ON THE ROAD TO SOCIAL INCLUSION

Edited by

Anna Odrowaz-Coates
Stephen Ogheneruro Okpadah
Jacinta Nkiruka Akaenyi

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IMPRISONMENT AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

Foreword

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This volume is the outcome of a series of scientific seminars held by the UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair in Social Pedagogy, part of UNESCO International Summer School activities. The International summer school is held under the patronage of the Polish Commission for UNESCO, and therefore forms another addition to the UNESCO JK Chair's Book Series that mark consecutive summer school events. The volume is co-edited by the Chairholder, Prof. Anna Odrowąż-Coates and by 2 invited scholars from Nigerian Academia, Stephen Ogheneruro Okpadah and Dr Jacinta Nkiruka Akaenyia. The co-editors were responsible for section on prison discourse and therefore have prepared a separate concept note "The prison other".

The book is divided into 3 parts.

Questioning the concept of 'Other'

The first part includes an innovative approach to the issues of 'Otherness' in an African context, analysed through a Korczakian lens. This is followed by a discussion on inclusion and dominance in the context of linguistic negotiations in Pakistan and the proposed value of traditional Ayurveda medicine as a tool for social inclusion.

The struggle for social inclusion

The second part focuses on African migration and the situation of Syrian refugee women in Europe. This is followed by the systemic discrimination of female scientists in a Hungarian context and stereotyping of female prisoners in Marocco.

Imprisonment and social inclusion

The third part discusses the issues of incarceration, perception of prisoners, prison poetry and the contradiction created by the othering of prisoners whilst striving to achieve social cohesion and therefore social inclusion.

The volume promotes the underrepresented discourses from Hungary, India, Nigeria, Pakistan and Syria, enabling the inclusion of the variety of the world's Englishes and including the voices from both experienced researchers and academics at the beginning of their research career.

Introduction

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The representation of prison in literature and theatre is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, it is a medium with which convicts tell their stories from the inside. Here, the detained locate their experiences and conditions of the prison. According to Arnold Erickson, prison has been a fertile setting for Artists, Musicians and Writers alike. Prisoners have produced hundreds of works that encompassed a wide range of literature books describing the prison experience. Modernist literature and theatre with its eclecticism saw the upsurge in the prison narrative. While Tennessee Williams' *Not about Nightingales* establishes the prison genre, John Herbert's *Fortune and Men's Eyes* focuses on the harsh treatment of imprisoned homosexuals. Other prison literature writers include Jack London who in 1894 spent a month in the New York State's County penitentiary, and Socialist writer, Kate Richards O'Hare who spent a year in prison. While Antonio Gramsci's *The Prison Notes* is a contribution to 20th century Political Theory, Donald Lowrie's 1912 book, *My Life in Prison* captures the author's experiences in detention.

Furthermore, Africa has created a wide corpus of prison literature and theatre. The prisoner-dramatist, novelist, musician and poet have come out stronger to narrate their ordeal or to fight against oppression in the case of artists such as Wole Soyinka, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (*Detained: A Writer's Prison Diary* and *The Trials of Dedan Kimathi*), Ken Saro-wiwa (*A Month and a Day: A Detention Diary*) and Fela Anikulapo Kuti. Ransom-Kuti, the protest musician was arrested on over 200 different occasions and spent time in jail. Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* exposes the author's experience in jail and Soyinka's *The Man Died* is a memoir of the Nobel Laureate's life in detention. Although plays dealing with prison life were interdicted in South Africa, the actors and director, Winston Ntshona, John Kani and Athol Fugard were vast in the tradition of Prison plays. During the apartheid era, *Die Hodoshe Span* (*The Island*) written by Fugard, the South African dramatist was inspired by a true-life story set in an unnamed prison clearly based on South Africa's Robben Island prison, where Mandela served his jail term. Kofi Awoonor of Ghana, Jack Mpanje of Malawi, Nawal

el Sadaawi of Egypt, Denis Brutus (*Letters to Martha*) of South Africa and J.M Kariuki of Kenya are others novelists, poets and dramatists that have expanded the scope of prison literature and theatre. While Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas are rich in the literature and theatre of detention, there remains a dearth of critical works on the prison theatre and literature. To this end, this edited volume examines the representation of prison in literature and theatre and other cultural spaces. It aims to investigate the experiences of prisoners in drama, prose, poetry amongst other cultural media.

Part I

QUESTIONING
THE CONCEPT OF 'OTHER'

Locating Janusz Korczak's Pedagogical Approach in the Cinema of Social Inclusion in Africa and Beyond

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Introduction

The upsurge of counter approaches against social injustice and exclusion, marginalization and subjugation of minority people and places by the radical thinkers is evidence that the works and movements of the radical thought have come to stay. The radical left that comprise of intellectuals can be categorized into those in the Diaspora (outside of the African continent) and those within the African continent. George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Augusto Boal, Paulo Freire and W E B Dubois fall into the first category. They advocated against Eurocentrism and social exclusion of blacks within and outside the African continent. This notwithstanding, Boal and Freire's pedagogies are more holistic as their politics are tailored generally towards various levels of social exclusion, irrespective of race and geography. The radical left of the second category are intellectuals such as Cheik Anta Diop, Omafume Onoge, Ali Mazrui, and James Ngugi Wa Thing'o. The counter ideologies of these scholars were hinged on the exclusion of Africa from the global political, cultural and economic space as Walter Rodney established in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, that "Africa and other former colonies were exploited by the colonizer, even after independence" (Rodney, 1973, p. 50).

Globally, scholars such as Homi Bhabha, Freire, Gyatari Spivak, Bill Ashcroft and Boal have engaged in critical discourses on colonialism, social exclusion, and the need to refute colonial narratives. They went a step further to raise their voices against all forms of oppression, marginalization and subjugation of minorities. Janusz Korczak whose politics intersects with Augusto Boal's and Freire's ideologies, seem to be more prominent in the field of liberation pedagogy. Korczak's scholarship seems to be more holistic with his integration of the child into the centre of the discourse in social exclusion. His life was dedicated solely to the service of humanity, especially children during Second World War ravaged Poland.

Korczak "organized plays and concerts with the children that attracted all sorts of people from within the surrounding area" (Gentiles, 2020, p. 1) during this period. He refused to leave the children for safety when the need arose numerous times. In fact, his pedagogy has been examined solely within the context of his rescue of the subjugated child.

> Although Korczak worked with children, he has been stripped of all political motivations. Leaving his educational work to be rebranded under a pedagogy of sympathy', there is an overemphasis on Korczak's duty for 'saving the children'. Whatever small concessions have been achieved away from this position, sympathy and sacrifice remain the dominant narrative and any 'revolutionary' political concepts are kept outside the scope of subsequent scholarly work (Vucic, 2019, p. 15).

Vucic's statement portends that in the past, scholars have shied away from evaluating the revolutionary and political undertone of Korczak's works. Therefore, there remains a dearth of critical underpinning on Korczak's pedagogical practices in the context of politics and also, as they relate to creative literatures and films. Against this backdrop, I use Janusz Korczak's pedagogical, humanist and moralist theory of power and inclusion to examine social exclusion and ways in which cinema has been a pedagogical tool in erasing injustice meted on the silenced *Other*, and facilitating social inclusion in Africa and beyond.

Social Exclusion and Januz Korczak's Pedagogy of Power

Power has been a prominent subject of discourse in the academia. Its multidisciplinary gaze makes its definition ambiguous. There is no holistic definition of power. This stems from the fact that the concept applies to various fields of studies. In fact, "there is a notable lack of agreement both about its definition and about many features of the conceptual context in which it should be placed" (Parson, 2012, p. 1). However, "it is the capacity of an individual or persons to get things done effectively, in particular when their goals are obstructed by some kinds of human resistance or opposition" (Parsons, 2012, p. 3). Parson's definition is Hobbessian (Thomas Hobbes, the 17th century English philosopher contends for the complete power of government.). Thomas Hobbes establishes that power is "the generalized capacity to attain ends or goals in social relations independently of the media employed or of the status of authorization to make decisions or impose obligation" (Stein, 2014, p. 4). Hobbes' centralization of power is fully captured in *The Leviathian*. "He sees power as focused in sovereignty" (Kelly, 2009, p. 54). Contrastively, the 17th century philosopher was opposed by John Locke and Thomas Jefferson. The duo sees the former's position as monolithic. Parson's (2012) definition is appropriate for this study since it is apt in the sociological and political contexts. Amartya Sen understands that the phenomenon of power "is a relational issue, in terms of how individuals relate to each other; this is constituent for his conceptualization of the issue" (Sen, 2000, p. 3).

The assertion of power in social political, economic and cultural contexts advances exclusion of underprivileged people and spaces from decision making processes and

socio-economic and political participation. "Social exclusion happens when a group is not allowed to fully enjoy the benefits of participation in society (economic, social, political, cultural or their combination)" (Delamonica, 2020, p. 47). This is when they are maligned and placed at the margin of the society. "Individuals or groups can be excluded from political participation, markets (economic exclusion), society or culture" (Delamonica, 2020, p. 48). Paradigmatically, the American, democratic terrain of the 18th and 19th was characterized with the exclusion of women. Women were disenfranchised. They were not allowed to vote. The male gender was not only in control of the whole superstructure, inequity and inequality-disparity in quantity and unfairness was the trope of the American society.

The discourse on social exclusion and power came into the centre of African scholarship with the agitation for nationalism and the quest for the decolonization of colonized spaces. Recall that the birth of "postcolonial theory can be traced to the 1961 publication of the Martinique-born psychiatrist, Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* in which he declares that colonialized of the world reclaimed their past for their voice to be heard" (Binebai, 2015, p. 206). Fanon's clarion call was for the equitable distribution of power and social inclusion. This agitation for social inclusion can be found in the discourses on subalternism.

> Subaltern, meaning 'of inferior rank', is a term adopted by Antonio Gramsci to refer to those groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes. Spivak's Subaltern postcolonial theory of voice articulates a close bond with the working people's struggle, the birth of new parties and dominant groups, the formations that the subaltern groups produce to press their claims and new formations within the old framework that assert the autonomy of the subaltern classes (Binebai, 2015, p. 207).

The subaltern postcolonial theory addresses the issues of subjugated communities and silenced *Others*. The silenced *Others* are those whose voices have been silenced. They are Boal and Freire's oppressed, and Korczak's children. Korczak's politics seems to transcend Boal and Freire's oppressed. Hardly does their critical works relate to child empowerment. In fact, the former criticizes the approaches of colonial and postcolonial liberation critics for their lack of focus on the child.

Children in Korczak's theories and praxis transcend the mere notion of the child. It dovetails into the corpus of the oppressed and silenced, caused by inequality. "Inequality has reached unprecedented levels. In 2018, 26 people owned the same wealth as the 3.8 billion people who make up the poorest half of humanity" (Oxfam International, 2020, p. 1). I hinge this expansion on his definition of children. To Korczak, "children are not future people, because they are people already. Children are people whose souls contain the seeds of all those thoughts and emotions that we possess. As these seeds develop, their growth must be gently directed" (Lewowicki, 2000, p. 43). Thus, Janusz Korczak has expanded the scope of liberation and social pedagogy. In the lens of the child, he has been able to bring the case for humanism into the centre of discourse. He "influenced the United Nation United Nations decision to declare the Rights of the Children in 1989" (Waliya, 2020, p. 24).

In this role, Korczak stressed the importance of wellbeing. It was the fundament of his paedology, a holistic, interdisciplinary, socio-psycho-physiological approach to children as well as the society's and state's obligation and responsibility towards the youngest citizens. Korczak advocated early intervention and postulated the need for a multiplicity of various institutions dealing with the child, in other words: the "pedagogization" of society (Markowska-Manista, 2020, p. 15).

Korczak's pedagogy transcends the call for social inclusion. It dovetails into the imperative of moral consciousness, "He would tell a story that the children had chosen for him to read. Korczak tried his very best to keep the children educated throughout their time in the ghetto, striving to instil within the orphans the values of honesty and truth in these trying times" (Gentiles, 2020, p. 1). Korczak is a moralist who engages in a call for moral consciousness. Hence, polish scholars such as Anna Odrowaz-Coates have often situated his pedagogy in the context of child care and morality. 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, p. 370). The subject of power is political. Korczak's pedagogy is hinged on power. Hence, politics cannot be divorced from his pedagogy. "In order to deepen the inquiry into his philosophical underpinnings, an anarchist framework assists in the analysis of Korczak's work in terms of political struggle" (Vucic, 2017, p. 30) and not only in the framework narrating his experiences of protecting the orphans during the Second World War. "Korczak's discourse joins power and knowledge and is intimately linked with cultural and economic oppression" (Vucic, 2017, p. 161).

Like postcolonial revolutionaries such as Marcus Garvey, Franz Fanon, W.E.B. Du Bois and George Padmore, Korczak's activism "improved the lives of millions who worked on the streets, live on the streets and work in the formal economy" (Khalid, 2020, p. 42). Although it is true that "Korczak is new to English language literature on child rights and it is true that his philosophy and perspective of child rights is still under-researched and remains poorly understood" (Khalid, 2020, p. 41), his pedagogical, humanist and moralist theory of power and inclusion, abound in the African creative industries, especially cinema which has the capacity to speak for the silenced and to galvanize the silenced to speak. In the next section(s) of the paper, I will highlight a synopsis of Coogler's *Black Panther* and Afolayan's *Citation*, and examine Janusz Korczak's pedagogical approach on social inclusion, love, morality and power in the films understudy.

Synopsis of Ryan Coogler's Black Panther and Kunle Afolayan's Citation

In *Black Panther*, T'challa becomes king of Wakanda, a well developed third world nation, after the death of his father, T'Chaka. The development of Wakanda and their sister tribe, Jabari is facilitated by the vibranium which the white men go after. T'Challa, Okoye and Nakia, go to Busan, South Korea to impede Ulysses Klaue's sale of a Wakandan stolen artifact, to a CIA agent, Everett Ross. T'Challa and his cohorts succeeds in capturing Klaue. However, Erik Stevens an accomplice to the theft attacks, releases Klaue and Ross is

gravely injured and T'Challa takes him to Wakanda to save him. Shuri, T'Challa's sixteen years old sister heals Ross. Killmonger, N'Jobu's American kills Klaue, brings his body to Wakanda, and lays claim to the throne after defeating T'Challa in a duel. Killmonger attempts to distribute Wakanda's weapons globally. Not pleased with Killmonger's ascension to the throne, Nakia, T'Challa's former lover, Ramonda, his mother and Shuri and Ross seek help from the M'Baku, the leader of the Jabari tribe, to overthrow Killmonger. They find a near dead T'Challa well cared for by M'Baku. Fortunately, T'Challa survives and goes to Wakanda to engage in a duel with Killmonger while Shuri and Nakia fights W'Kabi's army. Ross shoots down all the planes carrying vibranium weapons to various parts of the world. (Vibranium is a fictional powerful material of destruction used mainly in Science Fiction cartoons). T'Challa kills Killmonger. He appears before the United Nations to reveal the real identity of Wakanda to the world.

Citation is a narrative on the life of Moremi Oluwa, a young, intelligent masters student at the Obafemi University, Ife, Nigeria. She encounters love advances from her Professor Lucien N'dyare, a scholar of global repute. The case is taken to the school senate panel where the Ajike advocacy centre hires Angela, a lawyer, to give Moremi the best representation at this hearing. Angela convinces Moremi to be calm and erase every iota of fear from her. At the panel, Professor N'dyare narrates that Moremi made love advances at him, which he refuted. He is so passionate about his statements that those at the panel become sympathetic with him and doubt Moremi's accusation despite her providing her underwear, which Professor N'ydare ripped off her. Moremi goes to unearth facts about Professor N'dyare's past live. She realizes that the professor had previously caused the death of his female student where he lectured before coming to Nigeria. He impregnated the student who later commits suicide because the professor rejected the paternity of the child. Moremi brings in the father of the late student to testify against Professor N'dyare. The panel finds the professor guilty of all the charges levelled against him. His appointed as staff of the school is terminated and he is handed over to the security operatives for trial.

Janusz Korczak's Pedagogical Approach in Cinema of Social Inclusion

In this section, I intend to situate Coogler's *Black Panther* and Afolayan's *Citation* in the framework of Korczak's pedagogical approaches of love, social inclusion, morality and power. "As forms of public pedagogy, films must be understood in terms of their political and educational character and how they align with broader social, racial, economic, class, and institutional configurations" (La Gravenese, 2007, p. 2). With the paradigm of *Black Panther*, "Hollywood cinema has for long highlighted the central importance of education in our society" (La Gravenese, 2007, p. 2).

I believe that the production and spectatorship of films that promote social inclusion can erase exclusion of marginalized places and people in decision making process and improve on the call for socio-political and economic wellbeing in the society. This is because, cinema has the capacity to "provide the opportunity to experimenting with new approaches and how art can transform lives and places" (Afolabi, 2017, p. 67). Like other

art forms such as the theatre and literature, the cinema hinges on communication and it takes into consideration the ways, time, space, facilitators can influence the creative process. While time and space encompass the film setting, the facilitators are the producers, directors and the actors/actresses who engage in the performance process.

In *Black Panther*, two things are significant-first, the throne of Wakanda and then the vibranium. It is obvious that whoever is in charge of the throne would control the vibranium. Wakanda, a third world country in the film is a metaphor for Africa. It is home for all Africans. The vibranium speaks about the natural resources in Africa. The filmmaker seems to argue that Africa's underdevelopment is a result of the Western actors' encroachment of the continent. The 14th–18th century trans-Atlantic slave trade, the late 19th–mid 20th century colonialism and neo-colonialism engineered the dislocation of Africa's development. Casely Hayford the Pan-Africanist refutes the Eurocentric claim of the absence of civilization of Precolonial Africa. To Hayford (1992), "before even the British came into relations with our people, we were a developed people, having our own institutions, having our own ideas of government" (p. 1). Walter Rodney in *When Europe Underdeveloped Africa* establishes extensively that:

> The African continent reveals very fully the workings of the law of uneven development of societies. There are marked contrasts between the Ethiopian empire and the hunting groups of pigmies in the Congo forest or between empires of the Western Sudan and the Khoisan hunter- gatherers of the Kalahari Desert. The Ethiopian empire embraced literate feudal Amharic noblemen as well as simple Kaffa cultivators and Galla pastoralists. The empires of the Western Sudan had sophisticated, educated Mandinga townsmen, small communities of Bozo fishermen and nomadic Fulani herdsmen (Rodney, 1973, p. 52).

The colonial masters claimed they came to Africa to develop the continent. However, in the framework of Korczak, Africans "are not future people, because they are people already" (Lewowicki, 2000, p. 43). The continent was already a develop one precursory to the encroachment of the imperialists. The colonial masters did not only erase the development of the African continent. In fact, she stole it. In *Black Panther*, Klaue and Erik Stevens steal an artifact from a British museum. This art work was previously owned by Wakanda. Recall that this is a practice characterized of the British colonial masters who looted the art works of the colonized. In Benin, Nigeria, and other colonized spaces, the imperialists carted away thousands of artifacts in the wake of the colonization enterprise.

In another dimension, the level of development of Wakanda with the vibranium and their isolation from other parts of the world seems to states that Africa and other colonized nations, with the human and non-human resources they possess, have all it takes to be developed without the support of the West. If Africans would join hands together, harness her natural resources judiciously, in absence of the misappropriation of public funds, ethnic and religious crisis, and shun its dependence on Europe, she would surpass the development of the West.

Black Panther seeks to reveal the past glory of Africa, and the future of the continent if she is ready to use local intelligence, utilize her natural resources naturally and adopt love in her dealings. Korczak is an advocate of love. He establishes that only with love

can humanization comes to play. The filmmaker's portrayal of the Boko Haram crisis where T'Challa and his cohorts go to at the beginning of the film to rescue some hostages reveals this dimension.

Black Panther aims at rewriting the misconstructed African past. Korczak's pedagogy advocates social inclusivity of all. It refutes all sorts of marginalization and subjugation. The film reveals how Wakanda has long been oppressed by the West, and how her resources have been stolen. T'Challa's retrieving the stolen vibranium is a call to put an end to suppression. In the film, the fauna and flora of Wakanda is aesthetically appealing. The evergreen grasses and trees and the beautiful flow of water down the rocks and mountains tells the extent to which Wakanda protects the environment. They are Bio-centrists who advance the protection of nature and who believe the environment has its intrinsic value. Africa and other colonized spaces saw anthropocentrism as anathema. However, the intrusion of the imperialists changed the narrative. On T'Chaka's visit to Prince N'Jobu at Oakland, California in 1992, he complains to the latter, about how Ulysses Klaue steals vibranium from Wakanda and triggered the bomb to escape and many lives were lost. Here, T'Chaka complains that all the White oppressors are concerned about, is destruction.

The problem of environmental degradation is not farfetched from the advancement in capitalist processes. The level of civilization of Wakanda transcends that of the oppressors-the West. This makes T'Challa take Everett Ross to Wakanda where the technology that holds sway there can save his life. Wakanda makes one understand that development does not entail the destruction of the eco system. Deforestation and environmental degradation must not come to bear for development to occur. In fact, Wakanda's civilization complements nature and the eco system. It is a city of the forests, one of the hills and the mountains and the waters.

The film "allows teaching points to be made quickly and directly with the scenes; that facilitates the integration of emotions in the viewing experience; and helps the learners to understand and recognize immediately the main messages regarding attitudes and human values delivered" (Gonzalez, Graziela, & Gonzalez, 2015, p. 4) by characters such as T'Challa, while traits portrayed by N'Jobu are condemned. This "stimulates discussion about the breadth of human experience and elicits profound conflicts and concerns learners have about their future professional roles and personal lives" (Gonzalez, Graziela, & Gonzalez, 2015, p. 4). N'Jobu, King T'Chaka's brother believes that if Africa is to be liberated from its oppressors-the West, then the technology of Wakanda must be distributed among all and sundry of African descent around the world. *Black Panther* is pan-Africanist in theme. The fighting skills of T'Challa and the people of Wakanda surpass that of the Westerners. Khloe uses the vibranium as a weapon to fights with T'Challa. Below is a conversation between the duo:

T'Challa: Look at me, where did you get this weapon?

Klaue: You savages didn't deserve it

Klaue who refers to Wakandans as savages personifies the colonizer who believes that the third world does not merit having all of the natural resources she has. Hence, these natural resources must all be taken away. The colonizer knows the utility of the crude oil, the gold, the ivory and diamonds possessed by Africa. In the film, Klaue tells Everett Ross that vibranium is not just a metal. Rather, the people of Wakanda sew it into their clothes. It powers their city, and their weapons.

Using movies in teaching is an effective way to reach people´s affective domain, promote reflective attitudes, and link learning to experiences. Teaching with movies triggers that disclose emotions allows questions, expectations and dilemmas to arise for both learner and teacher. Movies provide a narrative model grounded in the learners´ familiar world that is framed in emotions and images (Gonzalez, Graziela, & Gonzalez, 2015, pp. 5–7).

Klaue is caught by T'Challa and he works with Ross to make Klaue talk. Ross accuses Klaue that although Wakanda is a third world country, he (Khloe) stole all of her vibranium. Developed nations such as the United States of America, France, China and Britain at numerous times, had rendered help to third world countries in return for their natural resources. These third world nations make their third world counterparts see reasons why they should part with their resources. At the beginning of *Black Panther*, when T'Chaka visits Njobu, his brother in Oakland, California, Njobu makes him see reasons why the vibranium should be given out to Africans around the world to conquer their oppressors. According to him:

Njobu: I observed this for as long as I could. The leaders are being assassinated, communities flooded with drugs and weapons and the people are being incarcerated. Over the planet earth people suffer because they don't have the tools to fight back. With vibranium they could overthrow every country and come to rule them all the right way.

But Njobu does not consider that giving the vibranium to the global African community is dangerous. Giving them out would definitely create spaces for the West's buying them from their owners. Njobu's son, Killmonger plans to wreak havoc on mankind with the vibranium. He succeeds in coming to Wakanda to claim the throne. He defeats T'Challa and becomes king. But his reign is short lived as his T'Challa soon returns and with the help of the king of the Jabari tribe, he defeats Killmonger in a fierce battle. There is a display of love by T'Challa towards Killmonger. After the former's defeat of Killmonger, he forgives him and offers to save his life with Wakanda medicine. However, Killmonger prefers to die honourably. T'Challa's action reflects Korczak's emphasis on love since "a factor determining the topicality of his pedagogy is love" (Janiak & Rynio, 2014, p. 159).

Film like theatre, has the capacity "to reconcile tensions between the people and aristocratic predecessors" (Boal, 1985, p. 118). By so doing, "the oppressed people are liberated themselves and once more, are making the space their own and the walls of oppression are torn down" (Boal, 1985, p. 119). At the end of the film, T'Challa, and the United Nations, reveals the true identity of Wakanda to the whole world. During his declaration before the United Nations at Vienna, Austria, T'Challa vows that Wakanda would sell its knowledge and civilization to the outside world, that Wankanda will no longer watch from the shadows. While his statement is a clarion call for global unity, he makes the point that before now, Africa had been in the shadows.

Korczak criticized teaching through lectures, impractical school curricula, and formal relationships between teachers and pupils. He emphasized for the establishment of schools where children can enjoy all things including education and which interests them. He believed that co-operation between schools, families and other various institutions should be developed to create an enabling environment,

where children can learn and can be ready for their lives to contribute positively in the society (Lewowicki, 1994, p. 38).

Afolayan's *Citation* narrates the tale of the challenges women go through in the society in the face of chauvinism. It captures the rigours students, especially of the female gender go through in the hands of lecturers in tertiary institutions. In Nigeria and Africa, there have been vases of sex for grades and sexual assault of female students by Professors who are put in place to serve as mentor to them. In the education setting, the student ought to be a child who the lecturer nurtures. To Korczak, "children are not future people, because they are people already... Children are people whose souls contain the seeds of all those thoughts and emotions that we possess. As these seeds develop, their growth must be gently directed" (Lewowicki, 2000, p. 43) by adults-their teachers. At the beginning of the film *Citation*, Rachael decides to set Dr. Grillo up for his attempt to assault her sexually in return for marks. Her action leads to his death. Hence, she is rusticated alongside her two accomplices and jailed by a High Court for manslaughter. The male dominated university Senate is aware that sexual assault of female students for grades is the norm in the university, but it engages in a lopsided judgement of the case. What is most paramount to the Senate is the death of Dr. Grillo. This contravenes Korczak's pedagogy is a fair hearing. Rachael and her colleagues are disappointed in the University. However, they believe that the status quo would not remain the same. There will come a time when a Daniel will come to judgement.

The next scene after their rustication reveals the statute of a man with a clenched fist. With this, the filmmaker seems to make the audience understand that it should brace up for unfolding events as justice would prevail subsequently. The core of Korczak's pedagogy is a fair hearing of all and sundry irrespective of race, sexuality, gender, and ethnic affiliation.

It is pertinent to note that Rachael's rustication and subsequent jail is which is a subjugation of the child's right would gag the voice of the oppressed. Female students who are approached by male lecturers would find it difficult to resists such advances for feat of being given the Rachael treatment. This therefore, facilitates an upsurge in the power of the lecturer, to the detriment of the student. The feeling of powerlessness may create respect for power. The students have the feeling of hopelessness as they are at the mercy of their lecturers. This is why Freire's critical pedagogy, Jurgen Habermas' communicative action and Korczak's humanist theory of power and social inclusion recommends that the oppressed should speak if they must be liberated from the shackles of the oppressor. Moremi, though a student, decides to speak out against sexual harassment by her lecturer, Professor N'Dyare, one of the students' favourite in her department. Below is a close up shot of a hand bill made of the case of Professor N'Dyare and Moremi.

In Nigerian institutions of higher learning and in Africa generally, lecturers see themselves as tin gods. Students are of the notion that their destinies lie in the hands of their lecturers. Hence, it is not rare to see students succumb to their demands. Koyejo, a final year medical student of the university does not only introduce himself to Moremi in his bid to impress her, he goes further to make her understand that his elder brother is a lecturer in the institution. However, Moremi is not swayed. But Koyejo later understands that to win the hand of a lady goes beyond impressing her. The name Moremi strikes one. It is the name of a Yoruba heroine who salvaged the people of Ile-Ife from defeat by

entering the camp of the enemies of her people in the pretext of marriage, and facilitating the victory of her people. Later on, Moremi becomes scared of the senate hearing of her case with Professor N'Dyare. Moremi does not want to be the cynosure of all eyes in the University. She does not want to be the talk of the school. But her counsel, Angela, makes her understand that it is a closed hearing. She (Angele) is excited about the case. She had always wanted to stand for the right of the oppressed woman.

Angela: We need the noise, we need the publicity

Moremi: I just want to stay in school and continue my studies.

Angela: The Ajike advocacy centre hired me to give you the best representation at this hearing. I promised to do that.

In her attempt to convince Moremi, Angela reminds her about the case of Dr. Grillo some years back and Moremi is scared that she could be rusticated for slandering a lecturer. Female students on campus swear their allegiance to Moremi that they are ready to join the struggle against oppression and victimization. At the Senate panel, Professor N'dyare lies to the panel that Moremi made sexual advances at him, and even pulls down her pants and that he was utterly shocked at her action and embarrassed. Also, she tried to kiss him at the beach. But Moremi is firm. She makes the panel understand that her first one on one contact with Professor N'dyare was after a tutorial class and she later drives him in his car to his residence. She swears that she is neither emotionally nor romantically attached to the Professor as the latter claims at the panel.

During lunch with Moremi, Angela makes Moremi understand that there is a thin line between wooing and oppression, especially when one party has power over the other.

Humanization of the dehumanized, is a salient constituent of Korczak's pedagogy and to a large extent, Freire's critical approach. Humanization comes with fair hearing and meting of justice, which culminates into the feeling of social inclusion. The students of Obafemi Awolowo University, especially the female students, are optimistic that Moremi would be given fair hearing and justice prevails on the issue. The witnesses called and Moremi's friend, Gloria, testifies that Moremi Oluwa is obsessed with Professor N'dyare, and has the intention of bedding the Professor before the end of the semester, to guarantee her place at the United Nations after the interview. However, one of the male students who is a witness, testifies that it was Professor N'dyare who was chasing after Moremi especially during the field trip. Moremi goes further to accuse Professor N'Dyare of his attempted rape of her. She goes ahead to narrates how the Professor makes an attempt to rape her by ripping off her underwear.

The use of language is significant in this film. At some point in the film, Professor Yahaya is sympathetic towards Professor N'Dyare. Perhaps, this stems from the fact that he doubts his (N'Dyare) being guilty if the offence for which he is being tried. Hence, he does not make use of the term, rape in the first place when Moremi's tale implies it.

Professor Yahaya: Miss Oluwa, are you implying that your course supervisor, a Senior Lecturer of this university, a Professor of international repute attempted to assault you?

Moremi: No sir, I am saying he attempted to rape me!

Moremi decides to speak. Speaking aloud is imperative in Korczak's pedagogy. Korczak sees the need for the subaltern-child to utilize a dominant language if they must be liberated from the fangs of the oppressor. "Our ability to communicate has a universal core-communicative competence is not just a matter of being able to produce

grammatical sentences. In speaking, we relate to the world about us to other subjects, to our own intentions, feelings and desires" (Habermas, 1984, p. 17). Moremi goes ahead to present the torn pant to the Senate panel. Below is a pictorial depiction of Moremi presenting the torn underwear to the Senate panel.

This is not enough evidence as anybody could get a torn pant from the void to make such claim. Angela chastises her for her childish action.

The filmmaker utilizes the deus ex machine performance device to resolve the conflict. In course of Moremi's investigation and delving into Professor N'Dyare's past, he comes across a man who knows the Professor's dirty past, his lecherous activities, and how a girl he impregnated and dumped committed suicide. With Moremi's request, this character comes to the Senate panel to testify against Professor N'Dyare.

The film ends with Professor N'Dyare being found guilty, getting sacked and being handed over to the security operatives for further investigation. This action aligns with Korczak's advocacy for fairness, and justice. Morality is a major focus of Korczak's pedagogy. Professor N'Dyare's behaviour contravenes African moral ethos and accepted global practices. In indigenous African societies, it is an abominable act for a man to sleep with a woman who he had not legally married. Unfortunately, N'Dyare is revealed as lecherous. His uncontrolled libido leads him into having engaging in illicit sexual assault of his female students where he taught.

Films about schools can be used to teach mobilization against oppression and subjugation. According to La Gravenese;

> Films about schools not only play an influential role in mobilizing particular meanings, affective investments, desires, and values related to our everyday understanding of the teaching profession and education, but also play a crucial role in legitimating the purpose of schooling, the definition of teaching and learning, and what constitutes important classroom knowledge. Most importantly, they shape habits of thinking by providing audiences with framing mechanisms and affective structures through which individuals fashion their identities and mediate their relationship to public life, social responsibility, and the demands of critical citizenship" (La Gravenese, 2007, p. 4).

In this film, Moremi, the oppressed child, stands firm against the oppressor. She counters the false tale of Professor N'Dyare. The film is characterized with narrativity and counter-narrativity, a display of power and counter-power. To Korczak:

> 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 existence of the show of counter-power leads to unearthing numerous facts about Professor N'Dyare's oppressive activities. This makes Angela commend her client (Moremi) for not keeping her mouth shut about what her course supervisor has done

to her. To Angela, Moremi's story has given more women the courage to recount their own story. This is a clarion call for all oppressed children especially in academic spaces to speak out against every oppressive tendencies meted on them by their teachers and other dominant elements.

Conclusion

Black Panther and *Citation* affirm that the filmmaker is a pedagogue who aims at correcting the ills and foibles of the society. He is one who speaks for those whose voices have been silenced by the hegemony of the colonizer. *Black Panther* is an afro futuristic film which highlights the capacity of Africa's development to transcend that of the West if her (Africa) resources are well utilized. The two film understudy affirms that trans- national Nigerian cinema has begun to create spaces for the integration of the voices of the minority or silenced *Other* into the public space. Hence I recommend that more filmmakers should locate in their films, Korczak's humanist approach which is a counter homily to evil, unfairness, social inequality, exploitation and injustice.

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English Code-Mixing as a Symbol of Status and Intellect, Linguistic Imperialism in Quetta, Baluchistan

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Introduction

The study is conducted under the canon of English globalization and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) in the region Quetta, Balochistan. Linguistic borrowing is the consequence of Language contact between two civilizations. So far, the researchers have studied borrowings that take place to fill the lexical gap, but there might be other possibilities too. Language change involves subjective as well as objective motivation (Hollyforde & Whiddett, 2002). Haugen (1950) is a major referential spot in the elaboration of borrowing and language change. He claims that language shift is not haphazard rather it is a very conscious activity of switching and mixing. There are numerous factors for motivation but, sociolinguistic stimulus is the remarkable one that, affect the attitudes for L2 learning. Eventually, Environmental motivation can prevail in the form of social, psychological, cultural, normative, physical and normative need that enables the motivators to avail the target (Stojičić, 2004). Following the same vein, study attempts to discover the probable factors (socio-psycho) that motivate the Urdu speech community of Quetta for unwanted English code-mixing.

Literature Review

Under the canon of Linguistic globalization and language contact it is probable to predict that a prestigious language (e.g. Greek, Persian, Arabic and English) donates vocabulary to languages that are comparatively less prestigious. When two languages with an asymmetrical relationship come into contact with one another such as by colonization, code-mixing and lexical borrowings are the typical out comings (MacSwan, 2005). This change is essentially based on the prestigious regard of the target language. English

language has achieved universality and dominancy in every sphere. It is the global lingua franca (Lecercle, 2006).

The widespread acknowledgment of English in subcontinent traces back to the Christian missionaries. As Kachru and Nelson (2006) state that the highly positioned elite class in the region was inclined to learn English language to avail modern knowledge, science, discovery and technology. Superiority and dominancy of western culture was another assertion of English language superiority. The British and latter on American imperialism was the key factor for the acceptance of English class via language. It is far more superior and privileged than Sanskrit or Arabic. It further proclaims that the regional indigenous are desperate to acquire English language because, it is a symbol of status, identity, morals, prestige, and intellect. Sanskrit or Arabic is confined to religious and dogmatic events only, but English is in taste, opinion and class. English is the worth knowing vernacular for the transmission of knowledge to a greater and larger mass (Mustapha, 2014).

The existing era of English dominancy mirrors the contextual reasons of its immense prevalence among Pakistani speech community. Rahman (2009) defines that the Linguistic imperialism of English is highly endured by South Asian countries (e.g. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal etc.). With this in mind, the ideology of English capitalism is stronger than ever before in the region. English is turned to be an integral component in each official and non-official institute, Commerce, parliament, education, science, tourism, entertainment, electronic media, employment and so forth.

The study theorizes that code-mixing and lexical borrowing in Pakistan either, semi or wholly integrated, is a fine window to comprehend the attitudinal strengths of speech community. Linguistic borrowing and code-mixing are the out spring of Language contact. Borrowing takes place to fill the lexical gap and, code-mixing due to various reasons such as culture, class, fashion, habit, practice, norm and so forth. Unnecessary substitution of English vocabulary in various domains is increasing day by day. The selection of linguistic codes of a language decides ones belongingness to a speech community, social class, rank, intellect, taste and prestige (Gardner, 1985).

Theoretical Framework

The study adopts the model Linguistic Imperialism (1992) given by Robert Phillipson. The model explains societal developments that co-relate with language. Phillipson initially used the term to refer exclusively to the global status and the global role of English. For him, Linguistic Imperialism (LI) is a situation where dominancy of a language (here English) is asserted and maintained by the ruling class. LI is a conscious process, exerted by driving force and organizations. Same is the case with English language. The prestigious and superior standing of English language is the continuation of the colonial improvement and it continues to be. LI is the shift of power from one language to other world languages. English is the foremost language that displays imperialistic tendencies worldwide in present times. The theorist further entails that the power does not move in isolation, it moves along with the dominancy of culture and class. The supremacy of English is continued by cultural means that is attributed in attitudes, thought, belief and value of the native English speakers. The study intends to analyze the data under the theoretical lens of LI in the context of Quetta, Pakistan.

Research Methodology

The study adopted Descriptive mode of inquiry, as because the major concern of the study was to view the general attitudes and the description of the statics. Concurrently, for data collection, study adapted the questionnaire of Mushtaq & Zahra (2012), and Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation test Battery (AMTB). The questionnaire was based on four-point Likert scale, comprising 10 items displayed in a horizontal (see appendix), each describing a particular scenario and social context. Population for the data collection was the students of "Baluchistan University of Information, Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences", whereby the sample comprised 100 BS students from BUITEMS. The collected data via questionnaire was analyzed by SPSS.

The research had such queries:
1) What are the L1 speakers' attitudes of Baluchistan towards the phenomenon of English code-mixing/ lexical borrowing(s)?
2) What are the psychosocial factors that motivate L1 speakers of Baluchistan to English code-mix/ lexical borrowing(s)?

Quantitative Data Analysis

1. English Code-mixing gives a person educated outlook
Here the participants have showed a strong tendency of agreement towards the statement being asked. 95 participants agreed with the variable, where 56% strongly agreed and 39% agreed. Only 5 participants navigated (see table 1).

Table 1. English Code-mixing gives a person educated outlook

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Disagree	3	2.9	3.0	5.0
	Agree	39	38.2	39.0	44.0
	strongly agree	56	54.9	56.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

2. Society is generally impressed by those L1 speakers who make use of English code-mixing
Most of the participants (61%) strongly agreed that it does impress people around. 30 participants have plainly agreed and 4 participants disagreed, although only 5 participants showed strong disagreement.

Table 2. Society is impressed by those L1 speakers who make use of English code-mixing

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	5	4.9	5.0	5.0
	Disagree	4	3.9	4.0	9.0
	Agree	30	29.4	30.0	39.0
	strongly agree	61	59.8	61.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

3. English Code-mixing creates a strong impact on mind

This variable is the continuation of the previous where a number of participants (73%) showed agreement and 16 participants strongly agreed. On the other hand a leaser number of participants has strongly disagreed (2%) and the remaining task takers (9%) have disagreed that English lays any effect on mind.

Table 3. English Code-mixing creates a strong impact on mind

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Disagree	9	8.8	9.0	11.0
	Agree	73	71.6	73.0	84.0
	strongly agree	16	15.7	16.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

4. English Code-mixing makes a person to feel modernize

The result (see table 4) depicts that 57 percent strongly agreed and 38 percent agreed. On the other hand only 5 percent strongly disagreed with the research variable.

Table 4. English Code-mixing makes a person to feel modernize

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	5	4.9	5.0	5.0
	Agree	38	37.3	38.0	43.0
	strongly agree	57	55.9	57.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

5. English Code-mixing enables a person to gain more respect in society

This variable has gained highest degree of conformity. It is validated from the statistical results that out of 100 participants 2 strongly disagreed and 2 disagreed with the variable. Perhaps a greater number of participants went with the statement (see table 5).

Table 5. English Code-mixing enables a person to gain more respect in society

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Disagree	2	2.0	2.0	4.0
	Agree	69	67.6	69.0	73.0
	strongly agree	27	26.5	27.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

6. English Code-mixing makes an argument more authentic.

The variable dealt with the issue of English as a mean validity and reliability. As it is observed that 2 participants did not show agreement but the remaining 98 participants went with the statement. Among those 32 strongly agreed and 66 percent agreed with the case (see table 6).

Table 6. English Code-mixing makes an argument more authentic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Agree	66	64.7	66.0	68.0
	strongly agree	32	31.4	32.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

7. I have a strong desire to code-mix while speaking in L1

The statistical results (see table 7) have shown the frequency of agreement (84%) and strong agreement for the statement given above. While 8 participants (8%) did not agree and only one participant (1%) strongly disagreed.

Table 7. I have a strong desire to code-mix while speaking in L1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	Disagree	8	7.8	8.0	9.0
	Agree	84	82.4	84.0	93.0
	strongly agree	7	6.9	7.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

8. "I code-mix English to impress people around"

This scale of responds (see table 8) is a turning stance where majority of the respondents disagreed (67%) with the statement that they code-mix to impress people around. Only 15 participants participant claimed that they do have a desire to put a good impression by adopting English language.

Table 8. I code-mix English to impress people around

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	18	17.6	18.0	18.0
	Disagree	67	65.7	67.0	85.0
	Agree	15	14.7	15.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

9. I tend to code-mix due to English prestige.

English Imperialism is the unconceivable reality in the Quetta city. The exclusive result shows (see table 9) that there is a number of questionnaire takers who strongly agreed (52%) with the fact that English code-mixing is working under a vast context, and the most remarkable factor is its prestigious standing.

Table 9. I tend to code-mix due to English prestige

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	7	6.9	7.0	7.0
	Disagree	50	49.0	50.0	57.0
	Agree	43	42.2	43.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

10. I believe that English code-mixing is a symbol of high status

Finding shows (see table 10) that participants believed on the high status of English language. Code-mixing is a consequence of such cognitive models.

Table 10. I believe that English code-mixing is a symbol of high status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	11	10.8	11.0	11.0
	Agree	66	64.7	66.0	77.0
	strongly agree	23	22.5	23.0	100.0
	Total	100	98.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

Qualitative Data Analysis (Themetic)

Thematic analysis is the most common form of analysis in qualitative research. It emphasizes pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns (or "themes") within data. Themes are the patterns across data sets that are important to the description of a social phenomenon. Thematic analysis also comprises contextualized method between the two extremities of theoretical framework and the context behind. Consequently, the thematic analysis is applicable at multiple stances. It is beneficial for reflecting and unrevealing the superficial reality and assigning meaning to a social activity (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The Themes

Respect Gainer

In Pakistan respect and worth is implicitly directed to English users. As a consequence, a poor speaker of English language is considered illiterate. One of the research participants gave the example of Pakistani actress "Meera", who is stereotyped because she lacks English language proficiency. The participant gave this example to make a stance that, "Meera is always ridiculed by social media. She does not have any flaw other than English deficiency. This reflects the concern for English language. No one bothers if anyone commits a mistake in Urdu language. This is vivid evidence that Urdu has no any importance compared to English language" (Respondent No 4).

In our society English is preferred because it has strong effect on mind as the interviewee entailed her incident that, "Once I had to make urgent N.I.C. I visited 'Nadra office' at Islamabad and asked the receptionist to give me token. He talked to me angrily and asked to wait in the line. I was in line waiting for my term. I went to the reception directly and the receptionist that, 'May I have token please?' The receptionist looked at me with amusement and gave me token and offered me further assistance". This shows that respect is linked with English language" (Respondent No 6).

English Code-Mixing is more convincing

English code-mixing holds back a great influence in an argument as the interviewee entailed an incident that, "This morning a friend of mine came to me to ask me the meaning of an Urdu term. I gave him several Urdu synonyms but I could not get him satisfied. After that I used an English term to explain the Urdu word. Right after hearing the English he picked up the concept and ran to his teacher. This amazed me that our mind and thinking has become so much convenient with English language instead of L1. Due to our everyday habit English words are easy to find. We need to ponder for Urdu terms that are difficult to hit upon (Respondent No 8).

Biased Attitude of Teacher

Students gave a unique reason for the usage of English code-mixing. Students said that at times teachers also discriminate students on the basis of student's English proficiency. They prefer those students who use bombastic English vocabulary regardless of the fact that intelligence can't be measured via a language competency. The interview participant narrates his believe that, "A student could be competent enough to present a satisfactory answer but he is left behind due to English lack. As a consequence, the students strive hard to learn and use more English, whether at word level or at phrasal/clausal level" (Respondent No 3).

Strengthening Reliability

English is an integral tool in the field of business and trade. Sales men would use English vocabulary to magnetize the customer's attention and affect their action. According to the interview participant the product description at the back also acts as a triggering force as she narrated her psychological incentives by saying that, "If a shopkeeper offers me two synonymous beauty products of a brand, one uses English language description and the other uses Arabic language at the back of the beauty product for instance. I will glance over the description thoroughly and will pick the one that bears English taxations. English language is good enough to affect my decision and to stimulate me for a particular action" (Respondent No 5).

To lay Emphasis

Furthermore, country and village side people use English at lexical level to lay more emphasis on the statement, such as while uttering a full sentence in local language, the ending word is taken from English to produce more weight and emphasis, such as good, very bad, love you, sorry, Thank you, Congratulations, Hurry, Cheer up, Yes, No, Sure, OK, OMG etc. There are numerous English words that are directly associated to human sensations and are implemented imply the intensity.

Attention Grabber

The unnecessary use of English codes into L1 is provided with a foundation that it is an attention grabbing technique among friends. As the student shares his observation in both the scenarios that, "In formal as well as informal negotiations we are mostly expected to experience English diffusion because society is gravitated by such events that affect the behavior of the speaker eventually" (Respondent No 6).

Satisfaction

As the data has stated that English is the one synonymous tool of communication among varies L1 speakers. The participant told the interviewer that he feels good and satisfactory when he finds himself capable of negotiating with native speakers of English successfully. The Turkish student told that, "Once I met a British citizen in Istanbul. I was talking to him in English language and I was so happy that I was communicating with him in English. Simultaneously he became happy with me as well because he was telling me his needs and I was telling about the shops, roads and further addresses. It was awesome and I was very much satisfied" (Respondent No 2).

It Gives a Person Educated Outlook

Pakistan is among those third world countries where English dominancy is at peak. Due to its interruptions in the most prestigious domains of the country such as, law, parliament and education English enables a person to sound and look educated. As a result, illiterate tend to use even more English lexis to belong to literate group.

Superiority Complex

It is being observed that people from high class society prefer English language or at least English code-mixing. It is obvious that this activity of giving priority to English language over Urdu is the symbolic representation of the tendency of belongingness to a particular speech community. As one of interviewer narrated his observation that, "There are two remarkable stances to code. "A noble or rich man uses code-mixing throughout his conversation. When his servant hears such mixture of two codes, he makes sense out of it and learns such codes from his master's communication. He implements same set of words while communication with his acquaintances and family members without even knowing the meaning. There is an assumption that the servant is obsessed by a sense that makes him to sound like his master by imitating him linguistically. As a result, the master is regarded superior and the mere imitation of master approves the supremacy" (Respondent No 5).

The interviewee further narrated another experience that, "When we move to country side, we come across illiterate fellows and they have nothing to do with education of English language, yet they are observed using code-mixing. People do code-mixing especially, with educated fellows while conducting informal conversations. The reason is this that they do not want to look uncivilized and backward. They are much concerned regarding their reputation and outlook. Probably, country side people code-mix to put an impression being modernized and up to date" (Respondent No 5). Study concludes that this shows a sense of flouting out that they are not less than urban people in any regard. They behave like effective competitors. They try to put an impression that they do not exist rather, they live and possess the ability to move with the time.

While parents compel children to gain proficiency in English language, they get affected implicitly. The student tells her observation that, "There are frequent stances where elders stress youngsters to converse with them in English rather in Urdu. As a consequence they presuppose that they have gained acknowledge by acquiring the most privileged language. Concurrently, the speaker feels superior he has the ability to acquire the life style of the ruling class" (Respondent No 7). The researcher came to realize that the

speech community of the region is quite judgmental. Society presupposes that the child belongs to a respectable background.

Weight Giver

Under the canon of supremacy, the qualitative data came across another factor that people are likely to sound more English when they are angry or fighting someone. Interviewee narrated her experience such as, "When I am angry I use more English and people get convinced easily. It is a better way to prove them wrong and to suppress or nullify them" (Respondent No 11). Consequently, one might supposes that the English code-mixing gives strength to the argument and the speaker feel superior to others.

It's a Matter of Impression

As the qualitative data revealed the fact that Pakistani speech community is socially and psychologically affected by English speakers. Common mass has an integrative desire to use English vocabulary because society depends upon such norms such as the participant portrayed her real life experience as, "Once I was supposed to go to my younger sister's PTM. Due to formal atmosphere I decided to converse in English language because I found it appropriate. I did not decide to speak in English to make myself superior than others; rather I was conscious to present myself in a good way. It was a matter of good impression among literate people around. On the other hand it was pretty shocking to discover that the moment I begin to speak in English language, people diverted towards me and I received full attention till my last sentence" (Respondent No 8).

Further on the data adds to the point that that there is a standardization of English language such as the interviewee narrated that, "When I have to visit a doctor, I prefer to use English terms specified in medical field rather using ordinary terms. This makes my doctor to hear me more attentively and he would examine me carefully" (Respondent No 1).

Code-mixing as a symbol of social status

West and European countries are the ruling powers of the world. They control economy, trade and government in the most dominating fields. It is witnessed historically that the language of master is equally valuable. The dominating class imposes its language and the subordinate class welcomes it passionately. As the participant elaborates the reason behind that", The psychological factor behind this phenomenon is that the lower class wants to develop high status or at least behaving that way by imitating their life style. Adoption of the language of the ruling class is the symbolic representation of social status" (Respondent No 10). Same is the case with Quetta's speech community that the middle and lower class uses English words and phrases to maintain a social status.

Symbol of Power

High personality is associates to English speaker in Pakistan. The one who speaks English language is considered as a hero. The illiterate men and women get suppressed when they hear English words. It adds to one's personality and different outlook. English makes a person unique among others. Perhaps, the influence of English is immense at professional level. It gives a person plenty of confidence to present him/herself in formal occasions.

It is a reliable tool of giving power and strength to its speaker. As the student told the interviewer that, "You have to be better than your class mates to move ahead and beat them. If you become good and beat your fellow then you are the winner. If I hear my class mate or colleague having good command and fluency in English language I get more impressed and it does give me inspiration to perform like them" (Respondent No 4).

The ideology of power is linked with expediency too. As English develops trust because we consider English speakers intelligent and wise. We seek consensus and suggestions from them. Linguistic dominancy of English is not a concealed event. English language acts as a yardstick among various speech communities where it is equally privileged.

Standardization of English

Apart from Pakistan, English has the standardized status in all over the world. It is language of tourism and instruction where it acts a foreign language. Most of the documentaries are developed in English language and the dominating language of translation is English too. Meanwhile there is a standard of article publication; an article cannot be published until or unless it avails the expected standard of English language.

Professionalism

Due to the standardization of English language, it is the most fashionable way of behaving professional throughout. As the participants entailed her subjective approach that, "In class I want to look more educated, whereas outside the class room I tend to code-mix to sound more professional" (Respondent No 12).

Economical Set-off

Economical status of English is an integral social factor of its immense growth and acceptance in Pakistan. It is an indispensible tool in trade and business. Pakistan deals with numerous imports export subject matters that are all carried by international language. Simultaneously, the local market traders are also pretty comfortable by English language. The student shares his observation by saying that", In all the market place, shops have sign boards written in English language. Business runners find English words more convenient possess supplementary influence on the mind of the customer" (Respondent No 5).

Reliability of Academic Justification

In the continuation of instrumental motivation, the data has come across another social factor. It is being recorded that society will approve your intellect only if you are adequate enough to follow the rules and regulations of the ruling class. The justification is possible only by getting the line of the ruling class, else society would never give reason for one's skill or talent or power.

Symbol of Richness

The Turkish student at BUITEMS enabled the study to be aware of another psychosocial factor in Pakistan which was beyond belief. He stated that", If a person speaks good English in informal setting is considered rich and wealthy. English being a symbol

of social status and literacy and these are the element that associates with wealthy back-
ground as well" (Respondent No 2). Eventually, English utility at any level (verbal, writ-
ten, lexical, phrasal, clausal or sentential) facilitates a person to give the impression of
being well-to-do.

Conclusion

The result gathered from the quantitative mean reveals that the most prevailing be-
lieve about English language. It has a very positive reputation and standing in the re-
gion. Majority of the participants agreed that the phenomenon of English code-mixing
is considered the symbol of class, civilization intellect. On the other hand, qualitative
data reveals the core factors for the English penetration while speaking Urdu. Thematic
analysis describes that the local speech communities are obsessed by the English impe-
rialism. Consequently, knowing English language enables you to gain more respect than
the unknowing ones. By the end, study validates the fact that the studied region (Quetta)
lives under the Linguistic Imperialism of English Language.

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Appendix

1. English Code-mixing gives a person educated outlook.
2. Society is generally impressed by those L1 speakers who make use of English Code-mixing.
3. English Code-mixing creates a strong impact on the mind.
4. English Code-mixing enables a person to gain more respect in society.
5. People do English code-mixing to keep themselves up to date in every day conversation.
6. English Code mixing makes an argument more authentic.
7. I code-mix English to impress people around.
8. I tend to code-mix due to English language prestige.
9. I believe that English code-mixing is a symbol of high status.
10. I intentionally attempt to use English vocabulary as much as possible.

Social Inclusion and Ayruveda – A Critical Review

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Introduction

Man is a social being and has always yearned to live with all in different forms namely family, community, village, state, nation, etc. This nature of social existence is the main driving force for humans to develop and become converted and evolve into the man as what we see today. Humans have evolved from the pre-historic forest living animalistic nature to a nomadic and herd living. This herd living again became the basis for the community type of living, followed by the emergence of village, state, etc and in total the civilization. The emergence of civilization resulted in maturity of the human population and its rise over other living forms. They also gave rise for exchange of ideas, development of knowledge and philosophies which gave a better understanding and greater intelligence than other living forms present on earth. This paved the road for further development and dominance of human species over others on earth. But along with it, there was also differentiation within ourselves too.

Vedic literatures are the oldest available literatures on earth with RIGVEDA being the oldest among the lot. The Vedic literatures are not the domain or knowledge of one author or scholar. In fact, it is the essence of knowledge that is compiled by experimentation and experiences of innumerable highly genius scholars. These literatures were so influential and near to the human existence, that they formed the way of life and the basis of the INDUS CIVILISATION. This way of life is generally referred as SANATAN DHARMA or more popularly as HINDUISM today. This essence of knowledge had in its fold every dimension of human individuality and refers to even the social distribution of the society also. According to the literatures that is followed by the HINDU social system, there is no caste as such. The whole society is distributed on the basis of the activities that the individual performs to meet his daily needs or in particular the profession (Prabhupada, 1995, p. 222) These professions are grouped and the groups are known as Varnas. There are four Varnas namely Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra which are the pillars of the society. They

are designated with certain activities such that there is smooth functioning of the society in general. Accordingly, the Brahmana is to teach, preach and practice knowledge, Kshatriya is to rule, provide security and ensure the protection of the society, Vaishya move to different places on the behalf of the society and trade for the prosperity of the society while the Shudra is to work and provide service all the members of the society so as to facilitate easy functioning of all the strata of the society (Prabhupada, 1995, pp. 765–766). With this basic idea of structured and distributed responsibility of the society, the vedic or Sanatan society with the guidelines of Sanatan Dharma came into existence. But over the years of development, increase in population and more importantly the onslaught of continuous invasions by those who opposed this system destroyed the very spirit of the same leading to the emergence of newer social system with caste, creed, etc. This gave birth to social discretion and rigidity in the social framework leading to the present situation of Social distancing of people or SOCIAL EXCLUSION.

Social exclusion is defined involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas (Popay et. al., 2008).

While analysing the different causes for social exclusion, one cannot ignore the aspect of health status of individual as one of the causes for social exclusion. Ill health especially those that are chronic and has disturbed the normal lifestyle of the individual often even traverse into the social life of the person. This altered lifestyle leads to inability to usher normal relationships, activities and social interactions leading to distancing and gradually resulting in exclusion. It is to be observed that this exclusion has a very significant impact on the psychological status of the individual thus resulting in further deepening and ultimately complete aversion of the individual. Hence, the definition of health considers the social well-being as one of the important factors that makes one to maintain and remain healthy. Ayurveda is a system that deals with life, its activities, its benefits, its importance, methods by which it can be maintained and along with different medications that helpful in treating diseases. It is the oldest existing system of medicine having its roots firm in the Vedic literatures which are considered to be olden written records including the Rigveda (Mahesh, 2019, pp. 143–151). It had been the main source of health solutions till the British Colonization of India.

Causes for Social Exclusion

The causes for an individual to be socially excluded can be broadly categorized into Physical, Psychological, Social and Individual. These four categories in fact form the basic dimension of one's health too and in its fold consist of different factors that are involved in the process of social exclusion of the individual. These factors are many out of which the following 10 are to be considered as important namely:
1. Quality of Life
2. Physical security
3. Health education
4. Standard of Living

5. Productivity
6. Valued activities
7. Individual, family and social life
8. Participation, influence and voice
9. Identity expression
10. Self-respect and legal status.

Among these 10 the Physical security, Productivity and Valued activities can be included under the category of Physical category, while

Quality of Life, Standard of living and Health education can be grouped into the Psychological category. The factors Self-respect and legal status, Identity expression and Participation, influence and voice factors are to be included under the Social category while the last set namely Individual, family and social life to be included under the Individual category. The existence of these causes in the life of the individual, society or even in the perception of the individual will lead to exclusion either by the society or by the individual himself. The detail description of the causes is provided below.

Quality of Life

The quality of life forms a very important feature for one's life. It not only determines how a person is, but also determines what the person is doing and is capable to perform resulting in the proportional contribution to the society. Thus, it is evident that a life with high quality is necessary for making a notable contribution to the family and society at large. On the other hand, if the quality of life is on the lower side, then the contribution to the society is low leads to low contribution to the family and their own lifestyle which eventually leads to social exclusions.

Quality of life is defined as the degree to which an individual is healthy, comfortable and able to participate in or enjoy life events (Jenkinson, 2020, May 6). The indicators for the quality of life are both materialistic and subjective perceptions. The materialistic indicators include income, job, services and housing conditions while the subjective perceptions include culture, leisure, mobility, health, education, environment, personal security, civic engagement and work-life balance (Quality of life dimensions, 2016, December 6).

In Ayurveda, life is denoted by the word "Ayu" and categorically mentions four varieties of life namely Hita-Ayu (Favourable life), Ahita-Ayu (Unfavourable life), Sukha-Ayu (Joyful life) and Dukha-Ayu (Miserable life) (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 13). These four varieties are inclusive all the categories of lifestyle and its characteristics that are existing even today. Among the four, the Hita-Ayu (Favourable life) is the most preferred which everyone has to attain such that one can have a healthy social stature. It includes the characteristic features of Sukha-Ayu (Joyful life) but not the other way round. The characteristic features of Hita-Ayu (Agnivesha, 1995, pp. 586–587) are as below:

1. Is compassionate to animals and human beings.
2. Free from greed for other's wealth and possessions.
3. Speaks truth always and also which is right to the existing situation.
4. Peace-lover, performs activities with adequate analysis and understanding.

5. Is highly active in thought, word and deed.
6. Successful in fulfilling the Trivarga (three pursuits) of life namely Dharma (Virtue), Artha (Possessions) and Kama (Desires) with ease.
7. Worships those who are eligible to be worshipped and provides dedicated service to the knowledgeable scholars, specialists, peaceable and old.
8. Able to control emotional disturbances like greed, anger, jealousy, hatred, pride or jaggedness and perform charity in every possible manner.
9. Always perform spiritual, charitable and peaceful activities.
10. Possesses a very sound spiritual knowledge along with intent to perform the different spiritual activities that benefits both in this world and future world of afterlife.
11. Lastly when one is endowed with good memory and intelligence.

The Ahita-Ayu or Unfavourable life is said to have the characteristic features that are opposite to those mentioned for Hita-Ayu.

The characteristic feature of a Sukha Ayu or Joyful Life as mentioned in Charaka Samhita (Agnivesha, 1995, p. 586) is as follows:

1. One who is free from all physical and psychological ailments.
2. Possess a very favourable and joyful age especially the Youth age.
3. Has the ability to perform any activity of choice and need.
4. Possess a good strength both physically and mentally.
5. Attained name, fame, zeal and high performance capability.
6. Possess a good knowledge, strength, highly professional knowledge and fully developed Indriya (Sense organs and special sense organs which perform better.
7. Possess all types of goodies namely wealth, beauty and other luxuries.
8. One who is able to fulfill all the desires and its related activities freely without any hindrance.
9. One who can move freely and independently without any binding or less committed to their related substances.

All the characteristics opposite to the above one of Sukha-Ayu are to be considered to be those of Dukha-Ayu or Miserable Life.

In the order of preference, the Hita-Ayu is the most desired one while the next being the Sukha-Ayu. Their opposites are those which are undesired to any but of the two, Ahita-Ayu is the most undesired type of life-style to any individual.

Physical Security

In Ayurveda, the description of 'Bala' which refers to different categories of strength that is said to be adequate for ensuring the one's security physically. The word 'Bala' in Ayurveda refers to the Nourishing component of the body, generalised property or character of the body and the life sustaining energy. The nourishing component includes those that nourish the various components of the body either specifically or in general like overall nutrition. The generalised property of the body includes the stamina of the individual and immunity of the body. While lastly the life sustaining energy includes the bio-energy which helps in the continuation of life activity of the

individual. All this is dependent on food, medicine and activities of the individual (Mahesh & Shreevidya, 2014).

The physical condition with respect to the built and strength plays an important role in ascertaining one's security along with the degree of dependence on other sources for security. Hence a proper built and adequate strength is necessary for the body to ward off different assaults on the body in the form of disease pathogens or physical assaults like fights, accidents, etc. If the individual is weakly built or has a weak body then there is a need for the dependence on various sources like medicines, government, police, etc who will be fulfilling the lapse that has resulted due to the condition.

Health education

Participation of individual in a social setup demands certain necessities for preventing oneself from being excluded. For this understanding of facts and principles with regards to a particular field or more than a field will make the individual to be socially recognized with due importance. Education in fact elevates the individual status in the society. But what if there is lack of education? It makes the individual alienated from the main stream of the society. This makes the individual loose self-esteem leading to the condition of concerned with psychic disorders like depression. Thus, education is a prime necessity for an individual to have a healthy living and socially included. But education methods what we are having today too has many aspects that are leading to different mental disorders in children and youth.

For the education to be useful and fruitful, a student is described to have certain qualities that may are required to be considered as a quality or level of capacity for any field. Ayurveda too specifies it in the texts. But there are general qualities that are desired in the student (Vagbhata, 1986, pp. 76) and the teacher (Vagbhata, 2011, p. 193) for the purpose of achieving the objective of education.

As per the data available of USA around 1 in 5 children and 1 in 10 young people have mental health challenge that is severe enough to impair how they function in home, school and even the community. It is also seen that about 50% of students with emotional and behavioural disabilities drop out from school (Problems at School, n.d). Studies have showed that the burden is significant in middle-income and low-income countries where the adolescents constitute the high proportion of the population (Parikh et al., 2019).

Knowledge of health is another dimension of education that an individual should be aware off. It is quite obvious that health is an indispensable factor that determines strongly the participation of individual in social setup. It is an important component of our existence. Any degree of disturbance of health will have its equal degree of repercussions on the individual's different domains of life like food, lifestyle, living, social acquaintance, etc. If the health disturbance is of low degree then it goes either unnoticed or ignored resulting in undisturbed domains of life. But when the health disturbance become notable and grave then every domain is severely affected leading to social distancing or isolation, in other words social exclusion too.

Health in Ayurveda is defined as the condition where the components of the body namely Dosha (Factors that control the physiological activities of the body), Agni

(Metabolism), Dhatu (Anatomical or structural components of the body) and Malakriya (Process of excretion) are in a normal state along with Prasanna-Atma (Pleasant state of soul), Prasanna-indriya (Pleasant state of specialized organs – Sensory and motor organs) and Prasanna-Manas (Pleasant mind) (Sushruta, 1997, p. 64). Either of the component of health is affected by any disturbance will lead to diseases of related severity. Thus, the component of health forms the foremost cause that needs to be addressed so that the process of social inclusion of the individual will result in the desired manner. A well doctored education of health will be ascertaining the individual with early detection of the causes that result in ill-health along with different measures that would be necessary and helpful in the maintenance of health.

Standard of Living

A standard of living is defined as "the amount and quality of material goods and services available to a given population". It is closely associated with the quality of life with respect to the individual, family, community and the nation as a whole. But the two are different from each other where the standard of living is measured more on the basis of objective characteristics while quality of life more on the basis of subjective characteristics (Boyle, 2021).

The standard of living is explaining more about the lifestyle, economic status, comforts and luxuries that is present in a community, region, state or nation as a whole of an average person. Thus, the inclusion and exclusion of a person is dependent on how close or far away is the person with respect to the average depicting the group or community that is being considered. It also depicts the social status of the person, community, region, state or nation as a whole. The lower is the standard of living, more chances of being socially excluded in the community, region, state or country.

Productivity

Inclusion or exclusion of an individual into a society is dependent on the productivity or usefulness. Productivity is defined as the ratio between the volumes of output and inputs (Krugman, 1994). It depends on various factors like the context, time, resources/tools, energy and expected outcomes.

Hence as per thoughtosaur the definition of productivity is "Productivity is the measure of Rate of Output Per unit Time with the Least Energy used, Resources utilized and the push it gives you towards your Goals" (What is the complete Definition of Personal Productivity, 2018, January 8).

Exclusion of individuals with disabilities either physical or mental is a common practice seen in the society. This is due to the fact that disabilities jeopardize the individual's capacity to perform even the normal activities leading to the decrease in the productivity. Thus, it has lead to isolation of such individuals either by themselves or by others. Among those who have certain level of disabilities, the mental disability in fact possess a more serious problem than the physical disability. It is due to the fact that to overcome

a disability, psychological strength plays a very vital role where the loss of psychological strength as in case of depression, schizophrenia, etc, the individual with physical integrity too will be either less or non-productive. Hence a sound mind is given special importance in the definition of health.

Valued Activities

The valued life activities are those activities that an individual performs and deems it to be particularly important or meaningful (Kata MD et.al., 2019). The analysis of this may include from 5 criteria to 26 criteria scale as per the requirement and necessity. The five criteria includes recreational activities, mobility, activities of daily living, instrumental activities of daily living and social activities (Kata MD et.al., 2019). The 26 criteria scale includes Taking care of basic needs, Cooking, Light housework, Heavy housework, Other housework, Gardening, Shopping, Fulfilling appointments, Taking care of dependents, Visiting social contacts, Attending social events, Inviting social contacts, Walking in and around house, Walking in and around the near vicinity, Participating in leisure activities, Working on hobbies, Participating in moderate physical recreational activities, Participating in rigorous recreational physical activities, Getting around community with car or other transport, Travelling out of town, Participating in spiritual activity, Volunteering work and Paid job work (Katz, Morris, Yelin, 2006).

In both these criteria there is an importance given to social activities. Even in the text Astanga Sangraha Sutra Sthana 3rd Chapter (Vagbhata, 1986, pp. 141–142) there is mention of different activities under the heading of 'Sadvritta' which means good manners as what is to be done normally or will be normal for attaining a fair level of recognition or acceptance in the society.

Individual, Family and Social Life

One's life envisages the three important aspects or dimensions which influence considerably the thought, word and deed. These three aspects are Individual or Personal life which includes both materialistic and spiritual life. To understand the same, we need to analyze it individually as a different factor.

Individual Life

Personal life or individual life is the course or state of life with respect to an individual especially when viewed as the sum of personal choices contributing to one's personal identity (Personal Life, 2021, March 22). Basically, all humans are social beings and hence they are traditionally live within family-based social structures. The individual's life is highly influenced by various environments and family values especially parents, relatives, friends, teachers and then comes the society's culture, etc. The individual life involves the dressing pattern, diet, education, hobbies cultural interests and other

activities. In all these activities, the individual's pattern of involvement and mingling with others forms the basis for social exclusion and inclusion. Right from childhood to the adulthood where the individual develops themselves from a carefree and innocent child to a very responsible adult undergoes different stages namely infancy, childhood, puberty, teenage, youth before reaching to the adult stage. During this process of development and learning, many factors like education, culture, tradition, family and friends play a very important role and influence for the development. As a result, there is always a need for a proper mentoring such that the individual becomes a responsible and highly acceptable person in the society else it will lead to social exclusion of the individual.

In Ayurveda, there are 16 Samskaras (Processing or sacrament for betterment) out of which majority of them are during the first phase of life (Ingale Pramod Pandurang, 2015). These 16 Samskaras (Processing or sacrament for betterment) are as listed below:

1. Garbhadana – Conception.
2. Pumsavana – Engendering procedure.
3. Simantonayana – Heir parting.
4. Jatakarma – Birth rituals.
5. Namakarma – Naming ceremony.
6. Nishkrama – Outing ceremony.
7. Karnavedana – Piercing of earlobes.
8. Phalaprashana or Annaprashana – Diet feeding ceremony.
9. Chudakarma – Shaving or hair cutting ceremony.
10. Upanayana – Sacred thread Ceremony.
11. Vedarambha – Education of Vedas or Formal education.
12. Samavartana – Convocation or completion of education.
13. Vivaha – Marriage ceremony.
14. Vanaprastha – Renounce of household or hermit life.
15. Sanyasa – Monk life.
16. Anthyeshti – Death Ceremony.

As the first 16 are during the life time of the individual hence the 16 are called as SHODASAH SAMSKARA that help in shaping the individual and prepare for facing the different challenges of life. All the rituals mark the beginning of the new stage of life along with the end of the present stage of life. It also instils a new set of responsibilities and duties in the individual upon which slowly shaping the personality and development. This also makes the individual introduced to the social setup of the community and also the introduction of the community to the individual with which the rest of the life is associated with. Thus, every step marks a beginning with a ceremony for entering the stage of life. Along with the development of the individual's personality, spiritual well-being and maturity is also taking shape with the help of these enlisted 16 processes or sacrament. Hence, these 16 are to be considered as the one that leads to a holistic development of the individual aiding to attain the main goal of life namely MOKSHA or salvation.

Family Life

Family is the smallest unit of the society especially the nuclear family. It is the smallest social setup that one cannot avoid to any extent. But this forms the important factor that results in social exclusion or inclusion of the individual. It is the most important community living that exerts the most influence in one's life. Right from the birth till death there are different individuals that get associated in form of different relationships who influence with their thoughts, actions and practices on every individual. It generally gives a strong emotional, cultural, psychological basis along with social basis for every human being on earth. The emotional or psychological impact is so immense and deep with respect to family relationships and attachment that it forms the primary line of security, confidence and support for any individual to develop and cherish towards prosperity and social existence. Any abnormal or faulty habits within this small but effective social framework will substantially lead to a very adverse effect which becomes the main reason for social exclusion. In Indian culture the parents are considered to be the first teachers of any individual again with special reference to mother where she is responsible to take care of the child, cherish it will love and affection along with the teaching of different culture and traditions of the family, community, etc. Father on the other hand is responsible for teaching the sustenance activity, building of social relationships, business activities or services, etc. As both parents form the backbone of a family, it is quite obvious that their influence on an individual will be the most determining the activities and mannerism of the person.

Social Life

Social exclusion or inclusion is much dependent on this factor and this social life is in turn determined by all the other factors that are enumerated and explained above. It is defined in English Dictionary as "*The part of the person's time spent doing enjoyable things with others*" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Among all the dimensions of human being, the emotional or the mental dimension has an important role to play in one's social life. Undoubtedly, the physical appearance, body structure, face, etc do have their own roles to play but, the mental approaches and emotions are more predominant in resulting a social situation of exclusion or inclusion of an individual.

Ayurveda clearly states that how to behave in a social environment under the topic of Sadvritta (Good mannerism). Here not only there is reference of how to dress or work, but also specifies how to get along with guests, who is to be given respect, etc such that the individual will have social health to a large extent (Vagbhata, 1986, pp. 141–142).

Participation, Influence and Voice

Participation is the main factor that determines social exclusion. As per the definition of Social exclusion by Burchadt (1999) "An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society but (b) for reasons beyond his or her control, he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society, and (c) he or she

would like to so participate" (UKEssays, 2018, November). The definition gives a clear idea of the importance of participation as a factor that is instrumental to determine the inclusion or exclusion of the individual. An active participation is very much necessary to result in substantial influence and effectiveness of the individual's voice considerably. But the participation is in itself dependent on the factors that are being enumerated above. This is due to the fact that the participation in a social setup is only possible when the individual is included in the social arrangement. If excluded, the individual will be devoid of any chance for participation.

Social influence is defined as a process thereby a person's attributes, opinions, beliefs or behavior are altered or controlled by some form of social communication (Colman, 2014, p. 403). This emphasizes how the social setup influences one's thought, word and deed which in turn determines the inclusion and exclusion of the individual or a group into the society.

Participation in a social setup will become limited when one cannot exercise voice or even interact with each other leading to loss of voice in political processes resulting in deprivation of control over important decisions along with a feeling of alienation and inferiority.

Identity Expression

Identity can be defined as a set of qualities, beliefs, personality, looks that make a person or a group emphasized in the society. Identity of the individual with respect to the social setup is groomed with the development and knowledge of experience that they have obtained over the course of life. It is built on the process of self-evaluation, self-actualization, self-awareness and self-improvement. But the process is a complex on itself and is a constant process of scrutiny regarding the deviancy and wrong doings. This is true in case of an individual or a group as a whole. The more positive in results of the process makes the person or the group more expressive and participating in nature within the social setup. On the contrary, it becomes more evasive and remorse when the results go on the opposite side of the person.

Self-respect and Legal Status

Finally, the self-respect and the legal status are two important factors that decide the inclusion or exclusion of the person within the social setup. In determining this factor, all the above-mentioned factors are very much contributory in one way or the other. Self-respect in the English dictionary defines a feeling of confidence and pride in your own ability and worth (Collinsdictionary, n.d.). The more confidence and pride on the one's own ability will be a driving force for activities. This makes the person more active and increase the ability for social inclusion along with recognition.

The legal status is defined as the position held by something or someone with regard to law. It is the set of privileges, obligations, powers or restrictions that a person or thing has which are encompassed in or declared by legislation (Status (Law), 2020, October 21)

Here the determination of the privilege, powers, etc give a boost to the inclusion while the obligations, restrictions, etc will be a deprivation of the self-respect and the social status of the individual.

Suggested Remedies for Social Exclusion

As mentioned in the above section, a list of causes have been enlisted to be the cause for social exclusion. The presence of the cause may be multiple or single but powerful enough to cause the condition of social exclusion.

Social exclusion is not a present-day or modern-day problem or situation. It was present during the past, present and will also be in future. This is due to the fact that the opposite qualities like rich and poor; strong and weak; etc will never cease to exist in which ever remedies we try to suggest. But its relevance and intensity can be reduced to a considerable extent by reducing the gaps between these opposite qualities. This can be achieved in different methods but from the individual point of view can be categorized in three ways namely 'THOUGHT', 'WORD' and 'DEED'. The application of the principles of 'Have good thought, Speak good words and Perform good deeds' will lead to the aspect of total stress free environment leading to more acceptability of the reality and as a result respect to others present in the community or society. The presence of respect to others is the first and major requirement for the removal of social exclusion and promote social inclusion.

The 10 factors mentioned as the cause for social exclusion can be reorganized into Physical Category, Psychological Category, Social Category and Individual Category. In all these factors the remedy suggested will be revolving around the three principle of thought, word and deed as mentioned above.

Physical Category

Among the 10 factors which are to be included under this category are Physical security, Production and Valued activities. As discussed in the earlier parts of this paper under relevant headings, the three forms a very vital cause for the result of social exclusion. Physical framework is the most necessary aspect of health too. Hence it is being the first dimension mentioned in the definition of health. In Ayurveda too, Physical body called as 'Shareera' is being greater importance because it is through this that an individual can perform all activities including the achievement of the 'Trivarga' (Three pursuits of life) namely 'Dharma' (Virtues), 'Artha' (Productivity) and 'Kama' (Desires). If the body is healthy endowed with adequate physical strength, free from diseases and has good capacity to perform different activities then it provides the much-needed physical security, productivity and value-based activities. This will make the individual strong and considerably productive enough to evade exclusion from the society leading to inclusion. The ability to achieve different goals of life which are however small in comparison to others without or with minimum aid from the society will avoid exclusion socially if not a considerable inclusion. This remedy for social exclusion based on the three principles are as explained below:

Thought

Even though thought belongs more towards the mental faculty, it has a considerable effect on the physical level and its related activities as well. Ability to perform various physical activities and their productivity are much dependent on the thought process. Hence thought that are useful and instrumental in determining the intensity of the physical activity has to be considered here.

Word

Speech or language is the most effective means of communication. Here a pure and mesmerizing talk will attract the people around while the same which is disgusting will make the individual secluded and excluded from the group or even the society. Hence a speech and the purity of language in speech will be detrimental in the attraction of the masses which also helps in removing the problem of being socially excluded.

Deed

No matter how much strong an individual can be physically or how sweet the words are, the individual's inclusion or exclusion will be only a short term if the deeds or nature of action is not pure or honest. The establishment of the individual socially included for a long term is only possible through the process of evaluation by the masses who are regularly in touch with the individual. Thus, an action that is more attributed as trustworthy and honest will be more useful in being acceptable in the society.

Psychological Category

Among the 10 factors which are to be included under this category are Quality of life, Standard of living and Health. As discussed in the earlier parts of this paper under relevant headings, the three forms a very vital cause for the result of social exclusion. The psychological framework is the most important component of health. Hence, it is one of the primary dimensions mentioned in the definition of health by Ayurveda (Sushruta, 1996, p. 64). The mental faculty in Ayurveda is revolved around the component called as 'Manas' which is having a greater importance because it's presence and absence determine our perception of knowledge of the objects around us. Perception of the standard of living and quality of life is usually based on the perception of oneself in comparison to others. The entanglement of thoughts regarding the different aspects of how good or bad the quality of life is and what is the standard of living is dependent on the people present around the individual who is performing the process of self-assessment. The feeling of better standards and higher quality of life makes the individual more confident and positivity in the approach and activities. This will automatically result in providing considerable inputs to society and more acceptance leading to social inclusion. In such situations, Yoga therapy which is more towards the control of mind and its activities has to be emphasized. The control of emotions and its implications will indirectly help in the control of negative thoughts

leading to more contributory and productive activity towards the society which will automatically help in the inclusion. In Ayurveda, the treatment for any psychological problems are generalized into three categories namely, treatment of Dhi (Mental functionalities), Providing Dhairya (Courage and confidence) and Imparting Atmajnyana (Self-realisation) (Vagbhata). Even this is based on the three principles as stated earlier that are as explained below:

Thought

Thought is an important function of the mind and its influence is seen on the activities and physical approach of the individual. The thoughts give a dimension to one's emotion which will shape the person's approach towards a situation. It also shapes the thinking of the person's self, the stature and personality. This will have a relative effect on the contributions that are concerned to society at large. If there are some contributions that are helpful even though not very notable, in the functioning of the society, the individual will have some space and position in the society. While the same if there is no contribution or a negative approach towards the functioning of the society, the individual will be considered to be unproductive and hence become the major cause for exclusion.

Word

The Psychological factors form the main aspect for one's speech too. The understanding of the situation that the individual is present and its relative effect on the emotions play a major role in ascertaining the speech of the individual. Even though education, developmental environment, culture, tradition, etc do have their own impact on the individual's ability to speak, the psychological mindset forms the major impacted part of the individual due to these aspects. Hence it is obvious that whatever external factors act on the individual, it is primarily the thought will lead to the flow of words making it either acceptable or unacceptable to the society. Acceptance or non-acceptance of how one is living, satisfaction of the conditions, companions, etc is determined by the words that are included in the interaction of speech. Thus, it forms the major cause for inclusion or exclusion of the individual. The above measures towards the psychological conditions will help to improve the approach and the ability to express through speech too which makes communication better, approachable and inclusive into the society.

Deed

The psychological condition is the basic factor that determines the need of the individual. A deed is an action that has a psychological factor as a motivating one which may result in a physical action or not depending on the situation that the individual is subjected to. In fact in a given situation the individual acts in a particular way normally in line of the deeds and virtues that are embedded in the psychological domain. Majority of the deeds are deeply embedded in the individual due to the influence of different culture, tradition, family principles, etc but some are due to the individual's own experience. Those deeds which are developed due to individual's own experience can be modified

with suitable tools like counselling, etc treatments of psychology as enumerated above such that they are modified and made suitable for the inclusion into the society.

Social Category

Among the 10 factors which are to be included under this category are Identity Expression, Participation, Influence and Voice. As discussed in the earlier parts of this paper under relevant headings, the two forms a very vital cause for the result of social exclusion. In fact the two factors are the core of the social relationships whether inclusive or exclusive. It is basically connected to the psychological factors as mentioned in the earlier section as it sets the attitude of the individual. It is this attitude that results in the space for the participation which in turn will lead to a considerable influence and then the voice. The whole will result in an expression that gives an identity to the individual. If the identity that is being expressed is of a negative nature then it leads to the exclusion from the society while if it is a positive nature then it leads to the inclusion in the society. Humans being a social animal, it is obvious that the total health is also dependent on the social life. In order to acquire social inclusion too with respect to the social causes, it is obvious that there is proper health and co-ordination of three principles that are as explained below:

Thought

Thought with respect to the social category will be more towards the ability to think about oneself with respect to others. It depends on the factors that have been explained in the Physical and Psychological categories. Their achievement and inter co-ordination itself determines the thought process of the individual which has more of psychological one and its relative effect on confidence, activities, etc Various process that are considered under the category of Daivavypashraya (Spiritual) treatments will not only boost the inner confidence and will of the individual to face the challenges of the society but also makes the individual more humble in approach. The confidence building therapies also have a far-reaching effect on the thought process making the individual to participate actively such that the identity is expressed and established in the society

Word

For a voice to be influential in a social setup, it always depends on the thought and the choice of words that make the sentence. The clearer is the speech, the most it becomes acceptable and stronger the voice. It leads to active participation of the individual in the social arena. Thus, for achieving this a good education is more required which gives good hold in the language making the speech attractive and confidence in the same.

Deed

How one actively transacts with the people around him forms the basis of the deeds whether in a community or the family. The confident the individual is, more positive will

the action be. This makes the deeds more predictable and ready for the analysis of personality by the social community. This becomes the basis of the inclusion and exclusion with respect to the participation, identity, influence and voice in the community. The parameters of analysis will depend on the social community with which the individual is analyzed. For example intake of alcohol is acceptable in a community which is considered to be an evil in another community. Thus deeds play an important tool for inclusion and exclusion. It is to be provided proper education regarding the various effects of different activities that makes one and the community to understand about it in detail.

Individual Category

Among the 10 factors which are to be included under this category are Individual life, family life, social life, self-respect and Legal status. As discussed in the earlier parts of this paper under relevant headings, the three forms a very vital cause for the result of social exclusion. It forms the pillar for individual existence. How an individual lives within themselves, within the family, within the social community will also determine the legality and self-respect of the individual. These have a far-reaching effect on the social exclusion or inclusion in the social arena. Even though there is much to do with the social system, condition, virtues, values, tradition and culture of the individual and the community to which the person belongs to. But another important factor is the health status (both physical and mental) health which needs utmost care as they are the determinant factor of one's own life as emphasized by Ayurvedic texts during categorization of AYU or life. Here the principles of thought, word and deed is just a summarized aspect of the above three namely the physical, psychological and social category when considered together itself. Hence there is no need for again repeating the same in the present context.

Discussion

The factors that are responsible for social exclusion of the individual are many out of which the 10 are considered as they are prominent ones that determine inclusion or exclusion in the social setup either in the community or the society at large. All these being connected either directly or indirectly to the physical and mental health of the individual, it is seen that a health science like Ayurveda which has an holistic approach can play a vital role in removal of such situations. It can be vital in the situations where the main cause is the ignorance and improper practice with respect to lifestyle, food and different practices that has resulted in the deterioration of health both physically and mentally resulting in low confidence, low participation and ultimately low status.

Ayurveda is much more than a medical science. It is an adoptable science for correcting the lifestyle, food and medicine so that everyone can lead a healthy and prosperous life. For prosperity, health is the basic necessity which is catered mainly by the science of Ayurveda. It also has the ability to provide sufficient number of instructions as how to lead a healthy life and ways to correct the unhealthy lifestyle also. Another system

that is quite helpful and augment the effect of Ayurveda is Yoga. This branch of holistic science has far reaching effects on the individual's thinking and performance. A positive approach to the situation is very much necessary for any person to come out of social exclusion no matter in which region the individual is. This approach is only possible when the person is healthy both physically and mentally which is ensured by the proper practice and use of Ayurveda along with Yoga. The same is been discussed at relevant points under the heading of remedies suggested to avoid social exclusion.

Conclusion

Finally, to conclude, Social exclusion is a problem that exists in every society due to the inability of the society to address the issues that the individual is suffering from or due to the inability of the individual to adopt towards the ever-changing social composition. Among all the causes that are existing, health is the basic and one of the primary causes that result in a social exclusion. Thus, if health is restored resulting in sound body and mind, majority of the causes that result in social exclusion can be solved. Ayurveda and Yoga has a much-needed composition to address the issues of health regarding body and mind. Hence, a combine approach with the science of Ayurveda and Yoga can help in the restoration of social inclusion.

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Part II

THE STRUGGLE
FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION

An Analysis of the Socio-Economic and Political Consequences of International Migration between Underdeveloped and Developed Countries

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Introduction

The term migration can be described as the movement of animal, human being including good and services within a national political territory and across the national political boundaries either by land, air or water as the case may be. However, our concern in this paper is to give some clarification on human migration. Hence, migration can be defined as the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. It is the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time. It includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants. Migration is the movement of people within or across national or international boundaries. For Person to be considered as migrants these should include, Persons who are outside the territory of the State of which they are citizens, are not subject to its legal protection; Persons who do not enjoy the general legal recognition of rights which is inherent in the granting by the host State of the status of refugee, naturalized person or of similar status; And persons who do not enjoy either general legal protection of their fundamental rights by virtue of diplomatic agreements, visas or other agreements.

According to Pizarro (2002), the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights has proposed that the following persons should be considered as migrants: (a) Persons who are outside the territory of the State of which they are nationals or citizens, are not subject to its legal protection and are in the territory of another State; (b) Persons who do not enjoy the general legal recognition of rights which is inherent in the granting by the host State of the status of refugee, naturalized person or of similar

status; (c) Persons who do not enjoy either general legal protection of their fundamental rights by virtue of diplomatic agreements, visas or other agreements.

The above argument by scholars on migration reflects the current difficulty in distinguishing between migrants who leave their countries because of political persecution, conflicts, economic problems, environmental degradation or a combination of these reasons and those who do so in search of conditions of survival or well-being that does not exist in their place of origin. This paper attempts to make clarification on migrant population in a way that takes new situations into consideration which could be seen in the process of our discussion within the paper scope.

Statement of Problem

Migration is a highly diversified phenomenon that shows substantial variability across countries. The percentage of households with migrants in the analyzed countries varies from 5 percent in Ghana, to 65 percent in Kenya. The share of rural households with migrants is similar in most countries, with the exception of South Africa, where the share of rural households with migrants is twice as large as the national figure. Internal migration is more widespread than international migration in most of the countries considered, with the exception of Senegal, Kenya, and Burkina Faso. For households in rural Areas, internal migration flows are more common than international migration, in every considered country, except in Burkina Faso. International migration is usually expensive, and this can be one reason for its lower frequency. Furthermore, migration

Table 1. Migration per some countries in Africa

Country	HH with migrants	HH with internal migrants	HH with international migrants	HH with migrants	HH with internal migrants	HH with international migrants
	100 = all HH	100 = all HH	100 = all HH	100 = rural HH	100 = rural HH	100 = rural HH
Burkina Faso	49%	19%	31%	49%	18%	32%
Ethiopia	7%	5%	2%	7%	5%	2%
Ghana	5%	NA	NA	7%	NA	NA
Kenya	65%	35%	37%	66%	37%	36%
Malawi	19%	12%	7%	16%	9%	7%
Nigeria	36%	29%	7%	29%	25%	4%
Senegal	55%	30%	32%	59%	36%	32%
South Africa	12%	10%	3%	22%	19%	4%
Uganda	48%	42%	11%	47%	44%	8%

Source: FAO's Statistics Division.

abroad is often the result of a dynamic process, whereby people decide first to move within their own country to raise the necessary funds to pay for the long-distance migration outside their respective countries to run out of the country as result of insecurity or for earning of living.

Major types of migration

There are two major types of migration:
A. Internal migration

Internal migration is the movement within one country's political boundary. It refers to the change of residence *within* national boundaries, such as between states, provinces, cities, or municipalities (local government areas) by a person or a group of migrant. An internal migrant is someone who moves to a different administrative territory. In simple terms, internal migration occurs when you move to a new home *within* a state, country, or continent. A good example is the movement from East Germany to West Germany or Nigeria South East to South West.

B. International or external migration

International or external migration means the movement from one country to another. It refers to the change of residence *over* national boundaries. An international migrant is someone who moves to a different country. It is moving to a new home in a different state, country, or continent. A good example is the movement from Third-World Countries (TWC) to Europe or America and vice versa. The relatively permanent movement of people across territorial boundaries is referred to as *in-migration* and *out-migration,* or *immigration* and *emigration* when the boundaries crossed are international. The place of in-migration or immigration is called the *receiver population,* and the place of out-migration or emigration is called the *sender population* (Comenius, 2015). However, international migrants are further classified as legal immigrants, illegal immigrants, and refugees. Legal immigrants are those who moved with the legal permission of the receiver nation. While, illegal immigrants are those who moved without legal permission and refugees are those who crossed an international boundary to escape persecution.

Differences between internal and international migration

The main difference between internal and international migration is that the later implies crossing national borders, but two other main differences exist and regulate migration streams; distance and culture. With respect to the first factor, international borders represent a political barrier and are regarded as part of countries "sovereignty and authority". Crossing international borders is usually regulated by migration laws and regional and

international agreements. However, in many regions of the world, physical boundaries do not exist; they only exist on political maps. In Africa, national boundaries are generally not an obstacle to potential migrants (Adepoju, 1983 & 1998 in Zohry, 2005).

While international boundaries and political controls on international migration play an important role in directing migration, their impact varies from one region to another according to the tightness of these controls. In the Egyptian case for example, an Egyptian can move freely between Egyptian and Libyan territories. Most recently, the Egyptian and Sudanese governments signed an agreement guaranteeing the freedom of movement, residence, work, and property ownership between the two countries. According to the agreement, Sudanese nationals would be entitled to own property in Egypt, as well as rightfully work and reside there. Egyptian nationals would also enjoy the same rights in Sudan. Needless to say, the European Union agreements enabled the citizens of 25 countries to cross national borders freely as if they moved internally. According to Arnold and Abad (1985), this would seem to strengthen the case for treating both internal and international migration within the same framework. 'He *cited* main difference between internal and international migration is distance. Since Regenstein's Law of Migration dating back to the 1880s, distance is an important fact in migration studies in general, and in migration decision-making in particular. International migration is stereotypically associated with long distance movements. Crossing international borders implies long distance moves. Long distance moves are associated with the high cost of moving and other expenses. But in some cases distance is not an obstacle. In West Africa, for example, distance is not an obstacle. As Adepoju (1998) puts it succinctly that movement between Lagos and Maiduguri in Nigeria spanning about 1,700 kilometres is classified as internal migration based on a distance (spatial) criterion while a person moving from Idiroko in Nigeria to Ifoyin in the Republic of Benin – a distance of about 10 kilometres – becomes an international migrant. With respect to Egypt, movement between Aswan and Alexandria in Egypt spanning about 1,200 kilometres is considered as internal migration while movement from Rafah in Egypt to Rafah in the Gaza Strip less than one kilometre is considered as international migration. More important than crossing the national boundaries and distance are the socio-cultural differences between origin and destination. After September 11, 2000 it seems impossible to make a statement about migration without reference to security aspects and xenophobia (Castles & Miller 2003). Languages, customs, norms, and traditions vary across countries than within a country.

International migrants are exposed to different lifestyles and they are expected to normalize in order to be part of the new society. Internal migration implies a moderate degree of variation between origin and destination, but there are many exceptions to this rule; Zohry (2002) noted that a significant proportion of unskilled Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo have little in common with Cairien society.

Categorization of International migrants

International migrants can be distinguished according to motives. Most countries distinguish between a number of categories in their migration policies and statistics, but Castles (2000) identifies common categorisation of international migrants. These are:

i. *Temporary labour migrants (also known as guest workers or overseas contract workers)*: people who migrate for a limited period of time in order to take up employment and send money home.

ii. *Highly skilled and business migrants*: people with qualifications as managers, executives, professionals, technicians or similar, who move within the internal labour markets of trans-national corporations and international organisations, or who seek employment through international labour markets for scarce skills. Many countries welcome such

Dimensions and dynamics of international migration

The United Nations (UN) defines the operational concept of international migrant as a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year. According to that definition, the UN estimated that in 2005 there were about 200 million international migrants worldwide, including about 9 million refugees. This is roughly the equivalent of the fifth most populous country on earth, Brazil. One in every 35 people in the world today is an international migrant. Another way to put this is that only 3% of the world's population today is an international migrant. But migration affects far more people than just those who migrate. It has important social, economic, and political impacts at home and abroad. According to Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, authors of the influential book *The Age of Migration* (2003), the number of international migrants has more than doubled in just 25 years, and about 25 million were added in only the first five years of the 21st century. Before 1990 most of the world's international migrants lived in the developing world; today the majority lives in the developed world and their proportion is growing.

Between 1980 and 2000 the number of migrants in the developed world increased from about 48 million to 110 million, compared with an increase from 52 million to 65 million in the developing world. In 2000 there were about 60 million migrants in Europe, 44 million in Asia, 41 million in North America, 16 million in Africa, and 6 million in both Latin America and Australia. Almost 20% of the world's migrants in 2000 – about 35 million–lived in the USA. The Russian Federation was the second most important host country for migrants, with about 13 million, or nearly 8% of the global total. Germany, the Ukraine, and India followed in the rankings, each with between 6 and 7 million migrants. It is much harder to say which countries most migrants come from, largely because origin countries do not keep count of how many of their nationals are living abroad. It has been estimated nevertheless that at least 35 million Chinese currently live outside their country, 20 million Indians, and 8 million Filipinos. These facts and figures convey a striking message that international migration today affects every part of the world. Movements from 'South to North' have increased as a proportion of total global migration; indeed there are powerful reasons why people should leave poorer countries and head for richer ones. At the same time, it is important not to ignore the significant movements that still take place within regions. There are about 5 million Asian migrants working in the Gulf States. It is estimated that there are somewhere between 2.5 million and 8 million irregular migrants in South Africa, almost all of them from sub-Saharan African countries. There are far more

refugees in the developing world than the developed world. Equally, more Europeans come to the UK each year, for example, than do people from outside Europe; and many of these Europeans are British citizens returning from stints overseas.

Besides the dimensions and changing geography of international migration, there are at least three trends that signify an important departure from earlier patterns and processes:

First, *the proportion of women among migrants has increased rapidly*. Very nearly half the world's migrants were women in 2005; just over half of them living in the developed world and just under half in the developing world. According to UN statistics, in 2005 there were more female than male migrants in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, Oceania, and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). What is more, whereas women have traditionally migrated to join their partners abroad, an increasing proportion who migrate today do so independently; they are often the primary breadwinners for the families they leave behind. There are a *number of reasons why women* comprise an increasing proportion of the world's migrants: (i) The demand for foreign labour, especially in more developed countries, is becoming increasingly gender-selective in favour of jobs typically fulfilled by women – services, healthcare, and entertainment; (ii) An increasing number of countries have extended the right of family reunion to migrants – in other words allowing them to be joined by their spouses and children. Most often these spouses are women. Changing gender relations in some countries of origin also mean that women have more independence to migrate than previously; (iii) Finally, and especially in Asia, there has been a growth in the migration of women for domestic work (sometimes called the _maid trade'); organized migration for marriage (sometimes referred to as mail order brides'), and the trafficking of women into the sex industry.

Second, the traditional distinction between countries of origin, transit, and destination for migrants has become increasingly blurred. Today almost every country in the world fulfils all three roles – migrants leave, pass through, and head for all of them. Perhaps no part of the world better illustrates the blurring boundaries between origin, transit, and destination countries than the Mediterranean. About 50 years ago the situation was fairly straightforward. All the countries of the Mediterranean – in both North Africa and Southern Europe – were countries of origin for migrants who mainly went to Northern Europe to work. About 20 years ago Southern Europe changed from a region of emigration to a region of immigration, as increasing numbers of North Africans arrived to work in their growing economies and at the same time fewer Southern Europeans had an incentive to head north for work anymore. Today, North Africa is changing from an origin to a transit and destination region. Increasing numbers of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa are arriving in countries like Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. Some remain, others cross the Mediterranean into Southern Europe, usually illegally, where again some stay and others try to move on into Northern Europe.

Finally, while most of the major movements that took place over the last few centuries were permanent, today temporary migration has become much more important. Even people who have lived abroad for most of their lives often have a dream to return "to the place of their birth, and it is now relatively unusual for people to migrate from one country to another and remain there for the rest of their lives". Furthermore, the traditional pattern of migrating once then returning home seems to be phasing out. An

increasing number of people migrate several times during their lives, often to different countries or parts of the world, returning home in the intervening periods. Even those who are away for long periods of time return home at more and more frequent intervals, as international travel has become so much cheaper and more accessible.

Sojourning', involving circulation between origin and destination and only a temporary commitment to the place of destination, has a long history: much of the Chinese migration to South-East Asia and Australia in the 19th and early 20th centuries, for example. However, this circulation is now occurring on an unprecedented scale and has been facilitated by developments such as transport and communications revolutions.

In his 2005 report to the Council of Europe on *Current Trends in International Migration in Europe*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) migration expert John Salt identifies several new types of flow in Europe: Algerian migratory routes have undergone radical change. The traditional labour migration into France has been replaced by forms of circulation in which many Algerians have become suitcase traders throughout the Mediterranean region. Often serving tourist markets, their moves take place within family networks which allow them to seize trading opportunities in whichever city they are presented. Romanians have also been observed to circulate within informal transnational networks which they use to exploit whatever work niches are opened to illegal workers. The migration of ethnic Germans from Transylvania to Germany in the early 1990s has also become a circulatory movement with periods of work in Germany interspersed with living back in Romania.

Opportunities of international migration

Migration has been a constant and influential feature of human history. It has supported the growth of the world economy; contributed to the evolution of states and societies, and enriched many cultures and civilizations. Migrants have been amongst the most dynamic and entrepreneurial members of society; people who are prepared to take the risk of leaving their homes in order to create new opportunities for themselves and their children. The history of United States economic growth, for example, is in many ways the history of migrants: Andrew Carnegie (steel), Adolphus Busch (beer), Samuel Goldwyn (movies), and Helena Rubenstein (cosmetics) were all migrants. Kodak, Atlantic Records, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Google, Intel, Hotmail, Sun Microsoft, Yahoo, and ebay were all started or co-founded by migrants.

In the contemporary world, international migration continues to play an important – although often unacknowledged – role in national, regional, and global affairs. In many developing countries, the money that migrants send home is a more important source of income than the official aid provided by richer countries. In certain developed countries, entire sectors of the economy and many public services have become highly dependent on migrant workers and would collapse almost literally overnight if their labour were withdrawn. It is often said – though difficult actually to prove – that migrants are worth

more to the United Kingdom (UK) economy than North Sea oil. It has been estimated by the World Bank that migrant labour around the world earns US$20 trillion – the vast majority of which is invested in the countries where they work. Another study indicates that about 15 million foreign-born workers in the USA add over US$10 billion to the US economy. Migrant labour, it is argued, has therefore contributed significantly to economic growth. Throughout much of the world, migrants are not only employed in jobs that nationals are reluctant to do, but are also engaged in high-value activities that local people lack the skills to do.

Migrants and migration do not just contribute to economic growth; in fact their impact is probably most keenly felt in the social and cultural spheres of life. Throughout the world, people of different national origins, who speak different languages, and who have different customs, religions, and ways of living are coming into unprecedented contact with each other. Whether they are willing to admit it or not, most societies today are characterised by at least a degree of diversity. We often make this point in lectures to university students in the UK by pointing out that in the last 24 hours they have almost certainly eaten food or listened to music originating elsewhere in the world, or watched a top-flight sports team that includes foreign-born players, or the descendants of migrants. It is no coincidence that some of the largest concentrations of migrants are to be found in global cities' like Hong Kong, London, or New York; dynamic, innovative and highly cosmopolitan urban centers that enable people, places, and cultures in different parts of the world to become increasingly interconnected.

Contending Theories on Migration

This paper discusses on the various contending theoretical framework in international migration. Interestingly, it provides you with the clear knowledge of assimilation theories; type of assimilation theories; Robert Park *vs.* Milton Gordon perspectives on assimilation theory; reasons for the increasing interest in pluralism theory; various type of pluralism theories, reasons why the assimilation (melting port) theory should be rejected in favour of pluralism or multiculturalism; the concept of human capital theory, argument, limitation, economic development significant and mobility of human capital between nations.

Understanding the concept of Assimilation as a Theory

Assimilation theories were derived from assumptions supported by empirical studies to explain the varied processes and paths that immigrants have undertaken to incorporate into the mainstream of the destination country. Assimilation is a process in which formerly distinct and separate groups come to share a common culture and merge together socially. As a society undergoes assimilation, differences among groups decrease. Significantly, assimilation theories prevailing at different times are barometers of the political and socioeconomic environments experienced by immigrants. They have profound influence on social policies designed for the incorporation of immigrants and

public attitudes that directly affect the perception and reception of immigrants. Different assimilation theories therefore could trigger the emergence of varied coping and adaptive strategies among immigrants as a response.

Several assimilation theories have evolved since the mid-nineteenth century as immigration to the United States gained scale. Anglo-conformity dominated much of the second half of the nineteenth century, when the majority of the immigrant stock was from north-western Europe. The advent of rapid industrialization of the labor force around the turn of the twentieth century produced fertile ground for the emergence of the process theory and melting pot theory when sources of immigrants expanded to all over Europe and beyond. Ensuing theories of segmented labor market and multiculturalism took shape in the latter half of the twentieth century. As leading theoretical perspectives in contemporary times and in contention with earlier assimilation theories, they dominate the study of immigrants and influence social policies that address immigrant issues. Recognizing immigrants "proactive role, the new theories highlight the different incorporation strategies immigrants have employed in response to the mainstream political and socioeconomic conditions" while taking comfort in their transplanted ancestral cultural traditions.

Anglo-Conformity Theory

Early arrivals of Anglo immigrants from primarily north-western Europe established the values and norms in the United States. Being the majority among all immigrants and with a head start in political and economic power, the Anglos upheld their cultural traditions as the standards, and Anglo-centrism was widespread during much of the nineteenth century. Immigrants of non-Anglo origins were compelled to discard their ancestral cultures upon arrival and conform to the prescribed Anglo way of life as the only option. Legislation was passed to discriminate against and to curtail the immigration of particular population groups. Immigrant enclaves were therefore consolidated as one of the most important protective strategies in response. Contrary to the melting-pot image, assimilation in the United States generally has been a coercive and largely one-sided process better described by the terms Americanization or Anglo-conformity. Rather than an equal sharing of elements and a gradual blending of diverse peoples, assimilation in the United States was designed to maintain the predominance of the English language and the British-type institutional patterns created during the early years of American society. The stress on Anglo-conformity as the central thrust of American assimilation is clearly reflected in the quote from President Roosevelt that opens this unit. Many Americans today agree with Roosevelt: 77% of respondents in a recent survey—the overwhelming majority—agreed that the United States should require immigrants to be proficient in English as a condition of remaining in the US Interestingly, about 60% of Hispanic Americans (vs. 80% of non-Hispanic whites and 76% of blacks) also agreed with this statement (Carroll, 2007). We should note that the apparent agreement between whites and Hispanics on the need for immigrants to learn English may flow from very different orientations and motivations. For some whites, the response may mix prejudice and contempt with support for Americanization, while the Hispanic responses may be based on direct experience with the difficulties of negotiating the monolingual institutions of American society.

Under Anglo-conformity, immigrant and minority groups are expected to adapt to Anglo-American culture as a precondition to acceptance and access to better jobs, education, and other opportunities. Assimilation has meant that minority groups have had to give up their traditions and adopt Anglo-American culture. To be sure, many groups and individuals were (and continue to be) eager to undergo Anglo-conformity, even if it meant losing much or their entire heritage. For other groups, Americanization created conflict, anxiety, demoralization, and resentment.

Segmented Labor Market Theory

The segmented labor market theory evolved in the second half of the twentieth century, mainly to explain the experiences of immigrants from non-European countries. Social and cultural resources of immigrants upon arrival and covert discrimination suggested or practiced in the mainstream have shaped the labor market into formal and informal sectors. In the formal sector, where greater potential for job security, promotion, and upward mobility is built into the structure, the presence of immigrants tends to be more limited. Immigrants, however, are highly concentrated, voluntarily or involuntarily, in the informal sector (for example, ethnic enclave economies), where there is a lack of structural build up for security and advancement, by comparison. The segmented labor market theory suggests that there is unequal access to opportunities for immigrants and therefore retardation of immigrants, "incorporation into the mainstream". The segmented labor market may also be a voluntary transition that cushions immigrants with necessary ethnic support and facilitates their incorporation into the mainstream at a more comfortable pace.

Economic determinants of international migration

The economics of migration focus on the expectation of a higher income abroad as a chief cause of decisions to emigrate. There are also other variables that exert an important influence on decisions to migrate, including non-economic reasons, such as war, ethnic discrimination and political persecution at home. The choice of country of destination is also often influenced by the existence of a network of family and friends who have migrated previously to a specific country. More systematically, the magnitude and direction of international migration flows are often influenced by the following factors, some of which are of a long-term nature, while others are more cyclical:

(a) *Per capita income or real wage differentials* between sending and receiving countries fora given skill level: net immigration flows (immigration minus emigration) are positively correlated to the ratio between the real per capita income (or real wage) in the destination country and that of the recipient country. Taking into account uncertainty and a long-term horizon in reaching the decision to emigrate, what is more relevant is the expected wage in the place of destination compared with that of the source country. Moreover, in a dynamic perspective, the current value of expected relative wage streams would be the relevant variable.

(b) *The state of the business cycle and economic prospects in both sending and receiving countries*. Rapid economic growth and labour shortages in receiving countries tend to increase the probability of immigrants finding a job. In contrast, in periods of sluggish growth and higher unemployment, this probability is lower. While the decision to emigrate depends largely on real income differentials between countries, the timing of migration seems to be correlated with the state of the business cycle in both sending and receiving countries.

(c) *Network effects*. Empirical analysis of migration flows (Hatton & Williamson, 1998; Borjas, 2001) shows that migrants tend to attach a high value to the existence of friends and relatives in their selection of the country of destination. Indeed, family, friends and ethnic/national networks constitute an important support factor for migrants. They can help them obtain information about jobs and other relevant national characteristics of the host nation, thereby assisting in the adjustment of individuals and families following migration.

(d) *Immigration policies*. Policies in host countries that are unfavourable to immigration deter migrants, although not completely, as there still remains the possibility of illegal migration to some countries (for an interesting analysis of the political economy of migration policies in receiving countries, see Chiswick & Hatton, 2002).

(e) *Costs of migrating*. Emigration entails several costs, including travel costs, such as air tickets and shipping costs, and living expenses in the host country, as well as the cost of searching for a job. Unskilled and poor migrants are often affected by these costs, which may in practice be an important inhibiting factor on the international migration of the poor.

Economic effects of international migration on Home country

Positive:

- *Reduced Unemployment*: For example, migration has contributed more to poverty alleviation and reduction in unemployment in Kerala (Southern India) than any other factor. The number of unemployed persons has declined by over 30%. As a result of migration, the proportion of the population below the poverty line has declined by 12%.

- *Migrants help to alleviate the poverty in their native country, at least in the short term*: Migrants frequently transfer a considerable part of their income to their families at home. According to UN estimates, these transfers amount to over 20 billion dollars annually. This corresponds to approximately one third of the funds spent by industrialized countries on global development aid. With their money, the emigrants help to alleviate the poverty in their countries of origin in the short term. Private financial contributions improve the purchasing power of the families receiving them but generally have little influence on the development of structures that would facilitate sustainable change.

- *Remittances*: For example, money sent home by Filipinos working overseas last year totalleda record $12.8bn (£6.5bn) according to the Philippines' central bank. In pure monetary value, the latest World Bank figures show that India was the largest

recipient of remittances, with about $22bn being sent home in 2005. China and Mexico were also at the top end of the table. In that year, total remittances globally topped $230bn – of which developing countries received $167bn, more than twice the level of development aid from all sources. Similarly remittances from the international Indian migrants are one of the major sources of foreign exchange in India. In 2002, India received US$ 11 billion as remittances from these people.
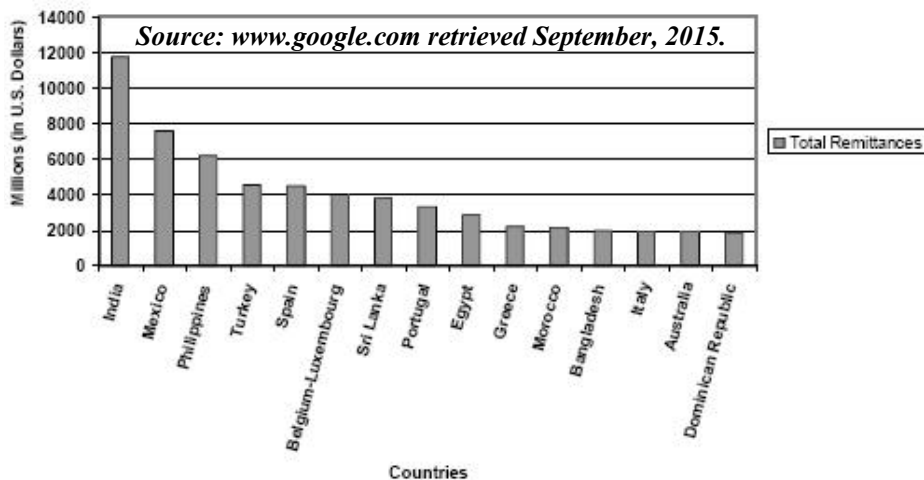

Figure 1. Showing Countries with Highest Total Remittance in 2005
Source: www.google.com retrieved September, 2015.

Negative*:*
- *Emigration weakens the native countries of the migrants*: as a rule, the emigration or expulsion of large numbers of people exacerbates the economic and political problems in their native countries. Young men with a good education account for a disproportionate share of the migrant population because they are most confident about settling down successfully elsewhere.
- *„Brain Drain"*: The World Bank estimates that there are roughly 100,000 university graduates, fully or partly educated in Africa, living and working in Western industrialized countries. The emigration of highly-qualified personnel from Asia may well be many times higher. The former Eastern bloc countries are also seriously affected by the so-called "brain drain": in the last 10 years Bulgaria has lost about 20% of its educated population due to emigration. Case Study – air traffic controllers in South Africa – needed 103 actual 81 in 2007 at Johannesburg airport. 5 years training time for replacements and increased costs.
- *Successful emigrants encourage others to follow them*: Emigration leaves noticeable gaps in the countries of origin. The loss of well-trained and experienced specialists reduces a nation's chances of building up workable economic structures by its own efforts. People moving to a world with a better infrastructure and higher standard of living soon become used to the new conditions. Only few are prepared to accept the

poorer conditions on return to their country of origin later. The example of successful emigrants encourages others to copy them. By passing on their contacts, they help to cultivate a network that reaches out to ever-widening circles of compatriots.

Economic effects of international migration on Host country

Positive:

- *Migrants help the Economy*: For example, about 12.5% of working age population are bringing "clear benefits" to UK. With little or no effect on unemployment and only a "modest negative" impact on lowest paid UK workers. Sainsbury's said that it will employ more immigrant workers because they have a "superior" work ethic. The supermarket chain said it hopes the diligent approach of Eastern Europeans and other new arrivals will spread to domestic workers.

- *Address skills gap*: The Chairman of the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) for example, believes that the influx of immigrant workers into the UK was boosting the UK economy by helping to fill skills shortage gaps. 'Foreign workers come to the UK to work and not, as feared by some, to benefit in any other ways. According to figures published by the government, since July 2004 when the EU was enlarged by the accession of various Central and Eastern European countries, there has been a large influx of foreign workers into the UK totalling over 600,000 – 62% of which came from Poland and which together have added £2.54bn to the economy according to Government estimates. 10% of employees on Britain's building sites are now from overseas. The impact that foreign workers have had on the UK industry has been so profound that leaders of Britain's biggest businesses employing millions of people have called on the Government to operate an 'open door' policy to allow unlimited immigration from Bulgaria and Romania when these two Eastern Bloc states join the European Union in January, 2007.

- *Building Boom*: For example, British migration to Spain is a phenomenon that has increased rapidly since the late 1990s and now consists of an estimated 761,000 people. Spain is the biggest consumer of cement in the European Union, sloshing down almost 50m tonnes of the stuff every year. In 2004 some 180,000 holiday homes were built along the coast. There are many retirement homes for British people on the Costa del Concrete. In and around Malaga, heartland of the Costa del Sol, the local English-language paper, Sur in English, has increased its print run to 60,000 – and sells out. The profile of the readers has changed, dropping about 20 years in age.

Negative:

- *Poor neighbouring countries bear the heaviest burden*: Most migrants and refugees do not have the financial means to travel long distances. They seek a safe haven in another region in their own or in a neighbouring country. The economically weakest countries are therefore most severely affected by migration and refugee problems. According to estimates of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Western European countries were confronted with 2.2 million refugees and displaced persons in early 1999 (corresponding to 18.3% of the total number). In the same

period, there were also 17.8 million migrants in these countries (20.2% of migrants world-wide). At the same time, over two thirds of all refugees and displaced persons were to be found in Africa or Asia.

- *Unemployment in Host Country in a Recession*: For example, the UK is to be more selective about migrant workers, The Home Secretary, Ms. Smith says Non-EU migrants should not be able to take a skilled job in the UK unless it has been advertised to British workers first, the home secretary has said. The government had to make sure policy on overseas workers was "responding to the current economic circumstances", Jacqui Smith told the BBC. She also said areas of skills shortages should be identified so UK training could be geared to those areas. The number of non-UK-born workers in Britain reached 3.8 million last year. Workers from non-EU countries are categorised by a points-based system that decides whether they can find work in the UK, while there are no restrictions on EU citizens.

- *Costs of Housing Asylum Seekers*: For example, research by South Bank University, which monitored 98 asylum seekers, would suggest that the Home Office spent some £430,000 detaining 73 people who would have complied anyway under alternative restrictions (reporting requirements to the police, etc.). It has long been acknowledged that the UK detention regime is extremely expensive (the planned extension which would add another 44 places for single men to the Dungavel Reception Centre is expected to cost £3 million in capital costs alone), but centralized reception systems that – intentionally or incidentally – track asylum seekers' whereabouts in the community, are not cheap either. The UK government spent over £1 billion in 2002 on the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) (serving over 100,000 asylum seekers) costs of Frontex EU Border Patrol.

Political regimes as determinant of international migration

The political regimes prevailing in host and source countries (democracy or authoritarianism) matter in the decision to emigrate. Individuals prefer to live in countries in which civic freedoms and individual rights (such as freedom of speech and association, access to a fair trial, religious freedom and the right to elect public authorities) are respected and economic rights (property rights, contract enforcement) are protected. This tends to occur more often in democracies than in dictatorships, which curtail individual rights and engage in repressive activities. Albert Hirschman, in his classic book *Exit, voice and loyalty* (1972), draws a distinction between purely economic choices and collective action which is useful in understanding the economic and political causes of migration decisions. While the decision to leave a country is often an economic choice, voice belongs to the realm of collective or political action. This framework suggests that individuals who are dissatisfied or discontent with current political situation in their home countries, where voice has become an *ineffective* expedient for change, may choose to leave their countries (that is to emigrate).

Thus (voluntary) migration (which differs from the situation of refugees and asylum-seekers, which are instances of forced migration) as a decision is also affected by political conditions that are considered to be inadequate by nationals and foreign resident.

This suggests a direct relationship between the emigration of nationals (or the repatriation of foreigners) and the existence of authoritarian regimes which suppress political rights and civil liberties. There are several examples of this in Latin America: the onset of military regimes in Argentina in the 1960s and 1970s, which curtailed civil liberties and intervened in universities (suppressing academic freedoms), was followed by a massive outflow of professionals and scientists, with serious consequences for the country in terms of the brain drain. A similar situation occurred in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s, and subsequently in Chile in the 1970s and 1980s. In these cases, emigration (very often of individuals with a high stock of human capital) becomes an individual response to non-democratic political regimes which fail to respect civic rights.

Refugees and immigrants as a political risk to the Host country

Governments are often concerned that refugees to whom they give protection may turn against them if they are unwilling to assist them in their opposition to the government of their country of origin. Paradoxically, the risk may be particularly high if the host country arms the refugees against their country of origin. Guns can be pointed in both directions, and the receiving country takes the risk that refugees will dictate the host country's policies toward the sending country. Two examples come to mind. The decision by Arab countries to provide political support and arms to Palestinian refugees from Israel created within the Arab states a population capable of influencing their own foreign policies and internal politics. Palestinians, for example, became a political force within Lebanon in ways that subsequently made them a political and security problems for Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, France and the United States. The support of Iraqi invaders by Palestinians in Kuwait was an asset to Iraq since Palestinians (who number 400,000 in Kuwait) hold important positions in the Kuwaiti administration. Throughout the Middle East governments must consider the capacity of the Palestinians to undermine their regimes should they adopt policies that are unacceptable. Similarly, the arming of Afghan refugees in Pakistan limited the options available to the government of Pakistan in its dealings with the governments of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The Pakistan government armed the Afghans in order to pressure the Soviets to withdraw their forces and to agree to a political settlement, but the Pakistan government is also constrained by the knowledge that it cannot sign an agreement with the Soviet or Afghan governments that is unacceptable to the armed Afghan.

Refugees have launched terrorist attacks within their host country, illegally smuggled arms, allied with the opposition against host government policies, participated in drug traffic, and in other ways eroded a government's willingness to admit refugees. Palestinians, Sikhs, Croatians, Kurds, Armenians, Sri Lankan Tamils, and northern Irish, among others, are regarded with suspicion by intelligence and police authorities and their request for asylum is scrutinized not only for whether they have a well-founded fear of persecution; but for whether their presence constitutes a threat to the host country. These fears, it should be noted, are sometimes exaggerated and governments have often gone to extreme lengths to protect themselves against improbable threats. But an increase in international terrorism has clearly affected government attitudes toward refugees. These

political risks to the host and home states, and to relations between them, it should be noted, can be independent of the ethnic, economic or social characteristics of the migrants. These characteristics can be regarded as a threat to the host regime, and particularly to the host society.

Refugees and immigrants as a source of international conflict between the Home and Host countries

One of the political consequences of international migration can be explained under this heading, as political issues or politics involve conflict and conflict resolution, threat perception, fear of persecution, claims and counter claims. Since migrants like refugees are legally defined by most countries as individuals with a well-founded fear of persecution the decision to grant asylum or refugee status implies a severe criticism of another state. Thus, the bitter debate in Congress in January 1990 over whether Chinese students should be permitted to remain because of the persecutions in China was regarded by the People's Republic of China as "interference" in its internal affairs, a judgment which many members of Congress (but not the President) were prepared to make. Moreover, to classify individuals as refugees with a well-founded fear of persecution is also to grant them the moral (as distinct from political) right to oppose a regime engaged in persecution so judged by the country that has grant them asylum. The view of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is that the granting of refugee status does not imply criticism of the sending by the receiving country, but such a view clearly contradicts the conception of the refugee as one with a fear of *persecution*. Furthermore, democratic regimes generally allow their refugees to speak out against the regime of their country of origin, grant them access to the media, and permit them (to the extent the law permits) to send information and money back home in support of the opposition. The decision to grant refugee status thus often creates an adversary relationship with the country that produces refugees.

The receiving country may have no such intent, but even where its motives are humanitarian the mere granting of asylum can be sufficient to create an antagonistic relationship. In the most famous asylee related episode in this century, Iranian revolutionaries took violent exception to the US decision to permit the Shah of Iran to enter the US for medical reasons (which many Iranians regarded as a form of asylum) and used it as an occasion for taking American hostages.

A refugee receiving country may actively support the refugees in their quest to change the regime of their country of origin. Refugees are potentially a tool in inter-state conflict. Numerous examples abound: the United States armed Cubans in an effort to overthrow the Castro regime at the Bay of Pigs; the United States armed Contra exiles from Nicaragua; the Indian government armed Bengali "freedom fighters" against the Pakistan military; the Indian government provided military support for Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka to give the Indian government leverage in the Tamil-Sinhalese dispute; Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, China and the US armed Afghan refugees in order to force Soviet troops to withdraw from Afghanistan; the Chinese provided arms to Khmer Rouge refugees to help overthrow the Vietnamese-backed regime in Cambodia; and Palestinian refugees

received Arab support against Israelis. Refugee-producing countries may thus have good reason for fearing an alliance between the refugees and their national adversaries.

Non-refugee immigrants can also be a source of conflict between receiving and sending countries. India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi once described overseas Indians as "a bank from which we can draw from time to time". Gandhi was clearly thinking of India's emigrants as a source for remittances, investment, and technology. He was assuming, however, that the diaspora is an ally, an assumption that not all countries can make. A diaspora made up primarily of refugees is, of course, likely to be hostile to the regime of the country from which they fled. But even economic migrants may become hostile, especially if they live in democratic countries while the government of their homeland is repressive. Thus, many overseas Chinese were sympathetic to China's government until the regime became repressive at Tiananmen Square. Thereafter, many overseas Chinese supported dissidents within China and pressed their host governments to withdraw support for China. The Beijing government regards the overseas Chinese as a source of support for dissidents. In March 1990 the Chinese government sealed Tiananmen Square after receiving word that overseas Chinese, using fax machines, had called upon dissidents to peacefully protest by gathering in large numbers in the Square.

There are numerous examples of diasporas seeking to undermine the regime of their home country: South Koreans and Taiwanese in the United States (who supported democratic movements at home), Iranians in France (Khomeini himself during the reign of the Shah, and opponents of Khomeini's Islamic regime thereafter), Asian Indians in North America and the UK (after Mrs Gandhi declared an emergency), Indian Sikhs (supporting secession), and dissident Sri Lankan Tamils and Northern Ireland Catholics.

The home country may take a dim view of the activities of its citizens abroad, and hold the host country responsible for their activities. Host countries, especially if they are democratic, are loathe restricting migrants engaged in lawful activities, since some of the migrants have already become citizens. The home country may even plant intelligence operators abroad to monitor the activities of its migrants and take steps to prevent further emigration.

Socio-cultural problems of international migrants

The general basic socio-cultural problems of migrants include the following:

A survey conducted by Rand A. David and Michelle Rhee proved that language barrier has the great effect on migrant's health because they cannot communicate with doctors. They cannot understand the prescription given by doctor. They say "language barriers between patient and physician impact upon effective health care" (David & Michelle, 1998). Another survey by Charlotte M. Wright proved that language barrier is the problem for patient and doctor both. (Charlotte, 1983). A study by Seonae Yeo proved that difference between health care providers and patients increasingly impose barriers to health care (Seonae, 2004). Language is the barrier which separates immigrants from native, both socially and economically. On the social side, immigrants more visibly foreigners due to lack of speaking skill or language barrier then are easily discriminated by natives. On the economic side, weak language skills probably reduce productivity and therefore increase the

immigrant-native earning gap. Strong language skills can increase the range and quality of job that immigrants can get (Hoyt, 2003). Language barriers badly affect the earning skills, educational attainment, social interaction and cultural behavior of immigrants.

- *Cultural Diversity*: Behavior of immigrants is always different because of their different cultural values. Cultural values are always different in different countries and people who are migrating; they have to adopt the culture of host country. But some time immigrants could not accept some of the cultural values of host country. The reason can be religious diversity or social system.

- *Social Adjustment*: When immigrants come in different countries to work and live among the local people, they are bound to influence the original inhabitants by bringing in new habits, new thoughts, and a new outlook on life. Likewise, the inhabitants may influence the immigrants by the social usage of the community. The interaction between the immigrants and the local people naturally bring about various types of social change (Chen, 1947).

- *Intercultural adjustment*: Berry and Sam (1997) have identified six types of individuals that need to deal with the issues concerning intercultural adjustment. Migrant groups that have intercultural contact voluntarily, for example, involve ethno-cultural groups; permanent migrants involve immigrants, and temporary migrants involve sojourners. Migrants with involuntary contact with new cultures include indigenous peoples; permanent groups involve refugees, and temporary groups involve asylum seekers.

- *Effects of migration on family structure*: Women are playing main role in the family. They need to pay much attention toward home and family for better environment of home. But after migration a woman get more rights in different environment like in Europe. An Asian woman can get more opportunity of work in Europe or UK than her own country. So she can move easily and work easily in new environment. Dr Priya Deshingkar wrote in her paper that: "More women are migrating for work independently and not only to accompany their husbands. This so-called "autonomous female migration" has increased because of a greater demand for female labour in certain services and industries, and also because of growing social acceptance of women's economic independence and mobility. In fact, the feminization of migration is one of the major recent changes in population movements". Under the conditions of immigration, the husband loses his role of a breadwinner at least initially while the wife continues to take responsibility for running family affairs. As a result, resettlement workers often find that women adjust better and faster while their husbands often lapse into depression and become demoralized, angry, and complaining. This behavior puts a serious train on the marital relationship, especially if the couple had experienced problems before. If we see the family by this point of view in which a woman play an important role and she can make her home life better than leave support to a family as the sole duty of her husband. In family structure there are some important factors which matters a lot for family adjustment and settlement. These factors are family composition, existing marital problems, age, type of occupation, and expectations of each other by family members and of their new life in the host country.

- *Social Security*: The immigrants become increasingly anxious, confused and tense when they are meeting with their caseworkers. These emotional changes occur when they begin to deal with the task of daily living: looking for an apartment, enrolling

children in school, learning the basics of job hunting. These tasks are new and frightening and trigger extreme emotional reactions. They feel lack of sense of social security due to these emotional changes.

- *Poverty*: Whether or not migration is poverty reducing, migrants travel and live under very difficult conditions. Poor immigrants usually stay in slums or even less secure accommodation. Even those who earn reasonable amounts face constant threats of deportation, disease, sexual abuse, underpayment and police harassment.
- *Social Functionality*: Among the many losses suffered by immigrants, one of the most devastating for many is the loss of their social status. In their own countries like in Soviet Union, social status – education, occupation, position – is the main source of feelings of self-worth and identity. For professionals especially, the loss of social status may be very threatening and demoralizing.

Social effects of international migration on Home countries Positive

- **Raised status of women**: (See below negative point–impact on families) their gain in autonomy, status, management skills and experience in dealing with the world outside their homes were developed the hard way and would remain with them for the rest of their lives for the benefit of their families and society. In the long run, the transformation of these million women will have contributed more to the development of Kerala society than all the temporary euphoria created by remittances and modern gadgetry.
- **New ideas from returned migrants**: The impact of IT professionals returning from working in the USA, combined them with foreign business travellers, top executives that travel to the US frequently, and highly paid I.T. workers, is large enough to attract many high-end shops, restaurants, shopping malls, and services. Quality of service for customers has increased because many from this group have acquired tastes for certain Western services. For example, Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) have been introduced and bank services are more service oriented. Bangalore has a pub and coffee culture that does not exist in other cities.
- **Improved support for democratic processes**: In a case study of migrant returnees in West Africa over 70% thought their migration and return had been positive for the family and community in 2002. In 1991 only 46% said this. We have contributed much to the experience of multi parties because we had seen democratic society' (member of the Ivory Coast Elite) My experience had made me very human rights conscious' (Ghanaian Elite Returnee) I am very critical of things. Of the acceptance of bad workmanship, a total lack of customer care'.

Negative
- **The expulsion of dissidents has an adverse effect on social development**: Opposition movements are nipped in the bud when their leaders are forced to flee by arbitrary arrests, torture or threats against members of their families. In countries where dictatorial conditions prevail and whose populations are terrorized by corrupt structures, only a small circle of people generally has access to land and profitable economic sectors. While the wealth of a few increases excessively, the population as a whole

becomes visibly poorer. Those profiting from such political conditions mostly transfer a sizeable share of their assets abroad in order to insure themselves against the unpleasant consequences of political changes. E.g. Zimbabwe under Mugabe 2009; Uganda under Idi Amin 1971–1974.

- *Impact on families*: For example, migration has caused nearly a million married women in Kerala to live away from their husbands. Most of these so-called – Gulf wives experienced extreme loneliness to begin with, and were burdened with added family responsibilities to which they had not been accustomed when their husbands were with them. (Their husbands are away working in the oil rich states like Dubai in the Persian Gulf).
- *Imbalance of gender in population structures*: Migration results in imbalances in sex composition due to selective male or female migration. Rural areas are likely to have lost young males. This leaves young females behind trapped with their family with a lack of opportunity for marriage.
- *Higher Levels of ill Health*: For instance, LEDCs with higher levels of out-migration of doctors had higher levels of maternal mortality, malaria-related mortality, and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) prevalence.

Social effects of international migration on Host countries

Positive
- *Halt rural depopulation*: In some areas, the newcomers have been welcomed for bringing life to agricultural communities that have become stripped of young people and economic activity. In others, the influx has led to social tensions, anger and massive pressure on space and resources. For example, there are few complaints in the village of Comares, high in the hills behind Malaga. There the 425 registered foreigners are credited with keeping the village alive. "So many people were leaving that the school was half empty. Now all the classrooms are full", said Inmaculada Gutierrez, an assistant to the mayor. In the village of Arboleas, a three-hour drive into the mountains from Malaga, the story is the same. British immigrants make up a quarter of pupils at the school. Carl Shears, a 40-year-old former manager for a fitness company in the UK who moved in 18 months ago, said that the newcomers had "reinvented the lives of people here. This is rural Spain. All the young people were leaving. They had the TV and internet and suddenly farming olives didn't seem so attractive any more".
- *Cultural Enrichment*: Migration also leads to intermixing of people from diverse cultures and results in the evolution of composite culture. For example, in the UK the number of new restaurants opening in 2007 exceeded the number of take away food outlets that also started out in business (1803 restaurants compared to 1701 takeaway). This indicates that the UK may be starting to move away from its reputation as a takeaway culture. Amongst these new start-ups, ethnic restaurants continued to be the most popular type of new establishment. Indian and Chinese restaurants were the first and second most popular type of restaurant to open, collectively accounting for over 25% of all openings. Indeed, of all restaurants opening in 2006, 40% served

ethnic food ranging from Persian to Japanese, Kurdish, Nepalese and Korean. However, Italy bans kebabs and foreign food from cities.

- *Halt Ageing Populations*: Britain needs more immigrants to avoid a crisis caused by falling birth rates and an ageing population. A study, called Jewels in the Crown, found that as life expectancy rises the need for a younger workforce will grow – and its author suggests immigration may be part of the solution. Dr Vaughan Robinson, head of the Migration Unit at Swansea University, said: "Britain's ethnic minorities provide us with an opportunity rather than a problem". Unless levels of immigration were increased by around 20%, the UK population would fall by three million by 2050, Dr Robinson's study into population trends suggested. As a consequence Britons would need to work into their seventies to support the large number of elderly people and fund more of their own health and pension care, he said.

- *Inadequate Resources to Accommodate Irregular Migration*: Irregular migration is the major problem for migrants and for the receiving communities both. Some irregular migrants lose their lives in transit, while all face difficult conditions after arrival. Receiving community may have inadequate resources to accommodate the needs of large number of undocumented persons. They are the most vulnerable populations. They receive low pay, have little or no access to health care and face limited educational opportunities.

- *Employment*: Many countries around the world are turning to international migration to solve their labor shortage problems. They are hiring cheap International labor to solve their social and educational expenditure and also solve the problem of keeping their cultural intact.

Negative

- *Retirement areas*: For example, the English migrants on the Costa Del Sol are – dubbed the
"porfavores" because, despite living in Spain for years, their language skills run to por favor, but little more – if indeed they bother to say 'please' at all. In one village a group of five British families has recently angered Spanish neighbours by drinking, brawling and swearing in the streets. "The atmosphere there is very bad", a resident said. "The British are not welcome any more". Another local described how the fiesta, where traditionally the local town hall provides free wine, beer and paella, had been overrun by "British men in their fifties getting plastered".

- *Resentment in economic downturn/Failure to integrate*: e.g. Muslims in Britain are to challenge UK law which forbids husbands from having more than one wife. They say they will refer Britain's ban on polygamous marriage to the European Court of Human Rights this autumn. Under Islamic law a man is allowed to have up to four wives, but the Muslim Parliament of Britain says that many families are being forced to live outside the law because their polygamous marriages are not recognized here.

Conclusion

In conclusion, international migration was largely unrestricted during the first wave of globalization (1870–1913), in line with increasingly integrated capital and goods markets under the monetary arrangements of the gold standard. This reality came to an end during the de-globalization period from 1914 to the mid- to late 1940s, which comprised two World Wars, macroeconomic instability in the 1920s, economic depression in the 1930s and recurrent political turbulence. This created a climate that was conducive to a more restricted regime of international migration. International labour markets have remained constrained, in the sense of the restrictive immigration policies adopted in advanced economies, particularly for unskilled labour, during the second wave of globalization which started in the 1970s. However, people with scarce skills and high educational levels (professionals, information experts, international investors) have become more internationally mobile with the increasing globalization of capital and goods markets. International migration patterns to and from Latin America have been driven mainly by the differences in per capita income between the region and the rest of the world. Intra-regional migration also reflects disparities in income per capita within Latin America. South-North migration has been dominated by Mexico and other Central American and Caribbean countries, which have become the main source of migrants to the United States. Historically, Argentina was a very significant recipient country of labour migrants from Europe during the age of mass migration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Migration is a kind of movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions, though it could create problem for migrants and for the host country both. International migration is a common thing nowadays. People are moving for better living but they have to face much cultural and social diversity. It is not possible for all to adopt new culture easily and sometime for some migrants it is impossible to adjust in new social environment and in that situation they are spending very short time in that country. The migrants for whom it is difficult to live in unbearable environment they are moving to some other country or sometime they return to their homeland. But in some situations migrants cannot return back to their home countries due to some financial problem or family barriers. Then they are trying to adjust themselves in new environment. Migrants remain one of the most vulnerable social groups in any country, and women are particularly vulnerable to underpayment, sexual abuse and heavy workloads.

In summary, individuals who are dissatisfied or discontent with current political situation in their home countries, where _voice has become an *ineffective* expedient for change, may choose to emigrate or leave their countries voluntarily, different from the situation of refugees and asylum-seekers, which are instances of forced migration as a decision is also affected by political conditions that are considered to be inadequate by nationals and foreign residents. Governments are often concerned that refugees to whom they give protection may turn against them if they are unwilling to assist them in their opposition to the government of their country of origin. The risk may be particularly high if the host country arms the refugees against their country of origin. Since migrants like refugees are legally defined by most countries as individuals with a well-founded fear of persecution, the decision to grant asylum or refugee status by any country is often criticize.

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The Situation and Development of Syrian Women Refugees in Europe

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Reasons of Syrian crisis

What is considered to be the initial spark of the Syrian Uprising was the arrest of 15 school children in Deera, a rural city located in southern Syria. Young students had written "Ash-shab yurid isqat an-nizam", or "down with the regime" – an Arabic slogan that became popular to use in many countries of the Arab Spring – on a school wall (Hirst, 2011). The arrest served as a spark to a movement, much like the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi ignited the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia and indeed the Arab Spring itself. However, there are many reasons that contribute to the Syrian crisis. First of all, it is the corruption. After Assad junior had become a president in 2000, he promised to begin serious actions against corruption in all governmental sectors including the military and security forces. But on the ground, the corruption was organized, leading to economic crisis among Syrian people. Secondly, the security forces intervention in Syrian people lives (Adigbuo, 2014). In addition, the security forces replied violently against the peaceful demonstrations, which increased the hatred gap between Syrian people and the authorities. At the same time, Assad junior did not come up with political solutions to satisfy the Syrian people. Instead, he begun to indicate that Syria was being attacked by other countries due to its position against Israel and United States, ignoring the need of economic reforms that Syrian people require (BBC News, 2016).

Syrian women involvement

As a part of the society, Syrian women think deeply to be part of this revolution, since Syrian women suffered during Assad family rule from humiliation and inequality in all life aspects. Therefore, Syrian women started to participate in the peaceful demonstrations which were, in a conservative society as Syrian society is, the riskiest. There have been many reasons for the Syrian women to participate in the uprising. One of them is to change the social situation that Syrian women have been suffering since long time ago.

For example, although the legal state in Syria is somehow secular, there are many issues related to women rights judged by Sharia court. Another reason is to proof that Syrian women have the ability to be a part in such a political movement. Therefore, since the beginning of the uprising, Syrian women have been involved in many political, social and humanitarian activities such as reporting about the ongoing violence through social media, providing first aid to the injured civilians and volunteering in non-profit organizations (Syrian freedom Forever article, 2013).

Syrian women and the war

While the peaceful demonstrations shifted into a civil war between rebels and government authorities, this civil war forced thousands of Syrian men to join the fight or to flee the country, or ended up dead. In addition, the violence and repressive practices affect Syrian women disproportionately because they continuously lose their homes, lives, family members as a result of systemic targeting civilian, proliferation of arms, the absence of legal system and destruction of the rule of law. Therefore, the Syrian conflict affect negatively Syrian women in various aspects of life. The security council resolution, particularly 1325, has declared clearly that Syrian women have been exposed to a different type of gender-based violence either by the governmental forces or by some armed factions such as Islamic State (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, 2015). The International Rescue Committee reported that rape was prominent and disturbing feature during the Syrian crisis (IRC, 2013). The International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) reported that Syrian women exposed to sexual violence by security forces during house raids, checkpoint, and in intelligence security forces centers (Alodaat & Boukhary, 2016). Moreover, the sexual abuses against Syrian women exceeded to be also in the public and at times the raped women were even killed by the rapists without any responsibility. These rape cases lead to unwanted pregnancies and forced the raped women to endure this problem.

Obstacles in front of Syrian women

The Syrian crisis results in detaining and disappearing women. Not only does the Syrian government detain, and force women to disappear but also a number of armed fractions do the same. The difficulty of independent human rights observers has been considered as the major obstacle to document violations against Syrian women. Thus, it is difficult to confirm the collected information from various humanitarian organizations. However, Euro-Mediterranean Rights and the independent international commission of inquiry documented that Syrian women detainees were used for bargaining swaps or as hostages to push their wanted relatives to hand themselves (EuroMed Rights, 2015; Alodaat & Boukhary, 2016).

Furthermore, the explosive weapons that were used by Syrian government, such as barrel bombs and chemical weapons, were as an obstacle for the Syrian women to access basic services such as medical services. In this sense, it is important to shed the light on

the high level of the risk that pregnant women would lose their lives or their unborn babies. This may present how Syrian women tolerate additional complications due to the proliferation of explosive weapons. Therefore, the usage of explosive weapons on civilian areas contribute in the maternal death of women. The negative impact of using weapons in civilian districts results in civilian displacement which, subsequently, forced the Syrian women to be exposed to sexual abuse, harassment, trafficking and forced prostitution (UN Women, 2015).

Syrian women migration

The aforementioned obstacles are the main reason for displacement. Also, the fear of massacres and rape, which have been used as a tool in the Syrian war, forced the Syrian women to migrate from their own houses or provinces to other places. During Syrian war, there has been two kinds of migrations: internal and external. The internal migration of Syrian women mainly occurred from the cities or towns where military operations carried on to the cities where Syrian government take over. This internal migration has contributed significantly to high poverty rate. The destruction of infrastructures and companies has narrowed the resources for Syrians to find jobs. Also, Syrian women who migrated internally found a big challenge to be employed. Therefore, the Syrian women who migrated internally found other challenges in their new communities even to survive. Moreover, a significant number of them have been forced to conduct illegal jobs such as adultery or selling drugs. At the same time, the governmental and charitable organizations failed to provide support to the women, leading to an additional crisis among Syrian women. On the other hand, while the neighboring countries of Syria, namely, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey, started to settle migrants, Syrian women challenges have increased. The reason is that the majority of the Syrian women become the breadwinners in the absence of their husbands or their brothers or their fathers. This challenge forced the women to apply for any job in the neighboring countries. For example, in Lebanon the women tried to work as informal cooking groups and sell a variety of meals to high class families and in Jordan the same project was established. However, in Turkey the Syrian women could not obtain job easily since the language has been the main difficulty.

The external migration of Syrian women has been extended to reach a few European countries. There are various reasons for choosing European countries as an asylum. Firstly, Syria neighboring countries did not offer an organized system to involve the Syrian women in their societies. On the contrary, Syrian women have faced various challenging issues. The ability of Syria neighboring countries (Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey) to offer education for girls has been limited and, subsequently, those girls have been forced to find jobs or get married at an early age. In addition, women become the breadwinners because of the absence of their husbands and as a result of that those women faced many types of sexual abuse, violence and discrimination in the labor market. In this sense, Amnesty International has mentioned in the annual report that Syrian women and girls were not able to report such crimes due to the fear connected with their illegal residencies (Amnesty International, 2016). At the same time, the Syrian women refugees at neighboring countries have lacked a sufficient access to the medical services,

which worsens their medical status as well as their children. On the other hand, European countries which apply and have been concerned with the human rights, specially of females, have supported and welcomed the Syrian women. For this reason, Syrian women have preferred to migrate into EU rather than settling in Syria neighboring countries.

The journey of migration to Europe countries has not been simple for Syrian women. The Syrian state law restricts the wives from travel and freedom movement. For that reason, Syrian women have faced an additional challenge in selecting the better life. At the same time, the oriental mentality of Syrian men is strongly against the feminist freedom which is more experienced in European countries than Middle East. This issue has increased the divorce rate among Syrian women who have been willing to migrate to European countries. For this reason, many Syrian women have faced the challenges and consequences of the migration to Europe. The majority of Syrian women found their way to Europe through Turkey, which is the nearest country to Europe. Definitely, the preparation of such journeys is usually made by smugglers who have usually abused sexually Syrian women due to their lack of financial means for the smuggle; as Hala, a 23-year-old woman from Aleppo reported to Amnesty International, "At the hotel in Turkey, one of the men working with the smuggler, a Syrian man, said that if I sleep with him, I will not pay, or I pay less. Of course, I said no, it was disgusting. The same happened in Jordan to all of us".

Nahla, a 20-year old from Syria reported Amnesty International:

"The smuggler was harassing me. He tried to touch me a couple of times. Only when my male cousin was around he did not come close. I was very afraid, especially that we hear stories along the way of women who cannot afford the smuggle and who would be given the option to sleep with the smugglers for the price".

Most of the Syrian women reported to the humanitarian organization the fear was predominant among them during their journey to Europe. Single women were not only abused by smugglers but also threatened to sleep with other men in facilities.

Reem, a 20-year-old from Syria who was travelling with her 15-year-old cousin:

"I never got the chance to sleep in settlements. I was too scared that anyone would touch me. The tents were all mixed and I witnessed violence... I felt safer on the road, especially on the bus, the only place I could shut my eyes and sleep. In the camps we are so prone to being touched, and women cannot really complain, and they do not want to cause issues to disrupt their trip".

This migration is considered a new chapter for every single Syrian woman. Some of them may become stronger after the challenges and obstacles that they faced during their journey, and for others the trauma might even increase afterwards. However, the majority of migrating Syrian women to Europe agreed that this migration was not a choice but mandatory. Based on their views, Europe is the safest place for legal settlement. It would provide them with better education, support them toward a successful life and allow them to feel equality and justice in a society where pro-feminist approach is practiced in reality. However, those migrating women, somehow, worried about the adaptation into the new culture, new language and new society. Therefore, European countries which accepted to receive migrants set up a rehabilitation program which includes language, and social interaction classes.

Once the refugees have arrived at the border, border guards conduct some routine procedures for verifying the person, check their documents, the way they arrived. This

kind of information is with limited resources since that is kind of security information which needs security access. After that, the refugee will be taken to a temporary camp, where there is a special care.

This place is called a refugee camp which, in other words, is a temporary settlement built to receive refugees. Refugee camps generally develop in an impromptu fashion with the aim of meeting basic human needs for only a short time. In such a place the refugee will have a medical check and blood test before they will move to a permanent camp.

According to UNHCR, the majority of refugees worldwide do not live in refugee camps. At the end of 2015, some 67% of refugees around the world lived in individual, private accommodations. This can partly be explained by the high number of Syrian refugees renting apartments. Over a quarter (25.4%) of refugees were reported to be living in managed camps. At the end of 2015, about 56% of the total refugee population in rural locations resided in a managed camp, compared to the 2% who resided in individual accommodation. A small percentage of refugees also live in collective centers, transit camps and in self-settled camps.

While the Syrian women adapt to the new asylum in Europe, there are several programs for refugees offered by the host countries to support their language skills and improve their social skills in order to become involved in the host society. At the same time, women refugee programs in Europe assist the women in different aspects of their lives such as increasing their self-confidence and teaching them how to be active in the host society, and how to be independent rather than depending on their men. The supportive state law in Europe countries towards females as well as their assistant programs lead to several successful Syrian women.

Since this research is qualitative in nature, the results are presented based on the successful stories of Syrian women. A profound research on the successful stories of Syrian women in Europe was performed. I searched primarily in Google, United Nations website, and other women organization association that supported Syrian women refugees in Europe. Those successful Syrian women have been interviewed and answered questions related to the factors that lead them to success in Europe despite being in different environment.

The majority of those women migrated to Europe either through humanitarian organizations located in the camps of Lebanon, Jordan, or Turkey, or through migrating directly from Syria to Europe. Their interviews are analyzed qualitatively and presented here. However, it is essential to mention the factors that lead Syrian women to migrate into Europe and also to illustrate what kind of obstacles faced after approaching European countries.

Factors behind migrating to Europe

Most of the Syrian women who flee to Europe illegally through a long and complicated travel, or through applying to study and then apply for asylum. All Syrian women who left Syria were seeking a safe and good place for better future, instead of living in the war. Those migrating women can be classified into four types: women who decided to flee on their own, women who arrived in Europe with their husbands, other women were

advised by their own daughter or sons to migrate through family reunion developed by the European country per se.

By 2015, the Syrian women were forced to flee from the war through the Turkish borders which was opened and without any control. Those women thought that their last chance to survive is through migrating to Europe. Those women were aware clearly of the risk of migrating through unprotected sea boats and they realized that living in Europe is the best option to end suffering, death, fear, hunger and to begin a normal human life. This group of women fled to Europe without any transition period in the neighboring countries.

The other group of Syrian women who left Syria in the early stages of war (2011–2013). Those women left Syria to the neighboring country including Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq with same goal of finding a better and safe place for living. Those women along with their families have hoped that the situation in the neighboring country will be better for their children and also by the time, they would return to Syria. However, the expectations of Syrian women in those countries have failed due to various political and social reasons. In terms of political side, the governments of those neighboring countries did not issue any legal status for them and/or legal work permit. For this reason, most of the Syrian women stayed in those countries temporarily and they were thinking either to return to Syria or continue their trip to Europe. The majority of Syrian women felt that continuing to Europe is the best solution for them to avoid any sexual or economic blackmail. Other women flee to find out better healthcare system, since the health costs in the neighboring countries have been unaffordable. The majority of Syrian women who have children think that Europe will be suitable place for them to grow up without any fear of hunger or sickness or death in a war.

In this sense, the Syrian women decided to migrate to different countries at Europe. Usually, selecting the destination of country depended on various factors. One of them was based on the asylum conditions offered by the host country. The language also played a significant role in selecting the country where most of Syrian women found that Swedish language is easier than German language. Other factors may relate to the presence of relatives in the host country. Mostly, the Syrian women select the host country based on the solidarity of the people. For example, Swedish people have shown high solidarity with the migrated Syrian women, expressing that through different women associations. Since investigation hold by the officials of the host country is mandatory for asylum seekers, the majority of Syrian women describes this journey as a death trip. Usually, the smuggler humiliates, threatened and/or abuse sexually any Syrian women before or during the trip. During the trip, women faced many problems such as sharing toilets with men, sharing the tents for sleeping and sometimes sharing their own food. These challenges faced by the women reveal their ability to do things they have never done before and encourage them to continue life challenges.

Syrian women experience upon approaching Europe

Most of Syrian women when they asked about the treatment by the officials responded that in Europe, everything was totally different. The officials in Europe treated the Syrian women as independent individuals to undergo the asylum process. Shiama,

a young Syrian woman who migrated to Germany, said that "When I was in Syria, I never processed any governmental documents by myself. My father and my brother processed every document I needed at that time such as personal ID, registration in school etc. Even my marriage certificate was processed by my husband. Such a treatment prohibited from knowing many legal processes, but in Germany, the officials taught me how to process each document by myself which increase my self-confidence and knowledge as well".

A considerable number of Syrian women have experienced difficulties during the procedures of asylum due to lack of communication with the officials. For example, most of European countries send emails or mails to migrant in order to continue the process of asylum, however, these messages or applications are not written in English or Arabic which make it difficult for migrants to proceed. On the other hand, despite the European countries provide translators to ease the process of asylum, the translators are not always present at the needed time. This issue takes place also in the job centers. But, it is clear that this issue depends on their individual situation. Moreover, receiving the asylum decision affected the Syrian women life. For example, for those women who received the decision of asylum and protection were able to start planning their life, and to apply for relative's reunion, while those who received only one year of asylum were still desperate and traumatized. "When I was told by the Swedish officials that I had one-year protection only, I became so worried about my life and my family. I had to think what I would have to do if I cannot get the asylum protection. Also, I could not know where I should start with this short residency". This is what Noor stated in one of the news that interviewed her.

Developed Syrian women refugees in Europe

Recently, Kholoud Charaf has obtained a scholarship for two years to study in the Polish city of Krakow. Kholoud is a poet and a novelist. While she has been residing in Poland, where the literary tradition is rich, she has found an efficient environment and space to express her feelings as a woman in Poland through writing poems about the civil war in Syria and the refugee crisis. Kholoud was interviewed by the UNHCR staff and was asked about different topics including life in Syria before and after the crisis and the beginning of her life in Poland. Kholoud described that lives of Syrian women in Syria before the crisis were somehow similar to the situation after the crisis. She added that Syrian community is dominated by men and the laws in Syria support the guardianship of men over women. She believes that one of the factors that contributed to the crisis was the suppression of women's rights in all aspects of life. Her willing to gain more knowledge and to obtain an independent active woman in the society pushed her to find a place where women's rights are applied and respected by the society. Kholoud declared that European societies are more civilized and she experienced that through the treatment she had while she was integrated in the Polish society. "Currently I can write freely and I can participate in the literary life positively. However, while I was in Syria, only a few common names who were supported by the government were free to write poems or novels. It is impossible for any government that does not respect the women's rights to

appreciate the women intellectual activities", she said. Kholoud also said that her success in writing poems and books in Poland was due to Polish laws that protect her and also the Polish society who respects the values of women. According to her, those are the two most important factors in developing an active woman (Womack & Kostrzynski, 2018).

Kholoud explained more of the refugee crisis initiated by the civil war in Syria. She said that "Refugees are human beings like you. We did not leave our homes, our memories, our childhoods, our language and our culture because we wanted to take your lives away from you. We left because we were forced by war". Kholoud has been succeeded in obtaining a scholarship for two years in writing her experience during the crisis and what she saw during her previous job at the hospital. Kholoud believes that respecting women's rights need to be born from the society through numerous education programs and setting up laws.

Maya Ghazal, a young refugee who migrated from Damascus in Syria after her father was tortured and forced to flee Syria, arrived in the United Kingdom in 2015. Maya faced many challenges when she arrived in the UK. One of those challenges was the communication since she did not know English. Maya was a determined person and she believed that she could do many remarkable things in the UK. Thus, she started to learn English language with all passion and dedication. After she finished her language courses, Maya joined Aviation Engineering school at Brunel University. She had no fear of the new society when she decided to study this field. Usually, Syrian women, when in Syria, do not study any science related to aviation or mechanical engineering because the Syrian society consider these fields are restricted for men only. At the same time, Syrian companies will not hire a female engineer in any field because of their prejudiced views towards women. For this reason, many Syrian women prefer to study abroad in order to choose the field they are keen on without the fear of conservative society views.

Maya did not forget the refugee crisis of her own people and, subsequently, she began to speak up about this issue at the university. She organized a few events across the country to increase the awareness of hidden dangers faced by young refugees and migrants who always try to approach the new life, in their opinion – full of humanism, in Europe. Maya could not be silent when the whole world saw the body of a toddler, Aylan Kurdi, on the Turkish beach. She organized a candle-lit vigil in his name, and she gathered hundreds of people to demonstrate their solidarity with a refugee, somebody exactly like herself. Maya's activities that enhance the awareness of British people towards refugee crisis in Syria had a significant response from the British associations. Therefore, Maya Ghazal was awarded "The Diana Award" for her efforts to spread humanistic compassion, mainly towards refugees.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Syrian women have faced different challenges through the contemporary era. During the end of Othman empire, Syrian women began to organize a small society in order to share with Syrian men the independence idea from Othman empire. However, the religious and social factors had more effect on the women's contribution in the society. These attempts of involving in the society gave the Syrian women more experience in designing

and targeting their own objectives for the next phase of political situation in Syria. Following the French occupation, the Syrian women cooperated with French officers' wives to create some charitable associations in order to help the Syrian people. One of these societies was the Drop of Milk society which aimed mainly to afford the pasteurized milk for infants and children. At the same time, the Drop of Milk society assist Syrian women to increase their awareness of being active in the society regardless of the social and religious limitations.

After the Syrian independence and under the rule of Al-Baath party, the Syrian women role has been manipulated to be under the control of the government. Thus, the personal status law for Syrian women has not witnessed any major changes in favor of women. As the Syrian regimen compensate the majority of people through insisting on the traditional customs, the religious leaders admired to apply these customs even if it is against women's rights. Therefore, the Syrian women have faced persecution in different shape.

Since the beginning of Syrian crisis, the Syrian women have tried to prove again that they are able to achieve or change their lifestyle for better outcome of all. At the same time, the Syrian women realized that as the laws in Syria are not in favour of women's rights, their chance to optimize their life were minimized completely. After arriving to Europe, Syrian women have been taught by the women's associations about their rights as a human beings. Therefore, Syrian women have opened their eyes and their brains to be an independent human being rather than a follower of men.

Notwithstanding everything, the necessity for fairness in the face of the law remains a vital and significant matter for Syrian women, who are among the most unfairly treated members in the Syrian society. Syrian women need legal shield from the age-long discernment they have confronted, which deep-rooted in a set of traditional customs and practices that remain to preserve their oppression. Therefore, the essential of having just rules that assist to protect the women and serve to counter the customs and norms that are otherwise difficult to change.

First, an innovative gender-sensitive structure should be instituted, depending on the morals and principles of freedom, self-respect, equality, non-discrimination, and secularism, that adhesives the rights of Syrian women, including the right to protection against gender-based violence. As improving Syrian personal status laws is such a argumentative issue, it is essential to work on creating a civil law for personal status matters as a voluntary substitute to religious personal status laws, which must only be conserved after having been reformed in a fundamental and extensive way.

The personal status law reforms should contain the facility of full gender-based equality and the equality of rights and responsibilities between spouses within a marriage contract and the family part. This includes matters of heritage, the caring of children, the right to divorce and the contribution in financial matters and changing the legal marriage age for both sexes to 18 years, and then, the elimination of polygamy. These reforms should be built on the basic principle that Syrian women are citizens with identical rights as men. Hence, they hold the whole right to govern themselves and their children and to file for divorce, as outlined in human rights agreements.

Similarly, the Syrian Citizenship Law must be edited to Syrian mothers to grant nationality to their children. Moreover, prejudiced articles in the Syrian Penal Code that boost violence against women should be emitted and a law that defends women from gender-based violence must be approved.

The elimination of these biased laws must be a precedence in the transitional period following the end of the Syrian crisis. For this to happen, it should be guaranteed that Syrian women play a dynamic part in the determination of a future Syria and are equally represented at the negotiation table. Women's rights and needs must be part of the amity process from the beginning. Only then can equal human and civil rights, as well as the right of independence for all Syrians, be truly practical and only then will women be able to play prominent roles in public life and exercise impact over the laws, customs, and narratives of their country.

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Women in the Scientific Elite.
The Inter-relation of gender identity, stereotypes and the academic roles in the careers of women scientist in Hungary

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Social issues and the objective of research

The cause of significantly lower presence of women in academies and leadership positions up to this day can mostly be interpreted within the scope of the *gender order* (Nagy, 2018) dominating the society, legitimised by the different gender stereotypes. As a result of this, women are currently still disadvantaged with regards to the redistribution of positions. Thus, not only the questions of which barriers need female scholars overcome during their career, are they able to break through the glass ceiling, what kind of compromises they need to reach (family versus career?), or even what are the difficulties of entering this male-dominated terrain are the ones requiring answers, but we need to address the questions of how are gender stereotypes explicitly and implicitly appearing in the self-identification of women, and how does the essentializing discourse appear in their own lives as well. Earlier papers have established the fact that not only men are supporting "sexist myths", but (ways of self-discrimination, self-stereotyping and internalisation) women often do so as well, which can be viewed as an indirect barrier when women attempt to prevail in areas that can be characterized as male-overrepresented. How does all this appear in the Hungarian scientific elite? What is the stance of female academicians to the woman question? Can the aforementioned "self-discrimination or stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995) be detected among them? In which way are gender stereotypes, "sexist beliefs" present among the surveyed female scholars? What are the different social gender identity types that can be isolated in light of those? Does the essentializing discourse present itself at all among the surveyed scholars, and what forms it is manifesting itself in? How strong is the phenomenon of identifying with women among those awarded by a DSc degree, what is their relation towards their own collective?

Applied method and sample, further research issues

I have attempted to find answers to the queries raised in the research ways of semi-structured interviews with female members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [referred to henceforth as MTA]. These were recorded between December 2017 and September 2018. A total of 32 women were interviewed: 11 academicians (ordinary or corresponding members) and 21 DSc's[1]. The complete membership of MTA counted 344 ordinary and corresponding members in that time period, merely 24 of which were women, equalling a proportion of 6,7 %. There were only 418 women among the 2689 Doctors of Science in the MTA, which equals to a rate of 15.5%. [The 2019 member election changed this ratio to 8,7 %, cf. (Lamm & Nagy, 2019)]. The average age of female researchers was between 65 and 80. Only 4 of the interviewees were under 60, and only one of them has not reached the age of 50[2].

I've chosen the group of academicians[3] and MTA DSc's[4] in particular because this is one of the fields that is to this day exceptionally male-dominated (93,3 % in the academy, 85,5 % among the DSc's). And since only a minor fraction of women (6,7 %, 15,5 %) reach the highest echelons of scientific life, it is reasonable to investigate how does the attitude towards the female question present itself in this strata, and what is the universal attitude towards the problem (the low percentage of women in MTA) itself. Namely, it seems that regardless of more and more women entering the scientific field and receiving a PhD degree in high proportion (45 %), their number in the Academy and among the DSc's hardly changes at all. An important aspect when selecting the research sample was for the interviewees to represent all scientific fields, which can clearly demonstrate whether there is any significant difference with regards to the questions phrased above among women present in the technical or natural sciences (engineering, mathematics or physics in particular) – that are traditionally viewed as being "masculine" – and the representatives of social and human sciences. A total of 17 scholars from the fields of social and human sciences, and a further 15 from that of technical or natural sciences were part of the research. My assumption is that we can find out as well whether a female mathematician or physicist can indeed suffer difficulties "getting cozy" in those areas, and if only very determined women can tolerate the male environment, just as Magdolna Hargittai states in her book (Hargittai, 2015, p. 359). This latter phenomenon is most often described as "chilling climate" in other works, signifying the male majority in a certain workplace organisation creating an "alien", cold ambience for the newly arriving women (Nagy, 2017). The result of this being the only possible route of personal mobility for these women is

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[1]   The analysis was part of a larger research, merely one aspect of which was the examination of female identity.

[2]   The interviewees were approached with official requests (e-mail) for the interviews. The interviews took 1,5 hours each, and were recorded by a portable voice recorder. A word-for-word transcript has been made for the sake of quotability, thereby assisting a mindful analysis.

[3]   Academics are the members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[4]   DSc: in Hungary, "Doctor of Sciences" is awarded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It is a higher doctoral degree which may be earned after the Candidate of Sciences (now there is no more candidate of Science, only Ph.D.) Different from conferring PhD. Has no equivalent in North America.

assimilation, i.e. the perception of male characteristics. The term *token* is most often used by feminist theoreticians to describe the phenomenon, usually signifying the significant minority of women in the highest echelons in the context of "masculine" professions representing an exception who are in the "man's world" not characteristically as tailored to their gender, thereby not reinforcing the collective character, but as if entering that world from a frontier and assimilating. Therefore, in the areas where women are significantly underrepresented, there are always two choices: (1) coping with the "chilling climate", for they would drop away otherwise, the hostile environment rejecting them, or (2) assimilation, becoming masculine, meaning surrendering certain aspects of their gender identity (Nagy, 2014). The women having a role in "masculine" professions are not changing the status quo, but are paradoxically reinforcing it.

These assimilation processes can appear in multiple dimensions; they can be the appropriation of physical, cultural and social role characteristics (Block et al., 2011, p. 577). "According to Irigaray, if a women intends to speak as a theorist, she will speak as a man, i.e. She will imitate male speaking patterns. Her femininity can simply not appear in the dominant philosophical discourse" (Moi, 1995, p. 250).

If we agree with the above, we can inspect whether the exceptions (female academicians) lead to the reinforcement of traditional assessments and norms, or, contrary to that, the transformation of the previously sealed (male dominated) system has begun in the country (i.e. Hungary). Can the tension found in the duality between the differences among women and the identification with the female demographic be observed within the scope of female academicians as well? How do the members of a seemingly homogenous collective of women differ from each other relative to the woman question, and how can different types be separated[5]? How necessary or important is for them for the female perspective ("the particular epistemological viewpoint", cf. Harding [1991]) to appear in science? According to the description of this specific viewpoint by Harding, the social perspective and experience of women can not only provide a unique opportunity to unveil the male prepossession, it can also serve to question the traditional statements regarding natural and social life. Harding states both men and women are not able to fully comprehend and explain the world, to explore the true scope of their possibilities until sciences primarily keep describing and interpreting the world from the aspect of the dominant groups (Harding, 1991, p. 59).

Theoretical background, further research – The difficulties of theoretical conceptualisation of women

The subjective female identity is among the crucial issues of current feminism. While the category of women plays a pivotal role in every feminist discourse, feminists have continual difficulties in specifically defining the concept of woman, as it is interwoven with the constructs of patriarchal culture: the male-centric logic of patriarchal society was always present as a postulate (Takács, 2017, p. 141), based on which the male power

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[5] The majority of the women participating in this survey have been raised in white-collar families, and the large family model was not specific to any of them.

defines the woman as *the other* and as *an object* (Joó, 2010; Benjamin, 1993). Feminist theorists write about the difficulties of conceptualising women up to this day, and conduct an endless research to map out the female identity, which – similar to the *lapis philosophorum* – seems to be completely intangible (Benjamin, 1993). Certain papers attempt to identify the traits of female identity through the imagery of women appearing/represented in science, literature (Showalter, 1994), arts, movies etc., while others try to do the same along the attitude linked to the abolitionist efforts, the various waves of feminism. Based on the ample research and representation forms of womanhood or the female identity, we can nonetheless logically assume that the actual aim of (for the sake of example) Sherman and numerous feminist critics was to describe the female identity not as fixed and monolithic, but as fluid, constantly changing (in space and time both) and diverse[6]. Especially since the identity content is socially divided to a certain degree, and individuals can differ in whether they accept and/or internalise the social opinion of a certain collective, not to mention the degree of identification can show further differences (Van Breen et al., 2017). I have no means to delve in detail regarding the above in this paper, thus I'd merely survey the key issues, which were in the forefront while analysing the individual interviews as well. Below, I'll present the popular models mapping the social gender identity, which helped me interpret the narratives of female scholars and shape up the types representative to the women scientists in Hungary.

Separating womanhood and femininity, categories of identification with women and feminists

It can be concluded from the subhead that certain authors (Moi, 1995) separate femininity and womanhood from each other. The concept of womanhood refers to biological gender in our interpretation, while femininity refers to womanliness, signifying characteristics that are picked up during socialisation, or those considered to be feminine. Moi has been able to create the most comprehensive summary as to how these latter are interwoven or differentiated. She thinks no matter how we interpret femininity (be it the classical, patriarchal or the new, feminist approach), one thing remains true: "patriarchalism intends to make us believe there is something we can view as the essence of womanhood, and this is what we can call femininity. Feminist intend to dissolve this belief however; they state women do without a doubt belong to the female gender, this in itself does not mean that they all become feminine". (Moi, 1995, p. 239). Similar to a number of other social identities, gender carries a strong cultural component as well (Van Breen et al., 2017). Moreover, learning the social gender role and the categorisations attached to it is one of the earliest and strongest forms of internalising collective identity. People tend to categorise and define others much more likely based on their gender than their race, age or status. The foundation of the social gender is discrimination stemming from physical differences (Fiske & Glick, 1996, p. 492). This is exactly why the initial point of papers examining female identity is that, while one could not consider them to be a homogenous collective, women do feel some kind of commonality with their own collective (which

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[6]   *Gender identity is not unitary*, see also Van Breen et al., 2017; Becker & Wagner, 2009.

has developed upon the mutual destiny, mutual political-ideological minority identity originating from the onset of suffrage movements). Mária Neményi states the situation of women is therefore similar to other disadvantaged and/or minority groups (Acsády, 2016). Feminism is a political discourse, the history of which can be interpreted through the effort to create some kind of ideological unity aside the dissimilarity, and to even out the lesser status (Acsády, 2005; Czibere, 2014).

Models of gender identity

Van Breen and associates have visualised the female identity in two types of orthogonal dimensions: along (1) the *identification with women* and (2) *the identification with feminists*. According to their position, the degree of *identification with women* (femininity) reflects most appropriately the attitude society associates with being a member of the female collective, and can answer the question "what does it mean to be a woman?" from the aspect of group characteristics, interests and values. It can also forecast the attitudes towards group characteristics, such as femininity and self-stereotypes (Van Breen et al., 2017). *Identification with feminists* primarily means all that "is related to increased perceptions of sexism in society, discontent with current power distributions and the status quo, and increased involvement in collective action" (Van Breen et al., 2017, p. 2). The authors are thus defining the content of *identification with feminists* with support of these conclusions based on the group of women the members of which recognise and refuse their own disadvantageous social status, i.e. are taking measures against gender inequalities. They show furthermore what it means to be a disadvantaged woman having unequal and relative status (Van Breen et al., 2017).

They have finally established four identity profiles based on their surveys. Women (1) identifying neither with women nor with feminists fall into the *"non-identifier"* group. Women (2) identifying strongly with women but not with feminists are denominated *"traditional women"*. Those however, who (3) identify strongly with both women and feminists have been assigned to the group of *"dual identifiers"*. Those women who (4) have a strong identification with feminists but a low identification with women have been associated with the so-called *"distinctive feminist"* group (Van Breen et al., 2017).

This typization overlaps with the gender identity model (GIM) of Becker and Wagner[7], who have created four distinctive groups as well. These are (1) progressive identifiers, (2) traditional identifiers, (3) progressive non-identifiers and (4) traditional non-identifiers. The GIM is however based on an approach conceptualising gender identity through two completely independent dimensions (traditional and progressive), while the aspects taken into consideration by Van Breen and associates (identification with women and feminists) are not completely separate from each other, but are instead orthogonal components of gender identity, and are jointly signifying identity components.

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[7]   Becker and Wagner used the concept elaborated on by Susan Condor in her paper *Womanhood as an Aspect of Social Identity: Group Identification and Ideology* as a foundation for creating the GIM. The same paper served to create the categories found in this paper as well.

The model of Becker and Wagner nevertheless defines identification with the cluster of women by it's strength on one hand (which can be low or high), and it's content (traditional or progressive) on the other (Becker & Wagner, 2009; Vida & Kovács, 2017).
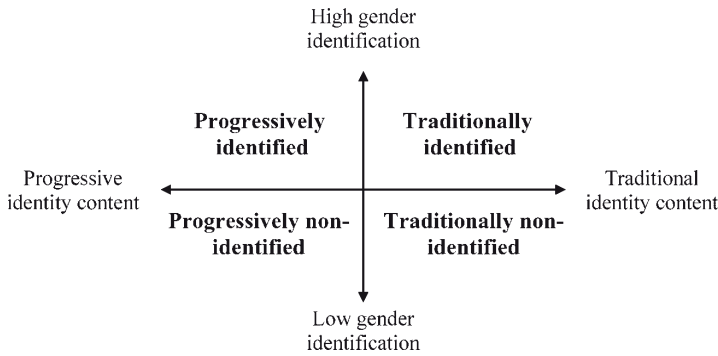

Figure 1. Gender identity model

Source: Gender Identity Model, Becker & Wagner, 2009, p. 489.

One possible combination of gender identity is thus (1) the so-called *"progressive identifiers"* group, which labels women who are not identifying with the cluster of women at all, and refuse the traditional definition of women. They claim furthermore that these attributes are artificial and serve to maintain the subordination of women, which is why they intend to redefine them (Becker & Wagner, 2009; Vida & Kovács, 2017). Those women however, who belong to the (2) *"traditional identifiers"* group tend to internalize the traditional gender identities and prefer to stay at home and take care of the family. They define themselves within the scope of traditional male-female relationships, therefore accepting the contents associated with traditional women, and their attitude and behaviour confirms the traditional roles in all areas. Becker and Wagner pointed out that, according to Condor, the women falling into this category don't think (and experience) that their role has a lower status than that of men, neither question their place in society. They in fact think women are positively distinguished from men. This attitude ultimately contributes to the continuation of the status quo. Their quantitative research also established that these group mainly consists of housewives and anti-feminists (Becker & Wagner, 2009, p. 490). The women they labeled (3) *"progressive non-identifiers"* are not identifying with the female role at all. Though the women in this category accept and acknowledge the traits and characteristics considered to be manly, as well as negative stereotypes referring to women, they consider themselves to be exceptions. They consider men to be their reference group. If therefore these women enter a male collective of higher prestige, they identify less with the cluster of women (they assimilate), and they even strive to be rid of female traits and characteristics. The results of Condor as well as Becker and Wagner show that, because academic success and results are also associated with male traits, women with career and university students are the primary demographic of this group (Becker & Wagner, 2009). The fourth group is that of (4) *"traditional non-identifiers"*. The subjects associated with this group claim women to be dependent, thereby accepting traditional gender roles as well. The authors state

women are supporting the gender status quo with this attitude as well, while neither being particularly womanly nor manly, in fact, they identify with their husbands rather than other members of their gender group (Becker & Wagner, 2009). This group consists mainly of housewives whom femininity, gender in general, plays little to no role.

Van Breen and associates believe on the other hand that an approach establishing multiple identities (*multiple identities approach*, referred to henceforth as MIA) is required, which can portray further differences (or overlaps) between gender-specific attitudes, this not being possible with GIM. In particular due to the fact that there can be further overlaps beside prototypes, as well as the specific subdivisions (called *gender identity subgroups*). They have namely established that a) a strong identification with feminists, i.e. the politicised attitude (which can present itself in the attitude towards positive discrimination as well) does not always exclude femininity. (As opposed to how the same appears with the progressive identifier group of Becker and Wagner.) They have also pointed out that b) strongly identifying with the cluster of women and being sensible toward their social status does not automatically strengthen the politicised attitude. Their quantitative sample shows on the other hand that c) critical attitude toward gender stereotypes can mostly be observed among feminists, in particular those not identifying with women (Van Breen et al., 2017, p. 19). These finer overlaps have been completely left out of the GIM model of Becker and Wagner.

To summarise the above, we can first speak about belonging to the female gender and about femininity (womanliness) as a fundamentally social construct, and second about identifying with the cluster of woman as well as a certain, politicised identity which is covered by the terms feminism and feminist. We can furthermore distinguish 4 clearly separate groups in both approaches. The survey carried out by Van Breen and associates point out however that the two key dimensions are not that clearly separated from each other as the model of Becker and Wagner would suggest. The question thus primarily is: what is the relative relationship between personal identity and the identification with the cluster of women and/or feminists, the traditional and the progressive end of the spectrum in my own sample, in other words: how do the "traditional" models mentioned above appear in a group that can be considered homogenous at first sight.

Results: relation towards the woman quota

Identification with the cluster of women can in the current sample be observed most significantly in the attitude toward the means applicable (or to be applied) in order to raise the number of female academicians, the woman quota (this can be discerned from the identification with feminists as well). As previously mentioned, this does not mean those who are not supporting positive discrimination are not identifying with the cluster of women or feminists at all, merely that group identity presents itself more explicitly with those arguing for the woman quota. This is why I have first split the subjects of this research into two groups from the perspective of whether they act collectively with the aim to change the Academy's regulations, or stay indifferent with regard to the question of gender and science. We can distinguish between those

(1) not in favor of positive discrimination and (2) those standing *expressis verbis* beside the woman quota.

(1) The starting point for the female scholars was the importance of establishing equal conditions, but the majority can picture this with measures that don't include positive discrimination (woman quota), this latter even being explicitly objected.

> *Only because… I am a woman? […] I would rather not […] I don't want any positive discrimination! (subject no. 22, natural sciences).*

> *I would honestly not want to enter due to the woman quota. I have lots of books and other, which I think can be compared with other academics in terms of quantity, in order for me not to require a woman quota (subject no. 25, natural sciences).*

> *I don't want somebody to be appointed due to a contingent, their performance also has to be checked, if it is okay, it is okay, if it isn't, it isn't. But I should not simply be appointed to a position because I am a woman.…The quota is nonsense (subject no. 21, natural sciences).*

(2) There were only a select few considering merits as well but at the same time recognising the disadvantageous position of woman, which they've mainly experienced in their professional life (see also the different perceptions of equality), they would therefore accept positive discrimination as a tool to reach equality as well.

> *Quotes serve to remind us there are women in the world as well, with some among them who might be qualified for this position, … True, quotas hold the danger of becoming counter selective on occasion. But I think it's benefits outweigh the disadvantages (subject no. 1, social sciences).*

> *It doesn't matter what we call it, but I find it is clear that a woman has more difficulties reaching a certain point right from the start than a man. This needs to be addressed somehow, it can even be positive discrimination, I honestly don't care how we name it (subject no. 3, natural sciences).*

Since identification with the cluster of women can not only be interpreted and identified from the attitude toward positive discrimination, not the least because efforts to raise the number of female scholars can be accompanied with other measures as well (like changing the electoral regulation of the Academy), it became clear during the analysis that a more polished method is required. The additional dimensions created along the high or low intensity of identification with the cluster of women are primarily shaped up based on GIM. I find it important to stress that the GIM introduced and applied in this paper has merely assisted in grouping the subjects, the separate categories can be applied in my sample by necessity, they are however far from being sufficient (especially due to the method being qualitative analysis). GIM-types can therefore not cover every aspect that presented itself in the analysed sample. As a consequence, the types found below have been created using both the models and approaches (MIA) mentioned above as well as my own conclusions.

It became clear during the analysis of the interviews that, contrary to the fact all interviewees have similar family backgrounds (supporting parents/parents with an academic degree), have the same academic title (MSc of the MTA), and had similar opportunities due to the historical context (state socialism), facing the same political-ideological obstructions during their career, they have vastly different opinions on several issues with regards to certain aspects of the social role of women. That is why they could at first be grouped similarly to women in a larger, more diverse population (as appearing in GIM by Becker and Wagner as well as MIA applied by Van Breen and associates).

Groups established from the gender identity model

As previously mentioned, four groups were initially created with the assistance of GIM. It was clear during the process that the term "traditional" only refers to family roles and not to career in the sample. The path of female scholars preferring traditional roles in their family lives can be described by the so-called "dual attachment" model, specific to women who find "family career" equally important as their "labour market career" (Koncz, 2016). Gender identification was found to be both low and high in the analysed sample, while being traditional or progressive in terms of content (cf. Becker & Wagner, 2009).

(type no. 1) This group demonstrates high identification with the cluster of women while being both traditional and progressive. With regards to the female scholars analysed, this means that, while they identify with the traditional female roles when it comes to parenthood, they are progressive toward the scientific field and career ("dual attachment").

(type no. 2) Identification with the cluster of women shows a high level in the next group as well, but it is more traditional in nature. The male and female attitudes are separated in every aspect (family life and career), meaning they find the phenomenon of horizontal segregation (especially regarding leadership positions and work-related attitudes) natural and necessary. They consider the separation of professions by gender not unnatural, as both men and women have different competences and possibilities both due to biological and social reasons (Koncz, 2011). They add however that these groupings ought not turn into social disadvantages ("essentialist identifiers", see below).

(type no. 3) The third group can also be considered a unified group with regard to the attitude toward womanhood, but they address the current repartitions. Identification with the cluster of women is high, it's content is however exclusively progressive ("progressive identifiers").

(type no. 4) Members of the last group are completely indifferent regarding the gender issue. Identification with the cluster of women is particularly low, and it has a progressive nature. The members of this group are in favor of the classical equality ("classical equality" type, see below).

The categories will be elaborated on further within the scope of issues like essentializing discourse and gender stereotypes, their full or partial denial, the politicised attitude as well as "norm violations" and atypical roles. The scholars subject to this survey can thus ultimately be grouped in not the four above, but five distinctly separated categories, which have given a final view of female scholar types. The common feature

of the five new groups listed below is that – based on their statements – the members have never felt any disadvantage whatsoever in their scientific career merely because they are women. Furthermore, all interviewees agree that the politics of science, which creates a foundation for leadership positions or the academic electoral process, to name a few examples, has to be explicitly separated from the actual scientific achievements, i.e. the "pure science" and research work.

Multiple types of female identity among female scholars

1st group: the "dual attachment" (*"dual identifiers"*) **type**
The first group has been created from female scholars who have a fundamentally traditional approach when it comes to the role of a woman within a family. The group characteristics described in GIM with regards to the women preferring traditional female roles, i.e. supporting the gender status quo in many aspects (Becker & Wagner, 2009) can be considered true for this group. They are however not differentiating between men and women when it comes to career and the academic field. They are thus in favor of equality and progressive in this latter aspect. This is exactly why they consider academic or leadership roles important. The interviewees within this group accept – and consider – the fact that women need to work much harder if they intend to achieve the same level of respect their male peers do, primarily due to them having an opinion that women "must" deal with the majority of household tasks, which they consider completely natural:

> *Women must obviously deal with the most work around the house (subject no. 10, DSc, technical sciences).*

> *So I practically think me bringing the child to the nursery is an integral part of the regular womanly tasks (subject no. 23, natural sciences).*

> *I always held the mothership role in high regard and found it important. The scientific career [...] is important of course, but it isn't the most important facet of one's life (subject no. 27, social sciences).*

They have also stressed that, while the support of the family is important to them, they still consider if a women stumbles upon issues due to the additional workload stemming from the female role, it is not for the Academy to deal with them, and positive discrimination is far from being the appropriate method either – these difficulties need to be handled in the earliest stages of a career, especially because nobody will be interested past a certain point in what way and through what sacrifices does one achieve the academic DSc degree or an academic position.

> *I am of course raising my sons in the meantime, who say they haven't suffered any disadvantages from me doing all those other things as well, but the nights are long and I can get by with very little sleep. So I had time to do anything in those hours*

[...] As far as I am concerned, I always enjoyed fulfilling the role of a woman, and I cannot name any negative aspects (subject no. 10, DSc, technical sciences).

All this ultimately reflects the dual expectations typical in Hungarian society that a woman needs to work while fulfilling the traditional roles of mother and wife at the same time (Haraszty, quoted by Faragó, 2000, p. 27). The group mainly consists of natural science scholars.

2ⁿᵈ group: the "essentialist identifier" type

The second group includes female scholars who find there is a fundamental difference between men and women in terms of how they are complying to their tasks and how their preferences and value assessments develop in their lives. So they think this "otherness" is present not only in family life between men and women, but in public life as well. Members of this group state that to lead is fundamentally not a womanly task, moreover, women don't even want to become leaders due to their nature. Their attitude towards academic positions is differing, but they typically do not consider it to be a goal nor a particularly important aspect.

I feel that female peers are not that ambitious. We tend to feel comfortable in our cozy little labs, and the additional challenges of being in a leadership position do not make us any happier, but mean an added burden instead, which we don't necessarily want that enthusiastically (subject no. 23, natural sciences).

The question is why the described pattern can be observed during the selection for leadership positions: is it because society does not allow women to prevail, does not accept them as equals, or rather because they do not particularly strive to reach higher themselves? This is difficult to inspect. It can however be assumed that both aspects have an effect to a certain degree.

This holds women back from two directions, society will of course not ask them to take on leadership roles, they on the other hand don't want to be leaders either, because the stigma of the career-driven tough woman leader is still present, and "oh lord, I just wish I had no woman for a boss". But a woman has of course need to be a little more assertive if she intends to lead, say, a hospital department. And if she is assertive, that means her womanhood suffers from it (subject no. 20, human sciences).

My observations make me state the different attitude toward leadership roles is primarily not based on the biologically determined differences men and women are born with, but on the character traits stemming from personality, the persona as well as socialisation.

An example from my own life is I never wanted to become a leader, I have trouble enough as it is, I don't need to be responsible for the troubles of others as well. (subject no. 21, natural sciences).

The literature links attributes like understanding, intuitiveness, empathy, sentimentality, conflict avoidance and paying attention to emotions – mainly associated with women – to failings in leadership. Members of this group have all unequivocally stated women are excellent scholars and researchers, but no leaders. A psychological explanation can be linked to the above which interprets differences in social roles with certain conflictions of character attached to both genders. What does it mean for example to be a good leader, a good academician, dean, physicist etc.? Based on this myth, the image of a good leader, dean, physicist etc. is almost exclusively linked to traits that are typically manly, considered manly or are commonly found in men. And this is certainly opposing the question "what does it mean to be a woman?". The term *think manager, think male* (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2011) has been made famous regarding leadership roles. Given however that women don't even wish to be leaders in their opinion, they deny the existence of any real conflict in this area between the two genders.

> *I am a great second for example, I can give good ideas, etc., but if I would take a step further up, I have doubts I would be capable of exerting that type of leadership attitude (subject no. 24, human sciences).*

One of the academicians interviewed – who is almost an archetypical example of this category – views the difference theory of Deborah Tannen acceptable. She has – quoting psychological and psycho-linguistic experiments – elaborated among others that men and women practice different strategies in their thinking patterns and communication. She claims women are born with the trait of considering establishing relationships and friendships to be paramount. She states this can even be observed in kindergarten, where

> *With boys, the aim of every single act of communication is to figure out who can reach a dominant position. And this applies to their relationship toward women as well. (subject no. 4, social sciences).*

Tannen sums up the assumed differences between men and women in her infamously heavily criticised book *You Just Don't Understand*, which are divided into six groups. The thoughts presented in the book all manifest themselves to a degree with every single interviewee belonging to this type, the members of which tend to group male and female characteristics and traits in a fundamentally similar way. Tannen has contrasted the fundamental otherness of the two genders with the help of categories she invented, thus creating opposition pairs like (1) independence (men) – intimacy (women), (2) advice (men) – understanding (women), (3) information (men) – feelings (women), (4) status (men) – support (women), (5) understanding (men) – advice (women) as well as (6) conflict (men) – compromise (women). Tannen states men to be more independent and competing with each other, whereas women prefer intimacy and sentiments. Furthermore, men often apply confrontation as the instrument for solution in an argument or other situations, thereby conveying and shaping their social status (Tannen, 1991). The opposites listed above can be added to the series of well-known, ossified binary oppositions associated with gender (like women: sensitivity, empathy,

matter, body, irrationality, versus men: mind, logos, form, leader, logic, rationality). And if we assume the characteristics and traits associated with stereotypes regarding men are much more applicable to the image of a leader, we can explain why the majority of women (and men alike) think a leadership role is something fundamentally not for women.

> *I would not have been able to handle conflicts in the department. That has always been the area of authoritarian men (subject no. 8, human sciences).*

> *I feel if I would have had any ambitions for a leadership position, I would have reached it. But I have a conviction that the majority of women would not want that. (subject no. 4, social sciences).*

They could actually be matched to the "traditional identifiers" due to their strong identification with women, identification with a certain group of feminists can however still not be excluded. One of the benefits of MIA (*multiple identity approach*) is that it points out the possibility of identifying with women without that necessarily leading to politisation. This distinction of womanhood is supported by further works in gender literature as well as the feminist movements themselves. Certain strains of feminism namely put a huge emphasis on womanhood as the field of positive discernment from men (ex. difference feminism), while others (as it appears with the 4th type, see below) undermine it (Van Breen et al., 2017). It can also be established that the attitude of female scholars in this group can from many aspects be described with the axioms phrased in post-feminism. Meaning the difference between the genders needs to be reinforced positively, and the individual otherness of women has to be acknowledged as well (Kádár, 1994).

Most are in agreement that the fundamental differences are enhanced by certain further factors such as a woman having a child. They think this latter virtually rules out them being a good leader simultaneously as well.

> *Besides, I am not that certain girls really want to be leaders at all. Because if you are a boss, you need to be present at every single meeting and gathering where there must be some kind of leadership conflict [...] You need to always be there because if you aren't, nobody is going to stand up for your own people. And not all women can do this. There is a tremendous amount of work with children and that always takes priority in their case (subject no. 21, natural sciences).*

This was further reinforced by a female scholar (subject no. 29, natural sciences) who – speaking about her own experience – stated that she was only able to give 100% until there was no call informing her child has a fever. It wouldn't matter if she'd sent someone in her stead in such cases, for her mind as a mother was not completely present after that, and this could be considered a huge disadvantage in a leadership role. All of my subjects have also reinforced the (sexist) myth claiming the different character traits of men and women are manifest in their relationship towards tasks and duties.

Men tend to claw at the walls sooner for example if they need to shoulder the of-fice duties. Women are more likely to handle them than men. Perhaps also because women already learned that they need to find a path between the set gates, they grow up with the notion that they need to find the backdoors, because they cannot push forward otherwise. Thus, they practice it in the family. Women tend to power trip in the family. This is a typical female trait (subject no. 21, natural sciences).

The above makes it apparent for me that, while the interviewees refer to the "typical" traits they are born with, they – albeit mostly indirectly – admitted to these rather being "acquired" traits (cf. "learned" that they "need to find a path between the set gates" [subject no. 21, natural sciences], "womanhood suffers from it" [subject no. 20, social sciences]). These categorisations reflect the known and taught codes, philosophy, deeply rooted prej-udices of the society to a much larger extent, and are not necessarily built upon biological differences. Most members of this group also elaborated on their main goal throughout their career was to not detach themselves from research. There were moreover some ar-guing that, in their opinion, achievement is very closely linked to self-respect in case of men (see also the occurrence of hegemonic masculinity and *"libido dominandi"*, cf. Hadas, 2002). Their experience shows men are gladly taking on a committee position when they consider that to be wasted time. Moreover, they stress in every single case that they are no leadership material, while lots of men are very happy even if they can be a "boss".

They feel they have found their place in such a case. Women tend to consider this to be a burden (subject no. 8, human sciences).

The members of this group have a common opinion that this otherness is completely in it's right place, for women and men are fundamentally different, this does not mean for the group members however that they represent something of lesser value, only some-thing different. Women need to prove their worth only in the scientific field and not in leadership positions.

We can observe that the essentializing discourse in these cases is clearly based on the binary oppositions which serve as an organic part of our culture. These oppositions in turn trace the gender inequalities to natural, i.e. biological causes, thereby deeming them unchangeable, inevitable and deterministic (Czibere, 2014). This argumentation states "the body is a gender/sexual entity, sexuality is co-extensive with life, all of its facets are transfixed with gender. Gender differences present themselves in observation as well as experience, expression, movement etc" (Merleau-Ponty, quoted by Joó, 2010, p. 68). According to this, the two genders are not only essentially (as in biologically) different from each other, but consequently in psychological terms and in their social roles as well. This is the reason within this argumentation framework that the majority of gender stereotypes and the sealed nature of "men's world" (scientific panels, for example) have not completely shifted even after the declaration of legal equality. The stereotypical, general "knowledge" regarding women is continuously present in language, the everyday discourses, texts, media etc. and explains the classical male-female hierarchy, the gen-der-segregation of work with natural differences to this day.

In summary, we can state regarding the female scholars in this group that they have experienced substantial differences between the male and female attitude towards work and leadership. As a result, they believe men and women have to take on roles in the society which, though not in a fundamentally hierarchical relation with each other, are differing nonetheless. According to Katalin Koncz, men and women have different competences both due to biological and social reasons, the gender-based separation and employment is a natural consequence of this. She states the social inequalities are only caused by labour market mechanisms that shape these differences into social disadvantages (Koncz, 2011, p. 74) and devaluate them. Most members of this group highlight that women don't need to be scholars in the same sense men do.

> When I think about it, how many people say 'wow, what an arrogant woman, I would never marry that woman' when speaking about really successful women. And perhaps we don't really want to be considered like that (subject no. 4, social sciences).

> A very fierce woman can no doubt count with more disinclination then a very fierce man. Because someone being very fierce and aggressive doesn't fit into the image of femininity, or at least what we associate with the term. (subject no. 5, social sciences).

They have also addressed the dilemmas attached to the token role as well as the problems resulting from the lack of models:

> What remains if there is no behavioural pattern for women to follow? That will be a very individual life path. I have to then take the male behavioural pattern, and I step over everyone. Or I attempt to prevail in female career roles, which is not something I can reconcile with my own ambitions (subject no. 16, social sciences).

The group mainly consists of academic DSc's but there are a few academicians among them as well.

3rd group: the "progressive identifier" type

The opinion of researchers associated with this group is the exact opposite of that held by the members of the previous group. They explicitly deny the theory of psychology stating the interest fields of boys and girls are completely different. They agree that these – or similar – essentialist arguments and theories maintain the same gender-based hierarchy they aim to change. They state these roles are acquired because they reinforce the assumption of the members of a given group being substantially different (Phillips, quoted by Kovács & Szabó, 2017, p. 44). According to their viewpoint, the majority of the differences built upon the social role of gender is exclusively a factor of nurture and not nature. Therefore, they deny the opinion shared uniformly in the previous group that states women are not fit to be leaders. Identification with the cluster of women is high in their case, and they find it important to raise the proportion of female academicians. Thus, they completely fit the dual identifier category of MIA, meaning those who have an equally strong identification with both women and feminists.

What I find weird is they say things like the reason they don't endorse women for this and that position and the reason they always disappear from the top of the pyramid is because women don't actually want that at all. Well I am not in agreement with that. [...] I cannot accept this opinion, that women don't want this, it is just not true (subject no. 7, natural sciences).

They have all added that women are equally capable of prevailing in any profession that was completely appropriated by men. Cultural codes, the traditional views of society are the primary sources of unequal opportunities – according to the interviewees in this group – and only these lead to self-discrimination, self-stereotyping, as well as stereotypical threats (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

And much later, just recently, when we got together for a girl's day with other female peers, it turned out that four out of five of us sitting there from the research center who were already senior physicists, have initially started to study something else [...] we thought it is not something for us [...] so most of us went to study chemistry (subject no. 9, natural sciences)

A girl had not enough self-esteem to simply jump headfirst into physics back then. (subject no. 9, natural sciences).

As it can clearly be seen, they are the ones who advocate a speedy change – i.e. a fast raise in the proportion of women both in respect of MTA membership and leadership positions – the most. But they do suppose other measures should be applied to reach this goal instead of applying the woman quota.

I'm not saying we need positive discrimination for them to enter the Academy, but there should at least not be negative (subject no. 6, natural sciences)

Because okay, I do accept it essentially that the career needs to be addressed, I mean some assistance is needed for getting a career with programs, age limits and such. But this will only bear some results in maybe 20 years at the Academy. And something has to be achieved by then too, right? (subject no. 7, natural sciences).

According to them, the low ratio of women at the Academy can primarily remain – and the existing inequality can reproduce itself – because these positions have traditionally always been reserved for men, who are constantly re-electing each other in most positions (especially in leadership roles). This group included those few female scholars too, who think a woman quota based on meritum could also prove to be a solution (as opposed to the others, see also the dual division above). They state this particular tool of positive discrimination could be deemed necessary to avoid scientists who are fit to be academicians crumbling away solely because they are women in the biological sensem and also because the regulations of the institutions are still based on the traditional male-female differences – even if only in an indirect manner – like the electoral system of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. They have primarily argued that, as the male-female family roles are unequal,

women have a disadvantage by default, and this inequality of opportunities needs to be mitigated with some kind of a legal move regulated from the top.

> *Young women who are very interested in the scientific career but also very much want to have a family need to be assisted somehow. After all, this is normal, right? (subject no. 3, natural sciences).*

> *And what I see is actually that there is a young woman with a child, starting with her career, which is all right in itself. The trouble starts when she is appointed with a larger program before turning 30, and then she has that choice to have a second child or keep going, and this is really inhuman [...] so I find it terrible (subject no. 9, natural sciences).*

The woman quota has not been pushed to the foreground without any reflection, but as a certain necessary, pragmatic solution. We need to add that this group consists of only female academicians. We can thus assume their majority feels to have an especially large responsibility to assist in raising the proportion of female peers. They have a better insight into inequalities and are part of the process. We can see here that identifying with feminists led to supporting more radical, collective action, and that there is a substantial critical attitude toward gender stereotypes (Van Breen et al., 2017).

4th group: the "classical equality" type (progressive non-identifyiers)

A separate category was composed of those few interviewees who deemed in science there is no need to care about who is male and who is female. They all stressed that they are present in their field not as women, but as representatives of themselves and their scientific area. Identification with the cluster of women was at its lowest in this group. They have exclusively stressed legal equality, which they find to be sufficient for women as well. They find themselves to be more akin to their husbands / other men in the profession, or they have not addressed the issue of gender at all. The identification with a professional identity considered to be "manly" is clearly present in this model (Becker & Wagner, 2009). The "progressive non-identifiers" of GIM ("non-identifiers" according to the multi-dimensional model i.e. MIA) are identifying neither with women nor feminists. Although they can be linked to a branch of feminism that undermines womanhood and emphasise only the legal (classical) equality. This is why all of them are explicitly against the gender issue appearing in the scientific field at all. They firmly state gender is not relevant in science at all. Which is why they are completely indifferent to the number of female academicians.

> *I don't really like this "women need to be academicians too!" initiative. I think nobody intends to dance, why is it not completely irrelevant who is a man or a woman at the Academy? If they really intend to be gender neutral, the question of how many men and women are there should not even arise. Academician should be whoever has the ambition on one hand and the merit on the other, regardless of them being a man or a woman (subject no. 22, natural sciences).*

They think the numbers are misleading, because the performance is all that matters. Therefore, only a few women being at the academy is not considered an issue by them. They in fact emphasise if women are really successful in their own field, that minor proportion should be just as sufficient in shaping a model role. They are in agreement in somebody receiving any sort of advantage solely because they are born to be a biological woman being degrading and counter-productive. Their conclusion is the issue of social gender presents a disadvantage to women who intend to create something substantial and impactful as researchers:

> *I have attended a conference with the topic being women, and all the speakers were women. I don't wish to be stuck in this ghetto we seal around ourselves. Because we are then the ones creating the glass ceiling. So I've stood beside the aspects of classical equality. It might be old-fashioned, but I am no friend of positive discrimination, the feminist philosophy stressing or underpinning womanhood. But this is of course one approach among many. I don't want anyone to prioritise me as a woman neither as an academician nor as a conference speaker (subject no. 25, social sciences).*

Their opinion is there is no need to differentiate between male and female scholars in science. Their experience does not reflect any disadvantages they have suffered due to their gender, because they have always been judged by their publications and other achievements. If namely a Hungarian name appears on a scientific paper abroad, it will not suggest anything about the gender of the author to the audience:

> *Because if one is not well known, it virtually doesn't matter what their name is, meaning their gender won't matter either. And this proves the only important thing is what the scholar writes down, and what formulae, abstractions, results they have come up with (subject no. 31, natural sciences).*

The experience of the members – being mostly representatives of natural sciences – shows after they have entered their particular departments and received their degree, gender was less of an influencing factor for them as opposed to other scientific fields[8].

> *It doesn't matter who came up with a theorem or a mathematical theorem. I have proven a certain problem, deduced it, it was published internationally and is being quoted, they have not checked who it comes from, it worked (subject no. 28, natural sciences).*

This statement is exponentially valid in the case of natural sciences, whereas the authors themselves have always had a much bigger role in the authorship of literary and philosophical papers, pushing the subject more to the foreground. The value of such scientific publications often depends on who has written them under what circumstances. This is also proven by the fact the majority of female scholars grouped into this category is a representative of

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[8]   All other female scholars agree mostly with this latter statement, as they have never experienced any gender-based disadvantages with regards to their scientific performance.

natural sciences, which are considered manly. The difference with the other models has presented itself in another aspect as well: while the earlier groups found the academic role and raising the number of female academicians (to a lesser or larger extent or even absolutely) to be important, the members of this group have not addressed this question during their career at all, and they have ambitioned neither academic nor leadership roles themselves.

5th group: the "alternative" type

This type is not included in the GIM, and it differs from the 3rd group labeled *"progressive identifiers"* in one aspect: identification with women presents itself much more radically and fundamentally different. This is why I found the creation of a separate group justified, drawing attention to these significant differences, which can also be interpreted as a reaction to recent social changes. As already mentioned in the theoretical section of the paper, previous surveys show the radical collective action in the interest of improving the social status of women needs to be in positive relation with the politicised attitudes, the identification with feminists, whereas it is negatively related to identification with women – but only in case the radical action is considered to be atypical by women from a gender perspective. The 2nd group labeled *"essentialist identifiers"* can be considered the best example for the above (Eagly et al., quoted by Van Breen et al., 2017, p. 1). The identification with both feminists and women presents itself however equally radically in the alternative group, and means exclusively positive collective identification with regards to the latter.

Women in the alternative group (only a few female scholars could be considered here) accept the traits labeled "masculine", as well as the female stereotypes, but they typically are not separating traditionally womanly and manly attitudes based on gender.

> *I was a pronouncedly manly leader. Though even my looks create motherly associations. But a mother can allow herself to be manly as well (subject no. 17, social sciences).*

They consider women to be both manly or womanly, just as a man can be either as well. Which means belonging to the female gender does not necessarily imply her becoming feminine too (Moi, 1995) and vice versa. They consider this to be merely a question of personality, character, habitude, and not the biological gender.

> *I for example had a male peer who could only accept me as a leader if I was behaving manly, even when driving a car. But there is no such thing, that men are only manly and women only womanly. A woman can be masculine as well. But the majority is full of prejudices. Due to their childhood experiences, their models, like how their father behaved, etc. (subject no. 17, social sciences).*

A problem arose along the attitudes typical to this grouping. Since the gender of a woman is the most apparent difference, it would be worth mentioning why placing the female body into the focal point of identity research can be misleading (Showalter, 1994, p. 427). Based on the statements made by the interviewees grouped into this category, if the genders definitely need to be discerned, women have the more important roles – all things considered – due to their motherly (biological) obligations. They think women to be positively different from men, because a woman is a creator, existence is therefore tied

to the female continuity. They particularly stressed femininity as the area of positive demarcation, meaning femininity and identifying with feminists do not necessarily exclude each other in this case, unlike with the "essential identifiers" group:

> *No woman has to ever prove – just as a mother never has to ask – what life is, what the purpose of their life is; men do (subject no. 17, social sciences).*

This also means if a woman happens to have a more successful career than a man or her husband, the traditional roles will still apply at home. With regards to the intergroup behaviour (among others), Henri Tajfel states "an individual will tend to remain a member of a group [...] if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of his social identity; i.e. to those aspects of it from which he derives some satisfaction". (Tajfel, 1997, np). Interestingly, a certain attitude can be observed by the representatives of the alternative type, which was detailed by Tajfel with regards to the intergroup behaviour in general, despite the belonging to the cluster of women being fundamentally different from the groups he was researching. Still, an enhanced accent regarding the positive differentness of women (as opposed to the other types) is equally present in this model as well.

> *There is no equality, as men cannot bear children [...] this distinction is thus always in favor of women (subject no. 29, natural sciences).*

We can see gender-associated attributes can be indicators of their social roles as well, thereby appointing the position of an individual. After analysing the conversations and following the logic of the interviewees present in this group, a question can be raised: how and on which foundation have the artificial signifiers of social gender and the characteristics rooted in biological gender shaped into attributes, and how can the manly-womanly attitudes be categorised. How can we state that a particular social action, performance, characteristic is manly and/or womanly? Why is creation "masculine", if biology has determined the woman to be the creator (the one giving live), and why does the man not turn "feminine" by the act of creation? These questions appear in a similar manner in the modern theory of sense. "And because this is a type of question – let's call it historical still – whose conception, formation, gestation, labour, we can today only glimpse. And I say these words with my eyes turned, certainly, towards the operations of childbirth" (Derrida, 1994, p. 34). These problems are thereby touching onto the fields of narratives and linguistic discrimination. As it is suggested by the following quote: "Certainly metaphors of literary *maternity* predominated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [...] Describing Thackeray's plan for *Henry Esmond*, for example, Douglas Jerrold jovially remarked, «You have heard, I suppose, that Thackeray is big with twenty parts, and unless he is wrong in his time, expects the first installment at Christmas»" (Jerrold & Tillotson, quoted by Showalter, 1981, p. 188).

The interpretations of the interviewees allows us to conclude nature and society are separated in their minds, and, according to their reading, the woman is the creator in nature – identified with family – while in society, the public sphere, the task creation falls onto the man. Consequently, the real power is held by women in the family, while being in the hands of men in society due to "creation" (as they were the sole proprietors of science,

literature, music etc. until recent times). As a result – just as subject no. 17, having a background in social sciences, suggested – if women step forward as creators in society, public opinion holds the terrain of men might ebb, especially if they are equally participating in childcare and the domestic tasks. Also, they have *expressis verbis* referred to the already present phenomenon of so-called "norm violation" (Neményi, 2016) in modern society:

> *History is irreversible. The young adults (both men and women over 20) find this old, traditional division as an object of ridicule. It can be obstructed, even on political level, but the main direction will remain unchanged (subject no. 17, social sciences).*

We need to tread carefully with the above analogy however. Showalter finds it "dangerous to place the body at the center of a search for female identity […] The study of biological imagery in women's writing is useful and important as long as we understand that factors other than anatomy are involved in it" (Showalter, 1981, p. 189). Besides, if we were to found our arguments on this, and we would accentuate the main role (first role, privilege) of women in society referring to their biological differentness, we would essentially further reinforce the mechanism maintaining the *status quo*, which has virtually created the hierarchical, deterministically considered division of gender based on said biological differences. Meaning we would result in the same, albeit from the opposite direction.

Conclusions

My qualitative analysis – which has examined female scholars with regards to their identification with female identity, among others – shows that a part of them – especially the 4th group (classical equality) finds the appearance of the "particular ontological viewpoint of women" (Harding, 1991) in science necessary or important, because they consider themselves as being primarily present on the forums as representatives of their scientific field and themselves. This attitude can nonetheless lead to the reinforcement of existing norms and binary oppositions. Another part of the interviewees however expressed a much stronger identification with the cluster of women, thus they intend to advance the growth of female numbers among the DSc's of MTA as well as the academicians in some shape or form (though not always necessarily with positive discrimination). Most of the subjects have been grouped into the "progressive identifiers" type, the second largest group was that of "essentialist identifiers", as well as the "dual attachment" type, each group counting the same number of female scholars. The "classical equality" type was the second to last, followed by the "alternative" type having the fewest representatives. The categories have not shown any significant difference in terms of age, though there were notable disparities with regards to the scientific fields: while the members of the "classical equality" group were almost exclusively scholars in natural sciences, the "essentialist identifiers" group consisted mostly of women from social studies or humanities.

By summarising the results, we can conclude the "dual identifiers" and "progressive identifiers" (they were the most numerous groups) find the issue regarding the

proportion of female academicians imperative, and they have also started the attempts to reshape the previously sealed, "masculine" system. Members of the 2nd group ("essentialist identifiers") find the question of academicians less important, while members of the 4th group ("classical equality") don't find it important at all; neither group has ever addressed the issue of the proportion of women. The 5th ("alternative") group has a neutral attitude toward the topic. The female academicians and the DSc's are in complete disagreement regarding the woman quota and positive discrimination, except for a select few members of the 3rd ("progressive identifier") group. We can therefore conclude that the stance of female scholars vastly differ with regards to the issue of academicians, but it does primarily correlate with the female identity.

We can also observe the parameter touched on in previous surveys to be true, meaning a strong identification with feminists has not excluded the sense of womanhood (see "progressive identifiers" group), and a strong identification with women has not automatically enhanced politicised attitudes (see "dual attachment" and "essentialist identifiers"). It also became apparent that a critical attitude toward gender stereotypes was present among those who found the issue of gender at the Academy to be important, which could also be interpreted as identification with feminists.

GIM (Becker & Wagner, 2009) has also allowed to show clearly how gender stereotypes appear in the groups studied, as well as how these are accepted by the female scholars. Meaning – as Becker and Wagner stated – there is a clear relation between gender role preferences and the existing "sexist myths" (Becker & Wagner, 2009, p. 490). We could observe those who have a strong identification with femininity (*"dual attachment"* and *"essentialist identifier"* groups) are typically more prone to consider themselves in a stereotypical manner as well (partially reinforcing the traditional stereotypes), and they consider themselves to be bearers of assumed female traits (*"we women tend to be more…"*, *"women don't want that (to be leaders)"*, *"Women are not fit to lead…"* etc.). Gender stereotypes have been denied by the 4th group ("classical equality") the most, and – interestingly – the members of the "alternative" grouping do not identify the majority of known stereotypes as gender-specific. The recognition of these latter can already be seen in society, and can be explained by the phenomenon of norm violations, which tends to be more and more natural (*"The young adults (both men and women over 20) find this old, traditional division as an object of ridicule"*).

The analysis also let us conclude that the interviewees find gender identity and subjective value judgement to be a less important aspect in the field of natural and technical sciences. Objectivity (i.e. *more mathematico*) pushes the subject – and thereby the issue of gender – into the background. This is why female scholars tend to accept the existing set of rules created by men more in these areas, and do not intend to change them, nor introduce the specific female identity or point of view onto the playfield. Their assimilation supports the *status quo* from a certain perspective, meaning they paradoxically maintain gender stereotypes by entering a male-dominated field.

The phrasing female scholar has long been considered an oxymoron, the characteristics and roles defined and limited by gender were always arbitrarily attached to men and women. This is why the lack of footing in the academic field, the lack or fragmented nature of reinforcing norms – which has a determining presence to this day – has made the scientific self-articulation of women problematic in general. It is however apparent that the reasons behind the phenomenon have to be investigated from further aspects

in order to get a clearer picture. The sample on the other hand showed that differences mainly originate from how and to what extent female scholars can identify with women as a social cluster (*gender identity*). This question has created differences in spite of the similar background and level of education – which in many aspects isn't dissimilar to what can be considered generally true for women in the society.

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Constituting a New Archetype of Moroccan Female Detainees' Empowerment through Prison Theatre

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Introduction

The empowerment of the stigmatized and vulnerable groups is a debatable issue that Applied Theatre (AT) practitioners try hard to find fitting techniques and strategies to realize the objective of their emancipation and empowerment. Thakur (2013) argues that "the need-based approaches of theatre empower the marginalized people of grass root level" (p. 1). In order to empower the subalterns and subordinates, approaches of needs must be considered. It is required to examine the needs of these minorities in order to fill their socio economic and psychological gaps.

Today's society needs a special theatre, an art form that according to Coetzee & Barnes (2014) stands as a space for the liberation of the oppressed. The world needs a theatre where oppressors can also be turned into functioning operators in realizing emancipation rather than remaining perpetrators of oppression; even agents of oppression need to take part in the theatrical experience to participate in the liberation of the oppressed.

Prison Theatre is a social and artistic strategy that functions as ameans of entertainment, teaching, learning, development, and influence; it is a non-commercial theatre that serves the interests of detainees and leads to their individual and collective empowerment. However, despite of the many efforts that the Moroccan government and the NGO's have been doing to improve the situation and conditions of women in Morocco, incarcerated women still have lower status, enjoy less autonomy, and have restricted access to resources and services.

In fact, the Moroccan society is experiencing a problem with a minority of women; they are getting involved in crime, which leads to their imprisonment. The prison life

provides the detainees with a number of rehabilitation programs which include rehabilitation through creativity as well in order to reexamine the choices of prisoners and explore solutions to their problems.

The incarceration of women is attributed to the lack of job opportunities which is the leading factor in the development of crime among women in Morocco. Importantly, the lack of educational opportunities especially in the peripheries is another factor of women being involved in increasing the crime ratio. To elaborate, having low literacy skills, poor education, and lack of economic opportunities contribute to the exclusion of women and their deprivation from living with dignity; they, accordingly, break the law to have a better social level through practicing prostitution, witchcraft, superstition, drug trafficking, robbery, and other crimes.

If the Moroccan government and NGO agencies pay more attention to women and develop appropriate programs to support them within prisons, female detainees could reach a better future for themselves and for their families after their release. Governmental and nongovernmental programs and trainings play crucial roles in the development of the society and decrease the crime rate among former detainees.

Prison Theatre is a social tool that helps women particularly to develop learning and social skills that can enable them better understand their social reality; it also develops women's communicative skills which can, accordingly, help them take actions and actively interact within groups.

The effectiveness of this typology of theatre resides in its ability to help detainees learn how to act not with the objective of becoming actors but in the sense that "when they finish the activity they are participating; they are better prepared to take action in the real world" (Gonzales, 2016, p. 17). That is, the prisoners are equipped with mechanisms that encourage them take actions and do things instead of being passive participants. Consequently, Prison Theatre is a corrective method and an artistic technique that can be used in Moroccan prisons to rehabilitate and empower female prisoners; it is, in fact, a prevention method that allows the participants to better understand the system of oppression, comprehend their social reality, and appreciate their own worth. Women with their different belongings, origins, and backgrounds must receive a humane treatment and they should be given the same opportunity to have a direct participation in PT' projects.

Incarcerated women in Morocco are the least studied and researched groups. Many of the recent research conducted on women in Morocco concern issues related to home-entrepreneurship, poverty alleviation, the promotion of the life of women working in the informal sector, the trauma of single mothers, abortion between reality and prohibition, and other arguable issues. Unfortunately, female detainees have rarely been subjects of investigation. They are Moroccans who are left behind and ignored in research-based projects. We argue that their empowerment is important to ensure their safe reentry and reintegration into the society.

Female prisoners are under-researched in Morocco though they are the most marginalized group. Many people consider them as criminals and not victims; they do not, consequently, merit any support or empowerment. However, they are victims of a prison space that is basically designed for men and also dominated by men. Therefore, the government often fails to address the various issues of female detainees as they form just a minority. Consequently, female prisoners confront barriers that are challenging during their incarceration

and immediately after their release. In this regard, it is much needed to find out approaches that endorse the successful reintegration and empowerment of this category of detainees.

Female detainees' conditions and socio-economic circumstances worth to be examined and their empowerment should be approached by different means. The following sub-section will present the life cycle of four informants who participated in a theatre based project entitled *M'bark W Messaaoud* during their incarceration, with the aim of demonstrating the extent to which Prison Theatre can be used as a strategy of empowerment. Prison Theatre, in the context of this study, is taken as one of the strategies of empowerment of female prisoners. Before analyzing the data of the Narrative Interviews (NI), the subsequent sub-section will provide a description of the data gathering procedure, coding, and analysis.

Data Gathering Procedure and Coding

This investigation is significant and might make an important contribution to form a healthy and well protected community that women prisoners are part of. In fact, this study is needed because there is a scarcity of studies at both the international and national levels tackling the issue of female detainees' empowerment through Prison Theatre as a typology of Applied Theatre. It is necessary to examine the silenced voice of the prison population, namely that of women.

The issue of the empowerment of ex-female detainees through the canon of Prison Theatre needs to be explored not from a statistical point of view. A Narrative Interview (NI) is, accordingly used, to collect data that help in understanding the process and manifestations of female detainee's empowerment. The NI enables identifying the possible relationship between participation in PT and women's empowerment. It also attempts to give voice to the stories told by participants of *M'bark w Messaaoud* (a three- month long Prison Theatre project) that started in 2018 and still performed in Morocco.

To come up with a scientific analysis, it was essential to identify the suitable approach that can be used to analyze the data gathered by means of a Narrative Interview as a source of qualitative data, from two former female prisoners. The data gathered were subject to a thematic analysis of real stories to demonstrate the complexity of the issue.

The Narrative Inquiry (NI) was an appropriate choice that helped in gaining insightful data about the participants' experiences before and while imprisonment, and after their release. The informants who are the subject of this analysis were given an opportunity to share their stories regarding their engagement in Prison Theatre and disclose the different transformations that took place in their identity, lives, choices, decisions, etc.

The informants were requested to participate in this study by providing narratives about their life stages: before and during imprisonment, and after their post release phase. The choice to interview these two female participants out of seven was purposeful. They were chosen to enrich the study with their narratives which reflect the extent to which Prison Theatre contributed in change-creation in the life of these former incarcerated women especially after their release.

Much importance is given to the quality of stories that are individually recounted by each participant. Narrative interviews were conducted from February to May 2019.

The informants were encouraged to tell stories about their experiences in interviews which lasted between 75 to 90 minutes. They were recorded, transcribed, translated from Moroccan Arabic into English and the stories were subject to a narrative thematic analysis.

In the narrative interview, we tried to compel structures to ease the data gathering by selecting the major themes and the topics, ordering the questions from the most important to the least important, and wording the questions in the language of the informants. Therefore, Moroccan Arabic was used from the very beginning of the NI to cover the different themes and topics of the investigation.

The Narratives' Analysis

The stories of the two prisoners (Z. B and N. E) contain data related to their path before and after the theater experience; the stories contain also important data that concern the effect of theatre experience on these women during and after their imprisonment.

The data is related to their social, psychological, and economic life before and after their detention; it also indicates the extent to which theater experience in prison helped them move from the state of disempowerment to the state of empowerment; it additionally highlights the great effect of prison theatre on a variety of aspects related to their personal lives.

Based on a Narrative Inquiry (NI), the narratives demonstrated that the engagement of (Z. B and N. E, for confidentiality purposes only initials are used) in Prison Theatre activities offered the participants opportunities to discover a lot of good and meaningful life lessons. The self-esteem, confidence, and hope they gained through participation in theatre-based activities during their incarceration soon were translated into feelings of pleasure, empowerment, and pride.

Prison variable is a significant stage and a critical juncture in the process of the informants' empowerment; it is an important phase as it creates radical changes in their lives. That is, when we compare the informants' socio-economic conditions before their imprisonment and after, we come to the conclusion that the practice of theatre within prison is a factor which affects the social, psychological, and economic facets of those women.

Accordingly, their narratives provide data regarding the process of their empowerment. The informants' life cycle is taken into consideration to have an understanding to the major changes in their life standards; it is useful, in this regard, to deal with each stage of the interview's life to evoke factors, indicators, and signs related to the nature and quality of their lives, and the strategies they used to manage crisis. The subsequent sub-section portrays the general background of the informants.

Understanding the Pre-imprisonment Context

It is noticed that the informants' description of the pre-imprisonment phase is characterized by having three common concerns in which they greatly intersect, which are the family milieu, education, and the psychological state.

In this regard, this sub-section provides a thematic analytical account of the living circumstances that the two detainees involved in the study had encountered and experienced before the imprisonment phase. The themes are related to the major living conditions of the young female informants wherein they were vulnerable to poverty, exclusion, inequality, and violence.

In fact, the detainees' life was not that rosy before their incarceration; their world was not well-appointed because the opportunity simply did not exist. They are all daughters of what is statistically classified as "large size poor families" and are joined by the shared experiences of poverty and socio-economic injustice.

Though their living characteristics and circumstances may differ from each other, the detainees' social context remains almost the same with regard to their family background, financial status, occupation and level of education. The two participants are poorly-educated with no certificate that would enable them to be decently employed. As such, low education, unemployment, poverty, and social inequality had dramatically led the informants to prison where they were at least pretty lucky to transform all the socio-economic disadvantages into some positive personal outcomes thanks to Prison Theatre.

In view of that, the pre-imprisonment phase was as harsh as the detention period since the detainees, being from the most marginal groups in society, were also the most vulnerable category to suffer in silence. Through Narrative interviews with the formerly incarcerated informants, they demonstrated to be all victims of financial and educational deficiency. Z. B and N. E were not able to receive a high school diploma and were forced to look for alternative job opportunities in the informal sector. The primary piece of the issue is the social and economic inequalities that have contributed to fewer quality educational and occupational chances for the pre-incarcerated informants which have kept them in a peripheral state and driven them to prison.

Z. B, in this regard, is a young lady from the outskirts of Marrakech who was misleadingly imprisoned being convicted of a crime she did not commit. Z's illiteracy, as she dropped out for school at an early age, made her fall easy prey to the falsified alleges of her mother in law who intensely abhorred her for no reason leading her to jail. Z's misery started when she was forced to end her formal education and get married without her consent. Child marriage is a cultural tradition that still exists in Morocco, especially in rural areas where girls are considered a financial and cultural 'burden' on their families that should be transferred to the husband.

Belonging to a poor socio-economic background, Z's father saw in her marriage the best option that would ease his financial hardships and secure his daughter's economic future life. Moreover, upholding patriarchal values like many rural fathers, he believed that early marriage is the most important step towards giving his daughter her status as a wife and as a mother and thus saving her from remaining unmarried the rest of her life as most men in the region prefer younger girls to older ones. In this vein Z explained:

My father didn't see any value in my education. For him the best place for any girl is in her husband's house cooking, bearing and rearing. He thought that by doing so he would protect me from adultery and spinsterhood. The choice was made by my father and I couldn't disapprove it (8th April, 2019. Tangier).

Z's marriage had jeopardized her life, and subjected her to a variety of physical, mental, and psychological distress. Soon after her marriage, her husband had to travel to seek work hundreds of miles apart leaving her behind in his parents' house. Z's mother in law did not accept her as a member of her own extended family and was deliberately mistreating her despite the latter's attempts to please her. The informant stated:

> My mother in law hated me for coming from a low-class lineage. She was frequently stirring up needless trouble which usually turned into aggressive quarrels. Though she was a control freak and a wicked commanding figure, I had never imagined that she could fabricate fake claims to land me in jail (8th March, 2019. Tangier).

Z. B was accused of helping one of the neighbors to rape her mother in-law's niece. She was astonished by the well-manipulated claims the woman said at the court which even the justice system failed to detect as lies. The unloved daughter- in law was, accordingly, sentenced to five years prison on a charge she knew nothing about. As more memories came back to Z's mind, now twenty five years old, she regretted the day she abandoned her education blaming all the circumstances and cultural norms that drove her to do. She wished she could be brave enough to object her father, refused the marriage, and stayed at school.

In fact, educated girls develop skills, knowledge, and confidence to make informed decisions including their life choices and future. Being educated opens more opportunities for decent employability and lessens the chances into a life of drug abuse, delinquency or theft. This is what N. E admitted while unfolding her story of incarceration.

N. E is a young girl in her twenties from Oujda who was also victim of poverty, patriarchy, cultural norms and social injustice. Her ignorant and conservative family did not accept her non-heterosexual orientation, rejected and expelled her from the house hence, ceasing her from all financial, moral and psychological support. N. E detailed:

> Since the age of puberty, I discovered that I was romantically and physically attracted to girls. This fact was brutally disallowed by my parents who repudiated and considered me dead. Being invalidated by my family, I had only the street to resort to. Homeless and destitute, I was engaged in many physical attacks and armed robberies that was described as 'aggravated assaults' by the police; I, therefore, was prosecuted to different prison sentences" (27th February, 2019, Marrakech).

N's life behind the prison's bars was tolerated; the girl at least had a shelter to live under and some food to eat and was purposely arrested to return to. She was put in jail seven times, most of which was intentional to satisfy her sexual drive for women. N had also developed some great friendships with fellow inmates and prison consultants who helped her understand her different sexual orientation and guided her to mentally and psychologically accept and coexist with her "gender dysphoria", which refers to the conflict between a person's physical or assigned gender and the gender with which he/she/they identify, which she approved and debated along with LGBTQ convicts in prison theatre.

In fact, being straight, homosexual or transsexual is not something that people choose or work to acquire. No one fully understands exactly what determines his/her

sexual orientation, but it is more determined by a variety of biological, genetic, and psychological factors. N now views her sexual orientation as part of her nature and is totally convinced to express her identity as a man through revealing her true self. N who preferred to be called Nabil (a male name) stated:

> My experience in prison had helped me validate my gender identity-shifting as a male, though still incomplete for medical and legal issues. I work now as a fish vendor, a job that I professionally master breaking all the boundaries that could prevent me from entering what is socio-culturally presumed as a male-dominated sector (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh)

N. E identified herself as a man and tried to express her male-identity in a way that would make her feel comfortable including clothes, conducts, gestures, and voice tone. The only thing that still bothers her is people's reaction as she still cannot fulfill a masculine fluid presentation. She hoped that she could have enough money to do a gender-affirming surgery. As for her family, N wished her parents and relatives could have coped with her gender disorder and tolerated the traumatic experience she had to undergo. She still loves them and understands the shame and stigmatization they felt causing them to let her down. The informant declared:

> I can't blame my conservative and ignorant parents for the depression and harm I experienced when they ejected me from home at the age of 13 and not supported me at that difficult time. They knew nothing about gender-dysphoria and so they were not able to handle the situation in a society that condemns gender disorder and considers it as an atypical gender behavior (27th February, 2019, Merrakesh).

To conclude, the pre-imprisonment phase of the four formerly-incarcerated detainees was as harsh as their custodial experience since they were subject to a variety of cultural, social, psychological, and economic hardships which have all affected their life and led them to prison. The following sub-section presents a thematic account on the incarceration phase both before the practice of theatre and after.

The Prison Phase Particularities

During the prison phase, the informants experienced two contradictory periods: the first one was hard and unbearable because of the girls' inability to put up with the prison conditions while the second one was important in their life cycle. The following provides a thematic analysis of two distinctive phases the informants lived in prison during their incarceration: pre-theatre practice and post.

Pre-theatre Practice

During the first phase of the informants' detention, they lived a difficult psychological state, which was embodied in falling into depression, inability to coexist with other

prisoners, feelings of alienation, thinking about committing suicide, attempting to have homosexual relations, and refusing to adapt with the situation. These are some of the aspects which show the informants' difficulty to integrate into prison life.

The prison is a terrible world that deprives its dwellers their freedom and identities as well; prisoners are no longer free and they are given numbers as an alternative way to identify them as long as they are incarcerated. It is a complex system of power relationship that has its distinctive culture. Z. B declared that the penitentiary institution is "a place I hadn't studied in my school curricula and had never heard about it through the stories people used to share in my area". She described herself like a child when discovering any new item or sound. The prison for her was "a world teeming with smoke, smell of cannabis, and noise; most of its women find pleasure in smoking and exchanging talks about what has happened and what will happen; the reason why they entered the prison and how they will face their fate after their release". The major anxiety of female detainees, according to the informant, was their life quality after their release; therefore, most of their talk is in the form of narrations of the reason behind their imprisonment and the effect of incarceration on their lives and families. Female detainees kept talking about the way to overcome the stigma of being a prisoner and the means to earn their living in a society that excludes and marginalizes them.

N.E is an informant whose journey of detention begun very early when she was thirteen, and the number of times she was thrown in prison reached 7 incarcerations. She admitted that:

> Many violations were committed on my part, including robbery, unjustified carrying of weapons, drug dealing and trafficking, drinking alcohol, homosexuality, and other violations. The longest sentence I received was a year and a half (18 months in duration) due to physical attack and armed robbery (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh).

The prison life for the informant was not new and shocking, she stated that all of her penalties were "received with a generous chest because being in prison or outside was exactly the same, especially when my family repeatedly refused my return to the house" (27th February, 2019. Marrakesh). James Baldwin once claims that "the most dangerous creature of any society is the man who has nothing to lose". Life in prison or outside meant exactly the same thing for the informant since she had nothing to care about: no family, no job, no values, and no stability. She was an example of those women who live with easy money and never care about their future or reputation. She was living in the darkness of criminality without any feelings of guilt or shame. Her main struggle in life was to find somewhere to live in, some food to eat, and some money to buy her daily needs which included drugs as well. The world of criminality receives the young girl with too much generosity; she was very fresh to think about the results of her deeds and her immunity against crime was very weak as she was homeless and surrounded by the most victimized and disadvantaged groups.

N.E expressed that she knows a lot about Moroccan prisons; she was put in different prison institutions in various Moroccan cities such as: Casablanca, Oujda, Fes, Kenitra, etc. The informant declared that:

In some prisons, I was put with female adults, even though I was a juvenile, due to the lack of institutions for juveniles in these cities, and I cite, for example, the prison of Oujda. Being with detainees who were older than I was had given me the opportunity to meet many women, some of whom had practiced prostitution; some others had been imprisoned for murder, and trafficking in drugs, etc. I had heard many stories that later became an inspiration for me to commit more crime and return to prison to have a shelter (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh).

The informant's numerous detentions give an idea about the conditions of female prisons in Morocco and the effect of mixing different age categories within the same penitentiary institution in raising the rate of crime in Morocco.

The informant affirmed that her prison experiences were similar, during which she used to do nothing special, just: eating, drinking, working, and sleeping. Still, life in prison was marked by a number of physical attacks because of the informant's sexual tendency; "being in prison with girls increased my sexual desire to women. Many times, I was beaten severely by women prisoners when disclosing my feelings towards them" N. E posits. The informant tried to have love and sexual relations with female detainees who violently reacted to stop her lust.

Z. B, the other informant, expressed that when she was imprisoned because of a crime she had not committed, she felt frustrated by the injustice she encountered. She sadly stated that she had never expected that "cruelty and abuse can transcend humanity and contribute to depriving someone freedom, and depriving a mother of her baby" (8th April, 2019, Tangier). The informant used to suffer a lot from the ill-treatment of her mother in law who caused her imprisonment. Mother in law and daughter in law relations have always been heated issues across the globe that are less scientifically discussed. The relation between these two women specifically is relatively ambiguous and not clear; it has always been a source of trouble to many women like the case of the informant.

Z. B suffered also from the discrimination of her husband who believed and sympathized with his mother. The man did not even support his wife in her ordeal and visited her only once during her custody. The fact of not being supported led to the informant's chronic depression. She said:

During my first year in prison, I wanted neither to shower, nor to change my clothes, nor to speak to female prisoners. My failure to talk to my cell-mates brought me a lot of troubles and problems. My psychological state and my depression urged the social workers Lalla Aziza and Mr. Abdel Fattah Al-Farihi, in Al-Wadaya Prison, to dedicate me a lot of time to make me integrate with the rest of the prisoners. They also struggled a lot to help me move to another cell so that I could create relationships with educated female prisoners who might be able to help me accept the situation (8th April, 2019, Tangier).

The informant alienated herself from everything that concerns her as a human being. Therefore, she needed a lot of efforts to cope up with the situation and integrate with the other detainees whom she considered "women of another world".

Soon later, Z. B assumed that being in a dungeon with educated women and listening to them when they were discussing issues, opened her mind a little bit, and she started to accept the situation little by little. She, accordingly, "succeeded in obtaining two diplomas, the first in sewing and the second one in carpets manufacturing. My only concern when attending the trainings was to forget about what happened to me even for a while". Z. B refuged to vocational trainings as a way to occupy herself and stop thinking that much about the injustice and malice of her mother in law. The trainings allowed the informant to work on her professional profile instead of being passive crying the past.

In sum, the informants provided a rich data base through their narratives about their early life in prisons. It is a fact that the informants have different backgrounds, misdemeanors, and penalties. They, however, expressed that they experienced dissimilar hardships in their early time in prison that include: injustice, discrimination, submission, stigmatization, fear, anxiety, stress, alienation, uncertainty and other feelings of pessimism.

The following sub-section attempts to provide a well-constructed thematic analysis about the informants' experience of practicing theatre in prison. It attempts to highlight the major transformations theater practice has created in the personality of these informants.

Manifestations of Empowerment in Post-Release Phase

The present section attempts to analyze and interpret the data gathered by means of Narrative Interviews; it seeks to demonstrate the manifestations of empowerment at the personal, interpersonal, psychological, and economic levels. This thematic analysis aims at revealing the effectiveness of PT on the reintegration and empowerment of the informants.

It is known in our Moroccan culture that the prison is a horrific place that is undesirable by nature and whoever gets into that institution never gets out of it. To explain, any former detainee is always imprisoned in the gaze of contempt, detestation, and social rejection; even the closest people of the prisoner do not accept and reject his/her return to the family.

The overall narratives portray that the informants benefited a lot from the practice of theatre during their incarceration. The general effects were basically apparent at the social, psychological, and financial levels.

The following sub section aims at revealing the outcomes of the informant's participation in prison during their detention and how it affects their success at the micro (social integrity and inclusion) and macro (economic stability and financial independence) levels.

Female Detainees Empowerment at the Social level

At the social perspective, the informants were largely affected by their participation in theatre workshops, dramatic exercises, and theoretical discussion of different aspects.

N. E was, however, able to change her opinions, attitudes, aptitudes, and "actitudes" in a very short period of time. She smilingly narrated:

When I was released from prison, for the first time after 7 years, I was able to return to my family's home. This wouldn't have been easy if Mr. El Aadouani had not contacted my father and invited him to attend the performance of *M'bark w Messaaoud* at Mohammed the Fifth Theater during my imprisonment. My father's attendance was a great opportunity for reconciliation to take place (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh).

The informant's last incarceration was an exceptional event in her life. The girl was brutally expelled from the house at the age of thirteen because of her gender dysphoria and identity disorder. She thought that being with her family again after seven years of homelessness was a dream that would be difficult to fulfill; "without the intervention of Mr. Rashid Ali El-Aadouani (the facilitator of the project), I would have never had the chance to be with my family" (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh). The informant's return to live with the family requires a lot of efforts from the young girl; she tried hard to live a stable life. The informant enthusiastically recounted:

I had to work on improving my reputation and relationship with my family and my surroundings as a whole. I had to do my best in order not to get exposed to the street and crime again. I didn't hesitate even for a while to practice any craft to earn *halal* money without resorting to theft. It was difficult at first, given that I used to have easy money. But I was committed to a promise I made to my brother Rachid, who, even after I got out of prison, was a great brother and teacher to whom I resorted to in every moment of weakness (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh).

The practice of theatre as a collective art reminded the informant (N. E) about the gatherings of family and the sense of collectivism; most of her narrations were about her early days with her parents, sisters, and brothers. She narrated, "many of my improvisation and dialogues were about my family, the years I spent with them, and the confrontations I had with my father" (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh). The girl's flashback is distinct by unforgettable moments and events which stacked into her memory and became part of her daily narrations. The friendly atmosphere she found in theatre workshops, the way she was welcomed, and the humane treatment she received helped her correct her relationship with her family. After her release, the informant decided to work hard to earn her living and support herself without committing crimes to live; she decided to control her behavior to live in social peace and in order not to be driven out. In this respect, N. E managed to restore her social stability thanks to the feelings she developed in the workshops and the support of the facilitator.

Z. B has also witnessed a lot of changes at the social level. It is a reality that transformation in the life-quality of the informant began in prison during her incarceration. However, the informant's life knew a fundamental change immediately after her release; Z. B Narrated:

Immediately after my discharge from *Lewedaya* prison in Marrakech, my parents and I went to spend the night at my uncle's house in Marrakech. There, I told them

about my decision to get my divorce. My father sweat and my mom's features seemed to change. After a long discussion, silence prevailed, and then my father uttered (I was afraid of hearing a prisoner, now you want me to hear a divorced!). My uncle realistically interfered and asserted that divorce must take place at the earliest time to avoid any undesirable consequences (8th April, 2019, Tangier).

The informant's five years of imprisonment has made of her a lady able to decide by herself. She no longer tolerates her father's judgments and decisions; the woman has become more able to criticize the patriarchal structure which led to her ordeal. She gained more self-confidence and self-assurance to discuss her personal life choices in public without fearing the reaction of others. For her, the cultural norms of Moroccan country sides should be revisited because they are "source of troubles". She sarcastically asked "why and how should I return to hell and misery? Should I do that because I have a son or because I am a former prisoner or because I have nothing to eat?" (8th April, 2019, Tangier).

The informant continued saying "I'm still young and I can support my son's needs and even my family's; they need just to trust me". She expressed that she well understands the feelings of her father and his worries; however, the young girl thinks that even her father needs to understand that she is "a newly born person who can choose" (8th April, 2019, Tangier).

A few months after her release, Z. B got her divorce, which she considered a new birth, and the first day to embrace freedom. She said

The divorce I got was the real freedom I have ever had. I happily joined a plastic-shoe company in Marrakech two days after, but I was unable to continue working there because of the remoteness of the company and our village. I couldn't support to be far from my son anymore (8th April, 2019, Tangier).

The informant recognized that she needed to work to be financially rewarded in order to be able to support her son and herself. Working was a means to enhance her usefulness and a way to structure a new social identity.

As a conclusion, the social life of the informants has been largely affected at the personal and interpersonal levels mutually. The former prisoners managed to create a new profile for themselves that makes it possible for them to promote their social relations especially with their family and surroundings in general and their fathers and husbands in particular. The informants' position in the social structure has been also enhanced and they have become able to make personal choices and contribute in decision making.

Female Detainees' Empowerment at the Psychological Level

Not only the social life of the informants was massively affected, but their psychological state was also bettered. N. E, in this view, assumed that she healed her wounds by "taking advantage of the depth of the wounds of others prisoner's experiences". The

theatrical experience the woman had during her incarceration and her participation in theatre performances after her release provided her more prospects to discover the traumas and ordeals of other male and female prisoners. The informant assumed that "the narrations and stories of the other participants were originally factual and painful at the same time; in many workshops I just had my tears to express my great sympathy with my friends. Life was very harsh to them and hurting a lot". She posited that life was crueler with her mates than it was with her; "I realized that my problem was very small and not worthy at all and I used to feel well every time I cried; it was like cleaning my heart". N. E is an example of a female prisoner who could have indirect therapy sessions to heal her depression and distress.

Z. B's proactive participation in theatre during her incarceration was beneficial at the psychological level. She recounted: "I managed to defeat anguish, increase confidence, and forget about revenge. Today I am more self-confident and I am charged with positive attitudes" (8th April, 2019, Tangier). The informant's life was not trouble-free and comfortable; her early-age marriage and the malice of her mother in law left the deepest scars in the heart and mind of Z. B. She, however, managed to learn a lot through improvisation, dialogues, spontaneity, and other theatrical exercises. Accordingly, the woman succeeded to reduce her anxiety and apprehension and she became able to emancipate herself from silence, submissiveness, and avenge. Therefore, the informant, revolted against the social norms that the culture designates for her as a poor country side woman who is a hopeless and jobless former detainee. However, she recognized her self-worth and esteem and goes beyond what her father expects her to do.

In short, female detainees have taken advantage of PT to increase their socio-economic empowerment and gain psychological empowerment too. To demonstrate, participation in theatre has offered the informants a practical platform and a more appropriate arena to frequently test their communicative amelioration. They have become able to take control of themselves, defend their choices, and redefine their shaken identities, and importantly gain a sense of belonging and visibility.

Female Detainees' Empowerment at the Economic Level

It is a fact that prison sentences restrict women's choices, shake their self-worth and confidence, and limit their freedom. Theatre workshops, fortunately, provided contextual discussions to challenge patriarchal norms and dispute stereotypes which undermine women's abilities and competencies. The beneficiaries have taken good advantage of the overall theoretical discussions they had in prison and have approached their life after prison in a way that guarantees their emancipation from cultural norms and promoted their visibility and independence.

Moroccan Female detainee's reintegration is still disturbed by social and cultural factors which prevent them, accordingly, to enjoy full emancipation, inclusion, and empowerment. The informants who previously participated in a leading theatre-based experience in Morocco (2018) portrayed that both theatre activities and discussions with experts in different fields like theatre, psychology, and sociology helped them a lot in increasing their self-confidence and awareness to become who they are today.

The informant's ability to generate economic revenues is an outcome of the different approaches used in Prison Theatre aiming primarily at the social change of the detainees. That is, Prison Theatre provided prisoners strategies and approaches that can help them rebuild independent identities and increase their agency to enhance their well-being.

An empowered female detainee, in the context of this study, is any former prisoner who has a good assimilation of her own power and capacities; she is a person with a well-defined identity and a high self-esteem who can take decisions and use her skills to change her life into better.

The informants who contributed in this study have managed to enjoy a high level of empowerment thanks to their financial independence, control over their lives, and self-reliance.

Z. B, for instance, expressed that she learned a lot from her experience in prison. She narrated:

> Prison has provided us with a great opportunity to improve our life standards and gain appropriate knowledge that can help us change our attitudes and live with respect and dignity. I do advise all women even illiterate ones to create a profile that can help them gain financial autonomy to live with dignity even through selling home-made food on streets (8th April, 2019, Tangier)

The informant assumed that the amount of knowledge she got from the workshops increased her awareness about the importance of self-reliance, financial independence, and agency. Z. B managed, consequently, to challenge disadvantage and submissiveness. Her visibility in the theatrical performances made her able to challenge cultural norms and stand against her father saying "I'm not a jinni to get out from the house only by nights in order not to be seen by the neighbors" (8th April, 2019, Tangier). She, then, asserted:

> When I stopped working in the plastic shoe-company, I decided to be more audacious and repair the traditional oven that my father used to work in. I'm now the owner of *Al Farran* (the traditional oven). I worked in the men's craft because I grew up with this business, and I hope I'll succeed in performing this job despite its difficulty". (8th April, 2019, Tangier)

Throughout her experience, Z. B came to the conclusion that:

> An independent and successful woman is not necessarily a well-educated and rich beautiful lady; even a former prisoner and an ordinary woman can be successful in her business with the little education and competence she has. Female prisoners need just a second chance and encouragement to discover their inner potentials (8th April, 2019, Tangier).

In the same context, N.E also expressed her pride and satisfaction; she passionately went saying:

> With simple skills and relatively weak capital, which I had earned through theater in prison, I was able to have my own business. I can, accordingly, earn my living;

I learned patience and the art of persuasion. The sums of money I got out of my participation in the artistic project helped me obtain my daily necessities that no one would give me in the prison. It also helped me rent a small shop in the city's central market in Oujda after my release. With very few equipment, I was able to have a fish cleanout shop. My male physical appearance, look, haircut, and masculine clothes helped me succeed in this men's craft.

It is a business that a woman wouldn't have thought of. However, I chose it because it doesn't require much capital. I gained a lot of clients because of the position of the store which is located in the market's center. My customers appreciate my quick and excellent cleanout of the fish. Many of them sympathize with my situation, especially those who are aware that I am a girl not a boy (27th February, 2019, Marrakesh).

This modest business helped the informant get all of her daily requirements and even made her able to help her family with their daily expenses.

It can be deduced that the financial independence of the former female detainees can stand as a wide-ranging and encouraging strategy for the informant's empowerment as it offers them more opportunities take risks and decisions without resorting to crime and corruption. The informants proved able to create their own enterprises and generate noticeable financial independence. Their economic stability helped them better understand their competence, power, and agency. They were, consequently, able to challenge gender-based biases, patriarchal ideologies, and gender stereotypes that most female detainees still encounter in their everyday life.

In this respect, theatre within prison institutions offers female detainees an important source of money which helped them start up their own businesses after their release. They showed high skills in combating their poverty, gender discrimination, and gender stereotypes. The nature of the business they chose for themselves helped them avoid a number of problems which Moroccan women generally suffer from in the work place like unequal payment, sexual harassment, less job opportunities, discrimination, etc. They managed to independently run their business and without any stressing and bossy decisions.

Conclusion

The paper provides new interpretations of female former prisoners' presence in work place. It portrays the extent to which female former prisoners were able to use their voices, express their choices, have their own decisions, and set up their own businesses. This would not happen of course without the efforts of the General Delegation, Ministry of Culture, and civil society organizations to ensure equal participation of current and former prisoners in socio-economic life. A number of transformations were manifested in the lives of the female prisoners after their release and embracement of freedom. The informants acknowledged that their social, psychological, and economic conditions have radically transformed, thanks to the effect of theater on their values, behaviors and

attitudes. On the social level, we found that the female prisoners made different choices; N. D, for example, managed to handle her sexual abnormalities in a balanced calm and rational way. Z. B decided to have a new marriage experience to correct her personal path and have her own family.

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Part III

IMPRISONMENT
AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

Evaluating the Effect of 'Prison Break' on Audience Perception of Prison and Incarceration

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Introduction

Television receives criticism for its portrayal of violence and aggression and the role which it plays in exacerbating social violence. There is room for further appraisal of television's effect on youth, with scholars continuing to speculate if watching television change attitude or behaviors? This is made even more significant as serials and films shown on television appear to take on a greater role in portrayal of hitherto socially disliked phenomena, to the point of seemingly glorifying crime, violence and life in prisons. This study takes place at the intersection of American popular culture with Nigerian televison audiences. While American television drama has never lacked critical and scholarly interpretation, this study is distinctive in looking at it as a received product for Nigerian television audiences.

Hiebert and Gibbons (2000) acknowledge that individuals now have more viewing choices than ever before in deciding how to spend their time with television. That point can be extended internationally, including the reception of American drama on African screens. With the explosion of cable programming channels, many different genres of programming are competing for niche market audiences. This paper seeks to provide an understanding of the level of influence of television serials focusing on prison life on the

perception of prisons by youths. The study is cross cultural, examining an African population's reactions to American popular culture. A survey was carried out on a population of selected youths in Nigeria, to evaluate the effect of *Prison Break* on the participants' perception of incarceration, thus creating further understanding of the extent of media effects on audiences.

The study itself was conducted in two stages on a total "youth" population of 720 people. Youth, for the sake of this study means people aged between 15–30 years, as adapted from the United Nations' definition. Where the United Nations deems a youth to be between the ages of 15–24, the Nigeria 2009 Action Youth Policy defines a youth as between 18–30 years. We therefore conclude that a youthful population falls between 15–30 years old.

The study

To gain insight into the role and extent to which television portrayal of incarceration impacts on the consciousness and perceptual acceptance among young audiences, a survey was conducted among youth audiences in six states across South West and South South Nigeria. Selection was based on their interest and willingness to be (re)exposed to *Prison Break* for a designated period and to answer questions via a paper-based questionnaire. An initial 851 persons indicated interest to take part in the study; however some respondents opted out of the process and this number was reduced to 809 by the end of the first month, 779 at the end of the ninth week and 731 at the end of the fifth month. 11 respondents declined to take the questionnaire at the end of the viewing sessions.

In the first stage of the study, the random respondents were invited to participate by sharing their opinion on the prison system in Nigeria, as well as their views on *Prison Break* and what effect, if any, it has on their understanding or perception of the prison institution in Nigeria. In short, we sought perspectives of our own system, mediated by the pervasive influence of another country's popular culture. Once a significant number had indicated interest, the research proceeded to the second level, ensuring that the participants were familiar with the series, regardless of whether or not they had previously watched it.

In the second stage of the study, the respondents were exposed to all five seasons and 90 episodes of *Prison Break* in groups of 10 over a period of five months. The viewing sessions often involved showing one or two episodes in sequence, with up to three or four episodes showing occasionally on weekends. Participants who missed up to three viewing sessions in a row or four episodes in a row were required to "catch-up" before moving onto subsequent episodes. This caused this stage of the study to run into 25 weeks (five months) rather than the projected 21 weeks (four months).

Participants in the study also indicated some level of interest in the criminal justice system in Nigeria as well as the prison institution especially. They were thus able to take a survey via a paper questionnaire on the subject matter of the study. In the last viewing session of each group, participants were issued the questionnaire and were required to answer the questions and return the questionnaire at a final meeting of all participants.

The reason for this study

Osude, Ugbor, Anuna and Ogu (2015) assert that the main aim of establishing prison institutions in every country, including Nigeria, is to provide a rehabilitation and correctional facility for those who have broken the law. However, the extent to which that goal is reached in practice has been the subject of controversy, hence the need for this study. While the management and population of prison and incarceration institutions have been focus of research, especially in the last three decades. Tubex (2015) shows that prison populations have continued to grow consistently, which means that more people go to prison and prisons have continued to be over populated and strained by poor management and infrastructure. This confluence of concerns has led to a boom in research analyzing this phenomenon from the outside of the prison institutions which also implies that there is greater public knowledge and awareness of the overpopulated prisons, even in Nigeria (Hawley, Murphy, & Souto-Otero, 2013; Maculan, Ronco, & Vianello, 2013).

Conducting (qualitative) prison research from the inside is increasingly facing challenges. Cheatwood (1998) provided insight into the situation of life in prison as portrayed by film and television. Film and television do present with different levels of impact. Heavers stresses that the increasing appearance of prison and prisoners on television does not take away the fact that motion pictures continue to remain the "primary medium that has created and supported popular images of what incarceration is, and this is a role [they] have filled since their inception" (p. 210).

There is then the question whether the existing state of penal populism and penal correction should have some sort of effect on television and film production of life in incarceration. This view is rejected by Mason (2006) who argues in favor of film industry's "construction of incarceration…in Foucauldian terms as a discursive practice...fixing the meaning of imprisonment within a particular discourse at a particular time" (p. 194) is sorely lacking. By this he means that while research on prison films has been on the rise, there remains a deficiency in scholarship, which he considers is "theoretically lightweight... [and] reductive, offering little more than narrative description with no attempt critically to engage with epistemologies" (Mason, 2006, p. 194).

This present research is again necessitated by the fact that film and television do not contain sufficient actual or real life substance to give scholars room for deeper analysis of the narratives inherent in the films as compared to the influence of the content on the target audience. However, there is already a perception that media portrayals of prison are more often than not based on fact or truth, and often give actual public insight into the reality of life behind bars. Rafter (2006) accepts this possibility, although this is not a universal opinion as others suggest that media representation of prison and those held in prison is often a reflection of what society already makes of prison as an institution and the people in prison (Cheatwood, 2006). Cheatwood actually asserts that the media representations of prison "are almost pure 'morality plays' that allow us to see the optimism or pessimism society holds toward the 'system' and toward 'individuals' at that time" when the production is made (p. 210). If that is the case, there is significant argument to be made for or against the efficacy of media representation of prisons on the knowledge, understanding and perception of prison as an institution by members of the public. This, in short, is what this endeavor seeks to establish.

TV and Film Representation of Prison in Nigeria

Despite its tremendous growth over the last two decades, the Nigerian movie and television industry "Nollywood", is still in competition with movie industries in other countries, including its American counterpart, more particularly in the production of television serials. This is not unusual (Stevenson, 1999) as it is a natural fallout of the media globalization that has taken foreign cultures into remote societies. The majority of the respondents in the study also substantiate the above assertion by affirming that they prefer watching American movies (Hollywood) and foreign serials than watching Nigerian productions (Nollywood). In that regard, 39.0% of the respondents asserted that they prefer watching Hollywood (American) movies, 27.2% of the respondents indicated that they prefer Bollywood (Indian) movies,15.7% of the respondents indicated that they prefer Hallyuwood (Korean) movies (Hallyuwood is the name of the Korean Movie industry, which is one the film producing nations whose content is available to and popular among the Nigerian audience), 13.3% of the respondents indicated that they prefer to watch Nollywood (Nigerian) movies while 4.7% of the respondents answered that they preferred Ghallywood (see Table 2).

Nollywood though is regarded as the oldest and strongest film industry in Africa, as well as the third biggest in the world in term of production output behind the American film industry (Hollywood) and the Indian film industry (Bollywood). Since its early years of television soap operas (such as *Tales by Moonlight*, *Cock Crow at Dawn* and *Jaguar*) to the first major film success of the industry (*Things Fall Apart*, the 1971 film adaptation of Chinua Achebe's book of the same name), the industry has grown in leaps and bounds. The productiveness, talent and diversification of Hollywood is seen in the fact that Nollywood actors and actresses have featured in some Hollywood productions. There have been and are ongoing collaborations between American movie producers and their Nigerian counterparts to produce movies that tell Nigerian stories in a Nigerian way. And yet, Hollywood remains dominant, explaining this study's resort to a popular American series.

The movies of Nigerian producers such as Kemi Adetiba, Kunle Afonlayan and Amaka Igwe have received international acclaim in recent years, a pointer to the level of evolution recorded in the industry. In 2018, the movie, *Lionheart* became the first Nollywood movie to be acquired by Netflix before release. It was premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival and was positively reviewed. Nollywood also inspired the birth of Ghallywood (Ghana movie industry), and was instrumental in its structure and establishment.

In terms of production, Nollywood produces different genres of movies to suit the categories of audiences in the Nigerian and African movie market. It is also important to say that despite the variety of movie genres that Nollywood produces to satisfy the ethnically diversified Nigerian, Nigerian audiences still rely on foreign serials and season movies, especially from Hollywood because of the belief that Hollywood productions better depict real life situations and help create preventive measures of certain situations (Table 2 shows that participants in this study watch more foreign films compared to locally produced films). One of the serials that was aired on an American television channel is *Prison Break*, which ran on the Fox Network and depicts the prison lives of

inmates and the management of the prison systems as well as government policies and influences that affect the prison management.

The absence from Nigeria of popular media content on prison life means that audiences are restricted to an understanding of what incarceration is like through references in the news or what is reported in the papers (Rockell, 2009, pp. 41–55). It follows therefore that among audiences, understanding of prison and incarceration relies on imagination. Several studies have pointed to low levels of general knowledge about the prison institution and indeed, the criminal justice system. MORI (2003) and Hough (1996) attribute this limitation to the key role of the mass media in influencing public knowledge and attitudes. They argue that where there is a low level of coverage of prison issues, knowledge will inherently be poor and thus speculation will thrive.

There are other reasons why speculation is rife about life behind the walls of a prison. For instance, Rockell (2009, 44) particularizes the location of prisons in rural areas, which is where the vast majority of prisons in Nigeria are located, and holds that the prison's high walls, turrets, and razor wire have not only kept the confined in, but public scrutiny out. As a result, their internal "guts" or workings have provided an almost perfect arena for rampant speculation and myth-making, with beliefs and ideologies about the keepers and the kept serving as the grist for what the public has thought life behind bars must be like. Indeed, in many ways, they are forbidden institutions, tainted by the crimes and beings of those they hold.

In a culturally-sensitive and religiously inflected society like Nigeria, an obvious negativity is ascribed to the prison institution and those who have been in and out of it, regardless of the reason and for how long. Consequently prison and people in prison appears in popular culture as a means to express regret, shame, pity or disdain for those held in incarceration. It is, in short, a taboo. Foucault (1977) states that prison as an institution has managed to build both itself and its inhabitants to be something outside society, an observation that can be applied to Nigeria.

Yet, this absence of serious public discourse about the prison institution and the people in and around it has created a lacuna in the knowledge of the actual operations of prisons among the local Nigerian population. This is a gap that is filled by a vigorous visual consumption of what television says about prisons and how it is represented on screen. The representation of prison in films and on television is therefore a way out of the ignorance of what a prison really is and what happens therein. There is both tension and interest in examining how the depiction of American prisons in a popular American series intersects with Nigerian perspectives.

Television Effects

The power that the media can, and does, have in shaping, or at least influencing, social perceptions and possibly attitudes about criminal justice issues, and corrections by incarceration has been the subject of much discussion (Kappeler & Potter, 2005; Potter & Kappeler, 2006; Surette, 2006). Television in particular has had a great effect on audience psychology and perception of issues. Media theorists further contend that a global culture is developing through television. The medium has exercised and continues to

exercise a great effect on norms and values and is key in setting up various agenda for public discourse, as well as influencing understanding and perception as issues (Hijazi & Naqqash, 2003).

By the information and coverage it provides of issues, television influences a broad range of attitudes and behavior in audiences (Shefrin, 2004). Research in the area of social psychology (Zillman, 1988; Perse & Rubin, 1990, Anderson et al., 1996) have offered empirical evidence to articulate the manner in which audiences are 'affected' by media content (particularly television).There is another school of thought, however, suggesting that the media is less influential than it is given credit for. The active audience approach is the go-to model for proponents of this point of view. Often, though, there is a contradiction in the argument of proponents of the active audience approach. For instance, Katz and Lazarsfeld (1965) propose that personal relationships and conversations with family members, friends, teachers and work colleagues or any significant other, result in people modifying or discarding media messages. They argue that opinion leaders, people of influence whom others in the network look up to and listen to, usually dominate social networks. These people usually have strong ideas about a range of matters. They go on to say however that these opinion leaders expose themselves to different types of media and form an opinion on their content. These interpretations are then passed on to other members of their social circle. Media audiences are considered active (Blumler & Mc-Quail, 1968; Lull, 1995). The uses and gratifications model, which has become standard in media-audience relationship and effect, suggests that people use the media to fulfill or satisfy specific social needs. In the case of this study, the needs of audiences in viewing television programs (serials, *Prison Break* especially) would be for entertainment or knowledge or both. This chimes with Blumler and McQuail's sense of basic needs which people use the media to satisfy: diversion, personal relationships, personal identity and surveillance. Specifically, Blumler and McQuail explain surveillance to mean that people use the media to obtain information and news in order to help them make up their minds on particular issues. This latter position is the thrust of this chapter: that television actively influences or is capable of influencing audiences and their opinions or perceptions on issues of social importance.

Mass Media Audience(s)

'Audience' is an important concept throughout media studies. All media content are made with an audience in mind, i.e. a group of people who will receive it and make some sort of sense out of it. And generally, but not always, the producers make some money out of that audience. Therefore it is important to understand what happens when an audience "meets" a media text.

The term audience, then, carries with it cultural/social connotations that are specific to particular times and places. Nightingale (2003) writes that "the problem is that people are not audiences by nature but by culture…. We learn to act and think of ourselves as audiences in certain contexts and situations…. From a research perspective, 'audience' is always context- and text-bound". Furthermore, if audiences are only evident in the presence of a medium, it is clear that the two concepts are mutually dependent upon one another.

Can media exist without audiences? If there were no media, would there be audiences? It is difficult to extricate the two ideas. An important distinction concerns the source of the audience, depending on whether the audience is believed to exist before the medium, or whether the medium creates the audience. Other scholars echo this sentiment, connecting the rise of the media with the presence of audiences, and pointing out that there would not be one without the other. According to the Chicago School of Media Theory:

> Generally speaking, being part of an audience means being part of a media event, where people engage with mediated information. People are audience when they are *in an audience* and *in audience*. All media events are audience events since they require people to hang out in media time-spaces where they physically, mentally, and emotionally engage with media materials, technologies technologies and power structures. The audience event invokes the power relations that structure the media as social institutions and delimit the options available to people for involvement in the means of cultural production.

Being part of an audience, then, indicates that one is not involved in the production of the media event, but instead is a consumer/recipient/negotiator of information. Again, however, were there no media event, there would be no consumer; and conversely, without consumers, no media. It has been suggested that audiences are receptive to media content to the point where their cognition is shaped according to the content they are exposed to. This has been the focus of numerous media studies with varying findings and degree of success.

The *Prison Break* Serialand Audience Acceptance

At this point it is necessary to introduce the popular five-season drama series, *Prison Break*; on which this paper is based. *Prison Break* is a 90 episode serial produced by Fox in America by Paul Scheuring with the production spanning 2005 to 2017. The production starred 20 prominent American actors and actresses with original release of the series in August 29, 2005 (Austello, 2017). The initial four seasons featured 81 episodes and aired from August 29, 2005 to May 15, 2009, while a fifth season was aired from April 4, to May 30, 2017.

The series tells the story of Michael Scofield, who embarks on a mission to break his brother out of prison. Michael finds that his brother, Lincoln Burrows, is innocent of the crime for which he was jailed and sentenced to death. Burrows is on death row, and scheduled for execution within a month. In that time, Scofield must make connections on the prison block that will aid him in his "prison break". Scofield encounters adversaries who ensure that his progress in making escape is slowed down and placed under threat. The series accordingly devotes much screen time to life within the prison. In seasons 1, 2 and 5, a considerable amount of time is spent by the characters in prison, with each episode detailing the lives of the inmates. Although the ultimate goal is to "break out of prison", there is considerable screen time of actual living in prison to create an impression of what prison is like.

For Nigerian audiences, *Prison Break* is the most popular series that comprehensively depicts life in the prison, management of prison and incarceration institutions as well as the politics that play out in masterminding injustice. The response of the 720 participants is instructive. When asked from the respondents the first ever foreign series they watched, 76% of the respondents responded that the *Prison Break* movie is the first series they were ever exposed to (see Table 3).

Similarly, when asked for their first exposure to a prison and incarceration movies, 2.1% responded that *Prison Break* is the first serial that they have watched that depicts prison life and activities within prison and incarceration facilities. 12.2% of the respondents said that they have watched Nigerian movies that depicted life and activities within a prison and incarceration facility.15.7% of the respondents also indicated that they have watched other moviesthat first exposed them to life and activities with a prisons and incarceration (see Table 4).

The foregoing analysis shows that, *Prison Break* is the first foreign serial introduced to Nigerian audiences to portray scenes of life within a prison. This perhaps explains why 76% of the participants accepted *Prison Break* as their first introduction to foreign serial dramas, going as far back as 2006 and 2007.

Before the advent of satellite television and before internet infrastructure became widespread in Nigeria, audiences relied on pirated copies of DVDs for entertainment, the circulation of pirated copies of DVDs was instrinsic to the distribution of Nollywood movies before more recent stringent restrictions. It was in this guise that the drama series, *Prison Break*, was first introduced to the Nigerian audience. Today, the serial is a household name among audiences who particularly hold an interest in "season films".

Justification for the selection of *Prison Break* as the content in this evaluation is that the serial contains all benchmarks concomitant with the description established by scholars in the field (Cheatwood, 1998; Mason, 2003; Rafter, 2006; Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004). These often center around "representations of the offender; representations of the prison; and the plot" (Rockell, 2009, p. 43).Thus, the selection of *Prison Break* was for the purpose of illustration only and out of its suitability for the research endeavor.

Thematic Presentation of *Prison Break* and Audience Perception

A thematic analysis of the *Prison Break* series led to the identification of six prominent themes that feature highly in the drama: justice, injustice, torture, horror, correction and excitement. Rafter (2006) and Cheatwood (1998) offer the foremost contribution of what identities are obvious in prison films, what themes are dominant and what structures are put in place to describe a prison film. Cheatwood (1998) identified the fundamental structural elements of prison films to include confinement, justice, authority, and release and goes further to isolate four distinctive eras in the prison film genre – each of which features films that aid an interpretation of "society's baseline attitudes about corrections at specific times and places, undisguised by academic jargon or political rhetoric" (p. 210).

Using the above thematicsfor the series, we conducted an inquiry into the audience perception of the series to ascertain the prevailing perception –in the eyes of the audience – of what the *Prison Break* series portrays. The theme of injustice is the most obvious view that the audience held of the series (see Table 5). 29% of the respondents consider the series is a representation of the injustice that can or does happen in prisons. By contrast, only 10% viewed the series as a portrayal of justice. The series featured many torture scenes. 23.5% of the respondents view the series as a portrayal of suffering endured by those in incarceration. The excitement factor is most important for around 13% of the respondents, meaning that injustice, torture and excitement represent the most significant perceptions of audience about the *Prison Break* series.

From Cheatwood's position, we adapted the elements in a typical prison film to form a number of themes which are obvious in *Prison Break*. *Prison Break* featured several scenes of **torture**, and it appears that this is a deliberate attempt of the producers to visualize and represent the torment that is inherent in prisons. The series also highlights the correctional intent of prison/correction facilities, whereby perpetrators of crimes are incarcerated for the deliberate purpose of behavioral **correction**. Despite the obvious physical and mental **horror** that is portrayed in the series over the course of five seasons, there is still room for some **excitement** at the seeming ease with which inmates maneuver each other and deceive prison guards. There is the added dimension of romance within the prison set up which makes the series even more appealing and offers a different level of **excitement** to viewers. The prevailing theme however is one of **justice/injustice**, where the producers subtly and overtly elaborate on the application of justice through the lives of some of the incarcerated characters in the film series. There is also a perception of injustice in the series, especially as evidenced by the reaction of the principal characters, Lincoln Burrows (played by Dominic Purcell) and Michael Scofield (Wentworth Miller) to their imprisonment. This is a theme supported by the findings of Cheatwood (1998), whose content analysis of 56 films revealed that depression era films (one of four identified eras of prison films) tended to present pathetic images of wrongly confined inmates.

From the thematic analysis of the series, an inquiry into the audience perception of the series was conducted to ascertain the prevailing perception –in the eyes of the audience – of what the *Prison Break* series portrays. The theme of injustice is the most obvious view that audience hold of the series (see Table 5 below). 29% of the respondents consider the series is a representation of the injustice that can happen or does happen in prisons. By contrast, only 10% viewed the series as a portrayal of justice.

As stated in the preceding paragraphs, the series featured many torture scenes in what may or may not be a production endeavor to highlight the mistreatment of inmates in prisons. 23.5% of the respondents view the series as a portrayal of suffering endured by those in incarceration. The excitement factor is most important for around 13% of the respondents, meaning that injustice, torture and excitement represent the most significant perceptions of audience about the *Prison Break* series.

Perception of Audience About Adequate Representation of Prison Reality in *Prison Break*

To measure the prevalent perception of audiences about the extent to which films represent prison and incarceration, participants in the study answered the following items in the questionnaire;

1. With your exposure to the *Prison Break* series, do you think the film[this term is used in line with common parlance among Nigerian television audiences] portraysthe purpose for the establishment of a prison as a correctional institution?
2. Do you think the film created an impression of punishment for capital offences?
3. What does the film show you about management of prison and carceral institutions?

Data from questions items 1 and 2 above reveal varying levels of agreement with *Prison Break*'s ability to adequately represent reality in two key areas: purpose of establishment and the application of capital punishment as a punitive measure against crime.

45% of the respondents (see Table 6 below) responded that the *Prison Break* serial depicts the purpose for the establishment of a prison as a correctional institution, 41.1% of the respondents responded that the serial does not in anyway show the purpose for the establishment of a prison as a correctional institution while the remaining 13.9% of the respondents indicated that they are not sure whether or not the serial depicts the purpose for the establishment of a prison facility.

As shown in Table 7, 25% of the respondents also indicated that *Prison Break* did actually show punishment for capital offences, 62.6% of the respondents reacted that the serial did not in anyway show any form of punishment for capital offences and offenders while a total of 12.4% of the respondents indicated that they are not sure whether or not the serial depicts any form of punishment for capital offences and offenders.

The above questions and corresponding answers can be interpreted by applying the views of Berry et al. (2012) and Butler et al. (2006) who asserted that there are differing opinions of how society views prisons and incarceration. It should be noted that the rationale for prison and incarceration appears to be based on a notion of justice by a considerable segment of society. For instance, 42 percent of survey participants (see Table 5) regard incarceration as a means of enforcing justice in society. This is the majority view of society, and concurs the opinion of with Tubex (2015) that prison/incarceration is an integral part of a society's criminal justice system.

In responding to the third question item above, the responses of the respondents shows that 35.3% of the respondents asserted that the *Prison Break* movie depicted the injustice in the management of a prison institution, 33.1% of the respondents claimed that the *Prison Break* series exposed the mismanagement of prison and incarceration institutions, 20% of the respondents also stated that *Prison Break* revealed the politics that play out in the management of prison, 1.4% of the respondents also asserted that the serial showed justice being done by the management of prison and incarceration institution, 0.6% of the respondents claimed that the serial showed the efficiency of purpose for the management of the prison institution while 8.8% of the respondents agreed that the serial showed how the correctional is imposed on prison inmates by the prison management (see Table 8).

Additional views are that prison/incarceration is an acceptable means of social or criminal correction in society or that prison/incarceration is simply an unacceptable

system that connotes horror. The latter view is one discussed by many authors (Cheatwood, 2006; Rockell, 2009; Green, 2006) and the composite view of many segments of different societies (Guthrie, Levy & Fford, 2013), yet it is not fully representative of the majority especially in Nigeria particularly and Africa generally (see Roberts, Stalans, Indermaur, & Hough, 2003; Jones & Weatherburn, 2011; Mackenzie et al., 2012 and Tables 5–8).

However, in the assessment of respondents' views of the *Prison Break* series and in comparison with the Nigerian justice system, the majority of the respondents fault the justice system in its criminal adjudication process, which they describe as ineffective. This plays out in the series because while it was obvious in the series that Lincoln Burrows did not commit the offence that brought him to the Fox River penitentiary, he was sentenced to death because of institutional corruption and the influence of the actual perpetrator of the offence, which may explain why 39% of the respondents (see Table 8)believe there is so much injustice apparent in management of the prison. It is at this point that we can see the intersection between American popular culture and Nigerian perceptions. In Nigeria, there continues to be a serious interference in the effectiveness and impartiality of the judiciary by the executive. Often times, the threat is within the justice system itself where criminal adjudication is often frustrated by elongating the period of trial while the accused remains in prison. Sometimes, it is the court of public opinion that ensures that justice is done in some quarters.

Existing research on public opinion about prison and incarceration shows that there is an inclination of members of the public to regard the prison institution as a necessary punitive facility for offenders. Simpson et al. (2015) ascribe this inclination to the method of assessment of public views. Citing Burchadt (2014), they argue that "traditional methods of studying the public's views offer limited opportunity for respondents to consider the social context of the topic at hand, and to reflect on their own position and/or that of others through social interaction. In turn, respondents are likely to express views lacking a considered perspective" (Simpson et al., p. 3).

Likewise, Parfrey describes a prison as "a cold place. Walls of thick concrete block every intrusion by the sun. The cells, too, are made of concrete, and plexiglass and iron. Refrigerator-bright fluorescent lights announce the day at 5 a.m. and dim only at 11 p.m., remaining on throughout the night. Gray, and its nauseous cousin, light green, color your bunk, your blanket, your one sheet, even the plate (a tray) from which you eat". Parfrey emphasizes the dreariness of the institution, a view amplified by the miseen scène of many prison films, and thus one shared by many television audiences. This perhaps prompts Brown's (2004) suggestion that the role of the mass media in delivering certain images to the general population is critical because the media provides a major visual aid that citizens outside the prison institution use to shape their images of what crime and punishment entail.

Does TV really Alter Public Views of Incarceration and Prison?

Theoretical perspectives on the media's effect on public opinion often center on framing, as a means of shaping media text to shape the views of media audiences. According to Entman (1993), frames make a piece of information more salient; that is, more

noticeable, meaningful, or memorable. In this conceptualization, salience is a product of the interaction of texts and receivers (Entman, 1989, 1993; Graber, 1988). In other words, news and information are received and interpreted by a certain group of people, and different audiences would respond to the same text in different ways, depending on the characteristics they possess. Similarly, Scheufele (1999) argued for an interaction or correlation between media frames and the frames that individuals have in their mind. Congruity between the frame and the way the audience thinks creates more affirmative results, whereby people engage in significantly more frequent behaviour as intended (Sherman, Mann, & Updegraff, 2006). Pan and Kosicki (2001) asserted that frames serve to build discursive communities, which are themselves subject to change according to time and place. Therefore, the audience is also an integral part of framing, making it an inseparable part of the perception process.

Building on the idea that individual frames also affect how the audience perceives the media text, several researchers have investigated different audience characteristics as either dependent or independent variables (Scheufele, 1999). Some researchers were interested in knowing whether time orientation (Kees, 2010; Tangari, Folse, Burton, & Kees, 2010; Zhao, Villagran, Kreps, & McHorney, 2012), construal level (White, Mac-Donnell, & Dahl, 2011), or emotions (Kim & Cameron, 2011) are effective in shaping audience perception of issues that are represented in the media. Cole and Greer (2013) found that involvement is a very important audience-related variable affecting how respondents react to brand actions. A person's information-processing strategy was also found to mediate the relationship between the media and perceptions in health-related contexts (Fleming, Thorson, & Zhang, 2006). Overall, the type of frame and the type of the audience have been in a significantly important relationship (Vishwanath, 2009).

One particular audience-related characteristic is the level of knowledge. For example, Jin and Han (2014) found that if a person has less knowledge about an issue prior to receiving a message, then it is likely that she or he will respond to the message in a more dramatic way. Similarly, Garcia-Retamero and Galesic (2010) found that people with low numeracy are more susceptible to the effects of framing. However, Moerbeek and Casimir (2005) found no significant relationship between information and framing effects. In other studies, general education was found to increase frame diversity (Huang, 2009), which may further complicate this issue. Although the literature is not very clear about the effects of knowledge and education, it is believed that this stems from the fact that perceptions are highly dependent on the context.

The study which birthed our views of television effect on public perception of incarceration is revealing in the sense that there are two possibilities as far as effect is concerned. The first of those possibilities is that viewership of series like *Prison Break* can/will change the knowledge or perception of the audience about prison and incarceration. The other possibility is that existing knowledge or perception is not changed, but rather reinforced.

Audiences are more likely to have their knowledge and perceptions of prison and incarceration reinforced than altered radically by watching prison films. This is at least true in the accompanying study to this chapter, where approximately 59% of respondents claim that their knowledge and perception of incarceration had been reinforced (not changed) by watching *Prison Break*. The rest of the respondents assert that their knowledge and perceptions were changed significantly (see Table 9).

Brown (2009) is useful to this argument, suggesting that viewing prison films form a significant impression on audiences. He believes for instance that when television audiences watch a false conviction or a corrupt prison staff in a prison film (as happens in *Prison Break*), they are not simply viewing fictitious representations of punishment. According to him, the members of the audience are connecting the mediated themes and characters with actual associations that lead them to form opinions and perceptions of every aspect in that particular film (Brown, 2009). For Nigeria, where there are actual deficiencies in the criminal justice system, the resonance with this aspect of American popular culture is strong.

Cheatwood (2006) has already argued that media representation of prisons is actually a reflection of the views which society holds about prisons and incarceration. This would also explain why there is no drastic change or significant altering effect on the perception of audiences about the prison institution. What is at play is instead a reinforcement of the existing beliefs. This resonates with the outcome of our study, which reveals that a prison film offers a corroboration of the opinions and perceptions of audiences rather than a change in understanding.

The idea that media content has a significant power to affect perceptions whether by alteration or reinforcement, as is the case here, is supported by Stokes and Maltby (2001) and Crary (2001) who contend that the viewership of watching a film is in itself a powerful tool for altering perceptions about numerous ideas in culture.

Addressing limitations to the study

Prison Break was the focal point of the inquiry that formed the survey. It helped to shape the question: how much has the *Prison Break* series influenced perception of the reality of prison and incarceration? One query about the viability of applying an American serial to a foreign audience is tempered by the increasing acceptance among scholars (Daramola, 2012) that boundaries are increasingly being shortened and/or eliminated, particularly where media is concerned.

In this instance, Legrain's (2009) argument of a globalized world and McLuhan's ideas of a global village means that there is a decreasing emphasis on distance as a barrier to communication and the influencing ability it carries. Indeed, what is obtainable in Asia may also be obtainable in Africa, America and Europe, as studies have shown (Dixon, 2009).

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the cultural disparities between societies may be a significant consideration in the analysis of audience understanding of incarceration through its representation in the media. However, Daramola (2012) and Mason (2006) also believe in culture without barriers. Mason (2006) writes that the media has become more influential in almost all areas of the global world, especially in the past century (Mason, 2006). Nigerian audiences are avid consumers, initially through pirated DVDs and now through cable. This influence is so pronounced that the media is now considered one of the leading contributors to

Conclusion

As awareness and knowledge of the prison institution grows, and as the television media develops a steady interest in the representation of incarceration, there is a need for real-life institutions to respond to the changes being portrayed in the media. Simpson, Guthrie and Butler (2014) suggest that the escalating expenditure on prisons is increasingly "problematic" and "is a huge burden on the public purse, and not effective in terms of individual restoration" (13). As this is reflected more and more in the media, the idea of 'decarceration' as opposed to incarceration is proposed as a "fair response in many circumstances" (Simpson et al., 2014, p. 13).

On the perception of prisons and incarceration as an option in the correction of criminal offenders, there is an argument to be made that the public opinion should be translated more to reality such that incarceration, as a correctional means, should be dedicated to the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders to the society. Indeed, there is an urgent need for a proper inclusion of media and the film industry in the reality of the prison institution. It must be noted that the content of prison films are influential in shaping public perceptions (McQueen, 2010). The recommendation would then be that this understanding could possibly lead to new policies and practices. McQueen offers that "since politicians and policy makers respond to public opinion, public perceptions… [are] very important. Furthermore, new policies and practices will inevitably affect the prison officials and prisoners in most circumstances more than any other entity" (p. 61).

Garland's analysis of culture and punishment presupposes that culture shapes punishment and punishment, as depicted to the public, in turn, shapes cultural ways of thinking and feeling. For example, incarceration, as portrayed through media outlets, such as prison films and television series, shapes public thoughts and feelings about prisons, prisoners, and incarceration due to the hidden nature of those elements. And because most members of society have not experienced much punishment in the justice system, society relies on media as a result to communicate the realities of incarceration (McQueen, 2010, p. 9). This is expressed as a cyclical model where the actual practice of incarceration is picked up by media and represented in a certain light which in turn shapes public thoughts and the perception of incarceration as a punishment.

The foregoing emphasizes the findings of our study that the media does appear to influence audience perception of prison and incarceration and that audiences are conscious of the type and extent of influence which viewing media content of incarceration (in this case *Prison Break*) has on their thoughts and opinions on the subject matter. This explains why the audience perception of incarceration is reinforced by its representation in the series. The nature of reinforcement is such that there is a significant impression on the viewers, even though there may not have been a great alteration.

It is significant, therefore, for professionals in the filmmaking industry to approach the production of such content with a deliberate consciousness of what a film production is meant to achieve, beyond mere entertainment. It goes without saying then that the underlying themes need to be purposely defined as to create the right impression in the minds of the audience. This would require greater research into storylines with the intention of making each production package as close to reality as possible.

Lastly, there is a great need for more theoretical involvement in the scholarly endeavor that deal with prisons and incarceration and society. This can and should engender research that is more comprehensive and generalizable and should thus provide a greater understanding of social perceptions of the issues surrounding the prison institution.

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Tables

Table 1 – Respondents' Gender and Age Range Distribution

		Frequency	**Valid Percent**	**Cumulative Percent**
	Male	547	76.0	76.0
	Female	153	21.3	97.2
	Unspecified	20	2.8	100.0
	Total	**720**	**100.0**	
	15 – 20	198	27.5	27.5
	21 – 25	190	26.4	53.9
	26 – 30	332	46.1	100.0
	Total	**720**	**100**	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 2 – Nigerian audiences preference of the movie industries available to them

		Frequency	**Valid Percent**	**Cumulative Percent**
Valid	Hollywood (America)	281	39.0	39.0
	Bollywood (Indian)	196	27.2	66.3
	Halluwood (Korea)	113	15.7	81.9
	Nollywood (Nigeria)	96	13.3	95.3
	Ghallywood (Ghana)	34	4.7	100.0
	Others movie industries	0	0.0	100.0
	Total	720	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 3 – First Ever Season Series Watched

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Prison Break	547	76.0	76.0
24	20	2.8	100.0
Other	153	21.3	97.2
Total	**720**	**100.0**	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 4 – First Ever Movie to Depict Prison and Incarceration

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Prison Break	519	72.1	72.1
	Nigerian Movie	88	12.2	84.3
	Others	113	15.7	100.0
	Total	**720**	**100.0**	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 5 – Perception of Prison Break

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Torture	169	23.5	23.7	23.7
	Correction	93	12.9	13.0	36.7
	Exciting	102	14.2	14.3	51.1
	Horror	66	9.2	9.3	60.3
	Justice	73	10.1	10.2	70.5
	Injustice	210	29.2	29.5	100.0
	Total	713	99.0	100.0	
Missing	No Response	7	1.0		
Total		720	100.0		

Source: Self-generated.

Table 6 – Perception of *Prison Break* portrayal of prison as correctional institutions

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	324	45.0	45.0
No	296	41.1	86.1
Not Sure	100	13.9	100.0
Total	**720**	**100**	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 7 – Perception of Prison Break portrayal of capital punishment as adequate punitive measure

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	180	25.0	25.0
No	451	62.6	87.7
Not Sure	89	12.4	100.0
Total	**720**	**100**	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 8 – showing the respondents perception of the management of the prison and incarceration institutions

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Injustice	254	39.0	39.0
	Mismanagement	238	27.2	66.3
	Politics	151	15.7	81.9
	Justice	10	13.3	95.3
	Efficiency	4	4.7	100.0
	Correctionalism	63	0.0	100.0
	Total	720	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 9 – Change in Perception of Incarceration

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Changed knowledge/perception	296	41.1	41.1	41.1
	Reinforced knowledge/perception	424	58.9	58.9	100.0
	Total	720	100.0	100.0	

Source: Self-generated.

Prison, Protest, Pride and Poetry

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Introduction

Literature cannot be written in isolation. Literature cannot be read in isolation. There is always a text, context and intertext. A writer writes, a reader reads, in between the both, there is text. The text is situated somewhere in the world. It could be physical place, metaphysical realm or spiritual context. Since time immemorial, literature has been presenting various shades of life. One comes across palaces and kings with their retinue, and slums and its poor and helpless inhabitants. Likewise, one encounters forests and mountains alongside deserts and swamps. One witnesses parties, games, dances along funerals, murders and robberies. One meets saints performing penance and judges passing judgments. If there are court, lawyers and police, there is jail, convicts and executioners as well.

If there is no dearth of literature set in the palaces, gardens and drawing rooms, there is no deficiency of texts set in hospitals, asylums and prisons. As Claire Westall remarks that prison acts as a bridge between this and that world and it is not devoid of creativity and the desire for freedom gives expression to the inmates in multiple ways and literature is one among many such ways. The present chapter aims to analyse poems composed when the poets were serving their sentence. The argument is that prison, no doubt, is a place of torture, isolation and trauma, but at the same time, no fetters can bind creative minds for a long-time. The chapter further argues that the oppressors can curtail the creative minds only physically, but psychologically, no one can bind their creative self which facilitates their protest against the oppressor with pride and dignity. For this, the poems are selected randomly across cultures so that universal human instincts of faith, endurance and resistance can be highlighted.

Prison is a place of punishment. Here, one comes across scenes of violence and torture. Convicts who refuse to be tamed, are here maimed and mutilated. Authorities try

their best to make inmates conform. For this, many methods are deployed. The most common strategy is physical violence. The convicts are flogged until they agree. Sometimes, third degree is used and human-rights are violated. Prisoners are whipped naked; they are forced to stand on ice or stones. They are kept awake for nights at a stretch.

At times, prisoners are kept hungry and thirsty. They are not allowed to receive visitors regularly. Their letters are censored. Their clothes are not mended. They are compelled to sleep upon hard ground. For example, Dennis Brutus in "Robben Island Sequence" unfolds these acts of cruelty and torture. Robben Island was a place where political prisoners were kept along with petty criminals during Apartheid regime in South Africa. Here, the prisoners were made to work from dawn to dusk. They were not permitted to indulge in anything, but work. The inmates used to walk bare feet upon gravels. The hight of torture was such that all the inmates were afraid to discuss anything in open and would often run into a cave cum washroom to talk and discuss.

Prison Inspired Poetry

Brutus, himself, had spent eighteen months there. As a result, his poetry is an impassioned rebuttal of the authorities. There are passages of extreme intensity and force. His images are drawn from lived experiences. There is personal touch in each word that he uses. As Sarah Colvin opines, "writing is especially significant for imprisoned authors, who not only assert an identity in the face of their threatened erasure in the prison, but also […] locate an authority to represent prison life against dominant narratives told by the media and the state" (2020, p. 22).

Without wasting much time, Brutus, also, creates word pictures which disturb the readers from within. To illustrate, one can cite the following lines from "Robben Island Sequence":

> from the clear image,
> bronze-sharp lines of Kleynhans laughing
> Khaki-ed, uniformed, with his foot on the neck of the convict who
> had fallen,
> holding his head under water in the pool where he had fallen
> while the man thrashed helplessly
> and the bubbles gurgled
> and the air glinted dully on lethal gun-butts,
> the day was brilliant with the threat of death. (McClatchy, 1996, p. 375)

Likewise, in "They Hanged Him, I Said Dismissively", Brutus presents the same violence in different way. Here, he does not describe the act itself, rather he comments on the helplessness of the inmates. No one is able to stop the murder of their friend. everyone is just a spectator. The speaker feels empty and desolate. He does not want to think regarding the incident as it reminds him of his own failure. The narrator speaks nonchalantly:

> They hanged him,

> I said dismissively
> having no other way to say he died
> or that he was a dear friend
> or that work wove us most intimately
> in common tasks, ambitions, desires (McClatchy, 1996, p. 374).

Etheridge Knight also reveals this act of physical mutilation in his prison poetry. Knight was imprisoned for theft. He had to stay with other black criminals of his generation in jail. His observations are like that of Brutus's. His images are also drawn from his lived reality. There is anger, frustration and helplessness in the tone of his poems. He penned what he saw and underwent when he was incarcerated. In "Hard Rock Returns to Prison from the Hospital for the Criminal Insane", Knight portrays how black criminals were forced to suffer police brutalities. The life of a black convict was not easy. They were tortured and maimed without any impunity. The white police exercised very tough routine to break the blacks.

The speaker in the poem informs the reader that Hard Rock had just come back from the hospital. As his name suggests, he was not easily tamed. He was man of will and energy. He refused to bow. He was stubborn and tough. This was not appreciated by the white police officers. They took him to a hospital and ensured his surgery. As a result, his brain stopped responding. When he came back, he was docile and subdued. He just smiles and grins. He does not retaliate anymore. Knight writes:

> The WORD / was / that Hard Rock wasn't a mean nigger
> Anymore, that the doctors had bored a hole in his head,
> Cut out part of his brain, and shot electricity
> Through the rest. When they brought Hard Rock back,
> Handcuffed and chained, he was turned loose (Knight, 1986, p. 14).

However, all prisoners are not alike. Everyone does not yield quickly. Some prisoners are silenced whereas, some take this torture as a test. Though, they are fettered, but they think themselves as free. Physically, they are in chains, but spiritually, they celebrate their freedom. They resort to different ways. Some sing, some dance, some do not work, some try to run away, some instigate others to defy, some plot against the warden and some dream and derive sustenance from it.

Brutus in "At Night", demonstrates such a fellow who denies to except defeat. He is incarcerated for a longtime. Like other prisoners, he has to undergo harsh circumstances. He works in the quarry, eats the filthy food, sleeps on the cemented floor and is lashed if found guilty of anything.

However, this prisoner does not succumb. He dreams for his emancipation. By dreaming, he keeps the hope alive. His act of dreaming is his point of departure from the excepted norms. he is the classic example of human endurance. He champions human resilience and power to resist. His dream is not a simple statement. He dreams of revolution.

In his dream, he witnesses the waves rising and forming a force that attack the embankment which symbolizes oppression and fetters. This act of resurgence gives power

and hope to the dreamer. In-fact, this dream is nothing, but an enactment of his long-suppressed desire of retaliation. The narrator remarks:

> At night
> on the smooth grey concrete of my cell
> I heard the enormous roar of the surf
> and saw in my mind's eye
> the great white wall of spray rising
> like a sheet of shattering glass (McClatchy, 1996, p. 377).

The poem ends with the idea of hope. The speaker galvanises his spirits by reiterating the human virtue of endurance. For him, endurance and faith are twin instincts that can keep him and others in similar context alive. In the end, the speaker emerges as victorious. His victory is not ephemeral because he has attained faith in eternal human values. The walls of his cell crumble, though metaphorically. Incarceration becomes non-existent. The speaker affirms:

> Endurance
> ... is the ultimate virtue--more,
> the essential thread
> on which existence is strung
> when one is stripped to nothing else
> and not to endure is to end in despair (McClatchy, 1996, p. 377).

Sometimes, the protest is camouflaged in humour and laughter. Here, the poet prisoner takes refuge in satire and wit. Here, the speaker makes fun of the present situation in such a manner as if it does not exist. For example, the third part of "Robben Island Sequence" by Brutus, can be cited here. Here the speaker is describing the injured and battered bodies of all the inmates, but his tone is that of humour and satire. He paints the picture of mangled prisoners waiting for the treatment in the yard of prison's doctor. The speaker describes the whole scene in such a manner as if nothing serious has happened. All the prisoners are warriors waiting for their rewards. This attitude coupled with wit and irony is yet another way of resistance. This is another way of asserting one's pride and dignity. This is another way of declaring one's boldness and confidence. The speaker asserts:

> some mornings we lined up for "hospital"
> – it meant mostly getting castor oil –
> but what a varied bunch we were!
> for all had injuries – but in such variety
> split heads; smashed ankles, arms;
> cut feet in bandages, or torn and bloodied legs:
> some, under uniform, wore their mass of bruises
> but what a bruised and broken motley lot we were! (McClatchy, 1996, p. 376).

Poets in prison often take up pen to protest. They write and somehow manage to smuggle their writings out of the prison to let everyone know about their situation in the jail. Often, their letters are censored by the authorities, still by some means, they become available for the world. A prison cell is an antithesis to creativity. Here, one is supposed to follow a strict pattern. One finds no time for thinking and writing. Still, no one can fatter the creative energy. Many best works in literature were conceived inside the prison. Writers like Soyinka, Henry David Thoreau, Martin Luther King, O Henry, Oscar Wilde, Nelson Mandela and Jean Genet are, but a handful examples.

If one wants to enlarge this list, one can also add the name of Etheridge Knight who with the help of his creative genius shook the external chains. His poem "On the Yard" can be cited here. The protagonist, here, confronts his other self. This moment proves to be highly critical for him. The protagonist is accused by his alter ego of being passive. The speaker is scolded by his other half of being inert and inactive. This becomes a defining moment for the protagonist. The speaker counters the criticism by remaining awake throughout the night and writes five thousand words to prove that he is not docile. His act of writing is his act of resistance. In the spell of writing five thousand words in a single night, he protests against the system which is bent upon to mute him. Knight paints a vivid picture of the entire interaction:

> All night
> I sat up
> All night
> wrote 5,000 words
> explaining how
> I
> was doing something (Knight, 1986, p. 24) .

Prison is a close space. It is a world within the larger world. It is governed by its own regulations. It is not easily accessible to the people outside. One can meet one's relatives only occasionally. Prisoners are insulated from their families. Sometimes, the constitution of the prison is such that visitors are allowed only once in six months. In such circumstances, inmates live isolated and unconnected life. They remember their kith and kin, but they cannot talk to them regularly. It aggravates their emotional plight. Etheridge Knight in "The Idea of Ancestry" unfolds yet another strategy of protest adopted by the creative minds inside the cell.

In the poem, the speaker is a thief. He is undergoing his punishment. He is incarcerated and is not allowed to meet his relatives regularly. He keeps remembering them. He is cutoff from the outside world. Yet, he has his own defense mechanism. He is a poet. He is blessed with intuition and imagination.

He can not go out. Still, he does not feel lonely. His family members are always with him. There pictures are hanging on the wall. In reality, such a luxury is not permitted inside the jail. It is because of his imagination and creativity; he is able to visualize them all. He feels part of his family. His world is squeezed inside his cell. This is his way of protest. He speaks:

Taped to the wall of my cell are
47 pictures: 47 black faces:
my father, mother, grandmothers
(1 dead), grandfathers (both dead), brothers,
sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins (1st & 2nd), nieces,
and nephews.
They stare across the space at me sprawling on my bunk.
I know their dark eyes,
they know mine.
I know their style,
they know mine.
I am all of them,
they are all of me;
they are farmers,
I am a thief,
I am me,
they are thee (Knight, 1986, pp. 20–21).

Likewise, Faiz Ahmed Faiz has been both a protest and a prison poet with the forte of romanticism. Roanne Kantor observes, "New forms of movement and confinement, in turn, impacted the way poets like Faiz imagined possibilities for the future". His poem, "A Prison Evening" is a romanticized perspective of his lonely evenings in the prison. It is the poet's expression for alternate freedom, which is more spiritual than physical. It is a beautiful night with stars, moon and breeze. The personification of the night which descends the stair case of evening renders a sense of direction in the poem. Further, the line, "embroidering maps of return on the sky", also indicates a plan of movement. The poet in the prison seem to weave his poetic thoughts around the motif of movement, which can mean his deep-seated urge to move from the confinement. However, there is no desperateness or sadness in his voice. He seems to imagine a beautiful spectacle unfolding before him, where every star forms the rung of the ladder or stairway which leads the night. He imagines, "Each star a rung, / night comes down the spiral / staircase of the evening".

The note of optimism saturates the beautiful images the poet constructs. The poet imagines a starry night, and not a gloomy night. This image of stars forming a ladder symbolize both illumination and a means of movement. Further, the poet says, "The breeze passes by so very close / as if someone just happened to speak of love". Therefore, he does not find himself very alone as the breeze seem to communicate with him. In fact, it conveys a message of love, and this again is a cheerful sign as far as the poet is concerned. Further, this also means that his night is not so silent, as the breeze is able to speak to him.

What is more, the poet though confined to the prison is able to imagine what is happening outside his cell. He talks about the courtyard, and the trees growing in it. He observes about the trees, "In the courtyard, / the trees are absorbed refugees / embroidering maps of return on the sky". This personification of the trees as refugees is a paradox as refugees are the persons on move who have no permanent home. On the other hand,

trees are rooted and do not move. This makes the personification very interesting. In addition to this, the trees as refugees are also metaphor for the imprisoned refugees who are detained and cannot leave. As a result, they are trying to trace a map which would aid them in escaping the confinement.

Faiz uses the image of moon which irradiates the night, and expels gloom. Further, Faiz adores the moon, "the moon – lovingly, generously – / is turning the stars / into a dust of sheen". The usage of words like, 'dust' and 'sheen' in the same line renders an oxymoron which also signify the transformational power of moon and stars. So, the moon is aiding the stars in forming bright patterns. Further, the imprisoned poet finds an ally in the moon and stars which not only brightens the night but also decorate it for him. The image of moon and star is very significant in the poem as it represents light in the night. Further, he has used twice these images in the poem: the stars are used as rungs of a staircase, and light up the roof.

Similarly, the image of moon is used twice: once to aid the stars in glorifying the roof of the prison, and on the other occasion to illuminate room for the lovers who are forced into darkness by the tyrants. He says, "in rooms where lovers are destined to meet, / they cannot snuff out the moon". The moon is an influential symbol of the power which helps oppressed and the ones with less power. It beats upon the brutal forces of the tyrant. Further, it is beyond the reach of the tyrant who cannot put it out. Likewise, the poet is beyond the reach of the state which has imprisoned him as he can still be free in the prison. His body is prisoned, but his spirit is still beyond the prison. He can still be accompanied, and still receive message from his loved one. He can still have a host in nature, in moon, star, and the trees outside his prison.

However, besides the dazzling and breezy night, the poet becomes nostalgic. His beautiful reverie is troubled by the haunting of leave and loss which take the forms of 'dark' and 'green' shadows. These shadows bring a shift in his mood. There is a slight pang in poet's expression which is due to the separation from his lover. He very beautifully projects this aching:

> From every corner, dark-green shadows,
> in ripples, come towards me.
> At any moment they may break over me,
> like the waves of pain each time I remember
> this separation from my lover.

The binary opposites 'darkness' and 'light' play a vital role in understanding the motif of incarceration and freedom. While, darkness symbolizes imprisonment, light stands for independence. Further, the binary opposites of tyrant and the oppressed is also implanted in the poem underscoring the relationship further. Further, the poet asserts that the persecutor can eliminate the artificial light which is represented by lamps, but can do nothing about the moon which provides light. Though, he brings the image of the tyrant shattering lamps in the context of lovers meeting in rooms, "though tyrants may command that lamps be smashed / in rooms where lovers are destined to meet", he uses the secret lovers as a metonymy for the rebellions and activists. The poets conclude with resolute will and hope:

This thought keeps consoling me:
though tyrants may command that lamps be smashed
in rooms where lovers are destined to meet,
they cannot snuff out the moon, so today,
nor tomorrow, no tyranny will succeed.

Faiz closes the poem with a challenge to his oppressor. He confronts, "no poison of tor-
ture makes me bitter, / if just one evening in prison / can be so strangely sweet". Faiz is
not afraid of the physical oppression, and he believes in the greater power which tran-
scends the human tyranny. The poet seeks freedom in his romantic expression of nature.
He finds both refuge and freedom at the same time in the company of a moonlit and
starlit night. Further, imagination is also used a tool of resistance and liberty. Faiz is able
to resist the imprisonment of his spirit and soul by defying and finding freedom in his
poetic vision.

Mahmoud Darwish is another revolutionary poet who wrote prison poems. He was
a Palestinian writer in exile who lived through protest and resistance, and about him
Maha F. Habib (2013) writes that "living outside of Palestine since his childhood, in
many distinct places he realizes that the 'center is always hollow, unstable, and formless'
with his Palestinian identity existing only in his subconscious" (p. 78). He is known for
his prison poem, "The Prison Cell" which was written during his imprisonment. The
poem is a bold declaration of escape and freedom. This is an alternate and metaphysical
freedom the poets have found inside the confines of the cell. The refrain, "it is possible"
in the poem renders an optimistic note. There is also pun in the opening of the poem
with the word, 'possible' which creates an intriguing effect. The poet begins, "It is possi-
ble… / It is possible at least sometimes… / It is possible especially now". These beginning
lines demonstrate the height of hopefulness in despairing circumstances. Evidently, as
the title suggest the poet centers his poem on the prison cell. However, as the lines unfold
the prison cell is decentered by the newly found alternate freedom by the poet. The de-
centered backdrop of the prison cell lingers teasing the invincible freedom. Further, the
poet stressing upon the 'present time' is significant as it displays the degree of confidence.

The poet deconstructs the idea of isolated prison by creating an image of horse which
he finds possible to ride inside the prison cell. This image of riding a horse inside the
prison cell is highly antithetical. However, the poet precedes these lines by saying, "it is
possible". What is more, he repeats the phrase 'is possible' Riding a horse and leaving the
prison is a litotes which reduces the complicated plan of escape to an unpremeditated
ride. He puts it:

It is possible especially now
To ride a horse
Inside a prison cell
And run away…

Contextually interpreting, Darwish who was a refugee in his own country might be us-
ing the metaphor of 'prison cell' for the Palestinian territory under Israel government.
Especially, it might be referring to the internally displaced Palestinian people living in

the prison like facilities. This becomes more accurate as the poet hopes, "For the cell to become a distant land / Without frontiers". The poet envisions a faraway land without borders, where no one is a refugee. Further, the previous lines, "It is possible for prison walls / To disappear", reiterate the dream where there are no walls. The words, 'walls' and 'frontiers' act as synecdoche for partition, and detention. They represent the aspect of nationhood, borders, and captivity of revolution. Evidently, this undercurrent of Israel Palestine conflict explains few lines in the poem as furnished above.

Beside the personal and social consciousness of the Israel-Palestine conflict, the possibility of freedom from prison cell or prison-hood accentuates the poem. Darwish relies on animal imagery to confront humanitarian trials. Generally, the horse as an animal is associated with speed and mobility. Consequently, the poet conjures the image of a riding horse in the prison cell to escape it. He deliberately uses the phrase 'run away' in order to clarify his intentions about fleeing the prison. Then again, the poet's wish to ride a horse inside the prison cell is also a hyperbole amplifying his longing of freedom.

The metamorphosis of prison cell into an open land, a land without boundaries is an innate yearning in the poet's mind. This deep-seated desire is developed in the imaginary conversation the poet has with the prison guard. The imaginary exchange is highly poetic, and intensely representational: where the wall is returned to its rock form, the ceiling is changed into horse saddle to facilitate riding, and the binding chain is transformed into the poet's pencil. The poet presents:

> What did you do with the walls?
> I gave them back to the rocks.
> And what did you do with the ceiling?
> I turned it into a saddle.
> And your chain?
> I turned it into a pencil.

The image of 'pencil' is a metonymy for the poet's invincible poetic power which he uses to arrange his flight. The poet's poetic vision annoys the prison guard, "The prison guard got angry. / He put an end to my dialogue. / He said he didn't care for poetry". The guard is annoyed because he is unable to confine and imprison the poet inside the cell. He is infuriated because the prisoner has devised a plan to escape, and in fact, has escaped already with the help of his poetic imagination. Therefore, the poet becomes a fugitive when being a prisoner, and the prison guard is irritated by this revelation.

The physical act of bolting is an attempt to override the poet's attempt at poetic escape. The prison guard literary places the dead bolt on the prisoner's cell, "And bolted the door of my cell". Therefore, the guard leaves Darwish locked inside the cell. However, when he returns the next morning, he is flabbergasted to find the poet still happily basking in free land. The imprisoned poet has water, trees, and music accompanying him. The prison guard interrogates with curiosity:

> Where did all this water come from?
> I brought it from the Nile.
> And the trees?

From the orchards of Damascus.
And the music?
From my heartbeat.

This distinct cross-examination of the prisoner by the prison guard highlights the poet's poetic aspirations. The poet has the right answer for every question. He admits that he has brought water from the Nile, the trees from the orchard of Damascus, and music from his heartbeat. Palpably, the poet has not only found a way out but has also journeyed to remote and beautiful places like, Nile and Damascus. This journey taking the poet away from the prison cell is extraordinary filled with wonderment. For instance, it is not known if the poet has ridden all the way to these places on his horse which he mentions in the first stanza. Further, the two points: starting and destination converge as one point as he started from the prison cell and is back in it. The reason why the prisoner has returned to the cell might also tease the prison guard. The guard becomes angry, "The prison guard got mad; / He put an end to my dialogue".

The act of placing the bolt on the poet's cell reoccurs in the poem. This physical act of placing the bolt is significant. It represents the iron might of the state. The enraged prison guard once again bolts the poet lock inside his cell. However, when he visits again, he again finds the prisoner indulged in revelry. Once again, the prison guard feels tricked and taunted by the prisoner's expression of utter joy. In order to understand the nature merriment and state of affairs better, the lines are as follows:

Where did this moon come from?
From the nights of Baghdad.
And the wine?
From the vineyards of Algiers.
And this freedom?
From the chain you tied me with last night.

Poet's beautiful evening is an act of defiance and attainment of freedom. This time, the prisoner is partying with wine in the moonlight. The prisoner explains that he is brought moon from the nights of Baghdad, and wine from vineyard of Algiers. Further, he challenges the prison guard by explaining that he transformed the chains binding him into freedom. The image of 'chain' also reoccurs in the poem and both the times, it transforms into something to help the poet. The first time, poet transforms his chains into the horse saddle, and the second time he changes them into freedom. Eventually, this declaration of the poet disappoints the guard, and he beseeches the prisoner to return his freedom, "The prison guard grew so sad… / He begged me to give him back / His freedom". The poet skillfully employs the nature imagery too woo freedom. Harnoud Yahya Ahmed and Ruzy Suliza Hashirn (2014) regard, "Darwish places himself in a unique position among Palestinian poets for his employment of nature for resistance to the colonizers throughout his writing life that spanning fifty years" (p. 90).

Conclusion

To conclude, it can safely be argued that prison literature in general, and prison poetry in particular is robust and celebratory in nature and tone. Poets chained by physical fetters compose such poems that defy their physical setting. Here, they not only revolt against the system of domination, but also exercise greater creativity. In writing is their protest and in reciting, they demonstrate strength of their indomitable spirit.

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The Burden of Detention on African writers: the Wole Soyinka and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o Experience

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Introduction

When the civil war began in Nigeria in 1967, Wole Soyinka, the activist, at the behest of a group opposed to the crisis, visited Biafra with the aim of persuading Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the Biafran leader, to abandon secession and negotiate with the Federal Government of Nigeria for a resolution of the conflict. He was also authorised by the same group to meet Yakubu Gowon on the same mission. His mission to Biafra being accomplished, he returned to Lagos, Nigeria but was arrested for going to an enemy territory at war with the rest of the Federation. To the Nigerian government, Soyinka had committed treason. In his prison memoirs, Wole Soyinka described his arrest and incarceration thus:

> My arrest and framing were two different affairs. The one was prompted by the following activities; my denunciation of the war in the Nigerian papers; my visit to the East; my attempt to recruit the country's intellectuals within and outside the country for a pressure group which would work for a total ban on the supply of arms to all parts of Nigeria; creating a third force which would utilize the ensuing military stalemate to repudiate and end both the secession of Biafra and the genocide-consolidated dictatorship of the army which made both secession and war inevitable (Soyinka, 1977, p. 19).

Also, in Kenya, Ngugi wa Thiong'o was detained because his writings in novels and plays were critical of the state and this made the state look awkward in the face of the citizens of Kenya and the international community. Kenyatta's government felt threatened by what Ngugi had to say on the post-colonial politics of Kenya. One of the major contending issues between Ngugi and his government was on the land question. On assumption of office, the lopsided nature in which Jomo Kenyatta distributed land to some Africans who

had lost such land during the colonial rule was not found quite satisfactory by his political associates. It was discovered that the land question which caused the Mau Mau resistance was redistributed to the cronies of the President much to the detriment of the entire populace. "The effect of this was that a major rumpus occurred within the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU), leading to the formation of a splinter group called the Kenya People's Union (KPU) led by Odinga Oginga who was the Vice President of the country" (Odinga, 1977, p. 34). Besides, the economic, social and political directions of Kenya were quite foggy to majority of her citizens because the politicians and their allies had acquired substantive economic interests which gave them domineering positions to dictate the direction the state headed. "These problems caught the attention of Ngugi wa Thiong'o and he voiced out his opposition to the farce that took place in a democratic setting" (Moore, 2000, p. 176). His position on the state of the nation gave the government the leeway to detain him for engaging "in activities and utterances which are dangerous to the good Government of Kenya and its institutions" (Wa Thiong'O, 1981, p. 204). On his release, Ngugi stated the reasons for his detention thus:

> I have been able, since my release to gather interesting incidents leading to my incarceration. I am told, for instance, that sometime in December 1977, two gentlemen highly placed in the government flew to Mombasa and demanded an urgent audience with Jomo Kenyatta. They each held a copy of *Petals of Blood* in one and, and in the other, a copy of *Ngaahika Ndeenda*. The audience granted, they then proceeded to read him, out of context of course, passages and lines and words allegedly subversive as evidence of highly suspicious intentions. The only way to thwart these intentions whatever they were was to detain him who harboured such intentions, they pleaded (wa Thiong'O, 1981, p. xvi).

Against this background, postcolonial Africa was confronted with a lot of challenges such as poverty, underdevelopment, and neocolonialism, to mention but a few. To this end, postcolonial African leaders found themselves at a quagmire following their failure to break from most of the colonial policies bequeathed to them by the colonial rulers after independence. At the end, Africa could not move forward in all spheres of human development as was expected by her friends and admirers. The intellectual cream, mostly of radical orientation, having seen this sluggish movement in Africa, began to write and express their views on how they could assist in moving the continent to a sustainable growth and development. For instance, in 1967:

> Wole Soyinka had written that he artist has always functioned in African society as the recorder of the mores and experiences of his society and as the voice and vision of his own time. It is time for him to respond to this essence of himself. … The writer is the visionary of his people, he recognizes past and present not for the purposes of enrichment but for the logical-creative impulse and statement of the ideal future. He anticipates, he warns. It is not always enough for the writer to be involved in the direct physical struggle of today, he often cannot but envisage and seek to protect the future which is the declared aim of contemporary struggle (Ogungbesan, 1977, p. 185).

Ngugi, on the other hand, attested to the importance of a writer in nation building with his position that "… writing, I take to be a kind of confession where the writer is almost confessing his own private reactions to various individuals, to various problems". (Duerden and Pieterse, 1972, p. 128). He further added that:

A writer needs people around him. He needs live struggles of active life. Contrary to popular mythology, a novel is not a product of the imaginative feats of a single individual but the work of many hands and tongues. A writer must take down notes dictated to him by life among the people, which he then arranges in this or that form. …I need life to write about life (Ngugi, 1981, p. 8).

Against this background, a writer remains the product of his society. Accordingly, in the words of E.H. Carr (1982), "Society and the individual are inseparable: they are necessary and complementary to each other, not opposites" (p. 31). Consequently, both Soyinka and Ngugi, having being products of their various societies began to reappraise the role of the writer in the development of Africa. That role they believed, could come in the form of the indoctrination and radical reevaluation of their society, effective utilization of their intellectualism for the growth of the society as well as direct political actions through demonstrations and other popular struggles whenever the government was found wanting. It was this belief that made Soyinka later in life to write as follows "I have one abiding religion, human liberty" (Katrali, 1999, p. 45). To him, therefore, Nigerians must be conscious of their liberty which they have derived from birth and should resist when it was trampled upon by any government.

Furthermore, Ngugi's position on this assertion is to be seen as follows, "I am only a stammerer who tries to find articulate speech in scribbled words. Pen and paper have so far been my only offensive and defensive weapons against those who would like to drown human speech in a pool of fear and blood" (Wa Thiong'O, 1981, p. 97). This was their canon of faith as writers. It was this same canon which led to their incarceration by their various governments. Against this backdrop, this study examines the prison experiences of Wole Soyinka of Nigeria and Kenya's Ngugi wa Thiong'o. The research investigates the burden of writers within the confines of dictatorial regimes.

Soyinka and Ngugi: The Road to Detention

Soyinka's road to detention as mentioned earlier, was as a result of his visit to Biafra in 1967. After Biafra seceded, Soyinka frowned at the development and saw Nigeria's movement to a precipice. Having some discussions with some intellectuals made up of Nigerians and foreigners, the group which came under the name "The Third Force", decided to send Wole Soyinka to Biafra to persuade her leaders to abandon their secession for continuous dialogue with the Federal Government for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. The group believed that since the politicians and some other stakeholders could not halt the drift, the intellectual cream, "having no political affiliation to the conflict, should equally adopt a more practical and holistic approach by calling on the international community to stop selling arms to both sides of the conflict" (Soyinka, 2000, p. 60).

Biafra's secession was borne out of complex political, social, and economic problems which the post-colonial Nigerian leaders could not contend with as a result of the complex nature of this entity called Nigeria. Wole Soyinka had got involved in this inferno earlier in 1965 when he held a radio station in Ibadan, so as to prevent the release of "election results being broadcast by the ruling party the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), against the wishes of the people of the Western Nigeria who voted massively for the opposition party, the Action Group (AG)" (Soyinka, 2000, p. 133). The crises which erupted after this 1965 Western Regional Election, were parts of the precipitating factors which led to the January 1966 *coup d'état*, the counter-coup, the 1966 massacre of the Igbo, the Biafran secession and the subsequent civil war.

Wole Soyinka was out of the country when Biafra seceded. He saw both the Federal Government stand on maintaining Nigerian unity through force as well as the Biafran secession as being unnecessary. He saw both belligerents as forces meant to tear Nigeria apart and he began to chart a course which would stop a shooting war and bring both parties to a conference table.

While rummaging this in his mind, he found himself in Stockholm, Scandinavia, attending the First Conference of African and Scandinavian Writers. As he recounted in his memoirs, the events of 1966 had scattered Nigerian writers who had in the past lived together as a community into the orbit of both Biafra and Nigeria. He lamented that:

> Chinua Achebe, Christopher Okigbo… Cyprian Ekwensi, Gabriel Okara, etc; were holed up in the break-away state. JP Clark, Mabel Segun, Amos Tutuola and others… were stuck to the federal side, …I had been quite close to Christopher Okigbo… and now, I had experienced something closed to the sadness of a family break-up. Christopher and others would come to Stockholm. In that tranquil atmosphere, we would attempt to form across the belligerent regions, a common front against the secession but only for practical considerations. I doubted Biafra's ability to survive the inevitable onslaught from the federal side. Not for one moment did I consider the secessionist move itself an act of moral or political felony – it was simply politically and militarily unwise. No one turned up from the Biafran side. If someone had, I never would have needed to embark on my fateful mission to Biafra (Soyinka, 2000, p. 134).

Having completed his mission in Biafra Soyinka, came back to Lagos in order to meet Yakubu Gowon but that began his detention from 1967 to 1969 (Odogwu, 1985). For Ngugi wa Thiong'o, his road to detention, as earlier pointed out, was one, in which the Kenyan authorities frowned at his ideological beliefs and his constant use of Marxist dialectics in analyzing the post-colonial society of Kenya. Besides, he had got himself involved with the Kenyan peasants through active collaboration with them in writing and staging of plays and in his avowed stand of writing his future novels and plays in his Gikuyu language. His aim was to make sure that the illiterate peasants would have access to his works. Among his writings, *Petals of Blood* and the play, *Ngaahika Ndeenda*, published in English as *I Will Mary When I Want* carry messages of revolution for the people through involvement in the destruction of all vestiges of oppression which were the hallmark of the KANU government in a a post-colonial setting.

Ngugi was constantly campaigning for the resolution of the land question in Kenya which had become protracted since the colonial times. The land question was quite latent during the colonial era leading to the Mau Mau resistance. In the post-colonial Kenya, within the 1960s, the mismanagement of the land question by the government split KANU and brought the formation of KPU by Odinga Oginga into focus. Having sensed a rebellion led by Vice-President Oginga and his Luo ethnic group, President Kenyatta began to detain political opponents including Oginga whom he removed as the Vice-President of the country, replacing him with Daniel Arap Moi, as well as merging the two Kenyan Legislative Houses into one (Fay, 1969).

President Kenyatta's drive was akin to dictatorship. It was orchestrated in a weak political culture based on a one-party system without recourse to any opposition. In the same vein, cultural growth in post-colonial Kenya was in decline due to government policies. For example, the post-colonial government allowed foreign involvement in Kenyan cultural affairs, mostly the British. Early in his teaching career, Ngugi recognized the dangers of allowing foreign involvement in Kenyan culture and he wrote vehemently against it. "He also cautioned against the emerging dictatorship which had abandoned the people through property acquisition. He called his political leaning to his people as that of "homecoming" (wa Thiong'o, 1982, p. 1). In 1976, having returned from the UK, after a sojourn at the Leeds University for a postgraduate study, he collaborated with the peasants of his locality in the resurgence of a cultural centre called the Kamiriithu Community Education and Cultural Centre.

The centre comprised many committees and Ngugi was elected the Chairman of the Cultural Committee saddled with the responsibility of the following: drama, music and dance. Through this centre, Ngugi was able to indoctrinate these peasants (as he had done in the past in the universities during teaching and research), and in the process, aroused the consciousness of these people in understanding the backgrounds of their social and political predicaments in post-colonial Kenya from class perspectives.

These societal dregs, so called, became leading actors in the writing and production of the play, *Ngaahika Ndeenda*. The rehearsal of this play opened up a new vista in the life of Ngugi wa Thiong'o as a writer and academic. Having watched its production, Ngugi (1981) wrote as follows:

> I felt one with the people. I shared in their rediscovery of their collective strength and abilities, and their joyous feeling that they could accomplish anything even transform the whole village. I could feel the way the actors were communicating their joyous senses of a new power to their new audience who too went home with gladdened hearts (p. 105).

The presentation of this play at its rehearsal stage brought out the fangs of the government of Kenya against Ngugi and the Kamiriithu centre. At this point, the approval already granted the centre by the government to stage the play to a wider audience was withdrawn. This was the setting for Ngugi's detention. Consequently, in December 1977, the writer found himself as a guest of the state at the Kamiti Maximum Security Prison, Nairobi.

The Burden of Detention

The burden of detention weighed down so heavily on both Soyinka and Ngugi as they relieved in their prison memoirs. Wole Soyinka had written that: "I slipped into prison life as one dives into a stream, an unnatural element but one to which the body does adjust" (Soyinka, 1977, p. 130). Ngugi wa Thiong'o states that:

On 12 December 1978: I am in cell 16 in a detention block enclosing eighteen other political prisoners. Here I have no name. I am just a number in a file K6,77. A tiny iron frame against one wall serve as bed and a tiny board against another serves as a desk… at the one end, the passage way leads into a cul-de-sac of two latrines, a wash-room with only one sink and a shower-room for four. These are all open: no doors… This is Kamiti Maximum Prison, one of the largest prisons in post-colonial Africa (Ngugi, 1981, p. 3).

One major burden which confronted them was the trauma of being imprisoned without trial as was in vogue in post-colonial Africa. The case of Soyinka was noteworthy. He was on a trouble shooting assignment for his fellow writers on the way to stop the carnage in Nigeria but had his liberty curtailed by the government. Although, in his writings, he never regretted his actions, yet the inner fear of being killed through all means in a war situation was completely overwhelming. For Ngugi (1981), "what was quite a horror to him was the anonymity of self in Kamiti Maximum Prison from Ngugi wa Thiong'o to K6,77 which meant the sixth detainee in Kamiti Prison in the year, 1977" (p. 167).

Besides, as dictatorial governments usually operate in secrecy, most especially on security matters, Soyinka and Ngugi were constantly at pains, fearing that their captors could execute them and claim that they were shot while trying to escape. In other words, the burden of extra-judicial execution was always with them. Another burden was the prison conditions with regard to the conduct of the prisons officials towards the detainees, their interrogation and their general welfare. "When Soyinka arrived at the Kirikiri Prisons, Lagos, he knew that those he called the Gestapo" (Soyinka, 1977, p. 27), had finally caught up with him. His fears could be seen through the following lines: "I had spent time before in police cells, in makeshift custodies, never before within the full complex called prison. Adjustment was unconscious; my body rhythm was already slowed down" (Soyinka, 1977, p. 46). Ngugi saw his appearance at the Kamiti Maximum Prison as a big burden and he lamented that:

Maximum Security: the idea used to fill me with terror whenever I met it in fiction… and I have always associated it with England and Englishmen and with Robben Island in South Africa; it conjured up images of hoard of dangerous killers always ready to escape through thick forests and marshes, to unleash yet more havoc and terror on an otherwise stable, peaceful and god fearing community of property-owners that sees itself as the whole society. A year as an inmate of Kamiti has taught me what should have been obvious; that the prison system is a repressive weapon, in the hands of a ruling minority determined to ensure maximum security for its class dictatorship over the rest of the population (Wa Thiong'O, 1981, pp. 3–4).

Furthermore, prison welfare such as feeding was quite deplorable. Above all, there was no privacy at all for the detainees and for writers such as Soyinka and Ngugi, such conditions were not synonymous with modern times when every citizen in a post-colonial country should be talking of their basic rights. Ngugi complained vehemently about the invasion of his privacy while in detention this way:

> …I was daily trailed by a warder for twenty-four hours, in waking and sleeping. It was unnerving, truly unnerving, to find a warder watching me shit and urinate into a children's chamber pot in my cell, or to find him standing by the entrance to the toilet to watch me do the same exercise. The electric light is on the night long. To induce sleep, I had to tie a towel over my eyes. This ended in straining them so that after a month they started smarting and watering (Wa Thiong'O, 1981, pp. 6–7).

Moreover, detention without trial, and in solitary confinement, chaining of detainees, and framing them up for signing a confession of a crime, of which they never saw, signed or accepted were parts of the methods adopted by the security forces in Nigeria and Kenya. These methods were quite burdensome to the two writers while in detention.

Soyinka visited Biafra and was detained. From his memoirs, he wrote a report about his visit to Biafra as well as his group called "The Third Force" to the Nigerian Police during interrogation. The authorities felt unconvinced on his report because he did not implicate any member of his group who might be a Nigerian. The government came out with a release which reads thus:

> A famous Nigerian playright (sic), Head of Drama and lecturer in English of the Lagos University, Mr. Wole Soyinka, has been detained under the emergency regulations. Mr. Soyinka has been ominously connected with espionage activities for the rebel leader Odumegwu Ojukwu against the Federal Military Government, …Police investigations have shown that Soyinka was in Enugu on August 6 with arch-rebel Odumegwu Ojukwu. Mr. Soyinka was also said to have admitted in a statement that he came to an arrangement with Mr. Ojukwu to assist in the purchase of jet air craft to be used by the rebel Air force. In the same statement Mr. Wole Soyinka was said to have admitted he had since changed his mind on this (Soyinka, 1977, p. 73).

Before he was moved from Kirikiri to Kaduna Prison, Wole Soyinka had learnt of his purported admission of guilt as a mercenary for the government of the Republic of Biafra and later in life he repudiated the government's accusation. Since Soyinka's pedigree as a reliable Nigerian is well known, his denial was not in doubt. Ngugi wa Thiong'o suffered a similar fate and wondered what would the government benefit for lying against a detainee when they were quite sure that he had no chance to react to such accusations because he was behind bars. Of this, Ngugi mentioned that the government resorted to their propaganda in order to wear the detainee down and bring his personality into dispute. According to him:

> This detention and conditions in detention, including the constant reminder of one's isolation, can drive, in fact are meant to drive, a former patriot into

a position where he feels that he has been completely forgotten, that all his former words and actions linked to people's struggles were futile gestures and senseless acts of a meaningless individual martyrdom: yes, reduce him to a position where he can finally say, *The masses have betrayed me, why should I sacrifice myself to them* (Wilmot, 2007, p. 38).

The above analysis is quite significant for they have revealed the burden confronting some African writers, who in the words of Patrick Wilmot, were detained or abducted by the security outfit of the government, for their indiscretion and lack of self censorship for teaching what the government had not paid them to teach (Wilmot, 2007, p. 76). Our presentation here has shown that both Wole Soyinka and Ngugi wa Thiong'o were victims of their governments' overzealousness.

Conclusion

The twentieth century witnessed the detention and harassment of some celebrated writers for their political beliefs and oppositions to the ruling governments in many countries. Celebrated cases of such writers were: Dennis Brutus in South Africa, Kofi Awoonor in Ghana, Patrick Wilmot in Nigeria, Alexander Solhzenitsyn in Russia, Neftali Ricardo Reyes Basoalto popularly known as Pablo Neruda, in Chile, among others. This study on Wole Soyinka and Ngugi wa Thiong'o is to be seen within this perspective of state detention and harassment.

Wole Soyinka was detained for visiting Biafra in a trouble shooting mechanism to end the Nigerian Civil War. Ngugi wa Thiong'o suffered for daring to ally himself in his intellectual development with the Kenyan peasants through the writing and production of plays as well as giving them prominent positions in his novels. To the government of Nigeria fighting a war, Soyinka's fraternization with the Biafrans was quite sacrilegious and treasonable whereas Ngugi's intellectualism, then utilized in the study of indigenous culture, and traditions, was seen from that perspective as well.

Against this background, this study is on social and political history of Africa. Furthermore, it lies on the fact that both military and democratic governments in the twentieth century Africa were quite overzealous while reacting to issues raised by the opposition. They saw the opposition as renegades and miscreants who must be harassed and detained for daring them. This study on Wole Soyinka and Ngugi wa Thiong'o should be seen from that perspective.

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Prison and Violence in Nigerian Theatre: A Study of Bolanle Austen-Peters' *Saro The Musical 2* and *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens*

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Introduction

Imprisonment has been part of the Nigerian judicial system dating back to the pre-colonial times and served as a form of punishment for those who had committed crimes. Gunn (1960) observes that among the Nassarawa people in north-central Nigeria, it was common to expose a thief kept in stocks by the compound of the victim until he was redeemed by his relations, discharged or disposed of (as cited in Gloria, 2014, p. 94). Amongst the Hausas in Northern Nigeria, Hassan and Naibi (1962) state that an offender was put in stocks in a noticeable place by the victim's compound where passers-by could jeer at him (as cited in Gloria, 2014, p. 94). The stocks were use to shame and humiliate the offender in the eyes of the public and to discourage others from committing such crimes.

According to Gloria (2014), "among the Igbo tribe of the south-east, relatives would use chains to hold a murderer while inquiries were made by a diviner to ascertain what had induced him to commit such an abominable crime" (p. 95). Similarly, Meek (1970) observes that amongst the Yoruba people in the south-west of Nigeria, debtors were held in a place called *tubu*, a word synonymous with prison, and it was a common practice that every chief had his *tubu* for criminals. The offences for which an offender could be held ranged from drunkenness, disobedience etc. Amongst the Edo people in Midwestern Nigeria, *ewedo* was also a place for detaining offenders until they were sold into slavery or released to their relatives (Gloria, 2014). While among the Tiv people of the middle belt region, an offender had to agree to a sentence of imprisonment as an admission of his guilt (Bradbury, 1957).

The foregoing shows that imprisonment and prison systems were in existence in pre-colonial Nigerian societies before the coming of the Colonial Masters, and it was this

practice that made the organization of slave trade possible, as victims were caught and kept in confined places, before they were later moved to coastal areas, to be shipped abroad.

The *Lagos Blue Book* (1962) records that an organized prison system was introduced in Nigeria through the Lagos colony in 1861 and the Northern Protectorate in 1900, and was based on the then prevailing English penal practice. The first prison was located at Faji in Lagos island, and was described as a 'common gaol'- a temporary building of mud and thatch without drainage, baths, lavatories or urinals (as cited in Gloria, 2014, p. 95). Imprisonment at the time was not punitive but custodial and prisoners were not harshly treated but reasonably well fed. As such, prison escapes were low. Unfortunately, that is not the case with the prison system in Nigeria today as Nigerian prisons are now synonymous with violence, torture, crimes, atrocities, and cruel living conditions. For Dambazau (2007), "it is perceived to be the darkest region of the apparatus of the justice system in Nigeria". In an interview with Channels Television, Mr. Kayode Williams, an ex-convict who is now a Pastor and works with the Prison Rehabilitation Ministry International, Lagos, described prisons in Nigeria as training grounds for hardened criminals (Channels Television, 2014).

Similarly, Nigerian theatre artists and dramatists have attempted to capture the reality of the Nigerian prison system in their plays so as to draw government attention to the need for reforms in the Nigerian justice system. As this study seeks to demonstrate, Bolanle Austen-Peters' production of *Saro The Musical 2* on the 23rd of October, 2017, at Terra Kulture, Lagos, and her production of *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens* on the 28th of December, 2017, at Terra Kulture, Lagos, sought to intervene in the fight against the institutionalization of violence against prisoners in Nigeria's justice system. The study employs the case study and content analysis approaches of the qualitative research method to realize its objectives.

Prison and Violence: A Conceptual Review

Imprisonment as a concept thrives in the belief that those who commit crimes should be punished in order to pay back for their crimes as well as to discourage others from committing such crimes. Obioha (2002) opines that imprisonment, conceived as a formal perspective of inflicting pain on individuals, has been an aspect of the traditional criminal justice system in various societies in Nigeria. Goffman (1961) and Okunola (1986) see prison as a place where people are secluded from the rest of the world with entirely new order of control. Whereas, McCorkle and Korn (1954) describe a prison as a physical structure in a geographical location where a number of people living under highly specialized conditions adjust to the alternatives presented to them in that unique social environment. The definitions above limit the idea of a prison to a physical or spatial milieu specially designed for those who break the law and isolated from the real world.

From a functional perspective, Obioha (2011) argues that a prison is a place to punish offenders, where criminals that are removed from the society are dumped to protect the society from further criminal activities of the offenders; and a palace to rehabilitate, and teach offenders to be law abiding and productive after their release (p. 96). Similarly, Opara (1998) asserts that "prison is defined by the law of the state as a place created to

delimit and ensure restraint and custody of individuals accused or convicted of violating the criminal laws of the state" (as cited in Oroleye, 2018, p. 78). It is important to note that the main purpose of establishing a prison is not to punish those who break the laws of the state but to rehabilitate and correct their behaviours for possible reintegration into the society, depending on the nature of their crimes. Common crimes which can attract a prison sentence in Nigeria include armed robbery, kidnapping, rape, murder, fraud, disobeying traffic rules, drug abuse, trafficking and many others.

Violence is another word that is synonymous with crime. Violence means the use of force on someone with the intention of hurting or killing the victim. Coady (1986) opines that the ordinary understanding of the term 'violence' relates to acts of force that involve the infliction of physical injury. This suggests that the concept of violence is better appreciated when described in relation to the use of force. For Dewey (1980, p. 246) violence is a force gone wrong, or put in another way; a force that is destructive and harmful (energy becomes violence when it defeats or frustrates purposes instead of executing or realizing it). Dewey seems to suggest that even if force and violence may be related, they are not synonymous because not all force is violence. For example, rescuing someone from hurting themselves through force, in the same vein, not all violence requires the use of force, for example, killing by poisoning. However, Dewey argues that when force becomes destructive; it becomes an act of violence.

Hamby (2017) observes that a precise definition of violence requires four elements. Violence is a behaviour that is (a) intentional, (b) unwanted, (c) nonessential, and (d) harmful. All four elements are necessary to properly include all acts that belong in the category and to properly exclude similar acts that are not violence, such as self-defense (a form of aggression but not a form of violence), accidents, and horseplay (p. 168).

Nigerian prisons are overcrowded because of the increasing rate of crimes in the society and the challenges facing Nigeria's justice system. According to Oroleye (2018), the situation is deteriorating as ethnic militia (Arewa Northern People Congress, Odua People Congress, Niger Delta Avengers, Indigenous People of Biafra, Movement of the Actualization of Sovereign States of Biafra (MASSOB) etc.), religious fundamentalist (Shiites, Maitasheni, Boko Haram etc.) and communal clashes (Fulani herdsman and farmers) have aggregated together to institutionalize criminality (p. 79). Also, Arisukwu, Philip and Asamu (2015, p. 370) submit that "Nigerian penal system is grounded on the philosophy of hard line criminal sanctioning attitudes towards the offender. This satisfies the administrative interests of the colonial masters who created it. The prison system in Nigeria cannot be treated in isolation from the entire criminal justice system in the country. Most of the challenges of overcrowding in Nigeria prisons were caused by the police and the courts".

Osibanjo and Kalu (1990) add that when arrests are made by the police, sometimes inadequate investigations or corruptions on the part of the police leads to delayed prosecution and increase in awaiting trial inmates in the prison. When charged to court, the accused are often denied bail and when bail is granted, the conditions are usually difficult for the accused to meet. Even when trials take place and the accused are found guilty, judges prefer the prison option in sentencing even minor offences. It appears that in Nigeria imprisonment is used as a means of punishment by the courts even in minor offences (as cited in Arisukwu, Philip, & Asamu, 2015. p. 370). It is a common practice for

law enforcements agents like the Police to use brute-force or violence during arrests and on inmates awaiting trying or convicted of one crime or another, and "when violence becomes institutionalized, people, particularly those who are constantly visited with violence, begin to resort to violence in their dealings with others" (Oroyele, 2018, p. 79). It is therefore apt to state that the Nigerian justice system, because of its punitive characteristics, has aided and promoted the use of violence on inmates and this has not helped because rather than correct them, it conditions them to be accustomed to violence, and violent towards their fellow inmates. The result is increased crime rates because the prisoners become more hardened than they were when they came in and pose a great danger to the safety of others should such inmates be released back the society.

The Relationship between Prison and Theatre

Prison and theatre are two important terms that have enjoyed robust relationship over the years. This relationship has manifested in the fact that dramatists have attempted to portray the reality of the prison life or the idea of imprisonment in their plays. Also, some prisons have introduced theatrical performances in their desistance programmes for prisoners. These performances are part of their rehabilitation programmes aimed at educating and empowering inmates, with crafts and skills needed to survive when they are reintegrated into the society.

Nigerian dramatists have attempted to capture the realities of the prison life in their plays and one of such is Wole Soyinka. Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman* (1975) explores the life of Elesin Oba, the late King's Horseman who must commit a ritual suicide, as part of tradition to accompany the late King to the other world. Simon Pilkings, the local colonial administrator, seeing this act as illegal, and in order to prevent his death, arrests of the Elesin Oba and puts him in a prison. Another play which exposes the Nigerian prison life and system is *Prison Chronicles* (2019) by Wole Oguntokun. The play x-rays how innocent people end up in prison. Another play worth mentioning is Chris Nwamuo's *The Prisoners* (2003) which reveals the inhumane treatments prisoners suffer under the hands of law enforcement officers. According to Akoh and Adora (2010), Nwamuo's *The Prisoners* centres on the lives of soldiers who for different reasons absconded from a war without official permission. These soldiers were branded "AWOL", meaning "Away Without Leave", and were consequently arrested and subjected to confinement in jail, the traditional treatment meted to soldiers in such situations. While in confinement, the awols are systematically denied of basic human rights. Therefore, in the play, the living conditions typical of Nigerian prisons are exposed. They are denied food, water, medicines and contact with their families. In addition, the relief materials from charitable organizations and the food directorate are simply denied the prisoners and diverted for the prison officers' personal use. The play therefore exposes the greedy, selfish desires of prison officials (p. 13). These and other plays have been used by Nigerian dramatists to draw government attention to the need for reforms in Nigeria's justice system.

Beyond the crafting of plays, as earlier observed, dramatic performances have been adopted as part of prison educational programmes to aid teaching and learning, as well as the rehabilitation of prisoners. Most of these plays centre on the needs and the challenges

of prisoners. With prisoners as participants, the plays are then performed with solutions preferred. Jiang and Winfree (2006) note that the prison environment is often negative but for inmates, educational programmes can provide safe havens inside prison, enhance their ability to deal with an often hostile prison environment, and enrich the quality of day-to-day life (p. 34). These plays also help to develop the need for trust and team spirit amongst inmates.

The term 'Prison theatre' is used to describe theatre-based work within the criminal justice system. Davey et al. (2014) submit that Michael Balfour, one of the founding scholars and practitioners of prison theatre, tried to encompass all aspects of prison theatre work and suggested a way of conceptualising it with the use of desistance theories. For example, in November 2010 in Scotland, Tett, Anderson, Mcneill, Overy and Sparks (2012) observe that the Citizens Theatre led thirty-five male prisoners in the general-purpose prison over a period of five months towards producing and performing an original play *Platform 2:10*, which explored choices prisoners face upon liberation. The prisoners worked alongside industry professionals in set design, set construction, playwriting, acting, song writing, live music, lighting, sound engineering and stage management (p. 175).

In Nigeria, Ariyo (2019) observes that in June 8, 2019, the Nigerian Prisons Service (NPS) had reported that 21 prison inmates of Medium Security Prison Oko, in Edo State, performed in a Bi-Annual Drama and Music Concert show hosted by the prison. The theme of the concert was "Crime and its Negativity Effects", and was in line with the Reformation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration goals of the Nigerian Prisons Service. The inmates had been trained in the art of song writing, singing, drama and comedy presentation, musical instruments handling, dance among others, and thrilled their audience with brilliant performances. The forgoing highlights how the criminal justice system has employed theatre as a means to achieve its educational and rehabilitational goals in Nigeria and overseas.

Synopsis of *Saro The Musical 2*

The play begins as a group of dancers perform a dance showing the different ethnic groups that make up the city of Lagos. Three young men Azeez, Obaro and Laitan from the village of Kutuenji appear and talk of their dreams of going to Lagos to succeed. They resolve to work hard in order to win a singing competition in Lagos. The action progresses as Laitan's girlfriend Rume, tells him that her father is not in support of their relationship. She advices him to go to Lagos with his friends and come back as a successful man, only then will her father consent to their marriage plan. After this the three men leave for Lagos.

They arrive Lagos full of hopes and great expectations; unfortunately, the city life plays a fast one on them as their first day in Lagos is marked by a series of unfriendly events. First, they fall into the hands of hoodlums who get away with their belongings. Incidentally, this is met with the timely intervention of the police who arrests the hoodlums and the three young men. The action progresses as the three men are put in a cell with the hoodlums. Their singing in the cell attracts the attention of Sister Nkechi,

a member of the Local Restorative Church, who arrives the police station. She pays for their release and helps them locate the venue of the singing competition. The play ends as the three men emerge winners of the singing competition.

Synopsis of *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens*

The play opens with a surrealistic plane – the world of the gods. Fela is seen in the middle of the gods. Oya, one of the gods, tells him that Olodumare is sending him on a mission to go and fight evil on the earth. He has been given 27 maidens to go on this mission. The virgins sing and dance with Fela in the middle. The play progresses mirroring the lives of Fela and his women but this is occasionally disrupted by the Nigerian Police who come to harass Fela and his women in the Kalakuta Republic.

The action climaxes as soldiers armed with guns, storm the Kalakuta Republic, brutalizing everyone and putting them in prison. The next scene reveals Fela's unconscious body on an operating bed in a hospital, as a doctor attends to him. Fela recuperates and returns to the Kalakuta Republic. His women are unhappy as they lament that have lost everything. They tell Fela that he is the one everyone loves and respects, but they have been rejected after giving up everything to be with him. In order to redeem their honour and pride, Fela marries the women.

Prison and Violence in *Saro The Musical 2* and *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens*

The first dawn of violence in *Saro The Musical 2* occurs in scene two when Azeez, Obaro and Laitan arrive at Yaba motor park in Lagos, with the hopes of becoming successful musicians. They approach a recharge card seller to find out about hotel accommodation but are waylaid by gangsters. This is revealed in the conversation below:

OBARO: Madam, please where can we get very cheap hotel around here?
WOMAN: Okay, you fit get dat kain hotel for here. Costly one sef dey there o, but ask, dem go show you dat one wey you want.
AZEEZ: Thank you, ma.
(The three men are attacked by the gangsters who dip their hand in their pockets. They stop abruptly. Obaro searches his pockets frantically)
OBARO: Yei! I've been robbed!
(Others too quickly search their pockets frantically)
AZEEZ: Good God, my money!
LAITAN: My phone!
OBARO: My wallet!
ALL: We have been robbed!
GANGSTER: We are the eh…
               We are the alaye, champions at street corners
               You wan try me! Police is our friend (*Saro The Musical 2*, 2017).

From the above exchange, we learn from the gangsters that the Police work with them to perpetuate crimes in the city of Lagos. This shows the level of corruption and compromise in the Police force at the expense of the common man. The action progresses as members of the Police force arrive and arrest Azeez, Obaro, Laitan without giving them an opportunity to explain themselves. They are arrested with the gangsters.

In the next scene, Azeez, Obaro, Laitan and the gangsters are put in prison where they are exposed to varying degrees of maltreatments. The following conversation reveals the nature of their ordeals:

AZEEZ: First time in Lagos, and we get arrested and dumped in a police cell.
LAITAN: Wrongfully, for that matter.
AZEEZ: They didn't even give us a chance to explain ourselves.
OBARO: Well, at least we have a place to lay our heads.
LAITAN: (**fuming**) Cut that out, Obaro! We should have…
GANGSTER 1: EEh! I dey tink for here una dey disturb my meditation. Oya make una move go front.
(**The three men move but Laitan continues to protest**)
GANGSTER 1: Oga, maintain your champion o! I no normal like that!
GANGSTER 2: Leave am; e don forget where e dey.
GANGSTER: Oya make una hold una ears give me frog jump. So, what brought you JJC's to Lagos?
AZEEZ: Bros, it's a long story. I won't bore you with it.
GANGSTER 1: Don't worry, we have time – bore me!
(*Saro The Musical 2*, 2017).

The foregoing reveals that Azeez, Obaro, Laitan were arrested and imprisoned for no crime. Their crime was that they were newcomers to Lagos and didn't know their rights. They were robbed but rather than arresting the robbers and freeing them, the Police Officers arrest them with the robbers, violating their rights as Nigerian citizens. In the cell, the Police Officers sit and watch nonchalantly while Azeez, Obaro, and Laitan are maltreated by their fellow inmates (the gangsters). This highlights the institutionalization of criminality within the justice system in Nigeria, exacerbated by members of the Police force and the hoodlums. This situation allows Police Officers to arrest people for flimsy reasons, and allows criminals to commit crimes freely because they know that they will not be held accountable by the Police. The violation of the rights of citizens by members of the Nigerian Police force and their consequent arrest, places innocent citizens at their mercy, as the victims are exposed to all forms of violence both physically and psychologically while in prison. Azeez, Obaro, and Laitan are lucky as Sister Nkechi, a member of the Local Restorative Church, pays for their release.

In *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens*, Fela and his queens suffer a lot of humiliation and harassments in the hands of the Nigerian Police Force. The climax of this happens in scene five when Fela is wrongly accused of kidnapping minors, sexually violating them and in possession of marijuana; which a Police Officer brought to the house of Fela while they raided it. Fela is taken to court and remanded in prison without given an opportunity to present his side of the story. Fela's lawyer reacts to the claims of Fela's accusers:

FELA'S LAWYER: My Lord, permit me to say that these women have nothing to support their wild claims of kidnap. I am done with her.

MRS AJAYI: (Blurts out) You can't be done o. Lara is only fifteen years. Only fifteen. She is a teenager and under the age of consent.

JUDGE: What! Fifteen? Under age?

PETITIONERS' LAWYER: Yes my lord, Fifteen.

FELA'S LAWYER: My lord, my client will like to take the stand and state his own side of the story.

JUDGE: What nonsense side of the story? Corporal, remand this man in prison.

FELA'S LAWYER: But My lord. On what charges?

JUDGE: On the charges of marijuana possession and abduction of minors. Court!

(*Fela and the Kalakuta Queens*, 2017).

The above shows the weakness of the Nigerian justice system to allow for fair hearing, as Fela's Lawyer is denied the opportunity to present his case regarding the accusations presented against Fela. This violation of his right to a fair hearing and his consequent imprisonment shows that Nigeria's justice system is a funnel where anyone can be accused of any crime and imprisoned without being convicted beyond reasonable doubts.

In scene nine, Lekan, one of Fela's boys, staggers in soaked in blood. Fela enquires from him the cause of is bleeding; he replies that he had an argument with some soldiers, and after answering them back, they beat him up. Fela instructs them to take him to the doctor. After this, two soldiers come in demanding the release of Lekan to them. Fela tells them that they cannot take Lekan because he is wounded. They tell Fela that he is obstructing justice. Fela replies that they can come with their riffles and bazookas – that they have no right arresting anyone there. The soldiers exit and Fela orders his boys to secure the gates of Kalakuta Republic, that he suspects that the soldiers will be back. Soon, the soldiers, armed with guns storm the place, set it ablaze, brutalizing everyone, and manhandling the women.

Fela is taken to the hospital in scene ten as Doctors battle to save his life. In the hospital, Fela's unconscious body is on an operating bed as a doctor attends to him, while a Policeman stands by to observe. This shows the height of Police brutality against civilians in Nigeria.

The Policeman tells the Doctor that Fela must not die. In his words "Doctor, this man must not die". The Doctor replies "I will not allow it". The Policeman continues "He has to go to court and then to prison". The Doctor gesticulates, trying to explain the critical nature of Fela's medical condition. The Policeman reacts "Sharrap! Listen, keep him alive". The Doctor agrees by nodding her head in agreement. Similarly, Fela's women while receiving treatment in a hospital narrate to the nurses the violent treatments meted on them by the Police and the Army for being with Fela as many were raped, beaten and imprisoned. In their words:

KEVWE: Today, I was raped and stabbed by four men in uniforms.

TOYIN: I was stabbed and beaten by the same people who swore on oath to protect me.

LAIDE: I was stripped naked by men in uniforms. They flogged me.

QUEENS: We were brutalized and dehumanized.

NURSE: You have been raped, beaten, imprisoned, ostracized by your family. You have been labelled prostitutes and drug addicts because you are with Fela. How do you continue to stay with him amidst the daily hardship?

ADEJONWO: We believe in him.

LARA: We stand with Fela (*Fela and the Kalakuta Queens*, 2017).

In scene 13, having recovered after his treatment at the hospital, Fela addressees his women and band boys as he recounts the violations and humiliations he has suffered in the hands of the Police. Fela says the government does not like him because he uses his music to speak for the oppressed. He says they have the audacity to call his women prostitutes and reveals that he has been imprisoned almost 200 times. He says the government destroyed Kalakuta, he moved to Cross Road hotel, they came there, he moved to Decca, to Ghana, to Parisona in Ikorodu and then to J.K's place, and they keep following him. He adds that the most painful part was how they killed his mother by throwing her through the window. He tries to perform the song "unknown soldier", in an attempt to revive the spirits of his women but they tell him that he is the one everyone loves and respects, while they have been rejected, after giving up everything to be with him. To honour the women and redeem their pride, Fela marries them.

Conclusion

As confinement spaces for people who are held in custody by judicial authority or people who have been deprived of their freedom after being convicted for a crime, prison over the years has evolved from being a place meant for the punishment of those who commit crimes to a correctional institution or a place for personal reform. By this, those awaiting trial or convicted for crimes are given an opportunity to change from criminal behaviours to being responsible and law abiding citizens, through educational desistance programmes. However, the Nigerian prison system is much more punitive in its attitude towards prisoners than reformative because of the violent ways in which prisoners are treated. This is catastrophic because the system institutes violence as the modus operandi in the handling of prisoners, leaving them more hardened and dangerous than they were when they came in.

Since theatre reflects life for the purpose of correcting social anomalies, this study seeks to discourage the institutionalization of violence against prisoners in Nigeria's justice system using Bolanle Austen-Peters' productions of *Saro The Musical 2* and *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens* at Terra Kulture, Lagos, in Nigeria. The study observed that Nigerian prisons are overcrowded because of a justice system does not promote fair hearing and fair trial, and due to its punitive modus operandi, the rights of prisoners are violated as prison officials subject them to inhumane treatments or promote environments where these take place. This study recommends that adequate reforms in Nigeria's justice system that would promote reformative rather than punitive measures in the handling of prisoners should be made by the Nigerian government.

Figures

Fig. 1. Members of the Police arrive and arrest Azeez, Obaro, Laitan and the gangsters

Source: Austen-Peters' *Saro The Musical 2* (2017). Photo: M.G. Tekena

Fig. 2. Azeez, Obaro, and Laitan in prison

Source: Austen-Peters' *Saro The Musical 2* (2017). Photo: M.G. Tekena

Fig. 3. Fela in court as Justice Ogbonnaya presides over his case

Source: Austen-Peters' *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens* (2017). Photo: M.G. Tekena

Fig. 4. Fela's residence in flames as the Police maltreat his women

Source: Austen-Peters' *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens* (2017). Photo: M.G. Tekena

Fig. 5. Fela being attended to by a Doctor and a Policeman addressing the Doctor

Source: Austen-Peters' *Fela and the Kalakuta Queens* (2017). Photo: M.G. Tekena

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This book is the outcome of the UNESCO/Janusz Korczak Chair International Summer School and constitutes an Educational Resource for future UNESCO/Janusz Korczak Chair International Summer Schools. It reflects the social inclusion mission of the Chair and the scientific scholarship within.

Prof. Anna Odrowaz-Coates

The book not only shows how to analyse and research specific social issues connected with creating the conditions for social integration, but through interconnecting a diverse array of academic approaches it creates strong basis for discussion and promoting greater social integration...

Prof. dr hab. Madalińska-Michalak
University of Warsaw, Poland

...This book provides perspectives about the challenges of postcolonialism, of social inclusion, of agency, and at the same time constitutes an original, counter-hegemonic approach to cultural diversity. The articles promote the rights of minorities, of groups struggling for recognition and recreate otherness as it awakens solidarity with the victims of Modernity who struggle with the hope of another, more inclusive world. .... I recommend this book for publication as it is a valuable contribution to the debates on otherness, on inclusion, on plurality, and foster a much-needed dialogue and understanding of cultural diversity.

Dr Cecilia Zsögön
University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

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