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THE DECONSTRUCTION OF “HIGH CULTURE”: YOUTH SUBCULTURE AS DEVIANT IN HANIF KUREISHI’S *THE BUDDHA OF SUBURBIA*

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Abstract

This paper examines youth subculture as a different social deviance in Hanif Kureishi’s *The Buddha of Suburbia*. The youth subculture developed mainly during the 1950s and 60s with its distinctive views, values, life-styles, attitudes and patterns of behaviour, in which young adolescent people opposed firmly the dominant high or established culture of their adult parents. In its examination of the youth subculture, the paper will focus upon three central aspects in the lives of young people, which put them at once into a different position from that of adult people as well as from the streamline of the dominant culture. One of them is the idea of freedom and independence, which young people dream of in their lives in the face of the limiting and moralizing aspects of traditional culture represented by their parents, pastors in the church, and other important adult people in their lives. The second aspect is the use of music, which provides young people with genuine positive energy and creativity, in which they become able to express their deviant views and opposition to the dominant life-styles of their parents and society which disappoint them and regulate their lives, so that music, in a sense, enables young people to cross the borderline of what organizes their lives and then liberate them from the bondage of the restrictive traditional culture. Finally, the paper also explores how alcohol and sex are represented by Kureishi in the novel used as two primary indicators of independence from adult supervision.

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Keywords: *Culture; Youth Culture; Music; Alcohol; Sex; Identity*

The 1950s and 1960s underwent radical social and cultural changes in the Western World, particularly in America and Britain, and one of the most striking and visible manifestations of these social changes is the emergence of the ‘Youth Subculture’, in which young adolescent people opposed and questioned adamantly and profoundly traditional hegemonic assumptions and homogenously established official world view of their adult parents about certainty, meaning, reality, truth, and identity. As a deviant and counter-culture mainly caused by the aftermath effects of the World War II due not only to far-reaching developments in popular mass culture and music, mass communications, mass entertainment, and mass art but also to “the grimmer matter of a world recession and rising unemployment”, young people developed a different way of life, world view, culture, values, life-styles, attitudes and patterns of behaviour, which directly and indirectly enabled them to get free from the bondage not only of the established conventions of their societies and cultures but also of the restrictive rules and values of their own parents and family (Kumar, 1983, p. 44. See also Morrison, 1980; Rennison, 2005 and Bently, 2008). Eventually, there have been two different perceptions of life running opposite to each other in social and cultural life: an official perception which designs life and attitudes of individuals according to some social and cultural norms commonly accepted by the people and a different youth subculture which enables young people to oppose the established

view of life and culture and define themselves as separate from the identity imposed on them by the mainstream official norms.

This paper examines this different cultural perception, together with different “subversive ideas”, “deviant”, “new nihilistic” views, values, life-styles, attitudes and patterns of behaviour of young people in Hanif Kureishi’s *The Buddha of Suburbia* (Kureishi 1990, pp. 53, 97, 153). In so doing, the paper first defines the concepts of culture and “youth culture” or “subculture”, and then it debates how these opposing cultural forms of cultures come into conflict with each other in the wake of the World War II. Secondly, the paper focuses upon three aspects of life mainly practiced by fictional young characters such as Karim, Jamila, Helen and Charlie in the novel, and the practice of these aspects - the idea of freedom, the use of different form of music and of alcohol and sex obviously put these young characters into a different position from the perception and understanding of adult people at their homes as well as from the common ways of society and culture. Although these characters do not detach themselves thoroughly from the culture and common way of life of their parents, they seem through their “deviant” behaviours and beliefs in the novel not to care for what their elders take into account or what their elders pay attention to; they yearn for living on their own as free and independent and not according to the generally accepted and decided norms of their family and society, which, they believe, organize and control their lives but according to their own tendencies without restriction. Through their yearn for freedom and independence as well as through music, moreover, young characters in *The Buddha of Suburbia* long for creating a space of multiculturalism when young people, both immigrant and native in English society without any racial discrimination, regularly come together in the cafes, play, sing and listen to different forms of music as part of their popular youth culture, since young people from both sides feel that they are exposed to the same restrictive manners and value, even though they come from different backgrounds. Finally, the paper also debates how alcohol and sex contribute to youth subculture in the novel. As represented by Kureishi in *The Buddha of Suburbia*, alcohol and sex are not only two primary indicators of independence, but they also enable young characters to be creative in their vision of relationship with the adult world as well as of the future life. For example, the homosexual relationship between Karim and Charlie and the lesbian relationship between Jamila and her woman friend becomes means first for realizing their “deviant” behaviours and freedom by which they visibly deconstruct the very basis of heterosexual relationship consecrated by the patriarchal society and culture and secondly for achieving a kind of illumination or a new creation concerning their identities in the future or for finding their own ways of life by discovering their own identities different from what have been predetermined for them by their own background as well as from the dominant indigenous British society and culture.

Culture, like many other concepts, is tricky, vague and difficult to define as its meanings change not only from one person to another and from one group to another according to their interest, world views and professions but also from one period of time to another as the ways of looking at life, world and reality, shifts in each period of time. Thus, the meanings of culture have gradually evolved but sometimes contradicted each other throughout history (Foucault, 1988; Street, 1994 and McRobbie, 1994). In *OED*, culture is defined “the customs and beliefs, art, way of life and social organization of a particular country or group”, “the beliefs and attitudes about something that people

in a particular group or organization share” and technically “the growing of plants or breeding of particular animals in order to get a particular substance or crop from them” (2010, p. 357). For Raymond Williams, moreover, culture is “one of the two or three most complicated words in English language”, and for him, it “is so partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought” (1985, p. 87). In his another often-quoted book *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (1958), moreover, Raymond Williams also summarizes these differing meanings which have constantly shifted since the fifteenth century:

Culture....had meant primarily, the ‘tending of natural growth’, and then, by analogy, a process of human training. But this latter use, which had usually been a culture of something, was changed, in the nineteenth century, to *culture* as such, a thing in itself. It came to mean, first, ‘a general state or habit of the mind’, having close relations with the idea of human perfection. Second, it came to mean ‘the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole’. Third, it came to mean ‘the general body of the arts’. Fourth, later in the century, it came to mean ‘a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual’ (1960, pp. xiv-xv. See also Williams, 1961).

Furthermore, Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* (1945) gives a similar view of culture concerning “a whole way of life” commonly shared by the people of a particular group or nation:

In order that society should exist and, a fortiori, that a society should prosper, it is necessary that *the mind of all the citizens should be rallied and held together by certain predominant ideas; and this cannot be the case unless each of them sometimes draws his opinions from the common source and consents to accept certain matters of belief already formed* (1945, p. 8. Emphasis added).

Finally, in Akira Iriye’s view, culture is “the sharing and transmission of memory, ideology, emotions, life-styles, scholarly and artistic works, and other symbols” of a particularly group or nation from one generation to another in a smooth way (1990, p. 100). As clearly seen in the arguments above, culture in its traditional sense is “a whole way of life” and “certain predominant ideas” commonly shared by the people of a particular group or a nation and transmitted from one generation to another in a smooth way without cease. This form of culture obviously entails uniformity, conformity, stability, and familiarity, which every member of a nation or society is visibly supposed to accept without hesitation. What is more, this kind of cultural perceptions and constructions also draw borders around the lives of the people and shape them, imposing certain norms, values, limitations on the behaviours and beliefs of people; these borders are also internalized and thus accepted voluntarily by people without questioning them with a view of identity as fixed, stable and uniform (Brake, 1985).

However, this view of “a whole way of life” embraced as “predominant ideas” by the adult people of traditional hegemonic culture has undergone a huge transformation since World War II as a result of the development of popular culture, multiculturalism, liberalism and feminist movements, as well as the development of cultures of resistance movements such as hippies, goths, rock and roll, fans of hip-hop or heavy metal, punkers, mods, skinheads and rappers. This new culture includes a kind of meaning and perception closely linked to the values, attitudes, behaviours and norms of the young. Now mainly called as *youth subculture*, it is considered a subdivision of a national culture, in which the youth have striven to create different spaces, meaning and perception to free themselves

sometimes imaginatively and sometimes physically from the binding and organizing norms of their parents' view of life and culture (Lee, 1945, Gordon, 1947 and Brake, 1985). "In *OED*, the youth is defined as "the time of life when a person is young, especially the time before a child becomes an adult" (2010, p. 1730), and *OED* also defines youth subculture as "the behaviour and beliefs of a particular group of people in society that are different from those of most people" (p. 1487. For similar views, see also Baron, 1989; Bennett, 1999; Martin, 2002; Raby, 2005 and Holt, 2007). For instance, Nikola Bozilovic argues that the emergence of youth or subcultures "is not preceded by any symposia, programs or memoranda. Subcultures very often come into being with no special planning in advance; they are spontaneously generated while their activities are directed towards the goal which bases its *raison d'être* on the escape from anonymous everydayness imbued with boredom, spiritual emptiness and impersonality" (2010, p. 46. Emphasis added). Bozilovic continues to argue that "In the traditional society, in which the centre of the entire life is a kinship system, the place of an individual in the group is of no particular importance", and thus the youth in their subcultural world tries "to find meaning" beyond "the kinship system" of "their parents' culture and the ruling ideology", so that "On their way they will face resistance, firstly in their own family and then in a wider social environment, and all this is due to their subversive and resistant strategy or their refusal to subdue themselves to the ruling procedures in the culture of subordination" (pp. 50-3). Moreover, J. Patrick Williams argues that the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Britain "tended to emphasize leisure over other social realms, such as the family or school, because leisure spaces were relatively free of dominant cultural forces (at least in youths' minds) and thus were where subcultural expressions were most likely to appear" (2007, p. 578). Finally, for Angela McRobbie, young people are "active negotiators and producers" of a different culture which "is not too bound to 'parents culture' or the culture of the larger society" (1994, pp. 167-8). In this new culture, McRobbie continues to argue that young people create their own space even though it is small and sometimes imaginary, yet they feel themselves free from restriction with "new sensibilities", new styles, images and values bound up with a new view of "deviant identity" as opposed to the fixed and essentialist view of traditional identity (pp. 172-191).

As seen in the discussions above, the cultures created by hippies, goths, rock and roll, fans of hip-hop or heavy metal, punkers, mods, skinheads and rappers are just subcultures within the culture of the larger society, which oppose the mainstream culture of the larger society. Subcultures represent those young people who yearn for escaping from "boredom, spiritual emptiness and impersonality" in their small community and space; they develop their own style, image and symbols by which they strive to represent their deviant behaviours and beliefs in opposition to the common practices of the larger national society. In this way, young people feel themselves happy and free of "dominant cultural forces" which organize and shape their identities in an essentialist fixed way. What is also important in such a kind of subcultures is that there is no racial and gender discrimination most of time, so that young people from different ethnic backgrounds – white and black, along with feminist activists, come together and create a form of culture of co-existence because they all are very much suppressed between "dominant cultural forces" of their traditional family and of the larger society.

Similarly, Kureishi represents such kind of youth subculture in *The Buddha of Suburbia* through lives of his young fictional characters, Asians and British, who are very

much repressed between the culture of their traditional family on both sides and racial indigenous British culture, so that Kureishi empowers them in the novel to create their emancipatory strategies and space to get rid of “dominant cultural forces” or “predominant ideas.” *The Buddha of Suburbia* opens with a view of Karim Amir, the son of an Indian Immigrant family and chief protagonist of the novel, in which the reader at once sees him in a way that he is not happy with his current life, and thus he longs for getting rid not only of the London suburb but also of the meanness and conflict of his family life, where “things were so gloomy, so slow and heavy, in our family. I don’t know why. Quite frankly, it was all getting me down and I was ready for anything” (Kureishi, 1990, p. 3). Being “ready for anything” is the motto of young people in the novel for freedom and independence in their lives, since they all feel that they are restricted and that their lives are obviously regulated by their parents and customs practiced both at home and in the larger society, so that they themselves wish one way or another to run away from their home, create their own space and find their own voice and meaning of life on their own as “an entirely new way of being alive” (p. 36). Like Stephen Dedalus in James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), therefore, Karim is “ready for anything” in his future life as long as it will enable him to free himself from the monotony of life in the London suburbs or as long as it will fit his view of life and please him, since “in the suburbs people rarely dreamed of striking out for happiness. It was all familiarity and endurance: security and safety were the reward of the dullness” (p. 8). Simply, Karim looks for a kind of life which will be “bottomless in its temptations” (p. 8). The view of “bottomless in its temptations” challenges general common-sense practices not only of his Asian background at home but also of the larger indigenous racial English society and always pushes him ahead for seeking his own way rather than referring to both his family background and what English society decides for him, since he is very much unhappy at school, very much disturbed by his father’s treatment of mother; there is no peace at home, and his home, his father’s view of life and Indian background do not provide a satisfactory view of life for him. In his attempts to be different, free and independent, Karim also plays music, read various magazines such *Rolling Stone* and closely visualizes inwardly his present life, yet he cannot find a way out of the dullness and stinginess of life in the London suburb but feels that “the whole world was converging on” his life and is imprisoning him psychologically into his small room, and eventually he says: “I wanted to begin now, at this instant, just when I was ready for it” (p. 62). Hence he wants to be various things such “a photographer or an actor, or perhaps a journalist, preferably a foreign correspondent in a war zone”, because he, like majority of other young people, hates “authority and being ordered” (p. 120).

What is of vital importance for Karim is freedom and independence in his life, a life which will please him and will fit his own expectation, and eventually he fantasizes what will happen once they move from the London suburb to the city centre of London:

There was a sound that London had. It was, I’m afraid, people in Hyde Park playing bongos with their hands...there were also kids dressed in velvet cloaks who lived free lives; there were thousands of black people everywhere, so I wouldn’t feel exposed; there were bookshops with racks of magazines printed without capital letters...there were shops selling all the records you could desire; there were parties where girls and boys you didn’t know took you upstairs and fucked; there were all the drugs you could use. You see, I didn’t ask much of life; this was the extent of my longing. But at least my goals were clear and I knew what I wanted. I was twenty. I was ready for anything (p. 121).

As seen in the quotation, Karim is obviously different and seems uninterested in

what his parents or elder people want in life – money, houses, fame and so on; he appears not to have big aims and desires in life, but he just desires to live and act as freely and independently as possible; he desires and seeks his own inclinations in life as much as possible, particularly in the city, London, where, he thinks, young people are free from the limitation not only of racial discrimination but also of the customs and demands of their parents and society, where “kids were fabulous; they dressed and walked and talked like little gods” (p. 128). In his view, the city offers any kinds of liberation and deep sensations to its residents, and of them, it is young people who enjoy themselves more than the other people, since they are able to disguise themselves and gain free movements within the crowd without being exposed to any restrictive standards and behaviours.

However, Karim is also disappointed in London, since the city first fascinates him in the sense that it first offers him a lot of opportunities which he was unable to get in the south London suburb, but later on he becomes a bit vague and ambivalent in his view of life in the city centre, or he is a little bit afraid of the radical shift in his life as Charlie says to him (pp. 127-132). In the city, there are theatre companies, cinemas, various cultural activities and magazines, cafes and music halls, which liberate him, like other young people and avail him of chance to chase his own free tendencies. In the first place, it is fine with Karim, yet he gradually becomes weary of London once he sees a lot of disruptive young people with different styles of clothes such as ‘dirty jeans, patchwork boots, and sheepskin coats’ and so on (p. 129). “The city at night intimidated me: the piss-heads, bums, derelicts and dealers shouted and looked for fights” (p. 131), so that he comes to notice that the city gives and constructs a sense of individual identity in various ways, breaking up the very basis of traditional essentialist view of identity: “I began to understand what London meant and class of outrage we had to deal with. It certainly puts us in proportion... London was killing us” with its “smelly old hippies”, “slag,” and “ugly fart-breaths” (pp. 129-130).

Whether or not Karim likes London is not so important, but what is important is that Kureishi represents him as a young character in a way that Karim portrays almost all the aspects of the youth subculture not only in England but also across the world as being stubborn, subversive, deviant, homosexual, alcohol user and untraditional in his views of life and attitudes. In *The Buddha of Suburbia*, therefore, Kureishi employs a new strategy, in which he artistically enables Karim to go beyond the borderline of his background and family tradition as well as of the demands of English society by creating a new hole, a new space, or what Homi Bhabha calls “Third Space” or a sense of “hybridity”, which “ensure that the meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, re-historicized and read anew” (1994, pp. 37-8). In the novel, “the act of ambivalence”, “the differential relations”, “disavowal” and “difference” are obviously seen in Kureishi’s representation of Karim through his constant oscillation from one set of identity and role to another (1990, pp. 33-4). With such constant oscillation, Kureishi enables Karim not to imprison himself within the fixity of categorizing polarities and identity but to negotiate constantly with various identities and roles in what Bhabha also terms the “interstitial passage between fixed identifications [which] opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (1994, p. 4). Kureishi strongly longs for subverting the boundaries between the non-whites and whites in the British society, stamping out this rigid binary opposition of racism and then constructing an “interstitial passage” or space

where individuals may be free to express themselves and act freely in their movements.

Kureishi exploits this new strategy of culture, perception and hybridity, in which identity, as opposed to what has been perceived, becomes flexible, ambivalent, and indifferent to whatever restricts it in life - racism, prejudices, traditions, culture and so on. In *The Buddha of Suburbia*, Karim obviously fits into this view of life. From the first page of the novel onward, he is visibly observed as being indifferent, uncaring, and relax in his views and relationship with one another, particularly with the whites when compared to other Asian or brown-skinned people. In view of what immigrant people experience in the London streets, ranging from violence and attacks to humiliation and prejudices, he imagines that there could be a different relationship, different approach and view “somewhere”, so that he wants to face up to life and “extract be a different life from it all the real joy it has to offer” (Kureishi, 1990, p. 5). Hence it is in this respect that Karim himself not only denies the fixity of his own identity and his father’s Indian background together with his English mother’s background but also tells the reader how he is the construct of differences:

My name is Karim Amir, and I am an English man born and bred, almost. I am often considered to be a funny kind of Englishman, a new breed as it were, having emerged from two old histories. But I don’t care – Englishman I am (though not proud of it), from the south London suburbs and going somewhere. Perhaps it is the odd mixture of the continents and blood, of here and there, of belonging and not that makes me restless and easily bored. Or perhaps it was being brought up in the suburbs that did it. Anyway, why search the inner room when it’s enough to say that I was looking for trouble, any kind of movement, action and sexual interest I could find, because things were so gloomy, so slow and heavy, in our family. I don’t know why. Quite frankly, it was all getting me down and I was ready for anything (p. 3).

As the quotation indicates, Karim does not have a fixed, stable and autonomous identity, but he is very loose and flexible in his own view of identity as “a new breed” constructed of “two old histories”; he himself declares that he does not belong to any of backgrounds coming from his parents – Indian and English, since belonging to either of them may give rise to partiality, biased behaviour and fixity of view as well as to racial marginality this way or another. Karim scoffs at Englishness, challenges it and considers himself “a funny kind of Englishman” which used to be perceived as being serious, powerful, stable, and autonomous in his views, movement and action. Moreover, he does not acknowledge the cultures of his father’s Indian background, either, but tries to find his own way of life as he grows up in a culture which actually rejects and sees him as the other due to his brown-skin colour. That he does not care for belonging to nowhere avails Karim of opportunity to feel himself “ready for anything” in life. He does not want to stick to any side of his parents’ cultures and values - his father’s Indian background and mother’s Englishness; he defies these two cultures and backgrounds which try not only to construct him as fixed in a marginalized way but also to prevent him from moving freely from one set of life to another; he wants to be simultaneously inside/outside of polarities at a time, pertaining to both and to neither as in the words of Bhabha: “neither One or the Other but something else besides, in-between” (1994: 219). As quoted by Deborah A. Kapchan and Pauline Turner Strong, moreover, Benjamin Lee also argues that “leading edge of change lies in the intersections and interstices of processes beyond the nation-state that have their own global infrastructure. Hybrid spaces created by diasporic migrations are inhabited by bilingual and bicultural resident nomads who move between one public sphere and another” (1999, p. 245).

Karim’s “bicultural” perception, understanding and attitudes may, in fact, derive

from his family background and upbringing. Like Kureishi himself, he is the son of a Pakistani father and an English mother as the second generation of immigrants in England. Although he has never seen his father's home, tradition and culture back in India, he is also influenced by his father's culture, perception and world view as well as by the views of those Asian immigrants around him like his father's close friend Anwar. He also has something from his mother's background, that is, English culture, attitudes, "class antagonism" and confusion, "strikes", racism, "prejudices", and so on (Kureishi, 1990: 247, 256). After one of shows in Pyke's theatre, for example, his mother congratulates Karim upon his success and says:

I was leaving; I was getting out, when Mum came up to me. She smiled and I kissed her. "I love you so much," she said.

"Wasn't I good, eh, Mum?"

You weren't in a loin-cloth as usual," she said. "At least they let you wear your own clothes. Bu you are not an Indian. You have never been to India. You'd get diarrhoea the minute you stepped off that plane, I know you would."

"Why don't you say it a bit louder," I said. "Aren't I part Indian?"

"What about me?" Mum said. "Who gave birth to you? You're an English man, I am glad to say..."

I don't care," I said. I'm an actor. It's a job."

"Don't say that," she said. "Be what you are."

"Oh yeah." (p. 232)

The quotation shows that Karim's mother considers her son "an English man" due to the birth, even though he is aware that he is half Indian and half English, a new construct of two cultures as he himself states in the quotation given above. In fact, Karim yearns for getting rid of this restrictive boundary of being an Indian or English, yet his upbringing in these two mixed cultures and perceptions may also help him have a kind of the world view and identity based on indifference, flexibility, ambivalence and hybridity as being "a new breed as it were, having emerged from two old histories". He does not care for being an Indian or English but craves for expressing himself, playing various identities and roles and understanding as oscillating constantly between the same and the difference in the white British society as much as possible.

In this respect, Karim obviously becomes Kureishi's voice to represent these values and perceptions in life so as to go beyond the certainty of positioning caused by the norms of both his own family tradition and indigenous English society. What is more, Karim as the representative of subculture questions the norms and culture of the adult world in a different way, even though he still keeps some aspects of cultures of his parents – Indian and English. Due to this flexibility and indifference with his "deviant" attitudes in life (p. 97), therefore, Karim is able to see his future life in a way different from what his father and mother would give in life. Like many other young people in Britain, he wants to live on his own way freely and not according to his father's Indian background and his mother's English background: "I've glimpsed a world of excitement and possibility which I wanted to hold in my mind and expand as a template for the future" (p. 19). As seen later in *The Buddha of Suburbia*, Karim is aware of the view that the racial and skin-colour issue is an ongoing vicious circle, which obviously imprisons and will thus prevent him in the future from expanding and crossing beyond the border, so that he longs for creating a third space within subculture for himself where there may not be any conflict linked to race and skin-colour, where he may be free of the imposition of his family's limiting attitudes and then enjoy his life freely as much as possible. Karim's indifference or view of "third

space” in his life deeply stuns Shadwell, the director of the first theatre in the novel, where Karim has acted the character of Mowgli as discussed above in detail. It is true to some extent that Karim gets this job in Shadwell’s theatre because he is “dark-skinned”, “small and wiry” (142), and thus there is a kind of prejudice or categorization towards Karim in Shadwell’s sarcastic statements as well as in his solid sense of “superiority” which he is not aware of (pp. 146-7), yet what is important is that Shadwell finds Karim unconcerned about racism as a coloured one. He talks about immigration, imperialism and indirectly pushes Karim ahead to express his view and take sides with these issues, but Karim pays no heed to them. Then he says to Karim: ““that must be complicated for you to accept – belonging nowhere, wanted nowhere. Racism. Do you find it difficult? Please tell me. He looked me’. ‘I don’t know,’ I said defensively. ‘Let’s talk about acting’” (p. 141). In this quotation, as in the quotation above, Karim seems disturbed by Shadwell’s insistence on talking of racism; he does not pay attention to racism, to being half Indian or half English but to acting which he thinks will enable him to express himself the same as a white actor in the theatre; he thus strives to avoid Shadwell in a polite way, and a few pages later in the novel it becomes obvious in Shadwell’s colonial discourse that he strives to display his solid sense of “superiority” (p. 146).

In *The Buddha of Suburbia*, it is this flexibility which enables Karim to go beyond the boundary of the skin-colour and find job in another “theatre” (p. 137). Matthew Pyke is the director of the second theatre where Karim, as in the previous show, performs an Asian character, yet he is not exposed to categorization as much as he used to be in the former one. It is Eva who introduces Karim to theatre which becomes a means for him to reconcile the binary oppositions of racism and culture on both sides. This introduction not only becomes a chance, “big moment” and a new start in Karim’s life (p. 136), but it also avails him of opportunity to prove himself and his ability in acting, intellectual and artistic circle of the white upper class British society. Although characters such Karim, Tracey and Gene are clearly exposed to racial discrimination, humiliation and segregation among the whites actors and actresses on the stage, “theatre” still becomes a means particularly for Karim to express himself and achieve a kind of reputation and status despite his brown colour; it is the theatre which enables him to see the light of the future in his life.

It is funny and unusual, yet his first acquaintance with the idea of theatre takes place in the bathroom of Eva Kays during one of his visits, and it is at this moment that he sees his future in the theatre:

In the Kays’ bathroom there were framed theatre posters for Genet plays. There were bamboo and parchment scrolls with tubby Orientals copulating on them. As I sat down with my trousers down, taking it all in, I had an extraordinary revelation. I could see my life clearly for the first time: the future and what I wanted to do. I wanted to live always this intensely: mysticism, alcohol, sexual promise, clever people and drugs. I hadn’t come upon it all like this before, and now I wanted nothing else. The door to the future had opened: I could see which way to go (pp. 14-5).

In his second theatre under the directorship of Pyke, Karim achieves his future success, fame and status in his life without any overt segregation. Now he is happy and enjoys public attention freely the same as other white actors: “People pointed us out to each other. They bought us drinks; they felt privileged to meet us. They required us urgently at their parties, to spice them up. We went to them, turning up at midnight with our arms full of beer and wine. Once there we were offered drugs...” (p. 235) Karim has been able to find his way for himself in the artistic and intellectual space of the British society on his

own without binding himself to the background of his Indian father and English Mother; he is not subjected to any categorization, discrimination and humiliation but praised, so that Karim is offered further roles: “I was offered a small part in a television film, playing a taxi-driver” (p. 235). Eventually Karim also travels to New York to take part in another show under Pyke’s leadership and enjoys to some extent the opportunities the dominant cultures of both British and American societies provide their own citizens with.

As for the view of alternative way of life, “subversive ideas” and “deviant” attitudes, almost all the young characters of Kureishi in *The Buddha of Suburbia*, it is not only Karim with his brown-skin but both immigrant and local English young people who actually represent the youth subculture as they strongly desire to run away from the view of life which they find their bleak, uninspiring, dull and restrictive at home and at school as well as in society and culture. For example, Helen, the daughter of Hairy Back, who heavily insults Karim due to his skin colour, also wants to escape from her home, even though she as a local white English girl has everything materially and has no racial and discriminative problem in the streets of London. Moreover, Helen does not have any problem to live together with the children of the immigrant families and black people, yet Helen, like many other young black and people, is also unhappy at home, too, and thus unable to find at home whatever she desires. Her father Hairy Back is a traditional tyrant and restrictive man, who is very angry with the non-white people, and Helen as a young girl does not approve of her father’s attitudes towards the non-white people, since she has no problem with the non-white people; even she has brown-skin and black friends, whom she gets on well with. The way her father acts and thinks obviously upset her, and thus she tells Karim her plan or what she also wants to do in her future life:

She said she was going to run away from school and go to live in San Francisco. She had had enough of the pettiness of living with her parents and the irrelevance of school was smothering her heads. All over the Western world there were liberation movements and alternative life-styles – there had never been a kids’ crusade like it – and Hairy Back wouldn’t let her stay out after eleven (pp. 71-2).

In the quotation, Helen’s views illuminate some general aspects of youth cultures and attitudes developed in the second half of the twentieth century, and these views of subculture continue to draw attention of many people to a greater extent across the world due to the unavoidable rise and spread of electronic media on stage and on screen, which has made even much freer and excessive the range of topics, manners and views. As for Helen’s views, there are two important different aspects linked to youth cultures and attitudes. First, she, like Karim, Charlie and Jamila in *The Buddha of Suburbia*, is not happy at home due to the nasty, stale, trivial and restrictive view of life, so that she thinks that her father will not let her practice “alternative life-styles” on her own, together with her free movements in line with “liberation movements” developed in the Western Europe, so that Helen, without offending much her father at home, sees her only chance in San Francisco to exercise her view of life free from the limitation of her father and society. Secondly, Helen, like many other students today all over the world, finds school suffocating and destructive on account of the strict moral and disciplinary codes which do not allow them to act in the way they want and live as per what pleases them.

In addition to Karim and Helen, Charlie, the son of Eva Kays, also seeks his own “temptations” and freedom in his life different from the life at his home. Charlie is an aloof, elusive, dismissive and unconcerned young character in *The Buddha of Suburbia*, but he is more radical and courageous than Karim and Helen in the way he stands “apart”

(p. 149). His father has a psychological problem, and mother is having an affair with Karim's father Haroon whom he knows and often sees him together with his mother at their home, yet he is always in his “attic” room as being indifferent and isolated to what is going on at home. He has homosexual relationship with Karim and wears unusual clothes such “long hippie smack”, “cowboy boots”, “an old pair of frayed jeans or a wide collared shirt with pink flowers on it”, and “jumpers” (pp. 35, 88). From the very beginning of the novel, we often see Charlie as a young man who not only seeks a new different life but also prepares himself for the rest of his life whatever it is (p. 37), and halfway through the novel, he makes his own “start of a life”, a life which definitely opposes what is commonly accepted and practiced at home and in English society. This new life as part of youth culture is a kind of “new nihilism” and indifference (p. 153), or it is a kind of hippie and casual life without being bound to any kind traditional norms and practices: “Charlie liked to sleep here and there, owning nothing, living nowhere permanent, screwing, whoever he could; sometimes he even rehearsed and wrote songs. He lived this excess not yet in despair but in the excitement of increasing life” (p. 117). For young people like Charlie, the act of “to sleep here and there, owning nothing, living nowhere permanent” is not strange but means a kind of freedom and independence, because there is nothing in such kind of life which binds and constrains young people. This is obviously the opposite of what traditional culture and way of life demand young people in that young people are requested to be at home at certain times and that they should have a regular and tidy lives since they are considered the future of society and its culture.

Charlies also shows his reaction to this kind of regularity and tidiness of traditional society and culture through music he plays and songs he sings in *The Buddha of Suburbia*. This new form of music is new popular music as “the product of an alien and dangerous culture”, which not only occupies everyday life of young people but also encourages them with different racial background to have an alternative way of life which objects to the established way of life and culture of the adult people (Hamm, 1985, p. 163). Unlike a written text, music reflects its sound, echo, meaning and impact at once on the audience, particularly on the young people, retaining what Dan Laughey points out “social and cultural force of identification and presentation in nearly all young people's lives, whether they like it or not” (2006, p. 1). As the product of its own time, popular music as an opposite of classical and established form of music represents the values, taste and interest of young people and then becomes their voice, in which they not only identify themselves as different and free but also give their messages to the outside world, usually contrary to the common world view of their adult parents. For example, last summer I was shopping last summer with my family in LCWaikiki, a shopping chain, and I saw the following banner on one of the shirts, which I wanted to purchase, yet it was too small for a fat man like me: “Rock and Roll, in all its forms, gives us a microphone to communicate with the world. It has the power to bring nationalities and generations together, to elect world leaders, and to move people. No other art form has the social significance of Rock and Roll. You simply cannot understand Western culture without taking a serious look at this music”. After World War II, there have been developed various kinds of popular music such as rock and roll, rhythm and blues, gospel music, pop, country and western and so on, which have obviously challenged art music or traditional music. As a new form, popular music has been a kind of reaction against the restrictive nature of traditional culture and values in which particularly young people had felt themselves imprisoned

and voiceless. Secondly, popular music has broken the class, ethnic and racial boundaries in that young people from different ethnic or racial have become able to come together and create a space free from discrimination and categorization. Finally, popular music with its styles, images, taste and lyrical aspects has become a means for young people to express their feelings and emotions without being exposed to any limitation; in this respect, they have striven to get rid of everyday routines and boredom imposed on them by their parents' culture and moral values.

Similarly, music in *The Buddha of Suburbia* becomes a means of protects, reaction and escapism for young characters, who often gather, play music and sing songs in the places away from their parents and their control. Through their music, these young people gain energy and power that not only call into question the old order of parochial culture, stereotyped assumptions, old prejudices, backward attitudes of English society, but they also avoid close observation and control of their parents. From the very beginning of the novel, Charlie and Karim are always seen as being involved in music, which not frees but also puts him at once in a different position from his father and mother in the sense that they have different type of music, representing the life style of the working-class youth, which "originated the chief developments in music and fashion", and as a result, "the 'lifestyles' and values of the 'Sixties people' in Britain spread wide, encompassing all ages, classes, and regions" (Kumar 1983: 44). In its earliest example, Karim is getting ready to go together with his mother to the Yoga meeting at Mrs. Eva Kay's home. While getting ready, he puts on one of his favourite records, "Dylan's 'Positively Fourth Street', to get [him] in the mood for the evening" (Kureishi, 1990, p. 6). Karim wants "to study the *Melody Maker* and *New Musical Express* to keep up" with his mood of hope in the suburban London, where "it was all familiarity and endurance: security and safety were reward of dullness" (p. 8). As seen here, music refreshes and cheers up Karim. Secondly, once he is bored in the suburb of London, which he feels makes his life dull and tasteless, music immediately fills him with energy, hope and excitement for the future.

Like Karim, Charlie also uses music a means of escapism and expression since he is very bored at home and feels himself isolated and lonely. Music becomes a kind of therapy for him. For example, Eva is the mistress of Karim's father. Karim knows their relationship, and they often visit her house together. In one of their visits, Karim meets Charlie, who invites him to his attic room, where he has "piles of records" and "the four Beatles in their Sergeant Pepper were on the wall like gods." (p. 14). The Beatles were an important popular music band in England during the 1960s, and they visibly affected culture and people's way of thinking. The Beatles were very much influenced by black music, namely by rock and roll music and musicians like Chuck Berry, Roy Orbison, Isley Brothers, and the "King of rock" Elvis Presley, whom young people listened to and still continues to listen to them in a manner which not only opposes traditional art music and its culture, but it also challenged the political situation of the 1960s. Charlie seems influenced very much by this form of music and asks Karim if he has recently heard such a good music lately. Karim tells how he himself played "the new Stone album" at music society, making young people there "crazy" due to the happiness and enjoyment: "They threw off their jackets and ties and danced / I was on the top of my desk! It was like some weird pagan ritual. You should a bin [Sic. have been] there, man" (p. 14). As we have seen above, young people, both white and coloured-skin, seem unhappy, bored and limited in their lives under the control of dominant cultures and values of their parents,

so that music, as the quotation illuminates, frees young people imaginatively; it allows them to forget temporarily what bores them and ignore indirectly what controls their life and identity.

What controls the lives of young people is destabilize through the use of alcohol and sex in *The Buddha of Suburbia*. Kureishi employs alcohol and sex in a way that they become not activities, with which young people engaged themselves the same as the other people but activities which enable them to lead an alternative or deviant life as opposed to how traditional societies applied them. From the very beginning of the novel to the end, it is possible such “deviant” behaviours and relationship among young people which they see the ways leading to their emancipation. Jamila, the daughter of an immigrant family, also represents the view of the youth culture once she rejects the view of life which particularly her father strives to impose on her. Like Karim and Charlie, she also has far-reaching different “subversive ideas” about life (p. 53), particularly about marriage, which are closely bound up with the youth culture, in which she strongly challenges her father’s view of marriage as well as the view of the family structure in the contemporary England. Jamila is the daughter of Haroon’s close friend Anwar, who, together with Haroon, came from India to England in the 1950s to get a good education, yet he, like Haroon, has not turned back to India, and now Anwar is running a food store called Paradise Store in the London suburb. In many ways, Jamila is different from her mother, who voluntarily accepts her place as an obedient wife in the family, yet Jamila as a girl seems unwilling to perform the same roles as her mother. She is more educated, “forceful and enthusiastic” and advanced in many areas of life when compared to her mother (pp. 51-2); she has a strong powerful character and is in the total control of her life and “certain what to do about everything” in her life (p. 55). Moreover, Jamila, unlike a traditional girl and woman, learns “karate” and “Judo” and runs long distance, even though her father gets suspicious of whether or not she meets boys (pp. 56-7). Besides, Jamila is a good reader and reads non-stop under the close supervision and tutorial of the librarian Miss Cutmore of a nearby library, and she reads particularly important feminist critics such as Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986), a French writer who had an important influence on the development of feminism. Her most famous book is *The Second Sex* (1949), which, now a classic of feminist literature, is a scholarly and passionate plea for the abolition of what she called the myth of the “eternal feminine”. In addition, Jamila always carries the photography of Angela Davis (1944-), a left-wing black American political activist, scholar, and author, who was politically active during the late 1960s and 1970s as a member of the Communist Party USA, the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Panther Party.

Jamila’s view of life, her gender identity and her relationship with the other sex are very much influenced by Simone de Beauvoir and Angela Davis as for her future life of marriage, positions and roles in her own family once she is married, so that she starts viewing her space and future life in a different way. This difference becomes very visible once her father secretly decides that it is time Jamila got married. Upon deciding that it is time for his daughter to marry in a decent way, Anwar gets at once in touch with his brother who arranges a boy in Bombay, India, for Jamila. When Anwar tells her about his decision that “she was to marry the Indian and he would come over, slip on his overcoat and wife and live happily ever after in her muscly arms... ‘Soon you’ll be very happy.’ Her mother said, ‘we’re both very glad for you, Jamila’”, and “Not surprisingly for someone with

Jamila's temper and Angela Davis's beliefs, Jamila wasn't too pleased" with this news (p. 57). For Anwar as a traditional man, family and marriage are the moral basis of society and happy life, so that she should obey his decision and accept this arranged marriage with the Indian boy Changez, yet when Jamila rejects to marry him, her father goes on the hunger-strike (pp. 59-60). Having considered her father's situation, eventually she accepts to marry Changez, but she has a different and alternative view of marriage in her mind (p. 82). Like Orlando in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (1928), she forges and pacifies the demand of her father in a way which avails her of chance to achieve happiness without submitting completely to the order of her father as she tells Karim: "I don't want anything but to live my life in peace" (p. 84). Changez comes to England, and eventually they marry. After a while, however, Changez learns the real situation with her, and then they both decide to depart Anwar's house and start living in south London. As per Jamila's alternative plan, the relationship between them is very untraditional, loose and unusual: that is, they are legally and traditionally husband and wife and live in the same house, yet they do not go to bed together. She is so adamant that she does not allow Changez to approach her, since she is very upset with her father's decision imposed upon her without her consent. Hence they are absolutely free in their lives, so that Jamila has not only sexual relationship with another man called Simon and a baby from him and but also lesbian relationship with "a woman friend" (p. 273; see also p. 277) while still living together with Changez in the same house (pp. 223-4, 231). As a young female character, she makes fun not only of Changez but also of the whole patriarchal tradition once she says to him: "I am asking how you, Changez, you with your background of prejudice against practically the whole world, are coping with being married to a lesbian" (p. 273). On the other hand, Changez also has sexual relationship with a Japanese prostitute Shinko (pp. 101, 135-6), which may be seen as normal for a man in a patriarchal society, yet there is something wrong or new in the relationship between Changez and Jamila as husband and wife, offending the very basis of traditional patriarchal society whether it is Indian or English.

This kind of relationship in marriage and family is obviously uncommon and very radical in a traditional society and culture, and Kureishi represents the deep-seated shift of view in marriage through the lives and relationship of Jamila and Changez in contemporary British society as part of youth culture. As clearly seen in her views, attitudes and practices, Jamila as a young female represents the general tendency of a new and different view among many young girls and women who are against the arranged marriage, and even they are against marriage in general in the sense that it not only requires a kind of responsibility but also limits the life and constrains free and independent movements of women in the family, since those women, who do not fit into these expectations, are obviously marginalized and become outcast.

The homosexual relationship between Karim and Charlie does not fit into expectation of traditional society and culture but is used not only as an escape from restriction and control but also as an illumination and creativity or a kind of new vision particularly for Karim to see where his future life lies:

As I sat there with my trousers down, talking it all in, I had an extraordinary revelation. I could see my life clearly for the first time: the future and what I wanted to do. I wanted to live always this intensely: mysticism, alcohol, sexual promise, clever people and drugs. I hadn't come upon it all like this before, and now I wanted nothing else. The door to the future had opened: I could see which way to go (p. 15).

This quotation gives hints about Karim's future life and expectation, in which there

will be “mysticism, alcohol, sexual promise, clever people and drugs”, which used to be main aspects of youth life and culture in the 1960s and 70s. In his relationship with Charlie, Karim at once makes clear what is important for him, and it is not actually the love between himself and Charlie but the intensity as well as Charlie’s way of life and style which enable him to visualize his future life: “And Charlie? My love for him was unusual as love goes: it was not generous. I admired him more than anyone but I didn’t wish him well. It was that I preferred him to me and wanted to be him. I coveted his talents, face and style. I wanted to wake up with them all transferred to me” (p. 15). A little bit later, Karim kisses Charlie, which opens further the door for him: “I tried to kiss him. He avoided my lips by turning his head to one side. But when he came in my hand it was, I swear, one of the preeminent moments of my earliest life. There was dancing in my streets. My flag flew, my trumpets blew” (p. 17). As we learn from Karim himself, he has had many times before such kind of relationship with the other students at his school: “I had squeezed many penises before, at school. We stroked and rubbed and pinched each other all the time. It broke up the monotony of learning. But I had never kissed a man” (p. 17). In such relationship, Karim is very easy-going and free and does not care even for the criticism of his own father. For instance, his father catches Karim with Charlie in the bed and gets very angry. Once they are back to home, he rebukes and wants to slap Karim. Then he says: “what the hell were you doing...I saw you, Karim. My God, you’re a bloody pure shitter! A bum-banger! My own son – how did it transpire?” (p. 18). Karim does not allow his father to slap him, and his answer to father is sharp and clear: “he was drunker that I was stoned and grabbed the ungrateful bastard...’shut up!’ I said, as quietly as I could” (p. 18). As Kureishi represents both Karim and his father, there is a big difference between them as for judging the man-to-man sexual relationship. His father is having an illegal affair with Eva Kays, yet he does not see it as bad and immoral, probably because of the fact that it, though illegal, is a heterosexual relationship, yet he gets so upset about Karim’s relationship with Charlie, since society and culture, particularly the background from which Karim comes, will never tolerate it. However, Karim does not care for what his father is telling or what morality says about it, and what actually concerns him most is the “extraordinary revelation” and intensity of feeling, which not only open “the door to the future” for him but also enable him to “see which way to go” in his life. What is more, Karim liberates himself imaginatively through this relationship from the world of his father and his background as well as from the banality of the London suburban where he lives with his family, since he thinks that people cannot see their lives “but their double-glazing flashing before them” in the suburb of London (p. 23). During the night after the meeting at Eva’s home and relationship with Charlie, Karim cannot sleep due to the complex thought in his mind but strives inwardly to envision his future life which will definitely contradict the view of life of his father: “I’d glimpsed a world of excitement and possibility which I wanted to hold in my mind and expand as a template for the future” (p. 19).

In conclusion, Kureishi represents various aspects of youth subculture through the lives of his fictional characters in *The Buddha of Suburbia*, in which there seems a kind of conflict between the old generation and young one – a kind of conflict in which the old adult people want young people to follow strictly their footsteps, culture and way of life in an obedient way, which, in fact, aims at constructing a view of identity in the expectation and interest of traditional parochial culture and society, yet young people are not willing

to do so; they are bored, unhappy and feel controlled and limited not only in their lives, identity and expression of thought but also in their free movements. Hence they tend to devise and exercise deviant strategies and behaviours as different subcultures within the border of the dominant national cultures not only to sidestep the routines, boredom and constraint of everyday life but also to forge a space where they feel themselves free, happy, energetic and hopeful, where they are able to defy in different ways what shapes and controls their lives and also to contribute to the shift in the perception of culture and relationship.

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YEATS'S REDEFINITION OF POETIC SELF IN NATURE SYMBOLISM

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Abstract

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William Butler Yeats has been always attracted to mythology and its affinities with poetic creation. Besides, nature has played an influential role in his art. Benefiting from archetypal approach, this paper tries to cast light on Yeats's definition of soul's eternity and poetic self. Poet's quest and his creative art are reflected by a set of nature symbols like swan. Through confrontation with nature, examining it as a source of ideas, motifs, and myths, Yeats sheds light on his interior state of self to create art. For him, art is a means of self-realization. It is concluded that his poetic contemplations on the inevitable changes of life, reflected in the macrocosm of nature, offer both the writer and reader a fuller vision of reality.

Keywords: *William Butler Yeats; Archetype; Poetic Self; Nature;*

Introduction

Partly conscious and relatively subconscious, it seems that mythopoeic writers like William Butler Yeats are carefully structuring their works on myth (Guerin, et. al., 199). Myth "is a dynamic factor everywhere in human society; it transcends time, uniting the past (traditional modes of belief) with the present (current values) and reaching toward the future (spiritual and cultural aspirations)" (Guerin, et. al., 184). Universal symbols or archetypes reflected in legend, folklore, and the ideology of a nation provide as much impetus for those poets who are willing to soak their imagination in the dreams and myths of their nations. For Allen, the "most myth-conscious and archetype-oriented poets of the day has suffered misinterpretation upon misinterpretation" because "analytical structures thoroughly foreign to the shape of [their] imaginative thought" have been imposed on them (62). He considers mythopoeic analysis and archetypal criticism as the most reliable approach to "Yeats's philosophical convictions, symbolic methods, and expansive imaginative vision" (ibid.). However, it is not Allen but Wheelwright's contribution who leads us directly to the archetypal approach to the poetry of Yeats. This paper shows how Yeats's swan and nature iconography transcend time because they are transmuted into archetypal images that are the symbolic projections of mankind's desire to eternalize the experience of beauty.

Archetype

An archetypal image reflects motifs that underlie human behavior. Archetype is the "dramatic representation of . . . a primary awareness of man . . . upon which all particular attitudes and opinions depend" (Schorer 29). In this case, an archetypal image is by nature collective and communal. It is the "expression of profound sense of togetherness of feeling and of action and of wholeness of living" (Tate 11). Therefore, an archetypal image is omnipresent in time as well as place. Archetype is the original pattern or model

from which all entities of the same kind are copied or on which they are based. In Jungian psychology, archetype is a collectively inherited unconscious idea, pattern of thought, image, etc., universally present in individual psyches. Therefore, in an archetypal image, consisting of repeated motifs and themes, one can find the traces of past as well as present with the possibility of continuation and variation in those patterns in future.

Asserting Eternity through Art

Yeats who ardently aspires to “translate his intellectual [and archetypal] symbols into outward and visible signs” publishes his collection of lyric poetry *The Wild Swans at Coole* in 1919 (MacNeice 108, 129) and round the home of the Gregorys he builds his mythology. Sifting through the theme of the whole volume, in fact, in the labyrinth of his entwined symbolism, one might sense that “the restoration of wholeness in the book is, in other words, the poet’s reaffirmation of his will to art” (Miyake 49) which is a form of asserting eternity. The figurative title poem in the volume “can be taken as a symbol of the whole book to illuminate its entire design” (Miyake 52). “The Wild Swans at Coole” (1917) follows the myth of immortality against a background imbued with temporality (Abrams 2101). As “a realist-symbolist-metaphysical poet” who tries “to fix sublime emotions in the form of poetry” (Abrams 2088; Miyake 49), he finds their realizations by fusing occultism, mysticism, Irish mythology, use of symbols and theory of the mask (Azam 1). Therefore, to restore the balance of time that is lost in the collapsed community of de-religious modernism, Yeats calls for images of eternity in this poem.

Yeats’s Affinity with Nature

Standing upon the threshold of decline, brooding on awesome temporality yet in ardent quest for perpetuity, Yeats is still unmarried at the age of fifty-one. Being in the autumn of his life, he gives integrity as a poet to his images by showing his semblance to the nature, more intensely shown in autumn season: “The trees are in their autumn beauty” (1. 1). From the first stanza onward, the poet draws upon a fundamental motif in myth---immortality---by using the image of tree. For Cirlot, tree is the “inexhaustible life, and is therefore equivalent to a symbol of immortality” (qtd. in Guerin, et. al., 189). Immortality is represented in the color of autumnal leaves, which are gold signifying “the state of glory” (Cirlot 56) in nature. Trees are seen as the only place that a man can escape from his mortality (Gates, par. 2). This majestic beauty of gold “corresponds to the mystic aspect of the sun” (Cirlot 53) which epitomizes “life force, creative-guiding force, brightness, splendor, active awakening, healing, resurrection, ultimate wholeness” (Lawrence 3). Thus, Yeats’s desire in reaching wholeness is manifested in all minute parts of the poem.

The beauty of that scenery is intensified with “Under the October twilight the water /Mirrors a still sky;” (1. 3-4). Yeats works upon the images that let time flow into eternity, intensified with the image of water representing the “perennial response” of the cycle of “birth-death-resurrection” (Guerin, et., al. 182, 185). This ideal archetypal image in Yeats’s poems “symbolizes the human soul for its reflectiveness and depth. When it comes to water element, the poet’s mind grows still, receptive and keen. His whole being waits for the illumination of truth to come” (Miyake 51). More important, Yeats organizes water and its image to build upon the central symbol of the poem --- the swans: “Upon the brimming water among the stones/Are nine-and-fifty swans” (1. 5-6). Viewed from a slightly different archetypal angle, these symbolic implications are suggesting father-

mother principle. The sun, "father principle" evaporates sea that is "the mother of all life" (Guerin, et., al. 185). Water (mother, life) is condensed in clouds and returns to earth, "a female principle" (Cirlot 56), in the form of life-giving rain. This image per se along with the image of the swans flying away in the last line of the final stanza show that Yeats's love for Maud Gonne is symbolically represented in natural scenery. As the sun, stands above the female entity (i.e. water), probably Yeats has managed to stand above the love of his ex-beloved Maud Gonne. That is why critics like Levine claim, "his obsession with Maud Gonne seems to have been brought under control since he is able to distance himself from her" (411). Between 1915-19, as David Young argues, Yeats is "more often present as a master of his art and life." (qtd. in Levine 411).

He grows older as his poetry grows younger (MacNeice 122) in his path to welcome the new birth as well as change and mutability. That is why from the very beginning of this poem (i.e. 1st stanza), beauty and permanency is an inseparable part of art while "there is a hint of change, a creation of instantaneous nostalgia, in a beauty which is part of autumn and perceived in 'October twilight'" (Hahn 419). Also in the fifth line of the opening stanza, the idea of change and mutability shrewdly pushes itself into the realm of nature. Nature is prone to change; because of its fluctuating quality, nature cannot thoroughly reflect the ethereal eternalized beauty that the poet seeks (Gates, par. 3). Thus, Yeats shows overflowing of water in "brimming" (l. 5). Later, he continues, "The woodland paths are dry" (l. 2) that can imply the idea of unproductivity and barrenness of poet's dreams. One can draw biographical inferences to intemperance these lines: his refusal of marriage proposal to Maude Gonne in 1916 (Jeffares 31) has happened at the threshold of composing this poem. That is another natural clue, one of the representatives of many symbols used by Yeats indicating transitional phase of the life cycle. After "a long barren passion for a marriage" (Jeffares 33) which is disappointing to the continuation of Yeats line, in 1917, he marries Miss Georgie Hyde-Lees. In this phase, "attempts to formulate his astrological and occult speculations into a 'system' also date from this time, for his wife had the gift of 'automatic writing', a fact which delighted Yeats" (Cowell 53).

The poet makes the scene more visual and vivid by revealing that fifty-nine swans, symbolizing "the life-force", "the state of perfect harmony," and "eternal life, permanent beauty and immutability" are floating on water (qtd. in Miyake 51; Billigheimer 56-57). Yeats's use of the archetype of the swan can be explained through his fascination with the Irish legend, the story of two lovers Baile and Aillinn who are transformed into swans, well reflected in his earlier poem "Baile and Aillinn" (1903) (Abrams 2101). "From their role as immortal lovers in the dream-like magical world of Irish mythology, swans evolve into a more dramatic and complex mythological symbolism in *The Wild Swans at Coole*, both on a personal level and in a universal dimension" (Billigheimer 55). The swans can be taken as the representative of the *élan vital* of youth as well since "their hearts do not grow old, they find the streams companionable despite their coldness, passion and conquest attend them unsought, and their vigor is such that they climb the air instead of flying through it" (qtd. in Miyake 51). Since swans mate for life, fifty-nine swans imply that one has lost a mate. The archetypal significance of number fifty-nine can be interpreted as the combination of five, one, and twelve regarding Cirlot's number symbolism (i.e.; $[12 \times 5] - 1 = 59$). Five is the symbolic harmony and integration, "Man, health and love"; one is "the mystic Center" of the dream of Irish identity; additionally, twelve means the "cosmic order and salvation" that Yeats as an artist tries to bring for his nation (232-4). Yeats's

combination seems meaningful as the fusion of five, twelve and one happens in his poem [(12*5) -1=59]. He is preoccupied with an image of a modern man who is “disillusioned due to mechanization” and lives in an age where “romances were coming to an end and people were getting brutal” (Azam 2). Disillusioned as a modern man and witnessed the “lack of harmony and strength in modern culture, Yeats [have] tried to revive the ancient spells and chant to bring unity and a spirit of integration in modern civilization torn by conflicts and dissensions” (ibid.). He tries to be the prophetic poet who can make sixty out of fifty-nine. It seems that Yeats stands in the center of the universe of his art. That is why he is able to bring order, peace, hope and spiritual salvation to his life and above all to Ireland. It is similar to the poet’s life since he used to love Maud Gonne, the Soul Mate, “the princess or ‘beautiful lady’-incarnation of inspiration and spiritual fulfillment” (Guerin, et. al., 187) who refuses to marry him. Therefore, the single swan represents Yeats. And the missing swan is Maud Gonne who can be associated with the stunning image of the swan (Levine 411). By composing the poem, Yeats “finally learned to release the nine-and-fifty swans at Coole from his private obsession, freeing them and all later swans in his poetry to become universal symbols for his readers” (Levine 411).

In this poem, Yeats tries to compare two visits that he made to Coole Park, Lady Gregory’s country estate: one in 1897 and the second in 1916. Lady Augusta Gregory, Yeats’s friend and patron, for whom he feels indebted for paving the way to regenerate Ireland’s national identity is responsible for bringing persistent nobility to his uncertain thoughts (Cowell 26-27). Lady Augusta Gregory also epitomizes the Good Mother (i.e. good aspects of the Earth Mother) which means that she’s “associated with the life principle, birth, warmth, nourishment, protection, fertility, growth, abundance” (Guerin, et. al., 187). As the result of her patronage, the influence of the Celtic Renaissance is vividly felt in Yeats’ early poetry centering on Irish folklore, legends, and traditions. One such symbol which Yeats borrowed from Irish legend was the swans and *The Wild Swans at Coole* owes a great deal to the influence of Irish tradition. In his quest for timelessness, Yeats strives impatiently to solve the challenging riddles and pass the insurmountable obstacles: the passage of time. Being change-sick and aware of human transience, he writes of “the particular loneliness and mutability he has experienced in his own life”(Gates, par. 12) most notably seen in line fifteen “All’s changed” (l. 15). He idolizes the swans because as Yeats feels the burden of change in this phase of life, swans are “empirical presences like himself,” yet “they can never be aware of weariness, of transience or of decline” (qtd. in Gates, par. 4). Yeats’s first task “is to cultivate a cold, austere control so that he does not succumb to the commercial spirit, to sentimentality, or to philosophies that imprison either will or intellect” (O’Brien 2). His heart is torn by the death of his friends and the wound of Maud Gonne is not still healed, yet “he skillfully guides his emotion and thought into artistic molds” (ibid.). He undergoes this superhuman feat by presenting an idyllic picture of a landscape in the first stanza of the poem, making out of nature a resort, where no materiality and concerns can enter the domain of human life and torment his mind.

Distancing himself to represent an impersonal description of natural scenery, from the second stanza to the fifth, the poet’s voice is heard. That is interpreted as Yeats’s “forceful juxtaposition of his own experience of fleeting time with the permanence he seeks” (Gates, par. 1). The “transpersonal nature of beauty” (ibid.) pictured in the final stanza of the poem “Mysterious, beautiful” (l. 26) exhibits poet’s ideal crave to seek

permanent beauty in temporality. However, “a part of these temporal changes”(Gates, par. 5), fifty-nine swans “All suddenly mount/And scatter wheeling in great broken rings/ Upon their clamorous wings” (l. 10-12) before the poet can finish his counting. Even in their stillness and tranquility, these wild swans “harbor the instinct of flight” and in “their tableau of permanence, the element of change [is inherent]” (Hahn 419-20). The swans form a ring, “a symbol of eternity--and perhaps this reminds Yeats that while he might change, the swans remain the same, and even make the same patterns in the sky every year” (O’ Driscoll 2). All of these images constitute a special message that the poet tries to show the reader. Here Yeats breaks the overwhelming sense of immutability of nature. He transfers this idea that “through the window of the swans, the poet sees the possibility of temporal beings transcending ‘transience’ and ‘decline’ in an attainment of eternal beauty” (Gates, par. 5).

Influenced by “the seeming permanence of the swans and the drastic decline of his own strength” (O’Brien 2), Yeats continues: “I have looked upon those brilliant creatures, /And now my heart is sore” (l. 13-14). Yeats is haunted by the impression of change; that’s why he uses “All’s changed” (l.15) since his first visit, when he “trod with a lighter tread” (l. 18), not yet drown in a sea of time-bound existence. Now sore at his heart, he envies the swans that he thinks they can defy time. Unlike the poet, they are “Unwearied still, lover by lover” (l. 19) “Passion or conquest, wander where they will, /Attend upon them still” (l. 23-24). Devoid of companionship, passion or conquest, the poet may think these are the elements that can eternalize happiness in his heart, now old and wearied.

The poet reluctantly acknowledges his inevitable mortality in the final stanza, “. . . when I awake some day” (l. 29) thus making out of himself a sacrificial scapegoat so that with the alchemy of his art, here poetry, “Delight [of] men’s eyes” (l. 29) rests on his creation. He must die to atone for the pall of time-bound interactions hanging over his entire earthly kingdom. His death leads to the rebirth of younger swans, younger generation, young poets, and young Irishmen. So youth and immortality are happily wedded to Irish nation, represented “as ‘soft wax’ which could be given shape, purpose and beauty by a literary renaissance” (Cowell 22). The poem is concluded with a question to highlight the uncertainty of the future against the dominant image of eternity: “Among what rushes will they build, /By what lake’s edge or pool/Delight men’s eyes, when I awake some day/To find they have flown away?”(l. 27-30).

The last image of the poem leads the reader to this conclusion that the poet willingly opens a more optimistic window to the world, letting the breeze of hope caress his cheeks on an autumnal day by his art of poetry. He comes to embrace an image of permanence by the fifty-nine swan pattern: “the old swans are replaced by younger ones, A swan dies, but the swans live, and as the new are indistinguishable from the old, the swans become an intricate symbol of youth, forever passing yet forever renewed” (Gilbert 47). Interestingly, this eternity is not confined to poet since in the context of his poem, when he awakes one morning, the wild swans have flown away to delight the eyes of other men.

The image of swans gives integrity and meaning to the apparently senseless “great broken rings” of change (l. 11). When the protagonist of the poem experiences loss, he finds swans as the consistent message of beauty and eternity (Hahn 420). Seen from another angle, this image of ephemeral timelessness can represent the state of blissful immortality enjoyed by Adam and Eve before their Fall into the world of corruption and death. Interestingly, *The Wild Swans at Coole* poetry collection includes a group of poems

about the value of art. Through this volume, Yeats “develops a positive attitude to time, age and death, an attitude based on the primacy of the heart and the concept of intensity in art and life” (Cowell 59). Yeats believes that “through art and literature man can make himself more than the trembling victim of incomprehensible forces such as age and death” (ibid. 61). Surly, Yeats and all people following his symbolism in art are “now going to gain a new passage to life through [their] search into the biggest inevitability of nature, death” (Miyake 52).

Conclusion

In “The Wild Swans at Coole,” Yeats articulates his thirst for eternity through archetypal images. Through confrontation with nature, examining it as a source of ideas, motifs, and myths, Yeats sheds light on his interior state of self bewildered by torments of the past. Aware of predetermined dynamism of symbols and images, he draws them from nature, Irish folklore and mythology to illuminate his sense of the plights of a modern man exposed to the tragedy of collapsing of modern civilization due to brutalities of the First World War. Knowing of more crisis in the offing, the poet attempts to curb all the disasters, whether natural, national or global through the healing power of his imaginative art. Tormented by the atrophy of old age, however, the poet aspires to defy time through his quest for passionate desires. Thus, he makes no demur to capitalize on “nature as his anti-self” to embody “a fuller vision of reality grasped by his whole new being” (Miyake 54, 59). Surviving from an emotional crisis, this time he tries his best to absorb the élan of the world of symbolism in order to capture the powers of eternity. Through his portrayal of the swans, Yeats attempts to lead his contemplations on the inevitable changes due to aging and thus offers a fuller vision of reality.

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THE ART OF STORYTELLING AS AN EXPLORATION OF RE-WRITING GENDER ROLES IN GRACE PALEY'S *A CONVERSATION WITH MY FATHER*

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Abstract

This paper explores Grace Paley's *A Conversation with my Father*, which was first published in the *New American Review* (1972), from a feminist perspective precisely using terms by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar. *A Conversation with my Father* is about storytelling; the daughter entertains her father by telling him a story; hence, storytelling as an art is at the center of this study. The main theme of the story is considered to be a generation gap between the female author and her father, yet it mainly deconstructs the image of the father and the daughter into a dialectical female and male binary opposition. Consequently, this leads to a new meaning that shows the intricacy of the art of storytelling which informs a re-construction of gender roles. Therefore, it is crucial to focus on the complex role of the female narrator who verbally informs her father of her artistic creation of the story, and the complex role of her father who criticizes her story, and asks her to re-write it from his male perspective. Through the narrator's storytelling, women's roles as subject/object shed light on the perceived image of women in literature by a patriarchal system.

Keywords: *Grace Paley; Storytelling; Gender Roles; Writing style; Artistic Creation.*

Feminism started as a political movement that seeks equal rights for women politically, socially and economically (Abrams, p. 110). Women's suffrage rights movement started around the nineteenth century, however, women's criticism to the inequality between the sexes is traced back to the eighteenth century starting with Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797); in her book *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), she called for the equality of education between men and women and she questioned women's role in society. Other great authors who contributed to the feminist movement are John Stuart Mill's *the Subjection of a Woman* (1869) and the American Author, Margaret Fuller's *Women in The Nineteenth Century* (1845) (Abrams, p. 110).

Virginia Woolf was considered a monument in the feminist movement; her book *A Room of One's Own* (1929) encouraged female authors to write (Plain and Sellers, p. 2). Likewise in France, Simon De Beauvoir was a pioneer in the feminist movement, her book *The Second Sex* (1949) was a valuable and precious book (Abrams, p. 110). Interrelated with the political battle for equality the second wave of feminist emerged, in this stage women were concerned with literary criticism. "Feminist literary criticism properly begins in the after math of 'second-wave' feminism, the term usually given to the emergence of women's movement in the United States and Europe during the Civil Rights campaigns of the 1960" (Plain and Sellers, p. 2).

Since 1969 there has been a blast in feminist criticism writings that included all the fields of studies (Abrams, p. 110). The feminist study is not limited to a certain field; it's expanded to include different studies from different domains as explained by *The Norton*

Anthology of Literary Criticism:

While there is no single feminist literary criticism, there are a half dozen interrelated projects: exposing masculinity, stereotypes, distortions, and omissions in male dominated literature; studying female creativity, genre, styles, themes, and works by women. Developing feminist theoretical concepts and methods; examining forces that shape women's live, literature and criticism, ranging across psychology, biology and cultural history (Leitch et al, p. 23).

Therefore, feminist studies in different fields agree on three assumptions: the first is that society is male-centered and controlled by patriarchy, the second assumption is that gender is determined by social factors as explained in Abrams' terminology "while one's sex as a man or woman is determined by anatomy, the prevailing concepts of gender- of the traits that are conceived to constitute what is masculine and what is feminine in temperament and in behavior are largely, if not entirely, social constructs"(Abrams, p. 111). The third assumption is that literature is male- dominant and it invades the female's world imposing on her certain images that determine her existence (Abrams, p. 111).

Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar in their book *The Mad Woman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and The nineteenth-Century Literary imagination* question the meaning of being a female author in a patriarchal oppressing society. They study the female authors and their works and how they were criticized by male authors and critics. The male critics and authors impose on women images that dehumanize and reduce them to mere stereotypes; these images are deepened by the language, style, and metaphor used by men in literature. In contrast with Harold Bloom's theory "anxiety of influence" shows the aggressive competition between the father and son to avoid the traces of the ancestors in writing, and both authors argue that women should reverse this aggressive competition by achieving the meaning of the secret sisterhood. Female authors' struggle is called "the anxiety of authorship" because female authors are eager to break the boundaries that prevent them from writing. Therefore, women started by struggling with patriarchal socialization, then they became resistant readers to the patriarchal literature, and they revised the masculine stereotyping of women.

Feminist critics used deconstruction as a method to analyze the literary work to reach the hidden meaning. Deconstruction theory first originated by Jacques Derrida (Abrams, p. 70); it is identified as "A deconstructive reading sets out to show the conflicting forces within the text itself serves to dissipate the seeming definiteness of its structure and meaning into an into an indefinite array of incompatible and undecidable possibilities" (Abrams, p. 69). Moreover, studying women as a subject requires to study the historical moment in which the events of the story took place according to new historicism, Louise Montrose described the new historicism as "a reciprocal concern with history of texts and the textuality of history" (qtd. In Abrams, p. 219) Hayden White uses the term "what must have been the case" (p. 1714). This question helps in studying the historical background of both the author and the story to show the relation between the historical moment and the events of the story.

The father signifies the male authors and the male critics who demands that the female author should write as male authors do. He believes that his daughter used to write as Russian authors used to write. He says: "I would like you to write a simple story just once more," he continues: "The kind Maupassant wrote, or Chekhov, the kind you used to write, just recognizable people and then write down what happened to them next" (Paley, p. 1). Therefore, the father doesn't appreciate the writings of his daughter and he forces her to write in the same way that Chekhov writes. The father looks down at his daughter's stories in comparison to the stories written by Maupassant.

This superior attitude to women's writings was an obstacle that stood in the face of

female authors for centuries in the patriarchal society especially in the nineteenth century as stated by Elaine Showalter in her book *A Literature of their own: British Women Novelist* (1977, 1982) she says: “Victorian feminine novelists thus found themselves in a double bind. They felt humiliated by the condescension of male critics” (p. 538) female authors’ writings were ‘inferiorized’ and were not treated as genuine writings that make the female authors suffer from “anxiety of authorship” according to Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar: “‘anxiety of authorship’ – a radical fear that she cannot create, that because she can never become a “precursor” the act of writing will isolate or destroy her” (p. 2027).

The daughter who signifies the female author tries to please her father by trying to obey his request even though she says that she doesn’t remember that she used to write in that way; this shows that the father doesn’t listen to his daughter. The narrator as an author and critic of literature believes that writing in linear structure doesn’t suit her because it takes all hope from the humans’ life, and she believes that everyone deserves an open destiny in life. Again this manifests the difference between the female author and her male counterpart. Similarly, this brings to the mind the questions that were raised by Gilbert and Gubar which ask about the meaning of being a female author in patriarchal society. The two authors question whether the female author has a chance to express herself by using her own voice and by avoiding imitating male’s voice, could she stand the criticism of patriarchal society, or is she doomed to follow the male author’s steps without having a chance to express her real self and her genuine feelings.

Virginia Woolf, indeed, turned to use the stream of consciousness as technique in her novels. It is “the technique that records the multifarious thoughts and feelings of a character without regard to logical argument or narrative sequence” (“Stream Consciousness”) This technique reflects the inner self of the character at a certain moment “The technique was first employed by Édouard Dujardin (1861–1949) in his novel *Les Lauriers Sont Coupés* (1888) and was subsequently used by such notable writers as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and William Faulkner” (“Stream Consciousness”). The stream consciousness was a modern technique in Woolf’s time hence as a female author this technique gave her a space to express herself. In that case the need for a new style and techniques was an urgent demand for the female authors.

Grace Paley the author of *A Conversation with My Father* was born in (1922-2007). She belongs to the third generation of authors according to the division that Elaine Showalter. She postulates that the first generation around the year (1840) suffered from the harsh criticism by patriarchal critics and they expressed their inferiority and self hatred in their writing. In a like manner, the second generation of Victorian women writers, born between 1880 and 1900 tended to self-expression but that reflected self-hatred and retreated more and more toward a separatist literature of inner space. While in the 1960s, the third generation of female authors who was influenced by the international women’s movement entered a new dynamic phase that she called the renaissance in women’s writings. They expressed women’s view of life and women’s experience in creative sense.

Paley felt the need to try to experiment using new styles, yet she felt that the linear style doesn’t give her hope and doesn’t allow her to express herself. Unlike her, the father is an old man who is suffering from heart diseases. The author says that her father was a doctor and an artist for a couple of decades which shows his influence by the traditional male authors and his inability to avoid their influence. Symbolically he represents the exhausted male authors who are suffering from the “anxiety of influence” as was explained

by Harold Bloom, and later by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar who used this theory not only to identify the patriarchal competitive and aggressive psychosexual context in which much Western literature was authored, but also because it helped to distinguish the creativity of female authors from those of male authors. Gilbert and Gubar say:

The separation of female subculture has been exhilarating for women. In recent years, for instance, while male writers seem increasingly to have felt exhausted by the need for revisionism which Bloom's theory of the 'anxiety of influence' accurately describes, Women writers have seen themselves as pioneers in creativity so intense that their male counterparts have probably not experienced its long since the Renaissance, or at least since Romantic era. The son of many fathers, today's male writer feels hopelessly belated; the daughter of too few mothers, today's female writer feels that she is helping to create a viable tradition which is at last definitively emerging. (p. 2028)

The daughter, as a young female author, feels that she has a chance to create literature of her own without suffering from influence, since male authors write in different ways and their themes, style, technique, and images don't resemble hers. "Men and women do use language in different ways; they have different kinds of sentences. Women speak in a sexual distinctive way from men" (Humm, 1986, p. 7). The narrator tries to obey the father and writes using style that doesn't leave a chance for her character; she goes against her taste and she tries to do so. The narrator starts her story by using the technique that is used in children stories she says: "Once in my time" (Paley, p. 2). In the nineteenth Century, around (1840), the first generation of female authors as Showalter shows were trying to satisfy the patriarchal society by writing in a way that competes for satisfaction rather than confronting the values of their society, their writing sounded sentimental rather than genuine. Grace Paley reflects this issue by the use of the fairy tale technique that shows the dilemma of women when they write to satisfy their society rather than expressing their genuine self. Maggie Humm (1986) in her book *Feminist Criticism* says: "How women wrote is how they were allowed to write" (p. 7); writing with fear of the other paralyzed women's authorship in a patriarchal society.

The narrator tells her father a story about a woman who lived with her son who became a junkie, in order not to lose her son the woman turned to be a junkie too. Later on, the son leaves his mother in grief and leaves the town. The hopeless woman stays alone by herself and the neighbors visit her. This story disappoints the father who once more compares it to the stories written by Chekhov and Turgenev. He believes that the story is plain. Indeed, Paley represents the ordeal of women as explained by Bradstreet: "Do badly and you will be mocked but do well and your authorship will be denied" (qtd. in Plain and Sellers, p. 33). At this level, the narrator and her father have a different understanding about literature, style and characters. The main character in this story is a female character; the father demanded a physical description for this woman while the daughter did not see the need for that detail. In comparison, the father didn't require any physical description for the son, he says: "Her looks for instance . . . Her hair?" (Paley, p. 2). Clearly then, each of them deals with women differently as a subject/object binary.

Women suffered from the negative stereotypes that were forced upon them by the patriarchal literature that used to tell them how to look and how to act, and if any of them differ from the standard then she will be accused of not being feminine; according to Monique Wittig's *One is Not Born a Woman*: "And those who resisted it were accused of not being 'real' women" (p. 2016). The female subject has to resemble the expectation of the male society. Simon De Beauvoir explains in her book *The Second Sex* that: "Mythical thought opposes the Eternal Feminine, unique and changeless. If the definition provided

for this concept is contradicted by the behavior of flesh-and-blood women, it is the later that are wrong: we are told not that femininity is a false entity, but that the women concerned are not feminine” (p. 1407).

The father wonders whether the female subject in the story was married or not, and he feels upset when the narrator tells him that the son was born out of wedlock. The narrator believes that her character is smart, while the father tells her she was good looking but not smart. Treating the female subject as a body that should be beautiful and belongs to the criteria of the innocent house wife keeps torturing women especially in the nineteenth century. Gilbert and Gubar say: “The fact that ‘infection in the sentence breeds’ suggests Dickinson’s recognition that literary texts are coercive, imprisoning, fever-inducing; that, since literature usurps a reader’s interiority, it is an invasion of privacy [...] which perpetually tell her how she seems” (p. 2030). Moreover, the father’s stress on the marriage theme reflecting the conflict between him and his daughter on the gender issue, the gender is: “In every society there are prescribed roles for men and women and this has been discussed variously in the literature as gender role specifications. Over the years, however, these roles have changed and attitude towards the roles have also changed. Different factors account for these changes which may depend largely on both personal and societal factors” (Nagoshi, 2012) the female narrator saw her female character as a smart person because she was deconstructing the gender role, the father subject was absent in her story and the female subject was taking care of her son without the need for male support.

The narrator believes that she has to give a space for her characters, until she as a narrator reaches to an agreement with the stubborn character, she says: “Well, you just have to let the story lie around till some agreement can be reached between you and the stubborn character” (Paley, p. 3) which contradicts the father’s point of view who believes that the author should control the course of events. The male author practices his authority on the female subject and shapes her life the way he wants. Later on, the father requests from his author to rewrite her story because what she wrote in the first place didn’t fit with his masculine point of view.

The narrator starts all over again by adding the details that were recommended by the father but still the narrator can’t avoid writing as a female because of the details and the descriptions that she uses to describe the love of the mother to her son; motherhood is the feeling that only a mother could talk about: “She had a son whom she loved because she’d known him since birth ‘in helpless chubby infancy. And in the wrestling, hugging ages, seven to ten, as well as earlier and later” (Paley, p. 3); this space which was given in a short story for the details of the mother’s love shows how women write in a passionate way. In *Feminist Criticism* the author Maggie Humm (1986) says:

An even more important task for feminist criticism, then- more important than re-evaluating women’s writing, or re-evaluating the misrepresentation of women’s intellect-is to re-evaluate the whole terrain of criticism itself as mapped out and colonized by men; that is, to change the language of literary criticism from one of power and possession to one of emotion and caring (p. 6).

Being emotional and passionate is not considered a weak point any more; the female authors in the modern ages started to feel proud of their bodies, motherhood, emotions and femininity. And they want to create their own theories that suit their vision.

Examining the author’s life is an important task according to new historicism. Accordingly, the author can’t be separated from his environment, as he is a product of his culture “The human subject itself began to seem remarkably unfree, the ideological product of the relations of power in particular society” (qtd. in Abrams, p. 221) Therefore,

it is essential to go back to Grace Paley's life, especially that she is narrating the story from the first person's point. The author Grace Paley is a feminist author who wrote about the daily life of working women and she is well known for her realistic language that borrows from real events ("Grace Paley"). She lived in the sixties in the time of human rights movement; hence she chose to write about a mother who lived in the sixties. Being a female she can't separate literature from real life; she needs to explore the social, political and economical circumstances that surround the female in patriarchal society. Furthermore, one of the assumptions of feminism is: "that literature and criticism is ideological since writing manipulates gender for symbolic purposes. The experience of gender in writing and reading is symbolized in style, and style, therefore, must represent the articulation of ideology [...] Ideology is our way of coping with contradiction of experience" (Humm, 1986, p. 6).

The narrator tells a story about a real woman who lives in the author's neighborhood. "Many early modern women writers, discontented with the representation of women in imaginative texts by men, adopted a creative alternative to a negative attack on the stereotypes of men's writing: they formed new female character types of their own" (Plain and Sellers, p. 34). Modern feminists owe the political movement a great deal for this purpose separating the feminist literature from the political thought is not possible. The sixties period is the years that changed the American society socially and politically. At that time society was changing radically people were demanding racial equality, sexiest equality and they were against the Vietnam War. The young Americans were angry and they protested against the violence, inequality, injustice and oppression.

According to Webster's dictionary a "hippy" is: "a young person of the 1960's who rejected established social mores, advocated spontaneity, free expression of love and the expansion of consciousness, often wore long hair and unconventional clothes, and used psychedelic drugs". The hippy movement is a countercultural movement that rejected the established norms of mainstream American life. Students were the first to originate this movement on college campuses in the United States (Stone, p. 1). The son in the short story becomes a hippy; this attitude is accompanied by becoming addicted to drugs. The mother instead of standing against her son she becomes a junkie too. She acts out of love and fear of losing her son "and because she always believed in giving bad habits room at home where one could keep an eye on them" (Paley, p. 4). The mother's attitude wasn't because she was convinced about righteousness of the moral values of the movement, but rather she was motivated by motherhood. Skip Stone says in his book *Hippies from A to Z* that "hippies seek to change the world through reason and by living what they believe." This principle contradicts the mother's attitude; she didn't become a hippy out of rational belief but rather because of her emotional concern about her son. In light of this, by deconstructing the structure of the story the different attitudes of the father and the mother become manifested. The father keeps urging his daughter to change the style of her writings while the mother in the story doesn't hesitate to change the whole style of her life for the sake of her son. The father doesn't know his daughter very well while the mother adopts her son's habits. The contradicting action between the mother and the father appear through deconstructing their behavior.

The role of the mother and father is a socially constructed concept; it is a gender issue as explained in *Critical Theory Today* "because caregiving, especially caregiving to infants and young children, has been labeled a female instinct, it is difficult for many of us to consider it in any other light" (Tyson, p. 109). Therefore, motherhood and fatherhood don't contrast with each other but society makes each of these concepts become

contradictory. Linda Brannon concludes, in a research that was conducted to examine the gender differences, “research on gender differences in responsiveness to babies has shown differences in self-reports, but not in psychological measures, of responses to babies [...] girls and women show more responsiveness to babies because they believe they should, and...boys and men show less responsive for the same reasons” (qtd. in Tyson, p. 110). Hence the mother’s emotional reaction towards her son is doubled by social construction, while the father’s true belief that he should be obeyed comes from the culture that demands the obedience of the father. “The concept of maternal instinct has no support as a biologically based explanation for caregiving, and both men and women have similarly emotions related to nurturing” (qtd. in Tyson, p. 110). Again, Grace Paley insists on reflecting the social gender role by describing how the mother’s kitchen becomes famous for a while as a center “for intellectual addicts who knew what they were doing” (Paley, p. 4). This ironic sentence shows the contradiction between those intellectual who knew what they were doing and between the mother who was motivated by her emotions. In addition to that, the author shows the differences between gender roles when she used the word kitchen in relation to the mother. Grace Paley criticizes the reduction of woman’s role into a serving the male ego.

On the other hand the junkie son falls in love with a young lady who appreciates his writings. Grace Paley describes how this young boy starts to appreciate his masculine features and how he appreciates his muscles: “In fact he began to love them, treasure them, [and] praise them” (Paley, p. 4). This young strong boy decides to move forward in his life, and he decides to stop using drugs. Pursuing this further, he asks his mother to quit taking drugs as simple as that he leaves her alone and moves with his girl to another place. He also tells his mother that he would not see her until she stops using drugs for sixty days. After all what his mother did for him in order not to lose him, he just walks away and leaves his addicted mother without giving care for her. Again when comparing the son’s attitude to the daughter’s attitude the difference becomes clear. The daughter sets by the side of her sick father and tells him stories while the son leaves his addicted mother to face her destiny all by herself. The gender roles are not biological but rather a social issue that differs from one culture to the other. Culture plays a great role in determining the position of the male and the female functional role in society.

The mother in the story was left alone the neighbors come to conceal her. The destiny of this woman is an arena for conflict between the father and his daughter each of them see her future from his own perspective. Hayden White says “The same set of events can serve as component of story that is tragic or comic” (p. 1715). The mother’s story could be treated as tragic story depending on the perspective from which it is seen. According to H. White the historical events are neutral and what changes their value is ‘the emplotment’ that is the way in which these events were encoded in a certain story. Women suffered from male’s unjust representation of them in their literature. The mad woman, the angel woman, and the mysterious woman were images that were imposed on women from male perspective. These images were neutral images but the way they were exploited by men to reduce women into stereotypes is what harmed women.

The father says “as a writer that’s your main trouble. You don’t want to recognize it. Tragedy! Plain tragedy! Historical tragedy! No hope. The end” (Paley, p. 6). The patriarchal society that condemns women’s liberation, this society assesses the mother’s addiction and then her abandonment by her son as a tragedy. The father thinks that she has

no hope being born in the era of freedom quest; he sees her without a character. Besides that, he believes that a woman should have someone to support her otherwise she'll suffer because of her inability to face life all by herself. The daughter gives hope to her character and she proves how her productive power was an essential part in improving the economy of the society "The head doctor has said to her, 'if we only had three people in this clinic with your experiences...'" (Paley, p. 6). Moreover, the father's comment about his daughter's writing reduces it to a mere joke. He finds her vivid story as a plain story. He doesn't appreciate the character and his daughter's writing. The father says: "Number one: You have a nice sense of humor. Number Two: I see you can't tell a plain story. So don't waste time ... What a tragedy. The end of a person" (Paley, pp. 5-6).

On the contrary, the daughter refused to surrender to her father's opinion. She wanted to save that woman from that dark end. As an author from the third generation she wanted to free women as literary subjects from the oppressive patriarchy. Being a modern author she didn't consider the age of the woman as an obstacle, rather she found that her experience as a junkie is "better than having a master in education" for her the experience that is taught by life is what makes a woman able to face life. "That woman lives across the street. She's my knowledge and my invention. I'm sorry for her, I'm not going to leave her there in that house crying" (Paley, p. 6). The author resists the tragic end, she belongs to the modern generation of female authors who write in a realistic manner about real women, and they don't hesitate to deal with taboos and with women's complicated issue. No matter how much she insisted her father kept refusing to accept to offer this woman a happy life. The author is convinced that this independent woman could have a new life and by working she could protect herself and become an independent woman.

At the end, by deconstructing the characters into signifiers, a new meaning comes out. Grace Paley writes a story that's at surface value treated as generation gap, but by digging deep in the story and by deconstructing the signifiers into another signifier, a new meaning emerges. Grace Paley's story is full of images that could be deconstructed over and over and each time it surprises the reader with its rich ideas. *A Conversation with my Father* is a story about a conversation that shows the conflict between females' understanding of life and literature in contrast to males' understanding. This conversation shows the difficulty of communication especially as long as one of the parties is using his authority to subjugate the other. The father demands obedience all through the story. The daughter as a liberal modern female author doesn't stand to write in a way that doesn't express her real feminine self. In addition, she refuses to condemn her protagonist of eternal suffering and a tragic lonely end. On the contrary, she believes in her protagonist's potential that could go on in her life, and she proves that there is no obstacle as long as the female will resist surrendering to the tradition that restricts her creativity. Grace Paley's story is a great example of the feminist creativity and her writings prove that the female authors are qualified and that no one could stop their distinguished achievements.

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KNOWLEDGE, ETHICS AND CHOICES: THEORIZING THE FUNCTIONAL MATRIX OF LITERATURE AS A HUMANITIES DISCIPLINE

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Abstract

One may inaugurate the contemporary post-theory era with thinking beyond the theoretical aspects of literature. Or, in other words, it may facilitate a revision of literary theories in terms of exploring their functionality. But, a complex question involved here is, what may be its implications. How may it affect various disciplines especially the Humanities which are, unlike Sciences, deal with the abstract issues like truth, reality, ethicality, justice and many more like that? With these questions, the present paper endeavours to address- What is the nature of the knowledge created by humanities' disciplines like literature and how can it be used for renovating existing socio-political structures. Are the disciplines of humanities required to be more interactive with the sciences in the present technological age? Does such interaction give a more 'holistic' view of knowledge essential for creating a sustainable society? Comprehending the dialogic process of what it is and what it should be, the paper probes into the interactive epistemology of interdisciplinary knowledge. Since the disciplines of humanities like literature are directly linked to the behavioural pattern that is always subject to change, it explains their functionality in a game-theoric framework. A game-theoric model by virtue of its play with 'relativity' serves as an appropriate model to explore the functional possibilities of literature as an academic discipline. The knowledge produced in Humanities stream helps to understand the underlying 'relativity' of varied constituents of socio-cultural designs. With reference to the game-theoric account of well-known theorists like Lewis, Nash, Edna Ullmann-Margalit, the present paper highlights the role of speculation and anticipation in formulation of socio-cultural ethics and its strategic role in creating cultural choices. Perhaps, the functionality of literature lies in, understanding the mathematical equations of knowledge, ethics and cultural choices that work out institutional structures and generate systems. It pushes literary theories for being more equilibrium oriented and provide working strategies than merely becoming critical and assuming a perfectionist disposition.

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Beyond Theory: Literary Criticism in Row

The wide ranging discourse on plethora of literary theories over the years has generated a number of critical schools with their set theoretical assumptions and defined positions and commitments. But, today one can observe an evolving self-reflexivity in various theoretical postulations engendered within the framework that shape them. Does it articulate a dissent from within the epistemological domain of literary 'theory'? Or it is a collateral impact of constant mulling over the problematic that a theoretical approach deals with but finds difficult to solve. Does it portend the high time to break literature free from its theoretical garb and make it more application oriented? Where does literature stand in the whole attempt to purge theory from its abstract nature and focus on its applied aspects? Does it manifest a desire to make literary text instrumental for the desired social

and cultural change Or the present exhaustion with theory simply indicate a wide ranging boredom with the frequent perspectival shifts that leave a literary text just an unstable open ended discourse with no final say. With these questions at the centre, one may inaugurate a move towards post-theory era which advocates thinking beyond the theoretical aspect of the literature. Or, in other words, it may facilitate a revision of literary theories in terms of their substantiality to give concrete and tangible output finding the functional aspects of a literary text. But, a more complex question involved here is, what may be its implications. How may it affect the literature as a discipline of Humanities which is, unlike sciences, deal with the abstract issues like truth, aesthetics, reality, ethicality, justice and many more like that? Paul de man, in his essay “The Resistance to Theory” states:

For a method that cannot be made to suit the ‘truth’ of its object can only teach delusion... These uncertainties are manifest in the hostility directed at theory in the name of ethical and aesthetic value, as well as in the recuperative attempts of theoreticians to reassert their own subservience to these values. (273)

Does literature need to find out its objectives in social context first before being placed at the high altar of aesthetic formulation? What are the fundamentals prescribed for being categorised as truly theoretical or purely practical? As de man further suggests:

The normative principles of such a literary ambience are cultural and ideological rather than theoretical, oriented towards the integrity of a social and historical self rather than towards the impersonal consistency that theory requires (275).

What does Man endeavours to highlight in the above statement about his theoretical postulation? In the contemporary era of science and technology the disciplines of humanities and social sciences require being more scientific in nature or at least more productive in terms of its socio-cultural output. These disciplines are expected to seek solutions rather than being obsessed with the rolling critical intent involved in the formulation of mere theories. The pressing demand on theory, especially in the discipline of humanities in general and literature in particular is, to prove its validity and talk about its applied consequences in the contemporary post-modernist world. It requires an introspective visit to the functional aspects of literature for finding out the answers.

Interactive Epistemology of Knowledge: Science and Humanities

What are the possible dimensions of literary functionality is a long cherished subject of critical deliberation right from Aristotle to Dryden and Pope, further from 19th century critic Matthew Arnold to 20th century Frankfurt school of criticism. Literature is generally associated with its cognitive, emotional, aesthetic, and ethical impressions that it is capable to produce. Some times it is viewed existing with the objective to *amuse* and *instruct* whereas on the other hand, it is found as a *close ally of capitalism*. Knowledge has always been a chief concern as well as an endless pursuit in this regard. But, knowledge is dynamic in nature. Along with the growth of academics as an institution, knowledge is defined, categorised, privileged and politicised as per the spirit of time. With a concern to comprehend the dialogic process of what it is and what it should be, there has been an intent probing into its epistemological functions. Whatever the presumptions, no era can finally limit knowledge into one single disciplinary dominion. Having acknowledged the malleability of knowledge, one may wonder what constitutes the intellectual element of knowledge as a source of information. What has been the rational perception of knowledge while seen as a canon established over the years. Moreover, how is it created? Is it collective or fragmented? What has been its transitional trajectory; linear or cyclic? The creation of knowledge itself has always been a crucial question to know about.

After centuries of exploration, we have various academic disciplines demarcating the knowledge in terms of the defined areas of studies and its associated objects of intellectual enquiry. It resulted in the simultaneous development of a condescending approach, one discipline posing itself over the other in terms of knowledge. The long known scuffle between humanities and sciences to allege the true nature of knowledge and its efficacy is one of its examples. Each discipline claimed the superiority of knowledge created in the respective disciplinary domain. In the words of Joe Moran:

Those in the sciences (still) tend to criticise humanities scholars for disregarding empirical methods and relying on subjective interpretations; those in the humanities attack scientists, in turn, for a misguided faith in the possibility of absolute objectivity, a narrow conception of useful knowledge and an unwillingness to interrogate the broader social, political and cultural implications of their work (Moran, 150).

According to him:

Many of these disagreements can be traced not only to the different scope and subject matter of the sciences and humanities but their contrasting assumptions about how the knowledge should actually be accumulated (Moran, 150).

But, it is a matter of epistemic investigation, how far the created disciplines could have remained isolated and justified in boasting of their self-reliance? To what extent the knowledge produced in multifarious fields could validate the respective claims of its completeness in absolute term? Even the most contrasting demarcation of science and humanities, which have always raised fierce debates over the different subject matters and divergent methodologies, could never uphold their respective exclusiveness. Has either of them ever succeeded in proving its validity without being leaned on other for its implicational justifications? It is a matter of critical estimate. The unabated pace of civilisation moving from its primitive natural state to industrial capitalistic mode has proved the disciplinary interdependence bringing both the theory and praxis into one ambit of knowledge. Over the years, on the one hand, scientific theories became applicable in terms of meeting the demands of humankind; whereas, on the other hand humanities frequently embraced scientific methods to develop valid models to testify their socio-political and cultural outcome. These disciplinary boundaries could never compartmentalise either of the two or prevent an incessant epistemic percolation of knowledge at both sides.

Knowledge has proved borderless travelling from one sphere to other structuring and restructuring disciplinary boundaries and constructing the edificial paradigms either to believe in or to reject or may be to further rectify the constructed models at various historical stages. Celebrating a rich and variegated legacy of knowledge, if perceived from the lens of literary and cultural theories, the present post-modernist world stands closer to an interdisciplinary understanding of knowledge. It is marked with an accommodative epistemic tolerance, yet it still needs to move further to erase the self-enclosed categorisation. In the endless addition of 'post', 'post-post', 'post-post-post' phases of theories, the process of knowledge production somewhere is translated into the recurring shifts from empirical objectivity to inventive subjectivity and vice versa. But, in fact, the creation of knowledge can never be affixed with the abstraction of theory or factuality of empiricism. To put into Aijaz Ahmad's word:

Facts require explanations, and all explanations, even bad ones, presume a configuration of concepts, which we provisionally call 'theory'. In other words, theory is not simply a desirable but a *necessary* relation between facts and their explanations (Ahmad, 34).

In the contemporary epistemic structure too, a theoretical disposition does not

afford its separation from the empirical testing, and at the same time, an empirical analysis too embrace the inferring summation into the form of theory? In Ernesto Laclau words:

What we have, instead, is a process of mutual contamination between ‘theory’ and ‘empiria’- the former having abandoned its aspirations to constitute a ‘superhard transcendality’ and the latter having lost the innocence associated with pure ‘data’ (*Post Theory*, “Preface”, vii).

In the contemporary cultural format, the academic disciplines seem to stand at a point where universal generalisations dissolve into contextual sensitivity and contexts appear paving the way to identify the unmitigated patterns of generalisation. It is time for the literary theory to imbibe this interactive epistemology and review the analytical mode of literature in its new functional dimensionality. Contemporary academics need to understand the common body of knowledge that could decipher ontological and epistemological meaning without rigid disciplinary presumptions. In view of the world for being existed in relative terms; the academics cannot seek answers in isolation. It is a strategic orientation which literature, especially as a disciplinary practice in the realm of literary criticism, needs to take before being lost in the overwhelming noise of self-validation or refutation as an authentic source of knowledge.

Coding the Behavioural Interplay: That’s How Literature Works

“How does literature work?” it is an oft-posed query while talking about the functionality of literature. Indeed, literature does not and, of course, cannot work as science through applied research whittling industrial output. The disciplines of humanities and social sciences are directly linked to the behavioural pattern that is always subject to change. It attends to the issue, why does a literary text, especially in the domain of humanities, fail to give an absolute solution or quantifiable output in terms of its functionality. The nature of a literary text is always distinct depending upon its emotional and ideological underpinning. It may be neoclassical, romantic, structuralist, feminist, postcolonial, deconstructive in character but in each case it encodes the behavioural interplay and postulates set objectives from a specific socio-cultural or aesthetic position. Many critics have strongly criticized the discursive nature of literary and cultural discourses for being merely theoretical. In their view, the rumbling nature of the critical discourses does not lead to clarity but ambiguity that moves them away from practical application. Does it mean a complete failure of literature or literary and cultural theories at the level of praxis? Or it portends to a sensitive slit that needs to be identified and addressed as well as fixed more cautiously than ever before.

If science stands as ‘value free’ and humanities as ‘value bound’ knowledge that affects their functional efficacy, it is urgently required to understand the working of both in the game-theoric framework. In this regard, both the disciplines produce knowledge as the study of ‘relativity’ and hence, stand, if not with the same intensity, vulnerable to the ‘value’ imposition. Although the discipline of humanities remains more precarious in comparison to science, yet it never closes its opportunity to be more logical and practical. In the words of Gregory Derry as posted in Chapter 7, “Thinking straight: Evidence, Reason, and Critical Evaluation” of his book *What Science is and How It Works*:

When issues turn on differences in values, faith, cultural background, and so on, then we are obligated to isolate these differences and identify them clearly. Differing values are no excuse for bad logic and lack of evidence. Valid argumentation in the murky and ambiguous issues of human affairs is not essentially different from valid argumentation in the esoteric realms of science; it is just more difficult. (Derry, 90)

Responding to various accusations generally laid upon on the ground of ‘differences in value’, Derry, inadvertently, evinces a possibility that brings science and humanities

almost on equal ground. It brings into account the inevitable conception of 'relativity' which underlies every creation irrespective of its ontological or epistemological nature. Perceiving the nature of a 'creation' as an ever evolving design, it becomes a disciplinary imperative to understand the game of 'relativity' not simply at the level of atoms and molecules or energy principles as done in the sciences but also in terms of human behaviour that constitute the subject matter of humanities and social sciences. Literature as a discipline helps to read the underlying relativity in terms of human relations at individual as well as at the level of groups, class, and cultures. 'Relativity' defines the interrelationship of constituents in every design, whether animate or inanimate, subjective or objective, theoretical or practical, contextual or context free. It is just the matter of; how perfectly a literary text can comprehend the underlying mathematics of relativity before formulating its various propositions in its disciplinary domain. It is also to be discerned what parameters it would set to address the volatility attributed to the unavoidable 'relativity' involved in the structural designs of behavioural interplay. Literature as a discipline of humanities not only focuses on 'humanity' but also expands its scope with regard to ecology and cosmic schema?

Concerning with the 'life experiences' as the subject matter of literatures, these interconnections, while placed in a game-theoric framework, view the life from the lens of ethicality especially with regard to specific socio-cultural contexts. It brings out the unending game of speculations. It may lead to various strategic decisions, which are examined in their holistic implications before being promulgated as a theoretical stand for further practical implications. Humanities and sciences go hand-in-hand. The contemporary cultural crux necessitates this idea to function both at the levels of theory and praxis. Is it a new 'development' or just 'old wine in new bottle'? How can it be comprehended in present academic design? Would a game-theoric view of 'interdisciplinary relativity' explain it? Does it portend the new academic orientation towards a concept of 'holistic' knowledge? Is it perceivable? Let's understand the whole notion with the help of a case study in Indian context. An innovative measure in recent years in Indian educational system has ensued the increasing importance and deliberate inclusion of humanities courses in the institutions of science. For instance in an article appeared in Times of India the author refers to the study made on the recent developments in the academic curriculum in Indian IITs (Indian Institutes of Technology). It states:

But over the last decade, at several of the IITs, the HSS (humanities and social sciences) schools have junked their 'service-course department' status -- equipping hardcore techies with a smattering of culture - and running PhD programmes.

The published study includes the case of several Indian IITs including IIT, Delhi, IIT, Mumbai, IIT Madras, and others like the newly founded one in Gandhinagar. The article quotes the views of faculty and students over the recent trend of interdisciplinary undertakings and increasing intervention of humanities in the established institutes of sciences. While interviewed, Bhaskar Ramamurthi, Director, IIT Madras, stated that humanities students "bring a different flavour to activities outside of class, to the institute's literary and theatrical activities." On the other hand, Yashasvini Rajeshwar, in her fourth-year of development studies at Madras, said "Our ways of thinking are moulded differently and our problem solving approaches probably vary. But at the root of it, when we are handing out, we cease to be the Arts major and the engineers and become friends just like any other group of 20-something year-old." Similarly, giving a glimpse of new set-ups like IIT, Gandhinagar, which is established in 2008, the study further reveals:

Here, 20%-25% of the courses BTechs take are, in the liberal arts and the type of content is different. There are courses in Urdu poetry - 75 students took that - and in classical Indian music," says Achal Mehra from the department of humanities. The Safety Centre (particularly the behavioural safety section) and Archaeological Sciences Centre too use inputs from the humanities departments.

How should one view such novel drifts in academic discipline? What do these new models of knowledge production suggest? Is it a move towards holistic knowledge, required for the realisation of much proclaimed motto of 'sustainable' development with its triumvirate structure of ecological, economic and cultural sustainability? How could these novel academic trends be explained at the level of theory? What could be the future orientation of these new educational formats? Would such intended holistic knowledge help to better explain the prerequisites of obligatory policy imperatives that affect the overall socio-cultural system and its institutions? Where do humanities in general and literature in particular stand in this regard?

These are the questions subject to deep probing and intense investigation. Perhaps, they may be better understood through the game theory models that explain the relation of knowledge with multiple choices which the canon knowledge always opens. A sustainable society needs to decipher this functional matrix of knowledge, ethics and choices in the act of decision making and find out how it works in case of literature as a cultural agency. A literary text reveals the nuances of socio-cultural systems and its impact on various individual/groups' behavioural interplay. With reference to the game-theoric account of well-known theorists like Lewis, Nash, Edna Ullmann-Margalit, one may see the role of speculation and anticipation in formulation of socio-cultural realities. Here lies the role of literature in the era of science since as a discipline of humanities it addresses those speculation and anticipation and imparts the much required complementary 'knowledge' and managerial 'ethics' that the level-headed streams of science may lack.

Modelling Multiple Choices: A Game-theoric Account

Much famous and widely appropriated, 'Game theory' as a mathematical model somewhere suggests the need to think in terms of interactive epistemology: What it means for a collective to have common beliefs or knowledge, and what are the consequences of this knowledge for the social outcomes resulting from agents' interactions. Many philosophers like Bicchieri (1989), Skyrms (1990), and Stalnaker (1999) worked in this area to understand the mathematics underlying the social practices and cultural norms. But before undertaking the review of their models, first begin with the elementary understanding of a game-theoric framework. While explaining the theory of Nash equilibrium in his book *An Introduction to Game Theory*, Martin J. Osborne defines a strategic game as "a model of interacting decision makers." It consists of "a set of players, a set of actions for each player and preferences over the set of actions profile for each player" (11) Replicating the model in socio-cultural contexts, we have the groups or communities as social players of various strategic games at collective level. These games are designed to capture fundamental conflicts present in a variety of situations where an action may be called a strategy. The game is important not because one is interested in understanding the pay offs or incentives for the players for their choice of action but because many other situations have similar structures. While extended to understand the coordination-conflict situations of socio-political nature, it reckons the mathematics underlying various socio-cultural codes and its resultant normative modes. A game is designed to expound the 'relativity'

involved in the construction of a socio-cultural matrix. There are two key concepts which help to explicate the structural design of any strategic game. First is contractual nature of 'relativity' that always perceives a negotiating approach among the players to safeguard the interests of all. The second component is the utilitarian principle which determines the incentives for players for their choice of certain strategic move.

Since each player is aware of the possible harm and uncertainty involved in the game, one prefers to explore rational choices to uphold collective common interest. At socio-cultural level, these choices can be designated by any name such as morality, ethics, law or may be any other nomenclature depending upon the type and intensity of the force associated with. As per the first principle, i. e., the contractual nature of 'relativity' morality consists of a set of rules that individuals voluntarily agree to abide by. It resembles the signing of a contract which covers the interests of those who accept its terms. Even the interests of those, who lack the ability to understand it and cannot sign, are protected by those who are in position to sign it. It is the game of coordination that generates ethics in the form of common belief and common move. To quote Tom Regan:

According to crude contractarian position, morality consists of rules that people agree to abide by. These are the people who have the power to enforce the rules that are drawn up in the contract.. Now it requires the purgation of the contractors of their bias or prejudices to extend the sense of justice even to those who are not the part of contract signatories. (Regan, 14)

The conception of ethics is an amalgamation of the direct and indirect duties to each other for being connected through an undeniable bond of 'relativity'. It works out the ethical principles on humanitarian ground. It is to ensure the humanitarian idea of justice at rational level. As cited by John Rawls in his well known work *A Theory of Justice*, the theory of justice is set forth as a version of contractarianism. It endorses a move from personal to common or, in other words, from subjective to objective. It forces the involved parties to ignore the accidental features of being a human being- for example, white or black, male or female, a genius or modest intellect, since only by ignoring these differentiating features, as Rawls believes, we can ensure the underlying principles of justice in the contractarianism. A judicious approach makes a contract free from bias or prejudices.

Let's bring forth the other important criterion for the judgement of social ethicality- the 'utilitarian' principle. A utilitarian concept involves two moral principles. The first is 'equality' and the other 'utility'. The professed egalitarianism as the first objective counts everyone's interest with same weightage, whereas the second notion of 'utility' tries to work out the best balance between satisfaction and frustration for everyone affected by the outcome. Since in the two-person zero-sum game one person's gains exactly equal the net losses of the other, it becomes crucial to determine the point of equilibrium which could do justice to both the parties. The utilitarian principles of social ethics justify the moral code on the ground of the final product of the utilities. Some popular illustrations of game theory like the Prisoner's dilemma represent an apparent conflict between the morality and self-interest.

The game-theoretic version of social relations throws light on the conflict-coordination bond of 'relativity'. It explains why 'conflict' is an underlying reality which could not be denied of, in any bilateral or multilateral social relationship but how, at the same time, it makes cooperation a prerequisite to preserve self-interest. Literature presents the sum game of 'life' in its portrayal of life's loss and gain from different perspectives. It does not come out simply as a portrayal of life dilemmas in narrative mode but also as

strong ideological commitments of the author/text. They propose the creative theoretical postulations. The wide spectrum of literature consists of multiple models of individual and collective behavioural patterns suggesting the possibilities of innumerable choices and the game of conflict-coordination in socio-cultural decision making.

Humanities and Mathematical Reasoning

It is still convenient to view the knowledge produced by humanities in a game theoretic framework but one may wonder how far this knowledge could be subjected to mathematical reasoning for socio-political decision making. Following the modern game theory as propounded by John von Neumann, which began with the idea regarding the existence of mixed-strategy equilibria, a socio-cultural ethical code can choose the option which is most likely to bring about the balance of totalled satisfactions over totalled frustrations in a specific socio-cultural context. It may be infused with a totalitarian apprehension. But it is what the mathematical approach of the game theory tries to undo. Understanding the mathematics of ethics through literary texts as well as theory is to purge the decision making of its totalitarian element. A totalitarian norm is always answerable to the cultural forces for its corrupt intensions. It makes them liable and context sensitive with a counsel for more precautions. Its aggregative nature demands a cautionary move to ascertain an amount of flexibility and accommodation at collective level. The application of literary studies lies in comprehending the mathematics of ethics. It can be reckoned through the accurate calculation of aggregate utilitarian output within the contractarian framework of cultural formulations.

Now, the socio-political question interlaced in such design is how to designate the correct cultural agency for working out the mathematics of ethics. Who or which agency is authorised to lay down and execute a 'contract' and work out the aggregate result of positive and negative values of 'utilities'? What could be the appropriate criteria to judge the religious or secular, egalitarian or concessional element of such designated agency? Does it evoke the same power-contest among various socio-political and cultural institutions? Are all attempts to work out the correct mathematics of ethics, bound to end with corrupt power politics? The nature of the question, no doubt, makes it political yet, one may accept the fact that a game, on account of its strategic nature, is always bound to be political at certain level. Yet, still maintaining the impersonality of the game itself, if not of the players involved, one may state; it is precisely the study of power equations that facilitates a constructive cultural discourse. Since these propositions enable a host of dictums to serve as obligatory norms over given time span, by identifying the socio-cultural conditions with the structural design of the strategic games, somewhere, one may trace the foci of equipoise. It acknowledges, despite the integral conflicts, the possibility of a point of equilibrium, howsoever short lived and unstable, yet capable to suggest a strategic action to maximise the pay off in the given situation. A sustainable socio-cultural community always endeavours to attain that point of balance. It is the same point that has a potential of being adapted into a common belief or well accepted judicious law. It is innocent in its constitution till the time the players keeps it detached from the differentiating features what Rawls excerpts in his book *Theory of Justice*. But, indubitably, its vulnerability to corruption always keeps it in flux subjected to the whims and antics of power. It generates a structural susceptibility. In fact, it is always the disruption of the strategic point of equilibrium, which prop up rigid power structures and its associated exploitative practices.

To bring out the ideological play that underlies the game-theoretic models in humanities, one may draw attention to Althusser's concept of political and cultural hegemony. Althusser's conception throws light on the duality of forces which nurture various socio-political ideologies and their schematic execution in socio-political structures. Manipulation of ideologies results in the structuring of non-innocent games. Althusser's conception of ideology presents it as an 'unconscious'. He describes it as a system, with its own logic and rigour, of representations, which is executed in the 'lived' relation between men and the world. But these ideologies are incapable to remain static. In the words of Althusser:

If, as Marx said, history is a perpetual transformation of men's conditions of existence, and if this is equally true of socialist society, then men must be ceaselessly transformed so as to adapt them to these conditions: if this 'adaptation' cannot be left to spontaneity but must be constantly assumed, dominated, controlled, it is in ideology that this demand is expressed... (Althusser, 235)

Hence the birth of every new ideology is a strategic move to be played in the power game. It is the ideological clash that strives to transmute the game structure. In fact, each socio-cultural change indicates the revision of the matrix of game to formulate novel ethical and moral norms which will be the new rules for the game to be further continued. Whether it is a drift from colonial imperialism to postcolonial resistance or from patriarchal set up and heterosexual societies to gender equity and LGBT rights, the power structures are made to mould for strategic restructuring. The mathematical tangency of the game-theoretic account prerequisites the separation of the political content of ideology from the apolitical structural framework of any cultural design. The mathematics of ethics does not allow space for political corruption while formulating the common belief or a judicious cultural norm.

Following the mathematical construct of the game theory, one can examine the Nash equilibria from a nonaligned perspective to understand its humanist strain. Nash equilibria help to understand how a game-theoretic model functions. It emphasises on two essential components. First, the players of apolitical game, given their beliefs about the other players' actions, always act in accordance with the theory of rational choice. Secondly, there is a common approval that these beliefs are correct. Precisely, Nash equilibria result from transforming a mixed-motive game into a coordination game. Its definition is designed to model a steady state among experienced players. While applied in the socio-cultural domain, what an adroit and judicious cultural agency is expected to do is to correctly comprehend the calculation of varied variables involved in the formulation of a socio-cultural matrix. In fact, a sustainable society emanates from the same principle of transforming the game of conflict into a coordination game. The notion of sustainability is expected to identify the points of socio-cultural equilibrium for being altered into legal and ethical code for ensuring cultural sustainability. Although expressed differently, yet following what Nash equilibrium embodies, it exhibits the quest for identifying stable 'socio-cultural' norms, which means if everyone else adheres to it, no individual wishes to deviate from it. In other words, it implies that all players' 'expectations are coordinated'.

Here what is important to note is that Nash Equilibrium does not in general correspond exactly to the idealised setting. Examples show that some games have a single equilibrium, others possess no equilibrium and many others may have many. Same is true with regard to diverse cultural contexts which have sundry possibility of equilibriums yet always remain in need of their being stabilised in one or the other form. But, whatever

the context, a game-theoretic view expects an analytical examination of human behaviour manifested in game. Its knowledge is essentially reliant on the profound understanding of 'relativity' and finding out how does it result in strategic decisions. Literature being the repository of human behavioural patterns always serves as a rich source for strategic decisions with regard to extant multiple choices in specific cultural contexts.

Towards a Functional Theory of Literature

Following Lewis' (1969) game-theoretic account of conventions, Edna Ullmann-Margalit (1977) and Bicchieri (2006) have developed theories of social norms. Ullmann-margalit relies on the apparatus developed by Schelling and Lewis to show that norms can be generated by coordination situation without the aid of explicit agreement among the parties involved. It indicates how the strategic moves in a game take shape of socio-cultural practices and ethical traditions. It is the historical nature of socio-cultural practices that result in the invention of traditions. Although talking in architectural context, yet Christopher N. Matthews precisely quotes Eric Hobsbawn (1983) while recognising the parallel between the social practice and the invention of tradition. In his words:

...traditions require social practice, Hobson illustrates that we can observe both the origins and modifications of traditions by exploring and contextualising their actualisations over time... What was it about certain ways of doing things that made them traditional when they were in fact quite arbitrary and novel, and why would (and how could) something so timeless change? What is relevant here is that traditions, as they refer to a past, materialise cultural formations and modes of knowledge in a very specific way that allows their expression to go without critique. ("Preface", xi)

The socio-cultural norms transform into tradition as an outcome of allied game of relativity. Hence, the social ethics heavily depend on the structural design of the game played than anything else. So there is a need to understand the game, to identify its structure and render its mathematical modelling to find-out its socio-political significance. And, it is the function of literature to render the knowledge of common beliefs and possible strategic moves accessible to the various cultural agencies. The issues which remain relevant in this context are; May the game-theoretic understanding of 'relativity' serve as the basis of the socio-political and cultural decision making theory. How precisely a cultural agency can calculate the cultural payoffs of socio-political ethics to design the other strategic game of contemporary relevance? The mathematical modelling of socio-cultural ethics may give the required theoretical knowledge for a more strategic understanding of diversified cultural praxis.

What it anticipates, especially in contemporary calculative technological age, is a need to understand the mathematical equations of social designs that work out institutional structures and generate systems. It is all about identifying the socio-cultural patterns and how do these patterns create and re-create traditions. What the discipline of humanities and social sciences need to examine is, both the political and apolitical aptness of those patterns which define specific socio-cultural behaviour. It is the mathematical understanding of cultural ethics that may work to sustain a society. The mathematical reasoning behind common beliefs and traditions not only explain the contractarian and utilitarian purpose of their constitution but also helps to resolve the dialectics of conflict and coordination in specific socio-cultural contexts.

Since it is high time for humanist disciplines like literature and literary theories to perform, rather than simply issuing fixated statements, the historical consciousness is

expected to go hand in hand with the study of structural designs. It is important to trace the socio-cultural patterns and identify the trajectory of changing socio-political designs and the mathematical matrix behind it. Literature's engagement with the game-theoretic view of relativity emphasises to explicate the cultural decision making. A humanist theory is never complete till it provides certain pragmatic tools to give strong and constructive policy frameworks. The present dilemma appears to push theory for being more equilibrium oriented and provide working strategies than merely becoming critical and assuming a perfectionist disposition. In *Truth and the Ethics of Criticism*, Christopher examines the way in which literary theory has redefined itself in a contemporary hermeneutic circle concerned with epistemological rigour and cultural critique. Norris argues that literary theorists can implement a series of correctives that may yet infuse the theoretical project with much needed doses of pragmatism and social relevance. Norris characterizes that paradigmatic shift as 'the retreat from high theory'(1), as an era in which 'a great deal depends on where one happens to be in terms of the wider socio-political culture and the local opportunities for linking theory and practice in a meaningful way.' (5)

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FOLLOWING THE TRACE OF BYRONIC HERO IN YUSHIJ'S *AFSANEH*

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Abstract

Romanticism broke the hierarchical chain of thought permeated into the society of human being and indeed initiated a new and unprecedented process of thought. Morse Peckham has coined the term “dynamic organicism” and “static mechanism” to describe and distinguish between these two ways of thoughts. Considering “dynamic organicism” as the prominent way of thought in romantic era, he subcategorized it into positive and negative romanticism to better illustrates the works of different romantic writers. As a result, he considers the concept of Byronic hero as the way of symbolizing the state of negative romanticism. In a parallel way the concept of Byronic hero can be explored through NimaYushij's *Afsaneh* in the context of Persian modern poetry. In this case, NimaYushij, the father of modern Persian poetry, is believed to have changed the long-establishing way of thinking about poetry by bringing about the same shift of thought as the romantics did. Finally, an attempt is made to prove that Nima's two characters, the lover and Afsaneh, in *Afsaneh* conveys the same concept of romantic's Byronic hero and spirit respectively.

Keywords: *Byronic Hero; Negative Romanticism; Dynamic Organicism; Spirit.*

Introduction

NimaYushij (1897-1960), the father of modernist poetry, was born in a small city named Yush near Rasht. Yush is a really beautiful and green village in which Yushij grew up. He really adored living in Yush. However, everything changed when in 1910 he, along with his brother, was sent to Tehran for education. They were enrolled in a Catholic school named Saint Louis. Later in his adulthood, he described his situation in a letter to one of his friend in this way; “finally this place of peace and natural scenery has all of a sudden disappeared. I was separated from my roots I came to this dirty city of Tehran” (Nima Letters, 1984: 105).

His first years in Saint Louis were terrible as he was always in fight with other children and could not concentrate on his lessons due to his upbringing in the wild nature. However, this dull and monotonous situation didn't last forever when a silver lining shone in his life and his rare and extraordinary talent was recognized by a great teacher. “And it was in later time that through the encouragement of an affable and well-behaved teacher, Nezam-Vafa, that I started writing poetry” (ibid, 25). Nezam-Vafa was a French language teacher. Therefore Yushij became acquainted with the French language through his teacher Nezam Vafa. Yushij had a really high opinion of his teacher, “this hermit poet, and so pure, full of painful sensitivity and poetical characteristics, is the one who put poetry in my mouth and led me to this path” (169). Clearly, this opinion shows that Nezam Vafa was really more than a mere French teacher; he indeed became the person whom Yushij dedicated his first major poem, *Afsaneh*, “I dedicate this to my mentor, although I know that this poem is a worthless gift but he will forgive the mountain people for their simplicity and candor”(38).

Majid Naficy (1997) in *Modernism and Ideology in Persian Literature* asserts that "Nezam-Vafa, was deeply in ecstasy with the French Romantic School" (33). Based upon Naficy's assertion, this could be implied that Yushij became acquainted not only with French language but also with the French Romantic School through Nezam-Vafa. However, in this study our aim is not to focus on the common points of Nima's *Afsaneh* and French Romanticism because in our previous article entitled "Nima Yushij's *Afsaneh* as a Striking Exemplar of the 'Greater Romantic Lyric'", we thoroughly explored Yushij's *Afsaneh* with respect to French and English Romanticism. As a result, in this paper our attempt is to investigate Yushij's *Afsaneh* with regard to Morse Peckham's theory of Byronic Hero presented in his series of articles.

Romanticism

Moreover, this should be noted that in our comparative study of exploring the notion of Byronic hero in Yushij's *Afsaneh*, we are entirely concentrating on the common points of the concept of Byronic hero and Yushij's *Afsaneh*. It means that we never try to consider the aspects on which Byron has influenced Yushij but how the concept of Byronic hero is developed on Yushij's *Afsaneh*. Because Byronic hero has a pluralistic nature and Lord Byron is not its sole creator. Many factors can be believed to contribute to its development. As Peter L. Thorslev, Jr (1965) asserts in *The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes* that:

Byronic hero is unique, in one sense, in the powerful fusion of disparate elements into a single commanding image; but he did not spring by a miracle of parthenogenesis from Byron's mind; he is to a large extent a product of a Romantic heroic tradition which was a halfcentury old before he appeared (12).

In this regard, it is most necessary to first acquire a notion of romanticism and then narrow down its definition to Morse Peckham's theory of Byronic hero. Throughout the last two centuries, defining the concept of romanticism has caused romantic scholars to wander around it in a daze. And mostly, their search failed in reaching a basic definition. In this regard, Edward F. Kravitt (1992) has been aware of the underlying reason for such a failure. He believes that the scholars of romanticism have never launched to search for the essence of romanticism and they have always been amused with "romanticism's outward appearance" (93).

In this respect, the romantic scholars are seriously misled about understanding the concept of romanticism due to their selection of improper field of investigation. They should focus on the "romantic artist" (ibid, 93) instead of portraying the "romanticism's outward appearance" (93). Of the subject of considering romanticism's outward appearance, Arthur O. Lovejoy has conducted a comprehensive review of romantic scholar's definition of the romanticism. He has listed a number of romantic scholars such as Professor Ker, Mr. Gosse, Mr. F. Y. Eccles, Mr. Geoffrey Scott, and Mr. Paul More. Then he mentions that these scholars have provided different notion of romanticism such as an inherent tendency toward nature, a fascination with the past or such negative view as considering the romantic system of ideas as the direct source of the realistic error. And in this case, Lovejoy seems to go along the right path when he concludes that "the romantic ideas are in large part heterogeneous, logically independent, and sometimes essentially antithetic to one another in their implications" (Lovejoy, 1924: 261).

In this case, Lovejoy is not fully aware of his improper field of investigation. This means Lovejoy should have focused on internal (the poet's mind) aspects instead of focusing on external (romanticism's outward appearance) aspects. In this regard, critics

like Lovejoy can be blamed for neglecting this significant shift occurred in romanticism. However, Kravitt has taken into account this shift of thought presented by romanticism therefore he presented the notion of "traditional definition of romanticism" (1992, 93) to describe those perspectives like Lovejoy which have neglected this significant shift of thought and have centered their studies on "romanticism's outward appearance" (ibid, 93). Then he proposes that this significant shift has caused the poet to experience a sense of alienation and isolation (99) and then he provides us with a new platform for approaching the concept of romanticism. Unfortunately, he never elaborated on this theory of isolation and alienation and just distinguishes it as the unique method of understanding the concept of romanticism.

Morse Peckham's Theory of Dynamic Organicism

Nevertheless, Morse Peckham fully clarified this new and different outlook in a series of articles. Peckham came to understand that an unprecedented way of thinking occurred in nineteenth-century Europe, an approach in poetry that had never happened before in the history of human being. Interestingly, Peckham came to this realization by juxtaposing two well-known romantic critics, Rene Welleck (1949) and Arthur O. Lovejoy (1924). Peckham mentions that that Rene Welleck tried to evade Lovejoy's skepticism by establishing three main criteria of "the same conception of nature and its relation to man, and basically the same poetic style, with a use of imagery, symbolism, and myth which is clearly distinct from that of eighteenth-century neoclassicism" (Welleck, 1947: 147). Moreover, Peckham added that though these criteria can be used to explore poets like Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth, Lord Byron has always been considered as a mismatch to Welleck's viewpoint.

In this respect, Peckham embarked on writing several articles to clarify this point and indeed by clarifying the realm of Lord Byron, he responded to the shift occurred in romantic thought. First he drew a line between the previous attempts of defining romanticism and his attempt by determining the problem of romanticism. "The problem of understanding Romanticism is the problem of locating with accuracy its problem (Peckham On Romanticism, 1970: 217)". Then he describes this problem as "a crisis in European culture (which) appears to be a widely accepted notion" (ibid, 217).

In his view, the romantics responded to this crisis in thought by adopting the role of cultural and social isolation which became "the psychological strategy by which the Romantics met the crisis" (217). In fact Peckham refers to a change in the way mind works which was totally unprecedented and also had a big effect on the methods and objects of European arts. Moreover, he makes a distinction between two dynamic and static mechanisms by saying that "the shift in European thought was a shift from conceiving the cosmos as a static mechanism to conceiving it as a dynamic organism" (Peckham Toward a Theory, 1951: 9). For Peckham, static mechanism is established by a central principle in which everything is arranged so well that it works like a machine. "Static mechanism is a mechanism in that the universe is a perfectly running machine, a watch usually" (ibid, 9). Moreover if any flaw or weak point is recognized in this system; that cannot be considered as a malfunction of the system whereas we are not able to truly understand it. Another essential factor regarding this system is that, if one aims to succeed in such a system he or she needs to develop his or her ability to perfectly match with the system otherwise that person will never have any chance of success. This means that for each person, regardless

of his status in the society, there is just one absolute value to be achieved otherwise he is doomed to failure. In fact, Peckham asserts that "the success of any individual thing according to its ability to fit into the workings of the machine" (10).

However this grand system of thought fell apart in the late enlightenment due to its internal inconsistencies. Therefore the finer minds of the century decided to search for a new system of thought which could explain to them the nature of reality. Peckham has labeled the term organicism for this new way of thought and deems the quality of being as the prominent factor of this new system. "The new metaphor is not a machine; it is an organism... Now the first quality of an organism is that it is not something made, it is something being made or growing (10)". Moreover, the parts of this new system are not fit together in a hierarchical way whereas they are match together in a harmonious way and instead of being like a flawless machine; it is more like a living organicism in which each part is interwoven together. Therefore, the organicism develops intuitively and organically, a "change becomes a positive value, not a negative value"(10) because "Perfection ceases to be a positive value. Imperfection becomes a positive value"(11). Therefore, it means when a small change is added to the organicism the "the fundamental character of the universe itself changes" (11). The consequent outcome of such viewpoint is that any work of art becomes unique in its nature because it grows its own aesthetic laws out of the previous organicism due to its own developing nature.

Henceforth, Peckham aims at working with his concept of dynamic organicism as opposed to the previously established concept of static mechanism. He later adds that for clearly illustrating this concept, it is necessary to provide a distinction between the appearance and disappearance of dynamic organicism. Therefore, Peckham coins the term positive romanticism and negative romanticism to gain this purpose. "To this term I should now like to add 'positive romanticism', as a term useful in describing men and ideas and works of art in which dynamic organicism appears, whether it be incomplete or fully developed" (14). Then Peckham suggests that in the case of Byron one cannot understand it in terms of the appearance of dynamic organicism therefore he introduces this new term of 'negative romanticism' to solve the problem of understanding Byron. And he briefly defines the concept of negative romanticism as "the expression of the attitudes, the feelings, and the ideas of a man who has left static mechanism but has not yet arrived at a reintegration of his thought and art in terms of dynamic organicism"(15).

For clarifying this new term, Peckham cites some examples from the earlier romantic writers like Coleridge and Wordsworth but not to unify them with Byron. He mentions Coleridge's *The Ancient Mariner* and Wordsworth's *The Prelude* to show that these two writers could change and developed out of their preliminary states but Byron could never do that and stayed in the state of negative romanticism (16). This means that Byron could not generate out of the static mechanism and got involved with dynamic organicism and experiences the spiritual rebirth. Because in Peckham's view:

A man moves from a trust in the universe to a period of doubt and despair of any meaning in the universe, and then to a re-affirmation of faith in cosmic meaning and goodness, or at least meaning. The transition from the first stage to the second, we may call spiritual death; that from the second to the third, we may call spiritual rebirth (16).

Morse Peckham's Definition of Byronic Hero

Indeed, Peckham noticed an unprecedented phenomenon in the trait of romanticism so as to explain Byron's works. And he defined the concept of negative romanticism in a nutshell. But in another article entitled "The Dilemma of a Century: The Four Stages of

Romanticism" he fully elaborated on this concept and categorized not only Byronism but also gave a more general view of Romanticism. He believed that when a connection is established between the mind and the world, a consequent role is also appeared by the men. This role has taken different shape up to the time of romantics. As an example, during the enlightenment, roles were like "modes of behavior derived from the natural world, or dictated by a divine being, or inherent in man's relation to his world" (2009, 9) but during the time of romantics, a new social role was developed due to the profound cultural changes of the time "a new social role is in itself almost sufficient evidence that the nineteenth century was experiencing a cultural earthquake, a convulsion at the profoundest levels of being" (ibid, 8). For the romantics the essence of self was so important that they decided to create an anti-role just for the sake of highlighting the role of self. Because they believed that only the self can comprehend the quality of experience.

Therefore, in the mind of the romantics, roles were conceived up as the carrier of human's intension with the aim of shaping the external world; "Roles were seen as something that man imposes on the world, something therefore, with the character of a mask" (9). The romantics put the concept of mask aside with the social role taken by the men because in their view, mask is the necessary force of deriving men upward but not the sole quality to realize the essence of experience. For the romantics, such masks created the problem of forgetting the self as the self is so cloaked in different masks that no one feels its existence; therefore, the romantics decided to create an anti-role which could be distinguished among all of these interwoven roles so as to show the true self. Peckham describes this anti-role as "a role that was different from all other roles in that it could not be integrated into the social structure of interlocking roles"(9).

Upon this path, the romantics were left unaided due to their change of view of the French revolution, as it was redirected from "Utopian liberation to tyrannous oppression" (10). Suddenly, the belief in correcting the outer world with a revolution gave its place to a world in which "the individual no longer had a source for his sense of identity and a ground for his desire for order and structure" (11). This change of view affected the romantics greatly that they were signed to experience "a sense of profound isolation within the world and an equally terrifying alienation from society. These two experiences, metaphysical isolation and social alienation were the distinguishing signs of the Romantic, and they are to this day" (11). In this respect, Peckham believes that one way of expressing the utter sense of loss is through the Byronic Hero as "it is a way of symbolizing precisely that utter loss of meaning and value which so many people experienced-and continue to experience-when the Enlightenment collapsed" (Peckham Dilemma of a century, 2009: 11).

Investigating the Concept of Byronic Hero in Yushij's *Afsaneh*

In our Persian context, Yushij also took the same direction. His political views of the time were heavily leaned toward a revolutionary force named *Nehzat-e Jangal* (Forest movement). This revolutionary force dates back to the time before Reza Shah (1878-1944) took the power and became the first Shah of Pahlavi Dynasty. At that time different revolutionary forces were active in Iran. *Nehzat-e Jangal* was one of these forces located in Northern part of Iran where Yushij was born. The leader of this group was Mirza Kuchek Khan Jangali. However the movement was demolished when its connection with the Bolshevik peasant in Caucasia was severed because Bolshevik power decided to change their policy towards Iran and support Reza Khan to seize the throne. As a result, the unity of the Jangali movement broke and Mirza died due to frostbite in one of the

Alborz Mountains named Talesh in 1921. Naficy believes that "Yushij's views on social reforms and revolution in these times reflect the ideas of Jangali movement" (1997:100).

This event depressed Yushij to the extent that he decided to take a revenge action himself. And he expresses his emotion in a letter to his brother in this away.

After this has occurred to me, I want to make a new life for myself: Living in the forest and participating in the struggle. In a few days, I will leave this area. I will go where I can provide for this new life. If I succeed, a new uprising created by me will emerge in this part of Mount Alborz and I will display the originality of the brave warriors in this mountain (Nima Letters, 1984: 15).

However, Nima himself knows that he is not the man of battle and utterly expresses his incompetency in another letter to his brother; "what can I do my dear, I am not Comrade Lenin, I am not Karl Marx. My heart is trembling in an endless vibration and altogether I am different from all of them" (ibid: 147).

The other incident happened to Yushij before writing *Afsaneh* is regarding his love stories. Yushij fell in love with a beautiful girl named Helena when he was in Tehran however Helena never returns Yushij's affection and rejects him. Then Yushij decides to go back to his native place to forget his love story. Interestingly, amidst the nature, he again falls in love with a pretty girl named Safura. Filled with the bitterness of his previous beloved, Nima gets so tempted to marry Safura nonetheless he fails miserably and the image of this failure stays with Yushij to the extent that Abul-Qasem Jannati Atai specifically related Yushij's *Afsaneh* to this sad tale of unrequited love. "Inspired by Safura's love and filled with the impact of its failure, he created the eternal poem *Afsaneh*" (Jannati, 1955: 21). Surely, it is not wise to relate *Afsaneh* solely to Yushij's unrequited love because it is a highly philosophical poem as it will be discussed in the rest of this paper. However,

It was felt necessary to mention these two points regarding Yushij's life to illustrate that Yushij's life can also be proved to be situated in a romantic context. In this sense, Yushij built his trust in the universe by strongly relying on Jangali movement however this movement was ruined. As a result, this phenomenon isolated Yushij from his idea of participating in social movement to save the world. Then Yushij heavily relied on his inner feelings and again he became dejected and alienated from within. At this moment, this could be implied that Yushij was experiencing a spiritual death from which he never recovered. Indeed, Yushij like the romantics decided to form different anti-roles to symbolize his sense of isolation from the external world and alienation from within. In this respect, Peckham believes that one way of expressing the utter sense of loss is through the Byronic Hero as "it is a way of symbolizing precisely that utter loss of meaning and value which so many people experienced-and continue to experience-when the Enlightenment collapsed" (Peckham Dilemma of a century, 2009:11). Peckham traces the development of the Byronic Hero from pre-Enlightenment Christianity to Enlightenment and how this type of romantic hero became a symbolized notion during the romantic age. Moreover, he suggests that the concept of the Byronic hero is flowered out of the negative romanticism because it has an instinct of negation in itself. His inner feeling cannot tolerate the order of the society and as he cannot achieve an acceptable order for himself, he just relies on his inner self for understanding the outside world.

As one can see, during the romantic era any connection between the subject (the mind) and the object (external world) was severed. Then an unbridgeable gap appeared between the subject and the object. The consequent result of such gap has been the

romantic's symbolization of anti-role called Byronic hero. In this respect, the romantics focused on the inner tension between the subject and the object. Then they tried to create a specific concept for understanding this new viewpoint of reality. "'Spirit' is the term many Romantics used for the interpretational tension from Subject to Object, and reality, therefore, is the history of Spirit"(ibid: 16).

The main reason that the romantics created the concept of 'spirit' for dealing with reality was to distinguish the new presentation of reality with the previous notion of reality existed in the enlightenment era. Because during the previous era, "the Enlightenment placed perceptions by putting them into the frame of unchanging nature; Romanticism places them by putting them into the frame of historical process. Reality is neither space nor time; it is the process of history"(16). Surely, this new way of thinking has compelled Peckham to call the period of romanticism as "the profoundest cultural transformation in human history since the invention of the city"(16).

Referring to Yushij's *Afsaneh*, this could be noticed that it is in the form of a dramatic dialogue between two characters of Afsaneh and the lover. Approaching *Afsaneh* with respect to Peckham's theory of Byronic hero, we aim at proving that the lover plays the role of Byronic hero and Afsaneh can be deemed as the created concept of 'spirit' for dealing with the elusive nature of reality. Indeed through the occurrence of an unrestrained conversation between these two characters, Yushij aims at revealing the elusive nature of reality. As he himself mentions in his preface to this poem that

I call the structure of my *Afsaneh* dramatic, and I know that no other name will be adequate for it. That is because this is basically the type of structure that can be used in the composition of dramas, in enabling the personages of the story to converse freely (Yushij, 1992: 36).

This can be shown that Yushij's unprecedented way of writing poem is not accidental and he intends to draw specific meaning from the occurrence of this conversation. Two years after the composition of the poem, in a letter to an unknown addressee, Yushij complains that his readers have failed to understand the enigma conveyed in *Afsaneh* and the secret that distinguishes his modernist poem from the Persian classics (Karimi-Hakkak, 2004: 176). The secret that Yushij called in one of his letter is exactly the shift that Peckham described happening in European art during romanticism. Peckham believed that conceiving a work of art through dynamic organicism proves that the work of art has no fixed or static meaning but changes with the observer in a relation between the two which is both dialectical, or dynamic, and organic. And Yushij has created this relationship between the lover and Afsaneh.

As it was mentioned, Afsaneh can be deemed as the supposed player of the role of the romantic's spirit because by investigating the poem, this could be shown that Afsaneh has taken many roles. Interestingly, the word Afsanehin Persian means "a fairy tale for the purpose of bringing about a moral lesson" (Masih, 2013: 165). It seems that even its denotative meaning conveys the role of romantic's spirit. Regarding the poem and in its beginning, Afsaneh addresses a madman who seems to be the lover, "In the somber night, a madman who/Has committed his heart to a fleeting hue/Is sitting in a clod, quiet vale/Like the stem of a withered plant/He begins a sorrowful tale (Nima, 1992: 39)". As it becomes clear, Afsaneh is talking to the lover who has committed himself to a fleeting hue which can show the instability of an absolute value. Amazingly, in continuing this section, Afsaneh exchange his role from an addressee to the personification of the lover's heart. This point needs to be added that the heart should be considered as the lover's central value in this poem, "Oh my heart, my heart, my heart!/Miserable, hurt, my dear

partner/With all goodness, value, and claim/What did I gain from you in the end/But a tear on the face of gloom? (ibid: 38-39)". Now Afsaneh, in the place of the lover, is mourning over the situation into which the lover has been deluded. However in another part Afsaneh introduces him/herself as the heart of the lover, "Me, I am the fruit of life/Me, I am the light of a word/I, Afsaneh, am the lover's heart./If there is a body and soul, it is me, me./I am the flower of love and born of tears (47)". Now, Afsaneh puts himself as the essential element of the lover's world. Afsaneh's role playing continues as a dear beloved with whom many lovers had fallen in love:

Me, I was once a girl
 Me, I was a beloved sweetheart
 My eyes were full of deception
 Me, I was a sorceress
 I came and sat on a tomb
 A harp playing in one hand
 In the other hand a cup of wine
 Even before turning up, I got tipsy
 Because of my black eyes, night is weeping
 Drop by drop tears full of blood (44).

Changing from a lover's heart to a dear beloved can prove the elusive nature of Afsaneh. Nonetheless, this is not the end as Afsaneh personifies him/herself as the ideal love in a platonic or abstract sense,

Oh, lover! I am that unknown person
 I am that sound which comes from the heart
 I am the image of the dead of the world
 I am one moment which is over like a thunderbolt
 I am a warm drop from a wet eye (55).

Even Afsaneh is described as a being existed from the beginning of the time into a state of an eternity,

When my mother took me from my cradle,
 She was telling me your story
 She told me about your face
 My eyes went to sleep in your rapture
 I became unconscious and spellbound
 Slowly when I started walking
 Going in for childish games
 Whenever night would fall
 Near the spring and river
 I heard your voice from within (41-42).

On the contrary, in one part of the poem Afsaneh compares him/herself with Satan banished from heaven who wanders around the world and seduces people's hearts, "I am hidden from listless hearts/Me, a fugitive from the heavens/I have lost everything in heaven and earth/Whatever I am, I am with lovers/I am whatever you say and whatever you want (43)". Even Afsaneh's sex is not clear. In the above example Afsaneh was described as a beautiful girl but Afsaneh appears in both sexes:

A cold wind was howling outside
 A fire was burning inside the cabin
 A girl came in all of the sudden
 Who was saying, as she was knocking on her head
 Oh, my heart, my heart, my heart!
 She sighed broken heartedly...
 She fell on her mother's bosom and felt cold
 Do you know how such a heartbroken girl

Became so down and out

I am the love which makes you mortal, I am the love! (46-47).

As a result, the creation of Afsaneh can be considered as Yushij's method of dealing with reality. Afsaneh takes different roles at different times through the poem and this exactly shows the elusive nature of reality. For romantics, reality and identity are not static throughout the time whereas it changes and takes different forms. In Yushij's view, Afsaneh is the only way of dealing with reality because it can never be settled. Afsaneh can prove that no ultimate reality ever exists. Even when the lover puts Afsaneh in every possible situation to determine its nature but all to no avail and he/she is barely recognized:

Are you my destiny Afsaneh?

You who is disheveled and sorrowful

Or are you my heart, bound with anxiety

Or are you two tear-stained eyes

Or the devil chased out of every place.

Are you my pre-occupied heart

You who are so unrecognized and anonymous

Or are you my nature that you didn't search

After splendor, fame and name?

Or are you fortune, you who escape me so?

Everybody has driven you away

Not knowing that you are eternal

Who are you? Oh you cast out of all places

For me you have been a companion

Are you tear-drop? Are you sorrow?(44-45).

This part of the poem is so revealing not in the case of the nature of Afsaneh whereas it shows how the lover, our supposed Byronic hero, is left desolate in this world due to his ever searching of reality. Indeed for the lover, Afsaneh is the embodiment of the illusive nature of reality which has bewildered him for a long time. The lover after his futile attempt to recognize the nature of reality and achieve a stable goal considers himself not only alienated from within but also isolated from the society. He feels to be situated in a godless universe in which there is no specific principle to rely on. Therefore, in the climatic part of the poem the lover addresses one of the greatest Persian poets and reproaches him for relying on an absolute truth:

O Hafez! What lie and deceit in this

Spoken by the tongue of the wine, the goblet, and the cup-bearers

Though you drove on to eternity, I will not believe

That you fall for that which remains

I am in love with that which moves on

I am amazed! Who are you and I?

And on what seasoned wine are we drunk

We have broken so many bonds

Yet we escaped not the snare of an illusion (65).

This is the most important part of the poem because the lover has named Hafez (1325-1390) who is one of greatest classical Persian poet. Probably, if the lover praised Hafez, it would never attract our attention because Hafez's poems are undoubtedly the best of its kinds throughout the whole Persian literary history. But what has happened to Yushij's the lover that he is accusing Hafez of lying and deceit? In fact, the lover is accusing Hafez regarding one perspective. He never says his poems are of no value or says that they are talking of nonsense whereas he is accusing Hafez of neglecting the dynamic structure of the world. The lover believes that nothing in this world is static and

the true substance of this world is always changing. That is why he says "I am in love with that which moves on"(65).

In lover's view, the absolute truth of the world is not static and it always changes through different situations. The lover says to Hafez that you have "broken so many bonds" but you are still unable to "escape the snare of an illusion"(65). Lover believes that no one can truly understand this world and find the absolute truth of it. And this is exactly what Peckham has explained when mentioned the concept of 'dynamic organicism' as the basic romantic's foundation. It was discussed previously that the romantics put the concept of mask aside with the social role taken by the men because in their view mask is the necessary force of deriving men upward but not the sole quality to realize the essence of experience. This is exactly what lover has in his mind when he tries to refer to Hafez's poems. Hafez has hidden himself or the absolute truth behind his created mask which is his way of talking about "the wine, the goblet, and the cup-bearers"(65). In this case, Yushij through the lover is urging not only himself but also other poets to break themselves out of these lies and deceptions.

One side effect could be derived from this perspective. Can the creation of the concept of 'spirit', which has the force to compel the men toward a transcendental value, help the world to get out of the chaos or not? The answer cannot be affirmative because it has only saved the self and the world is still in consistent chaos. The only silver lining is the possible hope for the self to be entertained. Moreover, Peckham considers the creation of Romantic hero as the only advantage as "the world, wholly of value, turned once again into a meaningless chaos, but preserved the Self and gave the Self's drive for meaning, order, value, and identity a divine authority. This is the heroic, world-redemptive stage of Romanticism"(Peckham *The Dilemma of a Century*, 2009:19).

Conclusion

It means that the romantic's Byronic hero can never achieve a defined set of value from the existent society because in his view such a society is doomed to failure. Then Peckham believes that the only thing, the Byronic hero can do is to "imagines himself as creating a model, or paradigm, for the future action of mankind"(ibid). In the same situation, Yushij's Byronic hero (the lover) takes the role of a transcendental Byronic hero as he denies the existent of any fixed set of principle in the world. Therefore, at the end of the poem Yushij's hero (the lover) invites other people to joins him to mourn over such a situation, "Oh come forth from this narrow vale/For it is the Shepard's best resting place/For no one knows the way here/So here, where everything is alone/We may sing together in our melancholy (Yushij, 1992: 71).

The lover longs for a place which is deprived of having any connection with the external world. In his view, nothing can have any value in this world therefore the Shepard should avoid chasing his herd (the nature of reality) and be settled in a "narrow vale"(ibid: 71) because in this place "everything is alone"(71). It is really important that Yushij has used "everything" not "everyone" for this part. In this case, this could be implied that he is referring to the whole system of the world in which every part is now fallen apart because the central value of this world has been demolished. And the only thing, the lover aims to do is to collect everybody around himself and sing together which means to woo over the situation. Thus Yushij's *Afsaneh* not only initiated the modern Persian poetry but also opened up a new way of thinking in Persian literary history.

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THE RELICS OF THE PAST IN FOWLES' *THE FRENCH LIEUTENANT'S WOMAN* AND BYATT'S *POSSESSION*

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Abstract

The present study compares John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and A. S. Byatt's *Possession* in light of their approach towards the role of the relics of the past in historiography. These historiographic metafiction differ in the former's denial of the possibility of possession of the past because of the totally contaminated nature of the traces and the latter's ambivalence with regard to the influence of relics on the historian's historical explanation. The theories of Hayden White and Linda Hutcheon and the studies of Alun Munslow are employed to elaborate on the differences between the speculations of the novels with regard to the notion of evidence in historiography.

Keywords: *Historiography; Modern; Postmodern; Relics.*

Introduction

Both *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Possession*, as historiographic metafiction, paradoxically make "documentary historical actuality meet [...] formalist self-reflexivity and parody" (Hutcheon, 1989, 7). Both novels periodically revisit the past while they lay bare their own fictionality. Instead of the conventions of realism, parody and metafiction are employed to show the paradoxical connection with the past. In both novels, the reader is asked to recognize the "textualized traces of the literary and historical past" (Hutcheon, 1988, 127). The traces that *The French Lieutenant's Woman* deals with are contaminated by the narrator-historian's impositionalism and that of *Possession* are either interpreted misleadingly, or found wanting, or lost. However, the novels' approach towards historiography is different. The present article deals with the extent to which the traces can guide the historians of the two novels in their understanding of the past. While Fowles' novel problematizes—or even denies—the authenticity of the relics of the past, Byatt's novel suggests an ambivalence towards the role of the relics in understanding the past. The accounts of the impresario do not lead us towards an ultimate ending to the story but the document that Roland finds initiates a quest which causes a partial access to the knowledge of the past. Byatt's ambivalence is shown through Roland's paradoxical recognition of a sense of loss through possession of letters. For *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, historical fact and fiction are not distinguishable and all traces of the past are textually-contaminated, but for *Possession*, the truth beyond the traces may be partially discoverable through empiricist approach towards history; in other words, to some extent, the meaning of the past can be inferred by means of the traces. The present article attempts to deal specifically with their treatment of the relics of the past.

Much has been written about *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Possession*. In case of *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, Joanne V. Creighton's reader-response oriented analysis (1982), Deborah Bowen's narratological reading of the novel (1995), Dwight Eddins' existentialistic approach (1976), Robert Siegle's application of poststructuralist views of Barthes and Foucault to the novel (1983), Silvio Gaggi's comparison between Fowles' fiction and metatheatrical tendencies of the plays of Brecht and Pirandello (1983), and Frederick M. Holmes' exploration of the metafictional voices of the story (1981) are just some among the many. As with *Possession*, the wide scope of study covers different approaches. Jackie Buxton rejects the exclusive consideration of *Possession* as a postmodern piece of work just because of "its generic pastiche, its self-conscious interrogation of literary and historical Truth, and a plot that resembles a corridor of mirrors", the techniques that had been practiced before postmodernity (1996, 199). For him, *Possession* is "first and foremost a 'straight' narrative, a realistic fiction" (1996, 210). He argues that while historiographic metafiction foregrounds the textual nature of the archive and the impossibility of getting to total knowledge of the past, in *Possession* this trend is shattered by the postscript in which the reader acquires such knowledge. He concludes that "the novel offers modernist ideology in postmodern guise" (1998, 218). But Buxton's article does not refer to the novel's criticism of modern historiography. Katrina Sanders finds juxtaposition of both liberal humanism and postmodernism in the novel. The writer of the present article agrees with Katrina Sanders in finding "strong humanist impulse" in *Possession* (2000, 92). She truly argues that *Possession* exposes both "fallibility of historical knowledge" and "dissatisfaction with the values of postmodern literature" (2000, 93), but she discusses mostly in terms of modernism and postmodernism in general and does not cover the different approaches within the realm of historiography. Shiller focuses on the emplotment of contemporary "Victorianism" through the nineteenth century novel (1997, 546). She refers to Hutcheon's idea that the "textual traces"—our knowledge of the past through narrative—can, under the influence of the present, reshape the past (1997, 546). She acknowledges the textual past and the shaping power of the present; however, she contends that the past can be recaptured "in ways that evoke its spirit and do honor to the dead and silenced" (1997, 546). She relates Roland's and Maud's rediscoveries to LaCapra's view that the present explorations of the possibilities of past happenings can reveal historical narratives (1997, 547). Although Roland and Maud "possess" partial knowledge, what they understand about Ash and LaMotte shows "how the past is not simply a finished story to be narrated but a process linked to each historian's time of narration", as LaCapra puts it (qt. in Shiller, 1997, 547). According to Shiller, *Possession* reveals that just the documents do not make the scholar-detectives access knowledge of the past; instead, they have to pay attention to "what has been left out of the standard biographies" (1997, 547). Shiller argues that neo-Victorian novels, instead of clarification, tend to enhance ambiguities (1997, 550). She contends that *Possession* deals with the notion that the secrets in the lives of the figures of the past keep us from getting to a thorough knowledge (1997, 550). In Shiller's view, the type of history that *Possession* deals with is based on "interpretation, not on the discovery of historical 'truths'" (1997, 552). In this novel, the emphasis is on "the process of attempting to assimilate historical data, and the necessity of literary and historical conventions to make a coherent and satisfying narrative out of the raw details of past lives" (Shiller, 1997, 552). Susan Kieda discusses *Possession* in terms of the dual identity of the female, having both passion and intellect (2010). In her analysis, she refers to the allusions to fairy tales and

myths within *Possession* and relates them to the development of the female characters of the novel, Christable LaMotte, Maud Bailey, and Ellen Ash. She further argues that the novel is optimistic about the progress of society towards identification of woman as being composed of both passion and intellect. Regina Rudaityte traces the novel's ambivalence towards postmodernism (2007). In her view, the novel questions postmodernism through its most important features like parody and pastiche. Likewise, the novel criticizes poststructuralism and feminist criticism. The novel, according to Rudaityte, both imitates and reconsiders the romance and Victorian poetry. Rudaityte argues that the novel criticizes postmodern critical theories—poststructuralism specifically—by paying attention to “the author who is back and whose presence in the text seems to be vital” (2007, 121). She contends that notwithstanding many postmodern narrative techniques are employed in the novel, “Byatt seems to be trying to restore the author back to the text, displaying her belief in individual creativity against the anonymity advocated by poststructuralist theories” (2007, 121). Agata Buda examines *Possession* in light of its portrayal of the female figure through the Victorian and twentieth-century perspectives (2008). PilarCuder Dominguez describes *Possession* not only as a quest narrative but also as a detective story and gothic fiction (1995). Dominguez traces parallelism between the quest of Roland and Maud and that of the archetypal romance. The writer also relates the characters of the novel—Maud and Christabel, Roland and Randolph, Val and Ellen, Leonora Stern and Blanche Glover—in terms of both their physical and mental traits. Dominguez further extends the scope of his parallelism to the events and intertexts of the novel. Therefore, the black magician in “The Glass Coffin”, according to Dominguez, stands for Mortimer Cropper, and Ewan MacIntyre and Leonora Stern stand for the usual helpers of the protagonists of fairytales. In Dominguez's view, reconstructing the story of Christabel and Randolph through their textual and geographic quests, Maud and Roland are affected by the actions of their counterparts.

Critics have widely compared *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Possession* in light of their similarities and differences. Moreover, the two novels are frequently compared in light of their historiographic approach. In her comparison of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Possession*, Lisa Fletcher discusses that the latter adjusts to Byatt's idealization of pleasure of reading because of its “self-conscious moral realism” (2003, 28). Further, she argues that the novel is conventional in both its “heterosexual romance plot” and its “treatment of history” (2003, 29). She agrees that there are differences between Fowles' and Byatt's novels; however, she contends that some parallels can be found between Sarah Woodruff and Christabel LaMotte with regard to their “allegiance to the tenets and motives of heterosexual hegemony” (2003, 31). In Fletcher's view, characters like them, make “negotiation of the past and the present” possible (2003, 31). Cora Kaplan considers *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Possession* as examples of “historical pastiche” (2007, 87). She argues that in *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, while telling and interpreting a Victorian story, a “modern pedant” repeatedly interrupts his story “to offer helpful asides on the period”; in *Possession*, however, the subtitle “*A Romance*” keeps us from “any expectation of traditional realism” (2007, 87). She also compares the “sentimental satisfaction” in the ending of *Possession* with the last “anti-romantic ending” of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and indicates that the latter “looks ever more intellectually and politically interesting in its refusal of domestic felicity, and in its refreshing skepticism about whether men and women can, after all, come together on common ground” (2007, 110).

The Relics of the Past, Modern and Postmodern Historiography

In the late eighteenth century, historiography started to be institutionalized and professionalized and was introduced as an academic discipline (Lorenz, 2009, 393). By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the “problem of historical knowledge” came to be the focus of attention of the thinkers of the time (White, 1973, 39). While the eighteenth century distinguished among true, fabulous, and satirical historiography, the historiography of the nineteenth century emphasized the true and objective account of past incidents (White, 1973, 267).

Historiography in its scientific sense can be traced back to Thucydides in 5 B.C.; however, it was Leopold von Ranke in the nineteenth century who established its procedures that are still followed (Southgate, 2009, 540-541). Lorenz points to Niebuhr, Humboldt, Coulanges and Bury as the other originators of modern scientific historiography (2009, 393). According to Ranke, the task of the historian is to prove “what actually happened” (Brown, 2005, 18). So, he tried to refer to documentary evidence to represent the facts in order to understand what actually had happened in the past (White, 1973, 163). Kaya Yilmaz mentions that Ranke “combined a critical reading of the surviving documents of the past with a careful reconstruction of the historical circumstances in which it was composed” (2007, 179). G. R. Elton, Arthur Marwick, and Peter Novick are among the philosophers of history who support reconstructionist, modernist, or empiricist approach to history (Munslow, 1997, 18). Because of their adherence to correspondence theory, modernist historiographers emphasize the possibility of recovering the past through “recovering the intentionality of the author of the evidence” (Munslow, 1997, 167-168). Munslow enumerates six key principles of modernist historiography. First, the historian can discover the past by means of reference and inference. Second, interpretations appear after facts. Third, fact must be distinguished from value. Fourth: history and fiction are different. Fifth: there is distinction between the knower and the known. Sixth: truth is not based on perspectives (1997, 38).

The modernist historiographers start inductively from the evidence to infer the reality of the past (Munslow, 1997, 127). They justify their inductive inference by careful observation of the trace of the past (Munslow, 1997, 41). For these historiographers, the trace of the past is the means of “accurate recovery of the past” (Munslow, 1997, 32). To “reconstruct the past as it really was”, they not only refer to “textual evidence”, but also place the evidence in its context (Munslow, 1997, 41). In their view, the trace of the past makes reconstruction of the past possible “without any imposition from the historian” (Munslow, 1997, 43). In Elton’s view, a detached historian is able to write history with the help of the trace of the past (Munslow, 1997, 168). For modernist historiographers, historical explanation starts from the raw material of the evidence that is interpreted in the form of a story that is, in turn, told objectively, without taking advantage of any literary devices (Munslow, 1997, 10). They attempt to recount the happenings of the past with a detached perspective by means of their traces (Southgate, 2009, 540).

Discovery of the actual happening of the past is the objective of modernist historiographers (Munslow, 1997, 37). But this orientation underwent changes in the second half of the twentieth century with the attacks on the reliability of scientific historiography on the part of postmodern historiographers (Iggers, 1997, 1-2; Southgate, 2009, 541). Aviezer Tucker states that in Rankean research program, the documents within archives are the only means of attaining trustworthy historical account (2009, 3). He argues that this method has become obsolete because of the developments in the methods

of historians. He points to “artefacts, shapes of landscapes, genetic analyses of present and fossil DNA, [and] works of art” as the means of obtaining reliable information about the past (2009, 3). In Munslow’s view, reconstructing the past by means of the evidence, modernist historiographers cannot be as objective as the way Elton expects (1997, 44). Harlan argues that the evidence can never be pure of “its accumulated meanings” and the author’s original meaning cannot be grasped even if the evidence is located in its context (Munslow, 1997, 107).

Munslow enumerates the tenets of postmodern history as such: instead of reality of the past, it addresses the reality-effect; discovering the intentionality of the author is not possible; “chains of interpretative signification” replace “recoverable original meaning”; referentiality is rejected; the historian can never be objective; and the past is sublime (1997, 166). Postmodern historiography questions the referentiality of sources and contends that the evidence cannot verify the truthfulness of the past (Munslow, 1997, 66, 69). Postmodern historiographers like White, Jenkins, and Ankersmit reject the Baconian notion that the pieces of reality which are there in the archives can lead us to the reality of the past (Munslow, 1997, 166). They question the correspondence between the evidence and the past (Munslow, 1997, 107). For them, the archive should not be taken empirically as the point of origin (Munslow, 1997, 122). In Munslow’s view, there are some intermediaries between the evidence and the historian: “absence, gaps and silences, the contrived nature of the archive, signifier-referent collapse, the historian’s bias and [...] the structure of the historian’s imposed and contrived narrative argument” (Munslow, 1997, 69).

So, what is the significance of the trace of the past in postmodern historiography? According to Munslow, in postmodern historiography, historical evidence is used for understanding both the events to which it refers and the “organization of the linguistic mechanisms underpinning the creation and constitution of historical knowledge” (1997, 122). Postmodern historiographers use the trace of the past to search its multiple meanings (Munslow, 1997, 130). Postmodern historiography declares that “evidence only signposts possible realities and possible interpretations because all contexts are inevitably textualized or narrativized or texts within texts” (Munslow, 1997, 26). Munslow agrees with White in his presumption that the historian’s inability of knowing the true story behind the evidence is because of the existence of countless stories (1997, 147). The historian, based on the evidence, finds different kinds of stories and turns them into a coherent emplotment (Munslow, 1997, 147-148). Ankersmit agrees with the use of the evidence to judge the veracity of historiography; however, he believes that it must be accompanied by “placing one historian’s text against another historian’s text” (Brown, 2005, 148).

Now the question is that to what extent the postmodern historiographer can configure evidence. Munslow agrees with the postmodern historiographers in rejecting the objectivity of the historian in his treatment of the evidence: “the historian’s dialog with his/her evidence cannot be undertaken through an objective, non-intertextual, non-figurative and value-free medium” (1997, 170). In Munslow’s view, approaching their evidence, the historians cannot get rid of “*a priorism*”, the notion that Elton and Marwick strongly reject (1997, 40-41). Munslow says that although postmodern history rejects correspondence theory, it does not imply that historians are allowed to choose “any tropic-employment-argument-ideological configuration for the evidence” to get to a “historical version of literary deconstruction that allows any meaning to be imposed on the past

while declaiming any responsibility for it" (1997, 176). Instead, he views history as the outcome of the exchange between "the mental prefigurative process and the evidence" (1997, 176). Likewise, the "narrativized" evidence is "already an intertext that has previously been interpreted and textualized by other historians working within the archive and their episteme" (Munslow, 1997, 176). In Munslow's view, a moderate approach to historiography is more reasonable than that of modern historiographers' (1997, 98). Furthermore, he does not consider postmodern historiographers' assertion convincing that historical truth cannot be acquired through sources because it is basically impossible to know the past (1997, 98). He agrees with Collingwood in rejecting White's exclusively fictional consideration of history and attributing evaluative functions to the evidence for the emerged facts (1997, 175). Munslow concludes that "constructing history [becomes] an aesthetic and poetic act rather than an empirical one"; furthermore, historiography proves to produce "a particular kind of *historical* truth rather than *the* truth" (1997, 101).

"Fiction is woven into all": *The French Lieutenant's Woman*

In historiographic metafiction, the "real" existence of the past is not denied, instead, "our mode of knowledge of that past" is problematized: "We can know it only through its traces, its relics" (Hutcheon, 1988, 119). In Hutcheon's view, historiographic metafiction does not deny the referent, it problematizes "the entire activity of reference" (1988, 152). Through the "paradoxical combination of metafictional self-reflexivity with historical subject matter", historiographic metafiction interrogates "the nature of the referent and its relation to the real, historical world" (Hutcheon, 1988, 19). It challenges "any simple notions of realism or reference" by combining art with history (Hutcheon, 1988, 20, 52). It "inscribes and then undercuts both the autonomy of art and the referentiality of history" (Hutcheon, 1988, 56). To put forward an evidence of the paradoxes of postmodernism, Hutcheon says that as the historiographic and the metafictional are combined, "the claims of both 'authentic' representation and 'inauthentic' copy" are rejected; moreover, "artistic originality" and "the transparency of historical referentiality" are challenged in the same way (1988, 110). Hutcheon points to Michael Riffaterre's theories of history according to which the "reference in literature is never anything but one of text to text", and she concludes that in historiographic metafiction, history "could never refer to any actual empirical world, but merely to another text" (1988, 142-143).

As a historiographic metafiction, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* considers the past as a problematic concept which cannot be known except through its relics which are textually constructed. Depicting the problematic nature of writing and reading history, the novel demands the reader's "recognition of textualized traces of the literary and historical past" and his "awareness of what has been done—through irony—to those traces" (Hutcheon, 1988, 127). Through its parodic and self-reflexive metafictionality, the novel problematizes "historical reference" (Hutcheon, 1988, 40). In fact, instead of directing the narrator-historian to the end of the story, the impresario's observation—or evasion of observation—causes him to offer three different endings to the story.

Hutcheon corrects the misconception of the critics who do not differentiate between the narrator of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and the Fowles-like observer who is present in the twentieth century (1980, 58). The novel is composed of several "worlds", the world of Sarah, the world of the impresario, the world of the narrator, and the world of the writer of the novel (Hutcheon, 1980, 57). Sarah attempts to write the history of her own life; the impresario goes directly to the age to witness the incidents; the

narrator makes use of the observation of the impresario as the evidence for construction of his distorted historical narrative; the author incorporates all these histories of the Victorian past both to rewrite the Victorian age and to explore the present time. Sarah distorts her own past to acquire the freedom of an author and to expose the hypocrisy of the contemporary authoritative voices. In spite of all his objectivity as the twentieth century witness of the nineteenth century, the impresario manipulates the notion of time to evade a happy ending. The intrusive narrator emplots the selected segments of the observation of the impresario into a satire directed against the folly of the Victorian Age. The author leaves the narrative open ended to question the notion of possibility of acquiring the reality of the past as it is through history. He further explores the present time in terms of its deviations from and continuities with the Victorian Age.

The impresario's observation is the reference that the narrator of the story uses to rewrite the Victorian past. The twentieth-century impresario is present in the year 1867 and his observation is emplotted by the twentieth-century historian-narrator of the story. The impresario is described by the narrator, as "a person of curiosity" and a "local spy" (Fowles, 3-4). In the last chapter, the narrator admits that new characters must not be introduced at the end of the novels. However, he mentions that the spectator appeared before in the train. The narrator claims that he takes advantage of the direct accounts of the impresario—as his reference—for representing the age. However, he—the narrator—implicitly acknowledges his—impresario's—biased outlook. He says that this observer "is the sort of man who cannot bear to be left out of the limelight, the kind of man who travels first class or not at all, for whom first he first is the only pronoun, who in short has first things on the brain" (461). He further describes the changed appearance and the fancy clothes of this "very minor figure" (462). He says that the impresario looks at Mr. Rossetti's house "as if it is some new theater he has just bought and is pretty confident he can fill" (462). The narrator continues that this observer, as before, "very evidently regards the world as his to possess and use as he likes" (462). The narrator is puzzled when the observer corrects his watch because it is unusual for a brand like "Breguet" and there is no other clock with which he can adjust his watch (462). The narrator convinces himself—and the reader—that the observer is "providing himself with an excuse for being late" (462). But the point is that he manipulates the time to suggest another ending. These examples testify the contaminated nature of the narrator's archive.

The narrator of the story seemingly reconstructs the events of the story by means of the emplotment of the selected parts of impresario's observation that are used as his archive; however, in chapter 13, he says that he does not know who Sarah is. He says that everything there is the product of his imagination and if he claims that he is aware of what goes on in his characters' thoughts, it is because conventionally "the novelist stands next to God" (95). Even if the novelist does not know everything, "he tries to pretend that he does". But, as a novelist who lives "in the age of Alain Robbe-Grillet and Roland Barthes", he cannot be a traditional novelist (95). Then he directly mocks the literary conventions of the Victorian age like autobiographies, the characters who represent their authors, and the entitled chapters (95). He claims that he is "the most reliable witness" (96). In addition, the three endings of the story explicitly reject the possibility of truthful representation of the past. With Charles' decision to confess his relationship with Sarah to Ernestina, the narrator gives the first ending to his story. He claims that he is not aware of Sarah's fate and reports Charles' and Ernestina's marriage and their having "let us say seven children" (337). Then he points to Charles' being driven to business since his uncle and Mrs. Bella

Tomkins begot a twin. He says that today Charles' sons still control Mr. Freeman's shop. With regard to Sam and Mary—"but who can be bothered with the biography of servants"—they led an ordinary life "in the monotonous fashion of their kind" (337). For getting to the second ending, the narrator starts to tell the story from the point that Charles had received a note from Sarah. Then he goes on to relate their encounter in Rossetti's household. In this part, Charles came to understand that they had a child and it seems that they got along with each other. At this moment, the narrator informs the reader of the departure of the observer and his setting the time for fifteen minutes before (462). And the third ending starts with fifteen minutes before when Charles understood that Sarah had been aware about his broken engagement. Now the conversation between the two went on with Charles' accusation of Sarah of being much more "selfish and bigoted" than Mrs. Poultney (463). He went out of the room and on his way out, he saw the maid holding a little girl in arms. Then he left the house.

"We Need the End of Story": *Possession*

Munslow disagrees with both extremist modernist and postmodernist historiographers in their exclusive insistence on and rejection of the possibility of knowing the past (98). Byatt also acknowledges the difficulties and limitations of acquiring truthful historical knowledge through modern historiography while she denounces postmodern historiography for its despair about recapturing the past. In fact, she exposes the shortcomings of both. She suggests postmodern historiography to take the possibility of possessing the past into consideration. As a historiographic metafiction, *Possession* incorporates the past into the present; it also represents the past by blurring the boundary between history and fiction. It is skeptical of referentiality but does not deny its significance totally. For Byatt, the textualized narrative can be mediated for possessing the past but such possession is inevitably partial.

In the same way, in opposition to the exclusively postmodern historiography of *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, *Possession* offers a moderate view which demands juxtaposition of different approaches. In addition, in its exposition of the problems and difficulties of acquiring the historical explanation, *Possession* shows an ambivalence towards the outcome of this process. So, while she acknowledges the examination of both the relics and the context in order to be directed towards the truth of the past, she simultaneously questions the possibility of *thorough* possession of the past. In fact, Byatt's view towards the relics of the past is not as one dimensional as that of Fowles. She adores the pleasure of getting to the end of the story, even if the ending is partial, provisional, or postponed to the future. However, she verifies that such pleasure may distance one from the truth. This is the reason of Roland's return to reading Ash's poetry.

When Roland Mitchel, the twentieth century research assistant, is looking for sources of Randolph Henry Ash in Vico's book, he accidentally comes across the yet-undiscovered letters of Ash to an unnamed woman—later identified as Christabel LaMotte. Roland starts to investigate Ash's archival remnants to decide on his concealed and untouched moments of life. He is introduced by Fergus—a deconstructionist academic and his rival—to Maud Bailey who studies LaMotte only in terms of her despise of men. For the sake of scholarship, they start to investigate the issue together. Roland thinks of the possibility of Christabel's accompanying Ash in his natural history expedition in Yorkshire. Then they want to know whether Blanche's suicide has anything to do with Ash's and Christabel's relationship and they think of the help of Beatrice Nest

who provides Maud with two letters from Blanche to Ellen (255). Reading the letters, Maud and Roland speculate that the evidence that Blanche had talked about was Ash's "stolen letters" (257). In order to prove their assumption, they go to Yorkshire where they collaborate to study the poets' works that had been composed during that time, taking advantage of Mortimer Cropper's Leonora Stern's books and the common images in Ash's and LaMotte's poetry (257). Visiting Yorkshire, reading *Melusina* and Ash's letters and poetry, and finding the local words and natural features of Yorkshire in them, Roland and Maud are convinced of Christabel's presence in Yorkshire along with Ash; however, they know that they are not "proofs" (290). In the forthcoming incidents, their quest is turned to chase and race (460). Fergus Wolff tells Blackadder and Cropper about Roland's and Maud's attempt to discover something personal with regard to Ash and LaMotte. Maud starts to discover Blanche Glover's motivation of suicide. She also goes through the letters to understand the way LaMotte spent the time between her Yorkshire journey and her inquest by the police. Leonora Stern provides her with a letter that makes it clear that LaMotte visited her family in Fouesnant in the autumn of 1859. In Brittany, Ariane Le Minier—who works with Leonora on LaMotte—gives Maud a part of Sabine de Kercoz's journal which makes it clear that LaMotte had been at her cousin's house during her months of pregnancy. In Brittany, they are followed by Blackadder, Leonora, and Cropper. Roland and Maud are thinking of the fate of the child, of the way and the reason Blanche was abandoned, and the way Ash and LaMotte parted, and if Ash knew there was a child (457). Beatrice Nest informs Maud of Cropper's plan to dig up Ash's grave (475). The group of scholars—Blackadder, Leonora, Beatrice, Maud, and Roland—along with Euan and Val gather to decide on a way to overcome Cropper. They follow Cropper and surround him as he finds the box which contained a hair bracelet, a thread of hair, a bundle of letters and an unopened letter from LaMotte to Ash along with a photograph of Maia's wedding. Reading the letter, they understand that Maud is a descendent of Ash and Christabel. The archive that they acquire from Ash's grave testifies their final discovery of truth. The morning after accomplishment of the task, life for Roland and Maud smelled "fresh and lovely and hopeful" although it accompanied "the smell of death and destruction" (551). However, the 1868 postscript problematizes the state of certainty of their scholarship since while they acquire the buried letter that clarified the identity of Ash's and LaMotte's daughter—the ancestor of Maud Bailey—they can never know that Ash had seen his daughter and also they can never have an access to Ash's letter that was never delivered to Christabel.

Willingly or not, Roland and Maud take advantage of the documents related to different fields of criticism in their academic quest. Of course while they find something missing in each one and add their own interpretations to what they acquire, in some cases their own views are modified or altered. They use the diaries of Crab Robinson, Blanche, Ellen, and Sabine de Kercoz, the biographical information—gathered with different techniques—of Blackadder and Cropper, the feminist views of Beatrice Nest, and the queer studies of Leonora Stern. They add their own textual and contextual criticism to these evidences. Interestingly, it is Euan the solicitor who causes their final victory. When Euan tells Val that he knows everything is over between Val and Roland, Val asks how he knows that. He responds: "Because I've been watching you and assessing the evidence for weeks now, it's my job" (449). At the end of the day, the Ash scholars know that they have to "reassess *everything*" because all Ash's post-1859 poems had been under the influence of his affair with LaMotte (526). The LaMotte scholars also think that they

have to reconsider taking LaMotte as exclusively lesbian and also they have to reread her works (526-527).

Besides changing the face of Ash's and LaMotte's scholarships, paradoxically, the discovered relics of the past turn Roland into a poet. Initially, with his discovery of the letters, Roland is willing to identify the lady and to reveal, if the letters continued, the ignored meanings in Ash's poetry. He thinks that even Ash's scholarship can alter through these letters since Ash's scholars have their certainties with regard to Ash's life and his "guarded, courteous and not of the most lively" correspondence (10). Ironically, what Ash has written on Vico does not matter anymore. In his dissertation, Roland has studied the matter of historical evidence in Ash's poetry but it becomes clear that the present letters would change the meaning of his poetry. Finding the letters, Roland reads a challenge in the eyes of the portrait of Ash: "So you think you know me?" (21). The discovered correspondence causes the "known Ash" to be "shifted a little" and Roland feels both "readiness" and "fear" (21). So, while he thinks he is ready to possess the past, he is afraid of dispossession of his present certainty. To Roland, the secret letters are "[u]rgent, unfinished", and "[s]hocking" (24). For Roland, letters are "a form of narrative that envisages no outcome, no closure" (145). As Roland gets near to the truth, he contemplates that "[c]oherence and closure are deep human desires that are presently unfashionable. But they are always both frightening and enchantingly desirable" (*Possession*, 456). Roland's meditation over "coherence and closure" is in line with the conflict between modern and postmodern historiographers. While modern historiography acknowledges the possibility of recovering the past truthfully, postmodern historiography denies it totally. Showing Byatt's dissatisfaction with both, *Possession* portrays a return to the archive. The archive that Roland finds and the subsequent partial knowledge that he acquires through it influence his life, both private and professional.

The narrator describes Roland's meditation "on the tiresome and bewitching endlessness of the quest for knowledge" (7). As a textual critic, "he sat, recuperating a dead man's reading, timing his exploration by the library clock" (7). So far, his usual manner of studying Ash has been concerned with "the movement of Ash's mind, stalked through the twists and turns of his syntax, suddenly sharp and clear in an unexpected epithet" (25). Previously, he did not like "Randolph's vanished body", his home or his sitting place, as did Mortimer Cropper, the collector of Ash's archive (24-25). But now, "these dead letters troubled him, physically even, because they were only beginnings" (25). Not the way Ash wrote the letters but their addressee is what he tries to discover: "*Who?*" (25). He used to despise the scholars like Cropper who were "enchanted by things touched by the great", but now he is willing to keep the original letters for himself: "He felt they were his" (27). Paradoxically, he becomes like Cropper, the biographer who considers himself as "the lord and owner of Ash" (33). Gradually Roland comes to understand that his possession of the letters is lost. Then, with the letters of invitation coming from different universities due to his article "Line by Line", he acquires the recognition that the letters have caused his distance from Ash although they have made him closer to his life (510). Feeling that he has lowered himself to the position of Cropper by being turned from a "reader" to a "hunter", Roland starts to reread Ash's poetry full-heartedly (510). In his view, what he has found has "turned out to be a sort of loss" (510). The one who struggled to acquire facts, now takes refuge in the realm of poetry (515).

Conclusion

As a historiographic metafiction, *Possession* self-consciously draws the reader's attention to its fictionality as a historical fiction; however, it does not reject the referentiality of history as *The French Lieutenant's Woman* does. There is an ambivalent attitude in *Possession* which foregrounds both the traces of the past as the possible means of representation of representation of the past the possible incompleteness of such representation. On the surface, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is the love story of Charles and Sarah, the nineteenth-century characters whose life is rendered through the narrative of a narrator who makes use of observation of an observer. Going through the story, the narrator intervenes from time to time to assert his ideas, have a comment, or elaborate on a concept or a situation. The observation of the twentieth century impresario represents the archive available to the narrator who takes the role of the historian. Gradually the reader comes to understand that the story is not about Charles and Sarah but about the notion of *history* itself. Getting to the ending of the story, the narrator offers three endings to his reader. Through his multiple endings, he devalues the comprehensive and logical consequences to highlight the role of historian/storytellers in attributing endings to the events. In *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, the storyteller, takes the role of a twentieth-century historian who in his portrayal of the events related to the fate[s] of Charles and Sarah, attempts to analyze the Victorian age. In *Possession*, the facts which had been acquired by the scholars of different fields of literary criticism—textual, poststructuralist, biographical, gender and queer studies—were altered by Ash's coincidental discovery of the evidence. Ash's discovered letter caused many previously-held facts with regard to Ash's and LaMotte's life and works to be contradicted. Byatt, does not take the influence of the historian and the context for granted. The historian can incorporate his knowledge of the context into the evidence to turn it into historical facts. Meanwhile, Byatt necessitates careful examination of the evidence to evaluate how true the historical facts are. Then she shows her ambivalence by not promising the possession of the whole truth. Byatt deviates from Hayden White's theories of postmodern historiography by denying both the intentionality of all historians and the fictive construction of all histories. In her ambivalent treatment of historiography, she acknowledges the significance of the relics of the past by contending that the history that is obtained through the authentic document is not necessarily a fictive construct and is possible to represent the past; however, such representation, she argues, may not be complete.

The relics of the past are the means of reconstruction of the past in both *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Possession*, but while they do not direct the historian—the narrator—towards a totalizing ending in the former, they become the source of the partial discovery of the past in the latter.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTIVATION COMPONENTS AND PREFERRED LEARNING COMPONENTS AMONG STUDENTS AT INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO

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Abstract

Motivation plays an important role in all forms of the success, especially in language learning. Motivation in English language learning often conditions the academic achievement of the students. This and similar predicaments led SLA researchers to develop different methodologies to determine the level of motivation among different types of students. Therefore, this paper aims to determine motivation components of English language learning; preferred learning components/methods; and the relationships between motivational components and preferred learning components/methods among IUS students. For testing the main research questions, Smith's (2006) adopted questionnaire was distributed to 70 students at the International University of Sarajevo. The research findings indicated that extrinsic motivation ($M = 34.15$) was the highest motivational factor for the students. Expectation as a motivational factor ($M = 26.4$) was at the second place for the students. Motivational strength with the ($M = 13.00$) followed as the next motivational factor. Intrinsic motivation ($M = 12.97$), stereotypical attitudes toward Americans & British ($M = 12.15$), personal psychological needs ($M = 9.06$) with their means as shown in the brackets were the least influential factors in students motivation. We have also found the correlation between the Motivational Components and the Preferred Learning components.

Keywords: *Motivation Components; Second Language Acquisition; Preferred Learning Components/Methods; Stereotypical Attitude; International University of Sarajevo*

Introduction

Motivation represents the feelings of the learner towards the particular target language, its culture and the individual pragmatic reasons for learning a foreign language (Horwitz, 1990). According to Keller (1983) "motivation refers to the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid and the degree of effort they will exert in this report" (p. 389). Tackling the motivation and language learning emerged out of the curiosity of the researchers to investigate and evaluate motivation in foreign language learning at International University of Sarajevo (IUS). Since learning foreign language is inherently difficult it would be of a great satisfaction if we, researchers, uncover problems and difficulties that foreign language learners face on their path in foreign language learning process at the International University of Sarajevo. Certainly, research results will reveal the problems and offer solutions that would help students overcome the obstacles that hinder their language learning.

Researchers identified different types of motivation that students have while learning the language. Gardner and Lambert (1972) addressed two types of motivation: integrative

and instrumental. The integrative motivation encompasses learning the language with the intention of participating in the culture of its people. Integrative motivated learners want to learn the target language for better understanding the people who speak the language and mingle with the people from a new culture. Integrative motivation refers to “an openness to identify at least in part with another language community (Gardner and Masgoret, 2003, p. 126). Learners with an instrumental motivation learn a language because they have different reasons, such as getting a higher salary or acceptance into a college. Gardner and Lambert (1992) considered instrumental motivation as a means to get social and economic reward through L2 learning. In addition, instrumental motivation insinuates that a learner learns the language due to opportunities and chances in their future carriers and jobs. Since they have great impact on language learning, these two types of motivation can affect and direct the procedure and outcome of learning. Cook (2000) further believes that the integrative and instrumental motivation suggested by Gardner and Lambert is useful and effective factor for second language learning. In the further classification of the motivation researchers talk about extrinsic motivation due to some external rewards, while intrinsic motivation is the motivation that comes from within an act we perform. Woolfolk (1998) defines intrinsic motivation as, “motivation that stems from factors such as interest or curiosity” (p. 374). Santrock (2004) also argues that “extrinsic motivation involves doing something to obtain something else (a means to an end)” (p. 418).

Matching motivation in English language learning and learner's preferences with classroom activities is inevitable for an effective language acquisition. Learning second language, from students' perspective is sometimes different from the instructors' perspectives. There has been a lot of research on how to achieve the effective outcomes while learning second language. What are the common effects related to second language acquisitions? What are the most important core effects in the terms of students' learning success and ways of acquiring knowledge? What is the unique formula for effective teaching and learning? What students need while learning second language? Since there has been no enough investigation on what really affects students and the learning process while learning second language in the context of learning process, we decided to apply the investigation at the International University in Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has been a dilemma about effective impacts of effective second language learning, thus, we have noticed that the particular components of motivation are precisely important for achieving positive outcomes.

Therefore, this study examines:

- motivational components of foreign language learning among IUS students;
- preferred learning components/methods among IUS students;
- the correlation between motivational components and preferred learning components/methods.

Motivation and Foreign Language Learning

The study of motivation has been a prominent area for research in psychology and education for many years (Dörnyei, 2001a). This interest may be related to a wide spread perception of classroom teachers who tend to regard student motivation as the most important factor in educational success in general (Dörnyei, 2001b). Regarding the literature on L2 motivation there are two main divisions. The first one is composed out of research based on Gardner's socio-educational model in which the role of integrative motivation (comprised of integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, and

motivation) was largely elaborated as a prerequisite of L2 attainment. The other stream is more interested in the implementation of a new proposed aims in L2 motivation (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). Crookes and Schmidt (1991) proposed a number of alternative models with an attempt to gain a more in-depth understanding of L2 learning motivation within mainstream education. The first branch in this kind of research investigates causal relationships among possible individual-difference variables with various L2 achievement measures. However, the second stream attempts to identify possible variables that could influence learners' motivations within the immediate L2 learning context. In this paper, researchers will review some of the most influential literature in L2 motivation.

Engin (2009) argued that instrumental motivation is based on a pragmatic approach whereas integrative motivation depends on personal willingness and desire to achieve certain goal in a life. Motivation plays a crucial role in willingness of students to obtain knowledge and capabilities to use L2 for variety of purposes. Moivaziri (2009) argued that English language learners were motivated instrumentally as well as integratively. This claim was in conflict with the researchers who claimed that only instrumental motivation is important in SLA. He concluded that in English Language learning, both instrumental & integrative motivation are important. Then, Al-Hazemi (2000) argued that desire to learn English language should arise from within the learner. In an ideal situation, learners should have very high desire to learn foreign language. According to him, the strong desire for L2 learning contributes to a high degree of competence and success in language learning. Dornyei (1994) stated that the nature of social and pragmatic dimensions of target language depends on who, what and where i.e. who learns the language, what language and where.

Oller et. al. (1977) argued that motivation in L2 acquisition is very important. In their research they concluded that Chinese learner were integratively motivated while learning English while Mexican American were instrumentally motivation. According to their research, instrumental motivation is the best predictor of language proficiency in SLA. They also draw attention to the obvious difference between second language and foreign language contexts as well. Then, in the two subsequent studies of Japanese learners of EFL, the relationship between attitudes and attained proficiency in English was much weaker than with the ESL learners and was also less easily explained by existing theories. The weaker relationship, of course, was in accord with our hypothesis that the relationship ought to be somewhat weaker in a foreign language setting.

Researchers most often talk about anxiety as one of the factors that hinder second language acquisition. When we suspect anxiety among our students, we usually relate it to the trait with variation in the experience of the unpleasant emotional state associated with subjective feelings of tension, apprehension, and worry as well as activation or arousal of the autonomic nervous system. According to MacIntyre (1999) foreign language anxiety is "worry and negative emotional reaction aroused when learning or using a second language" (p. 27). Indeed, learning a foreign language is a stressful activity for many learners (Hewitt & Stefenson, 2011). Therefore, many researchers have examined the role of anxiety in language learning since early 1970s (e.g. Phillips, 1992; Gardner, 2005). Their research has shown that there is a negative relationship between FL anxiety and the level of achievement.

One of the variables affecting second language acquisition and hinders language comprehension is the stereotypical attitudes toward Americans and British. There are many different opportunities in today's world for traveling and interaction with different

people. This is because of the technological advances and globalization. There are many researchers coming from different ethnic backgrounds, and interacting with different people around themselves. When this happens, and when a person communicates with a person from different culture, they tend to see in that person a representative of the country or the community. This is called prejudice and is an unfair negative attitude toward a social group or a member of that group. According to Stangor (2001), prejudice is a negative attitude toward members of a group. Dörnyei (1990) underlines the limited scope of attitudes toward the native speaker community to explain learner behaviors in a foreign language setting when the target language is an international language.

Gardner (2002) argues that learners' attitudes toward foreign language speaker groups influence their motivation and proficiency (p. 64). Furthermore, according to the acculturation model for second language acquisition by Schumann (1978), attitude is an important social factor, which facilitates learning in a second language-learning context where learners and native speakers have positive attitudes toward each other. This type of attitude merely focuses on the native speaker group, which makes Gardner's typology restricted to second language contexts where learners and native speakers frequently encounter in formal and informal contexts. However, in foreign language contexts learners have fewer opportunities to interact with the members of the foreign language community.

Maslow (1962) proposed the most prominent model of personal psychological need. Maslow wanted to understand what motivates people to be successful. He proposed that people are equipped with a set of motivation system unrelated to rewards or unconscious desires. People's personal psychological needs will be met if they live in the environment that suits their personality, and when they engage in a proper behavior in relation to other people. Similarly so Decy and Rayan (2002) argue that people's satisfaction of their needs for autonomy depends on their experience in their social and cultural environment, especially when their bosses, teachers and/or parents listen to their opinions and are supportive of their choices. Research also shows that people's needs for autonomy and competence are better satisfied when they are engaged in behaviors that are intrinsically motivated.

Research Methodology

The study was carried out at the International University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. IUS is the international and multicultural institution of higher learning, having the goal to educate new generations who will lead their countries towards socio-political, scientific and economic progress and prosperity. The University also represents a unique opportunity for the young people to get education from highly qualified and prominent professors and researchers.

The focus group was comprised of 70 students (N=70) attending ENG 111 Freshman English courses during Spring Semester, 2014/2015. This course aims to enhance student's academic writing skills, research skills, public speaking, and presentation skills. The first part of the course deals with scanning, skimming, clustering, prewriting, drafting, and revising techniques. Such techniques will be applied to various forms of writing and research. The second part of the course deals with academic research skills, whereby students will learn how to organize research papers and how to incorporate different types of materials and sources into writings. Public speaking strategies will be explored profoundly by involving student's in-class presentations. Students will be evaluated on

their ability to construct sentences in grammatically correct manner and on their correct use of English vocabulary words.

The instrument used in this study was adapted from R. Schmidt, D. Boraie and Omneya Kassabgy who designed it to test the research questions and hypothesis stated in their research. The questionnaire was composed of 50 items, which implied motivation of students, and 22 items for the preferences and instructional activities, with a rating scale from one to five. The questionnaire consisted of background information questions and 72 questions to probe into students' attitudes (Schmidt, Richard, Boraie, Deena, & Kassabgy, Omneya, 1996).

Before data collection, the students were asked for permission to participate in this research and they agreed to do it. The procedures for the distribution of the questionnaire took place during the usual classes and were completed by all the students attending the freshman courses. With the instrument, students at IUS identified preferences towards the motivational components such as:

1. extrinsic motivation;
2. expectations;
3. anxiety;
4. motivational strength;
5. intrinsic motivation;
6. stereotypical attitudes toward Americans & British;
7. personal psychological needs.

Besides, the instrument also identified the components of learner preferences for specific classroom practices and activities:

1. Balanced approach;
2. The Silent Learner;
3. Individualistic and cooperative learning situations;
4. Challenge and curiosity;
5. Feedback;
6. Direct Method.

The questionnaire was composed of 72 statements, with a rating scale from one to five. Students answered the questions as they applied to their study of English on a 5-point scale, Likert scale. SPSS was used to perform the analysis. A Pearson correlation matrix and the descriptive characteristics of the sample group on students were used.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The **Research Question 1** aimed to define motivational components of foreign language learning among IUS students. In order to define the components, we applied the descriptive characteristics of the sample group on students. We found out that the most preferred motivational factors for IUS students is Extrinsic motivation ($M=34.15$) and the least is personal Psychological needs ($M = 9.06$). Table 1 below clearly indicates the preferred motivational components:

Table 1 Motivational Components of Foreign Language Learning

Motivational Components	Mean
Extrinsic motivation	34.15
Expectations	26.4
Anxiety	18.76
Motivational strength	13.00
Intrinsic motivation	12.97
Stereotypical attitudes toward Americans & British	12.15
Personal psychological needs	9.06

The students at IUS stated that extrinsic motivation is essential for their second language learning because: English broaden their view, their parents want them to succeed, they want to show off, English will improve their social status, s/he wants to complete studies in English-speaking country, travel abroad, meet new foreign friends, become more educated, read books in English, pass examinations, get better job, have a marvelous life. This implies that the students at IUS are motivated by external factors, factors around them, from the close environment. It is also significant that the IUS students showed least preference towards personal and psychological needs while learning L2. Personal and psychological needs include learning English in order to learn it more than s/he did it in the past, be better than his/her classmates, have good relationship with a teacher, get well on with classmates.

The *Research Question 2* aimed to identify preferred learning components/ methods among IUS students. We found out the most preferred classroom practices and activities for IUS students are Balanced approach (M=13.15), and the least preferred is Direct Method (M=4.48). Below is the list of the preferred components of IUS learner preferences for specific classroom practices and activities:

Table 2 Preferred Learning Components/Methods

Preferred Learning Components	Mean
Balanced approach	13.15
The Silent Learner	11.79
Individualistic and cooperative learning situations	8.52
Challenge and curiosity	7.36
Feedback	4.58
Direct Method	4.48

According to Table 2 the students prefer Balanced approach in the L2 classrooms. Balanced approach stands for the teacher who maintains discipline during the class, students telling their teachers the reasons why they are studying English to be more relevant to their studies, students asking questions when there are not able to cope with the lectures, improving language competences and skills. The least preferred is Direct method which is related to the teacher-centered approach. It is also well known that this method is being replaced by student-centered approach.

The *Research Question 3* aimed to identify significant correlation between motivational components and preferred learning components/methods.

Correlations

	Preferred Learning Components	Motivational Components
Preferred Learning Components	1	-.146*
Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)		.031
N	219	217

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

We obtained the significant correlation between the Motivational Components and Preferred Learning components. This implies that the students who preferred Balanced approach, The Silent Learner Individualistic and cooperative learning situations, Challenge and curiosity Feedback and Direct Method while learning are motivated by Extrinsic motivation, Expectations, Anxiety, Motivational strength, Intrinsic motivation, Stereotypical attitudes toward Americans & British and Personal psychological needs.

Table 4 Significant Correlation between Motivational Components and Preferred Learning Components

Preferred Learning Components	Motivational Components
The silent learner	Anxiety, Intrinsic motivation, Personal psychological needs
Individualistic and cooperative learning situation approach	Anxiety
Challenges and curiosity	Motivational strength
Balanced approach	Personal psychological needs, Motivational strength, Expectations

Significant correlation between Preferred Learning Components and Motivational Components is presented in the Table 4.

According to the data collected in this research, the students who preferred The silent learner approach are motivated by anxiety, psychological and personal needs and intrinsic triggers. The silent learners, in our case, prefer a teacher to do most of talking and participate in the class just in case they are called upon. What's more, they think that communication activities are a waste of time in the class, and they need to be exposed to the activities which will directly help them pass the examinations. Those students will sit and listen, and mind if they are forced to speak in English. Worry and negative emotional reaction aroused while learning or using a second language is recognized among students who are triggered by anxiety. Those students do not feel comfortable if they have to speak in English, hesitate to volunteer answers in the class, care about teachers' opinion and attitude towards them, and they are afraid of failure at exams. For this reason, their behavior in class actually makes them The Silent learner. Intrinsically motivated students are usually motivated in activities due to their own sake. Variables that affect learner's intrinsic motivation are defined as interest, enjoyment, feeling competence, affiliation toward the target language and a learner's wish to learn L2. It has also been defined as motivation from 'within'. Thus, we can say that intrinsically motivated students prefer to be The silent learner.

The research also showed that students, who are anxious about learning L2, prefer Individualistic and cooperative learning situation approach. For this type of students, the challenge of a task can be high, whereas in most cases the performance is low. Therefore,

these students prefer to be involved in the class activity individually or in pairs, groups, rather than teacher-centered activities.

Creating activities which are challenging for the curious students who prefer activities and materials that really challenge them so they learn more, activities that allow students participate actively are meant for the students with motivational strength. Those are students, who will enroll and attend the course under any circumstances, study in English for as long as possible, take another English course after completing the current one, work on the strategy to improve his/her English, put best effort into trying to learn English.

The research also showed that the students who are motivated by Personal and psychological need, Motivational strength, and Expectations, are more likely to favor the Balanced method. Balanced approach considers a teacher as a model and facilitators in the class, teaching styles and learning styles are met, the aims and the goals of the course are clear and relevant to students' goals, all skills are improved, the course is much tailored rather than curriculum based. We can say that the majority of students prefer balanced method for learning a second language. In another words, the students struggle to learn more English than they have done in the past, perform much better than others, have good relationship with a teacher and classmates; the students who enroll an attend the course under any circumstances, study in English for as long as possible, take another English course after completing the current one, work on the strategy to improve his/her English, put best effort into trying to learn English. What's more, students that are extrinsically motivated in a way they believe that learning L2 will broaden their views, have expectations from the social environment, show off, improve social status, study in an English-speaking country, and broaden general knowledge using sources in English. Balanced method is observed as a learner-centered approach rather than teacher fronted classroom method. The traditional method focuses on the idea of frontal teaching. Teaching program was aimed to transfer information from teacher to students. Exchanging information between teachers and students has consisted of short questions and answers. Motivation in this form of teaching seems to be unnecessary. Classes which inspire students, make them feel curious, creative and encouraged to think individually, trained for emotional intelligence and social skills (communication, self-control, self-evaluation, etc.), may at the same time provide encouragement and atmosphere for demonstration of student's personality, have an opportunity to change educational way and prepare students for life. Instructors should "involve learners throughout the entire instructional process. Involving the students in deciding on the class direction is likely to create the kind of classroom atmosphere that promote optimal learning" (J. K. Richards and W. A. Renanadya, 2002, p. 362).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The approach recommended in this paper is designed to meet the goal of successful language learning. The prospect of tailoring language instruction that accommodate different learning styles might appear very difficult for the language instructors. Teaching styles are made up of the methods and approaches with which instructors feel most comfortable, most probably thought in the similar manner throughout their education. When instructors are forced to change their instructional methods, they would also find themselves in an unfamiliar environment and method. This might end up with disastrous results. Fortunately, instructors who wish to address a wide variety of learning styles need

not make drastic changes in their instructional approach.

While learning a second language, the challenge seems to be the primary determinants of motivation. The challenge and stimuli can trigger an individual and make the process of learning more productive. Many experts agreed that challenge is considered as a form of intrinsic motivation. Besides Direct method, Feedback was not recognized as a preferred learning approach, and was not triggered significantly by the Motivational Components. Feedback with error corrections specify errors and mistakes students make. In order not to discourage students, teachers tend not to correct their students. It is observed that feedback needs to be provided only if it will be beneficial for students. In another words, if feedback can signal improvement, then it is motivating.

In this particular research, 70 students from IUS participated and responded to the questionnaire. The research findings indicated that extrinsic motivation ($M = 34.15$), was the highest motivational factor for the students. Expectation as a motivational factor ($M = 26.4$), was at the second place for the students. Motivational strength with the $M = 13.00$ followed as the next motivational factor. Intrinsic motivation ($M = 12.97$), stereotypical attitudes toward Americans & British ($M = 12.15$), personal psychological needs ($M = 9.06$) with their means as shown in the brackets were the least influential factors in students motivation. The results indicate that students are greatly motivated by external factors to learn the language. When it comes to learners preferences for specific classroom practices and activities IUS students showed preference for Balanced Approach ($M = 13.15$), and the least preferred method was Direct Method ($M = 4.48$). The correlation between the Motivational Components and the Preferred Learning components was significant. We believe this study will contribute to the academic community, academic staff at International University of Sarajevo and the students.

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HENRIK IBSEN'S DR STOCKMANN AND JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU'S *GENERAL WILL*

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Abstract

This work examines the concept of the general will developed by the 18th-century Swiss-French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau through Henrik Ibsen's 1882 play *An Enemy of the People*. It reveals that the formulation of the concept of the general will comes about through Rousseau's attempt, as part of the economic or social contract tradition, to solve the problem of the relation of freedom to society. It then looks at the difference between the general will and the will of all, an agglomeration of the will of each individual, and reveals that the general will is manifested in concrete terms through legislative action, which allows for it to be regarded as the manifestation of a community's concern for its common interest. This work demonstrates that Ibsen's play is suitable for an analysis of the general will, as it takes place in a town that is a *de facto* free city-state. It then reveals that the attempt in the drama to silence Stockmann's revelation of the polluted waters in the town's municipal Baths is a manifestation of the general will. As such, this work shows that the general will is problematic as regards the issues of morality and freedom. It also shows that polities run by the general will may have external instability, and that the general will is an obstacle to the discovery of new truths.

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Introduction

In 1882, the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen, the man “generally regarded as the father of modern theatre” (Taylor, 1968: 131), published the play *An Enemy of the People* (Watts, 1964: 294), which was staged in the subsequent year in Oslo (Taylor, 1968: 91). The play was “propelled by his fury over the hostile reception tendered to *Ghosts*” (Brustein, 1991: 67), a play that Ibsen had put out the previous year. Although *Ghosts* is an “intensely moral play” (Watts, 1964: 12), it was viciously condemned by the critics at the time due to its treatment of the subject of syphilis^{*}. This “hostile reception” (Brustein, 1991: 67) caused Ibsen great distress (Watts, 1964: 12), and *An Enemy of the People* is Ibsen's response to it. For the beginning of *An Enemy of the People*, this aim of Ibsen's is not^{**} immediately apparent, with the plot initially proceeding in a way that is not at all untypical of progressive writing of the time. The town is soon seen to be run by an oligarchic elite equally contemptuous of the people and of scientific fact. These “pillars of the community” are shown to be morally bankrupt and devoid of a community spirit, being motivated instead by a narrow class identity. The issue at stake is the municipal

^{*} Ibsen's supporter, the Anglo-Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw quotes from some of the criticism of *Ghosts* published in the United Kingdom, such as that in *Daily Telegraph* calling it a “positively abominable play” and “[a]n open drain; a loathsome sore unbandaged” (qtd. in Shaw, 1891: 89), and that in *The Gentlewoman* describing it as “a wicked nightmare” (qtd. in Shaw, 1891: 90).

^{**} *The Pillars of the Community* is the title of an earlier Ibsen play dealing with societal hypocrisy, published in 1877.

Baths which their Medical Officer Dr Stockmann has, in a report he intends to have printed, proven to contain polluted waters that sicken rather than foster the health of its out-of-town visitors. However, the progressive paradigm is broken in the third act, when the mayor explains to the representatives of the majority how their constituency will also suffer should Stockmann's report be put into print. The play then proceeds with the attempted silencing of Dr Stockmann by the town as a whole, and Dr Stockmann's realization that it is the majority and radical journalism and not the traditional elite which is the real enemy of truth.

As such, in a review for *The Guardian* newspaper of a 2013 London production of the play, the esteemed theatre critic Michael Billington writes that the drama contains "a difficult moment for a modern audience" when the hero of the drama Dr Stockman changes from a "crusading reformer" to "an intellectual aristocrat" for coming to regard truth as a preserve of the minority, not the majority. Billington clearly feels that such an outlook has no relevance for our egalitarian democratic societies of today, and ends his piece with the remark that, in order to provide it with some, "one would have to trim Stockmann's rhetoric and totally rewrite Ibsen's plot for the modern world" (Billington, 2013). With his remarks, Billington reveals the hardwired bias that underlies the democratic societies of today, an idea that the eighteenth-century Swiss-French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau contributed a great deal to. This is the idea that the majority and right are interconnected, and this was expressed by Rousseau in his concept of "the general will".

This work will examine the concept of the general will through Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* and by doing so reveal four specific problems with this concept of Rousseau's. These problems concern definitions of morality and freedom, as well as the question of the relation of polities run by the general will with each other. This work will also examine the relation of the general will to the discovery of new truths. Before commencing upon these aims, the work will first reveal how the concept of the general will is developed by Rousseau to solve the problem of freedom within society. It will then look at what the general will is and how it can be identified. Next, it will show why *An Enemy of the People* is a suitable work for an examination of the general will, and then demonstrate that the general will is expressed in the drama through the attempted silencing of Dr Stockmann.

The Problem of Freedom and Society Resolved by the General Will

The general will itself is a central concept in Rousseau's overall political philosophy (Copleston, 2003: 74; Russell, 2004: 634)^{***}, which itself belongs to what has been called "the *economic or social contract tradition*" (Pinker, 2002: 285). Within this tradition "[s]ociety emerges when people agree to sacrifice some of their autonomy in exchange for security from the depredations of other wielding *their* autonomy" (Ibid). Thus, it is a tradition in which a balance is found between state authority – which provides security for its members – and individual freedom. Obviously, the greater the power of the state, the less freedom the individual has, and *vice-versa*. One theorist who stands on the side of almost absolute state power is Thomas Hobbes, whereas on the other side, Thomas Jefferson is a theorist who attempts to preserve as much human freedom as is compatible with a functioning society. To make human freedom an absolute would be to dissolve all political bonds, and would entail anarchy. For those who value human freedom, yet are wary of anarchism, the formula of the John Stuart Mill seems to perfectly set out the

^{***} Mark Hulliung exclaims that "[p]erhaps no concept is more strongly attached to Rousseau's reputation as a social and political thinker than that of the 'general will'" (2001: 70).

borderline between state power and human freedom. Mill avers that “the sole end for which mankind are warranted...in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection” (1996: 13); that is “to prevent harm to others.” He restates the same point with his assertion that “[t]he only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it” (1996: 16). In other words, for Mill, the state is only able to hinder a person's freedom of action when that action threatens to harm other members of the state.

Into this debate, Rousseau takes a original approach. He would be unable to accept Mill's formula as freedom cannot be limited for him in any way. Rousseau avers (1998: 6) that “all [are] born free and equal”, and regards freedom as being intrinsic to the human being. Rousseau also states (1998: 10) that all “are born free men; their liberty belongs to them, and no one has the right to dispose of it except themselves.” Thus, as Copleston notes (2003: 92), striking a balance between freedom and authority “was not, however, to the taste of Rousseau. He wishes to show that apparent curtailment of liberty is not really a curtailment at all.” Rousseau also sees an intimate connection between morality and freedom. He avers that “[t]o renounce one's liberty is to renounce one's quality as a man, the rights and also the duties of humanity...Such a renunciation is incompatible with man's nature, for to take away all freedom from his will is to take away all morality from his actions” (1998: 10). Nevertheless, Rousseau also believes, at least for contemporary times, that a state is necessary. ****

To resolve this problem, Rousseau claims to remove the dichotomy between the two concepts. That is he believes he has found a way in which state power and absolute freedom of the individual are both assured. In order to reach his solution, Rousseau first sets out what he calls this “fundamental problem” as:

To find a form of association which may defend and protect with the whole force of the community the person and property of every associate, and by means of which each, coalescing with all, may nevertheless obey only himself, and remain as free as before (Rousseau, 1998: 14).

Rousseau's “solution” is that of what he calls “the social contract” (1998: 14) which entails “the total alienation” of “all” the “rights” of each individual “to the whole community” (1998: 15). As this alienation is equal on all sides:

[E]ach gives himself to nobody; and as there is not one associate over whom we do not acquire the same rights which we concede to him over ourselves, we gain the equivalent of what we lose, and more power to preserve what we have (Rousseau, 1998: 15).

In short, this means that “[e]ach of us puts in common his person and his whole power under the supreme direction of the general will” (Rousseau, 1998: 15) which is brought into being by this association. “The citizens being all equal by the social contract, all can prescribe what all ought to do, while no one has a right to demand that another should do what he will not do himself” (Rousseau, 1998: 99). As such, Rousseau supposedly “shows how we can live in the chains of society without compromising our freedom” (Matravers, 1998: ix).

**** Rousseau is justly well known as the champion of natural man. However, he does not believe that we can go back to a state of nature, feeling that society cannot be unmade. What he wants to do is reform it (Copleston, 2003: 70).

The Nature of the General Will

For Rousseau, the general will is moral and infallible, as will be examined in more detail below. Here it is to be noted that the general will is not the only will within a polity. Rousseau affirms (1998: 18) that “every individual may, as a man, have a particular will contrary to, or divergent from, the general will which he has as a citizen.” Indeed, Rousseau sees the individual as being in perpetual conflict with the general will (1998: 86), and it is “the seduction of private interests” that lead people away from the general will (1998: 39). Thus, the contrast between particular will and the general will is that with the former, a person is misled from his real interest. Rousseau states (1998: 39) that “[o]f themselves, the people always desire what is good, but do not always discern it” but that their true desire ensures that “[t]he general will is always right.” In other words, as Copleston summarizes it, the general will “represents what every member of the society ‘really’ wills” (2003: 73).

Nonetheless, the general will is not, for Rousseau, a simple conglomeration of individual wills. Such an agglomeration would simply create a larger misled individual will. MacIntyre notes (2002: 180-1) that for Rousseau, “a genuine common will” which is “the general will” is not to be equated with “the will of all”, which is “the sum, as it were, of individual wills.” The key difference between the general will and the will of all is its focus. For Rousseau, in a state in which “the general will...prevail[s]”, it is the case that “public affairs outweigh private ones in the minds of the citizens” (1998: 95). Hence, Russell notes (2004: 634) that “[t]he general will is not identical with the will of the majority, or even with the will of the citizens. It seems to be conceived as the will belonging to the body politic as such.” And Copleston states:

Of course, if one speaks at all about a quasi-mystical general will of the State, which stands in need of articulate expression, one will inevitably tend to identify it with the expressed decision of the legislator or with the expressed will of some supposed mouthpiece of the people. And this tendency is certainly present in Rousseau. It could hardly be otherwise, given his premises. But it is no more than a tendency; it is not a position he formally adopts. He explicitly allows for instance, that an actual decision of the sovereign legislature may fail to be a true expression of the general will. It may be the expression of private interests which for some reason or other have wrongly prevailed (2003: 72-3).

By not identifying the general will with the will of all, Rousseau escapes the absurdity of regarding majority voting, which is notoriously inconsistent, as providing infallible results. He also allows for the will of the majority to be appraisable as unjust (Copleston, 2003: 73). Rousseau himself states, in his *The Discourse on Political Economy*, that, of a vote in an assembly, “it is by no means certain that its decisions would be the expression of the general will” (qtd. Copleston, 2003: 72). Nevertheless, this leaves the problem of being able to identify when and how the general will is expressed.

Russell justly avers that when “faced with the difficulty of deciding what are the visible manifestations of this will...Rousseau leaves us in the dark” (2004: 634). Copleston makes the observation that if it is presumed the general will is infallible:

[A]nd if we distinguish between this will and the will of all considered as the sum of particular wills...we run the risk of being reduced to an utterance of a tautology. For if we say that the general will is always right, and if we mean by this that the general will is always directed to the common good, the question arises whether we are saying anything more than the will for the common good is the will for the common good (2003: 87).

Without being able to see the general will in practice, it is impossible to evaluate the claim that it is always good. The claim, to be valid, must be open to falsifiability. The concept can have nothing more than a metaphysical meaning if it is argued that when a

society does something immoral that is the result of the sum of their wills, and when it does something moral it is acting according to the general will, if the basis upon which that society acts is the same in both cases. Moreover, as the concepts of morality are, for Rousseau, tied to the general will, without any clear verifiable manner of understanding when the general will is being operative, nothing meaningful results from it. It leads only to the circular argument that, in order to decide that something is morally good, it must be in conformity with the general will, and to decide that something is conformity with the general will, it must be morally good.

There is one concrete element to the general will in Rousseau's writings though, and this concrete element must be made use of if the general will is to have any real meaning at all. Despite the aforementioned points concerning the will of all, Rousseau in fact makes clear in *The Social Contract* that the general will is manifested in legislative action (1998: 91,97)^{****}. This enables Russell to explain the general will in the following manner:

The conception in Rousseau's mind seems to be this: every man's political opinion is governed by self-interest, but self-interest consists of two parts, one of which is peculiar to the individual, while the other is common to all the members of the community. If the citizens have no opportunity of striking logrolling bargains with each other, their individual interests, being divergent, will cancel out, and there will be left a resultant which will represent their common interest; this resultant is the general will (Russell, 2004: 634).

He also adds that:

To say that the general will is always right is only to say that, since it represents what is in common among the self-interest of the various citizens, it must represent the largest collective satisfaction of self-interest possible to the community. This interpretation of Rousseau's meaning seems to accord with his words better than any other that I have been able to think of (2004: 635).

Copleston would concur with Russell on this outlook (2003: 90). Thus, it is legitimate to regard majority legislative action as manifesting the general will when it deals with the common interest, and this allows the concept of the general will to be analysed in practice.

The analysis in this work is done through Ibsen's play *An Enemy of the People*. As the play does not deal with the functioning of an assembly, the general will, for the purpose of this analysis, will be regarded as the manifestation of the community's concern for its common interest. This is in line with Rousseau's assertion that "the general will alone can direct the forces of the state according to the object of its institution, which is *the common good*" (Rousseau, 1998: 25). Moreover, the most important element of common interest is the survival of the polity itself. Rousseau avers (1998: 31) that "the state or city is nothing but a moral person...and...the most important of its cares is self-preservation" as well as stating "[w]hat is the object of political association? It is the preservation and prosperity of its members" (1998: 84). That this aim cannot be separated from the general will is further evidenced by Rousseau who states that when "it is clear that the primary intention of the people is that the state should not perish" then "[i]n such a case the general will is not doubtful" (1998: 124).

^{****} That no clear division can be made between the "will of all" and the "general will" is a problem owing to Rousseau's ambiguous writing. Copleston states that Rousseau has "left in obscurity the precise nature of the general will" (2003: 88).

Suitability of the Argument

Before examining how the general will functions in the play, it is first necessary to see whether it is the environment created by the play is one in which the general will can operate.

Rousseau has come in for a great deal of criticism concerning his concept of the general will. He has been regarded as the spiritual father of the great totalitarian states of the twentieth century (Russell, 2004: 635-6). Nevertheless, Rousseau himself states (1998: 93) that “[t]he abuses of great states cannot be brought as an objection against a man who desires small ones”, and Rousseau clearly feels the general will is best expressed in a city-state, similar in size to the polis of ancient Greece. The reason for this is that for the “authentic acts” of the general will to be expressed, it must be the case that “the people are assembled” (Rousseau, 1998: 91). That is that the whole of the citizenry should be able to come together as the sovereign power, which is far easier in a city-state, and for which the aforementioned historical model provides an example. This is why Rousseau explicitly states that the “proper limits” of a state are those of a city-state (1998: 93).

The town in *An Enemy of the People* is not a *de jure* city-state. The stage directions for the play describe the setting as “a seaside town in southern Norway” (Ibsen, 1964: 104). For instance, there is clearly a “Government”^{*****} over and above the locally based authorities of the town. Nonetheless, at no point does this higher political authority interfere in, or influence the action of the play in any manner. All of the political decisions made in the play are made locally in the town for local concerns, and the concept of civic concern and citizenship is left at the level of the town^{*****}. Hence, the town, for the purposes of the play, is a *de facto* city-state, and as such amenable for an analysis of Rousseau’s general will.

The other aspect of the town that enables it to be open for an analysis of the general will is that it is a “free” society (Ibsen, 1964: 147). Granted, the town does not function through an assembly made up of all of its citizens, and Rousseau sees the use of freely-elected representatives, such as those who sit on the town council (Ibsen, 1964: 116), as alienating the general will (Rousseau, 1998: 96). Nevertheless, in the core issue of the play – the question of the Baths – the populace manifest their opinion openly and freely as if an assembly were in session. Thus, the play can be used for an analysis of the general will.

The Analysis Itself

In *An Enemy of the People*, Dr Stockmann’s desire to publish his findings into the polluted waters of the Baths, and his later refusal to recant or severely modify them has to be viewed as his acting in defiance of the general will. This is because the general will, as has already been noted, concerns “the common good” which is “the preservation and prosperity” of the members of the polity.

In Ibsen’s play, the importance of the Baths to the preservation of the town as it is in its current level of prosperity is clearly evident. Right at the beginning of the play, the Mayor makes clear how important the Baths are to the town. He refers to them as being “a great common interest” that “unite” everyone, and that they are “an interest which is of equal concern to every right-minded citizen” (Ibsen, 1964: 107). The Baths are regarded in the town as its “pulsating heart” and its “main artery” and “chief nerve centre” (Ibsen,

^{*****} See for instance: Ibsen, 1964: 142, 155, 156

^{*****} See for instance: Ibsen, 1964: 142, 146, 153, 180, 182

1964: 121). The benefits that the Baths have brought are enumerated by the Mayor as representative of the advantages as being that “[m]oney has been pouring in; there’s life and movement everywhere; and land and house-property values are rising every day” (Ibsen, 1964: 108). His class are also pleased with “a most welcome reduction in the Poor Rate” (Ibid). For the petit bourgeoisie, it is Aslaksen, who symbolizes the majority (Ibsen, 1964: 163), who explains that “[t]he Baths look like being a little gold mine, as it were, to the town. The Baths will represent the livelihood of all of us – and of us householders most of all” (Ibsen, 1964: 133). Moreover, it is expected that the Baths will generate even greater revenues that year (Ibsen, 1964: 108). It is likely the case that the Baths are what has led to the “temporary truce” between the Mayor and the newspaper (Ibsen, 1964: 115).

By threatening to stab this “pulsating heart” with his findings carried out in the university that confirm his suspicions of unclean waters in the Baths (Ibsen, 1964: 122), Dr Stockmann poses a serious threat to the town’s common good and its continuing existence as it is. With Dr Stockmann’s findings, the Baths are then to be regarded as “a poisoned white sepulchre” (Ibsen, 1964: 121). It is the case that Dr Stockmann’s findings are at first welcomed by Aslaksen speaking for the majority (Ibsen, 1964: 132,135), and the radical newspapermen (Ibsen 124), but this is only because they view his findings as being a problem for only a section of their society and have not understood their implications. They feel that it is the governing elite that must sort out the problem (Ibsen, 1964: 131,133). When however, the Mayor makes it clear to them that the financial responsibilities – totalling “some two hundred thousand kroner” (Ibsen, 1964: 164) – for sorting out the problem will be shared by all the townspeople, and moreover, the Baths will have to be closed “for at least two years” (Ibid) whilst repairs are made, Aslaksen suddenly regards the situation “in quite a different light” (Ibid), as do the radical newspapermen (Ibsen 164, 170). Indeed, it is the case that the “public opinion” of the town (Ibsen, 1964: 172) – that is the town as a whole – comes together to reject the findings and silence Dr Stockmann (Ibsen, 1964: 181). Thus, the general will as manifested in *An Enemy of the People* is opposed to Dr Stockmann’s findings, and this leads to uncomfortable implications which will be examined next.

Morality

A moral evaluation of the action of the town towards the covering up of the truth of the polluted waters and in its attempted silencing of Dr Stockmann is problematic in Rousseau’s philosophy. His writings can be read to endorse both moral relativism and moral absolutism. Nevertheless, as this work is analysing Rousseau’s general will through *An Enemy of the People*, it is the moral relativism incumbent on the general will that is made evident. In *The Discourse on Political Economy*, Rousseau states that:

The general will, which always tends to the preservation and welfare of the whole and of every part, and which is the source of the laws, constitutes for all the members of the State, in their relations to one another and to it, the rule of what is just and unjust (qtd. in Copleston, 2003: 70-1)*****.

As the opponents of Dr Stockmann have acted in accordance with what Copleston describes as “the infallible general will” (2003: 79), in Rousseau’s outlook, their actions

***** To clarify the meaning of this passage as endorsing moral relativism, Copleston adds:

It is idle, for instance, to say that Spartan children were morally guilty of theft when they stole to supplement their meagre repasts. For they were acting in accordance with the general will of the Spartan State. And this was for them the measure of just and unjust, right and wrong (2003: 71).

must therefore be just and moral, rather than as pragmatic and selfish as they would appear to both Ibsen and the average reader of the play. Indeed, for Rousseau, the general will is by its very nature moral. As Judith Shklar has pointed out, the general will is “a transposition of the most essential individual moral faculty” which as seen above is the individual will “to the realm of public experience” (qtd. in Riley, 2001b: 124). By being concerned with the welfare of all within the state, “the general will is always the most just also, and that the voice of the people is in fact the voice of God” (qtd. Copleston, 2003: 71). Moreover, if the general will is moral in this case, then Dr Stockmann, in seeking to reveal the truth about the deleterious waters of the baths, and thus to prevent further cases of visitors sickening with serious illness from these waters, actually acts amorally or immorally. This is the case as Copleston notes that under the general will, “*moral goodness* involves identification of one’s particular will with the general will” (Ibid). Rousseau clearly states that “virtue is nothing more than [the] conformity of the particular wills with the general will” (qtd. Copleston, 2003: 72), and Dr Stockmann refuses to conform his will to the generality, thus he cannot be regarded as a virtuous individual.

As such, it appears that Rousseau wishes to redefine morality, similarly to Thrasymachus’ claim in *The Republic* of Plato that “justice is nothing else than the interest of the stronger” (Plato, 2007: 194) – the stronger being those who embody the majority or the general will. This would also mean that he favours a strict form of utilitarianism. However, the implications of Rousseau’s general will do not square with his wider writings on ethics, providing yet another instance of Rousseau’s ambiguity. By presaging morality on the general will, moral relativism necessarily ensues, and yet Rousseau rejects moral relativism, regardless of the aforementioned quotation. He explicitly puts himself in opposition to Thrasymachus’ claim by exclaiming that “might does not make right” (Rousseau, 1998: 8). Moreover, Rousseau’s wider writings reveal a thinker who has a traditional absolutist notion of morality. For instance, he believes that justice has a divine source, exclaiming “all justice comes from God” (Rousseau, 1998: 37) and also that “[w]ithout doubt there is a universal justice emanating from reason alone” (Ibid). Moreover, he accepts the existence of “the laws of virtue” (Rousseau, 1996: 252-3) as understood by the society of his time; that is absolutist ethics based on ancient and Christian mores. That he has such an outlook is clear from the character of the Savoyard Vicar in his novel *Emile*, who avers that “there is...at the bottom of our hearts an innate principle of justice and virtue by which, in spite of our maxims, we judge our own actions or those of others to be good or evil; and it is this principle which I call conscience” (qtd. in Copleston: 78)*****. Other examples of Rousseau’s acceptance of traditional absolutist morality can be seen in his own explicit reference to a “conscience” that remains alert to wrongdoing (Rousseau, 1996: 82), in addition to his lauding the “natural pity” he believes belongs to natural man (Rousseau, 1984: 100). For specific instances of a traditional ethical outlook, Rousseau condemns “the greedy pursuit of gain” (Rousseau, 1998: 95) as well as his self-condemnation of having falsely accused another of theft (Rousseau, 1996: 80-83)*****.

Hence, it is the case, as the analysis of *An Enemy of the People* makes clear, that Rousseau’s placing of the concept of the general will at the centre of his political philosophy leads to results in ethical terms that Rousseau would not approve of.

***** The Savoyard Vicar is to be seen here as voicing of Rousseau’s own sincerely-held ideas (Copleston, 2003: 78).

***** Indeed, Rousseau claims that “the desire of freeing” himself “in some degree” from the remorse of this action decades later played a significant role in his decision to write *The Confessions* (1996: 82).

Freedom

The second problem with Rousseau's general will exposed by Ibsen's play involves the concept of freedom. The personal importance of freedom to Rousseau should not be underestimated. Rousseau exclaims (1996: 35) that "I worship freedom; I abhor restraint, trouble, dependence" and he reveals how being free enables him to function as a better man by stating "I become so easily accustomed to any manner of life, *when it is voluntary*" (1996: 250). In fact, freedom is central to human value, as has already been noted above in a quotation from *The Social Contract*. Elsewhere, Rousseau makes the same point, stating:

Nature commands all animals, and the beast obeys. Man receives the same impulsion, but he recognizes himself as being free to acquiesce or resist; and it is above all in this consciousness of his freedom that the spirituality of the soul reveals itself (Rousseau, 1984: 88).

Thus, Rousseau has been evaluated by Hampshire-Monk (1992: 156) as having "freedom" as his "central preoccupation" with "his greatest fear" being "dependency", and by Mark Hulliung as being a thinker "unrelenting in his quest for furthering human autonomy" (2001: 58). It is therefore seemingly evident that Rousseau places great importance on freedom, and he regards it, in its traditional sense, as being the opposite of constraint. Consequently, it would appear that in the philosophy of Rousseau, the actions of Dr Stockmann in thinking for himself, and reaching his own conclusions, and his desire to voice his opinions openly would be endorsed. This is especially the case, when considering Rousseau's statement of "how can a man be free and yet forced to conform to wills which are not his own" (1998: 108). Indeed, this would seem to support Dr Stockmann in resisting the pressure of the town to silence him.

However, with the concept of the general will this is not in fact the case, as with this concept Dr Stockmann is not actually being free when he sets himself up against the town. The town, on the whole, wishes to silence Dr Stockmann and force him to recant his findings, and in Rousseau's philosophy they are right. As Rousseau notes:

[W]hen...the opinion opposed to my own prevails, that simply shows I was mistaken, and that what I considered to be the general will was not so. Had my private opinion prevailed, I should have done something other than I wished; and in that case *I should not have been free* (1998: 109).

So, rather than, in the generally accepted sense of liberty, Dr Stockmann manifesting his freedom by refusing to submit to the will of the majority, in Rousseau's understanding of freedom, Dr Stockmann is not being free by doing so. Indeed, such action, in Rousseau's view, selfishly endangers the very state. Being a thinker who avers that "it is only the power of the state that secures the freedom of its members" (Rousseau, 1998: 54), Rousseau explains:

[E]very individual may, as a man, have a particular will contrary to, or divergent from, the general will which he has as a citizen; his private interest may prompt him quite differently from the common interest...and regarding the moral person that constitutes the state as an imaginary being because it is not a man, he would be willing to enjoy the rights of a citizen without being willing to fulfil the duties of a subject. The progress of such injustice would bring about the ruin of the body politic (1998: 18).

This then leads to Rousseau's most infamous remark concerning liberty. It is that "whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be constrained to do so by the whole body; which means nothing else than that he shall be forced to be free" (Rousseau, 1998: 18), by realigning his will with the general will as a component part of it. Hence, Dr Stockmann is not only failing to be free in regarding his findings concerning the baths as valid and refusing to recant them, he *should* in fact be forced to change his opinion and express this

change publically in order to be free. That is, the Mayor, the majority of the town and the radical newspapermen are actually attempting to help Dr Stockmann to be free. Rousseau is therefore not an advocate of what he calls “conventional liberty” (Rousseau, 1998: 15), but rather redefines the term “liberty” to mean something rather different.

This redefinition has led to criticism of Rousseau. Copleston notes (2003: 92) that “the very fact that the position” of forcing somebody to be free “immediately strikes one as paradoxical suggests that the word free is being given in a sense which, whatever it may be is different from the sense or senses it normally bears”, whereas Dr Stockmann in regarding the suppressive “solid majority” as an “enemy...of freedom” (Ibsen, 1964: 184) uses it in the conventional one. Russell, for instance, only believes that “[l]iberty is the nominal goal of Rousseau’s thought” as he feels that “in fact it is equality that [Rousseau] values, and that he seeks to secure even at the expense of liberty” (Russell, 2004: 632). Indeed, for Russell, *The Social Contract* containing Rousseau’s redefined liberty “implies a complete abrogation of liberty and a complete rejection of the doctrines of the rights of man” (Ibid). As such, it opens the way for “collective tyranny” (Ibid), and as such “[i]ts doctrines, though they pay lip-service to democracy, tend to the justification of the totalitarian state” (Russell, 2004: 631). Copleston would disagree, viewing Rousseau as no “friend of despotism or tyranny or terror” (2003: 92), but he still feels that “[i]t is difficult to see how the fact that an opinion different from my own prevails by majority vote ‘proves’ that I was mistaken” and faults Rousseau for the fact he “simply assumes that it does” (Copleston, 2003: 91). Russell argues that the “conception of being ‘forced to be free’ is very metaphysical” (2004: 633) and feels that with this doctrine, “Rousseau forgets his romanticism and speaks like a sophisticated policeman” (Ibid). The analysis of Rousseau’s concept of the general will through Ibsen’s play confirms Russell’s opinion, as it ironically justifies the attempted suppressing of Dr Stockmann as being an attempt to liberate him. It also makes the statement of Riley that “[h]ad Rousseau not been centrally concerned with freedom – above all with the voluntariness of human actions – he would never have made ‘the general will’ the core idea of his political philosophy” especially ironic (2001b: 148).

Relation with other Politics

A further problem with the general will that is raised by Ibsen’s play is that of the external relations of the state. It has already been stated in this work that Rousseau belongs to the economic or social contract tradition. The aim of the outlooks represented in this tradition, by finding the correct relationship between authority and liberty, is to ensure societal peace. And, if the town is successful in silencing Dr Stockmann, Rousseau’s general will could be said to achieve this aim at least. Nevertheless, Immanuel Kant recognized a serious flaw in the economic and social contract tradition in its limiting its scope to the state itself and not to external conditions. Kant notes (1949: 441-442) that the condition of “wild freedom” still exists in the arena of international affairs, and as such “[n]ations may be considered like individual men which hurt each other in the state of nature, when they are not subject to laws, by their very propinquity.” And as peoples are threatened just as much by external aggression as they are by internal oppression or instability, any political theory that ensures peace within the state but not between the states has left its aim unfulfilled (Kersting, 1999: 362). A social contract of some kind therefore needs to be

drawn up between states as well as within them for their citizenries^{*****}, and only in such a manner can “wilfulness and violence” be “banished from human social relations” (Ibid).

Yet, the general will, despite the all-encompassing sound of the name, is in fact limited to that of an individual state. As Riley states (2001b: 134), for Rousseau, “[t]he notion of ‘generality’” is one that “occup[ies] a place midway between *particularity* and *universality*.” This means that Rousseau has “drawn the dividing line between *généralité* and *universalité*, between the *polis* and the *cosmopolis*” (Riley, 2001b: 135). In other words, the general will is only relevant within individual states. In *The Social Contract*, Rousseau does not enter into the question of “external relations” of states, as it “forms a new subject too vast for [his] limited scope” (Rousseau, 1998: 139), and as such he only deals with international security by countering the potential objection of “how can small states be endowed with sufficient force to resist great ones” by declaiming “[j]ust in the same way as when the Greek towns of old resisted the Great King, and as more recently Holland and Switzerland have resisted the House of Austria” (Rousseau, 1998: 93). This aside from being extremely ill-thought out^{*****} is clearly unsatisfactory as it still entails a state of war.

The problem of continuous instability being created by localized general wills can be inferred from *An Enemy of the People*. At the end of the play, it is unclear whether the true conditions of the baths will be kept a secret. Dr Stockmann has vowed “to write to papers in other towns” promising “[t]he whole country will know how things stand here” (Ibsen, 2003: 191) and there has certainly been enough local scandal to cause the price of shares in the baths to fall dramatically, suggesting that the whole affair may not be able to be hushed up (Ibsen, 1964: 208, 212-3). But for the purpose of this analysis these points are unimportant. What is important is that the general will *desired* the silencing of the truth about the baths, and if it could have had its way this silence would have been ensured.

The implication of such a silencing therefore needs to be examined. Assuming that the truth about the baths could be hushed up, visitors from outside of the town would continue to come to the town and ruin their health. In the end, suspicion would fall on the town in other towns – which can also be thought of as polises with general wills of their own – around the country, and this could lead to reciprocal consequences, such as a boycott of the town or a refusal to have economic relations with it. It could even lead to the other polises demanding, through the central state authority, that the town be visited with punitive action. In other words, the continuing stability of the town would not be

^{*****} Kant states that:

For states in their relation to each other there cannot, according to reason, be any other way to get away from the lawless state that contains nothing but war than to give up (just like individual men) their wild and lawless freedom, to accept public and enforceable laws, and thus to form a constantly growing world state of all nations (*civitasgenitum*) which finally would comprise all nations (Kant, 1949 445).

^{*****} There are numerous problems with Rousseau's two examples. Firstly, they both deal with empires that are fighting at a great distance from their heartlands. Secondly, in the case of the Dutch, they were receiving material support from two other full-sized nations, France and England. But the most glaring problem is that history, as Rousseau should be well aware, provides plentiful incidences of city-states being overwhelmed by greater-sized ones. There was the case of the Phoenician city-states falling to Assyria, the Greek ones being brought under Macedonian and later Roman control, and in more modern times, the unfortunate situation in Italy, which is analyzed by Machiavelli in *The Prince* (1979: 128-9) and which Machiavelli wants, in vain, to reverse (1979: 133-8). Moreover, Rousseau's contemporaries would not have shared his historical optimism. The primary reason for the newly created states in the Americas to not only continue with their wartime union, but actually strengthen it, was that it “affords them the best security that can be devised against *hostilities* from abroad” (Hamilton, 1961: 42).

ensured by silencing this truth, and the general will would not be acting in the public interest if external relations are taken into account. Hence, by promoting a general will that is geographically limited to the boundaries of a city-state, Rousseau does not ensure peace and stability for its members. It is to be noted though, that as with his views on morality and liberty, Rousseau does not hold a clearly unambiguous position regarding the limitation of the general will to the borders state. Copleston notes that:

As far as the *Discourse on Political Economy* is concerned, Rousseau evidently assumes that there is something higher than the State. We have seen that, according to him, the more general will is also the most just. We can say, therefore, that just as the wills of individuals and of particular societies within the State are particular wills in relation to the general will of the State, so is the will of an individual State a particular will if it is looked at in relation 'to the great city of the world...whose general will is always the will of nature, and of which the different States and peoples are individual members' (2003: 73).

Dr Stockmann's Remarks on the Minority

There is a final point about the general will that is raised by Ibsen's play that is worthy of examination. It is revealed in Dr Stockmann's identification of "the most dangerous enemy of truth" as being that of "the solid majority" (Ibsen, 1964: 184). In contrast, those "who've absorbed all the new, vigorous truths" and who "stand at the outposts, as it were" (Ibsen, 1964: 185), these people are "fighting for truths so newly-born in the world of thought as to have only the few on their side" (Ibsen, 1964: 186). The author is reflected in his creation here, with Ibsen's own outlook being described as one of "aristocratic idealism" (Brustein, 1991: 72), and soon after the publication of *Ghosts*, in a letter to Georg Brandes, Ibsen wrote that "[t]he minority is always right – that is to say, the minority that is leading the way towards some point at which the majority has not yet arrived"***** (qtd. in Watts, 1964: 12).

The general will with its duty to compel uniformity can therefore be regarded as an obstacle to the discovery of new truths, and intellectual progress. As a historical instance, Russell rhetorically asks whether Galileo was "'forced to be free' when the Inquisition compelled him to recant" considering that "[t]he general will in the time of Galileo was certainly anti-Copernican" (Russell, 2004: 633). Nevertheless, this would perhaps endear the concept of the general will even more to Rousseau, as he himself was an enemy of progress. The prevention of new ideas could be viewed by Rousseau as a benefit of the general will. Nonetheless, this would also mean that Rousseau ought to have welcomed the burning of his books in Geneva in 1762 rather than seeing it as an infringement of "common sense" (Rousseau, 1996: 578).

***** Shaw supports Ibsen in this outlook by affirming that:

It is a scientific fact that the majority, however eager it may be for the reform of old abuses, is always wrong in its opinion of new developments, or rather is always unfit for them (for it can hardly be said to be wrong in opposing developments for which it is not yet fit). The pioneer is a tiny minority of the force he heads; and so, though it is easy to be in a minority and yet be wrong, it is absolutely impossible to be in the majority and yet be right as to the newest social prospects (Shaw, 1891: 94).

Conclusion

This work has demonstrated that, by applying Rousseau's concept of the general will, in the only meaningful way this concept can be applied, to the events of the *de facto* fictional city-state in Henrik Ibsen's play *An Enemy of the People*, a concept that supposedly determines ethics, liberty and societal peace can in fact be viewed as being in opposition to them all. At least that is the case for ethics and liberty unless these terms are radically redefined, and redefined in a way that seems to be at odds to Rousseau's wider writings. The contrast between ethics and liberty as understood in light of the general will, and their use elsewhere is perhaps unsurprising as Rousseau's overall work is notoriously ambiguous or contradictory. This work provides evidence to the claim that Rousseau is "the author of paradoxes" (Riley, 2001a: 1), and that "many of Rousseau's central moral-political beliefs are cast in the form of paradoxes" (Riley, 2001b: 134). It supports the view that "virtue meant a number of contrary things to Rousseau" (Kelly, 2001: 11), and that the idea of forcing somebody to be free is a "paradox" in itself (Copleston, 2003: 91); indeed, it is "Rousseau's famous" one (Ibid). Rousseau as a paradoxical thinker also explains how such differing opinions about him have been held. As Roger D Masters points out, Rousseau "[f]or twentieth century critics...is often praised as the founder of the western democratic tradition or vilified as a forerunner of totalitarianism" (qtd. in Riley, 2001a: 7).

What would be the greatest paradox of all in regard to this work is that Rousseau and Ibsen or his alter-ego Dr Stockmann actually reach such differing conclusions from such similar standpoints. Much like Ibsen after having written *Ghosts*, Rousseau regarded himself as a misunderstood individual, and one who has been the "victim" of "treachery and falsehood" (Rousseau's *Confessions* own fn. to 279). He too expressed a minority view by rejecting the traditional theology as well as the progressive rational views of the Enlightenment. And at times in his life, such as the aforementioned book burning when, as he puts it, "a "cry of execration...went up against [him] throughout Europe" (Rousseau, 1996: 578) and the period following the publication of his anti-Christian *Letters Written from the Mountain*, he was regarded as much "a Public Enemy" as Doctor Stockmann with his challenging writings*****.

Philosophically, however, in a certain sense both Rousseau and Ibsen-Dr Stockmann are attracted more by grandiose positions than by solid reasoning. When Dr Stockmann claims "[t]he majority never has right on its side" (Ibsen, 1964: 185) and when Rousseau regards the general will as being infallible, they take up extreme opposing outlooks. But it is surely the case that morality, freedom, justice and truth, if they are to escape from the most banal relativism, cannot be determined by the size of the societal section that favours them, whether smaller or larger, and require founding on a basis more profound than simple computations of their adherents.

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ANALYSIS OF BURNOUT LEVEL OF POLICE OFFICERS: EVIDENCE FROM MALATYA, TURKEY

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Abstract

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Burnout, a relatively new concept, is defined as feeling cold and distant about one's job or profession due to extreme stress or low level of job satisfaction. Police profession is considered to be one of the most likely places to observe burnout for obvious reasons. There are numerous empirical studies conducted in highly stressful or dangerous professions. They find that burnout level increases with age, lower level of job satisfaction and length of service. This study investigates the current situation burnout among Turkish police officers using a sample surveyed in the province of Malatya. The study compares the stress and burnout levels of police employees with respect to their gender, position and length of service; and finds that burnout level is higher among ordinary police officers, male police employees and more experienced police employees.

Keywords: *Burnout Syndrome; Job Satisfaction; Police*

Introduction

Researchers in the fields of psychology and sociology have been investigating the burnout syndrome through experimental research for over 30 years. Theoretical structure of burnout syndrome has been presented in the literature in last 25 years. Initially perceived as a source of stress, it has been analyzed and investigated through organizational structure and human resources perspective later (Pearlman and Hartman, 1982). For example, Freudenberg initially believed that the burnout was the result of problems in organizational structure on workers but following his studies and experiments he concluded that burnout was more closely characterized with depression, unhappiness and boredom of workers (Freudenberg, 1974).

There are various definitions for burnout syndrome in the literature. Pines and Aranson (1981) define it as the situation of forcing the limits of workers physically, mentally and spiritually due excessive emotional demand in the work environment. However, the most common and widely accepted definition of burnout is done by Maslach. She defines the burnout as the situation of emotional breakdown of the workers with the feeling of lack of self esteem and self confidence as a result of intense interaction with other workers in the work place (Maslach and Zimbardo, 1982). The opposite of this situation, hence the situation of worker being happy with the interaction of other workers and his work outcome is called job satisfaction.

Despite increasing use of technology, machines and robots in the work place, it is widely accepted fact that human involvement is still the most important factor of production in most industries. Considering the ongoing shift around the globe from manufacturing to service industries, this fact becomes even more significant. Today,

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most economic theories include human capital as one of the key elements of production function along with technology and physical capital. Human capital simply overtook or replaced the quantity of labor in the function, hence implying that the quality of the labor is even more important than its quantity. This example highlights the importance of the quality of human resources of companies in order to achieve and ensure high productivity and efficiency.

Productivity of workers is determined by the availability of physical capital to workers, their education and skill levels and also their motivation. The latter one is very much associated with the mental and emotional state of the worker. In certain professions, high level of expectations from the worker along with the pressure from the peers and demanding work conditions may bring the workers to the point of collapse. This is especially true in professions which require being very accurate and very careful in making decisions as well as in exercising those decisions such as health workers, pilots, military professionals in close combat situations, firefighters on duty and police officers in highly hostile environments. Therefore, it is not surprising that initial studies on burnout syndrome were done on these professions. However in later years, studies on the issue were extended to other professions which require dealing with people, patience and sacrifice such as teachers, librarians, prison guards and managers (Azizoğlu, 2010).

Capitalism and resulting industrial conditions create a continuous pressure on firms to cut costs and increase profits. Firms are expected to grow forever as keeping the market share or profit levels as it was before is considered as a failure. Thus, firms set ambitious targets in each period to surpass their earlier achievements. Most of the time, this could mainly be achieved by increasing per capita output without a parallel increase in the wages. In most industries where the natural work conditions are not the source of stress, this managerial pressure is the source of burnout.

Various factors may contribute burnout state. They can be grouped as personal characteristics, social factors and organizational factors. Individual characteristics which may contribute burnout are given and they are not easy for a worker to change them in the short or medium run. Mainly these characteristics are age, gender, education level, marital status, number of kids, personal expectations, family support or lack of it. People who work in the same job with similar work conditions may show different response to stressors. For instance, studies find that young employees show higher level of burnout due to their ambitions when they are exposed to high stress conditions compared to older and more experienced workers. Similarly, females are found to be more prone to burnout compared to their male counterparts. Also, while many would expect that higher level of education would help to deal with burnout, studies find higher incidence of burnout as education level increases among workers. In addition to individual characteristics, social factors also play an important role in burnout syndrome. The most significant of these factors is the family structure of the individual. Workers with peaceful family life are less likely to be effected from burnout (Kaçmaz, 2005).

Organizational or work related factors causing burnout can be listed as working hours and its length, work load, rewards, fairness, values and feeling to be part of the organization. When workers feel that there is a lack of fairness in the organization in terms of work load, rewarding or recognition of contribution, they gradually begin to feel detached. If this situation continues in the long term as an organizational policy with no hope of real change in the horizon, workers begin to feel alienated (Ari and Bal, 2008).

It is well established in the literature that unbearable and hostile work conditions are

likely to result in burnout of workers and hence reduce their job satisfaction significantly. This can happen due to direct negative result of burnout on worker's motivation as well as the indirect effect of burnout on the mental and emotional situation of the worker since these type of workers are more likely to be associated with high level of stress, mental health problems, family issues, drug addiction and possible loss of employment (Kaçmaz, 2005). The most common symptoms of burnout syndrome are reported to be being late at work, attendance issues or absenteeism, decrease in productivity, frequent errors at work, clash with the authorities and failure to obey orders (Tözün et al., 2008).

Burnout syndrome can be grouped into four stages: Enthusiasm, Stagnation, Frustration and Apathy. In the enthusiasm stage, the worker is yet fresh and new to the job. He or she has great desire to work and high hopes for the future. The worker is idealistic and tries to fit in and contribute with great energy. In the presence of high stress, inadequate rewarding mechanism and lack of recognition of contribution, the worker slowly loses his enthusiasm and begins to question his or her skills. There is a significant decrease in the desire of the worker. In the third stage, the worker gets frustrated with work conditions, peers and managers. He begins to withdraw himself from work since he feels excluded. In the last stage, the worker is hopeless and tired of job. He works only because he feels obligated (Balçioğlu et al, 2008).

Security forces face with burnout syndrome more frequently compared to other professions due to nature and risk structure of the work. However, the burnout experienced by military personnel versus police officers is also substantially different due to differences in people that they deal with. This study focuses on burnout syndrome in police officers and police chiefs. While military personnel are prepared to deal with armed groups and soldiers mostly in combat environment, police officers deal with any type of offender from domestic violence to bank robbery, from rape to homicide in civilian life environment. In other words, they deal with criminals in any location at any given time so their daily life is a combat zone while for military personnel the combat zone is more limited and obvious.

This study intends to analyze the level of burnout and resulting job satisfaction level and the relationship between them using a sample from Malatya province of Turkey. This study extends an earlier study which was done with a relatively small sample size of only 89 officers from the city center of Malatya province by surveying 214 police officers from the center and towns of Malatya this time. The small sample size makes it rather difficult to reach reliable and significant result in many hypotheses tested.

Malatya is located in the eastern part of Turkey and it is quite close to the area where long time clash between terrorist organization, PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) and Turkish Security Forces though it is not considered as a center of terrorist activity of PKK. Therefore, the alert level in the area can be considered as medium. An earlier but not yet published study by the authors surveyed 89 police officers in the center of Malatya. However, this paper improves this study by increasing the sample size almost three times by including the police officers working in other town centers of Malatya province in the sample who were not part of the study in the first stage of the research.

Literature Review on Burnout Syndrome

There is an extensive research about burnout syndrome in the psychology and business literature. Burnout syndrome was first introduced by Freudenberger in order to explain the notion of fatigue, exhaustion, disappointment and loss of desire to work observed among

workers (Kaçmaz, 2005). Later, Maslach and Jackson helped develop the theoretical model of burnout syndrome. Freudenberger initiated his work on the issue in 1974 because of his observations of fatigue and despair among nurses and doctors in medical facilities. Freudenberger associated these symptoms with the excessive demand of employers from the workers and resulting feeling of being tired and despair (Süloğlu, 2009).

However, the term of “burnout” first appeared in a novel entitled “A Burn-Out Case” by Graham Greene in 1961 in which the story of an architect who was exhausted and had quit his job and moved to African jungle was told. This book analyzed the concept of burnout in great detail and defined the concept as “losing someone his sense of loyalty and compassion to his profession.” This clearly indicates that the concept was well known and defined by sociologists as an important social issue (Maslach et al., 2001).

Burnout is a psychological syndrome that results from a continuous exposure to chronic interpersonal stress sources on the workplace. The main dimensions of this exposure are an overwhelming feeling of exhaustion, feeling detached from the job, and a sense of ineffectiveness and lack of accomplishment at work (Maslach 1993). Burnout is the polar case of job satisfaction where people experience energy, involvement with their work, and feelings of effectiveness (Maslach & Leiter 1997). Maslach believes that burnout syndrome does not occur suddenly. It is result of an accumulation of mental and physical stress in occupations which require highly complicated and stressful work conditions as well as in occupations that require more intense human interaction like certain service sectors such as teaching and policing (Erol et al., 2007).

Much of the research on burnout has focused on determining what causes it and who is at higher risk of experiencing it. Mainly, six key areas of work life are identified as predictors of burnout. These are level of workload, control mechanism, community involvement, company values, rewarding scheme for workers, and fairness of managers (Maslach & Leiter 1997, Leiter & Maslach 2004). Research on these six areas suggests that there is a consistent correlation among them and a careful analyze of these predictors help to determine the likelihood and the level of burnout experienced by workers.

Business studies in burnout research have focused on the relationship between burnout level and important work outcomes. For example, some studies have found a significant negative relationship between level of nurse burnout and the quality of patient care (Leiter et al. 1998, Laschinger & Leiter 2006). In general, burnout has been found to be correlated with various forms of negative attitudes towards job such as job dissatisfaction, low organizational commitment, absenteeism, intention to leave the job, and high turnover (Schaufeli & Enzmann 1998).

On the other hand, it should be noted that research on the polar case, job satisfaction, began much earlier, in 1920s. Initially the research focused on understanding what makes workers happier and more productive and how to increase this happiness and productivity over the time (Tözün et al., 2008). Then, researchers witnessed several cases specifically in nursing and teaching where firms faced with increasing number of workers who felt exhausted, detached and failed in their jobs despite all their efforts to boost employee morale and productivity. Only then, the term of burnout syndrome was introduced to the literature. But, today many researcher accept that burnout is not only limited to certain professions with high level of stress. It is widely observed phenomenon in many areas of industrial production as well as service industries. It becomes more and more important issue with the increasing level of income and wealth in developed and developing countries.

As expected, there are many studies done in analyzing burnout level of police officers as police officers are prone to high level of stress. Burke (1993) surveyed 828 police officers in order to investigate the impact of their job satisfaction level on their mental and physical health. He found a high level of burnout among police officers and that was negatively affecting their mental and physical health. Golembiewski et al. (1992) surveyed 213 police officers in order to find out the impact of burnout of police officers on their mental health and found higher incidence of mental problems in the officers with higher level of burnout experienced. Şanlı (2006) conducted a study on police officers in order to determine the effect of demographic characteristics on job satisfaction and burnout level. He found that both job satisfaction and burnout level differed with respect to workplace, work system, and economic conditions.

Martinussen et al. (2007) examine the relationship between job demands, job resources, and burnout in police officers. They also check if burnout could predict both work and health-related outcomes among police officers by applying a questionnaire on 223 Norwegian police officers. They found that the overall level of burnout was low among police officers compared to other occupational groups tested in Norway. Both job demands and job resources were related to burnout as expected and especially work-family pressure was an important predictor for all of the three burnout dimensions. Burnout was helpful to predict individual outcomes, such as psychosomatic complaints and satisfaction with life, as well as work outcomes like job satisfaction, loyalty and intention to quit.

Gershon et al. (2002) studied work stress and resulting burnout in aging police officers using a sample of 1106 police officers (of which 105 was over 50 and were selected for this study) from a large urban area police department in the United States and found the higher incidence of stress-related health issues as well as heavy drinking and gambling problems compared to younger police officers who were not exposed to work related stress since they were working under less stressful conditions.

McCarty et al. (2007) investigate if male and female police officers report different levels of occupational stress and burnout using a sample of police officers working in a large city in the Northeast of the United States. They also examine whether various factors that are believed to influence occupational stress and burnout have different level of impact on male and female officers. They find that male and female officers are not exposed to significantly different levels of occupational stress and burnout. According to the results of separate multivariate analyses, they suspect that male and female officers may be prone to the same set of stressors in the police organization. Also, multivariate results indicate that African-American female officers report significantly higher levels of burnout than other officers.

Yang and Wang (2008) investigate the causes of police burnout in Chinese police forces. They list long-term occupational danger, heavy public and peer pressure, high strength and hyperirritability are likely reasons to cause professional burnout. They conclude that understanding the causes and countermeasures of professional burnout is of great realistic significance for enhancing the efficiency of police actions. Police professional burnout can be eliminated through optimizing social environment, improving management structure of police agencies, strengthening legal rights of the police officers and increasing the quality of police cadets.

Hall et al. (2010) propose and test a comprehensive theory designed to explain seemingly contradictory relations between job demands, emotional exhaustion, and work-family conflict reported in the literature. Using various theories of burnout they

hypothesized that job demands would spillover to emotional exhaustion, and alternatively that job demands would also spillover to work-family conflict. They also hypothesized that a new and more complex model representing reciprocal and cross-linked effects could explain the existing data better. They tested their hypotheses using a longitudinal data of 257 Australian police officers in two different periods with, at least with a year distance. Using structural equation modeling, they found that the more complex model fitted the data better than other models. They conclude that interventions to reduce work demands arising from work pressure and emotional demands are indicated to prevent conflict at home and burnout in police officers.

There is a consensus in the literature and among scholars that burnout is a negative phenomenon. However, interestingly one study actually claims a potential positive side of burnout. Euwema et al. (2004) analyzes the behavior of police officers in conflict situations and investigates how burnout and resulting reduced dominance may affect policing outcomes. They claim that burnout reduces the dominance which plays an importance role in police-civilian interactions, and paradoxically this may lead to more effective outcomes in conflict situations. The study aims to understand the effect of burnout in policing practice by analyzing the relationship among demands, rewards, occupational burnout and police officers' behavior in conflict situations using a questionnaire among 358 Dutch police officers. In addition, they observed the interaction between these police officers and civilians for over 122 days. They find that the imbalance between job demands and rewards was a good predictor of burnout. They also find that burnout predicted a decrease in dominant behavior, as expected, in conflict situations and then this leads to more effective outcomes in conflict situations. But this conclusion seems a big leap of faith as one might interpret that reduced dominance, whether it is a result of burnout or something else might be a positive factor in dealing with conflict situations. The authors conclude that benefits of reduced dominance in these situations should be taken into account in the training of professionals. However, the positive link between burnout and better results in conflict situations does not seem convincing.

Data and Methodology

This study uses primary data collected from a sample of police officers and police chiefs randomly selected from the police force of Malatya province. The population of this study is the whole Turkish Police Organization and it would be ideal to use stratified sample for the purpose of the study. However, this requires a special permission from the general directorate of Turkish police and generally it is a lengthy and uncertain process. Therefore, instead authors opted to limit the scope of the study into single province, Malatya, where one of the authors was officially employed in the police forces in the province; hence it was possible to obtain necessary permission from the chief of police for the province.

This study applied a survey that consisted of forty three questions in four sub sections; profile, emotional exhaustion, individual accomplishment and feeling of detachment. In the first section, three personal profile questions; gender, position and length of service are asked. Age initially was part of the questionnaire but later it was excluded as age and length of service are almost perfectly correlated with each other in the Turkish Police Organization due to narrow hiring age window. The rest of the questions ask the opinion of participants about various aspects of their job satisfaction and related issues. Majority of the questions were adopted from Operational and Organizational Police Stress Questionnaires developed by McCreary and Thompson (2006) and modified

for this study. However, this study uses 5 level Likert scale instead of 7 level used by the developers (where 1 indicates “strongly disagree” and 5 indicates “strongly agree”).

This study compares the mean responses of survey participants for each question and determine if there is a significant difference among the participants with respect to their gender, position and length of service. This study also developed a score system to measure the stress level of each participant by assigning a unit value for the response of each question, for any given participant. As there are forty of 5 level Likert questions, any participant is expected to collect a total points of 40 (minimum possible score) to 200 (maximum possible score). Then, the average stress score will be calculated for each sub group, by simply calculating the mean of the stress scores for each participant in that group. However, it should be noted that, in such a design, more statistical analysis and more complex methodology would be needed in order to correctly decide about the boundaries of high stress versus medium level stress or low stress. But this is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, this study uses mean stress scores only to make comparisons among police officers with respect to their gender, position and length of service.

In addition, this study employed factor analysis in order to determine if grouping the questions would produce meaningful results. Factor analysis results indicated that the most efficient number of factors was five. However, after careful analysis of the groupings, it was decided to use four grouping. In this stage, authors decided to combine the results of factor analysis with the intuition and constructed groupings which only partially supported by the results of the statistical analysis. Therefore, the factor analysis results are not provided in the paper as they are not fully employed but rather are the main basis for the question selection. In doing so, the study aimed to come up with meaningful groupings of the questions. According to this methodology, following groups and resulting scores are calculated:

- Job Satisfaction Score (Questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 20)
- Personal Exhaustion Score (Questions 16, 17, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39 and 40)
- Detachment Score (Questions 19, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 35)
- Lack of Accomplishment Score (Questions 26, 27, 28, 29, 33 and 38)

As a result of varying number of questions selected for each classification, boundaries for each participant’s relevant score also vary (For instance it will be between 14 and 70 for job satisfaction score while it will be between 8 and 40 for personal exhaustion score for each participant). It should be noted that these grouping logic essentially follows Maslach (1993)’s three dimensional approach to burnout. Sum of the personal exhaustion score, detachment score and lack of accomplishment score can be defined as “burnout score”. This study also measures burnout score and check for the differences of mean values of those scores with respect to gender, position and length of service.

As explained above, initially the survey was conducted only in the province center of Malatya with 89 police officers and police administrators. However, the sample size was not large enough to have reliable results and therefore in the second stage the study was extended to the police forces working in other cities and towns of Malatya province in order to increase the sample size. With this extension, the total sample size reached to 214. Data were analyzed using SPSS 19.0 statistical package.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of the Sample

		n	percent
Gender	Male	179	83.6
	Female	35	16.4
Position	Police Officer	172	80.4
	Ranking Officer	42	19.6
Length of Service	Less than 5 years	85	39.7
	5 years or more	77	36.0
	10 - 14 years	34	15.9
	15 years and more	18	8.4

Descriptive statistics of the sample is provided in Table 1. As it can be seen from the table, majority of the survey participants are male and this is not surprising since the Turkish Police Force is heavily male oriented as it is the case in most countries. Similarly, majority of the respondents are regular police officer without a rank. Ranking officers in the survey consists of lower level police administrators such as deputy commissairs, commissairs and police superintendents. Finally, large percentage of respondents is officers with less than 10 years experience.

It should be noted in Turkish Police Force appointments are done through central placement system and officers are subjected to rotation in different parts of the country frequently, including a mandatory service requirement in the eastern part of the country where terrorist activities of PKK exist and also the area is less developed, hence less desired by many officers to locate and work. Therefore, decreasing number of officers in the province can also be explained with the fact that most police officers choose to serve in the western provinces of Turkey once they complete their mandatory service in the Eastern Turkey. However, as explained in the introduction, Malatya province is considered to be relatively safe and peaceful as well as desirable. Therefore, the percentage of officers with more than 10 years of experience can still be considered as high, especially after taking natural decrease in the number of experienced officers due to deaths and resignations into consideration.

Empirical Results

As explained above, survey questions were prepared using Operational and Organizational Police Stress Questionnaires developed by McCreary and Thompson (2006) and these surveys have already been tested and were found to be reliable. Further test of modified questionnaire of this study using Cronbach’s Alpha was conducted and the reliability of 40 survey questions was checked. According to this particular reliability test:

- if $\alpha < 0.5$, the test is not reliable at all,
- if $0.5 \leq \alpha < 0.6$, the reliability of the test is poor,
- if $0.6 \leq \alpha < 0.7$, the reliability of the test is at questionable level,
- if $0.7 \leq \alpha < 0.8$, the reliability of the test is at acceptable level,
- if $0.8 \leq \alpha < 0.9$, the reliability of the test is good;
- and if $\alpha \geq 0.9$, the reliability of the test is excellent (George and Mallery, 2003). The Cronbach’s Alpha test result, α , for the survey is found as 0.911 and therefore it is safe to claim that the survey questions are consistent and highly reliable.

Existing literature on the topic finds a positive correlation between length of service and burnout in highle stressed prone professions like policing. Therefore, this study tests this finding to find out if it is also the case with the Turkish Police Force in Malatya province. In addition, this study also tests if there is a difference in terms of burnout or personal exhaustion between male and female officers as well as between regular police officers and ranking officers.

Table 2 presents the summary of mean responses to survey questions along with their standard deviation. The average value of mean responses is equal to 3.26 and the standard deviation of mean responses is equal to 0.58. According to Table 2, four of the responses have a mean value over 4.0 and ten of them have a mean value over 3.50. Considering mean responses higher than 3.50 as an indication of heavily agreeing with the statement and indicating a possibly important issue, it can be concluded that police employees in the sample, ignoring their gender, position and length of service for the sake of the discussion, are not pleased at all with the level of bureaucracy and red taping in the organization, working hours and shift work, financial compensation and with internal investigation procedures. In addition, they also are somewhat displeased with frequent changes in policies, promotion system and promotion opportunities, and unfair distribution of responsibilities. They complain about lack of time for their families and friends due to their job obligations. They feel not appreciated by their supervisors and also many of them feel trapped in this line of work, which can be explained with the fact that ranking officers are obligated to pay a hefty sum in case they want to quit before they complete their mandatory service time which is the result of their education cost fully paid by the government and can be as high as 16 years for some officers.

Table 2: Summary of Responses to Survey Questions

Question Number	Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	There are excessive administrative issues and red taping	4.12	0.93
2	Frequent changes in policies & regulations	3.68	1.18
3	Unfair distribution of work and responsibilities	3.88	1.11
4	Supervisors overemphasize the negatives	3.72	1.03
5	I believe there is favoritism in the organization	3.91	1.21
6	My superiors would not cover my back if I am in trouble	3.45	1.45
7	Promotion system is unfair	3.99	1.02
8	Promotion opportunities are limited	3.85	1.08
9	Constant fear of internal investigations	4.02	1.13
10	Working extra hours with insufficient compensation	4.34	0.88
11	There is not enough training and equipment	3.30	1.53
12	The organization's human resources management is bad	3.28	1.21
13	Frequent requirement of shift working creates stress	3.79	1.18
14	Financial compensation for my work is not sufficient	4.56	0.67
15	I would not recommend others to work for the police	3.25	1.09
16	I experience fatigue and occupational health issues	3.04	1.62
17	I feel like I am always at work	3.16	1.38

18	I do not have enough time for my family and friends	3.65	1.31
19	I have no desire to go to work	2.89	1.28
20	I regret for my career choice	3.09	1.43
21	I often go to work late	2.48	1.58
22	I often miss work with lame excuses	2.30	1.52
23	I often think about quitting	2.16	1.46
24	I do not feel like I am a team player anymore	2.89	1.13
25	I feel not appreciated by my family	2.44	1.05
26	I feel not appreciated by my colleagues	2.79	1.24
27	I feel not appreciated by my superiors	3.58	1.06
28	I feel not appreciated by the public that I serve	3.22	1.17
29	I feel that I am not good at my job	2.85	1.12
30	I worry a lot about getting injured/killed at work	2.45	1.08
31	I am disappointed with the people	3.02	1.45
32	I have no hope for better future	3.34	1.56
33	I feel useless	2.96	1.46
34	I feel weak	2.87	1.52
35	I feel trapped	3.58	1.50
36	I feel helpless	3.43	1.39
37	I feel depressed	2.78	1.21
38	I feel like I am a failure	2.67	1.40
39	I have difficulties in sleeping	3.04	1.47
40	I have constant back pain	2.62	1.52

Table 3: Comparison of Results with respect to Gender, Rank and Experience

Questions	Gender		Rank		Experience	
	Male	Female	Officer	Chief	0-5 yrs	6+ yrs
There are excessive administrative issues/ red taping	4.15	3.98	4.11	4.16	4.10	4.14
Frequent changes in policies & regulations	3.65	3.73	3.66	3.74	3.48*	3.82*
Unfair distribution of work and responsibilities	3.97*	3.41*	3.99*	3.45*	4.11*	3.73*
Supervisors overemphasize the negatives	3.74	3.62	3.75	3.62	3.69	3.74
I believe there is favoritism in the organization	3.94	3.83	3.94	3.81	3.86	3.94
My superiors would not cover my back	3.48	3.34	3.56*	3.01*	3.23*	3.60*
Promotion system is unfair	4.01	3.90	4.06*	3.72*	4.04	3.95
Promotion opportunities are limited	3.88	3.72	4.05*	3.02*	3.91	3.81
Constant fear of internal investigations	4.05	3.89	4.04	3.96	3.92	4.08
Working extra hours with insufficient compensation	4.43*	3.87*	4.35	4.29	4.27	4.39
There is not enough training and equipment	3.33	3.17	3.34	3.17	3.32	3.29

Human resources management is bad	3.30	3.18	3.25	3.40	3.21	3.33
Frequent requirement of shift working creates stress	3.98*	2.85*	3.81	3.73	3.75	3.82
Financial rewards for my work is not sufficient	4.57	4.51	4.55	4.59	4.29*	4.71*
I would not recommend working for the police	3.34*	2.79*	3.22	3.37	2.80*	3.55*
I experience fatigue and occupational health issues	3.13*	2.54*	3.13*	2.70*	2.47*	3.42*
I feel like I am always at work	3.18	3.08	3.27*	2.72*	3.21	3.13
I do not have enough time for my family/friends	3.63	3.77	3.81*	3.02*	3.36*	3.83*
I have no desire to go to work	2.92	2.75	3.04*	2.28*	2.46*	3.17*
I regret for my career choice	3.17*	2.70*	3.00*	3.46*	2.50*	3.48*
I often go to work late	2.45	2.62	2.51	2.38	2.21*	2.65*
I often miss work with lame excuses	2.28	2.38	2.29	2.33	2.04*	2.48*
I often think about quitting	2.18	2.08	2.14	2.23	2.13	2.18
I do not feel like I am a team player anymore	2.92	2.77	2.93	2.75	2.85	2.92
I feel not appreciated by my family	2.51*	2.09*	2.47	2.32	2.36	2.50
I feel not appreciated by my colleagues	2.80	2.74	2.82	2.69	2.68	2.86
I feel not appreciated by my superiors	3.67*	3.15*	3.67*	3.20*	3.47	3.65
I feel not appreciated by the public that I serve	3.24	3.13	3.24	3.15	2.96*	3.39*
I feel that I am not good at my job	2.86	2.80	2.88	2.74	2.78	2.89
I worry a lot about getting injured/killed at work	2.61*	1.66*	2.49	2.31	2.20*	2.62*
I am disappointed with the people	3.05	2.90	3.05	2.92	2.75*	3.20*
I have no hope for better future	3.40*	3.05*	3.37	3.26	2.99*	3.57*
I feel useless	2.97	2.90	3.11*	2.35*	2.68*	3.14*
I feel weak	2.84	2.99	2.95*	2.56*	2.45*	3.15*
I feel trapped	3.70*	2.97*	3.51*	3.89*	3.47	3.65
I feel helpless	3.53*	2.95*	3.47	3.27	3.28	3.53
I feel depressed	2.84*	2.50*	2.81	2.68	2.48*	2.98*
I feel like I am a failure	2.75*	2.28*	2.70	2.57	2.52	2.77
I have difficulties in sleeping	3.11*	2.69*	3.07	2.94	2.75*	3.24*
I have constant back pain	2.63	2.59	2.65	2.52	2.01*	3.03*
* Significant at 5 percent level or less						

Table 3 presents the results for the mean comparison of each question with respect to gender, rank and length of service at 5 percent significance level. Survey results, in general, are in line with the expectations and earlier findings in the literature. It is possible to see from the results the indications of low level of job satisfaction and hence signals of burnout in police employees. Though majority of the police employees complain

about working hours, financial compensation, promotion procedures, fear of internal investigations and favoritism in the organization; male employees perceive a significantly higher level of negative impacts of above-mentioned factors. Male employees also seem to report experiencing higher levels of negative personal feelings about themselves and their surrounding. However, this is not surprising given the structure and working conditions of Turkish Police Organization, where relatively low percentage of female officers are hired and they are generally employed at desk jobs in order to reduce their exposure to physical danger.

In general, results indicate that all police employees regardless of their rank complain about too much bureaucracy and red taping, favoritism, working hours and conditions, promotion system, lack of time for family and friends, frequent changes in regulations and worrying for internal investigations. However, ordinary police officers' responses indicate that they perceive a higher level of unfairness in promotions as well as distribution of work responsibilities. They also believe that promotion opportunities are more limited for themselves compared to ranking officers. This can be explained with the fact that only a small percentage of police officer can actually promote to ranking officer position each year since the majority of ranking officers in Turkish Police was recruited from the graduates of Police Academy in the past.

In addition, there were numerous complaints and reports about the unfairness of the selection process. They also indicate that they have lower level of confidence in their superiors when it comes to their support during internal investigations. Ordinary police officers complain more about lack of time for their families. Ranking officers report generally lower level of responses compared to ordinary police officers, indicating lower level of dissatisfaction. However, interestingly, ranking officers' responses indicate significantly higher issues about their career choice and feeling trapped in the police organization.

This is not surprising finding considering that most of the ranking officers are the graduates of Turkish Police Academy and they are selected through an aptitude test from very successful middle school and high school students when they are very young. Majority of them choose the career because of the allure of the uniform, guidance from their families and the impact of TV series and movies without really grasping what the choice requires from them. In other words, their choice may not be exactly rational and well informed choice as they are not fully aware of alternatives and opportunity cost of their choice. Therefore, overtime it is normal to see that some of them are disappointed as they face the difficulties of the job, lack of proper rewarding and their classmates from secondary and high school in other profession with more attractive conditions.

Experience also has a large impact on burnout incidence and level of job satisfaction. Employees with more experience seem to complain significantly more about frequent changes in regulations and legislation, lack of support from their superiors when they face with a problem at work, lack of appropriate financial compensation for their efforts and occupational health problems. They also report significantly higher level of dissatisfaction when it comes to job related stressors. These results are even more obvious when police employees with 15 year or more experience are compared to police officers with 5 or less years of experience. Experienced police employees indicate that they are not happy with their career choice; they have low expectations for the future and they would not recommend their profession to others. On the other hand, police employees with less experience seem to complain more about the fairness in the distribution of work responsibilities among the employees.

Table 4 presents the results of comparisons of stress score, job satisfaction score, personal exhaustion score, detachment score, lack of accomplishment score and overall burnout score. It should be noted that, because of negative nature of questions statements, job satisfaction score was calculated by using the inverse valuation of responses (in other words, a “strongly disagree” response by a participant was valued as 5 instead of 1).

Table 4: Score Comparisons with respect to Gender, Rank and Experience

Question Groups	Gender		Rank		Experience	
	Male	Female	Officer	Chief	0-4 yrs	5+ yrs
Mean Stress Score	130.19	122.87	132.06	124.28	119.46*	135.53*
Mean Job Satisfaction Score	27.33*	38.72*	30.22	31.68	32.07	29.51
Mean Personal Exhaustion Score	26.52*	20.39*	24.72	22.65	20.64*	26.05*
Mean Detachment Score	16.45	15.57	19.42*	14.36*	13.16*	18.05*
Mean Lack of Accomplishment Score	18.29	17.00	18.42	15.70	17.09	18.70
Mean Burnout Score	61.26*	52.96*	62.56*	52.71*	50.89*	62.80*
Sample Size	179	35	172	42	85	129
* Significant at 5 percent level or less						

The results indicate a significant difference only between relatively new recruits and experienced police employees in terms of overall stress score. When the groups are compared in terms of job satisfaction level, the only significant difference appear between male and female police employees. In terms of personal exhaustion score, significant difference is found between male and female employees as well as between less experienced and more experienced employees. As it is in line with stress score, male employees have a higher level of stress, though it is not significant, and also they experience a higher level of exhaustion due to harsher work conditions. Similarly, both in stress scores and personal exhaustion scores experienced workers exhibit significantly higher levels compared to their less experienced counterparts. Police officers experience a significantly higher level of detachment from job compared to police chiefs. Similarly experienced employees face with higher level of detachment compared to less experienced employees. Interestingly, however, when the comparison is made in terms of mean burnout score, significant difference in mean score values is observed across all sub groups. According to these results, it is possible to conclude that male employees, ordinary police officers and more experienced employees experience a higher level of burnout compared to female employees, police chiefs and less experienced employees, respectively.

Conclusion

Burnout is an important phenomenon in labor and labor relations literature as it effects labor moral hence labor productivity in the firms and institutions. Numerous studies has aimed to understand the reasons for burnout and to find out ways to reduce the level of it. Burnout is more common in ceratin professions which require intensive dealing with people or professions which are dangerous and highly stress ful by the nature of the job

such as teaching, medical services, fire fighting and policing.

This study finds that there are signs of burnout in Turkish Police Organization based on the results of a sample selected from the police employees in Malatya province of Turkey. The results indicate that police employees complain about the level of bureaucracy and red taping in the organization, working hours and shift work, financial compensation and internal investigation procedures. In addition, they are not pleased with frequent changes in regulations and legislations, promotion system and promotion opportunities, and unfair distribution of responsibilities. They also complain about lack of time for their families and friends due to their job obligations. They indicate lack of appreciation by their supervisors and they feel trapped in their current job.

The results of the study indicate low level of job satisfaction and hence signals of burnout in police employees. Male employees face with a significantly higher level of negative impacts of irregular working hours, high level of bureaucracy, limited promotion opportunities and unfair promotion practices. They also report experiencing higher levels of negative personal feelings about themselves and their surrounding. Ordinary police officers report that they experience a higher level of unfairness in promotions as well as distribution of work responsibilities. They claim that promotion opportunities are more limited for themselves compared to ranking officers. They feel that they cannot trust their superiors when it comes to their support in case they are in trouble because of something they did during performing their work. Ordinary police officers complain more about lack of time for their families while ranking officers regret for their career choice and feel trapped in the police organization. On the other hand, police employees with more experience complain significantly more about frequent changes in regulations and legislation, lack of support from their superiors when they face with a problem at work, lack of appropriate financial compensation for their efforts and occupational health problems compared to police employees with less experience.

Finally, this study finds that there is a significant difference between relatively new recruits and experienced police employees in terms of overall stress level. Using the score system developed by this study, it is found that male employees, ordinary police officers and more experienced employees experience a higher level of burnout compared to female employees, police chiefs and less experienced employees, respectively.

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CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE OTTOMAN CONSTITUTION (1876)

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Abstract

The conceptions of an individual and the nation-state gave birth to modernity and certainly shaped the socio-political systems in European countries. Newly founded European socio-political system gradually influenced social, political and legal structures of countries under the sphere of colonial and imperial influences of great powers. In this regard, such developments coupled with intensive westernization process influenced the Ottoman society, especially during the last decades of the empire. An analysis of the *Ottoman Constitution (Kanun-u Esasî)* (1876) within last few decades of the empire will show such socio-political and legal changes and developments. This paper, within the framework of constitutional acts, attempted to analyze two works that were critical about the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876). It is indicative that these two sources were also addressing western socio-political and legal influences on the Ottoman society. These two works deal with range of modern issues such as freedom, equality and justice by considering their very roots in the Islamic legal traditions. Therefore, this paper will analyze these two works in light of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) that preserved in essence the Islamic legal principles.

Keywords: *Constitutional Acts; Ottoman Constitution (1876); Socio-Political System; Legal System; Pan-Islamism*

Introduction

Developments during the Age of Enlightenment and the Age of Revolutions contributed to significant constitutional changes across Europe. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire was lagging behind these developments and changes. Ottoman classical constitutional models that shaped political, legal, social and economic institutions were entirely based on Islamic Law (*Sharia*) and Custom. According to the archival documents since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, perhaps with minor Western influence, the Islamic Law and Custom were firmly shaping the Ottoman political, legal, social and economic institutions. Beginning from the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire was under the influence of modernity, which contributed to the emergence of new socio-political, economic and legal challenges that the state had to grapple and deal with.

The legislative branch, which is perhaps the most significant one in terms of protection and maintenance of social integrity, had been forced to carry out reforms related to the new balance of “international relations.” These reform initiatives and eventual adoption of the constitutional acts contributed to the development of the institutional legal framework based on the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) and the formation of the Ottoman National Assembly (*Meclis-i Mebusan*). In this regard, constitutional and democratic changes were not result of internal socio-political changes and transformations but they were imported from abroad, whereby emerging modernists and upper part of social stratum, within the empire, carried out their implementation (Gözübüyük, 1986, pp. 93-94). Furthermore, constitutional and democratic changes were carried out separately by different governors in top-down approach and as such could not be properly integrated

within the traditional society. Then, the pressures by European states on the weakening Ottoman Empire, on the pretext of protecting citizens' rights, significantly contributed to artificial implementation of constitutional and democratic changes. Certainly, the *Tanzimat Edict* and *Reform Edict* are the most evident examples that support the notion of disparity between constitutional and democratic changes and the society. The *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) was also far away from the social need, whereby imported *social contract* from the West utterly failed in the Ottoman Empire.

However, very adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) was the birth of a new notion within the Ottoman Empire, called *constitutionalism*. Most of intellectuals of that period were inevitably interested in constitutionalism as new political, social and legal phenomenon worth examining and studying. Both intellectuals and public officials produced early studies and works on this subject. However, this paper aims to analyze two works on the subject of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) and various issues related to constitutionalism. Although numerous studies and works on this study were written, selected two works or the treatises in our paper are the most important because of their in-depth analysis of various socio-political and legal issues. Another novelty of this paper is (re)addressing the Islamic principles in the context of *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) and subjects ranging from justice, equality, freedom, political representation to political participation.

Constitutional Acts in Late Ottoman Era

Constitutional Acts determine the scope of rights and freedom of individual and public life. They also define issues and activities related to state's structure of political power and as such provide the quality regulations that have constitutional, administrative, legal, sociological and even economic and military dimensions. Therefore, the term "constitutional acts" includes a range of activities that have a goal to sanction through documents or at least to determine the administrative order of the state, the citizens and their freedom (Gözübüyük, 1986, p. 93). Thus, according to the definition constitutional acts primarily define activities and rights of individual and state, which include both administrative and public laws. In this regard, the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876), in the context of constitutional acts, certainly included these two areas. The following sections of the paper will present and analyze specific constitutional provisions related to both an individual and the state. These include the provisions regarding state and caliphate as a part of administrative law and assessments such as justice, freedom and equality that fall within the scope of public law.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Western Europe gradually began introducing the constitutional acts that spread to other parts of the world. Constitutional acts did not only consist of activities related to the structure of power, fundamental rights and freedom, but also had a significant impact on the settlement of ascendancy of law which is the cornerstone of the democratic system that is ideally based on the notion of pluralism (Gözübüyük, 1986, pp. 93-94). As its definition demonstrates the constitutional acts do not only determine rights and freedom in the form of legal demand but also function through legislation in the form of political and even ideological demand.

The above-mentioned specifics of the constitutional acts were clearly illustrated in the *Tanzimat Edict* that has emerged because of multidimensional circumstances in the late Ottoman period. One should understand why the Ottoman Empire faced with a "legislation problem" for a better comprehension of the topic. Answers to this and similar

questions lay in the structure of the Ottoman Empire. Actually, the basis of constitutional acts in the late Ottoman period depended significantly on legal and political processes, which eventually resulted in the adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876). In the same way, these developments contributed to the deterioration of social harmony by the end of classical period, economic, technical and military retrogression, changing world and changing “international” balance.

According to the work of Akgündüz (1997), some researchers claim that human rights and freedom did not exist before *Tanzimat Edict*, based on the claim that the country was ruled by autocracy. However, state government of Ottoman Empire cannot be called “unconditionally” monarchy, because the sovereignty in absolute monarchy is in the hands of emperor and emperors are not subject to any binding rules (p. 22). These views and similar arguments are grounded on “ideological historiography” and understanding of law that acknowledges Western norms as ‘authority’ in human rights and freedom.

The Ottoman Empire as an Islamic state cannot be easily compared to the Western conception of absolute monarchy, needless to mention the pluralist values of justice, freedom and equality that are integral part of an Islamic state. The Ottoman Empire based its legislation on the Holy Qur’an and the Tradition (*Sunnah*). In addition, the Ottoman Sultan did not have right to intervene in *Shariah* provisions and consequently individual and state rights could not have been violated. Perhaps there were only few instances of violations of *Shariah* provisions. The judicial power was not granted to the Sultan because he was governing the empire in conformity with *Shariah* provisions by unifying all executive powers. Therefore, *Tanzimat Edict* had some deficiencies in execution and ideal implementation of the human rights and freedoms based on the Holy Qur’an and the Tradition of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) (Akgündüz, 1986, pp. 19-20).

Since the foundation of Ottoman Empire, its administrative and institutional systems were firmly based on the “*Shariah* legislation,” the relationship that has been articulated very little by the modern and contemporary scholarship. Mostly Ottoman administrative and institutional systems were represented as “monarchical” and “theocratic” that greatly depended on the reign inherited from father to son (Arsel, 1975, pp. 6-19). Such misrepresentations of the Ottoman institutional and administrative systems have been often rejected because they only reflect political and legal models applicable on Western monarchies. Therefore, Western “monarchy” and “theocracy” experiences were subjectively applied in judging and explaining the Ottoman administrative and institutional systems. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to explain the sovereignty of “one person” within the Ottoman context by using western models of sovereignty. Considering these predicaments, I strongly argue that the Ottoman administrative and institutional systems should be studied and evaluated as they are; independently from other administrative and institutional models.

In the first period of Ottoman Empire, administrative and institutional systems were designed in conformity with the religion of Islam. Therefore, these institutional and administrative systems, together with their structures, components and the laws, stayed unchanged until the 19th century. The organization of the state and its accompanying laws incorporated meaningfully both the religion and custom. However, due to westernization processes, during the last few decades of the Empire, religion and custom were reconsidered as parts of institutional and administrative systems, and thus the constitution. Most probably, the events during the declaration of *Tanzimat Edicts* were irreversible developments from the historical perspective and they reshaped the position

of religion and custom within administrative and institutional systems and within the society. Although such changes started with the declaration of the *Tanzimat Edict* in the 19th century same trends had continued throughout the 20th century, whereby modern Turkish Republic began to distance law, politics, governance and society from the religion and custom.

Most of historians would agree that the Ottoman Empire began to decline after signing the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699). However, some historians claim that this decline process began even earlier because of Naval Battle of Lepanto (1571). Consequently, the Ottoman military decline negatively affected socio-political, legal, administrative and economics aspects of the state. Accordingly, by the end of the 17th century administrative and institutional systems in the Ottoman Empire had shown signs of deficiency. Leading Ottoman intellectuals and state officials prepared several reports that included the recommendations of how to do away with administrative and institutional deficiencies.* Therefore, Ottoman Sultans, governors and civil society were aware of these deficiencies; however, decline of the empire could not be stopped despite reforms or reform initiatives undertaken because of well-prepared reports by the intellectuals and state officials. It is important to mention that these reports pointed to the problem of juristic regulations that gradually began to exclude *Shariah* provisions. Search for a new “law” was clearly not the case in any way yet.

The flow of “constitutional acts” for two centuries till the adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876), passed through breakpoints such as *Charter of Alliance (Sened-i İttifak)*, *Tanzimat Edict* and *Reform Edict*. Actually, these developments contributed to the adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876). Concerning the constitutional acts, it is important to mention that they were changed and reshaped even after the adoption of the constitution in 1876. However, these developments were important because with the adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) the notion of modern constitutionalism began to flourish within the state. Modern constitutionalism was very much visible throughout the constitution and its articles (see Kili & Gözübüyük, 1982, pp. 25-42). The *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) as a legislation in modern sense and as a constitutional act, became milestone document for all constitutions of Turkish Republic in years and decades after (Kara, 2013, pp. 20-21).

The Ottoman Constitution (1876) within Pan-Islamist Context

Based on the military reforms, the Ottoman Empire modeled numerous administrative, political, economic and institutional reforms. However, the military reforms by the end of the 17th century were perceived as failure because the Ottoman Empire could not achieve desired changes throughout these reforms. Military defeats were also associated with socio-political and economic decline and overall the collapse of the whole system, which were especially visible at the end of the 17th century. As mentioned in the above, due to such negative developments some intellectuals and public officials had prepared reports, which contained recommendations and steps of curbing emerging military, administrative, economic and institutional problems of the state. In the course of developing and suggesting remedies, different writers developed approaches and concepts such as: Ottomanism, Turkism, Westernism and Islamism. They became prominent also because

* See the following studies and works: Kâtip Çelebi, *Mizanü'l Hakk fî İhtiyarü'l Hakk (The balance of truth in the choice of the truest)*; Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Pleading*; Sarı Mehmet Pascha, *Nesayihu'l-Vüzerâ Ve'l-Ümerâ (Advises of viziers and statesmen)* and Koca Sekbanbaşı, *Koca Sekbanbaşı Pleading*.

of the declaration of the constitutional monarchy at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Although these approaches were favoring constitutionalism as a model for resolving the Ottoman dilemmas, they were differently addressing specific problems and proposing different solutions. Therefore, in order to limit this study, this paper will analyze Islamist approach in defining the declaration of the constitutional monarchy and the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876).

During this period, the Islamist movement was acting within the Ottoman framework. The movement propagated an ideology of development and liberation, pre-nationalism and even pre-Turkism to some degree (Kara, 2001, pp. 18-19). This is because Islamists firstly defended Unity of Ottoman Constituents or Ottomanism (İttihad-ı Anasır), and then Unity of Islam or Islamism (İttihad-ı İslam) (see detailed discussion in Kara, 2001, pp. 18-19; Ülken, 1966, p. 13 and Tunaya, 1962, pp. 7-8). Islamists who argued that *Shariah* sources should be applied again welcomed the declaration of constitutional monarchy and stated that the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) was the right course of the state (Kara, 2001, p. 41).

Islamists believed that the constitutional monarchy, which is according to them politically in accordance with the principles of Islam, should function along the principles of Islam. Accordingly, they held belief that the decline of Ottoman Empire could only be stopped if the principles of Islam are meaningfully incorporated into the constitutional monarchy (Okandan, 1959, p. 451). They also argued that if the situation does not change despite the constitutional monarchy defined within the principles of Islam, this constitutional model must be replaced. Instead, new constitutional government should search for an alternative as to meet the needs of people and requirements of Islamic principles. New model should aim towards the unity of religion and state, superiority of human rights and freedom, national consensus, qualified governors and avoidance of cruelty and pressure (Kara, 2001, pp. 39-40).

Islamists were favorable of constitutional monarchy and the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) with belief that both were already defined by the Islamic principles that were in the course of the implementation corrupted. The main reason why Islamists held positive views the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) was based on the assumption that the *Shariah* law and fundamental rights such as freedom, equality and justice were not violated (Gencer, 2013, pp. 81-82). However, there were other Islamists too who openly expressed deep concerns about linking the constitutional monarchy and the Islamic principles. For instance, Said Halim Pasha in his works examined intellectuals and public officials who expressed deep concerns about the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) (pp. 50-55). Actually, Halim Pasha was one of the most famous Islamists who represented an Islamic and public interests with a sense of deep analysis, assessments and self-criticism. In the book *Our Crises*, he claimed that key public officials through the adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) primarily aimed at limiting the powers of sultan by using the constitutional mechanisms as to balance his domination and power. Besides, Halim Pasha argued that the main reason that hinders the development of the country is unlimited power in the hands of personal and arbitrary state administration. Supporters of government reforms thought that people were neglected as constituent part of the system of governance. The people must become a part of governance so that the system can be either be changed or improved. According to Halim Pasha, reformists were convinced that due to weakness of the nation the Ottoman Constitution (1876) should grant them the rights and freedom on behalf of the people (Kara, 2001, p. 39).

The adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) was not the product of social

change. On the contrary, there were significant influences from the Western countries on the Ottoman Empire and its administration, coupled with direct diplomatic pressure on Ottoman politics, law, economics and culture. In addition, due to modernization process, there were targeted demands of intellectuals inside and outside the country who were asking for change. Overall, a combination of these and similar factors contributed to the adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876), which significantly neglected the grassroots and the social dements of the nation. Discussions carried out within the framework of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) that was not firmly rooted in the Ottoman society failed to produce genuine reforms. Therefore, the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) could not put forward a permanent solution, since many other factors had been neglected.

In the following sections of the paper, we will argue why the Islamist intellectual studies on constitution, politics and law during this period were considered as the most critical. Since other views and studies are not the subject of this study, we have meaningfully selected the texts written by leading Islamists on the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876). Proper analysis of these two studies will eventually provide us with clear ideas about constitution and law within socio-political context. Indeed it is interesting to find out how the thinkers of that period were addressing various problems and how they were finding the solutions. For this purpose we will analyze the following studies: Dergüzinîzâde, *Political Shariah Commentary of Ottoman Constitution of 1876* and Kolçalı Abdulaziz, *Quran Karim and Ottoman Constitution of 1876*.

Political Shariah Commentary of Ottoman Constitution of 1876

The work *Political Shariah Commentary of Ottoman Constitution of 1876* was written by Hasan Rıza b. Muhammed Derviş (Dergüzinîzâde) and was published in Istanbul by Matba-i Amire in 1910. This work consists of 40 pages, with in-depth analysis and inclusion of key concepts and terms. The first five articles of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) are annotated. As the title suggests, the work compares *Shariah* norms with the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876). Actually, the work argued that the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) is firmly grounded in the Ottoman legal system and the Islamic law. The author's arguments are occasionally supported by the Qur'anic verses and the Tradition. It is important to indicate that authors of these works on the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) were using critical approaches because they were discussing both *Shariah* and different studies. This approach was new because they discussed the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) in the context of the Islamic principles. Actually, constitutional and legal forms of the Ottoman Empire were considered as an indivisible whole from which no part can ever be detached for any motive whatever. On one hand, this approach was similar to traditional approach of using the Qur'anic principles by theologians, traditionalists and jurists who were considering the Islamic sources as a whole. On the other hand, there were instances of partial and selective interpretation of the constitution far away from the social need and common legal principles. Two concepts called unity (*vahdet*) and unity of law (*kanun-i vahdet*) are mentioned in the introductory parts of this work on the Ottoman Constitution (1876). The conception of unity (*vahdet*) is essential in the Holy Qur'an whereas unity of law (*kanun-i vahdet*), although closely linked to the concept of unity (*vahdet*), is the fundamental for regulating this-worldly social, political, economic, legal matters. Therefore, analyzed work indicated that the unity of law already includes religious dimension and as such defines clearly the ethics and morality within the state.

In introductory part named "*tezkiye*," Dergüzinîzâde broadly reviewed the *Ottoman*

Constitution (1876) by arguing that this was not new legal document arrangement but on the contrary the principals of this constitution already existed within the Ottoman legal system, being not properly understood and implemented. Dergüzinîzâde argued that the Ottoman constitution based on the Islamic principles had always been the part of the state. He argued that the Holy Qur'an was the constitution by stating: "It is a constitution that is sent by Allah, unchangeable by any human being; without the need for any change; telling the justice; bringing happiness into this world, real and eternal life." He claimed that concepts of justice, freedom and equality are indeed presented in distorted way but with the adoption of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) their original meanings were restored. After the introduction to the Ottoman Constitution (1876) the work deals with the following articles:

First Article: "The Ottoman Empire comprises the actual countries and possessions and privileged provinces. It forms an indivisible whole from which no part can ever be detached for any motive whatever."

In the annotation of first article, the author mentioned and explained the following: provinces, state and definition of the state, government, government by constitutional monarchy and law guardianship.

Second Article: "*Istanbul is the capital of the Ottoman Empire. This city does not possess to the exclusion of other cities of the Empire any privilege or immunity peculiar to itself.*"

The annotation of second article features the possessed by Istanbul which is the capital city unlike other cities of the Ottoman Empire. The author also mentioned constitutional changes concerning the status of Istanbul. However, the author articulated the view that the difference between capital city Istanbul and other cities has been minimized within the constitution. The rights and privileges of "Muslims" and "Non-Muslims" together with the question of state decentralization are also analyzed by the author.

Third article: "The Ottoman sovereignty which is united in the person of the sovereign of the supreme Caliphate of Islam belongs to the eldest of the princes of the dynasty of Osman conformably to the rules established ab antique."

Author's annotation of third article analyzed the following topics: the purpose of Islam, Caliphate, Chief Imam, (Head of the State), obligation to nominate Imam, methods to elect Imam, allegiance, law regarding allegiance, qualifications needed to be eligible for Imam, the differences among the concepts of "sovereignty", "imamate" and "caliphate" and how caliphate and sovereignty are inherited. It is remarkable how the author explained by giving numerous examples from the Holy Qur'an and Hadith how this article of *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) is coherent with Shariah, Holy Qur'an and Hadith.

Fourth Article: "His majesty the Sultan is by the title of Caliph the protector of the Muslim religion. He is the sovereign and the Padişah of all Ottomans."

In the annotation of the fourth article, it is mentioned that finding real freedom by serving Allah is possible. Muslims as individuals and collectively as the society are all legally responsible of the veneration of Allah and Caliph. Dergüzinîzâde was also discussing the issues of war in Islam by mentioning greater war (*jihad-i akbar*) and smaller war (*jihad-i asgar*) together with different responsibilities upon them by the common people, intellectuals and public officials. Dergüzinîzâde reminds that two-dimensional 'joint struggle' is indispensable and calls both Muslims and their representatives to fulfill their responsibilities they have undertaken principally. Everybody who has responsibility and power within the Muslim community (family, military, government) is in joint and

legitimate struggle. One dimension of this struggle for people intended to be part of it is 'smaller war (*jihad-ı asgar*) that they are supposed to be in consistent intention, thought and behavior; other dimension is greater war (*jihad-ı ekber*) which means perpetuation of work and family life.

Fifth Article: "His majesty the Sultan is irresponsible: His person is sacred."

In the last part of pleading in which fifth article of *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) is annotated, the coherence of this article with *Sharia* is expounded. Etymological study of the word "Holy" is primarily analyzed by pointing out its meaning as "pure" and "blessed". It is explained in the text that though this is different than the term "innocence" which is "virtue" attributed to the prophets and the term exempted from mistakes" attributed to revivalists, therefore, it does not mean "holiness" in this sense. There is a difference that *Imam* should not be questioned about matters regarding his leadership and should not be responsible for practices in this manner. More explicitly, it cannot even be possible for Emperor to be questioned about using his authority that has been legitimately entrusted to him to fulfill his duties. This assessment is supported by the principle "*It is incumbent on Muslims to obey the Imam.*" When these considerations are taken into account, especially the Qur'anic verse "He is not questioned about what He does, but they will be questioned" (see *Al-Anbya* 21, 22 and 23) and Hadith "*You are all shepherds and all responsible for what you shepherd*" the conclusion consequently follows that the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) was enriched with the Islamic principles.

Quran Karim and Ottoman Constitution of 1876

The work titled *Quran Karim and Ottoman Constitution of 1876* was written by Kolçali Abdulaziz and it was published in Istanbul in 1910 (Birekul, 2010, pp. 149-179). It consists of few pages meaningfully explains how *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) is coherent with the Holy Qur'an. This work is expanded edition of the article published in the newspaper named "*Metin*". Therefore, compared to the work written by Dergünizade, this one has a limited content. The author began with an introduction titled "Expression of Purport" as follows:

The article published in *Metin* Newspaper dated 11 Saban 1326 (1910) and number 29 edition about how independence, equality, counsel and Ottoman Constitution of 1876 are coherent with Quran from the standpoint of contents and principles of Islamic civilization is expanded and published as a pleading about Quran and Ottoman Constitution of 1876, liberty, equality, counsel, Independence and its Limits... The reason this article is turned into a pleading is because I am encouraged to verify and expand the edition about Quran and Ottoman Constitution of 1876 (*Kanun-u Esasî*), liberty, equality, consultancy, independence and its limits since it was recommended to me by people both Muslims and Christians who I am proud to receive their kind compliments.

Kolçali argued that some Muslim and Christian groups were influencing the publication of the article. He wrote to show how the Holy Qur'an and the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) are coherent. For that reason, he dealt with the following concepts: independence, equality, freedom participation in administrative and political decision-making process, method of counseling and political participation. As the citation in the above, clearly illustrate the author dealt with important concepts such as liberty, equality, independence and sovereignty.

These concepts were presented in the light of the Holy Qur'an and within the Ottoman historical context, with belief that the Holy Qur'an and the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) are considered to be coherent. In the regard the author argued:

After observing the current situation of Islamic civilization, Glorified Khilafah of Islam and Great Ottoman Nation took action for renovation by implementing Ottoman Constitution of 1876 (Kanun-u Esasi) which embraces independence, equality, counselling that were told before by Quran Karim and there is no suspicion that Islamic civilization of Ottoman Empire will get its former high position and glory back by the permission of Allah and help from the soul of Prophet.

The author was firm in arguing that regulations implemented by *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) are coherent with the principles of the Holy Qur'an. Therefore, the reason for the decline of Ottoman Empire was due decline in implementing these regulations and values. In addition, these two works clearly indicated that the Ottoman Constitution (1876) was adopted under strong influence of *Tanzimat Edict* and *Reform Edict*, a view that has also been supported by several leading intellectuals on the history of constitutional law.

Conclusion

The above discussion and analysis of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) has indicated that two works that emphasize the Islamic principles were in favor of constitutional changes as to prevent the violation of fundamental rights such as independence, equality and justice. Actually, they held belief that the *Ottoman Constitution* is in harmony with the religion of Islam and as such is important to preserve administrative and institutional systems of the empire. Therefore, Islamists considered the declaration of *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) as a positive development and a remedy to emerging constitutional, legal and administrative problems the empire. Under the influence of several factors, Islamists passionately advocated constitutional acts and the establishment of Ottoman Parliament, making a great effort to determine the coherence of these initiatives with religious sources. Actually, as discussed throughout the paper both authors Dergüzinizâde and Kolçalı attempted to establish and show the coherence of the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) with religious source. The *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) maintained the traditional structure of Ottoman law and the *Shariah* law. However, due to political circumstances and the implementation methodology of Committee of Union and Progress there was serious deficiencies in the implementation of the constitution. In this regard, Said Halim Paşa observed that the *Ottoman Constitution* (1876) could not achieve its goal because of questionable enforcement. Concerns regarding politics and law in today's Turkey do not seem to be different from the concerns of Islamists during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Actually, the nature of the problems did not change at all and the search for solutions has not fundamentally changed. Methods to solve legal and constitutional problems are not effective and it is unfortunate that endless and often futile discussions regarding constitutional changes continue without specific solutions. These stagnant approaches should be replaced with radical changes as to prevent the decline and decadence of the Muslim societies.

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SAY 125 TIMES ‘YES’: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

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Abstract

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Membership in the Security Council was one of the greatest achievements for Bosnia and Herzegovina after gaining the independence. Serving as a non-permanent member for the period of 2010 and 2011, it faced challenges mostly related to its capacity building and decision-making process in foreign policy. During this two-year period, the Council adopted 125 resolutions and two resolutions suffered veto, both regarding Middle East. Bosnia and Herzegovina had an affirmative stand in regards to all resolutions discussed. However, it faced difficulties forming a stand towards questions of Kosovo and Palestine. The attitude and voting behavior of Bosnia and Herzegovina was not influenced by other states nor the relationship between them, but by internal issues. Our article provides analysis, evaluation, and interpretation of particular topics, such as the independence of Kosovo, Iran's nuclear program, situation in Libya, Palestine and situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina itself discussed in the Security Council in 2010 and 2011, with the explanation of the attitudes of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords: *The Security Council; Resolutions; Voting; Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Introduction

When Bosnia and Herzegovina was elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council in the period of 2010 and 2011, many questions and controversies were raised. For some it was a surprise, for some a disappointment and others were proud. The ability of Bosnia and Herzegovina to cope with all challenges and tasks which this membership brings, was questionable as for ‘locals’, so for ‘foreigners’. Moreover, media coverage in Bosnia and Herzegovina was very poor and this topic is not covered in the academic field as well.

Bosnia and Herzegovina went through an armed conflict that took place between 6 April 1992 and 14 December 1995. Although the country passed through many transitions in the history, the last war had the biggest impact. After the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina faced challenges related to internal and external affairs, such as implementation of the system set by the Dayton Peace Agreement and building an internationally recognizable image of a sovereign state. Strive for the development and international recognition led Bosnia and Herzegovina to the path of the European Union* and NATO. Great opportunity and progress came with the membership in the Security Council. Although Bosnia and Herzegovina faced difficulties concerning capacities and lack of knowledge or experience, especially concerning issues related to Africa and Asia, it showed that it is capable of

* The most important step on Bosnia and Herzegovina's path to EU membership was signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA), in Luxembourg on 16 June 2008. Although Bosnia and Herzegovina is struggling on this path for a very long time, just modest progress has been made.

working with states which possess all that Bosnia and Herzegovina lacked. However, the country had an affirmative stand regarding all adopted resolutions.

Considering that most, if not all, of the mandate was a learning experience for Bosnia and Herzegovina, presiding** the Security Council was even more challenging than the rest of the mandate. Most challenges, especially at the beginning of the mandate were caused by lack of knowledge and experience concerning certain topics discussed. As Bosnia and Herzegovina was never dealing with issues regarding Côte d'Ivoire, for instance, it was difficult to take stands and discuss the matter. Another difficulty presented lack of people on the ground. As some other states, especially permanent members had their representatives all around the world and therefore they had the first hand information about situation and events in a particular country, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not. According to Ambassador Barbalić, representatives from Turkey and Croatia, who served their term starting in 2009, contributed largely in overcoming difficulties and getting familiar with the processes that occur in the Security Council (Barbalić 2015).

The main goal of this article is to analyze the work of the Security Council and resolutions discussed in the period of 2010 and 2011 with the focus on voting behavior of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this two-year period 125 resolutions were adopted and two resolutions suffered veto. As this membership carries huge importance, these two years present crossroads in terms of the efficiency and capability of participation and engagement in international peace and security and its evaluation is certainly significant. This developing country which was discussed in this body roughly twenty years ago came to a position to engage actively in maintaining international peace and security and contribute to countries in need. For all these reasons, this topic is valuable for as for internal so for external politics and community and it can provide insight of Bosnia and Herzegovina's political and diplomatic development as well as effectiveness of the UN Security Council. For the purpose of this paper, we have conducted an interview with Ambassador Ivan Barbalić, who was the head of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's mission in New York. Additionally, meeting records and press releases were used as well.

This article provides analysis of resolutions concerning Kosovo, Islamic Republic of Iran, Libya, Palestine, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These resolutions were challenging for all members of the Council. As one of the member states, Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself in a difficult position discussing these issues and in several cases it was questionable which stand the state will take due to its internal and external affairs, all of which will be discussed further on in the article. Despite all of that, the attitude of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Security Council was not influenced by other member states, but by its own internal issues, attitudes, and goals.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's Candidacy

It goes without saying that the Security Council carries great responsibilities concerning the whole world, and its importance and influence remained significant since it has been founded. However, according to David Bosco, the UN Security Council has been more active in the past twenty years than during any other phase of its existence (Bosco 2014: 545). The Council has met more frequently, authorized more peacekeeping and observation missions, and enacted more sanctions regimes and arms embargos than in its first four decades.

** Member states are taking turns according to English alphabetical order in presiding the Security Council. Bosnia and Herzegovina was presiding in January 2011.

Bosnia and Herzegovina have been striving for development and political recognition on an international scene since it gained independence. The mandate in UN Security Council Bosnia and Herzegovina got for the first time presented a great step in its international politics and, as several analysts assumed, a great chance to bring Bosnia and Herzegovina closer to its membership in European Union and NATO. The real opportunity for Bosnia and Herzegovina's term in the Security Council came in 2008 when Poland indicated its withdrawal as a candidate and confirmed it in 2009 providing a chance for membership in the Security Council. As Bosnia and Herzegovina was the only candidate from the Eastern European states, its candidacy was approved and it served as a non-permanent member in the Security Council from January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2011 with 183 votes. In 2009, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has performed an intensive campaign aimed for Bosnia and Herzegovina to get the required majority in the UN General Assembly and serve the term in the Security Council. Minister of Foreign Affairs has conducted dozens of bilateral meetings and visits, perhaps even more than was necessary in considering the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina was the only candidate (Vanjskopolitička inicijativa 2011: 2). Members of the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina were actively engaged in this as well so they visited to the United Nations headquarters more often than usually.

After the election of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Security Council, many people including local political analysts as well as local politicians and diplomats assumed or predicted that this mandate will contribute Bosnia and Herzegovina in several aspects. Strengthening bilateral relations, improvement on the path to the membership to European Union and NATO, and higher foreign investments were most commonly mentioned. Ambassador at-large, Miloš Prica, mentioned it in the interview conducted for the local newspapers 'Nezavisne novine' when he said that successful work in the Security Council opens many international doors and if the membership is at the level it should be, it will be a big plus in all processes in international relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Prica 2009).

Another view, presented by the Federal News Agency (FENA), was that activities in the Security Council were guided towards the realization of the basic goals set when the decision for the application for the membership in the Security Council was made such as the affirmation of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the international level and contribution to solving the world's problems from the perspective of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multiethnic and multicultural state; contribution to the activities of the Security Council aimed at conflict prevention and peaceful resolution of the crisis existing in the world, and contribution to the activities in the field of post-war construction of society and monitoring of post-conflict situations, particularly in the areas of establishing and ensuring the rule of law, institution building, human rights and sustainable return of refugees and displaced persons (FENA 2012). Expectations regarding the membership were very high and sometimes even far from reality. Ambassador Barbalić said that we could not expect the membership in the Security Council to bring certain changes to Bosnia and Herzegovina. "Being in Security Council shows that you are practically allowing yourself to accept huge responsibility to participate in this important process that exists in the multilateral world, you are not there to achieve something, but to make sure to help countries that need help, to achieve it" (Barbalić 2015).

While high level politicians and diplomats from Bosnia and Herzegovina had positive and optimistic views regarding the membership, negative or doubtful stands

were often presented in the media. The mission did not enjoy the support from media and therefore was often graded as incapable of coping with the tasks that the membership brings. At one point, there were claims that Bosnia and Herzegovina was assigned with the easiest task, namely working groups,^{***} in the Security Council due to the lack of experience. In the interview conducted by journalist Erol Avdović, ambassador Barbačić strongly disagreed stating that “working groups” represent one of the highly important diplomatic tool significant for the Council’s work (Barbačić 2012). In addition to that, media also emphasized that disagreement between the members of the presidency conflicted with the success of the mission. However, it is important to mention that the members of the presidency reached an agreement in about 97 percent of the cases. Hence, this presents the success for the country with such ethnical diversity and complex government structure.

During its two-year mandate, Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself in an unenviable position. As it was present in the Council as one of its members, at the same time the situation in the country was discussed. This included reports from the High Representative and resolution regarding the continuation of presence of the EUFOR Althea mission in the country. Further on, the disagreement among presidency members regarding the situation in the state and its development occurred. All of this did not contribute to the image of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a member state. However, this situation was not specific only for Bosnia and Herzegovina and therefore was not the only case a member state faced during its mandate.

Prior to the beginning of the mandate it was necessary to establish a system and build a team which will carry on the mission and cooperate with the government in Sarajevo. The only official document that defines B&H foreign policy are the Basic Directions of B&H Foreign Policy created in 2003 (Vanjskopolitička inicijativa 2011: 3). The document does not provide clear guidance and as this was the first time for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be a part of a body such as the Security Council, an efficient team and communication network needed to be established. Critics and doubts about Bosnia and Herzegovina’s capability to justify its membership in the Security Council and participate in high level diplomacy were often and common which created additional pressure to members of the mission. For instance, David Bosco criticized the decision to elect Bosnia to the presidency over the Security Council citing that Bosnia’s membership on the council is largely “symbolic” and that “the General Assembly needs to stop carping about Council reform and start consistently electing states that can contribute to peace and security, not those barely able to govern themselves (Bosniak 2011). Moreover, decisions regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina’s stand in the Security Council are made by presidency members. All three members (Bosniak, Croat, and Serb) need to agree upon certain issue unanimously in order for Bosnia and Herzegovina to take stand in the Security Council.

As some were predicting failure to cope with all challenges that this membership brings, some believed that this was the time to shine. Optimistic views were mainly coming from domestic politicians and diplomats and doubts were coming mainly from media. Membership in the Security Council certainly is a challenge and both views can be justified in a way. Can a country facing numerous internal issues advocate wellbeing of other states? The attitude and decisions made by Bosnia and Herzegovina during 2010

^{***} The UNSC has dozens of working groups responsible for various global issues handled by the UN, which requires a large administrative apparatus in the countries’ missions to the UN, as well as in the UN Secretariat, which provides technical and expert support (In *Vanjskopolitička Inicijativa*, 2011, pp. 2).

and 2011 answered this question and justified positive and/or negative views which will be discussed further on in this article.

Resolutions of the Security Council often represent the final step for a discussed issue discussed. The work of the Security Council in the period of 2010 and 2011 was successful if we take in account the level of accord between members and number of resolutions adopted. Majority of the resolutions which required voting were adopted unanimously. During the interview, ambassador Barbalić noted that in 90 percent of decision there was not any kind of obstacle and pretty much it was clear what direction the majority Security Council were to go and basically the presidency would without any problem agree upon (Barbalić 2015). Despite that, in the term of 2010 and 2011, the Council had faced difficulties in reaching the consensus several times. Decisions concerning Iran, Libya, and Palestine brought up different stands from member states. In addition to that, discussing the situation in Kosovo as well as situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was particularly difficult for representatives of the county. The origin of the difficulty lies in the internal issues and ethnical diversity played a significant role. During Bosnia and Herzegovina's two-year mandate in the Security Council, 125 resolutions were adopted. Bosnia and Herzegovina had an affirmative stand towards all 1 adopted resolutions without.

Resolutions 2010

Majority of meetings and resolutions adopted in 2010 were concerning Africa and Asia. Another great concern of the Security Council was protection of civilians in armed conflict and women vulnerable to sexual violence. Nuclear proliferation remained the concern as well in respect of Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Members held 182 public meetings, adopted 59 resolutions, and issued 30 presidential statements in 2010 (The United Nations 2011b). Additionally the Security Council was holding many meetings behind the closed doors. Out of 59 adopted resolutions, only six of them required vote**** and none of the permanent members' casted veto. The highest number of open meetings - a total of 14 - was devoted to the question of Palestine as the prospects of peace talks in the Middle East waxed and waned (The United Nations 2011b). After devastating earthquake, the Security Council reinforced the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti twice. One of the major decisions made in 2010 was the lifting of restrictions on Iraq which was imposed nearly 20 years ago.

Not so long ago, in 1990s, Bosnia and Herzegovina was topic of discussion and concern of the Security Council. In relatively short period of time such as fifteen years, it was discussing about mayor issues threatening international peace and security and taking stands regarding them. Despite the tempestuous past marked with interethnic conflict, decisions and stands formed were not guided by the country's experience. Rather, the armed conflict that Bosnia and Herzegovina went through had mostly symbolic impact.

**** Resolutions about which consensus was not reached were following: Security Council resolution on establishment of the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals with two branches and the adoption of the Statute of the Mechanism, where Russia abstained from voting; Security Council resolution on termination of all residual activities under the Oil-for-Food Programme, where France abstained from voting; Security Council resolution on extension of the mandate of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), where Turkey voted against; Security Council resolution on extension of the mandate of the UN Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1591 (2005), where China abstained from voting; Security Council resolution on extension of the mandate of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), where Turkey voted against; Security Council resolution on measures against the Islamic Republic of Iran in connection with its enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, where Brazil and Turkey voted against and Lebanon abstained from voting.

Nonetheless, as ambassador Barbačić said, “it is important symbolism, I would say, brick in the wall of our statehood being a member of the Security Council it is an important element to CV of a country” (Barbačić 2015). For the previously discussed reasons, internal issues and lack of knowledge and experience regarding certain issues discussed, many challenges occurred. Several resolutions adopted by the Security Council were particularly challenging for Bosnia and Herzegovina including difficulties regarding decision making process due to internal situation.

Situation in Kosovo was one of the issues discussed in the Security Council in 2010. Although Kosovo declared independence from Serbia in 2008, it still continue to be the concern of Serbian government and violence between Serbians and Albanians living in that territory keep on. International Court of Justice proclaimed the independence of Kosovo legal, however Serbia is still opposed its existence as an independent state. The center of events was northern region of Mitrovica. Serbian government claimed that Albanians living in Kosovo are maltreating Serbs living in that area. Term often used by Serbian representatives regarding that issue included ‘ethnic cleansing’. These claims were rejected by the Kosovo’s government.

The Security Council met five times discussing this issue and each time it was calling on dialog. All meetings included briefing by Lambert Zannier, Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) about the development of situation in Kosovo. While Kosovo’s representatives claimed that the situation is improving and that they are ready to work closely with Serbian government in order to resolve issues, Serbian government was opposing those claims and still questioning the independence. Vlora Çitaku, minister of Foreign Affairs at the time in Kosovo, said to the Council that there was significant progress in building democratic institutions in Kosovo and that there is a platform for starting a technical dialogue with Serbia on missing persons, cooperation against crime and corruption, mutual recognition of documents and phone networks and other issues of mutual interest (The United Nations 2010a).

Serbs living in Bosnia and Herzegovina keep close ties with Serbia. Therefore, it was most likely that Serb member of the presidency would support Serbia in issues such as Kosovo. For this reason, discussing Kosovo case in the Security Council was one of the biggest challenges Bosnia and Herzegovina faced during its mandate. There were no resolutions concerning Kosovo which required voting, however representatives still needed to take a stand and comment presented situation. These stands included support for negotiations and acknowledging the importance of UNMIK. Considering the procedure of the decision making process, Bosnia and Herzegovina could not and did not take the position on the question of Kosovo’s independence.

Aside from protection of civilians, non-proliferation was one of the major concerns in 2010 as well. The Security Council had already imposed sanctions several times on Islamic Republic of Iran because of its nuclear program. The threat was acknowledged because of Iran’s ongoing program to enrich uranium which can be potentially used for nuclear weapons. The United States government was lobbying imposition of new sanctions. By 9 June, deeply concerned about Iran’s lack of compliance with its previous resolutions on ensuring the peaceful nature of its nuclear program, the Council adopted resolution 1929 (2010) by 12 in favor to 2 against (Brazil, Turkey), with 1 abstention (Lebanon) to impose additional sanctions, expanding the arms embargo and tightening restrictions on financial and shipping enterprises related to proliferation-sensitive activities (The United Nations 2010f).

Bosnia and Herzegovina and Islamic Republic of Iran have good and stable bilateral relations. These two countries have been cooperating continuously and working on strengthening their relations especially in the field of trade and economy. When Iranian non-proliferation was discussed in the Security Council and before the voting, the attitude of Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding that topic was highly doubted in media. Regional and international journalists raised question whether Sarajevo will declare its support for Teheran or not. According to unofficial findings of media, presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina received from Iranian officials a list of reasons why they should not support imposing sanctions against Iran trying to persuade them to vote against the resolution (Moj Portal 2010).

Before the voting took place, there were predictions that Turkey, Brazil, and Lebanon will vote against the resolution, and similar stands were expected from Uganda and Nigeria considering their relations with Iran. Additionally, Russia and China were likely to abstain from voting which would leave decision upon Bosnia and Herzegovina whose stand was not clear at the time. The United States put a lot of effort into persuading resolution's passing. Bosnia and Herzegovina has good relations both with Washington and Tehran. Despite all of that, it took positive stand along with other member states except Turkey, Brazil, and Lebanon which enabled adoption of the resolution (Radio Sarajevo 2010).

Despite all doubts and predictions, Bosnia and Herzegovina still supported imposing sanctions against Iran. The very next day after the voting took place in the Security Council, Iranian Ambassador in Sarajevo Gholamreza Yousefi met with the member of presidency at the time Nebojša Radmanović to discuss possible improvement of bilateral cooperation between these two countries especially in the field of trade and economy. Bosnian 'Yes' did not cause negative feelings from Tehran.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was on the agenda of the Security Council three times during 2010. This included two briefings by High Representative, Valentin Inzko, and resolution regarding the authorization of the European Union Stabilization Force (EUFOR) for another year. Each year, the High Representative is briefing the Security Council twice about situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and development the country made for certain period of time.

During the first briefing in 2010, he spoke about current situation and development as well as the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Internal issues and politics was still very complicated and it was not clear whether the government strives for more centralized or decentralized state. He also said that the country could not take advantage of certain economic assistance, and had made no progress on the five goals and two conditions — the so-called "5 + 2 Agenda" — set by the Steering Board for the transition from the Office of High Representative to a reinforced European Union-led presence (The United Nations 2010b). Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time Haris Silajdžić, who spoke at the meeting as well, emphasized the effect of so called entity vote which exists in the political system. It allows Republika Srpska to block any decision proposed by Federation and vice versa.

The second briefing was held on November 11. This time, together with the High Representative Valentin Inzko, chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time Nebojša Radmanović spoke to the Council as well. During the briefing, the High Representative concluded that nationalist agendas were still prevailing over cooperation and compromise, making the political situation difficult and that there had been no

progress in the past year on the key reforms required for Bosnia and Herzegovina's integration into Euro-Atlantic structures (The United Nations 2010g). On the other hand, Radmanović said that the progress has been made and that the situation in the country changed since the last briefing. He also claimed that all key elements of the Dayton Peace Agreement had been implemented, that situation is more stable, and that the country has made progress regarding Euro-Atlantic integrations.

Meeting held on November 11 was about prolonging European Union Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. EUFOR ALTHEA mission^{****} in Bosnia and Herzegovina started in December 2004 after NATO decided to end SFOR mission. The main purpose of the ALTHEA mission is maintenance of peace set by the Dayton Peace Agreement. All member states realized that this mission and its perseverance was still significant for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore resolution was adopted unanimously authorizing the mission for another year – until 18 November 2011.

Briefings by the High Representative did not provide any basis for optimistic views and the fact that the presence of EUFOR ALTHEA mission is necessary shows that the country still needs assistance with maintenance of previously made the Dayton Peace Agreement as well as establishment of future agreement (EU integration). Although Bosnia and Herzegovina was not the only state in this situation, it was not easy for representatives to be present in the Security Council while the situation of the country was discussed without optimistic views. Decision makers had clear stand regarding this resolution, along with other member states. However, the importance or the difficulty of this resolution lies in the unpleasant situation that discussion about these topics brings for a member state concerning its own issues.

Year 2010 was challenging for the Security Council. The importance of protection of civilians, non-proliferation, and conflicts that occurred throughout the world were the major issues member states were concerned about. The biggest obstacles that Bosnia and Herzegovina faced at the beginning of the mandate were related to building capacities and forming a team which will carry out the mission in the Security Council. Lack of knowledge regarding particular issues certain countries are facing made this mandate more difficult. However, internal issues still prevailed in the decision making process.

The external affairs did not affect the stand as we can see from the resolution about non-proliferation in Iran. Although Bosnia and Herzegovina has very good and stable relations with Iran, that did not prevent voting in favor for the resolution and therefore agreeing on imposing sanctions. On the other hand, internal issues contributed largely when the Council discussed Kosovo case. Also, discussing the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina during its mandate was not easy for members of the mission especially because presented situation did not signalize progress. 2010 was concluded with 59 'yeses' coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with Austria, Gabon, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Uganda, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which might indicate the effectiveness of decision making process in the Council and agreement among member states.

^{****} The operation is a part of EU approach to Bosnia and Herzegovina and the significant contribution of the EU's political engagement and its assistance programs (the current police and monitoring mission) in order to help further progress towards European integration in the light of the stabilization and accession process (EU-FOR B&H).

Resolutions in 2011

One of the main concerns of the Security Council in 2011 was, once again, protection of civilians. Massive protests that occurred worldwide in 2011 largely contributed to the importance of this topic. Majority of resolutions and meetings were held regarding problems in Africa. The Security Council held 213 public meetings in 2011, slightly more than in 2010. Number of resolutions adopted is slightly larger as well, counting 66 resolutions. Member states strove for consensus once again. Only five resolutions required a vote.^{*****} Unlike in 2010, two resolutions suffered vetoes in 2011 both concerning Middle East situation. The birth of South Sudan as an independent country and events in Côte d'Ivoire drew the attention of the Security Council as well. The Council established peacekeeping mission in South Sudan and Sudan. After the declaration of independence, the membership of South Sudan in the United Nations was considered as well. Post elections conflict in Côte d'Ivoire resulted in sprawling violence. The threat of harm for civilians increased and thousands of citizens were felling the country. Hundreds of military and police personnel were sent to ensure the wellbeing of citizens.

So called Arab Spring that started in Tunisia in December 2010, continued spreading across Arab countries in 2011. Peace and security was threatened in many countries including Morocco, Kuwait, Libya, Egypt, Lebanon, etc., and other conflicts were still ongoing – Bahrain, Sudan, and Syria. Massive protests and attempts to overthrow government became the concern of the Security Council. Protests that began in Libya on February 2011 proceeded to an armed conflict that lasted eight months. These events turned into an armed conflict between Libyan security forces and citizens seeking to overthrow Qadhafi's rule. The Council's formal engagement started on February 25, 2011 and in 19 formal meetings spanning the conflict's duration, the Council's most significant actions included imposing sanctions on the Qadhafi regime, approving the no-fly zone and authorizing the use of 'all necessary measures' to protect civilians (The United Nations 2012). Six resolutions were adopted in relation to situation in Libya in 2011.

Considering the escalation of events the Security Council was forced to react quickly. First resolution was adopted on February 26, which demanded the end of violence and referred the situation to the International Criminal Court. Sanctions included freezing assets belonging to the Qadhafi family, travel ban, and arms embargo was imposed. Humanitarian agencies were called to Libya and committee for monitoring the situation was established. This resolution was adopted unanimously.

The Council adopted second resolution in regards to situation in Libya by 10 votes in favor, none against, and five abstentions - Brazil, China, Germany, India, Russian Federation on 17 March. This resolution demanded immediate ceasefire. Member states agreed that strong action against Qadhafi regime was necessary and no-fly zone was enforced. However, the representatives of China and the Russian Federation called for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, with the latter noting that the text left many questions unanswered, including how and by whom the measures would be enforced and what the

^{*****} Resolutions concerning which consensus was not reached were: Security Council resolution on measures against Eritrea and expansion of the mandate of the Monitoring Group re-established by resolution 2002, where China and Russia abstained from voting; Middle East situation – where China and Russia casted veto, and Brazil, India, Lebanon, South Africa abstained from voting; Security Council resolution on extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Resolution 1929 (2009) concerning the Islamic Republic of Iran until 9 June 2012, where Lebanon abstained from voting; Security Council resolution on establishment of a ban on flights in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya airspace, where Brazil, China, Germany, India, and Russia abstained from voting, and resolution concerning Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question where the United States casted veto.

limits of engagement would be (The United Nations 2012). In addition to these two, four more resolutions were adopted all demanding ceasefire and imposing sanctions to the authorities.

Rapid development of events in Libya was the concern of all Security Council members including Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the Security Council did not succeed in ensuring safety for civilians and preventing or stopping the conflict, member states cooperated continuously in order to find a solution. Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have a subjective stand regarding these issues, but made the decisions in consultation with other member states in order to prevent escalation of events.

Unlike for situation in Libya, Bosnia and Herzegovina had more subjective attitude towards issues regarding Middle East, especially Palestinian question. As Bosnia and Herzegovina is composed of three constituent people, representatives of each strive towards sustaining their beliefs and interests therefore looking for like-minded ones beyond the border as well. As Serbs try to maintain their connection with Serbia and Russia, Croats with Croatia, Bosniaks try to establish and sustain the connection with Muslims in other parts of the world too. This shows how internal issues can be expanded beyond borders reflecting to the complex Israeli-Palestinian situation. In addition to this, the relational ties that exist between Israel and smaller B&H entity, Republika Srpska, prevailed in the decision making process. The two often provide support for each other and Republika Srpska was even called as Israel's best friend in Europe by Michael Freund (Freund 2014). The question of Palestine is dating since 1947, when the General Assembly decided to divide the territory into Arab and Jewish part. Ever since then, this issue raised many controversies and resulted into many conflicts. As it was part of many discussions in the Security Council for decades, this topic was brought up again in 2011.

Two resolutions related to Middle East suffered veto in 2011. First proposed resolution in February was concerning Israeli settlements on Palestinian territory. The United States has casted veto which prevented adoption of this resolution. The US ambassador, Susan Rice, said that this resolution might harden positions of both sides and encourage them to stay out of negotiations and that Washington view was that the Israeli settlements lacked legitimacy (The Guardian 2011).

Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself in an unenviable position when Palestine decided to seek full UN membership through the Security Council. Although diplomatic relations between these two countries exist, the Presidency had a hard time reaching consensus necessary to take a positive or negative stand. Because of the inability of all three members of the presidency to reach the decision unanimously, if it had come to voting, abstention would be the only choice. According to Bosco, seven members were likely to support – Brazil, China, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Russia, and South Africa; two leaning in that direction – Bosnia and Herzegovina and Portugal; three who are probably on the fence – France, Gabon, and the United Kingdom; two likely to oppose – Colombia and Germany; and one certain to oppose – the United States. Close ties with Israel contributed to these possible stands as well as the effect it might leave on the other countries as well. Whether this resolution had necessary nine votes or not, it was doomed to fail because the United States would still cast a veto preventing the adoption. Bosnian Serb leaders strongly oppose the Palestinian initiative due to ties with Israel and, especially, belief that this action could lead to a similar move by Kosovo (Bosco 2011). Regarding this resolution Milorad Dodik, president of the Republika Srpska, said for the Jerusalem Post, "We did not hesitate to adopt a pro-Israel position. I am proud of this stance that we took" (Freund 2014).

During the interview, Ambassador Barbalčić mentioned that this was not a good time for Palestine to seek full membership in the United Nations through the Security Council considering the member states it was composed of at the time. However, it is very questionable if convenient time will ever come taking in account that the United States is one of the permanent members and its ties with Israel. Later on, Palestinian government decides to withdraw the application for the membership.

Second resolution regarding Middle East was discussed in the Council in October. The draft resolution was in regards to the situation in Syria and imposing sanctions against the regime. It was drafted by France in cooperation with Britain, Germany and Portugal. This resolution had support of nine members including Bosnia and Herzegovina; however, this was not enough for the adoption because Russia and China, joined forces in casting veto. Member states which abstained from voting are: Brazil, India, Lebanon, and South Africa.

Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina itself was on the agenda in the Security Council during second year of its mandate as well. If we take in account just this particular subject, 2011 pretty much mirrored 2010. As in previous year, two briefings by the High Representative were held and resolution regarding EUFOR ALTHEA mission was discussed. Political situation continued to develop negatively and no progress has been made regarding European Integration process and membership to NATO. The development of country was threatened in every aspect.

First briefing by the High Representative Valentin Inzko was held on 9 May when he expressed his concern regarding the maintenance of the order set by the Dayton Peace Agreement. The threat was faced when the authorities in the Republika Srpska decided to take actions which violate the Dayton Peace Agreement. By deciding to hold a referendum that would put into question the High Representative's authorities and laws enacted by him, as well as other State-level institutions, including the Bosnia and Herzegovina Court, the Republika Srpska's National Assembly had opted for a path that represented a 'serious breach' of the country's constitutional framework and was contrary to the 1995 peace deal that ended nearly four years of inter-ethnic fighting (The United Nations 2011a). This did not contribute to building positive image of the country; on the contrary, it was characterized as the worst political crisis that Bosnia and Herzegovina faced since the end of the war.

Second briefing by the High Representative was held on 15 November. During this briefing, the High Representative Inzko congratulating Bosnia and Herzegovina on its tenure as a member of the Security Council, said that had given the Government the opportunity to make new friends and gain the respect of many countries; it should be counted as a significant foreign policy success (The United Nations 2011d). He also added that despite the global crisis, economic progress had been made. However, political instability continued and he argued that his presence as the High Representative and EUROR mission were still essential. This briefing was followed by negative comments by Russian representative who said that the briefing can be hardly called objective and that in order to justify his position, the High Representative deliberately emphasized the negative view on the situation in the country.

As in 2010, third and the last time the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was discussed in the Security Council in 2011, referred to the EUFOR ALTHEA mission. Once again this resolution was adopted unanimously by all member states considering that the presence of the mission was still crucial to ensure preserving peace set by the Dayton

Peace Agreement. As a result, the mission was prolonged yet for another year. Bosnia and Herzegovina was still not capable of ensuring peace and security for its citizens and succeeding in political and economic development on its own.

In a year characterized by many uprisings all over the world and some of them escalating into armed conflicts such as events related to the Arab Spring, the importance of protection of civilians grew. The development of events forced the Security Council to react quickly and impose serious sanctions such as those imposed on Qadhafi family. The success of the Council in assuring protection of civilians and ending conflicts is questionable. However, the cooperation between member states and strive to achieve set goals (implementation of resolutions) was on a high level.

Conclusion

During 2010 and 2011 situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was characterized by political instability, budget deficit, and stagnation in the European integration process and membership to NATO. On the other hand, if we look at the bright side, it achieved a great success by becoming a non-permanent member of the Security Council and carrying its mandate successfully. Major obstacles at the beginning of the mandate were related to capacity building. While other member states had teams composed of numerous experts reaching even up to fifty members of the mission, Bosnia and Herzegovina had only fifteen people at disposal in New York. As Ambassador Ivan Barbić highlighted, the team had a hard time coping with all obligations set by the Council due to shortage of personnel. Insufficient experience in body such as the Security Council as well as lack of knowledge in regards to certain issues discussed, presented an obstacle as well.

In the period of 2010 and 2011, wide range of topics were discussed in the Security Council, 125 resolutions were adopted and two resolutions suffered veto. Consensus was reached in great majority of them. Bosnia and Herzegovina voted in favor for every resolution discussed. Despite all of that, it faced inevitable challenges along with other member states. This paper provides an insight of the following topics discussed in the Security Council with the focus on voting behavior of member states, particularly Bosnia and Herzegovina: Kosovo, Islamic Republic of Iran, Libya, Palestine, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was discussed three times in each year of its tenure. This included two annually briefings by the High Representative and resolution regarding the EUFOR ALTHEA mission. Even fifteen years after the end of the war, international guardians of the Dayton Peace Agreement were still crucial for the country. Political and economic instability in the country which did not lean towards progress, might justify negative views regarding country's membership in the Security Council which occurred prior to the beginning of a tenure. On the other hand, despite all of that, country's representatives worked side by side with other member states and managed to fulfill the expectations.

The Security Council held 182 public meetings, adopted 59 resolutions, and issued 30 presidential statements in 2010. None of the permanent members casted veto and only six resolutions required a vote. Major concerns of the Council was protection of civilians in an armed conflict and women vulnerable to sexual violence. In regards to the Islamic Republic of Iran and Democratic People's Republic of Korea, nuclear proliferation remained a concern as well. The Security Council had already imposed sanctions on Iran regarding nuclear weapons program. The United States was lobbying the Council to pass

the resolution imposing new sanctions. It was very debatable which stand Bosnia and Herzegovina will take regarding this resolution. Despite the help it got from Iran during the war and good bilateral relations, Bosnia and Herzegovina still voted in favor of this resolution. Iranian representatives announced that they understand the stand that Sarajevo took. Members of the Presidency agreed unanimously upon this issue. However, when the issue of Kosovo was discussed, Serbian member of the Presidency has more subjective stand which was expected considering ties Bosnian Serbs hold with Serbia. This issue did not come to vote, still representatives spoke during the meetings when this issue was discussed. They called to negotiations and acknowledged the importance of UNMIK, but did not take position regarding Kosovo's independence.

The Security Council held 213 public meetings in 2011, adopted 66 resolutions, and issued 22 presidential statements in 2011. Only five resolutions required a vote; however two of them suffered veto, both regarding Middle East. Once again the major concern of the Council was protection of civilians in an armed conflict. Massive uprisings and escalation of events related to the Arab Spring contributed it largely. Libya, for instance, suffered consequences related to this. Six resolutions were adopted demanding immediate ceasefire and imposing sanctions on the authorities. Still, the conflict between citizens and government security forces did not stop. Another very controversial topic discussed, was Palestinian membership in the United Nations. Palestinian officials announced application to full membership in the United Nations, and the decision was brought to the Security Council. As some member states had a clear stand regarding this question, some were hesitant. Many speculations about the voting turnout were raised as in media, so in academic field as well. It was very questionable whether the resolution will get nine necessary votes. Bosnia and Herzegovina was in a difficult situation, again, considering the internal decision making process. Most predictions were that it will abstain from voting considering that Serb member of the Presidency would not agree upon the issue. In any case, taking in account the veto that the United States would cast, this resolution would not be adopted. At the end, Palestinian government decided to withdraw the application.

The attitude of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Security Council was not affected by other member states, but by its own internal issues, attitudes and goals. Issues related to Kosovo, Palestine, and perhaps even Iran, for instance, which were discussed in the Council support that. Both, internal and external affairs of a state influence its foreign policy. However, in this case, internal affairs prevailed. The subjective reasons of members of the Presidency affected the attitude in the Security Council.

It has been almost four years since the end of the mandate of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Security Council. The country still struggles on its way to the membership in EU and NATO. Unlike predictions, only slight improvement has been made in this area as well as in economic and political field. On the other hand, Bosnia and Herzegovina is richer in experience which gained during the two-year mandate. The mandate in the Security Council was a learning experience which might serve well to the representatives in the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe whose current Chairman is from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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THE POLITICS OF PEACE AND CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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Abstract

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Twenty years after the Dayton Peace Agreement an exclusive ethnic ideology, international tutelage and dependency characterize Bosnia and Herzegovina. Wrong political approaches by the international and local political actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina created permanent crisis, the status quo and a 'case' country. Conflict, furthermore enriched with exclusive ethno-cultural paradigm and the legacy of bloody crucible of the war, shape today's political discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Based on content analysis of leading newspapers, this paper examines the relationship between conflict and peace inclinations of main political leaders among Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats. In order to test the first objective on political discourse and political relationships based on the conflict vs. peace politics, using content analysis, the research analyzed media news on Bosnia and Herzegovina by considering only socio-political topics. We randomly selected 120 news from newspaper namely, *Nezavisne novine*, *Glas srpske*, *Dnevni list* and *Dnevni avaz*. For testing, the second objective on positive vs. negative political discourse of main political leaders we randomly selected 360 interview-based news about key political leader including Bakir Izetbegovic (Bosniak), Dragan Čović (Croat) and Milorad Dodik (Serb). Research findings indicated that the conflict politics is deeply rooted in political discourse, media, among political leaders and the public.

Keywords: *Conflict; Peace Politics; Conflict Politics; Political Participation; Political Leaders; Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Introduction

The Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA), brokered by US diplomat Richard Holbrooke (1998), prevented the continuation of war and destruction, but the political turmoil, ethnic tensions, territorial pretensions and overall an idea that Bosnia and Herzegovina is still a 'case' country or as an 'experiment of the international community', has continued to this very day. The major conflict lines within Bosnian society thus remain essentially unresolved. The ghosts of war, destruction and divisiveness are still hunting the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, most probably, the future generations will continue to grapple with the issue of crime and guilt because unresolved past has already shaped people's exclusive ethnic identification. Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered as "a deeply divided society," "ethnic democracy" and an "Ethnopolis" where different ethnic groups, due to strong nationalistic rhetoric and 'ethnopolitics', live isolated from each other (Parish, 2011; Cohen, 1995, Perry, 2005 and Mujkic, 2007). According to the theoretical and conceptual meanings of a sovereign state, Bosnia and Herzegovina remains fragile and unstable state (Trnka, 2000, p. 319 and Šarčević, 2009, p. 12). Therefore, under current circumstances, social-cultural change and an establishment of a viable social order

and harmony is ‘mission impossible’. On the contrary, there is a crisis of democracy and the status quo that produces instability, fear, inter-ethnic distrust and mentality that is entirely based on the conflict and not constructive and realist compromise and a solution (Džihić and Wieser, 2011, pp. 1809-1810).

Considering the Balkans mentality, which is based on the tradition of heroic, war-like and conflicting values; values of peace, dialogue and compromise are perceived as weakness and shameful. Unfortunately, religious traditions, literature, historical works and folklore have been promoting these values for the past few centuries. Actually, all aspects of life are rigidly based on Marxist theory of conflict and nationalist liberation ideologies. Therefore, very few politicians, not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but in the region, who attempted to use the politics of peace, dialogue and compromise were perceived not only as weak political leaders but very often they were accused of betraying their own people and the nation. For instance, Zoran Đinđić was assassinated in Serbia because of his politics of peace and cooperation. These are some of the reasons why European diplomats and policy-makers view the Balkans as

a periphery or the province and one of the biggest obstacles for European stability, peace and security. For this purpose the notion of Balkanization as a geographical and political term, which signifies territorial and political divisiveness, hatred among the people and even apocalyptic devastation, was introduced by Western scholars (Mulalic, 2013, p. 40).

The politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina is far away from the pragmatic and realists perspectives. Political parties and their actors focus on daily political interests that are shaped by ethno-cultural paradigm. There are endless discussions related to the war, ethnic territories, ethnic representation and ethnic culture, language, history and identity. This emphasis puts aside real socio-economic problems and creates artificial ethnic boundaries and barriers between different ethnic groups that are destined to live together. Besides, a serious democratic progress is impossible because of the creation of exclusive ideological difference, politics of fear and deadly threat from the others.

As an alternative, the politics of peace and soft diplomacy should be used as tools to support “soft power potential, generate goodwill, to frame international agenda in particular ways, to erect and re-enact boundaries and/or to create societal linkages across them” (Batora and Mokre, 2011, p. 1). Both local and regional politicians should use the politics of peace and soft diplomacy as to project creative expression in improving mutual understanding within and across state borders. This could strengthen the role of different actors on the local and international political scene (Nye, 2004).

Certainly, culture could be used in determining national and, as well as regional character because of common and shared heritage. Then, due to common historical experience, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina have natural right to special relations with each other based on historical legacy and cultural similarities. Therefore,

National identity should be derived from shared socio-cultural values while ethnic bonds, should be upheld and broadly respected. The history of Bosnia-Herzegovina indicates that ethnic distinctive bonds have been flourishing throughout centuries while common national identification and a sense of interconnected relationship between diverse groups of people had always been strongly felt. Actually history of Bosnia-Herzegovina points to cultural inclusion and cross-culture, not exclusive cultural isolation. That is why nowadays as throughout the past, although belonging to different groups of people, many distinguished Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks have accepted a common and shared Bosnian national identity (Mulalic, 2014, pp. 63-64).

Regional shared historical and cultural values, if properly and positively perceived, open up many opportunities for cooperation. The political elites have the potential to improve

furthermore regional cooperation by working together on the common path towards the EU. Balkans cooperation is inevitable from socio-political and economic point of view as “all Balkan states are in the same boat” or to use the classical concept of Keohane and Nye (1970) “all Balkans states are interdependent.” Even during the 1990s Balkans trade, communication, energy and security cooperation and interdependence was inevitable. In this regard Bechev (2011) stated:

Beyond doubt, regional interdependence is a factor that matters for the Balkans. Whether they liked it or not, in the 1990s local states found themselves bundled by their politics, security concerns and geography, and to a lesser degree by their economies. Even divisive forces such as the legacies of conflict gave coherence to the notion of one South East Europe. In addition to common threats, interdependence also meant developmental opportunities. If it did not offer an economic structure, shared geography did offer potential gains in sectors such as transport infrastructure and energy (p. 39).

The idea of Europe as an integrated multicultural space is genuine European product. European conception of the balance of power since the times of the Westphalia (1648) made the basis for cultural exchange and cooperation in Europe. In this regard, the Balkans should learn from the European experience and cultural exchange and cooperation should become its future basis. Within the Balkans framework, Bosnia and Herzegovina should

acknowledge the existence of multiple identities that enrich rather than pose a threat to the country. Only such diverse identities can connect citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina with those of neighboring countries in particular and of the EU in general. Multicultural identity should become a common identity while multiple identities should be cherished by all Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens. Serious preference should be given to the institutionalized fostering of multiculturalism – not only for the sake of the very survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state but for the survival of global multiculturalism as a whole (Mulalic, 2009, pp. 121-122).

In the age of globalization and in the world of diversity it has become an imperative to foster and preserve tolerance, understanding and co-existence in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies as an alternative to Huntington’s civilizational clash (Mahmut Čehajić, 2000, pp. 88-90). In this regard, the inclusive multicultural model of Bosnia-Herzegovina could position a country as very unique state-model, which other multicultural and multiethnic countries could follow worldwide. This is in particular true for the EU member-states that presently cope with the challenges related to minorities, religion, culture, language and ethnicity.

Methodology

This paper examines internal relationships based on leading political actors who shape policy and public opinion. It is worth analyzing their public statements on key socio-political (politics, economics and society) issues. Based on the content analysis of key newspapers, this paper attempts to analyze the relationship between conflict and peace politics.

For testing the first objective on *political discourse based on the conflict vs. peace politics, the research analyzed media news on Bosnia and Herzegovina by considering only socio-political topics*. We randomly selected 120 news from 2014 to March 2016 from the following newspapers:

- *Nezavisne novine* (targets mainly Serbs as target group);
- *Glas srpske* (targets mainly Serbs as target group);
- *Dnevni list* (targets mainly Croats as target group);
- *Dnevni avaz* (targets mainly Bosniaks as target group).

Analyzed socio-political news (politics, economics and society) in terms of their peace or conflict inclinations were determined based on their negative, extremely exclusive, positive and constructive contents. It is important to mention that this study does not compare newspapers in terms of their conflict vs. peace reporting. However, based on news, this paper aimed to identify main trends that reflect public socio-political discourses.

In order to examine the second objective on *conflict vs. peace inclinations of political leaders*, the research adopted similar methodology as in the above. We randomly selected interview-based news from 2014 to March 2016 given by each political leader from *Nezavisne novine*, *Glas srpske*, *Dnevni list* and *Dnevni avaz*. For the sake of political representation, the following leaders were selected: Bakir Izetbegović (Bosniak), Dragan Čović (Croat) and Milorad Dodik (Serb). Altogether, 360 news from these newspapers were analyzed considering their peace or conflict contents inclinations.

Data Presentations and Analysis

In order to test the first objective on political discourse we used content analysis in analyzing media news on Bosnia and Herzegovina. We randomly selected news from *Nezavisne novine*, *Glas srpske*, *Dnevni list* and *Dnevni avaz*. In total, 120 news were selected in the span of last two years in terms of their peace or conflict inclination. News determined as negative were extremely exclusive by its title and content.

Table 1. Media reporting and news on Bosnia and Herzegovina

Newspaper	Positive News	Negative News
<i>Dnevni list</i>	29%	71%
<i>Dnevni avaz</i>	42%	52%
<i>Nezavisne novine</i>	22%	78%
<i>Glas srpske</i>	19%	81%
Average	28%	71%

According to analyzed news, Table 1 shows that in *Dnevni list* 71% of news were negative while 29% were positive. Analyzed news from *Dnevni avaz* were slightly different in terms of positive and negative news as this newspaper is pro-Bosnian newspaper. According to *Dnevni avaz* 52% of news were negative while 42% were positive. Then, *Nezavisne novine* included 78% of negative news and 22% of positive news. Finally, *Glas srpske* included 81% of negative news and 19% of positive news. Obtained data clearly indicated that conflict politics is deeply rooted in political discourse, the media and the public.

Table 2. Content analysis of media reporting and news on Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Selected news from 120 news)

Newspaper	Negative News	Positive News
<i>Nezavisne novine</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Server: For Serbia Bosnia is greater problem than Kosovo • Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most unfortunate country in the region • Slovakian TV: Bosnia and Herzegovina is Serbian territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Covic: Bosnia and Herzegovina will submit credible application for EU membership on January 16 • Bosnia and Herzegovina: British-German initiative
<i>Glas srpske</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bosnia and Herzegovina imports even bread • Bosnia and Herzegovina is placed at the end of the list for EU expansion • ID wants new front and new fighters from B&H 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bosnia and Herzegovina accepted border agreement with Montenegro • Bosnia and Herzegovina has signed EU program Horizon 2020 accession
<i>Dnevni list</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bosnia is cradle of modern jihad • Bosnia and Herzegovina definitely least advanced (towards the EU) • Bosnia and Herzegovina is the greatest threat to regional stability and security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bosnia and Herzegovina: British-German initiative • Bosnia and Herzegovina will be just multiethnic and employable • The following weeks are important for European path of Bosnia and Herzegovina
<i>Dnevni avaz</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Izetbegovic at Summit in Istanbul: Bosnia is under attack of radical interpretation of Islam • Bosnia in danger: Vučić threatens and Bakir returns • Nikolic: Bosnia looks like a sick man 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wigemark: Bosnia and Herzegovina after ten years EU member • Zvizdic-Schultz: Bosnia and Herzegovina enjoys significant support of European parliament • Zvizdic: Bosnia is strongly moving forward

For the sake of examining conflict and peace inclinations of political leaders, we randomly selected news about Bakir Izetbegović, Dragan Čović and Milorad Dodik. By using content analysis, we analyzed 90 interview-based news from *Nezavisne novine* in order to determine their positive or negative inclinations.

Table 3. *Nezavisne novine* on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders

Political Leader	Conflict Views	Positive Views
Bakir Izetbegovic	29%	71%
Dragan Čović	42%	58%
Milorad Dodik	91%	9%

According to Table 3 and analysis of randomly selected news from *Nezavisne novine*, key political leaders expressed themselves as follows: Bakir Izetbegovic 71% positive views and 29% negative; Dragan Čović 58% positive and 42 negative and Milorad Dodik 9% positive and 91% negative. Overall findings indicate that Izetbegovic and Čović were using positive views while discussing different socio-political issues in their interviews. On the other hand, Milorad Dodik had only 9% of positive views while discussing similar topics and 91% negative or conflict-based. *Nezavisne novine* presented his conflict or exclusive statements although this newspaper targets Serbs as its main target group. In this regard, it is important to mention unbiased and objective reporting by this newspaper. This also shows that conflict or peace doesn't originate with media but from political leaders whose views, positive or negative are just reported to the public.

Table 4. Content analysis of Nezavisne novine on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders
(Selected news from 90 news)

Newspaper	Negative News	Positive News
Nezavisne novine	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Izetbegovic: Vučić shouldn't worry about B&H but let him influence Banja Luka• Izetbegovic: Dodik's behavior cannot be justified• Izetbegovic: We will not tolerate treats from Belgrade• Dragan Čović: HDZ will not tolerate Bosnjak government• Dragan Čović: The future of B&H in four territorial units• Dragan Čović: Social protests want to use for political purposes• Milorad Dodik: B&H is a forced country• Milorad Dodik: Pamer is live example that Bosnia and Herzegovina is not serious country• Milorad Dodik: We don't want foreigners in negotiations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bakir Izetbegovic: Opening of Ferhadija (mosque) is the victory of life• Izetbegovic: Bosnjak politicians don't request termination of RS• Izetbegovic: Nikolic in March in Bosnia and Herzegovina• Dragan Čović: Next year candidacy status• Dragan Čović: We must strive on the European path• Dragan Čović: United we can achieve our objectives• Milorad Dodik: Serbs and Bosnaks must build good relations• Milorad Dodik presented gifts for newly built Ferhadija mosque• Milorad Dodik: Corrupted people have no place in public administration

The conflict and peace inclinations of political leaders, using same methodology as in the above, were analyzed 90 interview-based news on key political leaders from newspaper *Glas srpske*.

Table 5. Glas srpske on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders

Political Leader	Conflict Views	Positive Views
Bakir Izetbegovic	26%	74%
Dragan Čović	19%	81%
Milorad Dodik	96%	4%

According to Table 5 and analysis of randomly selected news from *Glas srpske*, key political leaders expressed themselves as follows: Bakir Izetbegovic 74% positive views and 26% negative; Dragan Čović 81% positive and 19 negative and Milorad Dodik 4% positive and 96% negative. Overall findings based on analysis of *Glas srpske* newspaper indicate that both Izetbegovic and Čović had positive views while addressing different socio-political issues in their interviews while Milorad Dodik, as in the above based on *Nezavisne novine* analysis, was expressing extremely negative views on socio-political issues. *Glas srpske* is another newspaper that is pro-Serb in reporting. However, this paper shows objective reporting on key political leaders based on their own peace or conflict political approaches.

Table 6. Content analysis of Glas srpske on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders
(Selected news from 90 news)

Newspaper	Negative News	Positive News
<i>Glas srpske</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bakir Izetbegovic: The decision on referendum must be repealed • Bakir Izetbegovic: Respect towards victims and then peace and conciliation • Bakir Izetbegovic: A clash between two laws/rights will be resolved by war • Dragan Čović: We are paying the price for playing with the formation of government • Dragan Čović: We do not accept conditions on pretext of protests • Dragan Čović: Investigators should talk less and work more • Milorad Dodik: Izetbegovic is guilty for the war in B&H • Milorad Dodik: Bosnjaks intend to manipulate results • Milorad Dodik: RS will announce census results 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bakir Izetbegovic: Integration in the EU a way for achieving stability • Bakir Izetbegovic: Vučić is humble leader who offers his hand • Bakir Izetbegovic: I am ready to visit places of Serb suffering • Dragan Čović: Cooperation with the region priority • Dragan Čović: We are able to resolve our problems alone • Dragan Čović: Preserve political stability and coalition • Milorad Dodik: We are ready for the elections but at all levels • Milorad Dodik: Dodik presented his loan contract • Milorad Dodik: Key question preserving peace and security in 2016

The conflict and peace inclinations of political leaders, using same methodology as in the above, were also based on newspaper *Dnevni list*.

Table 7. Dnevni list on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders

Political Leader	Conflict Views	Positive Views
Bakir Izetbegovic	64%	36%
Dragan Čović	38%	62%
Milorad Dodik	32%	68%

According to Table 7 and analysis of randomly selected news from *Dnevni list*, key political leaders expressed themselves as follows: Bakir Izetbegovic 36% positive views and 64% negative; Dragan Čović 62% positive and 38 negative and Milorad Dodik 68% positive and 32% negative. It is important to mention that *Dnevni list* is Croat oriented newspaper. It is very much visible through emphasis on news mostly related to Croat-Bosniak relations in FBiH. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why positive news are reported on entity RS and their leader Milorad Dodik. *Dnevni list* presented mostly positive views of Dragan Čović (62%) in comparison to Bakir Izetbegovic (36%) whose views were mostly negative. Data also indicated that Bosniak-Croat relations are partially based on conflict rather than peace politics.

Table 8. Content analysis of Dnevni list on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders (Selected news from 90 news)

Newspaper	Negative News	Positive News
<i>Dnevni list</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bakir Izetbegovic: Be on the right side this is my offer• Bakir Izetbegovic: There are no positive developments in Mostar• Bakir Izetbegovic: Nothing can improve relations between Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina• Dragan Čović: With Izetbegovic, there are no more meetings on Mostar• Dragan Čović: It is necessary to organize B&H based on four territorial units• Dragan Čović: Covic was threatening with new partners• Milorad Dodik: Bosnian language doesn't exist• Milorad Dodik: Genocide in Srebrenica didn't take place• Milorad Dodik: resign and I will call for new elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bakir Izetbegovic: It is necessary to talk to all• Bakir Izetbegovic: Coalition is stable• Bakir Izetbegovic: Prosperous B&H is main objective of SDA• Dragan Čović: I called Pope to visit B&H• Dragan Čović: This is our country and here we will stay and live• Dragan Čović: I believe that elections will be organized in Mostar• Milorad Dodik: RS is not against EU: As soon as possible resolve mechanism of coordination• Milorad Dodik: Serbs will not go to war• Milorad Dodik: Dodik bowed down to the victim of genocide in Srebrenica

The conflict and peace inclinations of political leaders, using same methodology as in the above, were also based on newspaper *Dnevni avaz*.

Table 9. Dnevni avaz on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders

Political Leader	Conflict Views	Positive Views
Bakir Izetbegovic	32%	68%
Dragan Čović	26%	74%
Milorad Dodik	79%	21%

According to Table 9, *Dnevni avaz* presented views of key political leaders as follows: Bakir Izetbegovic 68% positive views and 32% negative; Dragan Čović 74% positive and 26% negative and Milorad Dodik 21% positive and 79% negative. *Dnevni list* is Bosniak oriented newspaper. Besides *Nezavisne novine* and *Glas srpske* newspapers, *Dnevni avaz* also indicated that Milorad Dodik represented mostly conflict views on different socio-political issues.

Table 10. Content analysis of Dnevni avaz on conflict vs. positive views of political leaders (Selected news from 90 news)

Newspaper	Negative News	Positive News
<i>Dnevni avaz</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bakir Izetbegovic: Vučić should work on the reconciliation and not on making quick statements • Bakir Izetbegovic: We are attacked by those who are fighting for their positions • Bakir Izetbegovic: Dodik's accusations are meaningless, I would prefer if they postpone protests • Dragan Čović: The path of dominant Bosniak entity is ill-favored politics • Dragan Čović: We do not give up six positions, ours is the Ministry of Finance • Dragan Čović: We cannot be the coalition if we don't have common stand • Milorad Dodik: Incko is not right, RS do not violate Dayton • Milorad Dodik: After Scotland RS should get ready! • Milorad Dodik: We will hold referendum for independence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bakir Izetbegovic: SDA and SBB will have the solution for Mostar • Bakir Izetbegovic: Croat question could be solved in the first half of 2016 • Bakir Izetbegovic: Holy Eucharist reminds us of splendor of diversity • Dragan Čović: B&H must follow European standards • Dragan Čović: We have shown the way of how to love our country • Dragan Čović: European path is again open for B&H • Milorad Dodik: Giving the chance for structural dialogue in Brussels • Milorad Dodik: RS is good and stable place to live regardless to religion and nationality • Milorad Dodik: Radoncic's legitimacy should be respected and appreciated

Conclusions and Recommendations

Centuries old multicultural paradigm in Bosnia and Herzegovina was replaced with ethno-cultural paradigm due to the war and its implications. Exclusive ethnic ideologies, coupled with the international tutelage and ineffective political approaches in Bosnia and Herzegovina, produced permanent crisis and the status quo. Actually, ethno-cultural paradigm was furthermore enforced and pre-war culture of accountability, peace, dialogue and compromise were replaced with socio-political conflict based on fear and distrust. Due to these reasons, this paper attempted to put in the perspective peace vs. conflict politics. Indeed, it is significant to articulate the politics of peace, cooperation and soft diplomacy, because the creation of the positive socio-political environment is the precondition for Bosnian stability and regional peace and cooperation.

In spite of past and present socio-political predicaments, Bosnia-Herzegovina as a microcosmic multicultural model represents an increasingly interconnected and diverse world. Bosnian multicultural paradigm counters the perspective of Huntington's clash of civilizations. Therefore, multicultural paradigm is not only central to the rebuilding and transition of Bosnia-Herzegovina but to the global world as a whole. Bosnia-Herzegovina managed to incorporate ethnic, religious and cultural diversities, projecting a distinctive multicultural state identity. Being a multicultural state, Bosnia-Herzegovina has always flourished as a part of a greater whole. Therefore, the future of this small country lies in joining the EU, a family of nations that uphold diversity. Upholding liberal values, cosmopolitan multiculturalism, the Tradition and diverse socio-cultural values derived from Bosnia's past and present would in turn uphold and strengthen the EU road towards achieving the goal of creating a family of nations.

Based on the results from this study on political discourse and political relationships in terms of the conflict vs. peace politics we strongly believe that exclusive political approaches based on rigidity and conditioning, inherited from the war, could

be substituted with the real politics, politics of peace and cooperation. Therefore, we propose the following recommendations: political incorporation of ethnic, religious and cultural diversities; promotion of a distinctive multicultural state identity; promotion of scholarship and research on the relationship between conflict and peace politics; fostering peace/constructive not conflict/destructive approaches by leaders; and supporting political parties and leaders that use peace politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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EARLIEST MEMORIES, POSITIVE EMOTIONAL MEMORIES OF WARMTH AND SAFENESS AND ATTACHMENT STYLE IN ADOLESCENTS

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Abstract

Research has shown that early childhood experiences, especially those related to feelings of threat or safeness play a key role in subsequent emotional and social development. The aims of the study are to explore the relationship between early memories of warmth, safeness and attachment style in the life of adolescents and to define specificities of earliest memories with regard to the current attachment style. In order to explore relationships between earliest memories, emotional memories of warmth and safeness, and current attachment style of adolescents the research was conducted using a convenient sample of 167 public secondary school students with average age of 17,22 years. The 63.47% of the participants were females, whereas 36.53 % were males. The questionnaire was adopted, *Early Memories of Warmth and Safeness Scale* (EMWSS; Richter, Gilbert & McEwan, 2009), *Memory Characteristics Questionnaire* (Johnson, Suenghas, Foley & Raye, 1988) and *Adult Attachment Questionnaire* (Hazan & Shaver, 1990). Research findings proved that emotional content of adolescents' earliest memories is predominantly of joy (41.7%), fear (23.3%), sadness (8.6%), surprise (8%), and anger (7.4%), etc. which is in line with previous research where the same or similar methodology was followed. The first memory was detected at 4.7 years of age, with no significant difference between males and females. However, females described their first memory in significantly more words than males ($t=-3.77, p<0,01$). Results showed that securely attached adolescents scored significantly higher on EMWSS, compared to their insecurely attached peers ($t=3.27, p<0,001$), while the difference between avoidant and ambivalently attached adolescents was not significant ($t=1.80, p>0,05$). Securely and insecurely attached individuals did not differ in dimensions of vividness of earliest memory ($H=1.127$), emotional valence ($H=.178$), and emotion intensity ($H=.209$, all $p>0,05$).

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Keywords: *Emotional Memory; Warmth and Safeness; Earliest Memories; Attachment Style; Adolescents*

Introduction

Adolescence, as a transitional period of rapid developmental changes, includes the task of establishing a realistic sense of identity in the context of relationship with others and learning to cope with stress and emotions. Therefore, it seems especially interesting to explore some aspects of emotional memory and their relatedness to capability of adaptive interpersonal functioning as construed by the concept of attachment. Literature has shown that early childhood experiences, especially those related to feelings of threat or safeness play a key role in subsequent emotional and social development (Gilbert and Perris, 2000). Early threatening experiences lead to greater vulnerability, psychopathology and maladjustment in adulthood (Irons, Gilbert, Baldwin, Baccus and Palmer, 2006). On the other hand, some argue that experiences of safeness in childhood contribute to regulating affective states (Gilbert et al, 2006) and the recall of parental warmth is positively

associated with ability to be self-reassuring and self-soothing in stressful situation (Irons et al, 2006). In this way, parental behavior provides environmental context for both children's emotional and cognitive development (Gilbert and Perris, 2000). Attachment, as proposed by Bowlby (1969), is based on the person's ability to develop basic trust in their caregivers and self. For infants, attachment as a motivational and behavioral system directs the child to seek proximity with a familiar caregiver when they are alarmed expecting that they will receive protection and emotional support. An infant needs to develop a relationship with at least one primary caregiver for the child's successful social and emotional development, and in particular, for learning how to effectively regulate their feelings. Early patterns of attachment, in turn, shape individual's expectations in later relationships.

Four different attachment classifications have been identified among children: secure attachment, anxious-ambivalent attachment, anxious-avoidant attachment, and disorganized attachment. Secure attachment is when children feel they can rely on their caregivers to meet their needs of proximity, emotional support and protection. It is generally considered to be the best attachment style, associated with beneficial developmental outcomes. Anxious-ambivalent attachment is when the infant feels separation anxiety when separated from his caregiver and does not feel reassured when the caregiver returns to the infant. Anxious-avoidant attachment is when the infant avoids their parents. Disorganized attachment is when there is a lack of attachment behavior. Attachment applies to adults when adults feel close attachment to their parents and their partners. Four styles of attachment have also been identified among adults: secure, anxious-preoccupied, dismissive-avoidant and fearful-avoidant. These roughly correspond to infant classifications. Meanwhile, infants are: secure, insecure-ambivalent, insecure-avoidant and disorganized/disoriented.

Securely attached adults tend to *view themselves positively*, their partners and their relationships. They feel comfortable with intimacy and independence, balancing the two. Anxious-preoccupied adults seek high levels of intimacy, approval and responsiveness from partners, becoming overly dependent. They tend to be less trusting, have less positive views about themselves and their partners, and may exhibit high levels of emotional expressiveness, worry and impulsiveness in their relationships. Dismissive-avoidant adults desire a high level of independence, often appearing to avoid attachment altogether. They view themselves as self-sufficient, invulnerable to attachment feelings and individuals who do not need close relationships. They tend to suppress their feelings, dealing with rejection by distancing themselves from partners of whom they often have a poor opinion. Fearful-avoidant adults have mixed feelings about close relationships, both desiring and feeling uncomfortable with emotional closeness. They tend to mistrust their partners and view themselves as unworthy. Like dismissive-avoidant adults, fearful-avoidant adults tend to seek less intimacy suppressing their feelings.

The typical adolescent is moving away from parents as primary attachment figures, relying more on the opinions and support of peers, and – whether consciously or not – moving toward a time when his or her primary attachment figure will be a lover or spouse rather than a parent (Hazan & Zeifman, 1994). Therefore, for many adolescents, romantic relationships are an important source of extreme feelings, both positive and negative (Larson & Asmussen, 1991).

Some argue that feelings of safeness are central to the development of secure attachment bonds (Baldwin and Dandeneau, 2005; Bowlby, 1969). Securely attached

individuals are significantly more self-reassuring and warm toward themselves and more trusting to others (Irons et al, 2006). Adolescents who grew up in warm and supportive families report more positive friendships (Steinberg and Morris, 2001). It is important to distinguish between the recall of how one felt in relation to family and parents, and their actual behavior. This study focuses on the recall i.e. emotional memory of safeness and warmth.

Studies on first childhood memories have focused on a wide range of characteristics, for example the age of onset and the emotional valence of these memories. Most researchers agree that emotions are a key characteristic of first childhood memories (Howes, Siegel, & Brown, 1993; Kihlstrom & Harackiewicz, 1982; Mullen, 1994) but they do not agree whether positive or negative emotion predominates in those memories. Some researchers found more negative emotions in first childhood memories (Cowan & Davidson, 1984; Howes et al., 1993; Mullen, 1994), while others reported more positive emotion (Kihlstrom & Harackiewicz, 1982; Saunders & Norcross, 1988). Most researchers reached the conclusion that first childhood memories include range between three to four years of age (Howes et al., 1993; MacDonald, Uesiliana, & Hayne, 2000; Mullen, 1994; Tustin & Hayne, 2010). There is also evidence suggesting that childhood memories emerge even earlier, at the age of two. In this study, we are interested in qualities of first childhood memories of adolescents with regard to their attachment styles.

Methodology

The aim of the study is to explore:

1. The relationship between early memories of warmth and safeness and attachment style in adolescents
2. Specificities of earliest memories (emotional valence, age of onset, and other) with regard to the current attachment style

With regards to participants and procedure, the research used a convenient sample of 167 students in public secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. 106 of participants were females. Average age of participants was 17.22 years. Participation was voluntary; participants were informed about the aim of study and ethical principles that are applied in the research.

Instruments used in this research contained cover letter with basic information about the research, general instructions and informed consent as well as three more instruments:

Early Memories of Warmth and Safeness Scale (EMWSS; Richter, Gilbert & McEwan, 2009)- a self-report questionnaire that measures recall of feeling warm, safe and cared for in childhood, i.e. early positive memories of warmth and affection. It is a 21-item scale rated on a 5-point Likert scale (0- never, 1- yes, but rarely, 2- yes, sometimes, 3- yes, often; 4- yes, most of the time). Originally, Richter and colleagues (2009) found a single factor solution and a high Cronbach's alpha of .97. The scale has not yet been used in Bosnian samples. Translated version of EMWSS was administered to a pilot sample of 8 adolescents for comprehensibility. Minor adaptations were made, ensuring face validity in further application.

Questionnaire about the earliest memory, including brief narrative description of the first childhood memory (preferably one participants remember themselves, not based

on a photograph), with age approximation. Participants were asked to choose the emotion they associated the memory with (joy, fear, sadness, surprise, anger, disgust, neutral, or other). The characteristics of participants' earliest memories were assessed using a questionnaire- adaptation of the Memory Characteristics Questionnaire (MCQ; Johnson, Suengas, Foley, & Raye, 1988). The MCQ is one of the most widely used measures for evaluating the characteristics of autobiographical memories. In the adaptation of the MCQ, five dimensions of early memories were selected due to their relevance to individuals' internal working models of attachment relationships. Participants were to rate each memory for the following memory characteristics: 1. Rehearsal: "How often have you thought and/or talked about this memory?" (1 = never; 5 = very frequently). 2. Importance: "How personally important is this memory to you?" (1 = not important; 5 = very important). 3. Vividness: "How detailed and clear is your memory?" (1 = very vague; 5 = very vivid). 4. Emotional Intensity: "How intense were your feelings at the time?" (1 = no emotion; 5 = very intense). 5. Valence of emotion: "Were your feelings at the time negative or positive?" (1 = very negative; 5 = very positive). Participants' ratings of the memory's emotional valence were used to identify negatively valence memories (i.e., scores of 1 or 2 on valence of emotion, 3 or 4 positively valences memories).

Adult Attachment Questionnaire (AAQ; Hazan and Shaver, 1990), consisting of three brief prototypical descriptions of each attachment style (secure, dismissing, and preoccupied), with participants selecting the style that best describes their feelings about relationships with peers. The AAQ was used to assess attachment style, compared to the more recent dimensional measures because of the ease of administration in large groups, its brevity and its face validity (Crowell, Fraley, & Shaver, 1999). The AAQ has been used among participants between the age of 14 and 82, from varying socioeconomic backgrounds (Shaver & Hazan, 1993), and has acceptable test-retest reliability (Stein et al., 1998). Participants' self-reported attachment style was used as a categorical variable in the analyses. The three attachment styles are: Secure- describes their romantic relationships as friendly, trusting, and happy. They accept their partners regardless of faults. They tend to have long and fulfilling relationships. Avoidant- is characterized as being afraid of intimacy, experiencing emotional highs and lows during relationships, along with much jealousy. Anxious/Ambivalent- is treating love in an obsessive way, with strong need for constant reciprocation and validation, along with emotional highs and lows, and feelings of jealousy. In instructions, it was made clear to the participants that they need to read each of the three self-descriptions carefully and then place a checkmark next to the single alternative that best describes how they feel in relationships or similar to the way they feel.

Based on theoretical concepts and existing research findings, we assume that:

H₁ There will be a statistically significant difference in early memories of warmth and safeness among participants with different attachment styles.

- Sub hypothesis 1: Securely attached adolescents will score statistically significantly higher on EMWSS compared to insecurely attached adolescents (ambivalent and avoidant)
- Sub hypothesis 2: There will be no statistically significant difference between ambivalently and avoidant attached individuals in early memories of warmth and safeness

H₂ Quality of earliest childhood memories will differ in securely and insecurely attached adolescents.

- Sub hypothesis 1: Securely attached individuals will report their memories at earlier ages compared to insecurely attached
- Sub hypothesis 2: Securely attached individuals will report their memories in more detail (words) compared to insecurely attached
- Sub hypothesis 3: Securely attached individuals will appraise their memories as more vivid compared to insecurely attached
- Sub hypothesis 4: Securely attached individuals will appraise their memories as more positive (emotional valence) compared to insecurely attached
- Sub hypothesis 5: Securely attached individuals will appraise their memories as more intense in feelings compared to insecurely attached

Results and Discussion

Psychometric properties of EMWSS were examined first, showing good internal consistency measured by Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.75, yet significantly below original 0.97 yielded in Richter and colleagues (2009).

Table 1. Psychometric properties of EMWSS with item-total correlations

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Vari- ance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
I felt loved.	128.4578	421.741	.659	.739
I felt comfortable turning to people im- portant to me for help and advice.	128.8012	417.627	.607	.737
I felt part to those around me.	128.3554	427.855	.442	.744
I felt loved even when people were upset about something I had done.	128.8735	417.541	.538	.737
I felt happy.	128.6386	421.990	.564	.740
I had feelings of connectedness.	129.2289	417.887	.601	.737
I knew I could rely on people close to me to console me when I was upset.	128.9940	414.188	.707	.734
I felt cared about.	129.0422	416.562	.646	.736
I felt secure and safe.	128.6627	422.528	.477	.741
I felt appreciated the way I was.	129.1747	418.594	.552	.738
I felt understood.	129.6867	413.356	.595	.735
I felt a sense of warmth with those around me.	128.3916	425.828	.469	.742
I felt comfortable sharing my feelings and thoughts with those around me.	129.6807	415.782	.464	.737
I felt people enjoyed my company.	129.1506	425.038	.402	.742
I knew I could count on empathy and understanding from people close to me when I was unhappy.	128.9699	415.157	.636	.735
I felt peaceful and calm.	128.9940	418.564	.545	.738
I felt that I was a cherished member of my family.	128.5301	423.802	.525	.741
I could easily be soothed by people close to me when I was unhappy.	129.0301	419.581	.465	.739
I had a sense of belonging.	128.9578	416.889	.687	.736

I knew that I could count on help from people close to me when I was unhappy.	128.8313	417.123	.653	.736
I felt at ease.	128.7831	417.456	.613	.737

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of EMWSS

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
EMWSS	166	23.00	84.00	66.030	10.48198

Both tables indicate that no item should be excluded from further scale calculations, since that would not increase reliability, based on estimation of reliability in case of item exclusion.

Normality of continuous variables was checked using Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, showing that EMWSS scores are not statistically significantly different from normal distribution.

Descriptive values for age approximation of the first memory are presented in Table 3 below, showing that mean age of first memory was 4.61 (SD=1.49). Compared to other research, the average age of the first memory is mostly between the age of 3.5 and 4.5. This implies that the sample approximated first memories slightly, but not significantly later.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for age approximation of earliest memory

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness
Age of first memory	166	23.00	84.00	66.030	10.48198	.606 .188

As for dominant emotions in earliest memory, joy is the most frequent emotion (41.7%), followed by fear (23.3%), sadness (8.6%), surprise (8.0%), etc (Table 4). As mentioned earlier, numerous studies agreed that emotions are a key characteristic of first childhood memories, they do not state whether positive or negative emotion predominates in those memories. In an early study on emotional valence of childhood memories, Dudycha and Dudycha (1933) asked 129 students to report their first memory or memories on a form, and to provide an age approximation, and a description of the emotion they experienced. Compared with this one and similar research, it seems that our participants also chose more positive memories compared to negative ones. It is important to note though, that the emotional valence depends heavily on the format of the posed question.

Table 4. Dominant Emotions in First Memory

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
joy	68	41.7	41.7
fear	38	23.3	65.0
sadness	14	8.6	73.6
surprise	13	8.0	81.6
anger	12	7.4	89.0
disgust	2	1.2	90.2
no feeling	14	8.6	98.8
other	2	1.2	100.0

Total	163	100.0	
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As for other qualities of first memories, it is evident that there is a mild tendency toward more frequent opinions about the first memory, its greater personal importance, its vividness, strength of feelings and positive valence, whose means are shown below, in Table 5.

Table 5. Dimensions of first memories

		Frequency of thinking	Personal importance of the memory	Vividness and liveliness	Strength of feelings	Emotional valence
N	Valid	167	167	166	166	167
	Missing	0	0	1	1	0
Mean		3.13	3.49	3.18	3.39	3.40

The same conclusion is more obvious if we look at percentages of participants who reported on their first memories. 31.7% of them reported they often/very often think about their first memory, while 22.8% reported they never or rarely think about it, remaining 45.5 % reported „sometimes“. As for personal importance of the first memory, the most participants (47,9%) reported their first memory is important/very important to them, 11.4% reported it to be unimportant/mostly unimportant, while 40.7% reported it not to be either. The most participants reported their first memory to be medium in vividness and details (63.5%), 24% vivid/very vivid and detailed, while 12.6% reported it to be vague/very vague. The most participants (47.9%) reported strong/very strong feelings in their first memory, 31,1% medium, and 21% weak/very weak. As for the valence of their first memory, nearly half of the participants (49.7%) reported it to be positive/very positive, 26,3% reported it to be negative/very negative, while the rest (24%) reported it to be neutral. As it was mentioned earlier, different results about emotional valence can be found in literature regarding childhood memories.

The study explored the differences between gender in approximation of age of the first memory, the length of first memory description and scores on Early Memories of Warmth and Safeness Scale, (Table 6).

Table 6. Descriptive statistics of basic variables with regard to participants` gender

	Participant Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Approximate Age of First Memory	male	60	5.00	2.163	.279
	female	106	4.56	1.622	.158
First Memory Description	male	61	52.44	26.777	3.428
	female	106	70.70	31.880	3.096
EMWSS	male	61	63.9672	10.59397	1.35642
	female	105	67.2286	10.27718	1.00295

T-tests for independent samples showed that girls reported on their first memories in greater detail (measured by number of words), compared to boys ($t=-3.77$, $p<0,01$), and

expressed more early memories of warmth and safeness as well ($t=-1.95$, $p<0,05$). There was no statistically significant difference between sexes in approximate age of the first memory ($t=1.49$, $p>0,05$). There was no difference in current attachment style with regard to participants' sex ($\chi^2=3.14$, $p>0,05$), as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Distribution of attachment styles for males and female

	securely attached	insecurely-avoidantly attached	insecurely-ambivalent-ly attached	Total	Chi-Square value
male	37	16	8	61	3.14
female	50	41	15	106	.208 (p)
	87	57	23	167	df=2

Exploring correlations between dimensions of earliest memories showed statistically significant correlations between most of them, but not with scores on EMWSS (Table 8).

Table 8. Correlations (Spearman's rho) between dimensions of earliest memories

EMWSS	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.110	.000	-.026	.142	.137
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.157	.997	.740	.068	.079
	N	166	166	166	165	165	166
Frequency of thinking about the first memory	Correlation Coefficient	.110	1.000	.484**	.309**	.451**	-.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.157	.	.000	.000	.000	.380
	N	166	167	167	166	166	167
Personal importance of the first memory	Correlation Coefficient	.000	.484**	1.000	.408**	.582**	.275**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.997	.000	.	.000	.000	.000
	N	166	167	167	166	166	167
Vividness and liveliness of the first memory	Correlation Coefficient	-.026	.309**	.408**	1.000	.436**	-.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.740	.000	.000	.	.000	.955
	N	165	166	166	166	165	166
Strength of feelings in the first memory	Correlation Coefficient	.142	.451**	.582**	.436**	1.000	.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.068	.000	.000	.000	.	.528
	N	165	166	166	165	166	166
Emotional valence of the first memory	Correlation Coefficient	.137	-.068	.275**	-.004	.049	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.079	.380	.000	.955	.528	.
	N	166	167	167	166	166	167
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).							

Frequency of thinking about the first memory is statistically significantly positively correlated with importance of the memory ($\rho=0.48$), its vividness and liveliness ($\rho=0.31$, $p<0,01$) and strength of feelings represented in the first memory ($\rho=0.45$, all $p<0,01$).

Basically, all three of these dimensions are strongly inter-correlated. Valence of feelings in the first memory, on the other hand, is statistically significantly positively correlated only with importance of the memory ($\rho=0.27$, $p<0,01$), but not with other characteristics, meaning that the more positive the feeling represented in the first memory, the more important it is to the participant. This might indicate certain defense mechanism, as our participants were attributing greater importance to memories with positive, compared to those with negative feelings.

Hypothesis testing

In order to test our first hypothesis, that predicted difference in early memories of warmth and safeness depending on security/insecurity of attachment style of the participants, we used t-test for independent samples (Table 9), that showed scores on EMWSS differed among the two samples ($t=3.27$, $df=164$, $p<0.001$), thus confirming our hypothesis. Securely attached adolescents scored higher on EMWSS, compared to their insecurely attached peers. Therefore, the first sub hypothesis was confirmed.

Table 9. Descriptive and t-test results for securely and insecurely attached on EMWSS

	Attachment Style	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
EM-WSS	Secure	86	68.5233	9.67073	1.04282	3.269	164	.001
	Insecure	80	63.3500	10.71507	1.19798			

The second sub hypothesis was also tested using t-test for independent samples (Table 10), showing that there was no statistically significant difference in EMWSS scores between avoidant and ambivalently attached adolescents ($t=1.80$, $p>0,05$), thus the second sub hypothesis was confirmed.

Table 10. Descriptives and t-test results for avoidantly and ambivalently attached adolescents on EMWSS

	Description of current attachment style	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
EM-WSS	insecurely- avoidant attachment style	57	64.7018	10.25560	1.35839	1.801	78	.076
	insecurely- ambivalent attachment style	23	60.0000	11.31773	2.35991			

As our second hypothesis predicted differences in dimensions of earliest memories between securely and insecurely attached adolescents. In order to test it, t-test for independent samples was used in case of continuous variables involved in first two sub hypotheses (age approximation and length of first memory description), as shown in Table 11 below. There were no statistically significant differences in these two depending on attachment style ($t=-0.19$ and $t=-1.33$ respectively, both $p>0,05$). Therefore, the predictions did not prove to be correct.

Table 11. Differences in age approximation and description length of the first memory between securely and insecurely attached

	Attachment Style	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Age approximation of the first memory	Securely Attached	86	4.5930	1.58951	.17140	-.191	164	.848
	Insecurely Attached	80	4.6375	1.38932	.15533			
First Memory Description Length	Securely Attached	87	60.95	31.833	3.413	-1.327	165	.186
	Insecurely Attached	80	67.38	30.558	3.417			

Third, fourth, and fifth sub hypothesis predicted that securely attached adolescents will report their memories as being more vivid, emotionally positive, and stronger in feelings, compared to their insecurely attached peers. Considering the characteristics of the variables, these predictions were tested using Kruskal-Wallis test of differences, which is shown in Table 12 below.

Table 12. Rank descriptives of memory dimensions grouped by attachment style with Kruskal-Wallis indicators

	Attachment Style	N	Mean Rank	Kruskal-Wallis	df	Asymp. Sig.
Vividness of First Memory	Secure	32	29.11	1.127	1	.288
	Insecure	29	33.09			
	Total	61				
Valence of First Memory	Secure	66	62.91	.178	1	.673
	Insecure	61	65.18			
	Total	127				
Intensity of First Memory Emotions	Secure	62	56.95	.209	1	.647
	Insecure	53	59.23			
	Total	115				

Therefore, the third sub hypothesis did not prove right, as there was no statistically significant difference in dimension of vividness of earliest memory between securely and insecurely attached participants ($H=1.127, p>0,05$).

Besides, the fourth and fifth sub hypothesis did not prove right as well, as there was no statistically significant difference in valence and intensity of feelings reported

in earliest memory between securely and insecurely attached adolescents ($H=.178$ and $H=.209$, both $p>0.05$).

Conclusion

Emotional content of adolescents' earliest memories is predominantly of joy (41.7%), fear (23.3%), sadness (8.6%), surprise (8%), anger (7.4%), etc. which is in line with previous research using the same methodology.

The age approximation of the first memory is 4.7 with no significant difference between males and females. However, females described their first memory in statistically significantly more words than males ($t=-3.77$, $p<0.01$).

As for dimensions of the first memory (measured by MCQ), the most participants reported their earliest memory to be important/very important to them, as well as of strong/very strong feelings (47.9%). The most reported frequent/very frequent thinking about their first memory (47.9%). The most participants (63.5%) reported their earliest memory to be moderately vivid, and 24% vivid/very vivid. Emotional valence in the most of earliest memories is assessed as positive/very positive (49.7%), 26.3% negative/very negative, 24% neutral.

Distribution of scores on Early Memories of Warmth and Safeness Scale was not statistically significantly different from normal distribution, using Kolmogorov Smirnov test. However, females scored significantly higher on EMWSS than males ($t=-1.95$, $p<0.05$).

Almost all dimensions of early memories (frequency of thinking, importance, vividness, strength of feelings) inter correlated highly and positively, except emotional valence that correlated only with personal importance of the memory ($\rho=0.275$, $p<0.01$), indicating that the more positive the emotion the greater personal importance is attributed to it.

There was statistically significant difference in early memories of warmth and safeness between securely attached, insecurely-avoidantly and insecurely-ambivalently attached adolescents ($F=7.20$, $p<0.01$), with securely attached individuals scoring the highest on EMWSS, and insecurely-ambivalently attached scoring the lowest on EMWSS. Gender differences in attachment styles were not statistically significant.

There was statistically significant difference in early memories of warmth and safeness depending on security/insecurity of attachment style of the participants ($t=3.27$, $p<0.001$). Securely attached adolescents scored higher on EMWSS, compared to their insecurely attached peers.

There was no statistically significant difference between the two insecure attachment styles (avoidant and ambivalent) in early memories of warmth and safeness ($t=1.80$, $p>0.05$).

There were no statistically significant differences in age approximation and length of description between securely and insecurely attached adolescents ($t=-0.19$ and $t=-1.33$ respectively, both $p>0.05$).

There was no statistically significant difference in dimension of vividness of earliest memory ($H=1.127$, $p>0.05$), emotional valence ($H=.178$, $p>0.05$), and feeling intensity between securely and insecurely attached participants ($H=.209$, both $p>0.05$).

The research findings presented in this paper provided significant influence on understanding of presence and characteristics of the early memories in adolescence period. We also find out that earliest memories and current attachment style of adolescents par-

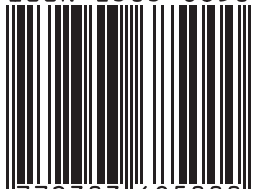
ticipating in our research are correlated in specific ways as it was explained in research findings.

This research provides relevant ground for a new research focusing on qualitative analyses of early memories with the aim to get answer on a question why those memories were important for children in preschool period and why they are still important for adolescence period.

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