, secret numeric writing and adornment language. Our discovery has helped us to identify two classes of lesbians in Calabar namely the higher and lower classes. What is referred to as higher here, is socio-economically determined by depth of experience and wealth of the participant. Conversely, the lower class consists of less wealthy and inexperienced members. In fact, some young ladies of lower class practise it without knowing that it is lesbianism whereas, those of the higher class are the ones using the cryptic language to puzzle the non-participants. Those experienced in lesbian activities invented and developed this form of language to initiate members into this group and conceal their unacceptable activities in the African setting.

Lesbianism is popularly believed to be diabolic, taboo, disgusting and irreligious. Therefore, socio-educational violence is inevitable.

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The written and unwritten rights of indigenous children in Central Africa – between the freedom of "tradition" and enslavement for "development"

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Abstract

The paper is a peculiar case study referring to the dissonance in access to, protection of and (lack of) respect for the rights of children belonging to indigenous Ba'Aka people in Central African Republic. Based on the experience from her own female field research (2002–2012) and analyses of academic source materials as well as documents relating to children's rights, the author attempts to portray the situation in which the Ba'Aka have found themselves in recent decades. The text draws attention to the following aspects: a life beyond survival – an attempt to preserve their traditions and the loss of their identity, nurture and education between the freedom of "tradition" and enslavement for "development". The written and unwritten rights of indigenous children in Central Africa are key aspects allowing to understand the complicated everyday life situation of the Ba'Aka.

Introduction

This text is dedicated to Louis Sarno, the greatest advocate of Ba'Aka unwritten and written rights in the Sangha Mbaéré Region. Sarno spent 30 years with the Ba'Aka in the Central African rainforest. He passed away on 1 April, 2017.

"Throughout the world, there are approximately 370 million indigenous peoples occupying 20 per cent of the earth's territory. It is also estimated that they represent as many as 5,000 different indigenous cultures. The indigenous peoples of the world therefore account for most of the world's cultural diversity, even though they constitute a numerical minority" (Collings, 2010, p. 84).

"Indigenous peoples are the holders of unique languages, knowledge systems and beliefs and possess invaluable knowledge of practices for the sustainable management of

natural resources. They have a special relation to and use of their traditional land. Their ancestral land has a fundamental importance for their collective physical and cultural survival as peoples. Indigenous peoples hold their own diverse concepts of development, based on their traditional values, visions, needs and priorities" (Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Voices, FACTSHEET, p. 2).

Indigenous populations, marginalised for a range of reasons in countries whose territories they inhabit, participate in the civilisational and cultural development of international community. Their right to self-determination is embodied in art. 1 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations. Paragraph 2 of this article recognizes 'the principle […] of self-determination of peoples" (see The Charter of the United Nations), while art.1 of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that "all peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development".

As Piotr Daranowski writes, in the narration of international law "we will not find a codified, model definition of 'indigenous peoples'" (2014, p. 143). In international debates, the following definition is accepted as one which identifies their essence:

"Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system. This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors: a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them; b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands; c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.); d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language); e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world; f) Other relevant factors. On an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group). This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference" (Martínez Cobo, 1982, paragraph 379).

The definition above specifies respect for indigenous people's priority to occupy (hence: settle on) and use "their" territories, and respect for cultural distinctiveness, i.e. indigenous people's identity in all "their" dimensions. What is more, it also points to respect for the subjective independence of this population in relation to other communities (understood as subjectively independent), within a particular state, but first and foremost, in relation to the authorities of a particular state (cf. Daranowski, 2014, p. 144).

The catalogue of indigenous people's rights presupposes the process of transferring the rights to traditional land and its resources to their autochthonous owners – indigenous

peoples. This is implied in art. 25 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which determines indigenous populations' "right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources"; art. 26 (2) which guarantees "the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired"; art. 28. ensuring "the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent"; art. 29. on "the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources"; and art.32. which provides "the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources" (The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which determines indigenous populations, 2008, pp. 10–12).

Unfortunately, reality appears to ignore the letter of the law contained in international legislation.

One of very few exceptions and the first such case worldwide is a recent development in New Zealand. A river revered by the Maori people (who have used the resources of the river for centuries) has been legally recognised as a living person by the Parliament of this country. The well-known Maori saying: "I am the river and the river is me", reflects the strong bond between nature and people. After 140 years of negotiations, the Maori have succeeded in their battle and the Whanganui river has been granted rights that apply to an underage person. This means that it can be treated as a living organism, hence "a living entity" and has legal identity as well as rights, duties and responsibilities resultant from the status.

Other exceptions can be found in India, where "the Uttarakhand high court ruled that the Ganga and Yamuna Rivers have the same legal rights as a person, in response to the urgent need to reduce pollution in two rivers considered sacred in the Hindu religion" (O'Donnell & Talbot-Jones, 2017).

The rainforest is referred to as a father and mother by the autochthonous Ba'Aka people. It has not been recognised as a legal entity and its children (Ba'Aka) were deprived of the right to the forest initially in the colonial period, and later in the 1980s and 1990s. This was linked to their (hindered) access to resources and restrictions on benefiting from the wealth of its flora and fauna. First the colonisers within their imperial policy, and later the governments of particular countries in cooperation with international concerns and companies (logging, mining and pharmaceutical industries), began to exploit natural resources and expand the (neo)colonial system of franchising natural resources, both in the geographical scale and the systemic deprivation of local communities of their rights to land and resources. In this process, the Pygmies have been dispossessed of their right to the rainforest ecosystem.

The facts of daily life indicate that in the 21st century, indigenous – autochthonous populations still exist between the freedom of "tradition" and enslavement for "development", and their written rights are entrenched with sanctions. Additionally, at times the international agenda relating to, for instance, resource extraction, access to fertile land

or potable water resources, question the actual participation in and access of indigenous people to their rights. This in turn hinders their subjective presence in international legal transactions. This situation has its roots in a number of phenomena and processes. They are linked both to the process of liberation from the yoke of the remains of colonial era and entering the processes of new postcolonial dependencies which, due to power relations and global interdependencies, are impossible to avoid. Despite the necessity to support indigenous populations in their efforts towards self-determination and the realisation of rights, recognising their rights in many state structures of the modern era still remains problematic.

In the text I attempt to illustrate the situation of one of the indigenous Ba'Aka communities inhabiting the rainforest of Central African Republic and their access to rights, including their written and unwritten rights in the 21st century. I draw attention to the following aspects:

– living "between" and "at the crossroads" – an attempt to preserve their traditions and the loss of ancestral identity;
– nurture and education between the freedom of "tradition" and enslavement for "development",
– the dilemmas of dialogue between the rich North and the poor South relating to the problematic protection of indigenous people's written and unwritten rights in the postcolonial era (problematic due to the fact that indigenous people's voices and their participation in decision making related to their rights and so-called protective activities are frequently ignored).

Ba'Aka hunter-gatherers in Central Africa – Indigenous People

Ba'Aka is an ethnic name of a group of Pygmies inhabiting the Sangha Mbaéré region of Central African Republic. When referring to the Ba'Aka, biological and colonial anthropologists use the term "Pygmies". Bahuchet (2012, p. 11) draws attention to the fact that the term Pygmy is confusing and draws on accounts by early European travellers who assigned this appellation to all people of short stature in central African rainforest. The etymology of the term can be traced to the times of Homer, Herodotus, Aristotle, Pliny and Pomponius Mela (Daly, 1892, p. 19), that is to ancient Greece, where *Pygmaios*, meaning "one cubit high"[1], was first used by Homer to refer to short-statured people in the story of Iliad. The term does not reflect ethnic affiliation, nevertheless, it has been widely used in anthropology (Łysik, 1960) when analysing the Pygmies' past. Since for this population this term has discriminatory and pejorative connotations, the particular ethnic-linguistic groups prefer self-designated names. For instance, Aka Pygmies living in Sangha Mbaere region and the south-eastern part of Central African Republic refer to themselves as Ba'Aka/Bayaka (plural) and Mo'Aka/Moyaka (singular), while the Twa from the Great Lakes region self-designate as Mutwa (singular) and Batwa (plural). The term "Pygmy" was officially introduced into the language of academic publications by Paul Schebesta around 1933, thus replacing an older designation: "Negrillo". Before Schebesta,

in 1887, a Welsh-American journalist and explorer H.M. Stanley also referred to this population as Pygmies, as did other authors: "Numerous populations spread out across Central Africa have been named Pygmies by Western explorers, since the 19th century" (Verdu and Destro-Bisol, 2012, p. 1). In present day publications, including reports on anthropological research and international socio-political discourse, the term "Pygmies" is still widely used (more on the subject can be found in: Hewlett, 2014, XIX). Despite its prevalence in literature, the term is sometimes thought to bear pejorative undertones. For this reason, in Michelle Kisliuk's words: "while awaiting a more neutral alternative, or at least a time when *pygmy* will be free of pejorative connotations, it is preferable to use the term each group uses for itself (Efe, Mbuti, Twa, BaAka, and others), reserving pygmy for general use" (Kisliuk, 2008, p. 298). As a rule, members of these Central African ethnic groups also favour the use of their self-designated names. However, this is not a universal attitude to the term "Pygmy". While "Survival International" (an NGO working towards the protection of tribal people's rights) reminds that "the term 'Pygmy' has gained negative connotations", the same NGO admits that the name "has been reclaimed by some indigenous groups as a term of identity".

Notwithstanding the dilemma related to the pejorative connotations of the term, there are a number of other problematic issues regarding its use. First of all, the population collectively referred to as "Pygmies" is strongly diversified in terms of various elements of culture: the groups vary in their beliefs, the degree to which their traditions have been preserved, in mythology or dialects they use. This is confirmed, for instance, by Verdu and Destro-Bisol: "[…] cultural anthropologists observed that the various Pygmy populations do not share a common myth of origin. Most of them do not know each other and are unaware of a common designation as Pygmies from outsiders" (2012, p. 1). Secondly, one must not disregard the fact that the term "Pygmy", as Hewlett points out, is "widely recognized by the public" (Hewlett, 2014, XIX). This translates to its recognition in international political space, science and other spheres of life, and consequently, to the presence and visibility of these population groups in discourse. Despite the arguments against using the term "Pygmy", the fact remains that there is no single, common term that would serve as its substitute. Thus, in the text I will use the name of the Ba'Aka and refer to self-designated names of other ethnic groups, while the term "Pygmies" will be used with reference to the context, literature, social and historical aspects (fragment based on: Markowska-Manista 2016, pp. 58–76).

Like other Pygmies, Ba'Aka hunter-gatherers (however, as Hewlett emphasizes, "not all pygmies are foragers/hunter-gatherers", 2009, p. 2), still try to follow a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle in the rainforest spreading across the territories of central African states (Turnbull, 1961; Biesbrouck, 1999; Douglas & Hewlett, 1999; Pemunta, 2013). However, the discrimination and marginalisation processes which endanger indigenous people's proper development constitute a major hindrance to Ba'Aka's functioning in contemporary societies of these states in the light of social, economic and political transformations as well as civilisational changes that have taken place in the region in recent decades. New discriminatory practices based on historical social relations of feudal character intensify the inequalities in Pygmy communities and are visible among populations belonging to other ethnic groups, both in educational, social, cultural and political dimensions. The growing disproportions, the absence of perspectives for the future and the inability to

return to traditional lifestyle deprive the generation of young Pygmies of their chance for development and participation in multi-ethnic societies of Central African states. As an important element of the rainforest ecosystem, Ba'Aka need protection and support in the realization of their rights as well as in securing the conditions necessary for the survival of their community.

It must be stressed that indigenous peoples: Mumbuti, Mbuti from Ituri rainforest, Tumandwa, Batwa, Bakunda (Bazimba), Aka, Babenzi, Baka, Binga, Efe, Twa, Bokola, and Bagyeli Pygmies (more: Grielen, 1986, pp. 56–71), live also in the territory of Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and the Republic of Congo. They use various languages and dialects; they have distinct ethnic identities. These communities, defined as indigenous inhabitants of Central Africa, the first inhabitants of Great African Lakes region (they belonged to a group of Twa tribes. Cf.: Gilarowskim 2012, p. 163) and primeval owners of the rainforest, do not have their own state. Due to centuries-old feudal dependencies ("Kumu"[2] – Pygmy relations) and their lowest position in social hierarchy (Twa in Rwanda) as well as superstitions and social stereotypes depicting Pygmies in a negative light, this population struggles with discrimination and marginalisation in the states whose territories they inhabit (more: Markowska-Manista 2014, pp. 33–45).

Grażyna Michałowska points out that the Pygmies belong today "to the most discriminated groups in the world and the most marginalised communities" (2008, p. 243). The most recent data on the level of threat to indigenous people's lives around the globe also take into consideration the difficult situation of African Pygmies. The analyses primarily refer to the situation of Batwa and Bambuti in the Democratic Republic of Congo (see: Peoples Under Threat, 2011, 2012) and Aka in Central African Republic and are linked to the constantly deteriorating status of these groups in these countries' societies. Among ethnic groups inhabiting Central African Republic, Ba'Aka hunter-gatherers constitute a minority. As a result of feudal interdependencies which have marked the social reality in CAR for centuries, the Ba'Aka have been discriminated against and marginalised by their neighbours. Historically, the Ba'Aka's marginalisation resulted from the processes of economic, industrial and political changes. They were unable to adjust to the on-going transformations, thus becoming increasingly subjected to marginalisation. This process refers to the loss of Ba'Aka's social power, limited decision-making power and limited access to resources and territory (more: Bodley, 2008, cited in Hewlett, 2009). Their situation is aggravated by the fact that today, the historical inequalities are coupled with inequalities resulting from the processes of migration and refugeeism. These are strictly connected to the increased activity of companies and concerns in the tropical rainforest, which has resulted in the development of settlements (with sawmills), intensive development of a net of forest roads as well as opening previously inaccessible areas to commercial exploitation (including forest regions traditionally inhabited by the Ba'Aka). These practices of increased exploitation have led to the migration of populations from other regions of Central African Republic, a growth in the size of the newly settled populations and consequently to limitations in Ba'Aka people's access to the forest. They have also generated problems in Ba'Aka's access to villages which, until recently, had not been part of this community's lifestyle, hence they had not participated in their construction (a similar situation concerns Mbendjele Yaka, Pygmies in the territory of Northern Congo, the Ndoki Forest; more:

Lewis, 2005, pp. 56–78). Moreover, populations migrate along with their cultures and habits. They reach communities marked by their own class-related and economic problems, and their own historical "scapegoats". This way, the spiral of discrimination and marginalisation of the weakest is magnified.

What is more, the devastated rainforest is no longer able to produce sufficient amounts of food for the Ba'Aka to remain in the forest area for longer periods of time, away from villages inhabited by sedentary populations. Other parts of the forest have been turned into national parks, which precludes the Ba'Aka's use of its flora and fauna (they are not allowed to hunt, fish, gather nor form temporary settlements in the forest). As a consequence, since the 1980s the Ba'Aka have adopted many of the villagers' practices, while influenced by missionaries, they have settled around missions which provide them with access to schools, health service, farming support and encourage affiliation to a community of fellow believers.

Despite the apparent opportunities that the sedentarization process affords, including access to the aforementioned services, the transformations in Ba'Aka's lifestyle have been far from a blessing to this community. Living in settlements or still in the process of settling in villages, in the eyes of Bantu people the Ba'Aka are "inferior" beings. Such degradation and marginalisation of the group by neighbouring tribes is frequent not only in CAR, but in all African countries inhabited by the Ba'Aka (more: Kenrick, Lewis 2001, pp. 312–325). Racist and discriminatory attitudes towards the group are present in intertribal relations and constitute an element of the culture of poverty. Such sentiments are amplified by a widespread stereotype of the Pygmies as being backward and dependant in survival on their Bantu "patrons". The Pygmies' stigma of "inferior beings" has burdened them for many centuries and is born from the perception of the group as being submissive and unable to oppose their abusers. It is also a result of their miniscule height and a propensity towards flight (retreat) in threatening situations. The attitude of other ethnic groups towards this population is illustrated with a Congolese proverb: "A Pygmy is a piece of talking meat!". In the course of my research in villages and settlements inhabited by the Ba'Aka, I was able to witness and observe this prejudiced approach, their low social status and a subjective sense of inferiority. The roots of this situation can be looked for in their difficult conditions of existence and development as well as interethnic and social relations marked with asymmetries. To a certain extent, the Ba'Aka have become dependent on the Bantu [3] following their migration to the vicinity of Bantu villages, a migration motivated by their search for stability. Without identity documents, which many Ba'Aka do not possess, they are not able to claim the rights exercised by registered citizens: they are deprived of voting rights, are unable to file a complaint or seek the right to protection. Entangled in a relationship of subordination, they serve on plantations or perform various odd jobs for the Bantu, frequently without being compensated for their work or receiving very low wages. Since this remuneration does not allow them to survive, they are forced to do further work, which, as a consequence, makes them subordinated to the Bantu and coerces them into a relationship in which the Bantu become their "owner-patrons" and employers[4]. Such relations are far from harmonious. What aggravates their situation even further are the social transformations which pose new challenges for the Ba'Aka. This is primarily connected with changes in survival strategies. While in the past Central African Pygmies were self-reliant in terms of food

acquisition (Bahuchet, 1990), today their attempts to embrace sedentary life make them dependent on other groups, as well as migrant populations. Their life is marked by a state of imbalance between the past and present. On the one hand, deforestation and other factors leave them unable to return to their traditional way of living; on the other hand, they struggle with adapting to and accepting new models of living and values brought on by global civilisation. Leaving the forest, conversion into a sedentary lifestyle and adaptation to the conditions of social life in villages and towns which have been inhabited and governed for ages by other ethnic groups, is a complicated process which demands open attitudes on both sides. It is challenging inasmuch as those groups follow traditions as well as abide to nurture and normative systems which differ from those of the Ba'Aka (based on: Markowska-Manista, 2012, pp. 83–97).

The attempts to sedentarise the Ba'Aka initiated in the Sangha Mbaere region by missionaries in the 1970s have brought both benefits and losses. Ba'Aka's culture and lifestyle are inextricably connected with rainforest environment. As they repeatedly stressed during interviews, they treat the the forest as their "Father and Mother". The forest is also the foundation of their identity and beliefs, their home and a cherished reservoir of food and medicines. Thus, the uprooting resultant from religious indoctrination, connected with Ba'Aka's recruitment to become followers in various congregations, aggravates their marginalisation and deprives them of the foundation of their identity by negating the traditions of their forefathers. Their difficult situation is exacerbated by new processes of so-called land grabbing taking place within the most recent wave of globalisation (Smis, Cambou, & Ngende, 2012, p. 493). Land lease and forest stand buyout constitute a threat to Central African hunter-gatherers' food sovereignty, to their food security and sustainable economic development in forest and rural areas. This situation is further aggravated by the absence of legislation as well as corruption and insufficient control by international institutions. Malpractices (moral hazard) taking the form of dispossessing indigenous peoples of their land (theft), depriving them of their right to live in the homeland of their ancestors, divesting them of the possibility to use food resources – fauna and flora in rural areas – rob them of their right to harvesting and sustainable management of farm produce. All these mechanisms result in cutting them off from such resources as their land, game, fish, fruit, seeds and traditional knowledge based on centuries-old experience. This in turn intensifies the process of social exclusion and pushes indigenous people to the margins of social life.

Among the main forms of marginalisation experienced by the Ba'Aka the following need to be mentioned:

– limited access to the forest and its resources which, until recently, was the primary food source for this population;
– hindered access to children's education and adult literacy services as well as to higher education;
– lack of legal awareness;
– limitations in fulfilling social roles;
– limited access to labour market and professions as well as lack of access to knowledge acquisition which results in a lack of awareness of what professions can be pursued;
– unequal access to goods and services;

– unequal or limited access to protection services as well as health and emergency medical services;
– lack of access to voting rights, which in practice is linked to this community's marginalisation and insufficient knowledge of French language – the official language in Central African Republic;
– limited participation in decision-making processes in the public area and in the possibilities to express their views, as well as the accompanying situations of legal discrimination (lack of childbirth registration, lack of possibility to apply for title deeds).

Written and unwritten rights

Despite the fact that international legislation provides us with a variety of tools to protect children against violations of their rights (the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and its additional protocols: *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict; Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on a communications procedure*; *the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (1990), entered into force on November 29, 1999) and many other important declarations, in practical dimension the legislative protection of these rights is removed from the reality of tribal children's living environments (and the contexts of their lives). This praxis is dominated by an approach which does not take into consideration tribal children's written or unwritten rights. While analysing the present situation of the Ba'Aka, attention is drawn to the effects of children's and young people's marginalisation, discrimination and social exclusion. These effects limit or prevent their access to "written rights" enshrined in the *UNCRC* and *the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*.

One of the precursors promoting children's unwritten rights in academic circles was Judith Ennew – an activist and researcher in children's rights since 1979. She demanded recognition for the voice of children, a voice which should be heard not only with regard to respect for children's rights defined in written law as the child's best interests (Article 3 of the UNCRC) and the right to life, survival and development (Article 6 of the UNCRC), but also for their unwritten rights, understood as birth rights and the right to dignity as human beings. She claimed that children, in particular discriminated against and socially excluded children, have a right to an honest description, research and counting (see: Boyden & Ennew, 1997; Beazley, Bessell, Ennew & Waterson, 2009, pp. 365–378). She expressed her opposition to random statistics and the lack of high-quality, systematic research and information on children's lives and their everyday experiences. She drew attention to the dominant "victimising" approach, not only in regard to childhood studies but also the practice of professionals working with children (Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). She also appealed for thorough analyses done in a specific context based on a range of social factors and cultural background. Her research and practical interests referred to subjects which concerned children as human beings with rights, including the right to children's subjective participation in decisions affecting their development and other aspects of their

everyday lives. The researcher argued for instance that "the right not to be labelled", "the right to be properly described, researched and counted", "the right to respect for their own support system", or "the right to protection against secondary exploitation" are "unwritten rights" (see: Ennew, 2002; Liebel & Invernizzi, 2017, p. 2).

By referring to unwritten rights, Ennew had in mind the "extremely discriminated against and socially excluded children who do not have access to the rights "written" in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)" (Liebel & Invernizzi, 2017, p. 2). These children, invisible for the majority of the world as they live in the margins of societies, in enclaves of poverty and in grey zones, fit into Zygmunt Bauman's category of "redundant" people, but being constantly "produced". Bauman (2005) includes in this category such groups as refugees, those resettled and displaced, asylum seekers, immigrants, *sans papiers*, as they are all waste of the globalisation process. In the world of growing social inequalities it is extremely difficult to implement Judith Ennew's call for "all rights, all the time".

What is more, the premise of common contemporary aid practices is to help and support children, yet in reality they aggravate children's discrimination and marginalisation. These are often unintended, misguided activities founded on a stereotypical approach to children and power relations (child – adult, child – system).

Speaking about unwritten rights, Ennew pointed out that the rights enshrined in the CRC "need to be interpreted and translated for policy-making and planning purposes, those unwritten rights being a tool to guide interpretation. It is unlikely that policy and programming can be successful without sound knowledge of the problems and rights violations children suffer" (Liebel & Invernizzi, 2017, p. 2).

Hence, the unwritten rights, such as "the right not to be labelled", "the right to be correctly described, researched and counted", "the right to work, and to do so in fair conditions and for fair wages", "the right to have their own support systems respected", "the right to be protected from harm inflicted by "caring" social agencies" and other (Ennew, 2002, pp. 399–401), can serve to aid the translation of the written rights of indigenous children and youth in Central African Republic enshrined in the CRC and *the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* into praxis. The awareness of the existence and role of these rights among both children and youth from indigenous groups and adults dealing with the process of policy making and updating as well as planning activities linked to so-called developmental programs, will allow to consider the voices (testimonies) of children themselves. It will also allow to take into account the varied aspects and conditioning of their everyday lives, aspects that must not be ignored nor rejected.

Survival between the freedom of "tradition" and enslavement for "development"

The written and unwritten rights of indigenous children in Central Africa are key aspects allowing to understand the complicated everyday life situation of Ba'Aka children. We deal with poor and isolated rural areas, where Ba'Aka autochthonous communities mostly live in extreme poverty. These are also areas where, due to the inequalities resulting from the place of birth and living, we deal with the process of multiple marginalisation and discrimination of indigenous people. Their family income is generally lower and the

economic prospects are often poorer compared to their neighbours who lead a sedentary lifestyle in villages and towns. The Ba'Aka live in the territories of developing countries in central Africa, where a large part of the population is extremely poor, and the Ba'Aka remain at the lowest level of socio-political ladder that guarantees support and respect for rights. Currently, Central African Republic (CAR) ranks among the poorest countries on the continent and globally. "Central African Republic's HDI value for 2015 is 0.352, which put the country in the low human development category (positioning it at 188 out of 188 countries and territories" (Human Development Report, 2016, p. 2). Poverty, unstable political situation and corruption contribute to the growing social inequalities, social marginalisation and economic exploitation of the Ba'Aka. The disrespect for their indigenous, unwritten rights is a continuum of colonial and postcolonial practices and refers to:

– the failure to respect their land rights, consequently – their uprooting and displacement and the appropriation of Ba'Aka's native land or its part,
– the negation of autochthonous culture, i.e. the heritage of forefathers who were the original inhabitants of the land on which the Ba'Aka live and hunt. These practices refer to the widely understood culture of the Ba'Aka or its particular forms of expression (beliefs, everyday life in a clan system, membership and labour division in an indigenous community, nutritional practices, clothing, distribution of goods, lifestyle),
– linguistic exclusion from all areas of social life resultant from the fact that the Ba'Aka use their own dialects, or Sango language to communicate with other ethnic groups. They do not know French, the official language and the language of instruction at schools in Central African Republic. Ba'Aka's native language, as an accepted form of communication at home, within family and clan, i.e. within the entire nurture process of a child, is not tolerated in other spaces of interethnic social life (with the exception of preschool education through ORA method in mission schools).

An analysis of NGO reports, articles on the subject of marginalisation and discrimination against the Pygmies as well interviews conducted by the author among the Ba'Aka population in Central African Republic between 2002 and 2012, have revealed that the Ba'Aka are marginalised and discriminated against (both processes are strictly connected) due to:

– short stature and lifestyle closely connected to the forest which is perceived as a habitat for animals;
– superstitions and prejudice rooted in magical thinking of the local communities through which the Pygmies are perceived to be "primitive and savage", "cruel and inhuman", "second class citizens", "citoyens"[5], and treated as "Niama" ("meat") or "forest animals"[6];
– submissiveness and tendency towards "flight" in threat or conflict situations;
– traditional nutritional practices and poor (extreme) conditions in which they traditionally live;
– low level of participation in the dominant social life (lack of representation in state institutions);
– limited access to birth registration caused by territorial, linguistic and economic factors;
– poor participation in education.

Until recently, autochthonous societies, including nomadic and semi-nomadic Ba'Aka communities, were perceived in social discourse as atavistic, devoid of history and representing merely an early stage of human evolution. This one-sided and unfair perception was overcome by Karin A. Klieman (2003) on the pages of her book *The Pygmies Were Our Compass. Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa, Early Times to c. 1900 C.E.*

Klieman recreated the Batwa's past and questioned the Western theories, which conceptualise the Pygmies as people with a gap in history.

Today the Pygmies are searching for identity through various ways of dealing with the codes and baggage of traditions, while being surrounded with the patterns and codes of modernity (more: Markowska-Manista, 2016). Unable to find a place in the new living conditions imposed by the outside world, they become homeless and migrants in a country on whose territory they were the earliest inhabitants. Thus, the social and political discourse in the countries they inhabit and the stereotypical image of the Pygmies in the media, literature, popular science and academic publications, present also in Europe, become important in considering their difficult situation.

The disappearance of traditional hunter-gatherers is not echoed by strong emotions or social campaigns. As the Ba'Aka repeated during interviews: "The forest has vanished…", as are its rightful inhabitants. Ba'Aka, Babinga or Efe hunter-gatherers described by anthropologists in their publications from the 20th century, gradually cease to live as nomads. They remain as half-nomads and half-settlers with a torn identity, suspended between the village and an invisible wall of the rainforest. The change in their lifestyle caused by the transformations in the living environment they have occupied thus far (ecologists predict that by 2030 the Central African rainforest will have disappeared) generates new problems, previously unknown within clans and families, connected with identity, departure from the norms and principles of a collective co-existence in camps towards a lifestyle based on satisfying a person's individual needs.

As the fate of marginal communities shows, regardless of place and time, history causes the greatest harm to simple, ordinary people. In her book, Kiran Desai explains that profits are generated on the basis of differences between nations, they are by-products of conflicts and social inequalities (Desai, 2007). Hence Pygmy groups, living on the social margin, entangled in the process of marginalisation and discrimination, are doomed to remain in the peripheries. In the deepening and increasingly unbridgeable division into two separate worlds: the world of poverty and the world of moderate prosperity in Central African Republic, a niche world of extreme poverty is emerging, one occupied by Central African Pygmies.

Conclusions

The contemporary, complicated social and legal situation referring to the (dis)respect for Ba'Aka's written and unwritten rights in social space is overlapped with the dissonance of their functioning in the conditions of traditional (forest) and new (village, town) living environment of Ba'Aka adults and children. This entrapment between two worlds (of tradition and civilisation, i.e. the modernity which encroaches along with global transformations) is visible in the practices of everyday life. It is reflected in:

– the diffusion of children's spaces, who spend a "moment" in mission schools, a fraction of their time in the forest, while the rest of their time is spent in the space of a village, searching for constants that would allow to shape their identity;
– poor representation of the Ba'Aka in the political, economic and social life of the regions they inhabit;
– problems facing young Ba'Aka: without good education, vocational training or access to professions that are economically valuable in the job market, they try odd jobs which are low-paid and which exploit and discriminate against them as human beings;
– uncertainty and helplessness of adults, who observe their adolescent and younger children and fail to find a recipe for "a life between two worlds" – the traditional home of the rainforest that is disappearing from the face of the earth, and the existing world of villages and towns, owned and inhabited by communities (partly Kumu) which have derived material profits from the interdependency (symbiosis) in their relations with the Ba'Aka.

To conclude, I would like to quote Louis Sarno, who, in dialogue with the Ba'Aka, tried to show the world that the Ba'Aka's unwritten rights, i.e. their right to survive, are inextricably connected with the rainforest and treating this community as key element of the rainforest ecosystem:

– "Louis, how do you see the future of Bayaka?"
– "I think that the future of Bayaka is strictly connected to the future of this forest. If we manage to preserve the forest in good condition, Bayaka's future will be secured. They can participate in the modern life, attend school, become someone, learn something, but if they have the forest, they will be able to continue their traditional lifestyle which does not need to be incompatible with modern life. Without the forest, or if the forest is in bad condition, Bayaka's future will be very difficult – they will live as slaves to the Central African society, they will work for meagre money, they will be exploited. […] those who have come here […] were mainly interested in Bayaka's everyday life. […] It's very difficult to find someone who is really interested in Bayaka, in the transformations taking place in their life and their future." (Louis Sarno in conversation with Urszula Markowska-Manista, Yandoumbe, Central African Republic 2012).

As indigenous peoples and a minority, the Ba'Aka have little influence over state and local policies that affect their lives. "Their land may be taken 'in the national interest' for dams, mines, conservation projects, and other schemes which promise 'development' but leave the land's true owners marginalised. Without a strong voice in political processes or recognition of their inalienable legal rights to their lands, it can be difficult – if not impossible – for tribal communities to […] protect their independence" (Woodman and Grig (eds), 2007, p. 2). With authorities failing to respect their rights that encompass, for instance, their right to participation in decision making in issues affecting their development, their voice still remains unheard.

Notes

[1] "One cubit high" (the distance from the elbow to the knuckles or fingertips) is sometimes understood as "short", and this phrase is a serious offence for the Pygmies.

[2] Kumu is a term used for Pygmies' patrons – protectors, traditionally Bantu people (living in villages). Modern "Kumu" use their Pygmies for various jobs (farming, cleaning, housework and jobs around the house) refusing to remunerate them fairly and according to time and scope of work done. In return for their work, the Pygmies receive alcohol, cigarettes or 250 to 500 CFA (daily rate for 2012).

[3] The centuries-old relations based on Bantu families' "ownership" of Pygmy families (patron – subordinate relations) examined by Paul Schebesta, a researcher who studied the life of Pygmies for many years, do not refer to all Pygmy groups and all areas they inhabit which were discussed in the present text (Schebesta, P. (1933): *Among Congo Pygmies*. Hatchinson and Co., London; Schebesta, P. (1936). *My Pygmy and Negro Hosts*. Hutchison and Co., London; Schebesta, P. (1952). *Les Pygm'ees du Congo Belge*. Memoires de l'Institut Royal Colonia Belge, ser. 8, vol. 26).

[4] Ba'Aka – Bantu relations bear similarities to subordinate-patron (servant-master) relations (one can frequently hear Bantu farmers pointing to Pygmy neighbours refer to them as "my Bayaka"). In fact, these relations are more complex. One the one hand, the Pygmies work for their village "Bantu patron", who can require from them to do a variety of jobs or, for example, supply him with meat and forest fruit twice a year as a form of levy. On the other hand, the patron has a number of obligations towards "his Bayaka". He is obliged to ensure a minimum of protection and help with resolving family feuds.

[5] When referring to the Ba'Aka, the term "citizen" has negative connotations in the Sangha-Mbaéré region of Central African Republic and implies a "veritable second class citizens" (more: UNICEF report on CAR, 2009).

[6] Also the use of the term "Pygmy" strikes as a medium through which this population's cultures are universalised and unified. It obscures the deeply rooted interethnic and intercultural diversity of particular groups and subgroups of this central African indigenous population. Historically, the word "Pygmy" has a strong discriminatory and pejorative undertone, which was stressed in interviews and conversations by my interlocutors. However, Polish equivalents are very problematic, it is extremely difficult to find a different, general, non-discriminatory equivalent term.

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The mechanisms and functioning of linguistic rights in Poland: an example of the Kashubians and the German minority

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Abstract

In this chapter the authors present how the mechanisms of linguistic rights in selected minorities in Poland function due to the introduction of the Act of 6 January 2005 on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language. Particular emphasis is put on socio-political and legal context of the functioning of the linguistic rights in the German minority and the Kashubians – a community that uses a regional (Kashubian) language. Currently, the German minority operates in the area of Western and Northern Territories of Poland, with the highest concentration in the Opole Voivodeship and Silesia Voivodeship (southern Poland). While Kashubians constitute a regional group residing in the vast majority in the area of one – Pomeranian Voivodeship (northern Poland). Both groups, excluding the Silesians, also constitute the largest minority groups in Poland. Both groups, among all minorities recognised in Poland after 2005, implement and use their language rights to the greatest extent, and are the biggest beneficiaries of arrangements in the above mentioned Act.Critical analysis is focused on key processes, including linguistic rights, i.e.: education, dual naming of places and physiographical objects, the supporting language and the social perception of the linguistic rights of minorities. The analysis is based on literature, official materials, statistical data and the results of research conducted by the authors of present chapter among the German minority and Kashubians.

The Kashubians and the German minority in Poland: a general outline

„Ethnic revival" of the German minority – the most numerous one – and the phenomenon of Kashubians activity (in northern Poland), as well as the activity of the Silesians (southern Poland) evoke a special attention in Polish society since the 1990s.

After World War II, the vast majority of Germans living today in Western and Northern Territories of Poland (formerlybelonged to Germany) were subject to forced displacement. The situation of the German population after the end of World War II was the result of the Nazi occupation and the war. The Polish authorities left in Poland only over 100 thousand so-called „recognised" Germans. They were ethnic Germans, mostly professionals with their families, deliberately left (there were not displaced during the expulsion of the Germans) after the war in Poland (Ociepka, 1992). With time number of ethnic Germans dramatically decreased as a result of departures to the two newly established German states: the FRG and the GDR.

With the expulsion of the Germans from the territories of the Polish state, there was so-called nationality verification of the native population in areas remaining before 1939 within the borders of the Third German Reich, and in areas incorporated into the Reich during the war – rehabilitation of persons entered in the German national list (Olejnik, 2006). The Polish authorities, due to the ethnic Polishness of many native-born people, considered them prone to (re-)polonization. It was believed at the time that they should be restored „Polishness". As a result of the verification action, approximately 1 million inhabitants of the attached land could remain, receiving Polish citizenship. The main goal of the above mentioned actions was to confirm the legitimization of „return" of these lands to Poland (Mazur, 2006).

Most of people verified as Poles were still considered by local authorities and immigrants (arriving from pre-war Poland) as the Germans, simply as someone worse. For this reason, many of them suffered injustice and were often discriminated in social and professional life. Consequently, the Poles were condemned to social isolation, receiving lower wages, denial of some food items, or confiscation of their property for the benefit of the settlers. It is worth noting that during that time Kashubians shared the fate of the Germans.

It was particularly painful for them, especially since many Kashubs were well-deserved in the fight for Polishness (Obracht-Prondzyński, 2002; idem, 2010). In addition, after the verification and expulsion, the Polish authorities began the campaign, among native population, against the Germans and the influence of German culture – the so-called „Action of removing German traces", i.e. German inscriptions on the streets, houses, churches, cemeteries, the use of the German language on the streets, at shops, homes, and learning the language at schools mainly in the area of Western and Northern Territories of Poland was prohibited, names and surnames were changed and polonized, etc. (Kurasz, 2015; Lemańczyk, 2016; Popieliński, 2011; Świder, 2002, pp. 193–408).

In the 1950's only the above mentioned „recognised" Germans began to open kindergartens and schools with German language teaching – the peak of the development of German education in Poland has been achieved in the school year 1952/1953, among others, there were 137 primary schools with 7674 pupils (Sakson, 2002, p. 45). German magazines and organizations were also created. At the end of the fifties there was a sharp slowdown in this development caused by the mobility of people, including pupils and teachers, to FRG or the GDR (Ociepka, 1992, p. 108–111).

In the post-war period, until the social and political changes in Poland in 1989, the population of Germans (excluding previously mentioned the so-called „recognised" Germans in the 1950s) were denied the opportunity to cultivate the language, to communicate (it was punished and harassed) and teaching in German (as mother tongue). Throughout

the communist period in Poland, state authorities denied the existence of a German minority in Germany. Officially, the German option among Silesians, Kashubians, Warmiaks and Mazurians was not recognised (Berlińska, 1999; Kurcz, 1995; Lemańczyk, 2016; Obracht-Prondzyński, 2002; Sakson, 1990).

In the mid-1990s, the number of German minorities in Poland was estimated at about 300 000 members, affiliated in nearly seventy associations (Kurcz, 1994, p. 149). Currently, the most important organization representing the interests of the German minority in Poland is the Association of German Socio-Cultural Associations in Opole, originally established on 15 September 1990 in Wrocław under the name of the Central Council of German Societies in Poland.

In turn, the Kashubians formed a permanent ethnic feature in Gdańsk Pomerania. The first mention of the name „Kaszuby" already appeared in the thirteenth century in the bull of Pope Gregory IX. It must be emphasized that the Kashubian presence in Pomerania was much wider than it is today. Since the migration of people they have settled from Gdańsk in the east to today's German Rostock and Greifswald in the west. Today they live mainly within the borders of one voivodeship in Poland, i.e. Pomeranian. The centuries-long neighborness in Pomerania of Kashubians, Poles and Germans is also important. However, compared to the contemporary German minority it differentiates them the fact that institutional ethnic activity followed almost immediately after the end of World War II and resulted from group continuity in the Pomeranian region.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that the main Kashubian organization, i.e. the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (ZKP), is the oldest ethnic organization in Poland, founded in 1956. ZKP is an organization based primarily on Kashubian culture and identity, and members representing all social strata (Obracht-Prondzyński 2006). Over the past half century, groups centered around the ZKP have managed to renew the Kashubian elites, occupying prominent places in socio-political, scientific, religious life, all national and international levels (eg. Donald Tusk, the ***Primate*** Emeritus of Poland – ***Archbishop Henryk Muszyński***).

Until the first post-war National Population and Housing Censuses in Poland (NSP) 2002 and 2011, taking into account the national and linguistic issues, it was difficult to obtain reliable data on the number of Kashubians.

Democratic change, which began in 1989 in Poland, was for all national and ethnic minorities groundbreaking in many areas, above all, political and legal, social, educational and economical. Almost all political parties in the Polish Parliament of the Third Republic in 1989 recognised the need to equalize minorities and preserve their national identity by granting them cultural and educational rights and financial support (Łodziński, 2005, p. 1). The activity of minorities in the period of the Polish People's Republic, although strictly rationed and controlled by the state authorities, confirmed that Poland, contrary to propaganda, was not a one-nation state.

At the same time, the policy of the authorities, at that time caused the removal of all discrepancies, including linguistics, from the official public discourse. For minorities, the lack of the ability to educate in their own language at schools meant accelerated assimilation and, in subsequent generations, disappearance of language as a domestic or a public one. On the other hand, after 1989, not all national and ethnic minorities were able to find themselves in a new order, in which many depended on their own initiative.

The scale and complexity of minority themes in Poland – both from the identity and the linguistic side – was, to a certain extent, shown in the 2002 and 2011 censuses. We omit here the methodological differences between two censuses, which have already been discussed in detail (Mniejszości narodowe w świetle Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego z 2002 roku 2006; Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w Polsce w świetle Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego Ludności z 2011 roku, 2015).

Looking from the point of view of the results of both NSPs on the „linguistic question" in this chapter, it can be generally stated that both Kashubian language and ethnic declarations increased more than twice over the decade (i.e. from the NSP, 2002). The number of people declaring the use the German language within their domestic contacts has decreased significantly – by half.

In the NSP 2002, the use of the Kashubian language as domestic was declared by 52 665 people, including in the Pomeranian Voivodeship 52 558 people. In NSP 2011, there were 108 140 Kashubian language users at home, including Pomeranian Voivodeship 107 742 (99, 6% of the total). It is worth emphasizing that in the light of the NSP 2011, the population declaring the use of the Kashubian language was recorded throughout Poland. In turn, the number of ethnic Kashubian declarations in the NSP 2002 amounted to 5 062 people, while in 2011 it amounted to 232 547 people (including Pomeranian Voivodeship 227 947) (Obracht-Prondzyński, 2015; Struktura narodowo-etniczna, językowa i wyznaniowa ludności Polski. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań, 2011, 2015; Czwarty raport dotyczący sytuacji mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych oraz języka regionalnego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2013).

In the Census 2002, the use of German in everyday household contacts declared 204 600 people. In 2011 it decrease to 96 500 people, including 42 200 in the Opole Voivodeship, and almost 21 000 in the Silesian Voivodeship (Popieliński, 2015, p. 205). The number of declarations of German nationality in the NSP 2002 amounted to 152 900 people, and in the NSP 2011 – 147 800 people, including the largest number in the Opole Voivodeship – 78 600 people, Silesian Voivodeship – 35 000 people, Lower Silesian ***Voivodeship*** and Warmian-Masurian ***Voivodeship – 5 000 people*****,** 4 800 people in Pomeranian Voivodeship, 3 000 in ***West Pomeranian Voivodeship*** and ***Lubuskie Voivodeship*** – 1 800 declarations (Popieliński, 2015, pp. 203–204).

Regional and minority language in Polish and international legislation

The implementation of linguistic rights of the German minority and the Kashubians is possible thanks to the international and internal legal regulations. It should be emphasized that, until 2005 the question of Kashubians` legal status was in principle dependent on a differentiated approach of the Polish authorities and legislation. Once Kashubians were equated with other national and ethnic minorities and once they were treated separately. It was only the Act of 2005 that specified the legal status of this group (this will be discussed later on).

Moreover, until 2005, in Polish law there was no legislation on the use of minority languages before the municipal authorities and the use of double topographical place-names (Niedojadło, 2003, p. 4; Choroś, 2012, p. 127).

Among the most important legal regulations, enabling discussed groups to cultivate culture, including language rights, should be mentioned:

1) Parliamentary ***Act*** of ***April 7, 1989***. ***Law*** on ***Associations*** (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 1990, No. 20, item 104) – ***the*** Act, under which, among others, Kashubians and the German minority have been given the opportunity to freely establish associations, free and equal participation in public life and cultivate culture and heritage, regardless of their beliefs. Likewise, freedom of establishing and operating of the associations and voluntary acting have been guaranteed by art. 12th Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April, 1997 (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 1997, No. 78, item 483).
2) The Act of 7 September 1991 on the Education System 1997 (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 1991, No. 95, item 425), that guaranteed the possibility of maintenance „[…] the sense of national, ethnic, linguistic and religious identity and, in particular, learning the language and its own history and culture" in schools and public institutions (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 1991, No. 95, item 425, art. 13, para. 1).
3) The Act of 29 December 1993 on Radio and Television (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 1993, No. 7, item 23), which obliged the public media to broadcast information programs in languages of minority and ethnic groups and to take into account their needs. The Kashubians and the German minority have benefited from the provisions of the Act 1993 by introducing their own languages not only to the paper media, as it has existed for many years, but primarily to radio, television and electronic media.
4) Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, which guaranteed national and ethnic minorities the freedom to maintain and develop their own language, culture, traditions and customs. The Kashubians and the German minority by virtue of the Constitution have thus obtained the right „[…] to establish their own educational, cultural institutions, and institutions designed to protect religious identity and to participate in the resolution of matters concerning their cultural identity" (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 1997, No. 78, item 483, art. 35, para. 2).
5) In terms of fulfilling international standards of protection of the rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities, the Republic of Poland has signed, among others, The Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 2002, No. 22, item 209), The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 2009, No. 137, item 1121), as well as The UNESCO ***Convention*** for the Safeguarding of the ***Intangible Cultural Heritage*** (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 2003, No. 172, item 1018).
6) It was only the passing of The ***Act*** of 6 January 2005 on ***National*** and ***Ethnic Minorities*** and ***Regional Language***, regulated the status of the Kashubian language, as the only recognised regional language in Poland (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 2005, No. 17, item 141, as ***amended***). Among many Members of the Polish Parliament (who have been slow down work on the Act) and a significant part of the society, the greatest concerns of enacting the Act related to the use of dual place-names and the use of minority languages, as supporting, before the municipal authorities. The issues of school education caused much less objections and did not cause any doubts (Rzemieniewski 2015, p. 211).

According to the provisions of the 2005 Act, the Kashubian language, not the Kashubians as a group, has been covered by statutory protection and regulations. The German minority is, according to the Act, one of the nine national minorities (alongside with Armenians, Byelorussians, Czechs, Jews, Lithuanians, Russians, Slovaks and Ukrainians).

With regard to discussed minority groups, that meant clarifying the rules of using their languages, in particular: procedures for teaching minority languages and in minority languages, using additional traditional names of places, streets and physiographic objects, using the supportive language before the municipal authorities, the right to use spelling names and surnames according to Kashubian and German spelling rules.

7) In addition, rights for the German minority in Poland are guaranteed by the Polish-German Treaty on Good Neighborly Relations and Friendly Cooperation of 17 June 1991 (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 1992, No. 14, item 56).

In the abovementioned Treaty, the rights and obligations of the German minority in Poland and the Poles in the Federal Republic of Germany (Articles 20–22) were regulated in accordance with the standards set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the CSCE Final Act (1975) and the Copenhagen Conference Document on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, 1990).

Implementation of language rights of the Kashubians and the German minority, especially after the entry into force of the 2005 Act, has significantly gained momentum and has gained on quality. It must be stressed, however, that the first years of implementing the provisions of the aforementioned Act have highlighted its advantages and disadvantages, and have showed barriers practically at all levels of the bodies set up to implement the rights of minorities (legal gaps, weak knowledge on the practical realization of these rights among individuals).

Prestige and vitality of languages and school education

Attitudes towards the native language, to its prestige and functionality play the most important role in shaping the self-identification of individuals and groups, and maintaining cohesion and continuity of the German minority and the Kashubians. In the case of both groups it is a „core value", but does not determine the shape of identity (Mazurek, 2010; Synak, 1998). They are also the territories, collective memory, genealogical factor (birth in the German or Kashubian family) and primary socialization.

In the case of identity of members of the German minority, an important and supportive role plays the German language in the liturgy – mainly Holy Masses celebrated in Roman Catholic church, (e.g. Opole, Dobrodzień, Szczecin), but also the Evangelical church (e.g. in Wrocław). Catholic religion and all connected with its ceremonies (Masses celebrated in Polish and/or Kashubian) are equally important for shaping Kashubians identity.

Increasingly, however, the objective criteria of self-identification lost their importance in favor of the subjective factors, an individual choice of a person. German and Kashubian language in a usable form, as the substantial boundary of social categorization, less often are the criterion of self-identification. Moreover, further creating the German and the

Kashubian identity in the official discourse around the language, may cause exclusion from the community of all those who do not know these languages, and have a German or Kashubian origin.

That showed for example the results of Census 2011, which recorded a large number of people declaring using the German language and the Kashubian at home, but didnt`t felt himself as German and Kashubian, and quite a large group of people claiming to be German and Kashubian, but do not use the German or Kashubian language at home.

The rank of a language is always both a subjective and objective matter. The subjective perspective underlines the importance of the individual rank valuation of your native language (spoken in your speech community) in relation to the dominant language and other potential languages. Objectively, the prestige of German and Kashubian is diametrically different.

The German language should belong to so-called. „well being languages" (well) or „culturally strong languages", i.e. those which users are to each other partners, on the basis of the objective equality of the linguistic status and cultural heritage with language users and cultures of the dominant group (Głowacka-Grajper, 2009, pp. 91–92; Wölck, 1983, p. 195). In the context of the German minority, the condition of the German language can be described as ailing, in the best case as a living, while „cultural strength of language".

Referring to the taxonomy by Howard Giles, we have come to the conclusion that the above situation is conditioned by several major factors, i.e. a relatively strong status of the German language within the group and outside (including a socio-economic status, referring to the memory of language), demographic decline of the German minority (e.g. high mortality rate of the oldest people speaking German, a weak intergenerational transmission of language, mixed marriages and emigration of members) and the institutional support factor of varying degrees of effectiveness (i.e. over the years, mixed political climate around the creation of the Polish authorities framework for the development and maintenance of the German language, both at the formal and informal level, and the unequal level of utilization opportunities by the German minority institutions in Poland) (Giles, Bourhis, Taylor, 1977, p. 309; Bourhis, 2001, p. 103; Porębska, 2006, p. 24).

While the Kashubian language has objectively low, non-central position in the hierarchy of prestige, as a „weak"/„ailing"[1]. Hence, it is important to revitalize the language and its widest possible dissemination in the public sphere. Theme of lower prestige of the Kashubian language in comparison with the Polish language (formerly the German language) appears almost always (Głowacka-Grajper, 2009, pp. 206–207).

When writing about the prestige of German and Kashubian we cannot overlook significant barriers that caused the „dismissal"/„suspension" of language by their users during the Polish People's Republic, among others, negative linguistic stereotypes and prejudices from the immigrant population and the authorities side, harassment, ostracism, lack of career opportunities, etc.

The number of pupils learning the Kashubian and German language as a minority language, has significantly grown in the years 2006–2017. In schools of Pomorskie Voivodeship during the school year 2006/2007 Kashubian language was taught to 1 551 pupils, 2009/2010 already have learned 9 640 pupils and in 2016/2017 have learned 20 690 pupils (Letter nr KO.VI-MMi-0611-28/10 from 14.04.2010 r. between Kuratorium Oświaty w Gdańsku and Łukasz Richert – Board member of the Kashubian-Pomeranian

Association; Język kaszubski w woj. pomorskim – based on SIO database 10.09.2006; Tab. Języki mniejszości narodowych – from 30 September 2015 https://cie.men.gov.pl/index.php/dane-statystyczne/140.html from 07.12.2016). In comparison, the number of pupils learning German in 2010 was 36 555, and in the school year 2016/2017 – 52 914 pupils (https://cie.men.gov.pl/index.php/dane-statystyczne/140.html from 2.03.2017).

School education in German and Kashubian meets many similar barriers. In addition, the introduction of teaching German as a minority language in Poland was accompanied by a press discussion and the atmosphere of distrust among Polish society (Stankiewicz, 1992), while Kashubians did not have such a problem (Grzędzicki, Prondzyński, 2012, pp. 127–128).

From the beginning of the existence of education for the German minority, there has been a lack of textbooks for learning German as a mother tongue. These books had to be imported from Germany for several years. Although the teaching staff was created and trained for years, there is still a deficit of German teachers. First and foremost, they have been looking for teachers who could teach in bilingual classes (eg. mathematics, geography, physics, etc.).

In addition, the German minority in Poland for years has been complaining about the lack of a unified curriculum/syllabus, especially in bilingual schools. Moreover, for many years the German minority seeks to create a German-speaking school, but several previous attempts of establishment of such a school, mainly for financial and logistics reasons, have had a fiasco.

In the case of the Kashubian language the main barrier was the shortage of teachers with appropriate methodical preparation and qualifications for teaching the Kashubian language at school. There was a lack of handbooks, appropriate teaching methods and teaching aids for learning Kashubian language. Currently, the teaching process of Kashubian language is being supervised by the Kashubian Language Council established in August 2006 by the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association. It must also be stressed that the Kashubian issue has been taught in schools since the nineties of the 20th century on regional subjects.

Among the discussed groups we are also dealing with the negative phenomenon, which is the population aging tendency. As indicated by the results of the NSP 2011, of pre-working age is 18.3% of people declaring Kashubian identification and 8.3% of people declaring German nationality, while the post-working age respectively 15.7% and 25.9% (http://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechne/nsp-2011/nsp-2011-wyniki/struktura-narodowo-etniczna-jezykowa-i-wyznaniowa-ludnosci-polski-nsp-2011,22,1.html from 4.02.2017).

Among the Kashubians and the German minority there have been significantly lower than the average national percentage of people with higher education (5.95% of the Kashubians population and 9.14% German minority). Moreover, among the Kashubians is observed a higher than average percentage of people who received education lower than the average (72.88%). It is related to a significantly rural character of the two groups, among which the coefficient of living in rural areas exceeds the average (39,22%) for the general Polish population, i.e. 82.60% for Kashubians and 59.43% for the German minority (Czwarty raport…, p. 9–10).

Additional, traditional place-names and physiographical objects

Since the implementation of the 2005 Act German minority and the Kashubians benefit from rights granted to them for entering double names and supporting language. The issue of supporting language and dual naming is a „symbolic domain", emphasizing continuity of the group of the German minority in Silesia (Province Opole and Province Silesia) and the Kashubians in Gdańsk Pomerania.

According to the above Act 2005 people belonging to a minority shall have the right to use and spell their first and last names according to the spelling rules of their respective minority language, in particular in the official register and identity documents (Art. 7.), to use freely their minority language in public and private life (Art. 8.), to use before the municipal authorities, as supporting, the minority language as well as the official one in these municipalities where the number of minority residents, whose language is to be used as a supporting one, is no less than 20 per cent of the total number of the municipality residents (Art. 9–10) or in consultations; to use additional names on the territories of the municipalities. It is possible to introduce additional names on the territory of the entire municipality or in particular localities. Additional names shall not refer to the names used in the years between 1933–1945, given by the authorities of the German Third Reich or of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The additional names shall not be used separately, and shall be placed after the respective Polish name (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 2005, No. 17, item 141, as ***amended***).

The entry shall be made by the competent minister in charge of religious denominations and national and ethnic minorities upon being conveyed a favourable opinion of the Committee on Names of Places and Physiographical Objects.

According to the status of 18 July 2016, 359 additional German names of the municipalities (28 municipalities in the Opole Voivodeship and 3 municipalities in the Silesian Voivodeship), and 815 additional Kashubian place-names in the Pomeranian Voivodeship (Lista gmin wpisanych do Rejestru gmin, na których obszarze używane są nazwy w języku mniejszości: 2016) were added to the Official Register of Municipalities.

The first municipality entered into the Official Register was Radłów (Voivodeship Opole, historical Upper Silesia). On December 22, 2006, 11 bilingual Polish-German names of villages and settlements were entered. While in Kashubia it was Stężyca municipality, where 45 villages, colonies were entered into the Official Register on 14.11.2007 (Pomeranian Voivideship) (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, No. 17, item 141, as ***amended***).

Because of the fact that both, members of the German minority and Kashubians live in border regions and form the so-called post-migrative communities (including new immigrants), the attitude of society towards these groups was different.

In the landscape of Upper Silesia, above all Opole Voivodeship, there is a great historical variability of the name of the municipalities in the last century. The transformation of the names made in the thirties of the last century, when the territories of the present Opole Viovodeship were within the German state, played a key role here.

Then there was a struggle with the so-called. „Polish facade", i.e. germanization of Slavic – to a large extent Polish – sounding place names (Fiedor, 1966). However, after the

World War II and the annexation of this area to Poland brought the polonization of place-names – the fight against the so-called „German facade" (Linek, 1997). Then the action of removing all German traces began, and that would indicate historical and cultural links with Germany (Madajczyk, Berlińska, 2008, p. 332).

They started to liquidate the German traces from the public sphere, in particular the German place-names, inscriptions on monuments and sacral objects. It was forbidden to use German in public space. Native German or German-speaking inhabitants were forced to polonize or broadcast entirely different new Polish names that had nothing to do with those in German (Nitschke, 2001, pp. 117–133). It should be underlined that in the light of research carried out in the 90s of the last century and early twenty-first century among the Polish society existed permission only for historical names, which are rooted in a long and complicated tradition of Silesia (Wagińska-Marzec, 2003, pp. 16–17).

In the case of Kashubians, both Kashubian education in schools, supportive language and the introduction of dual-naming did not arouse strong emotions in the local communities of the Pomeranian Voivodeship, did not negatively affect ethnic relations. It looked completely different in Silesia, especially in the region of Opole, where it occurred to ethnic conflicts, regular paintings over double name boards, etc.

However, from the part of agencies implementing language policy in Kashubia, the voices on legal shortcomings, weak awareness of problems, etc. were more and more frequent. Therefore, in 2009–2010, inspired by Kashubian-Pomeranian Association, the main ethnic organization of Kashubians, introduced activities under the name „Watchdog in Kashubia – Social supervision over the implementation and financing by the public administration of Kashubian language rights".

The project aimed at monitoring the transfer of subsidies by the local authorities for the Kashubian language, the diagnosis of deficiencies and irregularities in this area, and opinion polls of the main agencies established for the implementation of Kashubian language rights. The Regional Language Office was also launched, civic education was conducted, and two reports were published (Grzędzicki, Lemańczyk, 2010a; Grzędzicki, Lemańczyk, 2010b) that brought the Kashubian language closer to the community. Public authorities, schools and institutions of the Kashubian movement were inspired to change their practice towards more effective actions of preserving and revitalizing the Kashubian language.

During the implementation of the project, the most important institutions responsible for the realization of the Kashubian language rights and potentially the most interested, i.e. local government units in selected Pomeranian municipalities, teachers (including several school directors) and parents of children learning the Kashubian language at school, were investigated.

Supporting language

According to the 2005 Act before the municipal authorities, it shall be possible to use, as supporting, the minority language as well as the official one. A supporting language might be used only in these municipalities where the number of minority residents, whose language is to be used as a supporting one, is no less than 20 per cent of the total number of the municipality residents and who have been entered into the Official Register of

Municipalities, hereafter referred to as „Official Register" where a supporting language is used. Persons belonging to a minority shall have the right to apply to the municipal authorities in the supporting language, either in a written or oral form, and obtain, on distinct request, an answer in the supporting language, either in a written or oral form. The appeal proceedings shall take place in the official language only (Journal of ***Law*** of the Republic of Poland, 2005, No. 17, item 141, as ***amended***).

The Official Register of Municipalities in which the supportive language was used begun to operate with the entry of the first municipalities – Radłów and Chrząstowice (Opolskie Voivideship) on 25.01.2006.

The first municipality with the Kashubian language, as the supportive, was entered in the Register of Municipalities on 16.08.2006 – Parchowo municipality. Currently, 22 German and 5 Kashubian municipalities with supporting language have been registered. In fact, the number of municipalities registered in the Official Register in which the supportive language is used is lower than the number of municipalities entered in the Official Register in which the place-names are used in the minority language.

In principle, the introduction of German language, as the supportive, in the Opole Voivodeship and the Kashubian language in the Pomeranian Voivodship did not cause negative reactions to the rest of the society. The introduction of the supportive language has hardly been noticed, it was not so prominent in the mass media as the setting of double place-names. This may stem from the fact that the use of the German or Kashubian language before the municipal authorities is more individualized matter than the public one.

In addition, many people do not use this option. In this case pragmatism prevails. In fact, all generations of the German minority use the Polish language fluently in speech and writing. The vast majority of today's German minority members graduated from Polish schools. More often, they know the Polish language much better than German. In addition, it is more practical for them to speak in Polish than in German. The same situation refers to the Kashubian language.

Summary

The 2005 Act finally sanctioned the status of German as a minority language and Kashubian as a regional language and undoubtedly constitutes a positive element supporting the efforts of these groups to revitalize and popularize their language and culture. The first years of implementation and functioning the linguistic rights of the German minority and Kashubians (since the entering of the 2005 Act) have highlighted the problems, that clearly shows that lack of information and the omission of the main factors involved in education constitutes the fundamental barrier in the smooth introduction of languages into schools and institutions, and their teaching (e.g. lack of knowledge, lack of knowledge of the legal basis, and large caution in this matter, sometimes reluctance).

For the preservation of German as a minority language and regional (Kashubian) language, school education is crucial. A lot depends on teachers who should not „only" teach the language, but also meet the function (and more often it happens) of the transmission belt between school, family and the local community. The family loses its function in this regard.

The success of minority language education, and in the case of Kashubian regional language, also depends on the overall socio-political climate around this issue and the majority-minority relationship.

It is also noteworthy, that for the successful implementation of the linguistic rights of the German minority and the Kashubians. Not to mention the significant role of a positive attitude among the municipal authorities. In many towns and municipalities of the Opole Voivodeship and Pomeranian Voivodeship the mayors represent the German minority or are members of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association. What is more, many representatives of local authorities are personally engaged in activities supporting and maintaining German and Kashubian culture.

The 2005 Act brought positive changes in the attitude of the Polish community towards minorities. In the social consciousness it strengthened the conviction that national and ethnic minorities are a permanent element of life in Poland. They have their own specificity and their rights. For instance, looking back from the perspective on the issue of double place-names in Upper Silesia, especially in the part of Opole. Finally, it can be stated that the evolution of their social perception towards greater acceptance has taken place.

Notes

C.f. Mazurek, M., *Język – przestrzeń – pochodzenie. Analiza tożsamości kaszubskiej*, Gdańsk 2010, s. 124; Porębska, M., Das Kaschubische: Sprachtod oder Revitalisierung? München 2006.

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Part III

THINKING 'OUTSIDE THE BOX' CRITICAL REFLEXION ON CRITICAL THOUGHT

The colonization of childhood. The critical pedagogy of Janusz Korczak

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"What is this half of humankind,
living with us and beside us
in tragic dissociation.(J. Korczak, xxxx)"

Abstract

The colonial discourse joins power and knowledge and is intimately linked with cultural and economic oppression. The conceptualization of childhood in Western society, the Child as the 'last savage' and the resulting institutional contexts run parallel to the direct or insidious colonization strategies of past regimes. The body of work about children and childhood, particularly in education, form a developmental discourse which systematises and naturalises how the Child is understood. Over a century ago, Janusz Korczak published a scathing critique of "contemporary schooling" in Europe, resonating with a Foucauldian tone, describing oppressive systems intersecting with age, gender, class and ethnicity to reproduce the societal norms and inequalities. Korczak challenged the pervasiveness of educational ideas such as evolutionary bias and developmentalism which continue their influence today. By undertaking a critical comparative (re-)reading of some of his lesser known writing, under the glare of Foucault, a post-humanist interpretation of Korczak emerges. By moving decisively beyond the adult/child dichotomy and differing from the fixed structures of his progressive education contemporaries, Korczak's pedagogical alternative offers critical theorists a new starting place to explore the metaphysical relationship between the knower and the known. As an educationalist who was simultaneously active across the main dimensions of education; ideology, research and practice, Korczak's everyday activism stands in contrast to the prevalent pedagogy of innocence and sympathy. Working from the 'bottom up', Korczak's vision demonstrates resistance to power, providing a refresh to philosophical discussions and presents new possibilities for ethical and democratic practice.

The colonial discourse joins power and knowledge and is intimately linked with cultural and economic oppression. Within children's rights literature, there is an emerging interest in exploring the history of the idea of rights within childhood using a postcolonial lens, that is, from outside the dominant Eurocentric position (Huijsmans, 2016, p. 924). However, despite the hegemonic status of the United Nations Convention on The Rights

of the Child (UNCRC), the 'Western' notion of child rights history itself is sparsely documented and certain omissions are propagated. Dr Henryk Goldszmit, better known as Janusz Korczak (1878?–1942), is acknowledged, ignored and disputed as the inspiration behind the Convention (John, 2003; Hammarberg, 2009; Eichsteller, 2009; Milne, 2015). Ironically, Korczak himself laments in a distinctly postcolonial spirit, that his circumstances and suffering did not stem from being a Jew, but by virtue of his life's geographic and historical position, of being a slave under Russian imperialism, and later, for not being born in 'the West' (Lifton, 1988, p. 65; Ghetto, Diary, p. 114). Historically, children and concepts of childhood can be categorised into a number of perspectives: developmental; political and economic; or social and cultural (Mayall, 2000; Cunningham, 2005; Qvortrup et al., 2009). When viewed through the lens of either socialisation or psychology, it is difficult for another perspective to emerge, one which is rights based. Within paradigms, where a child is not yet a member of society or is still in development, that is a 'becoming', thus here 'children as citizens' remain only as an allegory. Paradoxically, the child will only be a citizen when he or she stops being a child (Cunningham, 2005; Wyness, 2006). Criticised for its dominance by *tabula rasa* thinking, these perspectives have gradually given way to social constructivism and a sociology of childhood. Instead of children as passive and unfinished, the new position acknowledges a reciprocal process where children actively construct their own versions of childhood (Waksler, 1991; James & Prout, 1997). The way institutions are organised and the actions taken with children, reflect how children are thought of, valued and how their competencies perceived. This applies to the individuals working directly with children, organisations as a whole and to the broader social context. As the UNCRC evolved from an older League of Nations' charter, today's rights narrative continues to struggle within a vein of caveats in that pleading the case for children (Lewin, 1997, pp. 120–121). "*Mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give*…." it rarely eludes this charity (Save the Children) perspective inherited from Egalatyne Jebb's authorship. Cunningham (2005) unwittingly quotes Korczak (1926, p. 176) in vehement disagreement with this philanthropic call to duty which implored goodwill. Where, traditionally, children were considered as poor, incompetent and dependent, needing the support, care and conductivity of adults, it would be a difficult starting point to transcend to an image of the child as a citizen holding rights (Dahlberg, Moss & Pence, 1999; MacNaughton, 2004). Even Peter McLaren (2000 p. XV) falls victim to once in a while Western romanticism by proclaiming that "childhood" in the US is disappearing, as if there only ever was one. His description of youth violence and school dropouts is typical of the rhetoric used for political gains in presenting both the danger young people are in and the danger they themselves pose within present American society. As the book addressed early childhood his point served the purpose of comparison to his more desirable, less problematic, "innocent" childhood. It demonstrates how readily the figurative Child located within anxieties is used rather than viewed as a political agent. Despite this seeming a minor transgression, it is consistent with attempts to address the political nature of early childhood, which by overemphasizing the repressive nature of social and economic structures, appear to negate all individual agency and subjectivity. Meanwhile, it is reinforcing the pedagogy of *sympathy* and *innocence* that continues to pervade our thinking and action throughout education and society at large (Dehli, 1995; Giroux, 2000). This new thinking of power in the study of childhood is often attributed to

the influence of Foucault. In the way that it sometimes is, Foucault, credits his early ideas on the use of architectural space sprung from reading the much celebrated and equally maligned '*Centuries of Childhood*' published by Phillippe Aries in 1960 (Foucault, 1980, p. 149; Kohan, 2015, p. 47). These reversals, borrowing and general messiness of ideas are more prevalent than pure. Hence, the aim here, is to present Korczak's messy vision of 'bottom up' resistance within everyday activism as the prevailing trend of *being inspired* by Korczak is not enough. Piaget [1], Kohlberg and Bettelheim were all entranced with his narrative but inscribed as it was within a legend and embodied by an individual meant it could not shake their own commitment to the hegemonic ideas of psychology.

Documented through sites such as the Reggio Emilia schools and empirical research, the status of children as capable of communicating their own opinions and providing information on matters of importance to them has demonstrated the concept of young children's agency, as experts in their own lives (Langsted, 1994; Dahlberg et al., 1999; Danby, 2000; Mayall, 2002; Clark, 2005). Alderson (2007) states that ground is slowly being gained in regards to respect for children's emerging status as competent decision makers. The questioning which seeks to demarcate an age as to when a child becomes developmentally capable to participate concedes power to the adult and ignores socio-cultural theories such as Vygotsky's (Corsaro, 2000; Woodhead, 2005; Prout & James, 2006; Smith, 2007). Innovative for his time, Korczak (1925, p. 176) abstained from any reservations regarding children's capacity to form their own views declaring them experts in their own issues and active agents in their own decision making;

"The child is a rational being, he knows well the needs, difficulties and obstacles of his life" Dahlberg et al., (1999) and Woodhead (1997/2005) criticise a needs focus and the assumptions which underlie them. Framing children as vulnerable, at risk or in need, guides professionals working with children to making assumptions about their needs, and describes an imposition of values upon children and their treatment, which is often pathological and Western based. It sits well with Korczak's sociology of childhood that can be simply stated as '*100 children are individual people, not tomorrow but today*' (Lifton, p. 113) and is the powerful tenet needed to understand Korczak's approach to pedagogical practice. It is evident that as a doctor, Korczak was well aware of the biological processes of maturation as he liked to refer to the Ancient Roman broad 7-year stages of *mentalite* to describe his life course (Ghetto, Diary, p. 68) (Parkin, 2010, p. 97). However, he consistently refused to demarcate the competent adult from the child or to position the Child as becoming. Instead he evokes the imagery of the newly arrived foreigner, who lacking experience does not have access to "real knowledge" and should be treated respectfully in their endeavours and difficulties (1926, p. 176). His early books, (Children of the Street; Children of the Drawing Room) demonstrate his awareness that even in the city of Warsaw, a childhood denoted markedly different lives rather than 'a disappearing childhood'. Unlike the Western view of a universal norm through which all children progress naturally, Korczak was questioning how social class, ethnicity, gender and location impact on children's lives. Wading through this intersectionality, he found the source of misery and oppression was often the imbalance of power between the worlds of the adult and the child. He questions why the knowledge of adults takes precedence over that of the child or why waiting to mature biologically determines a threshold of respect. From this collectivist cultural perspective (and almost post humanist), it would have been difficult for him to

imagine the individual child as anything but a laboratory dissection and as such, it simply did not exist. Although, Korczak does not wholly dismiss individual psychology, the dominant influence of animal studies or laboratory research popular with the behaviourists and biologists was profound during his time (Slee & Shute, 2003, p. 97). Sarcastically, he notes that if he needs to learn about child development he will read those textbooks on criminology or training animals. However, his preferred 'animal' metaphor is the complex social world of insects as he fantasizes that his children's home is a beehive or ant hill within an ecosystem rather than a barrack or prison he fervently resists it becoming under German occupation (Korczak 1978/2003, pp. 22, 91).

Behind the Iron Curtain during the 1970s, Kondziela formed the opinion that rights declarations served to divide on the basis of certain social values and resources but not to examine power. Thus the rights construction accentuated paternalism by allowing for all division to be scrutinized except the structure of the power itself, 'a *sui generis* social egalitarianisation' (Bińczycka, 1997). From the understanding that childhood and child rights are contested allows a different exploration of Korczak's ideas in formulating a charter for children's rights. In viewing it as part of a revolutionary movement that was resisting the oppression of its time. This observation may address some of the criticism directed at Western dominance in the formulation of the UNCRC. Scott (2007) is an advocate for critical realism as a framework to bridge the divide between research methodologies, which might be useful for exploring the mixed method approach Korczak employed in his own research (Siraj-Blatchford, 2010, p. 202). Alderson (2016) extrapolates critical realism further, suggesting the philosophy as a vehicle for increasing understanding and enhancing widespread implementation of child rights. However, the scope of this text does not consider the merits of comparatives between critical realism and the philosophy of Korczak and this is resigned to a future publication. This chapter attempts to envisage 'the birth of an idea' in as concise an overview as possible so as to provide a conceptual reference point for future work. It is conceded that there will be misunderstandings in the nature of postmodernism due to differing political and cultural contexts and its problematic relationship to Bauman's 'liquid modernity' (Turner, 1991, p. 2). To understand how Korczak was a man not solely of his time, a Foucauldian frame has been employed to connect him with contemporary social theory. Not to leave Korczak's writing as passive quotes on the page, nor defined within the boundaries of his own life but as Foucault (1978) would have it, with the force of events that manifested his books, "in struggles carried on around ideas, for or against them" (Afary & Anderson, 2010, p. 3).

Decades ago, researchers such as Alderson (2000, p. 21) and MacNaughton (2005) were challenging the perpetual blind spot that excludes the voices of children, and in the case of babies and very young children, even refuses them the status of children at all. The eminent London professor of law, Michael Freeman (2015), points the finger at the dominate child rights discourse and studies of childhood that relegate Korczak into remaining a largely forgotten figure. Thus when considering difficulties in implementing rights based approaches, revisiting Korczak as a critical pedagogy may yield fresh insight and novel solutions to the impasse of child rights particularly in constructs of citizenship (Jarosz, 2013). Emerging from the turn of the century Polish context, defined by its struggles for independence against Empires and occupation, Korczak's writing about education, rights and the child should have its place in the post-colonial critique

of education and also within legal, political and sociological libraries. Although mostly known for his tragic death during the Holocaust, Korczak, the Jewish writer, doctor and pedagogue, was an enigmatic and multi-faceted individual whose esoteric writing still proves deceptively simple yet arduous to study 75 years later. Having published over one thousand articles and more than 20 books, it covered his thinking, research, practice and his responses to the debates of the time. Some of his work has been translated into English but Betty Lifton's (1988) biography remains the most cited, even more referenced than those of Korczak himself. To maintain accessibility for future study by readers in English, reference here is made predominantly to Korczak's Ghetto Diary (1942/1978) and Lifton's work. Historian, Tim Parkin would issue a caveat on the use of the Ghetto Diary as a source for discussion. As with the history of childhood, emotions are closely linked with death, thus we cannot ignore the relationship between the imagery evoked and the 'demographic reality' of the Holocaust context within which it was written (2010, p. 104). Maintaining a critical lens, hopefully, refrains from giving either the 'stamp of truth' (Foucault, 1980).

Foucault's concept of authorship as a construct of an author able to take various roles with the writing of text, helps us to better understand Korczak and his writing. As Mencwel (2010, 2013) points out, Korczak as the author, experiences a distinctive shift between Children of the Street (1901, Dzieci Ulicy) & Children of the Salon/Drawing Room (1906, Dzieci Salonu), from sympathy to empathy, growing in his role from an advocate to an activist. He argues that Korczak has 'absorbed' the prevalent Marxist overtones of Warsaw revolutionaries and emerged as the clear voice of the movement, viewing the Child as the 'oldest proletariat' and 'the forgotten half of humanity'. Employing traditions from antebellum literature, Korczak's effort was geared towards the indoctrination of a new generation of Poles with an 'Ideology of Childhood' that would stop the physical and emotional abuse of children. It is impossible to measure the impact Korczak's popular books, radio show and status had in spreading his ideas amongst the general public. Professor Aleksander Lewin, a specialist who knew Korczak personally, took a lifetime to realise the Polish portrayal of Korczak as apolitical was incorrect (Theiss, 2013). A political reading of Korczak has also been masked from readers in English by the pervasive effects of philanthropy and psychology on the meaning of his words and actions. "Postmodernism claims that writing is always partial, local, and situational" and Liamputtong (2007) issues the reminder that although there is no chance of 'getting it right' the process of writing frees the author to tell the story in various ways (cited in White et al., 2009). This is characterized by the way Korczak employed various radical qualitative methods such as case studies and child ethnography now common in sociological research (Nowicka, 2013). For example, in direct contradiction to Mencwel's analysis mentioned earlier, Lifton's (1988) overtly psycho-historical biography, interprets '*the dog*' that bites the master as Korczak's individual awakening, a piece of writing semi-autobiographical in nature (Lifton, p. 39) This is a fairly simplistic reading of "I" as Foucault would pose that the "I" in the narration is different to the "I" who actually wrote the text, although both are the author's simultaneous identities. In this respect, we struggle to understand an author of multiple public identities and roles but also intensely private. Writing exclusively in Polish, but able to access diverse academic sources and thinking facilitated by his fluency of Russian, German and French. Even Korczak warns that "*you have to read all day to understand a day*

of mine" and the reader's vain attempts to relive his life will result only in the grasping of "*some vague summary in a careless sketch*".

A comprehensive examination of Korczak, let alone comparatively analysed in parallel with Foucault is unlikely in the short space of a chapter. With few translations into English, Hartman (1997) concurs that there are many ways of 'reading' Korczak. Furthermore, he points towards the lack of a rigorously researched body of work as the impediment to Korczak's ideas being propagated. However, without looking past the parochial, post-communist national image and becoming interested in the topic itself, as occurred with Vygotsky, such collaboration is difficult to establish or break through to the dominant academic circles. Although a European country, it is symbolic of cultural and economic oppression, Poland's academic reputation and Korczak's legacy are intertwined with the Holocaust and more recent negativity towards its immigrants, particularly in the United Kingdom (Spigelman, 2013). As a critical theorist/educational practitioner, Korczak's relevance to current social and political issues is the reason this work deviates from the well-worn path of a biographical narrative. Instead it just leaps in to share the provocations emerging from the author's doctoral research, in an effort to challenge the accepted timeline of the development of critical theory in education. By questioning what knowledge has become embedded as dominant per Foucault's 'regimes of truth', from our vantage we may begin to tease out an alternative interpretation of Korczak. This chapter aims at some insight into what was a revolutionary '*philosophical life*', as the *parrhesiast*, '*close to death, speaking a truth society did not want to hear*' (Foucault quoted in Kohan, 2015, p. 91) and will hopefully justify Korczak's inclusion within the critical theory discourse.

Why choose a comparative of Korczak and Foucault? Both defined their versions of power whilst refusing the Marxist paradigm. Specifically, Korczak (1922/1926/1929/1939) did not attempt to portray a binary domination to be contrasted with emancipation of relations between adults and children. In simple anecdotes, he related how power shifts, can be yielded to different ends and also contested or overthrown. Whereas Freire's commitment to a Marxist and hence class oppression creates opposing poles which to a large extent ignores the economically valueless child.

> *"Children, being small and weak, have little market value"* [Korczak, 1929]

Children are notably absent throughout '*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*' with Freire reserving only a few lines for their lives. This is by vaguely deferring to the (Marxist) psychology of Erich Fromm and instructing parents to avoid being 'authoritarian' (Freire, 1996, pp. 135–136) Whereas, both writers emerged from experiences of colonization, Korczak was able to grasp the various conceptualizations of childhood emerging in Western society (and influencing his). The Child as the *last savage* resulted in institutional contexts that ran parallel to oppressive strategies implemented by various regimes and he asserted his stance;

> *"The Child – already a resident, citizen and already a person. Not at some point will be, but already is."*

Going beyond the Marxist economic commodification of the person, Korczak explains that his fellow revolutionaries are misguided. From the earliest experiences, the small

child adopts those guidelines of struggle against power in seeking to be big, to identify with the oppressor (1929). His pedagogy sought not to simply reverse the roles but resist, disrupt and transgress the mechanisms of power relations, whether on the micro, meso, macro or exo levels in order to transform society, to create something new. It complements Foucault's description of all types of knowledge interlocked within "*the clash of petty dominations, as well as in the larger battles which constitute our world*" as described by Rabinow (1984, p. 6). Reading Korczak's lesser known work '*Bobo*' reveals the infant as a scientist, struggling to research his world empirically but also conjuring the image of the 'philosophical baby'. Also the title of Alison Gopnik's (2011) book on radically new understandings of the infant within neuroscience and psychology. Korczak's view of the 'child as philosopher and poet' is gaining ground in mainstream pedagogy (Szczepska-Pustkowska, 2013; Smolińska-Theiss, 2013; Murris, 2016) Almost a century ago, Korczak took to publishing children's thoughts as a 'philosophy of children' to learn from them rather than using philosophy for them, with them or about them. From a child reader of his 'Little Review' newspaper (Cohen, 1994, p. 292)

> "*Will the world never change? Will the one who suffered yesterday as the deprived child, today, when fully grown take a turn at the role of the oppressor*"

Whilst Foucault was concerned with the pressure that writing put on language, JK pressured his teachers and children into writing, to experience its use as a tool for the pedagogy of transgression, take up authorship that violated existing boundaries. Living in completely different space and time, it would be too simple to label them as opposing ends, Foucault seeking in life the "extreme limit – experience" and Korczak searching in the mundane and every day. Regarding post limit-experiences, Foucault learnt that these individual experiences were pointless in the transformation of society. In fact, in his later writing, on this aspect he seems to converge towards Korczak-ian concepts of human liberation. At times there appears almost 'mythical' connectivity between the two through time, not least in their distaste for Marxist ideology, Foucault experiencing it in practice for himself [3] and Korczak for anticipating its problems;

> *'I respect the idea, but it's like pure rainwater.*
> *When it comes down the rainspout of reality, it gets polluted'*
>
> (in Lifton, 1988, p. 184)

Although Foucault extracted himself from the structuralism of Marx, he remains entwined within the philosophy of Nietzsche despite trying to position himself independently as a critically reflective historian studying discourse. Korczak's thoughts on Nietzsche are relatively unknown, but there is a significant clue when he writes in his Ghetto Diary (p. 7) that he seeks to refute '*a deceitful book by a false prophet [..] has done a great deal of harm – Also sprach Zarathustra*'. Korczak gloats somewhat that his discussion with the mystic led him to profound understanding whereas, Nietzsche's path resulted in different learning and led him to death inside an insane asylum. Not that Korczak is sure about his own mental state as "*the son of a madman*", but is clear that psychiatrists will not have the chance to treat him against his will as he "*is too fond of my follies*" (Korczak 1978/2003, p. 91). Such themes of madness, loneliness, power and God are recurrent

throughout Korczak's work and provide a strong argument for further analytical comparison with other thinkers. [4]

Foucault's discussions of the nature of power and knowledge particularly within social institutions such as prisons, asylums and clinics, has brought his tools to the analysis of educational discourse and early childhood practice. (MacNaughton, 2005; Gallagher, 2008). It is worthwhile to note of the two writers shared a common interest in institutional care and its role in society. Korczak had been raised in a wealthy family before it plunged into poverty during his adolescence with the deterioration of his father's mental health. By his early thirties, Korczak had served on the front as a soldier, been a journalist, thrown in prison and had intimate knowledge of the 'madhouse' through visiting his father. A preoccupation with Korczak's scientific training as a physician neglects his foundational studies in politics, literature, psychology and sociology at the Flying University (an underground network established by feminists) and in association with Warsaw's intelligentsia (Lifton, 1988, pp. 35–36, 43). His medical studies afforded his visits to various asylums, clinics, schools and juvenile detention facilities in Germany, Switzerland, England and France. His travels, studies and social circles also brought him into contact with the academic mainstream and counterculture of his day. It is this amalgam of ideas that saw Korczak equipped to defy emerging developmentalism, psychoanalysis and hereditary theories of intelligence within education and society at large. Although, this scope does not allow for a deep exploration of the intelligentsia movements which spawned Korczak, suffice to say that he was not a lone voice but rather at the vanguard of a movement. Evidence of this atmosphere can be found in the UNESCO (1997) list of 100 globally influential educators which has Korczak's personal connections equivalent to 5% of the total number. Beyond Korczak himself, the list includes two personal colleagues, Dawid and Grzegorzewska and two visitors to his orphanage.

The intelligentsia and revolutionary atmosphere surrounding Korczak cannot be underestimated. Both Korczak and Foucault rejected Marxism and capitalism, although perhaps for different reasons. However, in contradiction of Mencwel's previous assertion, simply living in an unequal society and reading Marxist literature could not have provided the visionary depth of understanding the doctor displays within his writing. By reading his texts as a personal life history within the larger historical context, rather than a linear biography of facts and events, there is possibility to gain an insight into this. As a young man active in student circles he was exposed to revolutionary rhetoric and youthful zeal but of more consequence is his coming into contact with two of the leading Marxist scholars of the time. One of these, Ludwik Krzywicki was a sociologist and translator of Marx's *Das Kapital* and the developer of the theory of the migration of ideas (memes). Both arrested for political activism, Krzywicki, who was known for taking his work to prison, potentially having weeks for opportune discussion with an enthusiastic young student, Korczak (Falkowska, 1989, p. 139). The second influence was perhaps even more important, that of Stanisław Brzozowski, now an obscure philosopher whose study of Kant, Nietzsche and Marx led to his own 'philosophy of labour' (Lewin, 1997, p. 124; Falkowska, 1989, p. 83; Ciesielska, 2016). When Korczak was invited to contribute to the socio-political gazettes in Warsaw, Brzozowski was already an established political commentator who took the budding writer under his wing. Understanding the older man's accusations against Engel's scientific Marxism, as being determinist, naive and alienating,

assists in framing Korczak's view of work particularly within the context of education and childhood. Key to this anthropocentric 'philosophy of labour' was retrieving the humanist and philosophical basis of Marxism with an emphasis on subjectivity and the role of the person in actively creating and re-creating reality (Walicki, 1973, p. 157). The emphasis turned away from economic necessity and productivity towards other factors such as willingness (the quality of the will) and the social cohesion and strength of bonds influencing the will. Although acknowledging that all humans reflected their economic and social conditions, rather than dissecting work as labour input and product output, Brzozowski examined work as an experiential process. This internal performance analysis maintained by the will, makes work and its products via physical effort externally possible. The effort was not solely that of the individual as if a part of a machine, but dependent upon other labour which has created the organisation and culture in which it is undertaken. Work is a complex system, created and maintained by society determined by the quality of its will. Although his earlier work was distinctly historical materialist, Brzozowski eventually reaches a conclusion which sent him into Marxist exile and ostracized from socialist circles. Walicki (1973) concludes that he finally declares that discipline of will required a strong, traditional moral bond as an essential, and as such, recognized religion as invaluable in this task and the base element of the intensity of the social bond. His hypothesis strongly argued that work was an essence of spirituality or an inner 'willingness to work' rather than materiality or necessity, and was deeply seated in custom, culture and community that was crucial for the continuity of work. This system of work acquires an almost religious-like veneration which Lewin (1997, p. 124) describing each component – work, tools and good workers acquiring status as cults.

But coming back to Foucault, he *is* a materialist stating that there cannot be a position of certainty outside that of history and society, no universal truths. Similarly, Korczak had become suspicious of universalism and the scientific claims of different theories as truth. As his Berlin paediatric supervisors promoted their new invention of infant formula, trusting his own experiences, writing as Doctor Goldszmit, he sided with his Parisian colleagues to advocate for breastfeeding (Falkowska, 1989, p. 133). He advised the Mother to become the expert on her own Child, to glean knowledge through painful experiences, learning to trust her own perceptions as no expert or textbook "can know her child as she does" (Lifton, p. 80). In parallel, he also invests in the child as the expert, with anecdotes advising to learn from each child and from the children in a group is the mantra peppered throughout his work (Korczak 1978/2003, pp. 26, 40). In this regard, Korczak advocated and utilised empirical observation but largely his views were incompatible with the materialists as they regarded matter as the only reality thus denying the concept of the soul and any divine power. Probably under the influence of Brzozowski, Dawid (the skilled translator of Kant) and Krzywicki (of Marx), it was the Kantian objection to materialism with its various forms that prevailed. Enmeshed in various ideologies it is problematic to make too much of the influence of positivism on Polish intelligentsia during Korczak's era, as Silverman (2011) has been prone to doing (cited by Krappmann, 2013, p. 334). It is the wording itself that Foucault would argue was problematic. Chekhov may have been drawn to the worldview of rationalism and the Positivist promise, but his 'spiritual condition' would have held him back from a full embrace (Bunin, 2007, p. 66). Similarly, it was unlikely the Polish and Jewish intellectuals striving for independence and freedom from

subservience would fully subscribe to the *scientific truth* presented as "survival of the fittest". Thus without certainty, change and time act upon an enduring substrate, he evokes a biopolitics symbolic of Gaia that binds all people, animal, plant and stone; "*Man is both Earth and heaven, plant and animal*" (Korczak cited in Starczewska, 1997).

By reflecting on ideas that have migrated and colonized the territory of our everyday lives and become reified within our discourse, there is value to be found in exploring the Korczak's structure-agency relationship that is more in line with contemporary social and integrated theories. However, this is issued with a Korczak-warning that although a wholeness or totality may be sought, '*life never gives more than partial liberation. Achievement can never be more than fragmentary*' (Lifton, 1988, p. 88). Time is fleeting and with this comes a lack of certainty, a mystery at its core that cannot be explained by the combination of the psycho-biology of the individual, interpersonal relations and the influences of the cultural-historical structures of society. This allows for a place where things can be seen in their differences almost as a whole but also within their connectivity (Norrie, 2010).

Despite this distinctly spiritual tone, surrounded by Jews, Christians, Communists and Zionists, the orphanages were criticised for not either being Jewish or Polish enough, in that the way the knowledge of the religion, language and culture was not being transmitted with sufficient gusto. Declaring that there was no one truth, Korczak's identification with the modernist ideals may have stemmed from those Kantian and Arts & Crafts precursors drawing him towards art, literature and revolution. He declared his rejection early on for the consumer culture that he observed emerging in newly industrialised Warsaw. Before 'The Theatre of the Absurd' emerged post-war in the West, Korczak admired the absurdist art of Warsaw contemporary, Witkacy whose work expressed the belief that human existence had no meaning. Korczak's (1931) own play, '*The Senate of Madmen*' prophesied the rise of the totalitarian states led by Hitler and Stalin. His rejection of Enlightenment ideals is starkly presented in his monologue entitled '*Euthanasia*'. Naming the symbol of progress '*the Eiffel Tower*' as a '*contemporary tower of Babel*', Korczak describes how secular State institutions and services replaced those of the Church (Ghetto, Diary, p. 87). *"The penal, civil and commercial codes are the equivalent of the old decalogue and its commentaries. Prisons are former cloisters. Court verdicts – excommunications."*

That Korczak writes this in the weeks before his death at the hands of the Nazis cannot escape being connected with the pessimistic work of Adorno or Arendt's banality of evil;

"Cruelty comes in many forms; the whip, the stick or the pencil.
In the name of efficiency, to keep order, procedures and priorities."

Offering his insight into World War II as a Jewish insider, with cool detachment, he provides an analysis of a "naive battle" which boosts the economy by providing work and goods but where the underlying issue was the migration of people (and their interbreeding) on both German and Russian sides (Ghetto, Diary, p. 104). However, somehow through his musings that he despises the other Jewish doctor more than the young soldier outside his window there is reserved a certain optimism for a humanism beyond humanism. One is reminded of his motto borrowed from Kropotkin;

"People are generally better than the institutions they serve"

In his comparison with State institutions, he declares at least the Church had held sanctity within, nothing outside only the "beasts of burden, numbed, exploited, helpless". Therefore, although Korczak professed a universal connection, he reserved a particular position for humanity and its power. According to his hero, the French entomologist Fabre (1823–1915), animals are a-historical, unaware of their own history or future, they do not take risks and as such, there is no intentionality in their actions, only instinct (Fabre, 1937). Only human activity can be transformative and creative, the ability to produce not only objects but ideas, institutions and culture. Now that children are constructed as active agents rather than passive objects allows them to be released from their conflation with animal studies and gain status as people (Beresford, 1997; Punch, 2002; Smith, 2002). However, some argue it was precisely the Postmodernist turn that would be responsible for a fragmentation of the human condition, which for some philosophers, left '*the child as less than not much*' (Staples, 2008). Searching for optimism, Sven Hartman (2009), the Swedish professor of pedagogy, gains hope in an '*inestimable source of inspiration*' he finds in Korczak's work. He explains, in Korczak's imagery (1929) the Child appears to become more, with closer connection with history and nature, the embodiment of the mystery of humanity;

> *"The child – that little nothing, is the flesh-&-blood brother of the ocean wave, of the wind, & ashes; of the sun & the Milky Way. This speck of dust is the brother of every ear of corn, every blade of grass-every fledgling from the nest there is something in the child which feels & explores – suffers, desires & delights – loves & hates, believes & doubts, something that approaches, something that turns aside.*
> *In its thought this small speck of dust can embrace everything: stars & oceans, the mountain & the abyss. And what is the actual substance of his soul if not the cosmos, but without spatial dimensions …"*

Although elevating the status of each individual, he does not subscribe to the pragmatism of his contemporary, Dewey (1899/2010), who proposed that choice fulfils individual needs whilst maintaining living together as community. Korczak, in fact, echoed not just the liberal idea of children making their own informed choices, his cryptic statements eluded a poststructuralist perspective of childhood and that choice was not freely available. The "illusion" is created and maintained by the dominant discourses, and the purpose of Korczak's methods was to reveal the hidden forces at play. Although his Christian and Jewish orphanages were kept separate by law and by funders, Korczak embraced pluralism, with the children attending local schools and experiencing the neighbourhood. Children were encouraged to engage with the traditions and history of their respective culture and experience it within the contrast to daily life with all of its conflict and contradictions in values. Beyond Freire's '*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*', although Korczak acknowledged the constraints of social structures and the multiple ways in which his children found themselves on the bottom rung of the 'power ladder', his approach centred on the agency of each person to individually resist in the smallest of ways, even against themselves. The development of will and willingness as understood by Jan Dawid (1911) who had been a student of Wundt's can be considered Korczak's teacher training. That "*to know, to want and to do are the three sources that animate human life*". Dawid's other experimental work into what he considered to be academic intelligence showed it to be independent of gender,

race, class or religion counter to the prevailing idea that the poor or ignorant were bound by their inheritance to remain so (Kupisiewicz, 2000, p. 1). Thus the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had begun a discourse on a new vision of Polish school, breaking with the previous positivist utilitarianism, with Korczak writing in 1907;

> *"The child was considered a person, as a being, with whom one would have to be reckoned with, which must not be led on a leash […]. Past despotism has survived within education [upbringing], the children's old fear of their parents disappeared over time – what to put in its place? Love, respect and trust."* [School of Life]

It was connection to these circles that led Korczak to reject the unilateral professionalization of school, with Smolinskia-Theiss (2013) proposing that 'his pedagogical manifesto, asks, whether we teach children *what*, *how* and *for whom* to live?' As he mused on the vision and mission of the future school, Korczak is adamant about the one it replaces;

> *"Everything that happens here is either a terrible mistake, or a shameful lie. I looked upon the whole of school as if on a madhouse (lunatic asylum)."*

As education practices assess averages and PISA scores and theorists homogenize 'the poor' or 'the working class', Zygmunt Bauman (2003) reminds us of the words of Wittgenstein, "*The whole planet can suffer no single torment greater than a single soul*". Bauman explains this within the spirit of Korczak's pedagogy by highlighting the difference between two films both set during the Holocaust; Spielberg's blockbuster 'Schindler's' List' is about survival at all cost, whereas Andrzej Wajda's 'Korczak' was on the value of dignity. This lesson in social Darwinism is applauded by Hollywood audiences – *the will of the strong, clever and cunning to survive overcomes the weak and hapless*. Brzozowski declares, "*Mankind creating itself – such is the fundamental, the principal idea of philosophy*" (Walicki, 1989). If this was the constructivist foundation from where Korczak had started, four decades later, he did not profess a vision of man's conquest and power over the universe. Thus to change the world, Korczak had to examine '*the will to….*" retain human dignity and value, for oneself and the other. Mencwel (2010) explains that for Korczak the horrors of the Ghetto were not a surprise, rather awareness of the ongoing effects of rationalization and the logic found within the narrative of modernity. His experiment in human essence would have to begin as early as possible, so the infant is not humiliated, the young child not made a fool. Resonating with Levinas, this pedagogical love is not possession nor power, battle or fusion and resides beyond knowledge, must remain a mystery that cannot be known (Bauman, 2003). Mencwel (2010) concurs that Korczak's drive and pedagogical evolution came from the desire to understand human essence, not simply to love and know the child. Freire's student-teacher contradiction is solved where both are simultaneously teachers and students, thus Korczak implores teachers to be critically reflective in learning how to be with the child;

> *"Be yourself. Seek your own road. Get to know yourself before you desire to know children"*

There are countless indictments written on the cruelty of school of the early twentieth century. Korczak, as no exception, also describing domineering teachers, harsh punishment, boredom from rote learning and disregard for children's interests and needs for

comfort, movement, play and nutrition. From this position, we gain clarity into Korczak's reputation for holding many professions, teachers and doctors alike, in contempt. When the early days of the children's home were in mayhem, rather than blame the children, he sacked the teachers. Diplomas held no sway, as he was prone to issuing edicts that he preferred an old woman who raised chickens for child care than a graduate nurse (Lifton, p. 69) or '*old nannies and construction workers are often better pedagogues than a doctor of psychology*' (ibidem, p. 33) To bridge the abyss created by the professional hierarchy, the janitor and washerwoman were a regular presence at staff meetings, on hand "*to offer specialist advice*" (ibidem, p. 107). Korczak himself was often mistaken as the gardener or dishwasher rather than the celebrity doctor, as he explained that there should not be allowed to exist such dirty or dangerous jobs to be considered beneath him. Echoing Brzozowski, in his division of labour, he blames vanity as a downfall and demands respect for the honest worker. He recommends that no job be purely physical nor mental, much like a crop rotation for farming or change of climate for one's health, he slyly praises the Pope for taking a day to humbly wash the feet of the homeless (Ghetto, Diary, p. 107). In order to realise his societal pedagogy in practice, aside from his publications and lecturing at various universities, Korczak established the multidisciplinary Bursa as a boarding house for university students to learn about education through living amongst the resident children. An adolescent girl, newly arrived 'from the provinces' recounts her surprise at securing a competitive Bursa place based upon her commitment to children's right to play (Merzan, 1987, p. 6). Korczak's application of Dawid's 'souls of teachers' theory fits well within Gert Biesta's (2010, p. 21) retake of Levinas' work posing that education works in three domains with overlapping aims. Qualification (schooling) covers the right kind of knowledge, skills and dispositions needed for the future. Socialisation concerns a maintenance of the existing order and formation of identity as part of that profession. Lastly, subjectification counters socialisation so as not to assimilate the new into the existing hence arguing against determinism. Conserving a degree of independence, the individual is not a 'specimen' serving replication of the existing order. It is this subjectivity that facilitates an '*emergentist epistemology*' allowing for the creation of solutions which are not only new but previously unimaginable (Osberg et al., 2008). The child was to be read each day different to the day before, as a manuscript of hieroglyphs, that the Child is an evolving mystery, underpinned Korczak's oft reply to questions was a cheeky 'I don't know' which he acknowledged was the key to new breakthroughs and limitless possibility (Lifton, p. 80). This resonates with the idea that knowledge (or knowing) is not revealed from the engagement in the moment but that each 'knowledge event' is in itself a radical new way of knowing, thus one that cannot be recaptured or repeated (Osberg & Biesta, 2007, pp. 33–40). This translation of ideas into practice with constant critical reflexivity can be dismissed as a search for the utopian ideal but one that Smolińska-Theiss (2013) believes Korczak would defend as such;

> *"Faith in the power of education is not the delusion of a dreamer, but the result of centuries of study and experience."*

Rather than seek the emancipation of the child within Romanticism as per the 'deschooling' movement of the 1970s, Korczak turned to Revolution for inspiration. An anticolonisation thesis had appeared in the late 19th Century in the political circles of London

and Paris, propagated successfully by, amongst others, the anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Highly anti-capitalist, his opposition to serfdom and exploitation rang true for the young Polish doctor, who as a colonial subject of the Russian Empire, experienced the harsh practices of Tsarist schooling, censorship and army conscription. However, Kropotkin was criticising not only the oppression of colonies but the intrusion of the modern state into daily life by its hijacking of social activities such as education and welfare for its own ends (Morris, 2014, p. 176). This background is what makes Korczak strikingly different to other philosophers and thinkers. That praxeology remained central to his work rather than a short-lived periphery relates to his standing in solidarity with the oppressed that Freire (1996, p. 155) required. In 1905, long before his famous orphanage is built, Korczak delivers a scathing commentary on "contemporary school". With a tone that could have been responding to Dewey, that even if turned towards the service of democracy or citizenship, mass schooling was insufficiently politically aware and critical of its own structure and process, thus doing little to address the discrimination of class and gender;

> *"For anyone today, it is no secret that the modern school is an institution thoroughly nationalist-capitalist, that first and foremost responsibility is of the education of central bureaucrats and patriotic-chauvinists."*

He argued that the case of school reform was most closely associated with the general reforms of the State. The school as an institution was dependent on the whole and closely linked to complex issues, the school influences directly, faithfully reflects and is enslaved to them. Korczak (1905) mocked the banality of the apolitical school "*independent of time and space, a school that would serve pure knowledge without any political colouring, in other words – a school on the moon*". He branded each individual State's education system with its own distinctive trademark, reserving a particular criticism of colonialism for the English;

> *"So English school educate the brave, clever and nimble plantation owner-colonists and industrialists, whose goal is to operate more and more territories, to exploit more and more new territories, to harness more and more new markets, squeeze the benefit of English power through more and more tribes and nations. And throughout these immoral purposes, through exemplary schools, the English government achieves successfully."*

This drew from the influence of the radical humanism proposed by Kropotkin, who also formulated his ideas within the sphere of crime and punishment, proposing that human essence was repressed by institutions. Later, Foucault would argue against humanism, that the human nature which wills to power also is that which "*dominates and exploits us*" (Newman, 2001, pp. 84–85). However, Korczak drawing upon Kropotkin's humanism more than a century ago, came to similar conclusions as Foucault;

> *"Schools serve the same social functions as prisons and mental institutions – to define, classify, control, and regulate people."*

Korczak's view that education is discriminatory against the young resonates with the emerging posthumanism particularly within philosophy of early childhood education. Moss (2016) paraphrasing Murris provides an accessible definition of the posthumanist

child as enmeshed with relations with all earth dwellers constantly becoming and intra-acting which Korczak says as so;

"You may not believe in the existence of the soul,
yet you must acknowledge that your body will live on as green grass, as a cloud.
For you, are after all, water and dust."

In considering Foucault's contempt for ideal models and utopias, it lays in an over reliance on theory, searching for abstract models to be superimposed onto societal conditions. In examining Korczak's model, we find no Rousseau-ian sentimentalist and an awareness that his vision is something unattainable '*to have one longing, that is for a better life which does not exist but one day might*' so it is worth striving for anyway (Merzan, 1987). This returns to the idea that Korczak was striving for philosophy, not as an antiquated and isolated discipline but in a lived form, as an active, living exercise that is problematized by the intrusion of reality, in space and time (Foucault, 2015, p. 15).

Exploring Korczak's writing using these Foucauldian tools, not only reveals his underpinning framework but also similar tools. Korczak created institutions in practice, within which he could investigate the complex network of power, horizontal, vertical and radiating networks which shift. External as well as internal. Remarkably, the institutions he established explored both the 'state' apparatuses of power and those of resistance. According to Gordon (1980), Foucault defines power as structural, "*a complex strategic situation in a given social setting requiring both constraint and enablement*". Counter-power is necessary as the counterbalance and even to its erosion of power of the usual hierarchy. Korczak's pedagogy takes a political angle from the outset and challenges perspectives and habits on the basis of power, accepted rights, expectancies and capabilities. The disruptions that Korczak introduced daily into the lives of those around him, were designed to do just that – disrupt power allowing for counter-power, in a way, exploring what Foucault calls *governmentality* (Gallagher, 2008, pp. 401–403). The old doctor's actions were often described by those who knew him as eccentric, sometimes humorous, and at other times, problematic. The main ingredient was that they were unexpected, in flowing against the grain of conventional norms. Whether defiant or peculiar, the behaviour he exhibited in even simple situations was intentional to transgress boundaries and illuminate the inherent complexity of even the dullest tasks or events. These deliberate exclusions and inclusions – who was in or out and on what basis, were part of deliberate denial and unconscious legitimization (Smolińska-Theiss, 2013).

Despite much of Korczak that resonates with posthumanism, he retains his anthropocentric gaze, perhaps related to his religiosity or Jewish roots, but yet there appears to be something more. Not only does he unlearn, allow himself to be challenged by the rich child, but he hopes the child sees the Child in the man, an equal (Lifton, p. 84). Perhaps his search for what is human essence is relevant for our time, one which Freire describes as our anthropological movement, where the youth are preoccupied with what and how they are 'being' (Freire, 1993, p. 25). By focussing on the interconnectivity of the child with the adult, other children, family, community, Korczak's extension far exceeded that of the later (Bronfenbrenner) ecosystem model by including all living and nonliving objects across time and space. In amongst the Romantics lies the sense of the paradoxical words of Wordsworth (1802); '*The child is the father of man*'.

Rather than a helpless new 'thing' the child, *Bobo* (1914) is an Ancient, conversing with history, in touch with their familial ancestors and descendants, bound to and boundless in nature and possessing a universal language that adults have forgotten.

Notes

[1] Piaget visited Korczak's orphanage with elements incorporated in his theories that appear familiar with Korczak's work. This was possibly due to the influence of his research assistant, Alina Szeminska who was from Warsaw (Kohler, 2014).

[2] Even more so if currents are 'picked up' by others such as Emmi Pikler, the Hungarian paediatrician operating an orphanage (currently a comparative of her work with Korczak is the subject of PhD research in Italy); Ludwik Rachmann, the founder of UNICEF (the brother of Korczak's colleague Helena Radlińska); Alice Miller's 'Prisoners of Childhood', in the Warsaw Ghetto as a teenage girl and graduated from university in Warsaw post-war).

[3] Foucault lived and worked in Warsaw, Poland as a cultural attaché and lecturer at the University of Warsaw.

[4] Refers to the Author's current doctoral research.

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Seeking Alternatives to the Post Colonial Critic Theories Methodology and Antecedents

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Abstract

We noticed that the occupational colonialism has returned to its former occupied colonies after leaving them, in a situation called Independence. This situation is present in the international politics in several regions of the world. From here arises the problematic question: How theories, of removing remnants of the occupational colonialism, have dealed with their subject matter and reality? To answer this question we were obliged to choose a method; so we choose the historical and descriptive methods because they are more appropriate to treat this issue.
The methodology applied was: extensive documentary analysis, review and theoretical reflection related to the "decolonial" perspective and its link with worldly indigenous movements. Then we got to detect any presence of thinkers, schools and trends, all over the world, about this topic, in theory and practice. This chapter doesn't deal with the additional refracting oppressions outside of the colonization, such as racism, homophobia, sexism (Reinharz, 1992, p. 21), as well as discrimination based on class and ability/mobility and their methodologies (Bell, 1998, p. 54). We found as a result that the cultural, religious, social, economic and political thought of the worldly indigenous movements are important components in the constitution of the deoccupational, decolonizational, post-occupational and post-colonizational process, and has great representations with many phenomenons in the world.

Introduction

Some of the most diverse scenarios for "*decolonizing thought*" have been: the Caribbean case, the Indian case, the American case and the Arab-Islamic case.

From (Eugenio María DE HOSTOS) (1839–1903) "*La Peregrinación de Bayoán, 1863*", (José MARTÍ) (1853–1895), the Colombian (Manuel QUINTÍN LAME) (1880–1967) with his dynamics coming from the political thought and looks through the "*decolonial*" theory, (Aimé CÉSAIRE) (1913–2008), (Frantz FANON) (1925–1961), (Roberto Fernández RETAMAR) (b. 1930), to the Kenian (Ngugi Wa THIONG'O) (b. 1938),

(Linda TUHIWAI SMITH) and (Chela SANDOVAL), without forgetting the American (Cedric ROBINSON) (1940–2016). among others, a group of Caribbean writers, essayists, novelists, and social scientists, has been consistent in describing and assessing the atrocities of colonialism and its historical and contemporary effects in their region, in order to neutralize it.

In India, it is supposed that the political writings of the political leader (Mohandas, K. GANDHI) reflect many "*resisting thoughts*" against "*colonialism*", and the writings of the Indian thinker (Asish NANDY) (b. 1937) could be seen in the same way

The Post-Colonial Critic theorists, in the Islamic and Arab World, are prominent, as: the Algerian thinker (Malek BENNABI) (1905–1973) in his "*Susceptibility to the occupational colonialism*", (Mohammad Naqeeb AL-ATTAS) (b. 1931) in his "*Period Of Post-Occupational Colonialism*", (Hussein ALATAS) (1928–2007), (Farid ALATAS) (b. 1961), (Edward SAID) (1935–2003) and (Talal ASAD) (b. 1932)

We can mention also the Iranian (Ali SHARIATI), (Ho Chi MINH), (Enrique DUSSEL), (Oliver COX), (W.E.B. DUBOIS), (Angela DAVIS), (Sylvia WYNTER), (Silvia Rivera CUSICANQUI), and (Pablo González CASANOVA).

The colonizer recruited his intellectual fighters, such (Orientalists), (Anthropologists), and (Sociologists) such as; (George BALANDIER) (1920–2016) in his "*Sociology of dynamics*", the French-Tunisian (Albert MEMMI) (b. 1920) and (Pierre BOURDIEU) (1930–2002) in his "*Sociologie de l'Algérie*", and ideas about "decolonialism".

Revising the Terms and their Concepts

Colonization:

The military and political concept "*Colonization*" doesn't sound as a bad fact. Colonizing means building, lodging, finding solutions for active persons.

There is no sense of guilty in it, nor sense of stranger. It doesn't contain sense of committing atrocities against indigenous people, nor killing them individually or in mass killing. It doesn't contain sense of taking earth of others, nor their countries.

Colonialism:

According to these meanings "*Colonialism*" is a good action for flourishing earth, life and man conditions. It doesn't mean to take illegally all kinds of goods from the "*Colonized Countries*" to the "*Colonizing Countries*".

To continue the ideological process, the military and political concept "*Colonialism*" is coined in the "*Colonial*" laboratories, and propagated by (colonial experts) called (scientists) or (scholars).

Colonial:

Sometimes they use a "*Fuzzy Concept*" to hide its real sense. Hundreds of books are entitled as the kind of (Colonial country) but they mean the "*Colonized Country*". It's the case of Algeria for example; hundreds of French historians entitle their books as (colonial Algeria), they don't mean the (real Algeria) or the (indigenous Algeria) but they mean (the colonizing french presence in Algeria).

They use a unique direction for the concept "*Colonial*". They should say the (Colonized Algeria). The concept (Colonial) is suitable for use, by the colonizing military and political administration.

Decolonial:

(Gurminder K. BHAMBRA) wrote about the concept (Decolonial) in his article "Post-colonial and decolonial dialogues", so in same way we can treat that (Bhambra, 2014, p. 7).

Indianism, in Bolivia, with (Fausto REINAGA) (1906–1994) and his "*La Revolución India*", proposed a strong "*decolonial contents*", even if the concept "*decolonial*" is not used.

Decolonization:

In the contrary, the military and political concept (Decolonization), and its ideology (Decolonialism), helas are coined by the (Colonizers). So, what does it mean?

Simply and clearly the colonizer's answer is clear; that the (colonizers) faced fierce revolutions in the (Colonized countries), and they've got a huge amount of killed military men, so they loosed the war of preserving their (Colonization), they are obliged to return to their (original countries).

This concept doesn't suit the (colonized) peoples and countries, because it has one single meaning way, taking one direction only, from the (colonizer) to the (colonized). It reveals the identity of the user; he is in the guilty side.

It seems that the concept "decolonization" is not coined firstly by indigenous scholars, e.g., (Linda TUHIWAI SMITH).

As a political concept, it is much older; that does not necessarily mean the English concept itself (i.e., "decolonization") as shows up literally, but that its meaning shows up as an essential part of reflexion, argumentation and political strategy.

In this latter sense, some western researchers say that you can find the topic treated in early *Greek* and *Indian* political texts (e.g., THUCYDIDES' "*Peleponnesian War*" or KAUTILYA's "*Arthashastra*"). That may mean; their ancestors, who were Greek, are the cleverest people in the world, as if there is no civilization before the Greek one, and that other people have no civilization at all, and they are incarnation of idiocy. Of course, there are many more ancient contributions of various cultural origins. I would suspect that this conversation would be many thousands of years old in many parts of the world.

This concept was coined in the first half of the 20th century, for example in the (Francophone Negritude Movement) with (FANON), (CÉSAIRE*)* (1913–2008), and others. In its current context and understanding, when putting the meaning in its intellectual use, in social scientific literature, we can discover that it may be a quite modern concept.

The critical thinking is a central aspect of "*Decolonization*", not only of the "*colonization of territories*", but also, and evens more, of "*the minds of the colonized people*".

We can start with criticizing "*Western concepts*" and look for their origins that are, then, "*miraculously*" found in "*Western traditions of thought*", which are, by the way, indigenous themselves. This would be part of the "*mental colonization*".

It might be helpful, in the aim of "*decolonizing minds*", to look into "*non-Western contributions*" and into "*contributions of times past*" when "*there was no West*" as we know it today.

It is supposed that the political writings of the political leader (Mohandas K. GANDHI) reflect many "*resisting thoughts*" against "*colonialism*".

One of the most diverse scenarios for "*decolonizing thought*" has been the Caribbean case. From (Eugenio María de HOSTOS) (1839–1903) "*La Peregrinación de Bayoán, 1863*", (José MARTÍ) (1853–1895), (Frantz FANON), (Aimé CÉSAIRE) to (Roberto Fernández RETAMAR) (b. 1930), among others, a group of Caribbean novelists, essayists, writers, and social scientists, has been consistent in assessing and describing the atrocities of "*colonialism*" and its historical and contemporary effects in their region, in order to "*neutralize it*".

I suppose that many foundational thoughts for "*decolonizing theories*" have their origins in the multicultural *Caribbean*, a region which still lives varied and abusive forms of colonization, such as political, economic and intellectual colonization.

Decoloniality:

There are two ways in the introduction of "*decolonial ideas*" in the Latin American case.

The first way started between the 1960s and 1970s within the indigenous movements.

The second one is the official one and it is academic and influenced by the Indian post-coloniality. It started in the early 1990s, building up on the fundaments of "*dependency theory*" and others. Its prominent figures were: (Aníbal QUIJANO) (Quijano, 2007, pp. 168–178) and (Walter MIGNOLO) (Mignolo, 2007, pp. 449–514) and others.

This line of thought influenced also intellectuals, such as (Silvia Rivera CUSICANQUI) (b. 1949) in her "*Oppressed But Not Defeated: Peasant Struggles Among the Aymara and Quechua in Bolivia, 1900–1980*". She mastered in her book entitled "*Pueblos originarios y estado*" because she put the finger on a real persist problem. That's the case of colonized Al-Andalus (Spain nowadays) from 1492 until now. It's the same case of Gibraltar, Singapore and Mindanao and many countries and places in the world.

So, as a concept, "*Decoloniality*" is clearly "*non-indigenous*". As a set of ideas, clearly it is, at least in Latin America.

I would take into consideration (Frantz FANON) as well, with contributions since 1952.

We were obliged to put an instrumental introduction to begin engaging these great contributors who were knowledgeable about indigenous studies and their works.

Occupation:

The military and political concept "*Occupation*" sounds as if it's a meaning for a bad fact.

Criticizing the Western Knowledge

THE GLOBALIZATION PARAMETERS:

"*Globalization*" imposes itself through "*parameters*" which are, in contexts where exist "*great margins*" of inequality, poverty and illiteracy, where the meaning of "*development is still hesitant*". When it is inescapable to find ourselves at a historical fetlock of everlasting changes; "*free market*" becomes clear as secondary.

CAN WE BELIEVE IN THE SO-CALLED UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE?

The so-called "*universal knowledge*", is the knowledge not pretended by any one group of people. It becomes a currency for the global knowledge. Everything else can be disregarded.

CAN WE BELIEVE IN THE SO-CALLED OBJECTIVE KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS?

The western, so-called "*objective knowledge*" systems are overpowering ruling in formulating exactly what problematic "*questions could be asked*" and "*what research could be agreeable*".

Simply thinking about "*which areas to research*?" raises questions about "*what counts as veritable*?" (Tuhiwai, 1999, p. 44), and thus about "*what constitutes genuine research*?".

SEGREGATED KNOWLEDGE:

The so-called "*Reliable Knowledge*", promoted by the modern educational paradigm, is the knowledge that ends in a "*Segregated and Fragmentary Knowledge*", because it breaks to the last consequences, with respect to the recognition of its function, that conditioned to its empirical application that is supposed to "*make of knowledge something true*", and which is also supposed to be sufficient, which, in the face of totality, seems to be "*limited*".

THERE IS NO LEGITIMATE KNOWLEDGE SAVE THE WESTERN ONE:

The "*Rightful Knowledge*" is unmarked and decontextualized by its author's prospect. This is the accepted fiction, at least.

There are punishments for those who surpass the borders of intellectual respectability and go above what is well-respected as "*Legitimate Knowledge*" (Tuhiwai, 1999, p. 63).

Principally, "*Western universities*", but also major media corporations and governments are the arbitrator of "*Western Knowledge*", who judge as acceptable the "*Legitimate Knowledge*", in a globalised world.

THE LEGITIMATING MECHANISM OF FORMAL EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE:

In this way, "*evaluation in education*" is presented as the "*legitimating mechanism*" of "*formal educational practice*", as it is proposed as that "*gives certainty, objectivity*" and therefore "*Control of the Knowledge*" that is imparted, which metonymically resembles, to fit in the same epistemic framework of what "*Western Culture*" values as the form that "*has the true*", which also ends up being "*a way to legitimize curricula*" that "*favor politically the social organization*" and the current status quo, as (Freire) wrote:

"*To set quantifiable objectives, to evaluate their achievement by means of standardized tests, to make elementary classifications, to carry out attributive processes, to distribute resources by means of criteria consistent with the results… This is a way of making a rigorous rationality succeed. Science is neutral, numbers sing. Total quality, quality control, quality circles: expressions that turn in the orbit of neoliberal society and that become deadly traps for the disinherited ones of the earth*" (Freire, 1997a, p. 79).

EDUCATION AND THE DESIGN OF MENTALITY:

One can think that such education has the very "*design of our mentality*", which means that this "*current mentality*" is what we "*want for a future*". That is, our prospects are based on

the assumption that "*our social system is correct*" in terms of the "*mentality we have*" and "*with which we have organized our structure*", not in a "*self-critical diagnosis*". (Naranjo) (2004).

When talking about the discomfort of society in the shadow of a "*fragmented and control-based thinking*", we can think like (NARANJO), the way in which the "*culture is contagious*" from the same malaise to "*Reproductive Education*" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996).

EDUCATIONAL PROPOSAL AND THE COMPLEX PARADOX:

The "*present systems*" presume to be open to novelty, but the "*only novelty possible*" is the one that "*communicates with our current assumptions*". In this sense, such educational proposal puts us in a very complex paradox. (Mèlich, 2005).

THE ANALYSIS OF REALITY:

The "*exigency of time*" invites the "*analysis of reality*" in complex terms, in this information society (Morin, 2005), in the face of the "*hyper-reality*" of the overwhelming flow of "*informational social representations*" that permeate the social space and destroy the individual (Baudrillard, 2005), not to drown and to float necessarily, implies the rescue of the "*subject*", subject understood as "*that individual who has the analytical and critical formation*", who, in the recognition of his subjectivity, can do a constant exercise of reflection, reconstruction, deconstruction, with respect to the ethos that constitutes it.

CONCEPTS UNDER WHICH RESEARCH IS DONE:

The concept is the scheme within which research is carried out. In the overwhelming Western Knowledge, it's not simply the "*research process*" is plump with difficulties but also the "*concept under which research is done*" (Tuhiwai, 1999, p. 22).

THE WAY OF THINKING AND THE STEREOTYPED IDEAS:

"*Stereotyped ideas*" or "*parameters established a priori*", without the relevant discussion, replaced the "*way of thinking*", by all those "*who are immersed in that space*", so that the result is a deficiency in the capacity for development of the "*subjectivity and thought*" that would allow the creation of the "*intellectual independence*", the "*reasoned dissent*", the "*cultivator of reflexive interrogation*" and the "*personal history of meaning*", orienting towards transformative practices with prudence and responsibility (Freire, 1997a; Horkheimer, 2002; Lipman, 1998).

ARCHEOLOGY OF SUBJECTIVITY:

The "*ethical re-empowerment of the subject*" requires the construction of a "*space*" for an "*archeology of subjectivity*" that contains within itself the "*emerging dialogical elements*" for a "*deconstruction*" and prudential "*reconstruction*" of angles of "*reflection and praxis*" that is based on the "*empowerment of thinking*" and the "*critical word*" for all elements that converge in the educational space, as (ZEMELMAN) puts it:

> *"The subject is the negation of belonging to the world of the given, because of being it is minimal; Because to assume ourselves as subjects is to become an angle of reading, as being 'agonic', transcending the structural conditions of the objective-given to make them a world of horizons; A requirement that corresponds to the recovery of the passion to know and think that knowledge".* (Zemelman, 2002, p. 31)

SCIENTIFIC RESULTS AND THE IRREFUTABLY EXEMPT:

The "*scientific results*" remain, for a reason, foreign to our "*understanding*", to our "*irrefutably*", exempt from their "*social implications*", from the "*value demands of our human contexts*" and therefore from "*their ethical implication*":

> *"The methods of natural science do not capture all that is worth knowing, not even the most worthwhile: the ultimate ends, which must guide all domination of the resources of nature and man"* (Gadamer 1998, p. 43).

ERRONEOUS METHODS OF ANALYSIS AND STRUCTURING:

Erroneous are the methods of analysis and structuring, "*inherited from natural science*" to provide sustenance and foundation through them, to the ends of man, as (Martín-BARÓ) proposed. "*Reality is not aseptic*" and science that tries to "*abstract itself*" from its situationality or its subjectivity can gain in "*instrumental efficiency*" (Martín-Baró, 1998), but at the cost of "*losing the elective consciousness*" that implies the commitment implied in the political and social reality:

> *"Science is halfway between private sensation and universal vision… a kind of telegraphic thread through which we get a faint report of the things we would like to observe and live in its complete reality. This report may suffice for an appropriate action; It is not enough for the ideal knowledge of the truth, nor for an adequate sympathy with reality"* (Santayana, quoted in Holton, 1998, p. 282).

REDUCING THOUGHT TO AN ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER:

In addition to subordinating subjectivity, such ideology, ends up by converting knowledge and reducing thought to a logic of an administrative order, which does not deny quality but rather plurality, context, and its fundamental form generates impossibilities and prohibitions where reality demands paths (Zemelman, 2011, Fernández, 2004), but it is not the case that the concept of complexity, scientific knowledge needs imagination and creativity, openness and plurality to be able to construct transformations and innovations (Popper, 1980; Feyerabend, 1986; Prigogine, 1996; Holton, 1998). This is by no means foreign to the educational question.

DEVELOPMENT OF QUALITIES OF THOUGHT:

A perspective of totality would mean that beyond focusing on quantifiable goals, it would focus on the "*development of qualities of thought*" that through reflexivity, praxis and ongoing dialogue would be the source of subjectivities that communicate with "*Life is thought of as an immense problem, an equation, or rather a family of partially dependent, partially independent, equations of one another*" (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 3).

CONFUSING THE CONCEPTS:

The Spanish philosopher (Salvador PÁNIKER) suggested: "*We tend to confuse even the concepts of reality and control. Something seems to us to be real only insofar as it is under control, insofar as it is captured by our conceptual networks. There is latent a terror to the uncontrollable, and we censure this terror with the philosophical figure of 'truth'*" (Salvador Pániker, 2001; p. 259).

METONYMY BY RESEMBLING A CONCEPT WITH ANOTHER:

There is an epistemic problem with historical roots that exerts a metonymy by resembling control with truth, imprisoning reality to the frames of our objectualist understanding through our structuring tendency as suggested by (Edgar MORIN):

> *"Only a deficient and unreflective vision can reduce the multiple dimension of the method to a programmatic activity and a technique of knowledge production. The elucidation of circumstances, the understanding of human complexity and the becoming of the world require thinking that transcends the order of constituted knowledge and the triviality of academic discourse. A writing and thinking that incorporates errancy and the risk of reflection"* (Morin, 2002, p. 24).

Criticize the Scientific Positions in the Educational Field

CRITICAL ARGUMENTATION OF THE EVALUATOR PARADIGM:

It is necessary to criticize the scientific positions that approach scientific knowledge in the educational field as alien to epistemology, subject and all metaphysics, that are considered neutral, aseptic and that are tautologically justified, in the object, by themselves, and that therefore they pretend not to have to render ontological explanations from where their analyzes and assumptions start (Habermas, 1990).

It seems to mean an abstract fallacy, thinking like this (Apel, 1985) in the sense that pretending any supposed mere objectivity is being dispensed of the signs, with the pragmatic dimension, when extracting the subject that gives rise to it.

POSITIVIST DISCOURSE AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES:

The mainstream of research and educational policies is permeate by the positivist discourse. The center of pedagogical importance is the transmission of knowledge that can be instrumented by society with the mastery of pedagogical techniques (Giroux, 1997).

EVALUATION AND ITS IDEOLOGICAL LEGITIMATION:

"*Historical project prevails*" is what modernity supposed, that means, the unassailable and absolute domination of rationality oriented towards objectivity and control, universalization of norms of action, generalization of values and patterns of socialization that lead to individuation (Habermas, 1993).

KNOWING THE IMPLICATIONS OF EVALUATION:

"*Educational Evaluation*" is a daily aspect of the "*Western environment*", since there is "*formal education*", from our perspective, has sought through various mechanisms to measure the learning that has been obtained from the training provided, and for being a fundamental aspect of the "*Western culture*" responds only from historical immersion, then knowing the "*implications of evaluation*" means approaching the "*object of study*" that is "*our culture*", its characteristics and "*epistemological aspects*" from which becomes "*the configuration that justifies it*".

ORGANIZATIONAL IMPOSITION

The "*Educational Evaluation*" supports the culmination of such a scheme, precisely because it tries to guarantee the efficient "*administration of knowledge*", through this "*organizational imposition*" that is supposed to be assumed, the "*legitimating structure*" of such a "*paradigm*" is put forward.

PARAMETERS, CHARACTERISTICS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE EVALUATION

There is an "*ideological construction*" which established the "*theoretical demarcations*" that influence the constitution of our "*educational habits*" regarding the "*educational models*" that remain, an instrumental and "*pragmatist foundation*". There is a marked emphasis on a "*policy of efficiency, specialization and specificity*" towards concrete solutions, as (HORKHEIMER) put it, "*reflects a society that does not have time to remember or reflect*" (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 77).

DESUBJETIVATION/ALIENATION

With its "*Evaluation Criteria*" and characteristics, "*Formal education*", acting as a standardizing role, fulfills a function that from "*critical theory*" is called "*false consciousness*", "*naive consciousness*" that superimposes a "*reality outside the individuals*" to which it would develop "*from their own introspective activation*", the "*Fragmentation of Knowledge*", inert, superficial and "*Mechanical Knowledge*", "*Constant Memorization*", "*Contextual Dissociation*" (Freire, 1997b) help to produce the "*Desubjetivation / Alienation*" not only of the learner but also of the teacher. "*The School is highly regulated from an exteriority that leaves out the creative potentiality of the teaching subjectivity*" (Rosbaco, 2007, p. 16), much of it due to the "*Regulatory Imposition*" of "*Evaluative Modes*" inherent to the system directed towards the teacher and the student from the external system to them that directs them both:

"[…] *the open and covert knowledge found in school situations, and the principles of selection, organization and evaluation of this knowledge, is a selection, governed by value, of a much wider universe of knowledge and selection of possible principles. Hence, they should not be accepted as given, but should be problematized* […]" (Apple, 2008, p. 33).

THE PRE-EXISTING CONFIGURATION FOLLOWS A SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE SCHEME

The pre-existing configuration of content that is supposed to be formative, imposed from a curriculum that underlies a specific evaluation system, is reiterated as a de-subjectivist, and in this sense, it follows very well a symbolic violence scheme:

"*All power that manages to impose significations and impose them as legitimate by disguising the relations of force on which their own force is founded adds their own, properly symbolic, strength to these relations of force*" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996, p. 44).

OPENNESS TO POSSIBILITIES BEYOND THE CONDITIONED ORDER

The need for subjective activation is justified insofar as it is only through this possibility that possibilities can be projected, as (WINCH) says: "*The behavior that is the product of understanding, and only that behavior, is that for which there is an alternative*" (Winch,

1990, p. 64). Reflexive development becomes the space of openness to possibilities beyond the conditioned order.

THE ALIENATING ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSONALITY POVERTY

With the breaking of the psychosocial consequences that result in the alienating schemes:

"*The alienation of man* […] *in any of its forms, expresses the incapacity of the man to follow his most authentic needs, those that lead to his growth. The alienated man responds irrationally and compulsively to needs that in a depersonalized way impose on his individuality and that by the very poverty of his personality, developed in an alienating environment, can not transcend*" (Gonzalez, 1994, p. 156).

EVALUATION OR REIFICATION OF THE LEARNERS

It should be noted that various thinkers on the educational dimension, particularly with respect to the modes of instrumental evaluation, exemplified by their quantitative and objectivist nature, have denounced its legitimizing character of a technocratic, classificatory worldview, which seeks only to monopolize the mechanical control that ends up being a function of the reification of the learners, imposing a series of criteria from which to approach as the only possibility; the political space of the individual (Bourdieu, 2003; Giroux, 2001; Ibañez, 1994).

CRITICISMS ABOUT THE WAY IN WHICH THE EVALUATION ENDS

There are several criticisms about the way in which the evaluation ends up assuming a pedagogy based on objectives, assuming a form of control of the learning, assuming a curriculum, which is often epistemically problematic to the extent that more than the apprehension of objective knowledge is currently seeking the development of skills that serve life in the everyday environment, so as proposed by Gimeno (1998):

> *"Recognizing that the object being evaluated and the valuation process are constructed and that both are therefore affected by psychological processes, axiological components, institutional and social frameworks, it is important to promote an attitude of self-criticism, explicitness of assumed values, relativize the 'authority' of evaluations and undo the climate of tension that produces the realization of these pedagogical relationships*" (p. 396).

IMPORTANCE OF QUESTIONING THE CONSTRUCTION OF EVALUATION INSTRUMENTS:

The argumentation promotes the importance of questioning the construction of evaluation instruments from a purely "*objective/quantitative*" order, where the relevance of the educational space lies in the development of more complex potential of "*subjective/qualitative*" order and then, to find a measurement that only, categorizing in terms of "*knowing/not knowing*", would mean simplifying the enormous complexity of the "*teaching/learning*" process.

Theories of Deoc-colonization

(MALEK BENNABI) THE ALGERIAN THINKER AND HIS THEORY OF SUSCEPTIBILITY TO OCCUPATIONAL COLONIZATION

In some audio lectures (Malek BENNABI) attacked occupational colonization, and wrote about the phenomenon (colonizability or the ability to be colonially occupied), which he called in French: (Colonisabilité) in a series of articles. To consolidate his idea, he wrote a book about what he called (L'Islam Militant) (Resistant Islam) (Bennabi, 1991, p. 97).

(Malek Bennabi) talked about "the network of social relations and occupational colonialism", he says:

"The network of social relations ensures the survival of the society, preserves its personality, and regulates the vital energy to allow the society to lead the joint activity in history…

"We are well aware of the occupational colonial activity when it is clearly visible, like a child's play, but we do not realize the field of this activity and its means from the moment it becomes precise, as the devil's game…

"It may suffice a needle prick in an appropriate place to solve the paralysis of a network of social relations in the country (the colonial occupier), and It may suffice also (nothing) to paralyze the nervous system in a living organism… but, unfortunately, we cannot, under the impact of our mental situation, to understand the work of the occupation colonialism save when he raises noise, like the noise of a tank or a cannon or a plane.

"When it comes from the measures of an artist, or from the work of a rodent it loses consciousness, for one reason, is that it does not raise noise… you will notice that man divorces (reality), not because of what he sees, like you, with his eyes, but because of what he thinks without reference to any measure of history or sociology, because his mental breeding prevents him from seeing what is in front of his eyes, flesh and bone. This same breeding prevents the senior official, in the administration, from recognizing the essential difference between the banality of the employee and the necessities of position…

"Verily, we cannot pretend that all hostile traditions against society are caused by work of the occupation colonialism, although most of these traditions are of his own making, but we say that all the traditions serve his destructive work, and generate annually an enormous social deficit in our activity. Whatever the case about the used means, the intended target is always breaking down social relations, and the dissemination of the mold in the vital energy, as far as his occupational colonization effort reaches" (Bennabi, 1989, pp. 76–87).

For sure, Islam empowers the weak (Child, woman, elderly, sick, poor, etc…). Several verses of Quran and guidings from the Messenger of Islam attest for that.

(FRANZ FANON) AND DECOLONIZATION

For (FANON), the "complex of dependence" refers to a psychological relation (complex of inferiority) that the colonized or ex-colonized continues to maintain with the colonizer.

For (BENNABI), on the other hand, the concept of "colonizability" reflects a social complex reality which makes the former colonized society continues to build its present and its future on the basis of a pattern inherited from colonization and he condemns it in its wrong development.

In both cases it is possible to draw parallels with the way of thinking of certain people who, psychologically are dominated by their former colonizers, see their salvation only through colonization.

In Algeria, unfortunately, one can only observe this state of affairs. This is visible, to me, at several levels, as it is mentioned in this non exhaustive list:

a. The nostalgia to the years of French Algeria.
b. The tendency to reject the Arabic language and to attach selves to French.
c. The abundant progressive indigenous Arabic/ Berber names with consonantly European first names.
d. The introduction of European customs (festivals, celebrations)
e. Seek to adopt, at any price, the position (political, social or otherwise) likely to "please" the former colonizer, without trying to provide the slightest effort to judge the possible fallout (good or bad).
f. Refusing any dialogue or compromise with one's own fellow citizens, while we are prepared to make the most humiliating contortions (even if they contradict one's own principles) when it comes to the colonizer.

THE INDIAN (ASISH NANDY) (B. 1937)

Known with his "*Exiled at Home*". He wrote criticizing colonialism in "*Barbaric Others: A Manifesto on Western Racism*", "*The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*", "*Creating a Nationality: the Ramjanmabhumi Movement and Fear of the Self*", "*The Illegitimacy of Nationalism: Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of Self*", "*Traditions, Tyranny, and Utopias: Essays in the Politics of Awareness*".

He criticized also western science "*Alternative Sciences: Creativity and Authenticity in Two Indian Scientists*", "*Science, Hegemony and Violence: A Requiem for Modernity*", "*The Blinded Eye: Five Hundred Years of Christopher Columbus*".

He criticized western psychology especially in "*The Savage Freud and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves*", "*The Psychology of Colonialism: Sex, Age, and Ideology in British India*".

(TALAL ASAD'S THEORY) OF CRITICIZING ANTHROPOLOGY AS A DOMINANT FROM WITHIN

His father (Leopold WEISS) was an Austrian journalist Jew who reverted to Islam and changed his name into (Muhammad ASAD). The son (Talal ASAD) (b. 1932) became a prominent disciple of the British anthropologist (Edward Evan EVANS-PRITCHARD), founder of the theory of "*Removing The Effects Of Occupational Colonialism*" (Decolonization), as well as his disciples dispersed in the world, nations and peoples, and what was the prospects and processes of his idea. The Saudi-Austrian-American thinker (Talal ASAD) (b. 1932) wrote valuable theoretical contributions to post-colonialism. Using a genealogical method developed by (Friedrich NIETZSCHE) and made prominent by (Michel FOUCAULT). (ASAD) "*complicates terms of comparison that many anthropologists, theologians, philosophers, and political scientists receive as the unexamined background of thinking, judgment, and action as such. By doing so, he creates clearings, opening new possibilities for communication, connection, and creative invention where opposition or studied indifference prevailed*" (Connolly, 2006, p. 75).

(CEDRIC ROBINSON) AND THE MAKING OF THE BLACK RADICAL TRADITION:

(Cedric ROBINSON) (1940–2016) grew up in a black working-class neighborhood in West Oakland. He attended the University of California, Berkeley, where he majored in social anthropology and rose to prominence a campus activist. He and Blake had invited Malcolm X to speak on campus in May, only to be rebuffed by the administration. They eventually moved the event off campus to the local YMCA, also known as Stiles Hall. He protested the Bay of Pigs Invasion, for which he received a one-semester suspension. In 1974 Robinson earned his doctorate in political theory from Stanford University. He became professor emeritus of political science and black studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and arguably one of the most original political theorists of his generation.

His books are: *"Terms of Order: Political Science and the Myth of Leadership*", "*Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*", "*An Anthropology of Marxism*", and "*Forgeries of Memory* & *Meaning: Blacks* & *the Regimes of Race in American Theater* & *Film Before World War II*".

His monumental *"Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition"* (1983) takes (Karl MARX) to task for failing to comprehend radical movements outside of Europe. Marxism also failed to account for the *racial* character of capitalism. *This* book was largely ignored for two decades, until its return to print in 2000 generated renewed interest. And yet, while *"Black Marxism*" and its discussion of racial capitalism and the "*Black Radical Tradition*" have taken center stage, (ROBINSON) leaves a vast body of work as a political and *cultural* theorist, notably *Black Movements in America* (1997).

So what did Robinson mean by "*Racial Capitalism*"?

Building on the work of another forgotten black radical intellectual, sociologist (Oliver COX), (ROBINSON) challenged the Marxist idea that capitalism was a revolutionary negation of feudalism. Instead capitalism emerged within the feudal order and flowered in the cultural soil of a Western civilization already thoroughly infused with racialism. Capitalism and racism, in other words, did not break from the old order but rather evolved from it to produce a modern world system of "*Racial Capitalism*" dependent on slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide. Capitalism was "*Racial*" not because of some conspiracy to divide workers or justify slavery and dispossession, but because *"Racialism*" had already permeated Western feudal society. The first European proletarians were "Racial *Subjects*" (Irish, Jews, Roma or Gypsies, Slavs, etc.) and they were victims of dispossession (enclosure), colonialism, and slavery *"within Europe*". Indeed, (ROBINSON) suggested that *"Racialization"* within Europe was very much a *"Colonial Process*" involving invasion, settlement, expropriation, and "*Racial Hierarchy*". Insisting that modern European nationalism was completely bound up with "*Racialist Myths*", he reminds us that the ideology of "*Herrenvolk*" (governance by an ethnic majority) that drove German colonization of central Europe and "*Slavic*" territories "*explained the inevitability and the naturalness of the domination of some Europeans by other Europeans*". To acknowledge this is not to diminish "*Anti-Black Racism*" or "*African Slavery*", but rather to recognize that capitalism was *not* the "*Great Modernizer*" giving birth to the "*European Proletariat*" as a universal subject, and the "*tendency of European civilization through capitalism was thus not to homogenize but to differentiate – to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into 'racial' ones*".

When asked to define his political commitments, he replied, "*There are some realms in which names, nomination, is premature. My only loyalties are to the morally just world; and my happiest and most stunning opportunity for raising hell with corruption and deceit are with other Black people* […] *Just as (THUCYDIDES) believed that historical consciousness of a people in crisis provided the possibility of more virtuous action, more informed and rational choices, so do I*" (Robinson, 1999).

(LINDA TUHIWAI SMITH) AND "DECOLONIZING METHODOLOGIES":

Linda TUHIWAI SMITH is an associate professor of indigenous education at the University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand. She is also director of the International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education at Aukland, and is a committee member on a number of advisory boards. Finally, Smith has authored a number of scholarly articles related to commentary about Indigenous New Zealand issues. We discuss here her interesting book "*Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*" (Tuhiwai, 1999, p. 224).

There are 10 chapters in her book.

In the first one entitled "Imperialism, History, Writing and Theory", she dealed with: Imperialism, On being human, Writing history and theory, Is history important for indigenous peoples? Contested histories, Is writing important for indigenous peoples? Writing theory. (ibidem, pp. 19–41)

In the second one entitled "Research Through Imperial Eyes", she dealed with: The cultural formations of Western research, The intersections of race and gender, Conceptualizations of the individual and society, Conceptions of space, Conceptions of time. (ibidem, pp. 42–57)

In the third chapter entitled "Colonizing Knowledges", she dealed with: Establishing the positional superiority of Western knowledge, Colonizing the disciplines, Disciplining the colonized, Colonialism and 'Native' intellectuals, The 'authentic, essentialist, deeply spiritual' Other. (ibidem, pp. 58–77)

In the fourth chapter entitled "Research Adventures on Indigenous Lands", she dealed with: "They came, They saw, They named, They claimed", On the road to… research, Organizing research, Trading the Other, Defining the indigenous 'problem'. (ibidem, pp. 78–94).

In the fifth chapter entitled "Notes from Down Under", she dealed with: The end of one part the beginning of another, The new language of imperialism, Ten ways to be researched (colonized), The new millennium. (ibidem, pp. 95–106).

In the sixth chapter entitled "The Indigenous People's Project: Setting a New Agenda", she dealed with: The social movement of indigenous peoples, International mobilization, An agenda for indigenous research, Ethical research protocols. (ibidem, pp. 107–122).

In the seventh chapter entitled "Articulating an Indigenous Research Agenda", she dealed with: Community research, Tribal research, The case study of an indigenous research initiative, Training indigenous researchers, Insider Outsider research. (ibidem, pp. 123–141).

In the eighth chapter entitled "Twenty-five Indigenous Projects", she dealed with: Claiming, Testimonies, Story-telling, Celebrating, survival, Remembering, Indigenizing, Intervening, Revitalizing, Reading, Writing, Representing, Gendering, Envisioning,

Reframing, Restoring, Returning, Democratizing, Networking, Naming, Protecting, Creating, Negotiating, Discovering, Sharing. (ibidem, pp. 142–161).

In the ninth chapter entitled "Responding to the Imperatives of an Indigenous: Agenda: A Case Study of Maori", she dealed with: Western critiques of Western research, The challenge of feminist analyses, The Waitangi Tribunal and Te Kohanga Reo, Research as an extension of knowledge – whose knowledge?, The validity of Maori knowledge, Negotiating new relationships with non-indigenous researchers, Setting the boundaries to research by non-indigenous researchers. (ibidem, pp. 163–182).

In the tenth chapter entitled "Towards Developing Indigenous Methodologies: Kaupapa Maori Research", she dealed with: Research by Maori, A local approach to critical theory, Kaupapa Maori research and positivism, How does Kaupapa Maori research proceed?, Setting strategic directions. (ibidem, pp. 183–195).

At last her "Conclusion: A Personal Journey" and Index. (ibidem, pp. 196–208).

Many reviews of her works are written by: (George Schmidt[1]) (Schmidt, 2014, pp. 165–166), (John Ortley) (Ortley, 2005, pp. 285–288), (Tiffany Cain) (Cain, Vol. 44, pp. 434–445), (Mohamed Aslam Haneef) (Haneef, 20:3 & 4, pp. 188–191), (Carla Wilson) (Wilson, Dec. 2001, pp. 214–217), (John Hansen) (Hansen, 2012, p. 54), (André Campeau) (Campeau, 2000, pp. 167–168), (Susan Hawthorne), (Christine Malsbary), and others.

(HUSSEIN ALATAS) AND HIS THEORY ABOUT THE COLONIAL MYTH

(Syed: Hussein Alatas) was intellectually more engaged in the critique of both Western imperialism and domestic post-colonialism. In one of his renowned books, (Hussein Alatas), revealed the recreation and reproduction of the colonial myth of Malaysian '*laziness*' by the very post-colonial intellectuals.

(FARID ALATAS) AND HIS THEORY ABOUT POST-COLONIAL EUROCENTRISM

(Syed Farid) (born in 1961) son of (Hussein ALATAS) contributions in the current social sciences, until now, can be put into four categories:

His early works on the post-colonial states of South East Asia. The most important book in this category is *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Indonesia and Malaysia*.

The second cluster of his works is also about the post-colonialist condition but mainly targeted at the latent eurocentrism of social sciences (Alatas, 2011, pp. 12–29).

The interesting book on this topic is *Alternative Discourses in Asian Social Science*, with the subtitle of *Responses to Eurocentrism*.

It seems that (Syed: Farid ALATAS) suggests reviving his theory would help the social theory of the global South to find an endogenous and still functioning framework to build upon.

(MONTSERRAT GALCERÁN HUGUET) AND HER PHILOSOPHICAL DECOLONIZING THEORY

Montserrat Galcerán Huguet (b. 1946). Graduated in Classical Philosophy at the University of Barcelona. Already at a young age she was involved in various political and social movements, first during the Spanish transition to Franco's death and, more recently, in the persistent conflicts surrounding the transformation of the university and the new movement of the 15M. She got a PhD in Philosophy at the Universidad

Complutense of Madrid. She is a Professor of Philosophy at the UCM. She published several books on philosophical and political topics. Her research focuses on the history of philosophy, especially modern and contemporary philosophy, Marxism, feminism and critical theory of knowledge. Her publications include the concept of freedom in the work of Karl Marx, Madrid, UCM, 1985. She is involved in various national and international projects, especially in the publication of the *European Encyclopaedia on Philosophy and Science* (1990) and in the ongoing historico-critical dictionary of Marxism, for which she has written a few articles. In collaboration with (M. Dominguez), she published "*Technological Innovation and Mass Society*", Madrid, Synthesis, 1997, "*The Invention of Marxism*", Madrid, IEPALA, 1997, "*Silence and Forgetting*". With the (Feminist Labor Group, Madrid) "*Transforming the work from a feminist perspective: production, reproduction, desire and consumption*", Madrid, Tierradenadie, 2006 and with (Mario Espinoza), "*Contemporary Spinoza: Ethics, Politics and Present*", Madrid, Tierradenadie, 2008. "*Heidegger's Thought in the Thirties*", Hondarribia, Hiru, 2004, "*Desire and Liberty*", Madrid, Traficantes de sueños, 2009.

She participates in movements in defense of the Public University, in the Social Forum of Madrid, in the circle of Tetuán-Dehesa de la Villa and is part of Ganemos Madrid.

She is co-director of the magazine Youkali, published by the publisher Tierradenadie Madrid, and since 2004 she is co-director of the Complutense Research Group "Globalization and Social Movements" (GMS). Currently working at the Preparation of a new book on postcolonial and decolonial theory. Since 2015, she is a Spanish activist, councilor of the City of Madrid. She believes in "*The struggle for social change reaches the institutions*". (Pires, 2010, pp. 152–157).

WORK OF OTHER SCHOLARS

Many scholars spoke about how to deal with the aftermath of European colonization, and these scholars are 'indigenous' to the site of colonial impact which was their lands and waterways.

Among these scholars we find the Kenian (Ngugi Wa Thiong'o) (b. 1938) in "Decolonizing the Mind",

The Palestinian (Edward Said) in "*Orientalism*" (Said, 1995, pp. 78–79).

(Chela Sandoval) in "*Methodologies of Risky Scholarship; Methodology of the Oppressed*" (Sandoval, 2002, pp. 12–13).

If you mean 'Indigenous' in the sense of people with (sui generis rights) who have been subsumed into new nation state formations of majority non-indigenous people then the language has been more about self-determination, treaty and sovereignty with an aspect of 'decolonization' as a strategy to overcome colonial thinking.

We have to cite these references carefully, appropriately, and precisely.

Colonizing Western Theories about Decolonization

The dominants who were colonizers in the past changed strategies and tactics; they coined many concepts to pursue the domination in a new way for a new era. Their theories are thought in the colonized countries in the post-colonial era to eliminate awareness.

The colonizing theories should stay away from the developing countries.

(G. BALANDIER) AND THE COLONIZING THEORY OF DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY

The first beginnings of the dynamic current has begun with the works of the French sociologist (George Balandier) (1920–2016) which focused on removing the occupation, development and formation of the African countries at the dawn of independence.

(ALBERT MEMMI) AND HIS OCCUPATIONAL COLONIZING CONFLICT THEORY

The French Tunisian (Albert Memmi) (b. 1920) in "*The Colonizer and the Colonized*" (Memmi, 1991) shows that there is something in trouble with the identity. (MEMMI) was standing in the side of the colonizer. In his "*Portrait of the Arab-Muslim decolonized and some others*" (Memmi, 2004) shows an interior conflict. He wrote about the "*Itinerary From Experience Experienced To The Theory Of Domination*" (Memmi, c1975), "*The man Dominated*" (Memmi, 1968), "*Decolonization and the Decolonized*", "*Portrait of the colonized, and that of the colonizer*" (Memmi, c1985), "*The Individual Faced With Its Dependencies*" (Memmi, 2005).

(PIERRE BOURDIEU) BETWEEN COLONIZING THEORY AND SYMBOLIC VIOLANCE

(Pierre Bourdieu) (1930–2002) was a french colonizer in colonized Algeria. He was a lecturer at the main university of Algiers. After the independence of Algeria he returned to his original country France. He wrote a booklet entitled "*Sociologie de l'Algérie*", and he criticized globalization, so some writers wrote that he put a theory about decolonization. They said he was particularly interested in exploring the formative roots of class distinctions and power structures. He applied his theories to a broad range of topics, including education, television, masculinity, intellectuals, the media, language and poverty. (Riding, The New York Times, 25/1/2002)

The daily french newspaper (Le Monde) called him "*the intellectual reference*" for movements opposed to free market orthodoxy and globalization.

How in a earth an ex-colonized could become a "*reference intellectual*"?

The New Marxist Criticism in Sociology:

The new Marxist criticism dominated the sociology in the sixties. The evidence is the overwhelming that flared and fueled the revolution in 1968; because of the capitalist school, which was, really, a class school by excellence.

The solution has been.

The democratization of education.

Achievement of a comprehensive social equality.

Reduction of class and social differences.

Preventing the practice of symbolic violence against learners.

Creating a unified school that achieves success for all learners without discrimination or selection or co-opting.

BOURDIEU and the New Marxist Approach:

The French researcher (Pierre Bourdieu) (1903–2002) is one of the most important representatives of the Marxist conflictual approach, as well as he is one of the most important pioneers of the Constructivist Structuralism (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 229).

Therefore, Bourdieu's studies can be regarded as a critic against classical studies on the sociology of education, as it relied on new Marxist approach in the study of the French school in particular, and the school of capitalism in general, on the grounds that the school is a space to compete, and dominate, in the social and the class struggle.

On the other hand, he enriched the contemporary sociology by a set of procedural terms and concepts (Vergnaud, 1996, pp. 275–292) that can't be overcome when exercising the sociological research, or approaching the social, cultural and educational phenomena, in theory, practice and vision.

BOURDIEU's Methodology:

He combined between understanding and interpretation, between the objective and the subjective, between the macro and the micro, between determinism and effectiveness…

His sociological theory is built on:

The study of society as a space of conflict, competition and domination.

The analysis of hierarchy concerning the different social classes.

The demonstration of the role played by cultural practices within the conflict that occurs between these social strata, consciously or unconsciously.

The clarification of how the school reconsiders production of the societal inequalities, and how the social strata re-castes itself.

(Pierre BOURDIEU) was influenced in his theoretical and practical perceptions by a group of pioneer intellectuals and scientists (Rist, 1984, pp. 201–212) such as: (Max Weber) in "*Symbolic Dimension*", (Karl Marx) in "*Capital*", (Emile Durkheim) in "*Causal Interpretation*", (Claude Levi Strauss) and (Marcel Mauss) in "*Structuralism*", (Maurice Merleau-Ponty) and (Husserl) in "*Phenomenology and the Idea of Personal Body*", (Wittgenstein) in "*Nature*", and (PASCAL) in "*Rules of Community Actors*".

BOURDIEU's Sociological Concepts:

Pierre BOURDIEU used a set of sociological concepts in his studies and books, which has had an impact on many theories and contemporary sociological schools, despite of its complexity and ambiguity. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 66)

He invented concepts, such as: Symbolic Violence, Constructivist (Watzlawick, 1988, p. 384) Structuralism, Habitus (Bouveresse, 1996, pp. 573–594), Reproduction, Social field, Cultural capital, Differentiation…

Among these concepts, we are interesting here in the following:

Habitus:

In the works of (Philippe Perrenoud) (1984), (Alain Coulon) (1993), (Bernard Sarrazy) (1997), (Vincent Berry) (2000), (Marie-Pierre Chopin) (2002), (Didier Perrier) (2006), (Christophe Delay) (2011), (Ugo Palheta) (2012) and (Alain Garcia) (2015) we see the preeminence of the concept Habitus and the importance given to the practice.

Among the Bourdieusian tools, the Habitus remains the most quoted and the most "*stretched*".

Excepting the case of (Chopin) and (Garcia), we see (Perrenoud) then (Coulon) rely on habitus to "*install*" their own notions, (Sarrazy) bringing the "*background*" of the habitus, (Berry) proposing the concept of playful habitus (or playful video), (Perrier) denouncing the habitus as a black box (receptacle for "*deposited history*"), (Delay) insist on the cleaved habit of the popular classes, and (Palheta) describing the gender habit of the learners of professional secondary schools.

In their diversity, the opponents of this current share, in fact, as the ultimate belief, that their freedom from certain constraints: it should be self-conscious among the intellectuals (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 296) and freedom for all individuals. This explains why the social groups "*supported*" by Bourdieu may have rejection reactions for his works. This is borne out by two professors of economics and social science S.E.S. (Guiraud and Colin, 2002, p. 15), who, when they teach theories of social reproduction to secondary school students, who are of popular origins, confront the denials expressed in these sentences: "*He who wills can succeed !*" Or "*It's statistics, it's not reality!*"…

Reproduction:

He has dealt with the concept of re-production by means of analysis and critical study. He focused his sociological attention on the French educational system, with his friend (Jean-Claude Passeron), in their book "*Reproduction*", in the sixties of the last century, since that period saw the scientific and systematic development and flourishing of the sociology of education (Bourdieu et Passeron, 1964, p. 183).

It could be argued that (Pierre Bourdieu) and (Jean-Claude Passeron) were the ones who gave a second birth to sociology of education. They set off from a sociological basic hypothesis, which is the fact that learners do not have the same chances to achieve school success. This difference is due to the social hierarchy, class inequality, and existence of individual differences in the classroom itself.

Hence, sociological and statistical research led (Bourdieu) and (Passeron) to a fundamental conclusion, which is the following: The culture that receives the learner in the capitalist French school is not objective nor fair nor neutral, but it's an ideologized culture representing culture of domination and culture of ruling class. Thus, socialization is not liberation of the learner, but it's an integrated into the society into the context of the compatibility culture, normalization and social discipline. Thus, the school reproduces for us the same social classes by eclecticism, selection and election. Hence, it is a school for social inequality by excellence.

All this means that the critical sociology of Education (Perrenoud, 1987, pp. 20–36) has known an important trend from the sixties to the seventies of the 20th century, it has taken a scientific dimension more than a political one, after the fact that the gap has expanded between theory and practice, even between the educational institution and the community, especially after the transformation of the capitalist school into a space for competition, rivalries, social and class conflicts, or its transformation into a hierarchical institution or a hierarchy of class, where there is no real social justice, absence of equality at the levels of opportunities and chances, where failures fate waits for the children of the popular classes. Meanwhile, success waits for the sons of wealthy classes and the children of the ruling class. That means the school became a privilege, or a school for the segregation and selection of social class by excellence.

To explain it more, (Bourdieu) and (Passeron) stem from the basic idea that "the school is acting according to the division of society into classes. It is so devoted to reproduction and the maintenance of the status quo, which produced. According to this, the children, from the very beginning, before their access to school, are not equal in the eye of the school and culture. That means they are not equal in the intellectual capital "*in possess of the appropriate language skills that facilitate the process of educational communication*" (Watzlawick, 1972, p. 288). So, in order to maintain its function, in reproduction, the

school imposes a certain cultural and linguistic standard, which is closer to the language and culture prevailing in the bourgeois families but not prevailing in the families of the popular classes. This Ethos, which is the value system underlying in depth, and which is in favor of the dominant classes leads to the creation of a kind of standby or a Habitus of individuals through educational work, (Héran, 1987, pp. 417–451) (Perrenoud, 1996, pp. 181–208) which essentially seeks to soak cultural arbitrariness imposed by the dominant group.

"*This means that the children of the bourgeoisie class live continuity and complementarity between culture of their class and the culture of their school, which facilitates the process of harmony, if they are not already in harmony. From that, they becomes heirs of the school system.*

"*The kid of the lower class lives a rupture between the culture of his class and the culture of his school. That makes the school strange and distant from him. In order to conform with the curriculum, he has to get rid of the deposits of his culture, and to learn new ways of thinking, language and behavior. That means, to pass first, according to (Philippe Perrenoud's expression), by a process of disintegration of the culture, and then secondly by the process of acculturation.*

"*In general, the (Bourdieu and Passeron's thesis) shows that the implicit goals of the school serve the complementarity between the school and the ruling class, which makes the children of the latter successful children pedagogically. Meanwhile, the lack of complementarity between the school and the lower class, depending on the same goals, makes academic failure reaps its victims within their children*".

This means that the problematic question that Sociology of Education concentrated its work on it, in the sixties, was the question of school inequalities that reflects the social and class inequalities, and reflects how different the children of working classes from the children of the privileged classes, differing long educational level, which is hunted by the children of the privileged classes, from short educational level, which would be the luck of the sons of the lower classes, especially the children of working classes and the children of immigrants to the same extent.

Bourdieu as a Colonizer:

(Pierre Bourdieu's Reproduction theory) wasn't limited in the educational concern only, but also interested in studying the reproduction of male dominance in Kabylia a traditional tribal society in Algeria (Bourdieu, 1972), in his book Values (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 134).

(Bourdieu) was a French colonizer professor in the university of the colonized Algiers.

(Paul A. Silverstein) (Silverstein, 2003, p. 34, note 48) considers (Bourdieu) as "the intellectual father of Berber cultural militancy […] directly involved in the creation in 1967 of the Berber Academy of cultural exchanges and research and in 1972, of the Berber Study Group of the University of Paris-Vincennes […] and who, in 1985, gave the writer (Mouloud Mammeri) the opportunity to set up the Center for Amazigh Studies and Research and his magazine *Awal* at the *(House of Human Sciences)* and founded in 1993 the (*International Committee for the Support of Algerian Intellectuals)* (Cisia)".

Fifty years after its conception, (Bourdieu's work) on Algeria provokes negative reactions and hostility ten years after the death of its author in (2002), although it is considered as one of the most known and widely used in the space of Mediterranean anthropological and sociological studies, as shown by its numerous editions, reissues and translations.

For the beautiful eyes of Algeria, he had followed, supported, and welcomed in his Parisian sociology laboratory (*Center of Sociology of Education and Culture*), several great current names of Algerian sociology who were, at the beginning of the 1970s, as well as in 1975, among the first PhD students of the very first generation of Algerian sociologists (Colonna, 1976; Haddab, 1979).

It's not new about French colonial intellectuals to do that; Among the historical secrets, released lately; we find that the famous French colonial orientalist (Augustin Berque), (Jacques Berque's father), was officially in charge of receiving all what spies send to the French administration about the (*Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars*), and to deal with all missives, and take the offensive decisions, when necessary, and send them to the habilitated authorities.

Conclusion

The real anti-occupational colonialism theories should be brought from the earth and from minds of the colonized people, not from the minds of their opressors.

The ex-colonized peoples should stand together to create real theories for eliminating the domination and the sequelae of the occupational colonization.

These people should revue, first of all, the used terms and their precise concepts. After that comes the critical review of the dictionary of the western concepts in the aim of decolonizing it.

Closing the door means to refuse accepting any theory coming from the colonizer less sieving it.

Questions are remaining here:

Are (Marxism and derivatives) the single alternative for "*Post Colonial Critic*"?

Could humanity unite to face the globalization rhinoceros with new created intellectual weapons?

Notes

[1] George SCHMIDT is an activist, community organizer, and received his master of divinity from Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York where he focused on Black Liberation Theology. His critical work surrounds corporate personhood and the construction of a genealogy of corporate power. In 1914 he joined the United States Navy as a chaplain.

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Part IV

SUBLIMINAL STRUGGLE: ART, ARCHITECTURE AND MEDICINE

Crossing the distance: the church of St. Willibrordus in Utrecht and the Cathedral of Our Lady Assumption in Jakarta. How the neo-Gothic style forms a link between the Netherlands and Indonesia

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Abstract

The author states that the visual language of the Catholic mission in the period 1822–1914 might be seen as a form of non-violent struggle to win the souls of the 'infidels' in the former European colonies. In 1822 an association for the mission, the first of its kind, was created in Lyon, however with the outbreak of World War One the character of the mission would change radically. The ideology of ultramontanism and the mission were inextricably linked and will also be looked at by the author in modern times. In the period covered in this paper, the neo-Gothic style, as it manifested itself in the architecture of churches, chapels, monuments and other buildings, as well as in their decoration and iconographic program, persisted practically until the end of the nineteenth century. Catholic mission followed the colonization by the motherlands very closely, but was always controlled by Rome. The network of ultramontanist priests and laymen and their system of patronage closely resembles medieval structures and feudal traditions, but made on the other hand intensive use of modern techniques for example in the construction of buildings, communications and transport. But foremost in controlling masses of people, through conversion, education and healthcare as tools for (re)Christianization in Europe and overseas. This theme is elaborated here by example of two neo-Gothic churches: one in the Netherlands and the other in the former Dutch Indies, now Indonesia.

Introduction

The analysis of Michel Foucault of power as a network, in which individuals are confined and become product of the system, was succeeded by the field research and theoretical investigation for this chapter, which intends to present the subject in a descriptive way. (Foucault, 1995) Power is regarded as an embodied phenomenon in society, and therefore revolutions seem to lack the power to change social orders on the long term. (Foucault,

1995) In the context of this essay, the Catholic church is defined as a power in this Foucauldian sense, and is therefore considered as an European system, which articulates the 'otherness' of the rest of the world. (Foucault, 1970). The church enforces the hierarchical distance between Western Europe and other civilizations by accentuating the difference between the 'Christian' and the 'Pagan', between the 'Believer' and the 'Unbeliever''. The church as a government, controls the social and organic processes of the believers and converts using techniques transferred from the ideological exterior to individual's interior. This, by applying a number of punitive measures and self-controlling mechanisms (Foucault, 1997; Odrowaz-Coates, 2017).

Bruno Latour, in his so-called Actor-Network-Theory, pointed out new ideas on social networks in relations to the arts. He states that networks created round artists are crucial for the appreciation of art in all its facets, and that works of art, or even artists, do not exist outside these networks. Such a network is however not only shaped by humans, but may also consist of objects, writings, ideas, religions and ideologies, and most of all agreements. In this essay the ultramontanist movement, including the mission, is considered to be an 'actant' in terms of Latour (2005).

In addition to the theory of Latour, the view of Benedict Anderson that religion can be interpreted as a form of nationalism without borders, was also applied here. Ultramontanism, the 'fundamentalist' movement in the Catholic church can be seen as such (Anderson, 2006).

In the course of the nineteenth century, the emergence of a 'culture industry', as described by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, in which cultural goods are traded as industrial products and commodities on the market could be stressed in this research. As stated by these authors in the formation of the masses, culture vanishes, because people are sensitive to manipulation, as was the case in nineteenth and early twentieth century Catholicism with their specific language of images appealing to emotions (Adorno/Horkheimer, 1981).

To give a strict definition of ultramontanism, in fact a form of fundamentalism, is not without difficulties, because in the past two centuries this paradigm manifested itself in a variety of ways and degrees of intensity, under different formulas. But in the period covered here, it may be described as a very powerful drive of the Catholic church to expand its territory by means of spreading the Gospel, with strong emphasis on the supremacy of the Pope in spiritual and secular matters.

On forehand is should be noted that in the period covered here, the economic situation in Western-Europe was by times abominable, especially the agricultural crisis, caused by a severe potato-disease was destructive in the years 1845–1854. It caused the last official famine in Europe (Segers, 2004). These were also the years of spreading diseases which contaminated people and cattle and extreme weather conditions (Thoen et al., 2015).

The foremost of the crises has been the economic crisis of 1873–1896, known as 'the Great Deflation' or 'Long Depression', shortly erupted after the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, with the defeat of France. It was the cause of great poverty among the working class in the industrialized countries, and can be regarded as an announcement of economic developments to come (Fisch, 2002).

Modern mission in the Netherlands

In 2016 the church of St. Willibrordus in Utrecht became the seat of the 'Pius X Association', which officially is known as the 'Fraternitas Sacerdotalis Sancti Pii X'(SSPX or FSSPX). With the eponym of this company, Pius X (1835–1914, pope from 1903), we encounter a traditionalistic pope who played an important role in ultramontanim and therefore in the Catholic mission.

The reasons for this church in particular to be chosen as official seat was not made at random, the Netherlands being appointed an official mission district by the Vatican for more than ten years now. The city of Utrecht is the capital of the Catholic province of the Netherlands and the church of St. Willibrordus, named after the first missionary in the Low Countries St. Willibrord (658–739), was already for decennia the centre by excellence of traditionalist Catholics. The association was founded on November 1, 1970 by the conservative archbishop Marcel Lefebvre (1905–1991). This act could be regarded as the rejection of the proclamations of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), by very conservative and traditionalist Catholics. The ordination of four bishops, on his own authority, by Lefebvre in 1988 caused his excommunication. Nevertheless pope John Paul II (1920–2005, pope since 1978) wished to secure ways to communicate with the expelled and wrote his personal letter 'Ecclesia Dei' in 1988. A side effect was that the 'Tridentine mass'(celebrating mass under the guidelines of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) by Pius V (1504–1572, elected pope in 1566) could be tolerated in exceptional situations.

The Pius X Association was given permission in 2009, 'the year of fraternity' by pope Benedict XVI (1927, pope in the years 2005–2013) to give the sacrament of confession in urgent circumstances, a right that later in the same year was consented a permanent status. An indication that the fundamentalist movement in the church was tolerated by the Vatican.

The St. Willibrordus in Utrecht

The neo-Gothic church of St. Willibrordus (erected in 1877) was built by the architect Alfred Tepe (1840–1920) while the interior was largely provided for by the atelier for ecclesiastical art of the Mengelberg-family. Founding-father Wilhelm Mengelberg (1837–1919) and his eldest son Otto (1867–1924) were the directors of this atelier in Utrecht. Younger brethren of Wilhelm directed the studio in Germany (Cologne and later Brühl).

Tepe, Mengelberg and some other Dutch as well as German colleagues, were members of the Utrecht 'Guild of St. Bernulphus'. It was founded in 1869, after consultation with the cardinal, by a clergyman following the example of the Belgian 'Gilde de St. Thomas et St. Luc'. The construction, decoration and iconographic program was supervised by the pastor Henricus Jacobus Stiphout (1828–1887). This church, exemplary for the position of the Catholic church in the Netherlands, was inconspicuously hidden among the secular buildings in the same streets. The Catholic church in the Netherlands was bestowed an official status as late as 1853. In the previous period the Low Countries were official the territory of 'Apostolic Vicars' or 'mission bishops'. The ideology of the Catholics in the Netherlands was study by Peter Raedts (2004 and 2011) and the results of his research are followed here.

The church of St. Willibordus functioned for decades as a safe haven for conservative Catholics, organised in the 'Willibrordus society'. They could follow the old-styled Latin mass for years under the leadership of the traditionalist priest Winand Kotte (1922–2007).

The Willibrordus was conceived as a 'Gesamtkunstwerk', build in a neo-Gothic style, characteristic for many Catholic churches, chapels and monuments in Europe, Canada, the United States and former European colonies. The decoration and iconographic program was dedicated to the spreading of the Gospel and the Eucharist, the changing of bread and wine in the body and blood of Christ, the most important moment in celebrating Catholic mass.

Papal authority and the mission

Pius X followed the convictions of one of his predecessors, the equally conservative Pius IX (1792–1878, pope since 1846). Pius X had a strong dislike of modernist views and in this he showed himself a zealous follower of 'Pio Nono', who, as a result of political and social conditions in Italy, reached the status of a saint during his lifetime as 'prisoner of the Vatican'. He managed to initiate a Catholic rebellion which manifested itself internationally as a form of military ultramontanism.

The background of this struggle was the fact, that for the first time in history, the popes were deprived of their secular power over the city of Rome, the Papal States and territories; this in favour of the Kingdom in Italy, founded in 1861. This plight of the pope was an impetus to the Catholic emancipatory movement in Europe, whose 'réveil' had already reached a considerable status after the wars of 1813.

From 1822 onward the Catholic mission was an intrinsic part of this revival, and under Gregory XVI (1765–1846, elect pope in 1831) a kind of Papal Ministry was founded for mission matters. The (re)Christianization of the entire world, not in the least the conversion in Europe itself, became not only his motto, but also that of his successors. The First World War, however, brought an end to this form of mission, linked with the colonization by the newly formed nation states.

The close link between mission and colonization was officially discarded with the papal letter 'Maximum illud' (1919) approved by Benedict XV (1854–1922, pope since 1914). He stressed that Christianiazation should be brought further by the local clergy, who therefore had to be well educated by the missionaries. He was convinced that it was no longer appropriate to regard the mission area as an extension of the mother-country.

It should be remembered that the Catholic church contrives evangelization from as early as the sixth century, at the instigation of Gregor I (pope in the years 590–604). (Lantink et al., 2012) Spreading the Gospel was organised by the Vatican via the 'Congregation for the evangelization of peoples', the successor of the 'Congregation de Propaganda fide' from 1622.

Spreading the Word

A major theoretical foundation of the Evangelization in the nineteenth century was provided by *Le Génie du Christianisme* by François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848), published in 1802, but written in exile during the Revolution. The power of the Christian faith was, in his view, mainly located in the urge to evangelize and keeping alive the memory of the missionary past of her confessors who died often as martyrs. The earliest French initiatives for mission should be regarded as a continuation of the ideas and practices of old institutions such as those of the Jesuits. The first mission association was founded in Lyon in the years 1819–1822 by Pauline Marie Jaricot (1799–1862), daughter of a wealthy silk manufacturer, after having received a heavenly message ordering to do so.

She and her followers made a start with an organized form of world mission, which after the collapse of the old colonial powers, Spain and Portugal, was now taken over by the Roman church itself. Financing their goals by means of alms of believers, a construction they had copied from the organisational structure of English mission associations. In 1832 the French example was followed at its turn in Aachen by the doctor and politician Heinrich Hahn (1800–1882), who founded the 'Verein zur Unterstützung der katholischen Franziskus-Xavier Missionen'. This association branched quickly over Germany with numerous sister associations. In the same period king Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786–1868, king from 1825–1848) founded a 'Ludwigs Missionsverein' (Weichlein, 2005).

The first step to create a mission association was often taken by laymen, especially women, who had allegedly seen a vision, or received a calling. These organisations were generally speaking hierarchically and ministerial. Access to the membership was open to all ranks of society: contribution was affordable (a Kreuzer in Germany and a Sou in France) and was given in the form of alms. The obligation to pray was a very important feature: every day an 'Our Father' and a 'Hail Mary' with the addition 'Saint Francis-Xavierus pray for us'. Francis Xavier (1506–1553) was co-founder of the order of the Jesuits and a very successful missionary.

Salvation of the soul could also be earned in the form of indulgences with works and prayers for the mission. The mission association in Lyon, mentioned above, had in the years 1840 already extended to all European countries, and there were even new mission associations created especially for children. The enthusiastic and devotional character of these associations was contagious and intense.

In the second half of the century, after the revolution year 1848, organisations with missionary objectives were founded, such as the 'Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary'(1865), whose members were also called 'Scheutisten', the 'Mill Hill missionaries' (1866), the 'white fathers' or 'missionaries of Africa'(1868) and the 'Congregation of the Divine Word'(1875). New lay mission associations were established, for example in Germany with the 'Bonifatius-verein' which contributed on a large scale to the world mission as a national movement. The motto was:

„Die Einheit eines Volkes ruht in der Einheit des Glaubens. Die Einheit des Glaubens gründet die Einheit der Völker. Die Einheit Deutschlands gründete die Kirche und ihr groBer Apostel Winfried (Bonifatius)."

In all European countries mission unions had aimed at the mobilization of Catholics, and formed the run-up to the ultramontanist appearance of 'mass-Catholicism' and 'association-Catholicism'. A form which was developing at the end of the 19th century, and in the beginning of the next.

The triumphant Catholic church expanded its work in the former colonies by means of an ultramontanist network and a system of patronage that in design and method had much in common with the medieval and feudal systems, but in which the most advanced techniques of engineering, transport, construction and communication, and last but not least, control of the masses of people were applied.

'Cartomanie' and the spreading of the Word

An important medium by which the ideas in the mission areas and in Europe were distributed, were journals like the French magazine *Les Missions Catholiques*, published by 'l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi' in Lyon and strongly directed by the Vatican. It was the oldest and the most read journal and was issued until the outbreak of the Great War.

The first issue of the magazine appeared in 1872, on the 3th of May. A romantic image of the missionary as the hero was painted from the start: a devout Christian who left his home and went to the jungle to spread the word of God. Heroic were the brothers and sisters for sure, because the mortality among them of disease, malnutrition or violence was particularly high (Willemsen, 2006).

The first illustration in the magazine was of the neo-Gothic church Saint Hubert in Manchuria. A 'medieval' monastery complex form which not only the faith was carried out, but where education and health care were also settled. In the whole series of this journal we find about 80 images of Catholic buildings, mainly in neo-Gothic style, with some elements form the vernacular style. The most favourite design in all mission areas was the variant on the Gothic style by the architect August Pugin (1812–1852) and further developed by the already mentioned 'Gilde the St. Thomas et St. Luc' and the 'St. Luc schools' in Belgium. A wonderful example is the tomb chapel for the Saint Francis Xavierus from Sangchuan in 1877 (Vints, 2000).

Only in a single case, the name of the creator was mentioned, such as the Jesuit father Gonzalves in 1876 or his colleague Alphonse Tax, who built the church in Tanarive in Madagascar. The church of Si-inn-dze in Mongolia was created by Alphonse de Vos, a Scheutist. A highlight in this architecture was the cathedral of Pé-Tang in Beijing, built by the Lazarist Pierre Alphonse Favier (1837–1905) in 1888.

A very sympathetic form of dissemination of knowledge and information on mission settlements was the so called 'cartomanie'. Sending postcards with pictures of missions, missionaries and their surroundings was very popular. A clearer paternalistic and Eurocentric vision of the mission work is almost unimaginable and the neo-Gothic was the overall style in which it was shown.

Modern techniques and materials in the 'planting of churches'

The mission work and colonization in Congo by Belgium as the motherland and the nationstate was especially of great magnitude and intensity. In this area, the 'backyard' of king Leopold II (1835–1909, king in 1865), the Scheutisten worked. They built the church of Boma around 1900. This church was constructed from wrought iron and ready in a record time. The prototype of this church was followed in the Spanish area by Fernando Poo on the Gulf of Guinea in Santa Isabel. The company that build the churches in such a short time was the Belgian firm 'les Forges d'Aiseau' with the use of the 'Danly-system', a way of pouring and processing concrete. The parts were manufactured in Western Europe and constructed on the place of destination. A first example of such a construction was in the former Belgian colony of Santo Tomas in Guatemala, established shortly after 1840 and manufactured by the metal works of Hornu. The church of Jamaica from the hand of architect father Thomson was manufactured in this way.

England was already mentioned as a model for the practical organization of the mission. In the former English colonies many churches and chapels were built and in the designs we see the influence of the also already quoted Pugin and the 'Cambridge Cambden Society', an association founded in 1839 and changed its name in 1845 in 'Ecclesiological Society'. The architect William Slater (1819–1872) published in the journal of the 'Ecclesiological Society' in 1857 about a 'strange gothic iron church' he had seen on his voyage in the North-West of the mainland of Europe. And the first iron church in Belgium was built in Argenteuil, near Waterloo, in 1854–1862 following the plans of Raymond Carlier. So these new ways of constructing in wrought iron and concrete were not limited to the colonies (Vints, 2000).

The already mentioned encyclic 'Maximum illud', 'the Magna carta des missions modernes' became the guidance for the construction and decoration style of churches under Pius XI, 'le pape missionnaire'. His ideas were developed further in his encyclic 'Rerum Ecclesiae', published in 1926. The missionary 'new style' made its appearance and the neo-Gothic style slowly raged out as ecclesiastical, colonial style. After the Second World War we can read in a standard work on the practice of mission:

«Nos hautes flèches gothiques de Picardy seraient dépaysées parmi les palmeraies africaines. Ces choses-là ne démontrent pas, elles se sentent: il faut se plaindre les celui qui ne sent pas» (Vints, 2000, p. 130).»

German mission in East Africa

From Germany missionaries were also driven to areas overseas, namely tot East Africa. They were as inspired as Hermann Fisher, missionary of the SVD from Steyl in 1906 who wrote: "Katholisch sein heiBt Missionseifer haben".

An important figure in this German spread of faith was Anton II Fischer (1840–1912), from 1902 until his death archbishop of Cologne. He disrupted the policy of modernization under his direct predecessor Hubert Theophil Simar (1825–1902, archbishop from

1899) and returned to the ultramontanist ideology of one of his earlier predecessors Philip III Krementz (1819–1899, archbishop from 1885). Fischer for example, issued the decree that the neo-Gothic style was *the* style, in which Catholic churches should be decorated in, both in the homeland and in the mission areas. This proclamation can also be the reason for the relatively long lasting of the neo-Gothic style in the archdiocese of Cologne and in the German mission areas. He left the mission largely guided by his friend Emil August Allgeyer (1856–1924) mission father in Zanzibar. Allgeyer was consecrated bishop in the church of the monastery Knechsteden, a stronghold of nineteenth century ultramontanist thinking and working. The first mission settlement he founded, lay in the Rombo district and was named after the archbishop 'Fischerstadt'.

The Netherlands as motherland for Catholic mission

In 1859, six years after the official restoration of the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands by the pope, the missionary activities among the native population in Asia were taken over by the Dutch Jesuits and after a tight fifty years this mission broke down in parts, transferred in the hands of other orders. Also in the overseas areas such as Suriname, the Redemptorist fathers took the responsibility for the pastoral care for the natives in 1852 and in the West Indies the Dominicans form 1870 on. The orders focused on education and health care according to the Dutch model, so were the Franciscan sisters from Roosendaal the first in Willemstad in 1848 to start a school, followed eight years later by a school in Paramaribo. The Ursulines founded their first school in 1855 on Batavia. (Willemsen, 2006)

The mission movement in the Netherlands underwent a boost by the 'Kulturkampf', the battle between the Prussian government and the Catholic church (1871–1887) which made German mission-orders to cross the border in 1875, followed by their French brothers and sisters fifteen years later. There was certainly an interaction between the immigrants and the emancipatory Dutch Catholics. However, the missionaries in the colonies were mostly seen as representatives of the secular government and by their low interest in the native language and culture, the communication with the local population became very difficult and got diffused. In a century time 66 Dutch sister congregations and 13 brother orders were settled in the colonies.

As the number of converts hold back in all the colonies, the Vatican choose the time honoured method of 'planting' a Church in pagan 'undiscovered' areas. These church complexes consisted of a mission house, seminar, church, hospital and other buildings. The Dutch Catholic mission was pretty frustrated by the Protestant mission, as was the German. For example in Indonesia of the 20 Protestant churches, 3 are neo-Gothic and of the 7 Catholic 5. Although the neo-Gothic style is linked with Catholicism and the traditional image of a church, Protestant and Evangelical churches were also built in this style. But this style was not predominant.

The Cathedral Gereja Santa Perawan Maria Diangkat Ke Surga Jakarta

Now I would like to focus on the cathedral of Mary our Lady Assumption in the district of Sawah Besar in Jakarta. The current church was designed by an architect and priest of the Jesuit order, Antonius Dijkmans and built and completed by Marius Hulswit in the years 1891–1901. The costs were 628.000 guilders and half of the amount was collected by the proceeds of a lottery: it took quite a long time to acquire the necessary funds. The consecration took place on 21 April 1901 by bishop Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen (1855–1925). This priest from the society of Jesus arrived in 1889 in the Dutch East Indies and was consecrated in 1898 bishop in the cathedral of Oudenbosch, an ultramontanist stronghold like Knechtsteden in Germany. The church was a perfect copy on a smaller scale of St. Peters in Rome and built by Pierre Cuypers (1826–1921), *the* neo-Gothic architect of the Netherlands and Gerrit Jan van der Swaay (1867–1945) in the years 1867–1889. Oudenbosch functioned as the centre for the Zouaves, the voluntary soldiers for the army of the pope, of which the Dutch Catholics provided more than a quarter of volunteers in the papal army.

The architect in Jakarta, Marius Hulswit, worked together with Eduard Cuypers (1859–1927), nephew of the famous Pierre, on the building of the Javanese bank in 1909. The neo-Gothic chapel in Weltevreden, built after 1890, was designed by Antonius Dijkmans.

The cathedral had a cruciform floorplan and is entirely set up in a neo-Gothic mode. The entrance shows the image of Our Lady and above her is a stained glass window with the portrayal of the Rosa Mystica (an image of the Rosary). The building is crowned with three spires of cast iron, two above the side portals and one on the junction. The building had two floors, the second of which is now used as a museum.

The interior is set up according to the known neo-Gothic program: the left side altar is dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin and was manufactured by the atelier Ramakers in Geleen in 1915 and the side altar on the right was founded in honour of St. Joseph in 1922. The main altar dates from the late nineteenth century and was transferred from the former Paterskerk in Groningen in 1956, a demolished church of the Jesuits. The altar is neo-Gohic in outlook, but has a neo-Romanesque design. It could originate from the workshop of Mengelberg in Utrecht. The church of the Fathers was built in 1888 by a Cuypers-pupil Nicolaas Molenaar sr (1850–1930) in the architectural style of Tepe. The possibility of Mengelberg as sculptor of the altar is not invented on the spot. There are letters in which Mengelberg writes about a commission in Groningen in a church that has not yet been identified, but was certainly not the church of St. Joseph, also partly decorated by the Mengelberg-studios. The cathedra in the choir, which is neo-Gothic, is of a tighter style than the bishop's thrones of Mengelberg in Aix-la-Chapelle, Utrecht and Haarlem.

The Marian-altar is a pure neo-Gothic work from the Ramakers-studio managed in these years by the sons of Jan Willem Ramakers (1820–1887), Henri (1851–1925) and Mathieu (1860–1912). In regard to the dating of the altar Henri is probably the designer. Why was chosen for this studio and not for Cuypers, a choice more obvious given the connection between Eduard Cuypers and Marius Hulswit, is nog clear. The Ramakers – workshop worked largely in neo-Gothic style, but occasionally also in the Baroque mode.

On the South side we see a pieta which is remarkably large and dramatic, but certainly neo-Gothic. The pulpit was installed in 1905 and shows performances from hell at the bottom and heaven at the top, separated by the spreading of the word including the preaches of Jesus. The stations of the cross consists of striking large painted murals in pointed arches in a Beuroneske style and colouring. The School of Beuron was a German art-school of the late nineteenth Century of the Benedictines with a peculiar own style.

Showpiece in the church is a large neo-Gothic organ, made in Belgium by the firm George Verschueren from Tongeren and in 1988 transferred from the church in Amby, a district of Maastricht in the Netherland. The four neo-Gothic confessionals are still present in the church and all the other furniture is of the same style. One can assume that the sacristy and the interior decoration in other parts of the building are also constructed in the same mode.

Although the interior is nog completed in the phase of building or shortly after the consecration, the effort made to use one style proves the interpretation that this church was planned to be neo-Gothic in architecture, decoration and iconographic program.

Review on ultramontanism and mission

It is not for nothing that the visual language of the ultramontanist movement and the mission is neo-Gothic: the building and the 'outfit' of the Willibrordus church in Utrecht and the cathedral in Jakarta speak the same language despite geographical distance and follow an identic iconographical program. Ultramontanism and the mission are inseparable in time, place and staffing. Both movements know the same development on the same levels. These levels are the formulation of a clear self-image: the ecclesiastical order as the prominent and preferred order on earth. The definition of a clear goal and organization, such as the spread of the Gospel and the (re)Christianization by associations, fraternities and guilds under the leadership of the pope and the expression of piety in a recognizable and overwhelming visual language that connects these levels.

The similarities between ultramontanism and the mission can be captured in the historical reality of the crisis of the church in and after the French Revolution enforced by the economic and rural crises in the following decades. As a consequence Catholicism wins on uniqueness and speciality and became a safe haven for impoverished and homeless people, not only in the materialistic meaning of the words. Through the focus on the leadership of the pope and the view on the world as a pagan area, accentuated the importance of Rome. The stimulus and enthusiasm came from bottom up, by lay people of all social ranks. A movement that enforced hierarchy in structure and organization. Striking is the fact that there was an intense collaboration between high and lower clergy and laymen. Of the laymen the women were very important, because they committed themselves on a large scale to the mission. The growth and diversity of the mission created again an inner togetherness and focus (Weichlein, 2005).

In countries and areas in Europe where one had the most to fear for revolutionary and modernist developments, ultramontanist and the missionary movements were the strongest, as in parts of France (Lyon), Belgium (Liège and Gent), Netherlands (Limburg and Brabant) and Germany (Bayern and the Rhine-land, the region Aix-la-Chapelle and Paderborn). The alliances that were made with royal families and nobility were primarily motivated to protect themselves for the consequences of a changing society. The proclamation

of the Gospel, the attempt of an establishment of the 'Kingdom of Heaven' on earth in the former colonies was an expression of the problems in West European society on all levels in general and in the Roman Catholic church in particular.

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Pharmacological action in Ayurveda

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Abstract

The art of healing becomes a science when the questions namely why does a medicine act; How does the medicine act; When does the medicine act; Which is the condition of the medicine and the disease for the medicine to act; What makes the medicine to act, are properly understood. Pharmacology is the science that deals with explanations to these questions. Even in Ayurveda too there are clear explanations regarding these queries. The modality of action of a medicine in Ayurveda is basically imbibed from the principle known as the Shad Padartha Siddhanta (Six Conceptual classification of Universe), Kaarya Karana Siddhanta (Cause and Effect Principle) Panchamahabhuta Siddhanta (Principle of Panchamahabhuta (Five basic elements of Universe)), etc, that are mentioned in the philosophical texts like the Sankhya Darshan (Sankhya Philosophy). The philosophies are then modified, expanded, newer secondary concepts are evolved and then a more detail and well structured principle is formulated. These principles are used in explaining a drug action within the body is explained in this chapter.

Introduction

Every science of medicine has its own set of principles which when understood will help in answering many queries that stand as an hindrance for knowing and acceptance of the knowledge of healing. Even Ayurveda too is not an exception. It is believed that the science of Ayurveda is more a method of life than just a science of healing. It was flourishing as an independent and main system of medicine in many parts of India even during the British colonial rule due to the patronage it obtained from the Indian Royal Families. It also had an upperhand over the European System of medicine as it was just developing. Probably due to this dominance, the then British Government thought of integrating the systems such that the European system can become dominant and flourish.

Thus in 1945, the then government appointed a committee under Sir Joseph Bhore to find out the utility of Indian System of Medicine. This committee recommended appointing a chair for History of Medicine in each medial college (Yadav, 2013, p. 140). This

followed by the Chopra Committee in the Year 1946 which recommended the integration of the two systems. It also recommended the five year course for the same and also a uniform syllabus all over the country (Yadav, 2013, p. 140).

After Independence, the Indian Government constituted the Pandit Committee which recommended the setup of Central Research Institute in Indigenous System of Medicine in Jamnagar and also insisted on implementation of the recommendations of Chopra Committee. It also pointed out that teaching of Ayurveda is practically not possible in Modern Medical Colleges and also rejected the proposal of Integrated system of Medicine. But still the integration was tried in various states of India giving rise to degrees like LAM (Liscence in Ayurvedic Medicine), GCIM (Government College of Indian Medicine), BSAM (Bachelor of Shuddha Ayurveda Medicine), BAMS (Integrated) (Bachelor of Ayurveda Medicine and Surgery) for physicians of Indian Medicine. As the education in Indigenous system of Medicine was not regulated and uniform, a central council known as CCIM (Central Council of Indian Medicine) was established in the year 1971 under UGC (University Grants Commission) to monitor higher education in Indian System of Medicine initially but later on was given powers to monitor even the Under Graduate courses too. Even till today it forms the governing council for Indigenous System of Medicine including Ayurveda.

The Government of India in the year 2000 created a separate department for Indigenous system of Medicine under the department of Health and Family Welfare known as Department of AYUSH. This department became an independent one with a Cabinet Minister for the same in 2015 for development of the systems.

The influence of Modern system of medicine on Ayurveda and other indigenous system especially after the discovery of Antibiotics was drastic as they were very effective and also quick. Hence integration policy initially was welcomed by the fraternity of Indigenous systems. But slowly it was observed that the indigenous were losing its importance as a main stream medicine as the medicines were not easily available, difficult in administration, nonavailability of raw materials are some to mention.

Hence, the courses and colleges served as an alternate way to practice modern medicine than their own science. This led to the fall of Ayurvedic practice and in total the downfall of Indigenous systems. This also led to downfall of Ayurvedic Drug Industry which were just opening. Later on the modernization of the dosage forms and concentration of the policy makers in ensuring the development of the Ayurvedic Drug Industry led the practitioners of Indigenous medicine including Ayurveda to modernize and reinstall the glory of Ayurveda.

Even today there is less acceptance of this eternal science in various parts of the world compared to the Modern medicine. This is mainly due to the reason that the principles of Ayurveda are either not or less or even improperly understood. Those parts which are clearly understood are completely accepted while those which are improperly understood are accepted in an improper manner. For example, the Panchakarma of Ayurveda is actually dealing with five purification procedures namely Vamana (emesis), Virechana (purgation), Basti (Enema), Shirovirechana (Nasal Errhines) and Raktamokshana (Bloodletting). But the word is wrongly or improperly understood for Abhyanga, Swedana and other related procedures. Some of the principles are necessary to be clarified so that it may be accepted and understood by all in every part of the world. It is when the basic principles

are appreciated that the science will be realized leading to wider acceptance. Among such basic principles are those that are important to comprehend the knowledge of how a drug acts, when it acts, etc which stand for the pharmacodynamics. Thus the chapter deals with the principles that govern the pharmacodynamics of Ayurveda.

Pharmacodynamics of Ayurveda

Pharmacodynamics refers to that part of the science which is the study of the biochemical and physiological effects of the drugs and the mechanisms of their actions, including the correlation of their actions and effects with their chemical structure (Miller-Keane, 2003).

In Ayurveda, the pharmacodynamics of substances that are used in the form of food or medicine are explained on the basis of Panchamahabhuta Siddhanta and Shad Padartha Siddhanta which are imbibed from the Philosophical texts namely the Tarka Sangraha, Nyaya Darshana and Vaisheshika Darshana.

Ayurveda has then elaborated and formulated newer principles on its own namely the Shadrasa, Dvividha Veerya, Astavidha Veerya, Vimshati Guna, Dvividha Vipaka, Trividha Vipaka and Prabhava concepts along with elaboration of the Concept of Karma according to its need. The five fold properties namely the Rasa (Taste), Guna (Physical and Chemical properties), Veerya (characteristic potency), Vipaka (Relative metabolites) and Prabhava (Natural Tendency) are those which form the basis of the Karma or action of each and every substance which is either used as food or medicine which may be more evident or even remote.

Even though these five properties or dimensions of the substance are the more essential cause of the action generated by the substance, there are other necessary causes that do help either directly or indirectly for the manifestation of the action (Agnivesha 1995, p. 492). It includes the aspects like the site of action, time of administration, dose of the substance that is used for administration, etc. The total effects of these factors are also equally essential to bring about the required action and its relative effects.

Pharmacological Action of Drug in Ayurveda

The pharmacological Action of a drug is elaborately explained in the text Charaka Samhita where the author mentions the various strata of drug action. These are then further explained and emphasized by the commentators of the texts with suitable examples. Out of them the commentary of Chakrapani is notable.

Accordingly, the text explains that

> "No action or effect of the substance is resultant from its properties alone but it may result by virtue of the inherent nature (Dravya Prabhava), the property (Guna Prabhava) or both which is again effected by the influence of time, region, individual and also the mode of administration (dosage form, dose, etc which is according to the physician). Accordingly, what a substance performs is the Karma (action),

> the factor which causes the action is Veerya (Potentiated property), the region or place where the action is executed is Adhikarana (Target Organ or region that is effected by the action of the substance), the time taken and the time of action is the Kala (time factor), the methods with which, the said action is possible to manifest is Upaya (All that is required for the substance to be properly administered) and what results at the end is Phala (the desired or undesired effect)." (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 492)

This particular reference mentions the gist of every action performed by the substance whether it is a food or a medicine. Both have a relative influence over the body but in varying types. Chakrapani elaborates and explains it with the example of Shirovirechana action. Shirovirechana is an action which is enlisted one among the Panchakarma by the Scholars. Chakrapani mentions that "the Action named Shirovirechana is caused by the properties like Ushna, etc relative properties or Veerya, where the region or place of execution or Adhikarana is the Shira or Head, the time here refers to the time of its administration usually in the morning and also the clinical conditions indicated for the treatment like heaviness of head, etc. The drug used for the performance of the treatment, mode of administration, dosage, etc are together known as Upaya and lastly the ultimate effect of relief from clinical symptoms are the Phala or effect of the treatment." (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 493)

In the above statements the understanding of the Drug action is to be understood under following division namely:

1. *Karma*
2. *Veerya*
3. *Adhikarana*
4. *Kala*
5. *Upaya*
6. *Phala*

Karma

Karma means the action that is performed by the substance when it comes in contact with the body. This action may be resultant of a known property of the substance (Guna prabhavad) or may be unknown property of the substance (Dravya prabhavad) or even both (Dravyaguna prabhavad) (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 493).

Karma is defined in the classical texts as "the process of combination and separation which is caused by the cause which is present in the substance that exhibits the process. It is the one which is free from the substance and the cause but only gets manifested when the process gets commenced" (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 27). It denotes that the action is that which initiates a change in the body by the process of combination and separation with respect to the body components. The initiation of the said change is always brought about by the properties of the substance which provides the necessary material for initiating the process. But only the mere presence of properties is not enough for the same. Hence there are other causes that are necessary to initiate an activity. These are like potency of

the properties of the substance, dose of the substance taken, ability of the individual to digest, compatibility of the substance to the individual, environmental factors and their influences are all responsible for bringing out an action and thus initiate the process of transformation. Thus causes can be divided into essential and non-essential causes where the properties of the substance are the essential causes and the others that have considerable influence come under the non-essential causes.

Veerya

The drug action as mentioned above is caused by the properties or Guna which is named as Veerya. In general Guna represents all the five dimensions or properties of the substance. The five dimensions are together known as Panchalaxana of substance (Sharma, 1984, p. 13).

In the present context the Gunas which are the essential causes for any action to initiate are referred as Veerya. This is because Veerya represents the potentiated properties in general. Even the Veerya mentioned under Guna are infact those potential properties that are enumerated under the twenty Gunas itself.

Here the word Veerya refers to the five class of properties present in the substance namely the Rasa, Guna Veerya, Vipaka and Prabhava. Among these which ever gets potentiated and becomes responsible for the manifestation of the action is referred as Veerya in this context. Any of these properties can result in an action exhibited by the substance (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 515). In Ayurveda there is the mention of 6 Rasa, 20 Guna, 2 Veerya, 3 Vipaka and Prabhava. Among them the Prabhava is unaccounted which results in activities that cannot be explained by the known properties. Hence not only a single property but a set of similar properties are responsible for the action. Hence Chakrapani mentions Veerya as Ushna, etc for the said action. The similarity or dissimilarity of properties is based on the basic components that result in the manifestation of these properties. These basic components are the Panchamahabhutas (Five basic elements of the universe). Every property is resultant of these five Mahabhutas either individually or by the interactions between them. Infact the said Panchalaxana or five class of properties are the indicators of the composition and predominance of the five Mahabhutas in the said substance in different phases of its metabolism in accordance with its physical and chemical nature. For example Rasa is regarded as a resultant of the interaction between two predominant Mahabhutas (Vagbhata, 1997, p. 82).

But among the five properties the predominant one becomes potentiated and it produces an action that becomes evident while the one that is less predominant will not or produce an action or it at all it produces it may go unnoticed (Sharma, 1984, p. 238). This is usually true in a single drug administration.

In a multiple herb compound preparation, usually there will be a prime or the main substance which is in high proportions while the others are in lesser proportions. In some cases the main substance may also be more than one. The reason for any compound preparation is basically to obtain the desired effects and also suppress the undesired ones. The multi-substance formulation is also prepared to enhance a particular set of properties that are necessary to initiate a particular desired action. It is also useful in suppressing the

property that results in an undesired activity of the individual component substances present in the formulation as described in the text Charaka Samhita. The reference mentions that "Any formulation is deviced by the addition or subtraction of the component substances by virtue of the need for increase or decrease of the properties necessary according to the time, intelligence and process" (Agnivesha, 1991, p. 3608).

Adhikarana

The place where the activity of the substance exerts its influence such that the desired effect is obtained is known as Adhikarana. This may be a single organ, a system or even the whole body depending on the activity that is desired for. For example if the desired action is Balya, then it affects the body as a whole such that all-round development is resulted. But in the example mentioned by Chakrapani, where the activity is Shirovirechana which affects the head or Shira where a particular part of the body is influenced.

Kala

Time is a factor that gets involved in every process and activity. Here time has its own influence which can be classified into two namely

1. The time of administration of the substance.
   a. Age of the individual
   b. Seasonal Time
   c. Diurnal Time
   d. Time of administration of Medicine (Aushadha Sevana kala)
2. The stage or condition of the disease.

Age of the individual is an important aspect that is being considered during any drug administration. Whenever the individual is young or infant then there is change in doses while there are some medicines like the metallic preparations are barred from being used. Even some of the herbo-mineral formulations too are to be used with care and close monitoring. If the individual is old even then there are restrictions for certain treatments. So this forms an important aspect in determining the drug action. Even the changes in the physiological conditions too happen with age leading to influence the drug action in the body.

Seasonal variations in the environment have a greater effect on every individual. Our food habits, lifestyle and all other aspects in which we are involved are either directly or indirectly influenced by the seasons and environment that exists. On a broad classification if it is divided into 3 main seasons namely Hot, Rainy and Cold where the intake of the fluids and hard substances vary considerably and is in accordance with the need. Even the diseases also manifest according to the seasons. Hence when a medicine is taken into the body, the environment within that alters in accordance to the changes that have occurred in the environment around will have its influence on drug action. This may sometimes even change the course of drugs that are being taken which may even lead to serious unwarranted incidents.

Diurnal variations also have relative influence on the body and accordingly inside the body too. These variations have some either positive or negative influence on the activities of the medicines that are taken by the individual.

The time of administration of the medicinal substance is dependent on the disease and the factors that are involved in manifesting the disease. This is known as Aushadha Sevana Kala (time of administration of medicine). In the text Charaka Samhita there is mention of 11 Aushadha Sevana kala (Agnivesha, 1991, p. 3512). But today the administration of medicinal substances in such a manner has been very difficult. Hence a much later reference namely Sharangadhara Samhita has mentioned only 5 Aushadha Sevana Kala (Sharma, 1984, p. 369).

Moreover in all the above types of time manifestations there is a relative variation in the Doshas (the physiological factors that deal with the functioning of the body) which also have their influence on the activity of the substance.

The stage or condition of the disease is also taken as Vyadhikala or Avastha Kala or Kriyakala. The stage of a disease also determines the condition of the body and it brings about known or even unknown changes that make it more vulnerable to undesired conditions that the medicinal substances may produce. This is because the unknown activities will get manifested only when an environment is conducive for it to express itself. The altered physiology of the body due to the disease condition may become a favourable environment for the expression of the suppressed property of the substance leading to an unexpected activity and its relative effect.

Upaya

All those methods and processes that are used for the purpose of administration of the substance to obtain the desired benefits in totality come under this part of pharmacodynamics. A substance to act as it is desired is only possible when it is given in a particular dose and in a particular manner. Even combination and compatibility with other substances that is administered along with it plays an important role in determining the activity of the substance used as medicine.

Inside the body, the substance that is given as medicine undergoes drastic physical and chemical changes where it comes in contact with various extreme environments which make it to react and then produce the effect. Even the environments too have their own influence over the substance's action. Hence the route of administration plays an important role in determining the pharmacodynamics of the medicinal substance.

Phala

The final effect is described as Phala (Agnivesha, 1991, p. 3608). Always when the substance is completely assimilated or excreted then its effect is lost. Those which are assimilated are mainly in the form of nutrients and those which are excreted are usually the bye-products of the medicinal substance that are resulted due to the completion of the metabolism of the substance. In the reference from the text Charaka Samhita, there

is a mention that the effect of Vipaka is the final effect of the substance (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 513). In other words when the substance undergoes a series of transformations in the body it exhibits the relative effect that may or may not be similar to the previous one. But the effect what is observed at the end of the metabolism is the final and the sure effect. Now if there is proper metabolism then only the desired effect is observed while when there is an improper metabolism then it results in an undesired effect and may even be harmful to the body (Sharma, 1984, p. 230).

Conclusion

Thus the final effect that we observe may be as expected when any of the above components are properly taken care of and is as we expect it to happen. But if it is not either fulfilled or may not be properly executed then it may lead to harmful effects on the body depending on the substance and the unexpected reactions that have occurred in the body. This may be due to any factor that either extrinsic or intrinsic that results in unexpected reactions. These reactions result further into Adverse Drug Reactions or Potential Drug Hazards irrespective of the system of medicine that it belongs too. After all it is the same human body that is battling with the disease named by any system of medicine in its own way and is helped by their respective medicines.

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